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# 中国城市基层社区 组织身份治理模式研究

陈喜强 / 著



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## 摘 要

20 世纪 90 年代中期以来,伴随着中国经济体制的深化改革,中国政府管理社会的职能也发生了重要的变化。这种经济社会条件的变化对中国城市基层社区组织产生了重要的影响。一方面,城市基层社区组织重新获得新生并日益发展壮大起来,以不断完善的城市基层社会管理功能展现其在社会经济生活中的组织魅力,在城市基层社区组织公共管理和公共服务中发挥了重要的作用,成为和谐社区建设不可或缺的重要组织力量;另一方面,中国城市基层社区组织的快速发展及其在社会经济生活中重要作用的日益提升,加剧了组织之间的复杂性和非协调性,需要加强对城市基层社区组织协调发展机制的研究。因此,研究中国城市基层社区组织的协调发展,对构建和谐社会具有重要的理论与实践意义。

由于中国城市基层社区组织是在政府职能分化的背景下,借助于政府部门的资源发展起来的,因此,中国城市基层社区组织与政府之间具有千丝万缕的联系,这造就了中国城市基层社区组织具有特殊身份治理的制度特点。城市基层社区组织身份特征的变化,必然带来城市基层社区组织身份治理模式的变化,从而导致城市基层社区组织协调发展路径发生变化。因此,讨论城市基层社区组织的协调发展,离不开对城市基层社区组织身份的确认。

在经济体制和行政管理体制同时发生职能转变的社会背景下,中国城市基层社区组织的身份管理特征已发生了变化,市场化改革导致了资源的重新分配,加剧了城市基层社区组织身份治理的矛盾与冲突。据此,本书提出以下三个问题:(1)中国城市基层社区组织现实身份异化的制

度属性是什么？（2）中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的协调性和非协调性的矛盾体现在哪些方面？（3）中国城市基层社区组织身份治理模式需要什么样的协调机制？

围绕上述三个问题，本书形成了“中国城市基层社区组织身份治理与协调发展”的研究主题，并以政府管理职能分化为背景，在基于组织共生理论和新制度经济学理论相结合的综合分析方法支持下，构建了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理分析的逻辑框架，探讨了中国城市基层社区组织现实身份异化的性质以及城市基层社区组织身份治理的制度属性和制度效应，探讨了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理所体现出来的协调性与非协调性矛盾的内在因素、表现形式及其综合效应，揭示了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理模式调整的原因、变革阻力因素及其影响。在此基础上，重新界定了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的功能边界与作用范围，探寻了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理协调发展的机制，提出了优化中国城市基层社区组织身份治理协调发展模式的途径和政策保障措施。

本书正是在围绕上述“中国城市基层社区组织身份治理与协调发展”主题的深入研究中，形成了以下四个创新点：

（1）拓展了城市基层社区组织研究的基本假设。针对已有的社区理论往往是从城市基层社区组织的单一属性来讨论城市基层社区组织的性质问题，本书作者认为，中国现有的城市基层社区组织由“自治性组织”异化为“行政化组织”是由“身份治理的制度属性”所决定的，城市基层社区组织身份治理体现为“身份的治理”与“契约的治理”双重制度属性。因此，本书首先提出了“城市基层社区组织身份治理”这一命题和基本假设，从中国城市基层社区组织身份的异化及其制度属性出发来讨论城市基层社区组织身份治理的制度效应。中国城市基层社区组织的双重属性既有协调的一面又有不协调的一面，由此导致了城市基层社区组织身份治理模式的复杂性和多样性。从城市基层社区组织身份治理的角度来研究城市基层社区组织的性质，这在城市基层社区组织理论研究上具

有开拓性意义。

(2) 揭示了中国城市基层社区组织身份异化的性质,延伸了城市基层社区组织的研究内容。即中国城市基层社区组织的身份异化是为了实现组织资源的依赖和组织合法身份的获得。中国城市基层社区组织“行政化身份”的获得及其所体现的身份治理模式,蕴涵着明显的“身份”与“契约”共同治理的制度特征。这种制度属性来自于两个方面:一是组织共生的结果;二是中国城市政府管理制度安排的结果。本书提出,中国城市基层社区组织的身份特征及其身份治理的制度属性是在城市基层社区组织与社区政府、驻区单位、社区其他组织以及社区居民群体的互动关系中表现出来的。由于城市基层社区组织所面对的这些组织的职能是随着经济社会条件的变化而发生变动的,因此,共生关系形成的城市基层社区组织的身份治理模式具有多样性和复杂性,呈现出不规则的非线性的变化趋势。尤其是中国城市基层社区组织与社区政府双向“组织化依赖”的结果,造就了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的双重制度属性。

(3) 多维度考察了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的综合效应。本书从组织共生关系和制度经济学的委托代理关系等多角度考察了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的特殊制度安排,揭示了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理协调性及非协调性内在矛盾的因素、表现形式和综合效应。本书指出,政府通过赋予城市基层社区组织行政化现实身份而使其成为政府在城市基层社会管理协调的工具。一方面,中国城市基层社区组织现实身份治理的过程就是城市基层社区组织行政化为政府组织的过程,政府借助于城市基层社区组织这一中介层,有利于减少政府治理城市基层社区的阻力,从而节约政府管理成本;另一方面,中国城市基层社区组织现实身份治理的过程就是把组织之间市场交易契约内部化的过程,组织之间市场交易契约的内部化有利于节约组织之间的交易成本。但由于中国城市基层社区组织身份治理体现为“身份的治理”和“契约的治理”两个层面,因此,中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的制度效应既表现为正

面效应也表现为负面效应。消除中国城市基层社区组织身份治理双重属性所表现出来的负面效应,正是城市基层社区组织协调发展的任务。

(4)提出了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理的协调机制和发展模式。即根据中国城市基层社区组织与社区政府以及社区居民群体的共生关系,提出了城市基层社区组织身份治理的八种模式,并论证了差异化的共生模式需要多元化的组织协调机制和协调方式。利用调研数据实证检验了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理模式调整和变革的阻力因素及其影响,并据以提出了优化中国城市基层社区组织身份治理模式协调发展的制度安排和政策建议。

通过对上述内容的研究,本书不仅丰富了城市基层社区组织身份治理研究的内涵,拓展了城市基层社区组织身份治理研究的内容,使城市基层社区组织身份治理模式更符合现实的需要。更为重要的是,本书的研究结论揭示了中国城市基层社区组织身份治理模式的选择需要根据各种类型社区自身的状况来选择恰当的城市基层社区组织身份治理模式。因此,本书的研究成果为中国城市基层社区不同类型的社区组织身份治理模式调整与协调发展的路径选择提供了一个有价值的参考。在实践上将有利于促进中国城市基层社区组织的健康发展。

**关键词:**城市基层社区组织;身份治理;非协调效应;模式调整;协调发展

## Abstract

The functions of China's governments performed in controlling the society have changed importantly since the middle of 1990s with the deepening reform of China's economic system. The changes of the social economic conditions have influenced China's urban residents community organizations significantly. On the one hand, the urban residents community organizations have revived and have become increasingly stronger with their increasingly better functions of urban social management at the basic level. They have played an important role in the urban community public management and services at the basic levels and become an indispensable and important organizational force. On the other hand, with the fast development of China's urban residents community organizations and their increasing importance in the social and economic life, the complexity and non-harmoniousness between the organizations have become serious. It is necessary to strengthen the research on the harmonious development mechanism of urban residents community organizations. Therefore the research on the harmonious development of urban residents community organizations is of theoretical and practical importance in building a harmonious society.

Under the background of dividing governmental functions China's urban residents community organizations developed with the help of the government department's resources, so China's urban residents community organizations have countless ties with the government. Hence China's urban residents com-



munity organizations have the system characteristics with special identity governance. The changes of community organization's identity will inevitably change the model of identity governance of urban residents community organizations, thereby changing the path of harmonious development of the organizations. Therefore, the harmonious development of urban residents community organizations can not be discussed without the confirmation of their identity.

Under the social background that the functions of economic system and administrative system change simultaneously, the characteristics of identity management over China's urban residents community organizations have also changed. The market-oriented reform has resulted in re-allocation of resources and brought about the contradictions and conflicts of identity governance of urban community organizations. Accordingly, this paper raises the following three questions: (1) What are the institutional attributes of the real identity dissimilation of urban residents community organizations? (2) What are the contradictions between harmoniousness and non-harmoniousness of urban residents community organization identity governance? (3) What coordinating mechanism is needed in the models of urban residents community organization identity governance?

Centering on the above three questions, the paper develops the research subject of "identity governance and harmonious development of China's urban residents community organizations". Under the background of splitting up the government administration functions and supported by the comprehensive analyzing methods which combine the theories of organization symbiosis and new institutional economics, this paper formulates a logic framework for the analysis of urban residents community organization identity governance, discusses the nature of their real identity dissimilation, the institutional attributes and institutional effect of the urban residents community organization identity gov-

ernance, deals with the internal factors of the contradictions between harmoniousness and non-harmoniousness, the forms of expression, and its comprehensive effect of the urban residents community organization identity governance shown in the urban residents community organization administration, explains the causes of adjusting the models of urban residents community organization identity governance, the factors of change resistance, and its influences. On this basis, the paper redefines the functional boundary and role scope of urban residents community organizations, explores the harmonious development mechanism of urban residents community organization's identity governance, and puts forward the ways and policy-ensuring measures to optimize the models of harmonious development in urban residents community organization identity governance.

In the deeper research centering around the subject of "identity governance and harmonious development of China's urban residents community organizations", the paper forms the following four innovative points of view:

(1) The basic hypotheses of the research on community organizations have been expanded. The existing community theories discuss the nature of urban residents community organizations in terms of their single attribute. However, the author of this paper assumes that the fundamental reasons for the dissimilation of urban residents community organizations in China from "autonomous organizations" into "administrative organizations" are determined by "the institutional attributes of identity governance". The identity governance of urban residents community organizations is embodied as dual institutional attributes of "identity governance" and "contract governance". The paper therefore begins with the proposition and the basic hypothesis of "identity governance of urban residents community organizations", discussing the system effect of urban residents community organization identity governance

from the aspect of identity dissimilation of urban residents community organizations and their system attributes. The dual attributes of urban residents community organizations are harmonious on the one hand; on the other hand they are not harmonious too. Therefore the identity governance model of urban residents community organizations is complicated and diversified. The research on the nature of urban residents community organizations from the point of view of their identity governance is of pioneering significance.

(2) The paper reveals the identity dissimilation nature of urban residents community organizations and extends the research contents of urban residents community organizations, that is, the identity dissimilation of urban residents community organizations is to achieve dependence of organizational resources and obtain the legal organization identity. The obtaining of “administrative identity” of urban residents community organizations and their identity governance model connote a clear co-governance system feature of “identity” and “contract”. This system attributes derive from two aspects: one is the co-existence result of organizations, the other is the system arrangement result of China’s city government administration. This paper points out that the identity features and their identity governance system attributes of urban residents community organizations are expressed in the mutual relationship between urban residents community organizations and community government, units stationed in the community, other organizations in the community, and groups of residents in the community. Since the organizational functions of urban residents community organizations change as the social and economic conditions change, their identity governance models arising out of co-existence relations are diversified and complicated and tend to change irregularly and nonlinearly. Especially, the result of the “two-way dependence” between urban residents community organizations and community governments fosters the dual i-

identity governance institutional attributes of urban residents community organizations.

(3) The comprehensive effect of the identity governance of urban residents community organizations are examined from many dimensions. The paper examines the special institutional arrangement of identity governance of urban residents community organizations from many dimensions such as relations of organizational symbiosis and agency relationships of institutional economics, reveals the factors, forms of expression, and comprehensive effect of internal contradictions between the harmoniousness and non-harmoniousness of China's urban residents community organization identity governance. The paper points out that government can make urban residents community organizations realize their identity by administration, thereby making them become the government's coordinating means of social administration at the basic levels in cities. On the one hand, the process of real identity governance of urban residents community organizations is just their administrative process as government organizations. With help of urban residents community organizations as an intermediary, governments can reduce the resistance in their administering basic urban residents community, thereby lowering their administration costs. On the other hand, the process of real identity governance of urban residents community organizations is just the process of internalizing the market trading contracts between organizations. The internalization of the market trading contracts between organizations can economize on the transaction costs between organizations. Identity governance of urban residents community organizations is embodied as "identity governance" and "contractual governance", therefore, the institutional effect of identity governance of urban residents community organizations is reflected as both positive effect and negative effect. The task of urban residents community organizations' administration is to eliminate

the negative effect posed by the dual attributes of the identity governance of urban residents community organizations.

(4) Coordinating mechanism and development models of urban residents community organization identity governance are put forward, that is, putting forward 8 models of urban residents community organization identity governance according to the symbiosis relationship between urban residents community organizations, community governments, and community resident groups. At the same time the paper proves that differential symbiosis models need a diversified organizational coordinating mechanism and manners. The adjustment of identity governance models of urban residents community organizations, resisting factors of transformation, and their effect have been tested empirically by means of the survey data, whereby the institutional arrangements and policy suggestions to optimize harmonious development of identity governance models of urban residents community organizations are put forward.

Through the above research, this paper enriches the research connotations of urban residents community organization identity governance, expands the research contents of urban residents community organization identity governance, which makes the identity governance models of urban residents community organizations more conformable to the actual demands. More importantly, the conclusion of the research in this paper means the choosing of the identity governance models of urban residents community organizations needs to select the suitable ones according to the different situations of various communities. The research results of this paper therefore offer a valuable reference for the transition of and choosing of harmoniously developing ways of various models of community organization identity governance at the basic levels in cities. In practice, this will help China's urban residents community organizations develop healthily.

**Key words:** China's Urban Residents Community Organisations, Identity Governance, Non-harmonious Effect, Transition of models, Harmonious development

# Contents 目录

## 第1章 绪论

- 1.1 研究问题的提出 ..... 3
- 1.2 国内外研究文献综述 ..... 8
  - 1.2.1 国外研究文献综述 / 8
  - 1.2.2 国内研究文献综述 / 12
  - 1.2.3 对研究现状的评论 / 18
- 1.3 本书的研究目标、研究方法与研究内容 ..... 24
  - 1.3.1 本书的研究目标 / 24
  - 1.3.2 本书的研究方法 / 24
  - 1.3.3 本书研究的技术路线 / 25
  - 1.3.4 本书的研究内容 / 26

## 第2章 城市基层社区组织身份治理的分析框架

- 2.1 中国城市基层社区组织身份定位的发展及其异化 ..... 33
  - 2.1.1 中国城市基层社区组织的“法定身份” / 33
  - 2.1.2 中国城市基层社区组织身份定位的历史变迁 / 34
- 2.2 本书关于城市基层社区组织身份的定位 ..... 39

2.2.1	关于身份的内涵 / 39
2.2.2	中国城市基层社区组织身份的含义 / 41
2.3	治理理论与城市基层社区组织身份治理的定位 ..... 43
2.3.1	关于治理的含义 / 43
2.3.2	本书关于城市基层社区组织身份治理的定位 / 46
2.4	城市基层社区组织身份治理的逻辑分析框架 ..... 48
2.5	本章小结 ..... 53

### 第3章 共生关系与城市基层社区组织身份治理

3.1	城市基层社区组织的共生关系分析 ..... 57
3.1.1	共生环境分析 / 57
3.1.2	共生关系内涵 / 59
3.2	共生关系下的城市基层社区组织身份治理及其模式 ..... 62
3.2.1	政府职能分化下的城市基层社区组织身份治理及其模式 / 62
3.2.2	企业职能分化下的城市基层社区组织身份治理及其模式 / 65
3.2.3	与其他组织互动的城市基层社区组织身份治理及其模式 / 68
3.2.4	居民需求多样化下的城市基层社区组织身份治理及其模式 / 71
3.3	本章小结 ..... 74

### 第4章 城市基层社区组织身份异化的性质

4.1	城市基层社区组织现实身份治理的制度安排 ..... 79
-----	------------------------------



4.1.1	城市基层社区组织双向“组织化依赖”的需要 / 80	
4.1.2	城市基层社会管理目标的需要 / 82	
4.1.3	城市公共管理方式转向的需要 / 82	
4.2	城市基层社区组织现实身份治理的制度效应 .....	84
4.2.1	通过身份治理内部化交易契约关系从而 节约交易成本 / 84	
4.2.2	通过身份治理降低管理阻力从而节约 政府管理成本 / 86	
4.3	城市基层社区组织现实身份治理的非协调性 .....	91
4.3.1	组织身份非独立性导致的非协调性 / 91	
4.3.2	科层制身份治理所导致的非协调性 / 94	
4.3.3	组织多层次性所导致的非协调性 / 99	
4.3.4	职能异化所导致的非协调性 / 103	
4.4	本章小结 .....	105
<b>第5章 城市基层社区组织身份治理的委托代理关系</b>		
5.1	城市基层社区组织身份治理调整的方向分析 .....	109
5.2	城市基层社区组织与政府的委托代理模型 .....	111
5.2.1	城市基层社区组织与政府之间的委托代理 基本模型 / 112	
5.2.2	资源约束下的城市基层社区组织与政府的 委托代理模型 / 116	
5.3	模型的延伸:分工条件下城市基层社区组织的竞争与协调 .....	120
5.3.1	分工条件下两个组织的竞争模型 / 121	
5.3.2	分工条件下两个组织的协调 / 122	
5.4	本章小结 .....	124