

How Can Community Autonomy under the Guidance of Party Building be Possible?

-- Analysis based on Multiple Logical Frameworks

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Abstract: Leading Party building is the basic institutional arrangement of community governance in the new era. By constructing a multi-logic analysis framework, taking G community in rural area of Anhui as an example, the paper systematically analyzes how the leadership of Party building promotes the realization of community autonomy. The findings are as follows: political parties break down the contradictions and divide governance boundaries through a series of political mechanisms, so as to achieve the purpose of social integration; At the same time, the assessment target system and personnel system in the government organization provide effective administrative means for the realization of the intention of the ruling party. Finally, through the construction of public space and the cultivation of social organizations to reshape the community governance structure, stimulate the vitality of community governance. Therefore, the essence of community autonomy led by party building is the transformation process of subject behavior from isolation to benign interaction, relationship structure from "atomization" to organic connection, and institutional logic from discrete to co-evolution.

Keywords: Party Building Guidance; Community Autonomy; Social Integration; Bureaucracy.

1. Introduction

Community is a social life community composed of people living in a certain geographical range [1]. As the basic unit of social governance, community constitutes the foundation of the national governance system and is an important carrier of the modernization level of national governance capacity. In order to further deepen grass-roots governance, the CPC Central Committee's "Opinions on Strengthening the modernization of the grass-roots Governance System and Governance Capacity" proposed the governance goals of "Party building leads to the comprehensive improvement of the grass-roots governance mechanism, the grass-roots political power is strong and the grass-roots autonomy is full of vitality." Community autonomy under the guidance of party building is an important strategic choice and realization path to deal with the relationship between state and society in the new era, but how to avoid falling into the "vacuum" or "patriarchal" governance dilemma, that is, how to grasp the balance between state power and social power is an urgent issue to be discussed. At present, the discussion of this issue in the theoretical and practical circles is slightly insufficient, and it is generally accepted that "Party building guidance is a good solution for community governance", which can help communities get rid of the problems of "suspension" of party organizations, insufficient governance resources, and insufficient power. However, "leading the Party building" is the premise, but it does not necessarily lead to good governance of the community, nor does it necessarily stimulate the internal governance vitality, and may also lead to the compression of community autonomy space or the formation of dependence on external resources. It can be seen that the relationship between party building leadership and community autonomy is complex, and it is particularly important to clarify the intermediate mechanism of the two to grasp the balance between state power intervention and social autonomy. Therefore, this paper intends to answer the above

question through an empirical study, that is, how to realize community autonomy under the guidance of party building. By tracing the process of community governance practice in D Town G in Anhui rural area, this paper interprets the behavior, interaction and logic of multiple subjects in the process of community governance led by party building.

2. Literature Review and Analysis Framework

2.1. Literature Review

At present, the research on party building guidance and community governance can be roughly divided into two aspects. On the one hand, by demonstrating the logical agreement between community party building and social governance, the rationality, legitimacy and inevitability of party building leadership are demonstrated. Party building in the new era needs to integrate the values of the grassroots and reflect the demands of the people, while community governance also relies on party building to achieve resource link and service supply [2]. Party organizations can provide abundant organizational and institutional resources for grassroots social governance [3][4] and enhance the effectiveness of community governance through infiltration, incentive, enculturation and response mechanisms [5]. On the other hand, the academic community has also been concerned about the problems between the leadership of party building and the effectiveness of community governance, such as the disunity between the main body of party building and the authority of community governance, the low degree of resource integration, and the disconnection between party building and governance needs [6]. To sum up, it can be seen that community governance research has gradually changed from borrowing the western theoretical framework to developing the socialist theoretical system with Chinese characteristics, which is of great significance for the promotion of the understanding of community governance led

by party building. As the core element of the discourse system of social governance in the new era [7], the leadership of party building has undoubted historical rationality and value legitimacy. However, the importance of research objects cannot represent the importance of research itself, and the value of academic research lies in promoting knowledge increment [8]. The academic community also needs to deeply explore the theoretical logic behind the leadership of party building in community governance, rather than treating it as "self-evident" background knowledge. Most studies use the "party-organization-society" analytical framework to explain the relationship between grassroots party organizations and society in communities [9], obviously focusing on the top-down single logic [10], which may lead to deviations in theoretical prediction and research design. The realization of governance goals is often the result of complex interaction of different institutional logics, so it is difficult to obtain effective explanatory power only from the mandatory change logic dominated by political parties or the horizontal diffusion mechanism of society.

2.2. The Analytical Framework of Multiple Logic

The change in the mode of community from rule to governance reflects the change in the relationship between the state and society, and its logical basis is the diversification of the subject of public affairs [11]. The multi-center governance structure composed of multiple subjects means that neither the simplified theoretical model of the relationship between state and society nor the relationship between party and society is sufficient to explain the logical relationship between party building leadership and community autonomy, and there may be a large deviation and distance from the actual process [12]. Community governance is the resultant product of the interaction of multiple subjects, and there is a stable institutional logic behind the behaviors and relationships of different groups. Institutional logic induces specific micro-behaviors, and understanding institutional logic in specific fields is helpful to grasp and predict these behaviors [13]. Therefore, by integrating the aforementioned analytical frameworks of "state-society" and "Party-society" [14], this paper attempts to construct a multiple logical analytical framework to understand how party building leads grassroots community autonomy, in order to uncover the black box of its action mechanism, as shown in Figure 1. At present, the three main action subjects of Chinese community governance are grassroots party organizations, government and residents, whose behaviors are constrained by the stable institutional arrangements in their fields, reflecting the political logic, bureaucratic logic and community logic in their respective fields respectively. Although there are different situational conditions in each community, as long as the internal and external factors are coupled, each subject can interact with each other based on a certain relationship structure and different behavioral logic, and then derive a mutually compatible state of governance objectives, so as to achieve the effectiveness and sustainability of community autonomy. The following will be combined with G community autonomy practice cases for specific analysis and interpretation.

3. Case Description: The Road to Community Governance

This article chooses C City, D Town, G community as a case to explain the various logics of party building leading the realization of community autonomy. G Community is a typical town center community, 13 kilometers away from the city center, the community area of 2.1 square kilometers, the permanent population of 3328 people. On the one hand, like most urban and rural communities, how to break the dilemma of over-reliance on the government and insufficient autonomy has become a big mountain in front of G community governance. The involvement of party organizations has become a key element, opening a series of autonomous exploration practices. On the other hand, G community has both urban and rural characteristics. At present, rural communities are the weak link in coordinating urban and rural development and modernization of grassroots governance. However, previous studies mostly focused on community governance in urban space, while the number of studies on rural community governance seems to be limited. Existing studies focus more on issues such as rural revitalization and grassroots democracy, and less on community governance. Therefore, in this typical case, the difference between urban and rural areas was diluted, making the research conclusion possible to generalize [28]. In the process of data collection, this study obtains case data from various parties in order to obtain more accurate information and more robust theoretical results [29]. The author made a participative observation on the process of community building led by Party building in G community. And the town party committee, community cadres, elite backbone, ordinary residents conducted open interviews and semi-structured interviews. Finally, we obtained relevant news reports and policy documents through websites, newspapers and periodicals, as well as some internal information and archival information authorized by us.

3.1. Intertwined Contradictions: The Governance Dilemma Needs to be Overcome

G The governance dilemma of the community is mainly manifested in the following two aspects. First, the shortage of material resources under the condition of inadequate development. G community's dilemma is also facing the township community in our country. At the early stage, G community had better resource conditions: first, it had advantageous tourism resources; second, it was located in the center of P City and was a traffic fortress; Third, the business status is higher, for the old third-line industrial base. However, in the 21st century, due to the impact of the wave of market-oriented reform, the original three advantages of G community have basically lost. Economic development has been stagnant for a long time, resulting in a lack of resource investment in infrastructure construction, community equipment renewal, and community activities. The second is the lack of relational capital of community governance. On the one hand, relations between residents are cold. The residents of this community live separately, even if they are acquaintances, but there is no sense of community. Coupled with the friction in the subsequent life, the relationship between them is not harmonious, and quarrels and fights often occur. On the other hand, trust between residents and the government is low. When they encounter higher-level

inspections of grass-roots work, residents often report town and village officials. Some cadres of the local government believe that some residents of the community are "unruly", and many government work cannot be carried out smoothly.

3.2. Trigger Power: Endogenous Demand and External Pressure Coupling

From the perspective of G community governance, the key lies in the coupling of internal demand and external pressure. After the 18th CPC National Congress, a number of policies were introduced from the central to local governments to strengthen the governance of grassroots society. From the perspective of experience, the key to the effectiveness of local governance lies in whether the community has bred or sprouted the consciousness of governance, and whether the endogenous demand is consistent with the preference of the grassroots government for governance tasks. G community is faced with the dual dilemma of development and governance. After comparing the development status of other surrounding villages and towns, the governance needs of changing its own living environment have emerged. However, affected by factors such as limited governance resources, priority of governance tasks and allocation of leadership attention, community governance needs are often difficult to meet. It was learned in the interview that G community planned to make use of the advantages of water resources to build a characteristic ancient town with reiki through "drinking water on the street", but it was difficult to complete the project only by relying on community public service funds allocated by the civil affairs system, so the community secretary sought financial support from the town government of D. In the second year, when G community accumulated the village public service funds to meet the requirements, the town Party committee, relevant government leaders and staff were worried about the implementation of the project at the relevant discussion meeting. It wasn't until the neighborhood was listed as the "worst street" by the P City Urban Management Bureau that the project took a turn.

3.3. Leveraging Autonomy: The Realization of Effective Governance

Under the pressure of being put on the "worst" crown by the municipal department, the Party committee and government of D Town believe that it is just an opportunity to change the thinking of residents "waiting to rely on" and provide a sample for the town to carry out community governance. Different from the direct investment of funds in the past, the D Town Party Committee and the government's action is strategic, and the prerequisite for agreeing to "divert water to the street" project is that "the people should re-repair the dilapidated house facades by themselves." Like most rural communities, the so-called "people do it themselves" in G community over the past decade is actually the bottom of the community. Under the publicity and mobilization of the village committees and the democratic recommendation of residents, the residents of G community set up co-construction committees, co-governance committees and co-committees around the public affairs of community governance and development such as street facade renovation, environmental health management and sustainable attraction. Through combing the three voluntary mass self-government organizations in this community, it can be seen that the reasons for the establishment of the organizations and the content of governance have changed from simple governance

to the combination of governance and development, reflecting the concept of rural revitalization in the new era. The emergence of the three organizations has changed from repeated mobilization and persuasion at the beginning to residents' active registration, and the composition of members has also developed from community elites to the general masses, greatly enhancing the autonomy and enthusiasm of residents to participate in community governance. It can be seen that the G community governance system and governance capacity under the guidance of party building have been effectively improved. So, how to explain the observed changes in community governance patterns and improvements in governance effectiveness? How does the driving mechanism behind it work? These questions will be answered later.

4. Multiple Logic Co-performance

4.1. Political Logic

The essential logic of community autonomy practice under the guidance of Party building is to realize social integration through a series of political mechanisms. First of all, the substantive integration of the Party committee community governance work organization "block" relationship. Under the overall coordination of the leading group and the Social Governance Committee, it relies on the infiltration of the power of the Party Committee at various levels to promote the "integration of pieces", and integrates the functions, resources, policies, projects, and services that were originally scattered in multiple party and government departments, so as to achieve the purpose of social integration. Secondly, the mobilization mechanism promotes the collective action of community autonomy. During the investigation, it was learned that the secretary of the Party Committee of D Town made full use of mobilization means and became an important promoter of the practice of community autonomy. The first is to encourage the branch secretary through communication to soothe the negative emotions generated in the process of governance; The second is to promote the secretary of the branch to do mass mobilization work in the community, and establish three autonomous committees in the community: co-construction, co-governance and co-operation; Third, through the institutionalized political learning carried out by the Party organization, the consciousness of the main body of governance of the backbone of the party members is gradually changed, and the leading and exemplary role of the party branch is fully given play. Finally, empower the community residents to organize themselves and draw the boundary of governance. G Community cadres focus on public affairs such as the renovation, maintenance and commercial development of community public space, and encourage residents to elect three voluntary resident self-governing organizations, namely the co-construction committee, the co-governance committee and the co-management Committee, through various forms such as "Ba Ba meeting" (villagers' meeting) and door-to-door persuasion. In the process of community public affairs governance, the two village committees, residents' autonomous organizations, and ordinary residents continue to interact with each other, basically drawing a clear boundary of governance, changing residents' inherent ideology of equality, enhancing collective consensus and sense of identity, organizing dispersed residents' forces, and leveraging community governance resources.

4.2. Bureaucratic Logic

The most important way of grass-roots governance in modern countries is undoubtedly the administrative institutions that extend to the grass-roots level. Under the logic of bureaucracy, there are three characteristics in the behavior of grassroots leaders in community governance. First of all, the objective assessment adjustment guide the grass-roots governance behavior to turn. C One of the important reform contents of the Municipal Party Committee to coordinate the development and governance of urban and rural communities is to incorporate community governance into the target assessment system of the municipal Party committee and the municipal government, the performance assessment system of local party and government leading cadres and groups, and the assessment of the work of the Party secretary, to strip economic development functions such as investment attraction from township (street) functions, and guide the grass-roots work to focus on governance. The change of the focus of the performance appraisal goal makes the party and government cadres of D town no longer focus on the behavioral focus of economic development as before, but focus on how to do a good job in community governance "article" to achieve the dual goals of township community governance and development. Second, the government should streamline its policies by adjusting personnel arrangements. G There has been a fierce conflict of interest between community residents and scenic spot operators for a long time. Residents believe that scenic spots "only enter but not leave" and they do not enjoy the dividends brought by the development of scenic spots, while scenic spot operators believe that residents obstruct the normal operation of scenic spots for a long time. It is this fierce contradiction that leads to the decline of the original advantageous tourism resources. Therefore, the Party committee of D town detached itself from the complex relationship structure of the village collective by sending village cadres. Finally, build a pilot to fight for superior resources and accumulate promotion capital. Under the circumstance that C Municipal Party Committee and municipal government vigorously promote the institutional space of urban and rural community governance, G community's demand for financial support to improve the overall environment is in line with the reform intention of the town Party Committee to promote township community autonomy in the whole town. In the case of the shortage of township financial funds, town leaders are more willing to concentrate resources for pilot projects than to disperse funds to all communities under the jurisdiction to carry out governance work, because it is easier to create "bright spots" and reduce possible risks.

4.3. Community Logic

For G community, the reason or fundamental driving force for the change of governance mode comes from residents' pursuit of a better life. G community residents complained deeply about the dirty and bad environment in the past, but the original structure was difficult to solve the "free riding" behavior in collective action, resulting in a vicious circle of deepening estrangement between neighbors and alienation of public space. With the impetus of the involvement of the Party committee, G community activated and created the villagers' discussion system with "dam" and "hall" as the spatial carrier, fully interacting with public affairs such as the overall improvement of the community, management and maintenance, and business environment building,

empowering residents to make independent decisions and implement the space, which greatly enhanced the trust between neighbors and cadres. Arouse the enthusiasm of residents to participate in community public affairs. Community organizations, especially those related to the real interests of community residents, provide opportunities for face-to-face interaction and help promote mutual trust and cooperation. G Community does not have any other community organizations except the village two committees. Community public affairs are basically the responsibility of the village two committees, and the community relationship network is manifested as a star-shaped structure around the village two committees, and a concentric circle structure centered on blood and human relations. Under the mobilization of the community Party committee, G community residents set up three voluntary mass autonomous organizations, forming a community relationship network with community elites, party members, volunteers, etc. as the core node, and the interaction in community public affairs as the relationship, showing a high-density and multi-center structure. Community members realize the accumulation of social capital such as trust in the high-density interactive relationship, which is conducive to community autonomy.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

On the basis of reviewing existing studies, this paper proposes multiple logical frameworks for understanding and interpreting community autonomy led by Party building in the new era, that is, "Party building leadership" does not naturally lead to "community autonomy", but the behaviors of various governance subjects in the community governance field are based on power reshaping, structural restructuring, resource complementation, etc. It is the result of interlocking and co-evolving among political logic, bureaucratic logic and community logic. Compared with existing studies on relevant issues based on the dichotomy theoretical framework of "state-society" and "party-society" relations, this paper focuses on multiple actors such as the ruling party, the government, community cadres, and residents, following the analysis context of "institution-structure-behavior", and combines in-depth research materials of a township community in Anhui. This paper deeply and systematically examines the realization process of promoting community autonomy with the guidance of Party building and the interaction of multiple logics. In this logic, the grass-roots party organizations and the government, based on public affairs and with public space as the link, have changed the previous decentralized structure within the community, thus stimulating the intrinsic motivation of residents to participate in community autonomy, and realizing the purpose of community governance under the guidance of party building from what should be to what is.

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