

The Analysis of the Governance Mode of Mass Incidents in Yunnan Frontier Minority Areas:

Based on the Perspective of Polycentric Governance

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Abstract—Under the background of social transformation in China, the social structure of frontier minority areas in Yunnan have sharply changed, the interest pattern have adjusted profoundly and the social conflicts have intensified, it will outbreak the mass incidents easily. It is an important theoretical and realistic subject to be solved that how to realize the good governance of mass incidents in Yunnan ethnic minority areas. This paper want to from the perspective of multi-center governance theory, and based on the summary of the experience and lesson of the government in the disposal of mass incidents, and tries to reconstruct the governance mode of collaboration and interaction with multiple subjects when dispose with the mass incidents.

Keywords—Yunnan; The frontier minority areas; Mass incidents; Polycentric governance

I. INTRODUCTION

Yunnan province is located in the southwest frontier in China, is a multi-ethnic populated collection and multi-religious, multi-cultural blend of national provinces. Under the background of social transformation in China, the social structure of frontier minority areas in Yunnan have sharply changed, the interest pattern have adjusted profoundly and the social conflicts have intensified, it will outbreak the mass incidents easily. It is an important theoretical and realistic subject to be solved that how to realize the good governance of mass incidents in Yunnan ethnic minority areas. The Third Plenary Session of the eighteenth CPC Central Committee proposed the new request that the implementation of “The modernization of national management system and management ability”, the governments at all levels in Yunnan should use the management thinking to explore and construct the polycentric governance mode of the frontier minority areas when dispose with mass incidents, in order to promote social harmony and stability, so as to achieve “good governance”.

II. THE TYPES OF MASS INCIDENTS IN YUNNAN FRONTIER MINORITY AREAS AND THE ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES

The mass incidents in Yunnan frontier minority areas can be divided into four types. The first is the economic interests. Under the condition of market economy, the mass incidents

that happened in Yunnan frontier minority areas are on the rise due to the economic interests. The typical events such as the two mass incidents of Jinning County in Yunnan province occurred in 2013 and 2014. The second is the social livelihood of the people. This kind of mass incidents is mainly caused by the problems such as social security, environmental pollution, food safety, salary welfare, judicial proceedings. For example, the mass demonstrations which happened in 2013 in Kunming Yunnan province, due to the protesting of oil refining project, etc. The third is the national religious type. The small mass incidents caused by the problems such as the competition between minorities because of forest and grassland, the security conflict and ethnic culture conflicts between minorities, ethnic and religious problems etc. The fourth is the out of control in governance. This kind of mass incidents is mainly caused by the out of control of government public power, such as "Meng Lian incident" in 2008.

There are three main reasons which caused mass incidents happened in recent years in Yunnan frontier minority areas: one is economic factor. Yunnan located in the border of southwest China, is a typical less developed areas. Yunnan province reached the \$1000 of the per capita GDP in 2005, and the per capita GDP is only \$ 4450 in 2014 [1], it is far below the national average. The economy and social development of frontier minority areas in Yunnan province are lagging, and the social development is uneven, all of these are the main reasons which result in most mass incidents. At the same time, there still have important causes of mass incidents in frontier minority areas in Yunnan province, such as the imbalance distribution of income result from the unbalanced development of economy and society, the increased gap between rich and poor, and the game and conflict between different interest groups.

The second is political factors. Yunnan province has the 4046 km border line with Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam, the most of border regions are ethnic minority areas, which conditions and societies are complicated. The hostile forces from abroad use the domestic criminals and NGOs through various means and ways, and penetrate the areas on purpose where the controlling of grass-roots governments are relatively weak, it brought great pressure to the social stability of frontier minority areas in Yunnan province.

The third is religious and cultural factors. The types of foreign religions in Yunnan are various, the five major religions formed Multi religious belief, include Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Catholicism and Taoism. [2]In recent years, some religions have conflicts in the development of believers and religious culture, it caused mass incidents sometimes. Due to geographical reasons, the ethnic people in frontier regions are easily affected by foreign religious activities in the aspects of sectarian identity and language customs. In the multi-ethnic populated areas, the conflicts and contradictions that result from the differences of languages, customs and other aspects become a prelude to mass incidents in minority regions.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF POLYCENTRIC GOVERNANCE THEORY

In recent years, the governance becomes a popular word in public administration academia at home and abroad. It is different from the traditional exercising authority in social management of the government. The governance largely emphasize on multi-subjects and centers, network of management in social and public affairs. In 1995, the committee of global governance made a clear definition of governance, the governance is the sum of many methods in which the individuals and institutions to manage their common affairs. It has four characteristics: the governance is not a set of rules, also is not an activity, but a process. The foundation of the governance process is not control, but coordination; Governance is involved in the public sector and private sector; Governance is not a formal system, but the continuous interaction. [3]The core idea of governance is that the joint participation of multi-agent (public sector, private sector and civil society organizations) in public affairs, it represents a different with the new public management thoughts. The Third Plenary Session of the eighteenth CPC Central Committee proposed that the implementation of “The modernization of national management system and management ability, innovation of social management system”, in a sense, it means the change of national management style, which changes from one-way administrative control to multi-subjects involved participating.

The theory of “polycentric governance” which put forward by Ostrom is a hotspot of current research of governance theory; it is a kind of new ideas of public administration. The polycentric governance is different from the traditional administration which only has one center and highly centralized power, highly integrated benefit, it means to establish multiple management center follow the traditional social and cultural practices in a particular region and in accordance with regional characteristics. Each center would be the service hub in a region, and to realize the functions of coordination and integration in public administration. The polycentric governance is the mutual collaboration management which including governments, market organizations, communities, citizens. Any one party are not isolated, but an active role of support, and help other main subjects to provide better service. Every subject has a special function, which becomes one of the centers of governance in polycentric governance. The public authority which providing the law and order, the market organization which creating the

product, the citizens who actively participate in, all of those constitute the new condition of governance together after they become the center in their own scope. [3]

IV. THE ANALYSIS OF GOVERNANCE ISSUES OF MASS INCIDENTS IN FRONTIER MINORITY AREAS OF YUNNAN

A. *The goals of management far from reality*

In recent years, the government attaches great importance to prevent and dissolve the mass incidents, but under the guidance of “keeping stability” and the pressure from multiple evaluation indices, some governments through the methods of “pressure” or “cover” to achieve short-term “stability”; some governments conceal and make false data, that cause mass contradiction is piling up, then the small events sharpen into a big event.

B. *The single subject of governance*

In a complete structure of governance, the subject of governance should include the government, social organization and market force; it needs the organic combination of government governance, market governance and social governance [4]. And as with other areas in China, the governance subject of mass incidents in frontier minority areas of Yunnan province is too single. According to the two-dimensional classification of governance model, it belongs to the defective and oligarchs governance [5]. The defective and oligarchs governance is a low institutionalized management mode which under the condition of single subject and the governance process is lack of democratic, the decision-making process is lack of scientific, and the execution power is too thin.

C. *The lack of system supply*

At first, it is necessary to improve the legal system. At present, there still exist some conflicts between the customary laws of minorities and the existing laws and regulations. There is also lack of judges, lawyers and other legal resources of the ethnic minorities, and there exist serious shortage of resource supply in the social governance system. Secondly, there is also lack of related mechanism and system. In the environment of “big government, small society”, the expressing channels of economic interests of the group is very narrow, the vast majority activists who believe only the government authorities can coordinate and solve the problem. They tend to choose the extreme method to express interests, such as group petitions, blockade the government, collective bargaining.

D. *The lack of governance capability*

Firstly, the controlling ability of grassroots government is weakening. The controlling ability of grassroots government presents the sign of weakening since the reform and opening. From the view of reality, the function and workload of grassroots government in frontier minority areas are greatly increased than before, so it is difficult to respond timely and properly when masses go to petition, it is easy to result in “resentful” and go to other channels to solve the problem, even to the extreme. The second is the insufficient input of governance resources. Under the condition of the monopolistic

power and resources of government, the resources of investment which put into the grassroots government are limited, so that the demand of interests and the contradiction of people of township cannot get effective control and resolve. In some minority areas, the effect of CPC which at the grassroots level is severely weakened, the prestige is serious shortage, and cannot adequate early warning of mass incidents. The third is the insufficient ability of crisis management. It appears that the insufficient ability to resolve contradiction and dispute, and to construct the information network and the insufficient ability of early warning, and the ability to properly resolve mass incidents, and the civil servants lacking the knowledge base of crisis management, etc.

V. THE CONSTRUCTION OF POLYCENTRIC GOVERNANCE MODE OF MASS INCIDENTS IN FRONTIER MINORITY AREAS OF YUNNAN

A. To cultivate and improve the multiple governance subjects

It needs an open government under the polycentric governance mode. The government mainly plays the roles of public service, management, supervision and invites multi-subjects to participate in policy making and execution, [6]. To reduce the decentralization, and to promote the reform and the functional transformation of the government, to prevent offside and absence; the government should protect the legitimate rights and the interests of disadvantaged groups as the main provider of public services. The government should strengthen the collaboration with other governance subjects and promote social governance to a higher level. The second is to make social organizations engaged in the provision of public service. The government can increase the supply of public services through purchase the public services that provided by social organizations. The third is that the market subjects should take an active part in the process of social governance and to solve the problems with the market rules, to deal with conflicts use market means. At the same time, the enterprise and government should strengthen the communication and coordination to keep the pure relations. The fourth is to cultivate the consciousness of citizens' rational protection rights, to guide their legitimate demand. At the same time, in the process of the formulation and implementation of public policy, the government should listen to more representatives of citizens, especially the voice of the ethnic minority representatives, through communication and consultation to reach consensus.

B. To improve the ability and quality of the governance subject

One is that the government should take active measures, to strengthen the construction of grass-roots organization, by encouraging outstanding civil servants to work at the grass-roots level with the systematic education training, then to improve the ability and the comprehensive qualities of civil servants effectively who at the grass-roots level. At the same time, to strengthen the management of civil servants, to deal

with corruption severely, then get the trust and support from people. The second is to strengthen the professional ability of social organization. The social organizations need to accumulate more experiences to prevent illegal permeability especially from overseas NGOs.

C. To deal with the mass incidents in accordance with the law

One is to strengthen the thinking of law ruling, adhere to deal with the mass incidents in accordance with the law. On the one hand, the governance subject needs the power given by law and constrained by law. The administration according to law can constrain the administrative action of government to the greatest extent, to ensure the administrative power be implemented in accordance with the law. On the other hand, the participants of mass incidents also must abide by the relevant laws and their illegal behavior must be punished by law. The second is to strengthen the construction of legal system in frontier minority areas. To formulate relevant laws and regulations and promote the legislation from national level especially for mass incidents; to fully play the role of regulation and constraint of minority customary laws, then find a reasonable balance between the minority customary laws and the national legal system; to set standard and perfect the existing guidance document which disposal of mass incidents, then make it has stronger maneuverability and guidance.

D. To establish a long-term mechanism to prevent mass incidents

One is to speed up the construction of benefit expression mechanism; to improve, dredge and reinforce the existing hotline, for help and other special channels; to explore the establishment of the new channel which transmits the appeal and will from social organization; to take advantage of modern information technology and improve the expression channels of interests appeal in network. The second is to speed up the mechanism building of conflict mediation. To improve the mechanism and space of social organization. The third is to perfect the mechanism of dialogue and consultation. To establish a direct dialogue and coordination mechanism gradually between the masses of frontier national regions and the government, gradually establish the social organizations, enterprises and citizens dialogue and coordination mechanism. The fourth is serious accountability. Through accountability mechanism, the illegal or irregular behavior of governance subject will be punished in the process of governance, and strengthen the service consciousness of government, and play a positive role for the management of mass events in the frontier ethnic regions.

E. To speed up the economic and social development of frontier minority areas

As a less developed areas, the most important problem of Yunnan is still that how to develop, it must insist to solve the problems through development. One is to maintain economic

growth. To integrate and docking the strategy of “The Belt and Road” actively, promote the reform and opening, effective use the international and domestic markets, promote economic prosperity and increase economic development rapidly in the frontier minority areas. The second is to promote fairness through adjust distribution. It should intensify the allocation of reform, enlarge the proportion of labor remuneration in the initial distribution; to adjust the reasonable proportion between high, medium and low income; to explore various ways of resources investment, let people who in the frontier national regions get more property income; to establish and perfect the compensation mechanism of natural and ecological resources. The third is to accelerate the development of poverty alleviation. To promote regional development and poverty precise alleviation, improve the infrastructure construction and the livelihood of the people in poverty-stricken areas and speed up its assistance to special difficult group. The fourth is to expand the employment of the masses in the frontier areas. The government should encourage the enterprise to hire more minorities’ employees through the policy support; to improve the vocational skills of people who in the frontier ethnic areas, through invest more resources in skill training. The fifth is to strengthen national culture and religious work. Adhere to the implementation of national policy, guarantee the freedom of religion, ethnic customs and culture of ethnic minorities, to crack down the illegal activities of religious infiltration, strengthen the protection and inheritance of national culture.

VI. CONCLUSION

The mass incident of frontier minority areas is an important social problem which the government at all levels in Yunnan must take it to serious. The traditional thinking of social management has been unable to achieve the effective disposal of mass incidents. The polycentric governance change the subject of management from single into multiple, then to prevent excessive concentration of power and avoid negative effects, at the same time complementary with plenty supply of system resource, to achieve “good governance” of mass incidents. The government should pay attention to solve social contradictions through the practice of polycentric governance, and smooth the channels of interests expression, adhere to construct the rule of law government, rule of law society, and improve the political concept and practice of government for the people, to cultivate the good spirit of citizen and guide the masses into institutionalized activist, to maintain social harmony and stability and promote national security for the long-term.

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