

RESEARCH ON THE WORKER COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE TRANSFORMATION AND RESIDENTS' SELF-ORGANIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF PINGDINGSHAN CITY, CHINA (1132)

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Abstract. In China, state-owned enterprises used to responsible for building workers' houses and providing public services such as education and medical treatment for their employees. However, in recent years, the governance of worker community has been transformed from "unitary management" (managed by the enterprise), to "multi-governance" (managed by the government, property company and residents' organizations). State-owned enterprises are not responsible for community management anymore. Instead, residents' self-organization is seen as an important governance force. This research takes a traditional coal resource-based city as an example, through methods of data review, field survey and semi-structured interview, analyzing the main types of residents' self-organization and the challenges during the autonomy process. Furthermore, this paper indicates that social capital and official supervision should be strengthen in autonomic practice.

Keywords: state-owned enterprise; worker community; governance transformation; residents' self-organization.

1. Introduction

China has an economic and political system that is different from Western countries. In China, state-owned enterprises were responsible for building employee houses and providing education, medical care, cultural, entertainment, and property services for employees. From the establishment of the Chinese government in 1949, especially in twentieth Century, almost each state-owned enterprise in China build kindergarten, middle school, hospital, retail store, and even funeral parlor within or around the worker community for workers and their families, supplying all the services workers need.

However, in the past two decades, in order to promote a rapid growth of economic and reduce the burden on enterprises, China has undergone a continuous and complete economic reform and social transformation. Chinese government decided that it is not

appropriate anymore for state-owned enterprises to continue their management on the worker communities, and the phenomenon of "enterprises are managing the whole community" has been gradually withdrawn from the historical stage. In 2016, the Chinese central government issued a policy to separate and transfer the responsibilities of providing water, electricity, heating, and property services for worker communities from state-owned enterprises to local government and related organizations. The governance of worker community is undergoing a transformation from "unitary management" by enterprises to "multi-governance" by the local government, market-oriented property company, and social organization.

As one of the most important mining city being constructed in 1950's, Pingdingshan City now is facing a series of difficulties and challenges in governance transformation. At the same time, it has also accumulated valuable practical experiences of community self-organization. This article will take worker communities in Pingdingshan City as examples, introducing their practical experiences, summarizing these examples into different types of self-organization practice, and analyzing their specific characteristics. Besides, this article aims to deeply understand the existed challenges and problems within autonomy process and propose effective suggestions for the local government to promote governance transformation smoothly.

2. Literature Review

Worker community has a different spatial and social type compared with ordinary residential communities. Research in China focusing on the transformation of worker community governance began gradually from 1990s. From the perspective of local social governance system, Chen Weidong (2017) took a community in Wuhan as an example to introduce the possibility of transforming the enterprise management mode into the social governance mode. Chai Yanwei (2013), Guo Fengying (2007) and other researchers took communities in Beijing, Hubei, Changchun and other places as examples, analyzed the difficulties encountered in the governance transformation process, and showed the diversification trend of governance subjects during this process. Researchers in China also emphasized the importance of government intervention, reorganization of social capital, and joint administration in the transformation process (Du et al., 2021; Lu et al., 2015; Li et al., 2017).

Except the researches about governance transformation, analysis focusing on the community self-organization also has been emphasized by sociologists and urban planners in China. Because of its regional and social attribute, community's self-organization is based on the residents' common concern for public interests and their urgent aspiration to participate in public affairs within their own community (Wei, 2003).

Since the late 1980s, the process of economic and social transformation has occurred in China. During this process, in response to the problems caused by the "lose efficiency" of the omnipotent government and the "out of order" of the market, residents self-organization has been evaluated as a possible way by many experts and scholars (Xu, 2001; Fei, 2002). Researchers such as Yang Guihua (2007) analyzed the construction path, subject cultivation, and development trajectory of community self-organization. They believe that self-organization is an effective method to optimize social governance structure and strengthen the coordination of multi-governance (Yang, 2007; Xu et al., 2014; Xie, 2002). Yuan Qing (2020), Tao Chuanjin (2021), and others elaborated on the important role of platforms such as homeowners' committees, and believed that the support, guidance, and supervision from local governments are important for the establishment of the self-organization system.

Currently, researchers in China have different opinions on the concept of community self-governance. In this article, community's self-organization refers to the process in which residents are driven by their own attentions, utilizing community resources, choosing appropriate approaches, independently managing public affairs through equal consultation, and finally achieving public interests (Liu, 2016). Except the property management committee registered to local government, other social organizations are also important platforms for community self-organization (Xie, 2021).

Although there have been a series of discussions on community self-organization in the field of urban issues research, there is still a lack of relevant exploration focusing on worker communities in the current background of governance transformation. This article will take worker communities in Pingdingshan City, Henan Province as examples to analyze the practical cases of community self-organization, elaborating on the problems and challenges that worker community need to deal with following the process of self-organization. Besides, it also explores the necessary methods for local government to meet with these challenges.

3. Methodology

This research is mainly conducted through qualitative research methods, including data review, field survey, and semi-structured interview. Researcher visited more than 20 coal-based mining communities in Pingdingshan City in 2022. The communities

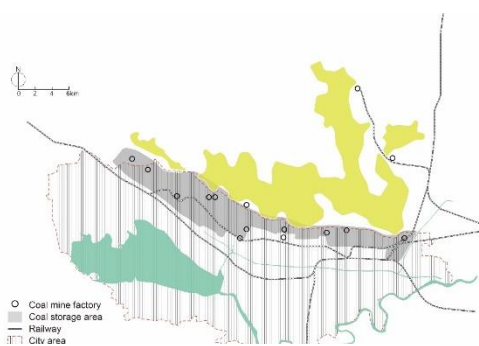


Figure 1. Map of Pingdingshan City

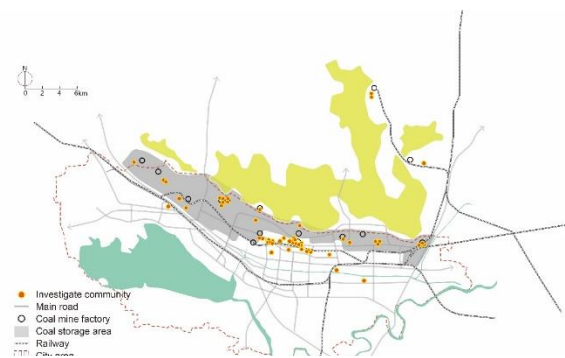


Figure 2. Map of Investigation Worker Communities

investigated include five worker communities invested and constructed by the enterprise group headquarter (known as Pingdingshan Coal Mine Group, hereinafter referred to as "Ping-coal Group") and other worker communities independently constructed by different enterprises under the group headquarter, such as The First Coal Mine Company and so on (Figure 1, 2). This study obtained 74 interview recordings from different kinds of people, mainly community residents, others including government officers, social organization staff, and people work in property management company. Related records have been encoded, translated, and analyzed. About 30% of the interviewees were recommended by acquaintances, while the majority in-depth interviews were conducted randomly with community residents.

4. Background Of Community Governance Transformation

4.1 Pingdingshan City And Worker Community

Pingdingshan City is located in the central region of China, and its development originated from the coal mining industry. According to the " Master Plan of Pingdingshan City (2011-2020)", the central urban area of Pingdingshan city was planned to have a population of 1.1 million people and a total construction land of 106 square kilometers in 2020. The Pingdingshan mining area was the first large-scale coal base that China independently explored, designed, developed, and constructed after 1949. At the same time, it is also one of the thirteen most important national coal bases in China. As a state-owned enterprise, Ping-coal Group dominates the coal mining industry in this city, with nearly twenty coal mining companies under the headquarters. Mainly of the mining area are in the northern part of the city. The coal mining industry remaining has the highest economic contribution rate in Pingdingshan city.

According to relevant data, the population related to Ping-coal Group was approximately 350 thousand, including employees and their families (as of 2019, there were 88000 employees), accounting for about one-third of the urban permanent population. The coal workers' community occupies an undeniable proportion in the total number of residential community in Pingdingshan city.

4.2 Policy about Governance Transformation

In order to enhance the market competitiveness of state-owned enterprises as well as reduce their financial burden, the construction and management responsibilities of worker community have gradually been separated from the duty of enterprises. In June 2016, the General Office of the State Council issued the document of "Guiding Opinions

on the Separation and Handover of the 'Three Supplies and One management (which means the supplement of water, electricity, heating, and management of property services)' in the worker community belonging to State-owned Enterprise ". Following this document, a series of guiding policies were introduced by the central and local government. The relevant policies required that the governance transformation of worker communities should be basically completed by the end of 2018, and from 2019 onwards, state-owned enterprises would no longer bear any fees for community management work and services such as the works mentioned within this paragraph before. State-owned enterprises are no longer responsible for the daily management of worker communities, their financial funds and human resources used to be invested in the communities were stopped. Worker communities are implemented to multi-governance instead of be managed by only the enterprise.

These policies have brought about huge changes in community governance. Before the separation and handover of the "three supplies and one management", the logistics department of the enterprise was responsible for the management work, including daily cleaning, greening maintenance, safety guard, and so on. Residents only need to pay a small portion of management fees (less than one fifth of the whole fees) to get a complete property management service. However, after the promoted of governance transformation, the daily management works of the worker community were changed from "unitary management" by enterprises to " multi-governance" by the local government, market-oriented property company, and social organizations.

Different types of management work have different path to be taken over. The management of municipal facilities such as water, electricity supplement are taken over by different department of local government. While, the property management is supposed to be taken over by market-oriented property companies. According to government documents, there are three choices of property management for worker communities. Firstly, it could be taken over by a strong state-owned property company; secondly, a professional market-oriented property management company could be appointed to take over; thirdly, for those communities which cannot import property management companies through market channels, they can apply to residents' self-organization.

In the process of worker community governance transformation, there is a problem that it is difficult for market-oriented property companies to join in the management work within a short period of time, which leading to a large number of worker communities

"out of order". Lack of reliance make community residents cannot quickly adapt market-oriented property services, believing that property companies only collect money and do not work well. Residents also believing that the property company do not align with residents. The conflict between residents and property management companies ultimately led to the withdrawal of marketable property services, which also make it possible for the emergence of community residents' self-organization.

5. Different Types Of Self-organization In Worker Community

The worker communities investigated in this research are mainly divided into two types: communities constructed by Ping-coal Group (which residents come from different subsidiary mining companies belonging to Ping-coal Group) and worker communities independently constructed by each single subsidiary mining company (which residents come from the same subsidiary enterprise). Due to different social background and population composition, worker community in Pingdingshan city have different types of residents' self-organization mode. The following analysis relies on practical experiences in Pingdingshan city in China.

5.1 Type 1: Organization Fight against Property Management Company

In order to combat issues such as rising property management costs and inadequate property service quality, some worker community residents have organized preliminary residential committee organization to fight for their own rights. Community residents select representatives to communicate and coordinate with relevant stakeholders such as property management companies, enterprises, and local government departments, and to express their own opinions through complaints, petitions, non-violence resistance and other forms.

Taking GaoYang Community (hereinafter referred to as GY community) in Pingdingshan City as an example. The community was built in 2013, covering an area of 31.5 hectares, with over 4800 households and a permanent population of over 10000. GY community is home to employees and family members of multiple subordinate enterprises under Ping-coal Group. The majority of residents are low income families, and more than half of them are elderly population aged 50 and above. The annual income of a family is around 4500€, which need to be used to maintain the daily consumption of 2-3 family members, including the education and nutrition expenses for their grandson (nearly 1500€ per year).

After the governance transformation, enterprises no longer pay the fees for community property management service, and newly takeover property company doubled the charging fees for management service. Previously, the enterprise only charged 0.03€ per

square meter per month for community management. After the governance transformation, the marketable property company charged 0.06€ per square meter per month (based on the charging standard of the "Guiding Price Standard for Residential Property Service Fees in Pingdingshan Urban Area"). At the same time, the property management company wish to charge the parking space rental fee of 90€ per year (have not been charged previously), which is a considerable large fixed expense for each employee family.

The rise in property service costs has caused strong dissatisfaction among residents. They formed a protest organization to express their opinions. Community residents use online social media to establish residential committee (with over 2000 members) and elect representatives to express their demands to the enterprises and local government departments. At the same time, in order to delay payment time, residents' organizations and property management companies engaged in a "battle of wits and courage". More than eighty percent of homeowners did not pay property service and parking fees during the past 1-2 years. It is very difficult for the property management company to continue management work without financial support. Although the struggle and rights protection of residents' organizations have achieved many results, the residents' self-organization practice in GY community is still in its infancy stage and has not yet formed a comprehensive autonomous system. Community organizations have only undertaken the work of reflecting problems and fighting for rights, and have not yet established a platform to manage the work of community daily service.

5.2 Type 2: Self-organization In Preliminary Status

The preliminary status of residents' self-organization can undertake part of community management work, but it is still incomplete. Following the evacuation of market-oriented property management company, the preliminary mode of residents' self-organization was emerged in some small-scale (less than 1000 households) communities which have relatively simple population composition (such as all residents come from a same enterprise).

In those worker communities, residents elect enthusiastic, responsible, prestigious, and capable homeowners as representatives to jointly solve basic daily management issues through regular meetings and consultations. In addition to the leader team of the self-organization, residents also selected the "unit-building leader" for each residential building to responsible for the coordination of the specific unit. This kind of residents' self-organization has formed a preliminary system of manager structure, and it has a clear leadership collective and task division. It also can maintain the basic daily work of the community management.

Taking five worker communities on both sides of Sanqi Street in Pingdingshan City as

examples. After community governance was separated from state-owned enterprises, there have two property management companies taken over the management work of these five worker communities in 2019, but both of them withdrew within a year. In the second year after governance transformation, the communities maintained a state of residents' self-organization.

"We have selected the unit-building manager for each building to collect a sanitation fee (0.6€ per household per month). This money is used to invite municipal workers to carry off the garbage from the trash cans every day, and there is no need to spend money on other places. The sanitation of public areas is cleaned by the elderly residents who have free time, most of the time, they are retired elderly people. This kind of management can maintain the basic operation of the community with a lower quality." (Interview with residents)

For the immature residents' self-organization, only the basic services such as garbage cleaning are carried out. There are still some other services need to be done according to the community management. Although the cost is very low, services such as sanitation maintenance and daily cleaning, greening maintenance, and security guard in public spaces are all in a state of scarcity. For examples, public spaces such as roads, squares, and staircases within the community usually are not cleaned by anyone. Also, the public green space is covered with weeds. Many residents plant vegetables in the open space in front of their own buildings, and privately set up fences to divide the public green space (Figure 4). Landscape trees are not regularly treated and watered, and even pulled out and discarded by residents on the grounds of attracting mosquitoes. Residents privately occupy parking spaces and park indiscriminately. Furthermore, there are no security guards at the entrance of the community. Outsiders and vehicles can enter in the community and exit at will, lacking necessary supervision (Figure 4,5). These issues have had a negative impact on the quality of life of residents.

The residents' self-organization in this mode is still in an incomplete status and cannot



Figure 4. A Public Space Planted With Vegetables In The Community

Figure 4, 5. The Entrance Without A Safe Guard

implement comprehensive and effective community management. Residents in worker communities have varying attitudes towards this situation. Due to different levels of education and life experiences, elderly people hope to maintain this low-cost management mode, and the concept of *"there is no need to pay a penny to go through the daily life, cleaning by ourselves is complete enough"* is deeply rooted within their mind. However, younger people generally says that the poor environment, chaos, and lack of safety guard have effected their life quality negatively, and it is better to have a professional property management company to governance the community.

5.3 Type3: Self-organization With Well Established Services

In worker communities with relatively small population size and relatively simple population composition, residents' self-organizations are more likely to operate stably and continuously improve themselves. The following will take Pingdingshan worker community as an example to introduce and analyze the practical experiences of two types of comprehensive community autonomous organizations.

5.3.1 Self-organization in Acquaintance Community

In the worker communities with acquaintance social background, a more comprehensive autonomous organizational system has been formed by residents themselves. These self-organizations can undertake a diverse range of community service, improving the quality of property management service, and meeting the daily requirements of community residents. At the same time, these organizations are relatively stable and can be operated sustainably for a long term.

Taking the worker community of a power plant as an example. The community was built in 1999 and consists of four multi-story residential buildings. More than 80% of community residents are retired employees of the power plant. After the withdrawal of the property management company in 2020, residents in this community began to develop self-organization and gradually established a relatively mature organization system. Community residents elect residents representatives to form a leadership team to responsible for formulating various management rules, and to arrange financial personnel to keep expenditure records. Residents also select the unit manager to be responsible for fee collection and information transmission in each building. The community pays a fixed monthly salary and hires around 10 people (most of whom are employees' family members) to undertake works including security, public area cleaning, greening maintenance, and facility maintenance. Community residents pay management fees every six months. The fees are collected by financial personnel and regularly disclosed as expenditure details every month. The residents' self-organization in this community were operated smoothly. Residents only need to pay a very minimal expenses (about one-third of the normal property fee standard) to enjoy a high quality

property service. This mode has received unanimous recognition from community residents.

The ability of this worker community to form a stable and comprehensive autonomous system is closely related to its limited population size and simple population composition. Firstly, the community is relatively small in scale, with only 4 multi-story residential buildings and a total of 150 households. A small population size makes it easier for residents to reach consensus. Secondly, the community was built in the 1990s, and the vast majority of residents are employees and colleagues of a same enterprise (the power plant), making it a typical acquaintance society. Community residents have lived together for many decades, getting to know each other and trust each other. Therefore, the social cohesion of the community is much more stronger than other worker communities. When encountering problems, residents are more likely to closely united together and tolerate differences, thereby achieving effective self-management.

5.3.2 Self-organization under the Leadership of a Capable Man

Under the leadership of someone with strong social capital and organizational abilities may help worker communities to achieve autonomy effectively. Taking Beiyuan community in Pingdingshan City as an example, it was built in 2015 including three twelve-story residential building. It has about 200 permanent households, all of whom are employees of the same enterprise. According to local government staff, the residential committee of this community was established in April 2020 and took over the community's management work from May 2020. It is "the community with the best effect of self-organization work in nearby areas". There are five main members in the leadership group. They organize discussions with residential representatives regularly to negotiate and solve problems faced by the community. The leadership decided how to collect management fees. In addition, it is also responsible for hiring people for cleaning and security protection, negotiating elevator maintenance matters, and ensuring that the community could be governed in a healthy and stable state (Figure 6, 7).



Figure 6. Management Policies Made By The Residential Committee

Figure 6, 7. Details Of Financial Expenditures Posted On The Wall Of The Community

In this example, the leader of the autonomous organization is also a leader in the enterprise. He is forty years old, currently in the golden period of personal career. Due to his better ability in organization work, he is required by the superior leadership of the enterprise to be responsible for the organizing management work of the community in order to help the community avoid disorder after the property company run away. Since the community was built for workers of the enterprise, the leader of the self-organization and majority of community residents work in the same unit. His leadership position in the enterprise has extended to community management affairs. Therefore, residents are also more inclined to accept the opinions and suggestions of the responsible person. This relationship between the leader and residents has laid the foundation for the community management work.

From the practice of this community, it can be seen that one or more capable managers are one of the most important factors for residents' self-organizations. The leader in this case not only possesses good communication and coordination skills, but also has considered social resources. Taking over community autonomy work is not only his basic living needs, but also a task assigned by his superiors, which make it has special significance. The results of community governance work are related to his personal image in front of his enterprise leaders, which largely urges him to complete the governance tasks better. At the same time, this case also reflects that in the process of governance transformation, although the enterprise is no longer responsible for community management on the surface, it still exerts tremendous potential effects in various forms. In other words, with the assistance of enterprise, community organizations have more financial and material resources to carry out their self-organization work more effectively.

5.4 Type 4: From Autonomy Organization to Property Company

In Pingdingshan City, a phenomenon that community residents independently establish professional property management companies to take over property services has occurred. This mode is expected to improve the quality of property services, and at the same time, to achieve residents' satisfaction with a charging standard lower than the market value. Limited by financial and social resources, this phenomenon only occurs in a very small number of worker communities.

For example, in the "Nantuan Community", in order to take over community management work, a property management company was established by a retired employee of the state-owned enterprise. Before establishing the property company, he has been responsible for community governance work as the unit leader of one building for nearly a year. He organized and carried out work such as collecting fees and recording accounts, and was enthusiastic about helping the neighbors to solve daily

problems. This experience gave him a better understanding of community issues and residents' needs. He maintains a good interactive relationship with community residents, which to some extent eliminates residents' resistance and lays the foundation for the subsequent development of property management work.

The advantages of this mode are as follows. First of all, the newly established property management company consists of more than 20 people, with priority given to hiring local community residents, including retired employees and their families, to undertake tasks such as cleaning and security. This mode reduces the operating costs while providing jobs for residents. Secondly, the company charges only half of the market fee standard, which has increased the acceptance and recognition of community residents. At the same time, this mode has also been recognized and encouraged by local government. Although the low-cost operation strategy still faces the problem of low service quality, it is undoubtedly one of the optional paths for the governance of property services in the worker community during the transformation period.

6. Problems within the Process of Self-organization

6.1 Restriction of Population Scale and Composition

It is difficult for worker community to implement self-organization beyond a population size. The autonomy of residents in worker communities is influenced by differences in population scale and population composition. According to research data, communities with a large population scale (usually over 1000 households) or a complex population composition (mixed residence from multiple enterprise) are difficult to smoothly implement residents' self-organization.

Taking "Xinxin Community" as an example. The community was built in 2014, with employees from four companies under the head of Ping-coal Group. It has twelve high-rise residential buildings with a population of about 1400 households. After the evacuation of the original property management company, the community was unable to establish an effective resident autonomy organization by itself. Residents in this community come from different companies, and they are not familiar with each other. It is difficult for them to achieve mutual trust. It has been also difficult for autonomous organization gain recognition from all residents. Many residents believe that the current residential representatives were not personally elected by themselves, and the autonomy plan proposed by the representative meeting did not obtain their consent.

Due to a lack of trust in autonomous organization, although there are a system of managers such as the committee leader and unit manager, the autonomous working group still faces difficulties in collecting fees from residents. "We are not familiar with the unit managers and do not want to listen to them". (Here the managers were elected

by the leaders of the enterprise who were originally responsible for community management work. When the enterprise withdrew from community management, they designated specific person to be responsible for community management work). Excessive population size or complex population composition greatly increase the difficulty of residents' self-organization. Lack of trust among residents and lack of community cohesion make it difficult to implement residents' autonomy.

6.2 Monopoly of Opinion Expression

In the process of promoting resident autonomy, some residents' opinions are coerced. When the opinions of the residents are inconsistent and unable to reach a consensus, problems occurred that some residents' opinions cannot be expressed and are then coerced by the opinions of a few residents. This issue arises in some community self-organization practices, especially in communities that have not yet formed a complete autonomic system and lack of comprehensive governance process.

Taking GY community as an example. This worker community has formed a residents' organization for the purpose of confrontation and rights protection, attracting more than two thousand people joined in. However, compared to the permanent population of over ten thousand people in the community, the proportion of people participating in resident organization is only twenty percent. Residential organization can only represent the opinions of part of residents, which means the representatives elected by the organization are cannot represent the opinions of all residents, even can only represent the opinions of some special radical residents. The autonomous organization hopes to drive out the current property management company and introduce a new one to manage daily work. However, their governance advocacy lacks the supervision of all homeowners, making it difficult for the community to recognize and accept it. Furthermore, part of residents in this community believe that

"there are several leaders in autonomous organization may privately contact with some property management companies, and it is possible for them to involve in corruption cases. There might be an exchange of interests in the process of rights protection activities. Leaders of residential organization are more concerned with seeking for their own welfare rather than fairly handling community affairs." (Interview with a resident)

This type of community self-organization practice indicates that irregular resident organizations are likely to become tools for some individuals to profit from, leading to the infringement of their own interests.

6.3 Lack of Supervision

The safety hazards and fund management issues caused by the lack of supervision have

appeared in some cases of community self-organization practices. Compared to multi-story communities, the property services in communities with high-rise buildings are more complex due to the involvement of elevator maintenance, fire control and other contents. Besides, the management costs rise considerably. Therefore, the negative impact of lack of supervision in high-rise communities is more serious.

Because of the lack of supervision, it is difficult for the residents' self-organization to meet the requirements of professional standards. Taking a worker community as an example. There are three high-rise residential buildings in this community, each of them has approximately 120 households. According to the agreement of community autonomic organization, each household needs to pay a fee of 4€ per month to cover the fees of public area cleaning, garbage removal, elevator maintenance and other contents. This price is far below the charging standard of market-oriented property companies (about 10.5€ per household per month). However, there are many safety hazards in the process of autonomy, such as the lack of professional guidance for elevator maintenance and fire protection facility maintenance, which is not conducive to timely resolution of problems and have negative impact on ensuring the safety of residents.

At the same time, there is a lack of necessary regulatory procedures for fund management in the residents' self-organization. In this community, all of the homeowners are required to pay a management fee, and the total amount of money is approximately eighteen thousand euro per year, which is about five times the amount of multi-story community. Currently, this large amount of financial funds are concentrated in the hands of an enthusiastic resident. There is no complete supervision mechanism to monitor the expenditure and usage of these money. Although this enthusiastic resident is required to regularly disclose expenditure accounts, lack of supervision can easily lead to corruption.

7. Suggestions For Local Government

7.1 Develop Community Cohesion

Community cohesion is an important foundation for improving community autonomy. Worker community has a different social background and population composition from ordinary urban community. In communities in which most residents are employees of a same enterprise, a relatively simple population composition occurs and similar work experiences and lifestyle habits happened to every resident. Residents are familiar with each other and trust each other, having close social relationships making it easier for them to maintain consistent opinions. Strong community cohesion can help the

community reach consensus. When conflicts arise, residents can quickly unite together to fight for their rights and protect their own interests.

Therefore, in the process of community governance transformation, it is important to guide the inheritance and develop community cohesion, realizing the effective use of social capital and making up for the absence of managers caused by the withdrawal of enterprises. These suggestions could help community access a healthy transition of community governance from "unitary management" by enterprises to "multi-governance" by different stakeholders.

7.2 Regulate The Process Of Self-organization

In China, the law stipulates that community residential committee should be established through voting by all residents and be registered in the local government. Unregistered residential autonomous organizations probably lack supervision from both local government departments and community residents. Lack of supervision may lead to problems such as opinion monopoly and opaque financial transactions. According to the latest version of the Henan Provincial Property Management Regulations (2013), community residents need to hold a general meeting of all homeowners under the guidance of local government, voting formally to elect residential representatives, establishing the residential committee, and then comprehensively presiding over the management work of the community. Usually the management work includes the invitation of a suitable property company. Within the community management, important decisions made by the committee require the consent of more than half of all residents. The whole process should strict adherence to legal process regulations. Although relevant policies have been formulated, it is temporarily difficult to implement them in practice, which has led to a series of problems.

Therefore, in the process of governance transformation, strengthening supervision can help community self-organization form a complete and standardized workflow, and prevent the occurrence of related problems. In the follow-up practice of community autonomy, it is necessary to enhance the guidance and supervision of local government departments, ensuring that autonomous organizations carry out community governance within the scope of the law, and making it possible that problems in the work of self-organization could be found and solved at the first time.

8. Conclusion

In general, worker community residents' self-organization in China at this stage is mostly to make up for the lack of governance caused by the withdrawal of state-owned enterprises. Due to the low acceptance of marketable property company and the difficulty in collecting property fees, it is difficult for market-oriented property

companies to take over the management work in a short period of time. Residents' self-organizations effectively make up for this defect, assuming the main responsibility for community governance and helping community avoid disorder.

This article takes coal mine worker communities in Pingdingshan City, Henan Province as examples, summarizing the practical experiences of different types of community residents' self-organization and analyzing the existing problems. This research believes that the current community autonomy practices in Pingdingshan City can be divided into four types based on their main characteristics, including the type of rights protection organization, organization with initial status, organization with a comprehensive system and the professional property company. The comprehensive autonomy type includes two categories, acquaintance social autonomy and autonomy with competent people. In addition, this article indicates that population size restrictions, opinion monopolies and lack of supervision are common issues in the current process of residents' self-organization. Local government departments should make reasonable use of community social capital to encourage residential autonomy, and strengthen supervision to guide autonomous organizations being further improved and legalized.

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