The Change of Residential Space Structure and the Supply of Social Services in Urban Communities

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Abstract: Under the background of urbanization, changes in the structure of residential space have resulted in the clustering of residential space, forming high-end, middle-end and low-end community types, which together with the inequality of the income of the residents has also caused an imbalance in the distribution of social service resources. On the one hand, the stratification of residential space brings about the diversification of social service demand, while the supply of social service in urban communities often ignores this new trend. On the other hand, due to the interest trend of urban community social services, urban social services are unevenly distributed for low-end community residents with low consumption power and low-income populations and other socially disadvantaged groups. Faced with the inconsistency between the demand and supply of social services of urban community residents, it is necessary to strengthen the government-led social service supply, promote the diversification of the main body and mode of social service supply, construct a mechanism for the supply and demand of social services, and establish a cooperative mode of social service cooperation between the government and social organizations to improve the effectiveness of social service supply.

1. Introduction

The rapid industrialization and urbanization has promoted continuous growth of rural-urban population mobility, and a large number of floating population gathers and merge in the city, resulting in changes in the structure of residential space. Because of the difference of residential space, many social problems have arisen, and at the same time, the development process of urbanization has been standardized and restricted. The change of residential space structure, as an important factor to promote the adjustment of social structure and the diversification of residents' social service needs, reflects the social change of rural-urban population mobility and economic development. Different types of residential space in cities also have unbalanced characteristics in the supply of social service resources. In the context of social mobility, facing the rapid growth of social service demand and the differentiation of social structure, the change of residential space structure poses new challenges to the social service system. How to provide social services for different social groups in cities fairly, reasonably and effectively, and how to construct standardized social services are urgent problems to be solved in the construction of a harmonious society in China.

2. Concepts and review

2.1 Residential space structure

Residence is an important function of a city, which is “one of the decisive factors of the limited space resources such as personal security, social wealth, social status and service facilities, etc.”(Qiyan, Wu et al., 2002) Residential space is the concrete embodiment of the social class of the residents, which not only refers to the material space formed by various architectural combinations
in the city, but also the social relations space formed by people's living activities (Yanping, Tian, 2009). The essence of residential space is the social space that contains social relations. Due to differences in socio-economic status, residential space varies in living environment, living quality, accessibility to transportation, access to employment and educational opportunities, resulting in the differentiation of residential space structure. After the implementation of the commercial housing policy, under the influence of the “filtering” of house prices and the “sorting” mechanism of social and economic differences, the residential space forms residential differentiation and even isolation (Liang, Jiang, Changchun, Feng, 2015). The distribution of residential space tends to be relatively concentrated, independent, and relatively differentiated (Min, Hou, Yanli, Zhang, 2005).

In summary, rapid urbanization development, large-scale rural-urban population mobility, modern economic and social development, and continuous changes in residential space inevitably lead to the differentiation of urban living space. Besides, the choice mechanism of housing under market conditions partially isolates the residential space from interpersonal interaction. Based on the changes in social and economic status, different professional backgrounds, and differences in social and cultural values, residents tend to beclustering of in the same category in the choice of residential space. The rich, middle-class, and slum communities began to appear in clusters, high-end, middle-end and low-end communities have been separated, and they have different types of quality in pursuit of social services. This has created many social problems for limited social service resources, and how to effectively distribute social service resources, affect urban development and social harmony and stability has become an important issue.

2.2 Connotation of social services

Social services are the product of modern society and grown out of the western developed countries. The concept of "social services" was initiated by Professor Richard Titmuss of the United Kingdom, who believed that "social services aim at poverty relief." However, on account of the differences in ideology and culture of various countries and regions, the international academic community has not yet formed a unified definition of social services. Economist Singelman (1975) argued that "social services are end-demand services, including government, education, postal, medical and healthcare, welfare and religious organizations, hospitals, non-profit organizations, other specialized services and social services."(Xuemei, Ruan, 2013) In Western countries, "social services are generally considered to refer to individuals or community services provided by the government or non-profit organizations for the public, with social welfare and non-cash forms"(Sibin, Wang, 2014).It is synonymous with social work. Chinese scholars believe that social services are "for those who are disadvantaged, by providing supportive services and projects to improve their living conditions, achieve social integration, and maintain social justice"(Hongbing, Liao, Biao, Liao, 2017). Zhang Jinhua and Wang Xinming (2003) divided social services into various types according to different fields and value orientations, namely economic services originating from market economy and economic value orientation, life convenience services stemming from living culture and market value orientation, function-extended services deriving from government agencies and social value orientation, and volunteer service originating from human common civilization and moral value orientation.

This paper argues that social service refers to the services provided to meet the social needs of all members on the one hand, and various forms of services for the different needs of vulnerable groups on the other hand, and social service resources need to be distributed classifiably and hierarchically based on the needs of different mobility structures. With the continuous advancement of industrialization and urbanization, the rapid development of the economy and society and the clustering of residential space, the differentiation and reorganization of the hierarchy have been intensified. This requires social services to be in diverse forms to cater to different community types and the differentiation of different social groups, so as "to alleviate the polarization between the rich and the poor, reduce social contradictions, maintain national stability and social equity, and promote social development" (Bing, Li et al., 2011).
2.3 Related Theories

2.3.1 Social development theory

Social development theory mainly studies the laws of social development. Midgley (1995) believed that social development and economic development are like two sides of a coin. Economic development is the foundation of social welfare development, and without economic development, social development will be impossible. Similarly, without the improvement of human social welfare, economic development is meaningless. Social development theory holds that social development must be linked to economic development in promoting human welfare, and the goal of social development is to promote social welfare. (Midgley and Sheraden, 2009) argued that social development is “focusing on planned intervention strategies, namely macro interventions by institutions such as governments and international organizations, meso-interventions by businesses and social organizations, and micro-interventions by individuals and groups such as families, individuals, neighbours and volunteers. The perspective of social development seeks to integrate social welfare and economic development in the field of social policy, and it coordinates the formulation of economic policies and social policies, and establishes institutional mechanisms to link up economic development and social policies (Bing, Li, 2014). Midgley put forward the view of social development from the perspective of social welfare, and believed that there are three ways to improve social welfare: social charity, social work and social administration. The social development perspective focuses on the community or social structure, pays attention to dynamic conditions, and emphasizes the connection between social development and economic development.

2.3.2 Baseline equality theory

Jing Tiankui (2011) proposed the baseline equality theory from the perspective of rights and obligations. He believed that baseline equality refers to the consistency of the rights of members of society in front of this "baseline". The baseline is a boundary that divides the consistency and difference in the rights of members of society. The following part of the baseline reflects the consistency of rights, and the above part of the baseline reflects the difference of rights. Jing Tiankui (2011) also pointed out that there is no difference in fairness below the baseline, and there is a difference in fairness above the baseline. “Fairness in baseline equality does not refer to low levels of guarantee, but to the most basic and indispensable services in citizens’ life”.

According to the value concept of baseline equality, while meeting the welfare needs of members of society, priority should be given to ensuring baseline requirements, and followed by non-baseline requirements. The acceleration of urbanization has led to an increasingly complex structural change in the residential space of urban residents, accompanied by the increasingly evident stratification of residential space, and the improving awareness of urban residents' stratification (Jingming, Liu, Lulu, Li, 2005; Xiaojun, Xu, 2000). The mobility of residential space challenges the existing social service model, which requires adaptive adaptation of management philosophy and social policy (Hongbing, Liao, 2016). An imbalance in the distribution of social service resources has appeared under the current structure of social mobility. On the one hand, the stratification of residential space brings about the diversification of social service demand, while the supply of social service in urban communities often ignores this new trend. On the other hand, due to the interest trend of urban community social services, urban social services are unevenly distributed for low-end community residents with low consumption power and low-income populations and other socially disadvantaged groups. There is also a difference in people’s demand for social services. The distribution of urban social service resources should reflect the undifferentiated fairness below baseline and differentiated fairness above baseline.

3. Stratification of Residential Space and Differentiation of Social Services

The rapid advancement of urbanization, the marketization of housing and the widening income gap between residents have jointly prompted changes in the structure of residential space and social restructuring, forming population clustering of different classes and incomes living in different
regions, and a differentiated social service supply mechanism. Residential space change has become an important factor in the optimal distribution of social service resources. Different types of residential space have emerged, resulting in clustering of high-end, middle-end and low-end communities, and rich, middle-class, and slum communities began to appear in clusters (Qingqi, Gao et al., 2012). This seems to imply a logic in which people from high-end, middle-end and low-end communities are inconsistent in the content and form of social services, and there are also significant differences in capabilities and profitability of the rich and the poor in the consumption of social services.

Low-end communities. Low-end communities are also social security-style communities, which are mainly affordable communities consisting of low-rent housing and affordable housing. The public service supply base is weak and the infrastructure is not perfect. Most of the groups in the community have relatively low levels of cultural upbringing, ideological level and income level. They are marginalized poor class predominantly taking in the disadvantaged groups, and their needs are diversified. Their basic needs are food and clothing, housing, medical treatment, education, employment, social participation, security, social interaction, etc.; seen from the group needs, there are services for poor families, the elderly, the disabled, marriage and family, single mothers, children and youth, social integration, volunteer services, etc. The social service demand of the poor and the weak is often suppressed, under excessive pressure of survival, they tend to pay more attention to the problems directly related to their own livelihood, and rarely pursue the well-being goals such as development and enjoyment. Even if there is demand, they are accustomed to seeking help from the informal support network instead of actively advocating their own powers and needs to professional institutions or governments (Chunli, Ni, 2013).

Middle-end communities, which have better public service supply and comparatively perfect infrastructure. The emerging white-collar workers with high knowledge level gather in the middle-end communities, which belong to the middle-class community, and the living level is obviously improved. The communities are mainly concentrated in downtown, and the high-end residential houses are gradually increasing, while low-end communities continue to decrease. This has improved the living level of downtown as a whole, and also reduced the residential space of the vulnerable groups and aggravated its marginalization (Zhiping, Liu, Meng, Zhang, 2013). The social service demand of residents in the middle-end community is mainly manifested in: First, the demand for social welfare services, including subsistence allowance, poverty, housing, employment assistance and pension services, disability services, women and children care; second, the demand for professional services, including marriage and family counseling, neighbourhoods dispute mediation, psychological counseling, interpersonal relationship adjustment, etc. In the development of middle-end communities, this non-guaranteed demand is increasing, and so is the professional social service demand.

High-end communities, which have convenient transportation, smooth roads, complete municipal supporting facilities, perfect surrounding business, beautiful and clean environment, scarce natural landscape resources, no or less sources of bad pollution. They belong to the luxury residential area dominated by villas and apartments. The communities have strong economic strength, high cultural quality and social status, mostly occupying rich and famous people, whom feature high cultural level, high quality of life and high service demand. The high-end communities have a strong cultural atmosphere and strong population homogeneity. They are mainly located in the core areas of the city and have a high degree of recognition. This kind of community group is not pursuing the convenience of life, but also quality. The social service demand is diversified, branded and specialized, and individual needs are concrete, personalized, differentiated and flexible, such as private doctors, senior butlers, etc., reflecting the high-level people's high requirements for the comprehensiveness, pertinence and privacy of social services. While pursuing the taste and quality of life, consumption has become an urgent need of high-end community residents.
4. The Supply Side Issues of Current Social Services

In the current transition period, social services in China have begun to shift from government undertaking to social force engagement. It takes structural transformation as the core and drives the change of ideas, the adjustment of interests and the transformation of social systems (Bo, Wang, Qiang, Zhang, 2010). With the change of social mobility structure, there are still some problems in the social service supply compared with the social development theory, which restricts the development of social services in China.

Imperfect social service system. In China, the theory and practice of social services are still in the process of exploration, and there is no clear concept or scope. Wang Sibin (2011) believed that “social service is a kind of social welfare service, which is a welfare service and process provided by the government and social forces to the people, especially the group who are in difficulties”. Zhao Mengying (2011) regarded social services and public services as concepts that can be replaced by each other. He believed that in China, the government is leading social services and social institutions are not fully developed. In many cases, the government has taken too many social services and has not well played the role of social organizations in participating social governance and social services. At present, the overall level of social services in China is relatively low, insufficient and imbalanced. The social service resources have not been rationally distributed guided by scientific planning and hierarchical classification. The construction of social service system is not perfect enough, hence it is necessary to learn from the mature mode and management experience of foreign social services so as to build a modern social service system.

Insufficient supply of social services. On the whole, the lack of investment in social service funds in China has chiefly led to the low level of social services. Most of the social services in China are currently provided by the government, and this singular provision is difficult to meet the growing needs of community residents for a better life. Diversified social service demand can be constrained by the lack of funds and thus fail (Yan, Huo, 2012). Under the new situation of precise poverty alleviation and comprehensive well-off society, social service work bears more and more arduous tasks, lacks certain financial guarantee, and the complex and diversified social services will be seriously affected.

Lack of social service professionals. The quality of social services is guaranteed by professionals, and the lack of professionals will inevitably lead to the slow development of China's social service work. At present, community social organizations and responsible persons have weak professional foundations and low professional qualifications. As a result, community residents have low evaluation of their services and low trust. Plus, there are few institutions for training social service professionals in China. Although colleges and universities offer social service majors such as social work, home economics, and psychological counseling, the employment rate of social service graduates is low. The professionalization of social services has been ahead of professionalism, and there is a severe shortage of professional service talents in the social service field. The training and employment mechanism of social service professionals is not perfect, since it is difficult to mobilize their enthusiasm without reasonable remuneration. Only by the involvement of more professionals in the social service field can the development of high-level social welfare be promoted.

Unevenly distributed social service resources. The distribution of social service resources is subject to various conditions such as cost and time, and differentiated and diversified social service demand are difficult for all residents to meet. Most social services require less site facilities and are difficult to meet the needs. The venues and facilities of schools and institutions in the jurisdiction are not open to community residents, which reduces the usage rate of social service resources. Coupled with economic differences, the distribution of social service resources in low-end communities, middle-end communities and high-end communities is not balanced; influenced by market guidance and driven by interest, resources of education, medical treatment, pension and public infrastructure also tend to be occupied by high-end communities, while low-end communities tend to be marginalized. This asymmetric distribution of social resources will hinder the realization of social justice.
Non-standard social service agencies. First, the internal management of social service organizations is not standard. In the establishment and operation of the agencies, there is lack of standardization in system construction, financial management, talent employment, service effectiveness, supervision and evaluation. The lack of professional level will leave people less sense of gain, and the professional advantages of social services are difficult to be reflected, resulting in insufficient public recognition, low social awareness, and lack of professional trust and social identity. Second, many social service agencies currently involve a wide range, wide fields, which are lack of professionalism and have poor management, resulting in inefficiency. Third, the government has interventions in social service agencies, which directly affect the development of agencies, making it difficult to play their advantages. Although the government is actively introducing policies to encourage the independent development of social service agencies, it has not changed the dominant influence on social services.

There is a big gap between social service supply and residents’ demand. Social services are an important part of China's social welfare, and are required by the development of the times. They play an important role in improving people's living quality, community belonging, community civilization and harmony, and in promoting social stability and progress. With the development of society and multi-subject interests, the residents' social needs show diverse characteristics, which is different from the current social service supply. Seen from the number of social organizations, there are few professional and guaranteed organizations in the current community, which is far from the demand for professional services by the community residents. Seen from the regions of community residents, the difference in social service demand is obvious. High-end communities have high economic levels, high levels of satisfaction with social services, and high levels of needs. While the economic income and living standards of the residents of middle-end and low-end communities are significantly lower, and the level of demand for basic social services by community residents is generally higher than that of high-end communities. The survey shows that the needs of residents of middle-end and low-end communities are not effectively met, and services are severely behind high-end communities. Residents have more social service demand but are mostly unsatisfied.

5. Policy Recommendations for Social Service Supply based on the Change of Residential Space Structure

In the context of urbanization and the clustering of residential space based on population mobility, cities of China present differentiation of resident income and stratification of residential space. Faced with the inconsistency between the demand and supply of social services of urban community residents, it is necessary to make both overall system design and social policy adjustment, as well as to distribute the needs of different mobility structures for social services classifiably, hierarchically and scientifically, so as to improve the effectiveness of the social service supply.

To increase financial input and strengthen the government-led social service supply. Based on the changes in the structure of residential space, the increase in the total amount and quality of social service resources of new residential communities and newly-built communities depends on the accumulation of certain social wealth. On the one hand, the government should increase financial input. In view of the current national conditions, we should establish a fiscal expenditure growth mechanism for social services that is compatible with economic and social development and government financial growth. To promote the implementation of social service financial expenditures in accordance with newly-increased residents' communities and newly-built communities, and solve the problems of insufficient social service supply such as community resources shortage, housing and traffic congestion, ecological environment destruction, and insufficient educational resources that are caused by population mobility and residential space change. On the other hand, it is necessary to classify and differentiate social service resources in distribution, adapting to the population structure and changes in the structure of residential space. Targeted financial input must be made to the group structure and spatial structure of social service demand, so as to improve the efficiency of financial input. To increase the basic security-type
investment in newly-increased residents' communities and newly-built communities, such as health care, education, culture and sports, pension, disability services and infrastructure construction, and realize differentiated social service supply among high-end, middle-end and low-end communities. To adjust the social service supply structure, and to implement harmonious development between tangible public goods supply and intangible social service supply.

To promote the diversification of the main body and pattern of social service supply. The clustering of residential space, the differentiation of hierarchy, the diversified social service demand of community residents, the diversification of the main body and pattern of social service supply are all ways to solve the fairness and efficiency of the social service supply. In doing this, we should effectively use the functions of government, non-profit organizations and social service agencies, and actively participate in the supply of social services (Mingsheng, Ni, 2012). Markets and non-profit organizations can become the main body of social service supply through government services, government sales, intergovernmental agreements, etc., and build a multi-subject social service supply mode with grassroots government, social organizations, and community residents to fully tap the resources of all parties, organize and mobilize the whole society to join the ranks of social services (Hongbing, Liao, Biao, Liao, 2017), and give full play to the dominant position of the main service supply bodies in different fields and at different levels. According to the social development theory, in the transition period with increasing social wealth, efforts should be made to improve people's basic livelihood, vigorously develop social services, expand the supply of social services, and broaden the cost sharing mechanism of social service supply to form a social service supply pattern covering rural-urban population mobility, the change of residential space structure and the social service demand of the community residents.

To construct a mechanism for the supply and demand of social services. The basic feature of social services is “serving the society and facilitating the people” (Jinhua, Zhang, Xinming, Wang, 2003). The key to the convergence of the supply and demand of social services is to take the people as the starting point and truly realize the benefits of the people and the convenience of the people. On the one hand, a platform for community residents to express and participate in social service demand should be established to improve the social service demand feedback mechanism, so that the social service supply and the community residents' diverse social service appeals are highly compatible, avoiding the dislocation of the social service supply and the residents' diversified appeals and the asymmetry of the demand. On the other hand, the "menuized" social service supply model should be explored. This requires scientific positioning of the content of social service supply and demand, distributing social service resources as required by the choice of the residents and according to the group structure and spatial structure. Through viewing the actual situation of high-end, middle-end and low-end communities formed by the differentiation of living space, the orientation of residents' needs, and provide various forms of social services that fit the group structure and spatial structure according to the needs of different residents. To provide accurate social services in the form of “people ordering, social organization catering, government paying”, and to better solve the most concerned, most urgent and specific problems and needs of community residents.

To establish a cooperative mode of social service cooperation between the government and social organizations. With the growth of social organizations, the government's purchase of social services from these organizations should become the choice of economic and social development system. The cooperative mode of social service cooperation refers to that the relationship between the government and social organizations in the field of social services is highly close, the degree of resource dependence is high, and the behavioral bodies interact and complement each other, and produce symbiotic social service benefits. The government is the "helmsman" on the side of social service supply, instead of the "paddler", and the task of "paddling" should be carried out by social organizations. To be the helmsman, government needs to provide policy-making, financial support, institutional arrangements, and quality supervision, etc., and the government is a perfect combination with social organizations in the way of purchasing social services. The cooperative mode will enable the government and social organizations to work together and supervise each
other to promote better implementation of the services. The cooperative mode of social service cooperation between the government and social organizations is interdependent and mutually restrictive, where the government guides the development of social services, and the social organizations focus on the implementation of social services, forming a symmetric and mutually-beneficial symbiotic system that jointly provides social services to community residents.

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