

Chapter 5

Qinghe Experiment: Re-understanding and Fostering the Society

Tuohan WANG

Department of Sociology, Tsinghua University, Beijing, China.

Abstract

In the first thirty years of socialistic practice in China, the country included all aspects of the society into the system framework of national administration through entity-based system building, thus forming an “overall society”. Over the 30 years after China’s opening up and reform, the economic system reform has made the market force released stepwise, the entity-based society broken up, and China’s society divided and reorganized. But compared with the market’s development, expansion and organizational degree, the society development has been severely delayed. The society has insufficient autonomy and self-organization capacity. Using the improvement experience from the pilot communities in Qinghe Experiment as a case, this project found some social autonomous forces emerging in the community life—different degrees of community participation enthusiasm sprung up from different social classes, and different modes of community participation were created. However, under the restriction of existing systems and structure, these positive social forces have not been fully released, thus failed to play an expected and due role in improving the grass-root communities’ governance and promoting the development of social autonomy.

Key words: country, market and society, grass-root community governance, development of social autonomy.

I . The New Qinghe Experiment

The historical Qinghe Experiment started in 1928. In the early 20th century, the foreign enemies’ invasion and civil war led to increasingly serious depression of rural economy and mass impoverishment in China. A group of far-sighted persons gave advice and suggestions one after another to solve rural economic and social problems in China. The old-generation sociologists Yang Kaidao, Liang Shuming et al. launched the dynamic “rural construction movement” in Shandong, Hebei and other places. Almost in the same period, Professors Yang Kaidao and Xu Shilian from the Department of Sociology, Yenching University selected Qinghe in the then Peking as a site of experiment, aiming to examine whether it was possible to promote rural construction through farmers and the

then residents organizations. The results of social research and practice in Qinghe Experiment Zone improved the living quality of local people, the objective of improving the rural life on all sides through academic research and scientific spirit was achieved, and the practice survey and rural working ability of the then students at the Department of Sociology was developed. Regrettably, the Japanese troops invaded Peking in 1937, and the old Qinghe Experiment had to discontinue thereafter.

In 2014, Qinghe Experiment was re-launched at the Department of Sociology, Tsinghua University. In more than 70 years after the old Qinghe Experiment was discontinued, tremendous changes have taken place in Qinghe. There has been no farmland in today's Qinghe (though there are some people with rural household registration). It has become part of Beijing's urban area, where high buildings and crowded population can be seen. In terms of administrative system, Qinghe is affiliated with "Qinghe Sub-district Office" of Haidian District (though individual villages and villagers committees coexist). The area under its jurisdiction is 9.37 square kilometers. Now there are 160,000 permanent residents, including 74,000 residents with household registration of Beijing, and 84,000 non-local residents. A total of 28 community residents' committees are under the jurisdiction of Qinghe. For 37 years since China's reform and opening up, significant changes have taken place in the communities across the country, and the community types have been extraordinarily diversified. And almost all of these changes can be tracked in Qinghe. Therefore, Qinghe's change is also an epitome of decades of changes in Chinese society. All problems in China's reform and social change can be tracked in Qinghe.

II. Exploration and Discovery of Qinghe Experiment: Different "social" demands and how they are expressed

The previous study of Qinghe Experiment revealed that, first, in the context of economic and social system transformation and housing system reform in China, urban residents of different classes have become passionate in community participation stepwise. It can be said that in the communities inhabited by different types and different classes of residents, numerous positively participating social forces have sprung up one after another. For example, a large number of owners committees, community foundations as well as various social organizations initiated by the communities themselves have grown rapidly. We found many "societies" in a lot of case studies. Secondly, to a variable extent, the development of these positively participating social factors is restricted by the expansion of governmental power. On account of this, the author advises that, the development and fostering of society needs release the power from the government to a certain degree. Especially,

changes in the perception of grass-root governments are reflecting the development of grass-root society.

(I) A migrant middle-class community: establishment and operation of the owners' committee

The Oak Tree Bay Community is now inhabited by 2997 households, more than 5000 people in total. Most residents are university professors, managers of IT companies, company bosses, and governmental officials. A larger portion of them are especially middle-senior company managers of companies and young people. Therefore, it is a typical emerging migrant middle-class community. Residents here have a stronger consuming capacity. Some of them are keen on community construction. For long, they have been communicating and contacting through the owners forum and a QQ group of a hundred people. In 2012, owners in the QQ group first made a proposal of establishing the owners' committee. They selected three young representatives to come up to the community residents' committee and the property management company. In September 2012, the owners' committee was established formally in the Oak Tree Bay Community, consisting of 6 members, 5 of whom are members of the owners' committee, 1 is a full-time staff employed, who is also a resident in the Oak Tree Bay Community.

After the owners' committee was established, several members did a lot of practical work for the community residents positively and voluntarily. For example, they organized owners to buy furniture at lower group purchase prices, coordinated with the property management company to clean up the exterior windows of the residential buildings in the community, organized wide-range door-to-door survey of community needs, rationally communicated with the property management company on behalf of the owners when a proposal on increase of property management fees was made by the property management company, supported various cultural and entertainment activities organized by the residents in the community as well as community self-organization construction with public earnings, and the like. The author found in the investigation that the office of owners committee received phone calls from residents every day. Some reported problems existing in the community. Some made suggestions to the property management company. Currently, the owners' committee is preparing the Oak Tree Community's own newspaper under the leadership of Li Hong, director of the committee, who is professionally engaged in graphic design.

From the case we found that the establishment of owners committee is indeed one of the approaches for grass-root social participation. Through a self-governance organization like owners committee, the owners can reflect their

demands, supervise the property management company, safeguard their rights and interests, and effectively participate in the community construction and development. It can be said that in the wake of establishment of numerous owners' committees across the country and their activities of rights protection and self-governance, the owners' group has been increasingly a prominent social force, and become an important component of the urban grass-root social structure in China.

(II) A downfallen "post-unit" community: the rise and embarrassment of discussion and consultative committee

The South Community of Woolen Mill is an old community of traditional company dormitory style. The property owners are three enterprises, i.e. two woolen mills and one wool making factory. In the community, there are 3275 households, 35 buildings in total, including 2 high-rise buildings, and 3 humble buildings constructed in the 1980s by the enterprise. There are 10,000-plus residents, including more than 4000 non-local inhabitants. 95% residents here are former employees of a factory and their family members. This community is characterized by silver aging and lower average income of the residents.

From 2000, with the assistance from the residents' committee, some residents initiated to establish the "community discussion and consultative committee", which now has 11 members, including 3 responsible persons of entities in the jurisdiction of the three factories, 4 resident representatives, 1 representative of the property management company, 1 person from the residents' committee, 1 representative of merchants as floating population, and 1 representative of entities in the jurisdiction. Most of them are enterprise employees living in the community. And most of these discussion and consultative members are veteran cadres and retired old leaders of the property owners such as the then woolen mills. They have certain influence, charisma, and strong representativeness in the community.

When the discussion and consultative committee was established in 2000, there were only five members. In 2006, one representative of merchants was added as a member in order to strengthen the management of merchants. This merchant has been running a hairdressing saloon by renting a house in this community for more than 20 years. She is responsible for coordinating the merchants' needs. In 2009, the community introduced a property management company. The new management model made the community work more difficulty. Therefore, the property management company's manager was added to the discussion and consultative members, bringing the number of members to the present 11. Members were reelected as some were old or moved from the community. They are reelected simultaneously with the residents'

committee members, with their term of office changed every three years. Generally, the discussion and consultative members first seek advice from the residents. Then candidates who have strong ability of expression and who are representative are recommended from the factories. After the list of candidates is determined through all-sided investigation and survey by the members, the new members are elected by 98 representatives of community residents upon expiry of a term.

The discussion and consultative committee holds a regular meeting at the end of a month. The members make suggestions on the community's development planning and problems, and services required by the residents, etc., and reach a consensus through discussion. Then the director of residents' committee is responsible for implementation and deployment. Issues are discussed once raised by many residents, such as renovation of old community, significant activities in the community, sanitary environment, helping the aged and poverty-stricken people, numerous street vendors. All members express their opinions, and finally determine the practical solution. In the event of any provisionally affair, the director will call the discussion and consultative members together.

(III) A vegetable market formed spontaneously in the old community

As the enterprise moved out in 2006, and a large group of employees became jobless, the South Community of Woolen Mill became a burden left by an unprofitable enterprise. This community is characterized by poor living conditions for residents, old houses, waste and sever aging. A prominent problem lies in a vegetable market on a small road near a wall in the west part of the community, which is "known far and wide". At 6:00-7:00 every morning, the road sides are occupied by dozens of floating vegetable vendors. Residents coming here to buy vegetables are from the South Community of Woolen Mill, or even from the communities near Qinghe. Even residents from top-grade commercial housing communities like Oak Tree Bay come here to buy vegetables. In the investigation, the author learnt that, the vegetable market has its particular historical origin. In the era of planned economy, the grocery, grain shop, and vegetable station provided for the three factories were located at the position of the present vegetable market in the South Community of Woolen Mill. All residents from around Qinghe area had to line up to buy what they needed with grain and cooking oil coupons. As the market economy was introduced, though the grocery, grain shop, and vegetable station lost the then significance (the grocery has indeed been changed to Dia Supermarket), the surrounding old people have been used to buy vegetables here.

In addition, the strong supply-demand relationship has enabled the vegetable

market existing for more than two decades despite being constantly suppressed and banned. There are many old people in the community. Nearly 600 residents are 80 years old and over. 1180 are 60 years old and over. Unable to move freely, these old people prefer buying vegetables near their home. Furthermore, with a lower living standard, most residents live on their small sum of pension. With no need to pay rental, floating vegetable vendors sell vegetables at prices lower than supermarkets; on the other hand, these vendors sell their own vegetables that are fresh and of full range. Previously, vegetable wagons were introduced from Dahongmen of Fengtai District, with an attempt to make a link between the farmers and the supermarket. But their vegetables were not fresh, but expensive, and were sold once or twice per week in this community. The residents felt very inconvenient.

The reason why the author defines the vegetable market in the South Community of Woolen Mill as a society is that the vegetable market here is not a normative market, and in a certain sense, it can be defined as a society. Originally, a place where there is exchange of currency is regarded as a market. A market is supposed to have norms of business transaction, and can only operate upon examined and approved by the administration for industry and commerce. But the vegetable market in the South Community of Woolen Mill was formed as the residents had strong demands. Demands would bring into existence of supply, and the two parties were matched. The vegetable market was not examined and approved. In fact, the people spontaneously made up the deficiency of the market and society to some extent. So the vegetable market is a society.

III. Analysis and Discussion: the innovation of community governance under polyphonic social demands

In the empirical survey of several micro-communities, the author found various positive and enthusiastic social participation forces. At the same time, another further finding of the author is that, these positive social factors were not fostered very well in the process of development. Of them, the owners' committee, discussion and consultative committee and vegetable market are good examples.

Currently, grass-root governments are generally reluctant to and worried about the establishment of owners committee in a community. Based on similar worry, grass-root governments are unwilling to advocate the establishment of owners committee in all communities. They even extend the period of examination and approval as long as possible in the process of examination and approval of an owners committee, and impose rigid restrictions and multifarious procedures on the establishment of such committee. This is

actually a restriction on the development of society. In the author's opinion, these practices are not desirable. In the short term, the development of owners committee may really bring troubles for the grass-root governments' community governance. And various problems have really been found in the current operation of owners committees. But more reasons causing the problems are the lack of system. Long containment will only make the forces representing the society weaker and weaker.

Thus it is observed that the weakness of society is largely caused by the infinite expansion of power of governments. The result of such infinite expansion of governmental power is that the society cannot be fostered. Owners' committees could have been fostered. But all neighborhoods and governments are opposed. This is in fact a very contradictory phenomenon. On the one hand, there are many problems as the society is not fostered. On the other hand, there are so many system factors impeding the development of society. We should better foster our society, give more correct and positive guide to owners committees, and conduct effective communication and fostering. In this process, the grass-root governments and social organizations need go through a process of joint learning and growth.

The discussion and consultation provided by the discussion and consultative committee of the South Community of Woolen Mill is effective as the members have the same background, and most of them are retired leaders or old prestigious residents in the community, with good representativeness and mass base, together with the resource support from the property owner, the old woolen mill. But in the wake of development of the society, increase of the floating population and migrant population in the community, especially numerous non-local young people purchasing houses here, the South Community of Woolen Mill has gradually shifted from a traditional society of acquaintance to a society of strangers. Over the past 10-odd years, some old discussion and consultative members withdrew from the organization as they got too older. Some moved out from the community. But it is harder and harder to absorb new members. Most importantly, after the family members committees were transformed into residents committees, grass-root governments failed to give a guarantee of resources to spontaneous civil organizations such as the discussion and consultative committee through the approach of system. Discussion without decision brings a great challenge for the sustainability of the work of the discussion and consultative committee.

And the attitude toward the vegetable market also reflects the absence and ineffectiveness of grass-root governments in the society fostering. For a long time, it has been a routine and troublesome task for the grass-root governments to clear up the vegetable market. When it comes to the attitude

toward the vegetable market, the grass-root governments said definitely it must be banned. But every time the effect was not as good as expected. The vegetable vendors were forced to move to the road outside the community, where they were chased by the city inspectors. Then they hid into the community, where they were again driven by the residents' committee members. In such repeated chasing and hiding, the vendors have survived toughly in the clipper seam between the residents' committee and city inspectors. Even the vegetable market meets the demands of residents in the old community, the grass-root governments have suppressed and contained it again and again, giving no correct counseling and rectification. Then, as for the question whether the fostering of the society by the grass-root governments is effective, the author will make a contrastive analysis with the case of Qingyuan sub-district, Beijing, so as to show that these positive social forces are to be driven by grass-root governments in the development of China at the current stage.

Seemingly, the grass-root governments have indeed transferred and decentralized some of their own power, changing from the former administrator to a participant, with their "apparent power" shrinking; on the other hand, the grass-root governments also serve as a referee of community service affairs to judge the already existing results rather than doing everything by themselves. In this respect, the power of grass-root governments has not been impaired. Rather, their existence has become more reasonable due to their role as a referee. Their "hidden power" has been expanded. The former single power of grass-root governments has been turned into a cross influence of two operating models, one apparent power, other hidden power. Exactly through the transformation of one apparent power and one hidden power, the residents have been provided with a space for participating in the community services, without playing a negative role due to going over the boundary of grass-root governments. In this way, the hidden worry of most grass-root governments is eliminated. In fact, such model that mobilizes the residents' full participation has not fundamentally shaken the foundation of the former bureaucratic system. Rather, it is just because of the continuous existence of the bureaucratic force which is expressed by either apparent power or hidden power that eventually makes possible the community services with the participation of multiple players.

References

1. Li Qiang: How a Passive Society Turns into an Active One, *People's Tribune*, 2011 No.4 (Part 1) (No. 323 of the Total).
2. Wu Jinglian: Many Years of Contradictions Have Accumulated to a Critical Point,

- Business Weekly*, 2012 No. 4.
3. Sun Liping: A Road Toward Reconstructing the Society, *Collected Papers for the 7th China Reform Forum*, October 17, 2009.
4. Sun Liping: Facilitating the Building of a Harmonious Society through Social Reconstruction, *Sociological Studies*, 2007 No.02.
5. Zheng Hangsheng, Li Qiang, et, al.: *Introductory Theory on Social Operation*, Beijing: China Renmin University Press, 1993.
6. Shen Yuan: Market, Class and Society: *Key Topics on Transformation Sociology*, Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2007.
7. Deng Zhenglai: *A Country and A Society: China Civil Society Studies*, Beijing: Peking University Press, 2007.

Chapter 6

Exploration and Practice of Community Governance Innovation: “Qinghe Experiment”¹⁾ as an Example

Xiaoyan TAN²⁾

Post doctor teacher, Department of sociology, Tsinghua University,
Beijing, China.

Abstract

Innovation of social governance is inevitable requirement of improving socialist market economic system in China, and it is practical need to meet the challenges and risks of the process of rapid urbanization in China. Furthermore, community governance innovation is the main starting point of social governance innovation. This paper puts forward that the innovation of community governance should be based on consultation shared with the government, the market and the community, and argues that it aims to improve the well-being of community residents. We have an intervention approach as “Qinghe experiment”. Sunshine community in Qinghe Street as an example, we elected the members of community consultative committee and established a participants meeting system. “Qinghe experiment” shows that: First, this mechanism of community consultative committee effectively builds a bridge of communication between the residents and other governance main bodies. Secondly, it is necessary for a platform to arouse the vitalization of the community. Thirdly, local government especially Street office should change governance view. Finally, in the process of power game, property management companies are still mainly for the purpose of profit but not for the people’s interest. This paper suggests that, street office, residents’ committee, property management companies, and residents should consult with governance to achieve the innovation of community governance. The stakeholders should be based on the same goal that is to put people first and improves the well-being of the community residents.

Consultative governance should put people first and improve the well-being of the community residents.

Key words: community governance innovation, Qinghe experiment, community consultative committee.

1) Beijing-Tsinghua University grassroots social governance innovation, Professor Li Qiang, the Academy of Social Sciences, Tsinghua University, is the director of the subject.

2) The main executor of “Qinghe Experiment”.

I. Community governance innovation and the significance of innovation

The innovation of social governance is the inevitable requirement to improve China's socialist market economic system; also it needs to meet the challenges and risks during the process of rapid urbanization in China's rapid developments. To certain extent, there is no suitable reference system for China's social development and social governance, because social development and social governance is based on historical cultural, institutional change and people's different production and life styles in China, which determines that China's social governance model and the governance system only can evolve in practice. The party on the fifth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee "CPC Central Committee on economic and social development of the thirteenth five years plan proposal" put forward, "to construct social governance pattern of co-construction and sharing", obviously China government pays more attention to social governance innovation than before. However, social governance is not only words, practice speaking, it expresses the need to implement the way to the grassroots society. That is, whether the governance approach is appropriate or not, the needs require the community to go through the inspection of grass-roots social governance. The society is always in certain area, the basic concept of social and community is similar, community is actually regional community. Although there are different types of community, including industrial community, science and technology community, residential community and so on, in academic, more scholars' emphases are turning to residential community. The main research object of this paper is the residential community. In China, the community is not only living space for residents, but also an administrative management system, which carries the function of daily management. Since community is the basic unit of society, community governance is the foundation of social governance; community governance innovation is the main starting point of social governance innovation.

What is "governance"? In 1995, the global governance committee pointed out that governance is the integration of many ways of all public or private individuals and institutions management in common things. It makes conflicts between different interests in harmony and it is a continuous process that takes joint action.

In Chinese context, original meaning of "governance" is water. "Shuowen Jiezi" said: "governance, water." Richard: "governance, jade, from the sound of jade." "Governance" is intended to ease the construction of the dam, according to the direction of the river, river governance, which is to flood control, agricultural irrigation. From the Chinese context, we can understand the "governance". The first question, who will govern? Everyone; the second question is how to govern? Consultation; the third question is what is the purpose of governance? The purpose is for the people's interest.

Both in the western context of “governance” and Chinese context of “governance”, “governance” is different from “management”, “management” is a top-down control, and “governance” emphasizes pluralistic participation and consultation process. In other words, governance is that the bodies of governance consult carrying out public affairs to improve people’s well-being. Community governance innovation is community stakeholders’ participation in multi-consultative governance. At present, what are the main problems of the community governance? Who are the community stakeholders? How can community stakeholders perform the consultative governance? This third problem is the main question for discussion in this paper, and has been investigated also in the “Qinghe experiment” in the aspects of exploration and practice.

II. The theoretical basis and reality

The sociologists believe that the government, market and society are three important governance bodies, and the harmonious relationship in three aspects is the foundation to realize the harmonious and healthy development of the society, which is also the innovation perspective of community governance theory. In China, before the reform and opening up, the main problem in the development of China’s market was weak. After the reform and opening up, and the socialist market economic system gradually improved, China’s economic vitality was stimulated by the market reforms, which is mainly due to the majority of people participating in market opportunities. The social mechanism is similar to the market mechanism. That, the characteristic of China society is that the government is the leading and dominant position and the social vitality is relatively lack. Especially in the community, stakeholders of community governance are the street office, Property Management Company and community residents. But the real problem is that the community committee is administrative. From the text system, the residents’ committee belongs to the grassroots autonomous organization. But in fact, now residents’ committee mainly completes administrative tasks assigned by the superior government, for example, the director of Xiang community committee received 447 letters from various sections of street office in 2015. In QH Street, there are 28 community committee and 200 residents’ members, but only less than 20 of the residents are living in the community. In certain extent, the residents’ committee is the government’s leg, our survey showed 28 leaders of the residents’ committee consider the residents’ committee as the government. In this sense, the community residents’ committee is in the community on behalf of government. Property Management Company is an important market subject of community governance. With the commercialization of housing reform, the quantity of commercial housing is increasing, and supply and maintenance of many things

related life, including water, electricity, coal, gas, public security, health and environmental and other aspects should be afforded by the Property Management Company, so the Property Management Company plays more and more important role in the community. However, our survey of 2015 showed that service situation of Property Management Company and community residents for the evaluation of community well-being were correlated positively. That is to say, the main governance bodies in community include street office, residents’ committee, Property Management Companies and community residents, governance mode is that the main governance bodies consulate, and governance goal is to improve the well-being of the community residents. This is the starting point of community governance innovation.

It is necessary to understand how the reality of community governance works in order to achieve the goal of community governance innovation. From the government, market and community perspective, the aspects are as follows: Firstly, the residents’ committee is administrative, which resulted in no the expression of platform and the lack of communication platform between residents’ committee and community residents. Secondly, the relationship between Property Management Company and the residents is not harmonious; a survey in 2015 showed that only half of the residents fund satisfaction with the service for Property Management Company. Thirdly, community is complex, and the needs of community residents are in multi-level. With rapid urbanization, a large number of rural people live in the city. According to statistics, from 2010 to 2030, China urban population will increase from 630 million to 990 million, in 2050, the urbanization rate will exceed 80%³⁾. Except that, people’s life style, mode of production, way of living, and social culture have changed a lot, without doubt, the community governance is confronted with a big challenge. After the reform and opening up, the highly centralized planned economy system has changed to be market economy system, the function and the position of the “danwei” has been weakening, “unit person” has become “social man”, so it is necessary to establish the community governance to be independent of enterprises and institutions of the social security system and the social service network. At same time, with the improvement of people’s living standard, community residents have multi-level and diversified requirements. In general, the government, the Property Management Company and the community relations are not harmonious. The issues are stated as the government plays an authoritarian role, and the relations between the Property Management Company and the residents are strained. Beyond that, there is anemic in the community.

“Qinghe experiment” is a kind of exploration and practice in the above

3) Data sources: <http://www.eeo.com.cn/2013/0926/250258.shtml>

theoretical and practical basis with intervention method.

III. Qinghe experimental approach

1. Basic introduction of “Qinghe experiment”

Qinghe Street is located in northeast of Haidian District, Beijing City, north to the northwest Wang, South to North Fifth ring; area under administration is 9.37 square kilometers. The reasons why choose Qinghe Street to carry out community governance innovation experiment are three aspects: firstly, the elder generation sociologist, Yang Kaidao and Xu Shilian had a similar experiment in 1928, however, the experiment was interrupted because of the war in 1937. Secondly Qinghe is representative, there are 28 communities in Qinghe, both city and rurality are here now. Today, in certain extent, Qinghe is a microcosm after decades of change, almost all, the problems met in Chinese reform and social changes can be found in experimentation area of Qinghe. Thirdly, Qinghe is near Tsinghua University, teachers and students are more convenient to Qinghe.

“Qinghe experiment” mainly includes two aspects: one is the election of community consultative committee members, which is community governance structure of the stock reform. There is an innovation of a consultation mechanism of Property Management Company, residents’ committee and residents; the other one is stimulating the vitality of the community, and every inhabitant has fair opportunity to participate to improve the well-being of the community residents.

2. “Qinghe experiment” approach

(1) Select three typical communities as the experimental community

During June to November, in 2014, the research group conducted comprehensive survey for 28 communities in Qinghe Street, and then selected three typical communities to carry out experiments, including Xiangshuwang community, South wool community and Sunshine community. Xiangshuwan community is regarded as the high-grade commercial housing community in Qinghe Street, but is a non-acquaintances community; South wool community is the staff quarters of original SANYO wool woolen company, it is a typical “danwei” community, about of 65% residents are wool spinning factory workers, and there are about total 10000 people, where about 3000 people are over 60 years old; Sunshine community is a mixed community, there are total of six small residential areas. Below this paper will take Sunshine community as an example to introduce the experiment.

(2) Basic situation of Sunshine community

There are more than 1700 household, also more than 300 migrant households live in this community, specific circumstances are shown in Table 1 as follows.

Table 1 Sunshine community situation

quantity	area	Type of community	quantity of buildings	Type of building	population	Property Management Company
1	Sunshine South	old buildings	11	demolition, commercial housing	1600	Property developers company
2	Sunshine north	old buildings	4	demolition, commercial housing	1800	Property developers company
3	No.20 Middle school Dormitory	old buildings	2	Haidian school dormitory	300	no
4	Fire company tower	Unit courtyard	2	Fire dormitory	400	Property developers company
5	Qinghe street one three street	one-storey house	35	local residents	300	no
6	traffic team dormitory	one-storey house	2	Traffic team dormitory	200	no

source :the author of this paper

Table 2 the age structure willingness to participate

age	frequency	percentage
under 18	2	0.37%
19-30	62	11.81%
31-40	117	22.29%
41-50	76	14.48%
51-60	116	22.10%
More than 61	152	28.95%
total	525	100%

source : the author of this paper

(3) Investigation conditions of Sunshine community residents' willingness to participate

Before experiment, we did home survey questionnaire of participation conditions in face-to-face; there are 525 valid samples among 540 questionnaires. Men are 53.58%, women are 46.42%.

The survey showed 40.91% of residents said they are willing to participate in the community consultation, the residents who are adequately and more willing to participate account 15.37% and 29.22%, and 40.87% of residents answered they are willing to participate in the volunteer activities, also 21.78% and 26.97% of residents are adequately and more willing to participate volunteer activities. Totally about more than 90% of residents are willing to participating community consultation and the volunteer activities. When asked why not willing to participate, 70.13% of the residents behave so because they are busy doing work or have no time to participate activities. Generally speaking, it is very high proportion of willingness to participate in Sunshine community.

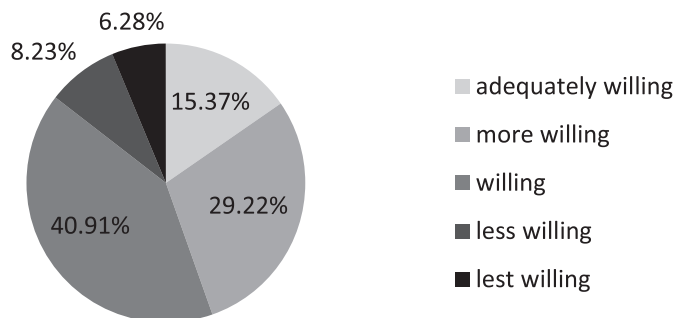


Figure 1 pie chart of residents participation willingness in community consultation
source : the author of this paper

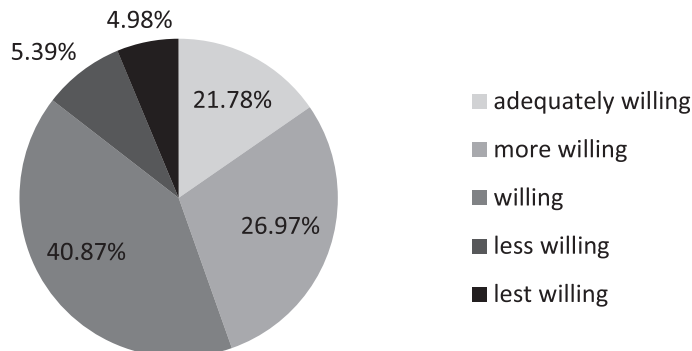


Figure 2 pie chart of residents to participation willingness in community volunteer activities
source : the author of this paper

Table 3 numbers of consultative committee nominated

No.	name	gender	age	political status	work (original)	note
1	Peng*	female	64	Party member	worker	resident representative
2	Li**	male	76	Party member	security officer	resident representative
3	Jiang*	male	75	Party member	chief executive	resident representative
4	Chen*	female	67	Party member	Discipline inspectors	resident representative
5	Yang*	female	50	masses	Qinghe street labor assistant	resident representative
6	Wang*	male	63	Party member	worker	resident representative
7	Ma**	female	65	Party member	teacher in a Middle school	backbone of sing team
8	Gong*	female	58	masses	committee secretary	backbone of dance team
9	Luan*	female	62	Party member	original leader residents' committee	resident representative
10	Wang	female	62	Party member	worker	resident representative
11	Zhao*	female	62	Party member	original leader residents' committee of anjie	resident representative
12	Wang*	female	52	masses	Workshop director	resident representative
13	Bai*	female	63	masses	worker	resident representative
14	Wang*	female	71	Party member	director of trade union women	resident representative
15	Ding*	female	58	Party member	worker	back bone of dance team
16	Ly**	female	56	masses	film projector	floating population
17	Feng**	male	53	DAP party	manager	resident representative of haidian
18	Li**	male	76	Party member	soldier	resident representative

source : the author of this paper

(4) Community reorganization: elect members of consultative committee and establish related mechanism

It is necessary for information communication mechanism to realize the premise of multi-cooperative governance. "Qinghe experiment" exhibits the reform of community consultation mechanism, and could be reform of the governance structure as starting point. Douglass C. North pointed out that the "structure" refers to system framework. Jose Lopez believes that the "system mode is regarded as those defined human behavior expectations and cultural or normative model, through these expectations, actors can grasp each other's behavior and organization between the lasting relationship."

In January 2014, ten consultative committee members were elected publicly, for the 38% of difference between the proportions of procedure. The elected members are residents with certain prestige or the backbone of community residents in the community, in Table 3 as follow, bold part is residents elected as the members of the residents committee, the other is the defeated candidate. The consultative committee is one of members of community residents' committee; the consultative committee members are the community residents (tenants living more than half year can also be elected); residents congress elect; the main duties of consultative committee include collecting public opinion, the formation of community service project proposals, participation in community public projects decision-making and participation discussing and forming community etiquette; but they have no wages, excepting subsidies.

After election of the members of Community consultative committee, they were trained, involving with collecting residents demand method, consultative conference method etc.; then formed a series of system, such as soliciting residents demand information system, reception resident system, and participants meeting system. There are two consultative meetings, consultative committee meeting, and a joint meeting between residents' committee, property management companies and community consultative committee. In order to concentrate the scattered residents' demands, open space technology conference is applied for collecting residents demands, but the rules of procedure of Sunshine community, discussed by the consultative members, are used for the decisions of the conference, based on book "Preliminary civil rights" proposed by Sun Yatsen. The rules of conference of Sunshine community are: the host should not be member of the committee; the conference should be hosted by other person who is not committee member; before statement you must first raise your hand, the first one who raised their hands should speak first; please don't interrupt; do not stray from the point; do one discussion for one project; do not be overtime; do not attack each other, take turns speaking; maintain the neighborhood unity as a priority, the resolution process is not open to the public.

IV. Experimental findings

1. Community consultative committee system effectively built communication platform for residents and other community bodies: Community governance mode gradually has changed from traditional top-down mode to multiple structures.

After this stage of the experiment, we found from community consultative committee system, that the effective communication platform is built among several interest bodies, including residents' committees, consultative committees, property management companies, and street office. In certain extent, the interests of the residents of the community and the needs of residents were expressed fully, also the relationship between the residents and property management companies gradually were changed better. The manager of Property Management Company, Mr. Zhang said "before we did lots of things, however the residents were not always approve. We didn't know what people think." several committee said: "Property Management Company had so many things.....". On the other hand, neighborhood quality has been further improved; the community consensus has been gradually formed. The following is views of consultative committee members.

Zhao Shuxiang said that the consultative committee is a good solution to the popular opinion, and it should be adhered to the permanent support of community residents.

Bai Chenjiang said, I feel after the establishment of the consultative committees, our Sunshine community has great change, the relationship between residents, residents' committees and property management companies is better than before ,if there are problems, we could discuss, such as planting green, building parking spaces I think we sunshine district each project will be better in the future! Environment will be more beautiful.

Wang Xiuzhen said, wide public opinion, wide accumulate wisdom. I believe that the community will be a harmonious and democratic, civilized, safe and happy home.

Chen Xuemin said, joint procedure is good thing, the governance costs are decreased, and residents are more satisfactory.

Li Jianming said, the consultative committee is from the masses, to the masses, it scientifically solves many problems; the majority of residents start to realize the dream.

Li Zhiliang said, the consultative committee is a good form of self - management.

Ma Wenzhi said residents of autonomy, build a harmonious home.

Bai Qiuxiang said, for each procedure, everyone is enthusiastic on scrambling and brainstorming, I believe our Sunshine community will be getting better and

better, clean, beautiful, happy, warm!

In certain sense, the consultative committee member of the system is endowed with the residents' power to participate in community governance, the original government and community top-down structure is slowly changed to be the multi power structure of government, community, and property management companies, gradually form the benign interaction situation.

2. Stimulating community vitality needs platform

How to stimulate the vitality of the community, how to stimulate the participation of community residents, are the aspects, Qinghe experiment has always been concerned about. In the democratic consultative conference, consultative committee members proposed to improve the community environment. Then after painter association of Tsinghua University together with property management companies, consultative committees and residents' committees discussed, they designed wall paint plan; after public consultation, residents chose design, then the designer modified, finally residents painted the wall. This process had more than 500 people involved in total, even a lot of people participated with their children. Residents approved that this activity is very good, not only beautified the environment, but also purified the soul.

In order to improve the quality of residents and build the residents of long-term interactive platform, Sunshine school was open. The teachers were mainly from the community residents, the contents of classes were decided by the community residents. Now there are more than 10 classes, including English, calligraphy, weaving, dancing, chorus, Tai Chi, and so on. Through Sunshine school, residents are reorganized in the form of interest and hobbies.

During this year, thousands of residents participated community activities, including elder people, children and young people. Often, some residents expressed that Sunshine community has more sunshine, "we are family of loving each other". Undoubtedly, residents need to have a platform for participating community public affairs, and have a mechanism to give residents the right to choose. Amartya Sen, who got Nobel Prize in economics, explained that freedom is the ultimate goal and important means of development, he pointed out that we should emphasize the globalization of market mechanisms improve the standard of living of the people to make fundamental contributions, meanwhile we need the government and the society which have responsibility in the fields of human survival, health care and education. Necessarily more people as the main body of development should play active role in social interaction and change in overall.



Figure 3 public consultation activities



Figure 4 residents painting wall

source : the author of this paper

3. Local government should change governance view

Local government especially street officers should change governance view. In fact, street office mainly control community resources, the projects, involving use of community public welfare fund, must be agreed by all the streets leaders, otherwise the projects cannot be implemented, even which the community’s consultative committee members all agree. Take the improvement of the community’s Triangle Park as an example, in February 2014, the theme of the conference on democracy was “Do you think what community needs to change?” five demands were focused in total of 87 issues, one of which residents wanted have a room for public activities. The process is that first community consultative committee members put forward demand, then discusses the program at the joint meeting; if Street office approval, the project will be implemented. After investigation we found that dirty triangle area can be renewed as the outdoor space of community residents. Then members of Qinghe experiment, a professor of School of architecture, Tsinghua University, Tsinghua, consultative committees, property Management Company and residents discussed and participated in design together. Figure 5 is the former situation; Figure 6 is the effect picture after participatory design. Residents’ committee, Property Management Company and consultative members were satisfied with this result. But because a major leader didn’t agree the project, now it has not implemented. The leader said that the projects which were discussed in the community may not be right, in his opinions, that all the things of the community should be decided by him.

An American scholar, Richard C. Box, thinks that at the choice of community governance model, the key element is how the leaders choose community policy oriented and community development views. Ideology and its value system is the most likely to become the core elements of the system, and the next is rules and norms. In order to realize the multiple cooperation governance, the multiple governance subjects should have the same goal.



Figure 5 the former situation

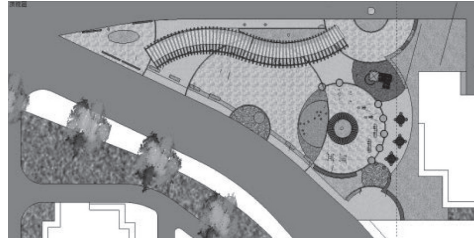


Figure 6 the effect chart of design

source : the author of this paper

4. Property Management Company for profit in the process of power game

Property Management Company for profit is put under restraint of power game. The example is showed as follow, street office approved to build a public activates house for 40 square meters in Sunshine south community, but Property Management Company attempted to have 10 square meters. All members of the community consultative committee strongly disagreed, they believed that it is the right of the community residents, and Property Management Company shouldn't have it. Property Management Company and community consultative committee members had even conflict with bodies, although Property Management Company admitted it was wrong.

On the whole, to achieve the innovation of community, there must be consultation mechanism in governance, street office, residents' committee, property management companies and residents, but the common aim must be people first and improving the well-being of the community, otherwise consultation may be ineffective or inefficient.

References

- Li Qiang (2013), *Multi urbanization and China development*, Social Sciences Academic Press.
- Douglass North (1994), *Structure and change in the history of economic*, Chen Yu, translation. Shanghai, Shanghai People's Press.
- Jose Lopez (2007). *Social structure*, Yun Chunxi translation, Jilin people's Press.
- Richard.C. Box (2013), *Citizen governance leads twenty-first Century American community*, Sun Baiying translation, Renmin University of China Press.
- Li Hanlin (2005), *Social process of organizational and institutional change: a proposed comprehensive analysis*, Chinese Social Science.
- Amartya Sen (2002), *Development as freedom*, Ren Ze translation, Renmin University of China Press.