

# Research on the change of Urban Social risk Governance Policy in China under the background of Digital Age

## -- Text Analysis from the Perspective of Policy tools

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### Abstract

The development of digital technology has injected great uncertain factors into China, which is in the process of globalization, modernization and urbanization, and has also brought a lot of potential social risks to urban society. What are the characteristics of urban social risk in the digital age and how to deal with it effectively have become an important issue to continuously promote the healthy development of the city and the modernization of national governance under the background of risk society. The policy text can reflect the evolution and work status of urban social risk governance in China, and help to provide a reference basis and direction for the future social risk management system arrangement and work focus adjustment and mode choice. Therefore, this paper first combs the process of urban social change in China since the reform and opening up, and summarizes the core characteristics and main types of urban social risk in each stage. It is found that the social risk management policy is excessive from paying attention to the basic survival risk to the development type and the value type risk; from paying attention to the emergency response after the risk outbreak to the advance risk identification prediction and the improvement of the timely resolution ability; the policy tool based on the environment type gradually evolves to the environment type and the supply type tool equally pays attention to; has the event impetus, aims at the new social risk management policy lags behind.

### Keywords

Urban social risk, Policy change, Policy tools.

## 1. Introduction

Since the 1980s, under the blessing of scientific and technological progress, globalization and industrialization have not only predicted the arrival of risk society, but also foreshadowed the arrival of risk society. now, human society has undergone profound changes, full of great uncertainty and complexity, and is in a "global risk society" with both vulnerability and risk. After entering the 21st century, the wave of information brought by big data has opened up another transformation of human society after informatization. The digitization process with big data, artificial intelligence, block chain and other technologies infiltrated as the core once again injected strong uncertain factors into the risk society. For the rapid development of China, on the one hand, in the process of social transformation and rapid urbanization, social risks continue to accumulate; on the other hand, under the sweeping of digital waves, new risks continue to be generated, new and old risks are constantly intertwined and magnified, which brings unprecedented challenges to the risk management of our country. The Fifth Plenary session of the 19th CPC Central Committee made it clear that the institutional mechanism for preventing and resolving major risks should be constantly improved. The following year, General Secretary Xi stressed once again the need to "make a good upper-hand move and fight

actively, effectively prevent and defuse all kinds of risks and challenges, and ensure the smooth progress of the cause of socialist modernization." [1] It can be seen that effectively dealing with risks is an urgent need for modern governance in Chinese society and the state, and it is also the focus of the party and the state. However, the cities with resource aggregation, complex environment and network connection are the key fields in which the risk is aggregated and magnified and finally transformed into a crisis, "showing the characteristics of overall risk" [2]. The characteristics of dense population, complex structure and intertwined factors strengthen the complexity and influence of urban risk. From the SARS epidemic situation to COVID-19 epidemic situation, it shows the vulnerability of the city, as well as the great spread and derivative ability of urban risk and the serious destruction to the city and society.

It can be seen that under the background of digital age, how to effectively deal with urban social risks is an important issue that must be faced by urban development and national governance. Policy is the core perspective of risk governance and the key factor of risk aversion resolution. The policy text can reflect the evolution context and work status of urban social risk governance in China, and help to provide a reference basis and direction for the future social risk management system arrangement and work focus adjustment and mode choice. "as a technology, method and means to achieve policy objectives, the choice and application of policy tools play a fundamental role in policy implementation." [3] By combing the choice and change of policy tools, we can better present the strategic evolution, focus and response of risk management, which is helpful to understand and clarify the matching degree between the existing policy tool arrangements and the new social risks. Therefore, this paper will mainly discuss the following issues: first, what is the urban social risk in the context of the digital age, and what are the characteristics? Second, what are the characteristics of urban risk governance policies and policy tools in China? Third, can and how can the existing risk governance policies respond to the urban social risks that continue to show new types and characteristics?

## 2. Literature Review

In recent years, the popularity of research on urban social risk management in China has gradually increased, and the existing research has been involved in the object, subject and means of urban social risk management in China. In terms of the object of study, scholars take a holistic perspective from the perspective of institutional structure [4], technological shock [5], element coupling [6], From the perspective of ecological security, public security, natural disasters and other different risk categories, this paper expounds the causes of urban social risk in China. This paper summarizes and expounds the types and characteristics of urban social risk from different perspectives. Some scholars analyze the transformation and present situation of social risk from the perspective of the transformation of social contradictions, and think that social risk is mainly manifested in single social goal, structural imbalance, imbalance of relationship and proliferation of conflict [7] There are social risks such as security, identity, fairness, expression, etc. [8] Or sum up the six main risk types of natural disasters, political security and public health security risks faced by cities in modern society. [9] Or from the perspective of technological reflection, explore the social risks brought about by big data, cloud computing and other emerging technologies, including technological alienation, responsibility resolution, spiritual crisis, etc [10]. In general, there is a high complexity under the coupling superposition of the specific urban space and the characteristics of the digital age [11], high uncertainty [12], strong diffusivity [13] And severe injury [14] The characteristics of. In the aspect of research subjects, the existing research mainly focuses on the construction of urban emergency management or risk management system [15], innovation and improvement of governance system [16] And the pluralistic participation of governance subjects [17]. In the aspect of governance means, scholars focus on the application and embedding of digital

technology such as Internet, block chain, big data, artificial intelligence and so on in risk management. On the one hand, they focus on their role in breaking through the internal estrangement of different departments and levels within each governance subject [18] On the other hand, it focuses on the outstanding advantages of technology in the integration of information mining, risk prediction and analysis in risk discovery and prevention [19].

The research on the causes of urban social risk, the mechanism of risk evolution, risk assessment, the construction of risk management system and institutional innovation is relatively rich, but the research on urban social risk governance policy is less, and the existing risk management policy research mainly focuses on public safety risk [20], emergency management [21], food safety [22] In the analysis of policy evolution in a single risk area, there are still deficiencies in the research on urban overall risk governance policy. In addition, there is an obvious dual tendency in the existing research on the urban social risk under the background of the great social transformation of the digital age, either from the perspective of value rationality to explore the risk of digital technology itself, or to focus on the innovation of risk management technology, system and concept by digital technology from the perspective of instrumental rationality. Few scholars discuss the new types and characteristics of urban social risk under the bonus of digital technology, and whether the existing risk management policies and policy tools can effectively deal with the urban social risk in the digital age.

Therefore, on the basis of defining the types and characteristics of urban social risk in the digital age, this paper will analyze the policy text of the existing policies related to risk governance based on policy tools and risk society theory, sort out the policy focus and policy tool use preference, and examine the matching degree between the risk management means and the characteristics of risk types from the policy point of view. And on the basis of again, further explore the optimal combination and collocation of urban social risk management policy tools.

### 3. Research and Design

At present, the concept of social risk is divided into broad sense and narrow sense. In the context of our country, it mainly points to the concept of social risk in a narrow sense: "refers to the possibility that there is instability and uncertainty in the society as a whole, which can reflect the interests of social groups, the status structure and the interrelationship, and cause social order and social harm" [23] In order to screen and sort out the governance policy of urban social risk in order to screen and sort out the governance policy of urban social risk in the past 40 years, according to the important node of social change, the stage of social transformation will be divided according to the important node of social change. Then sort out the risk types and characteristics of Chinese urban society in each stage, and screen the governance policy according to the main risks. Finally, on the basis of the policy tool theory, build a policy analysis framework, carry on the analysis, explore the use and changes of policy tools in different stages of risk governance.

#### 3.1 Urban social change and risk evolution

As Ulrich Baker (Ulrich Beck) said, there are high risks behind modernization, and human beings have entered a risk society. Driven by the process of modernization, the time of urbanization in China has been greatly compressed, the urban society has experienced fierce changes in a very short period of time, and the urban social risk has also changed. Generally speaking, there are three important stages in the process of urban social change in China. Different changes have taken place in Chinese urban society, and social risks have also shown different key points and characteristics. Therefore, this paper will briefly sort out and summarize the three stages of urban society and risk characteristics, in order to provide support and reference for the policy choice of the following.

### (1) 1978-2003: the Generation and accumulation stage of Urban Social risk in China

Reform and opening up is not only the starting point of China's modernization, but also an important period of China's economic system transformation and a period of rapid industrial development. During this period, economic construction is the primary task of national development, the focus of the city and even the country are focused on economic development to solve the problem of rising material demand, so the urban social risk in the early stage of reform and opening up is mainly caused by economic risk. With the deepening of reform, urbanization in China is accelerating. After the changes of household registration system, land system, tax distribution system and housing system, great changes have taken place in urban space and population structure, but there is a huge gap between urban space and population in the speed and scale of urbanization, which leads to great internal tension in urban society and urban social risks continue to produce and accumulate. During this period, the urban social risks are mainly manifested in the risk of social polarization caused by the aggravation of spatial division and the difficulty of population integration, the risk of class differentiation and antagonism, the risk of social conflict and group events caused by the sense of belonging and sense of security, and the risk of trust caused by social atomization due to the lack of connection between urban people and people. Because the main work of urban society in this stage lies in the development, it stays in the stage of guarantee demand, so the risk is controllable as a whole, the source and generation mechanism of risk is simple, the scope of risk influence is narrow, and the direction of risk prevention and resolution is clear.

### (2) 2004-2016: the outbreak of Social risk and the formation stage of Management system

Due to the outbreak of SARS, the serious malpractices of the characteristics of large urban population, dense mobility and complex environment when the risk comes, as well as the lack of prevention and response ability of Chinese cities to emergencies are exposed. People begin to realize the expanding effect of the demographic and structural characteristics of urban society on risk or disaster influence, the gradual expansion of single risk and the risk superposition effect of other social risks, as well as the importance of the establishment of emergency management system and system to urban social risk management. Therefore, at this stage, China has gradually established an emergency management system and system, which has taken a huge step in urban social risk management. Social risk is also accompanied by the gradual deepening of urbanization and the gradual aging of urban space. In the late stage of this stage, due to the needs of urban development, the continuous increase of urban internal construction projects and the continuous expansion of urban extension, the risk of social stability is becoming more and more serious. At the same time, because the urban social risk in the previous stage has not completely disappeared, the urban risk has broken out and transformed into social crisis under the superposition of the old and the new risks, which shows that the mass events and public safety events have increased sharply. In addition, with the development of information technology, the visibility of society is increased, the speed and scope of information dissemination are qualitatively improved, and the sense of group insecurity and injustice is deepening, which leads to the great superposition, diffusivity, sudden and concealment of urban social risk in this stage.

### (3) 2016-present: digital Transformation and the emergence stage of New Social risks

Before entering the stage of digital transformation, our country has actually gone through two important stages: information technology and service digitization [24]. Although since 2G technology was put into use in 2001, China has gradually entered the information age. The development of information technology and the popularization of the network have greatly enhanced the possibility of urban social risk in our country, but also brought new risk types to the city. However, the audit of information technology and the popularization of the network have only brought about changes in information speed, information quantity and traditional production and business models. Although social risks have been generated, society is still

immersed in the benefits of information technology to life, and the social risks caused by it have not yet emerged. However, with the breakthrough of digital core technology, the emergence and penetration of big data, 5G, artificial intelligence and other technologies, as well as the strengthening of the dependence of human individuals and urban society on it, the social risks of the digital age are also gradually exposed. Cities are located in the priority sequence of resources and technology benefits, and are naturally in the forefront of social risks in the digital age. On the one hand, the social transformation caused by technology has brought new social risks to the city, which is mainly manifested in the risk of information security brought by the infiltration of technology to the urban society; on the other hand, the technological characteristics continue to amplify the original social risks, such as the virtual society has an impact on the real society, blurring the boundaries between public and private fields, and amplifying the risk of value and conflict of interest in society. The decentralized network structure subverts the traditional way and channel of information dissemination, strengthens the complexity and diffusivity of risk, and easily leads to a variety of risks derived from one kind of social risk, which leads to the deepening of risk prediction and response. And serious can lead to the emergence of human spiritual crisis. Therefore, in a nutshell, the urban social risks in the period of digital society transformation show great uncertainty and complexity, rapid diffusion and great destructive.

Generally speaking, the urban society of our country has experienced two great shocks of rapid urbanization and digitization, and the urban social risk has gradually changed from the single urban social risk, which is based on the basic security needs, to the superimposed social risk, which is mainly based on the satisfaction of multiple needs, with the transformation of the urban social risk from the basic safety demand guarantee. Specifically, the main urban social risks include livelihood security, natural disasters, social stability, public security, network security five categories. It shows that the original risk has not disappeared, but has been intertwined and magnified with the new risk, showing the characteristics of continuous superposition and coupling.

### **3.2 Sample selection, Framework Construction and Policy coding**

#### **(1) Sample selection**

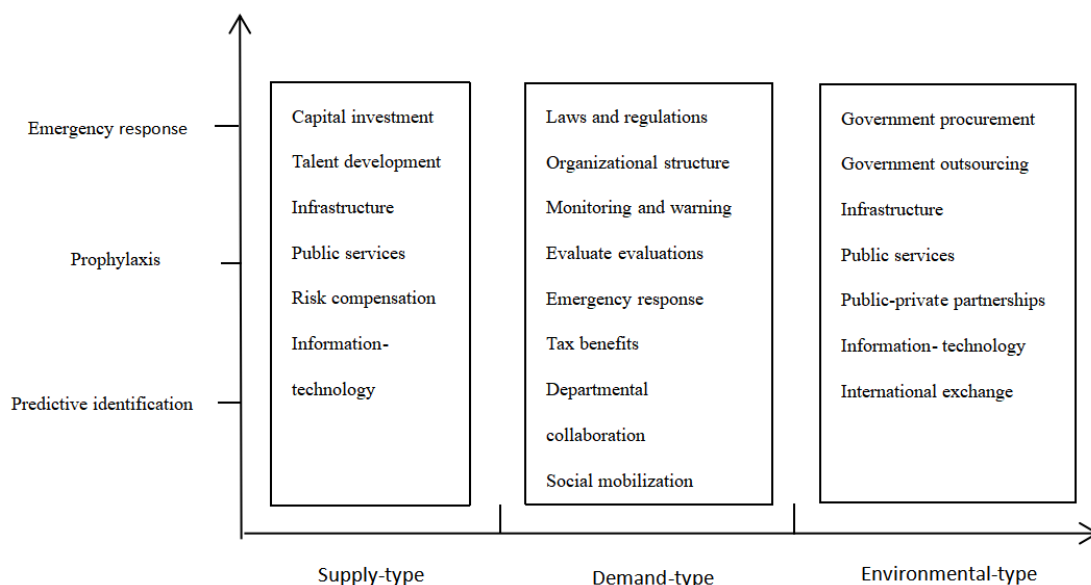
With the continuous change of social risk, the policy system of social risk management is also constantly improved, the policy scope and number of policies are large, there are many kinds of urban social risks, and the corresponding number of related policies of risk management is very large. From the operational point of view of the study, it is obviously difficult to include all the policy texts related to it in the scope of analysis and research, so this paper narrows the scope of text analysis in the Constitution, the report of the State Council from 1978 to 2022, the report of the National Party Congress and the five-year plan, and in order to further ensure the integrity of the policy samples, according to the above combing and analysis of the main types of social risks Complement important policy documents at the national level in this area. Based on this, this paper combs out a total of 8 party representative reports from the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China to the 19th CPC National Congress; 43 government work reports from 1978 to 2022; the Constitution and its four amendments to the regulations; and eight five-year plans from 1981 to 2022, including other important policy documents related to network security risks, including the Network Security Law of the people's Republic of China.

#### **(2) Frame construction**

"Policy tools are for governments to translate their substantive objectives into specific paths and mechanisms for action." [25] In order to explore the use of policy tools in each stage of social risk, a two-dimensional analysis framework is constructed, in which the X dimension is the type of policy tools, and the Y dimension represents the risk governance goals that the



government hopes to achieve through the use of policy tools. Considering the integrity of tool classification and its agreement with the research topic, this paper selects the classification method of policy tools proposed by Rothwell and Zegveld, that is, according to the impact of policy tools, policy tools are divided into three types: supply type, environment type and demand type. [26] Among them, demand-oriented policy tools refer to the government itself and the government to guide and assist the main body of the market to participate in social risk management by means of procurement, outsourcing and so on. Environmental policy tools refer to the means adopted by the government to improve and optimize the external environment in order to build a suitable and orderly market, social and political environment, and to contribute to the achievement of policy objectives. Supply-oriented policy tools refer to the means adopted by the government to supply all kinds of resources and services directly to promote the development of urban social risk management. According to the objectives of different stages of risk management, Y dimension is divided into three stages: identification and prediction, prevention and pre-control, and emergency response. Among them, risk identification and prediction refers to the timely exploration, evaluation and prediction of possible and potential risks in the initial stage of risk generation; preventive pre-control refers to the prevention and control of possible risks in the risk outbreak, and emergency response refers to the emergency disposal behavior taken in the event of risk outbreak in order to prevent the risk from continuing to spread, derive and develop.



**1Figure 1.** Analytical Framework

(photo source: the author collates according to the relevant contents of the study)

### (3) Policy coding

First of all, according to the introduction time of 83 policy samples, according to the above combed out of the urban social transformation of the three stages of classification. Then the content of the existing policy text is analyzed, and with the help of NVivo11.0 software, the nodes are established according to the policy analysis framework, and the related contents of policy tools are identified, encoded and classified in the policy text. Finally, the coding nodes are quantitatively analyzed.

## 4. Analysis on the Evolution of Social risk Policy and tool Choice

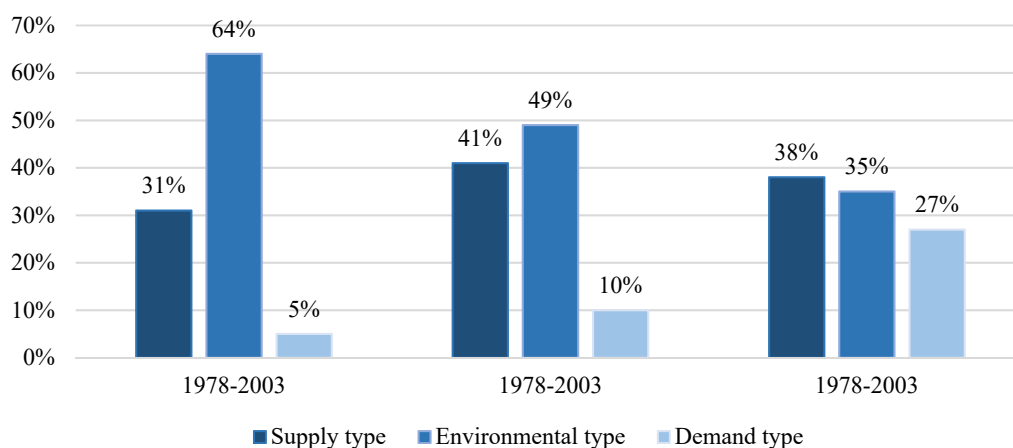
In order to explore the evolution of urban social risk policy and tool choice in each historical period, we will continue to sort out the policy focus and the application of policy tools in each

stage according to the social transformation stage divided above, in order to present the response of each stage policy to the social change and main social risks in the corresponding period, and focus on the policy response to the corresponding period.

Combing the current digital era background, the existing risk management policies in the process of dealing with the new social risks in the process of deficiencies, in order to further improve the existing policy system, improve the government urban social risk management ability.

#### 4.1 Analysis of overall statistical description of policy tools

According to the results of policy quantitative analysis, in the dimension of policy tools, there are high frequency of supply-based policy tools and insufficient use of demand-oriented policy tools. Of the 856 coding nodes, the maximum number of environmental policy tools was 386, accounting for 45%, followed by supply policy tools, a total of 303, accounting for 35%, and finally, demand-oriented policy tools, with a total of 167, accounting for 20%. In the dimension of risk management policy objectives, there are different policy tools in each stage of risk management process, such as identification and prediction, prevention and control, emergency response and so on, but there are significant differences in the use of policy tools as shown in figure 2. Policy tools are widely used in risk response and emergency response, accounting for 53 per cent, but less in the risk identification and forecasting phase, accounting for 20 percent.



**2Figure 2.** Proportion of the use of policy tools by stage  
(photo source: the author collates according to the analysis data)

#### 4.2 Analysis on the evolution of urban social risk management policy

##### (1) 1978-2003: urban social risk accumulation stage

From 1978 to 2003, it is the accumulation stage of urban social risk in our country. The content of risk management policy in this period is characterized by preventing the survival risk of urban residents and resolving the risk of social stability in the process of urban development. In this stage, the use of policy tools focuses on the use of supply-oriented policy tools, mainly through the improvement of safeguard policies to achieve the prevention and pre-control of social risks.

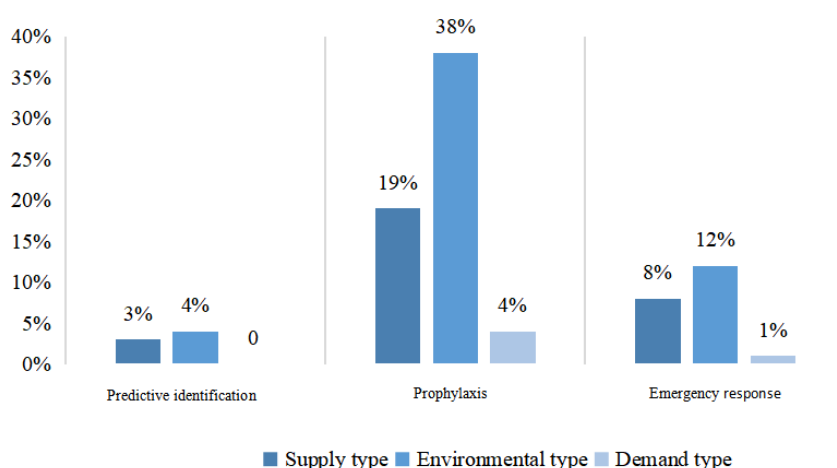
In terms of policy priorities, after the reform and opening up, under the urgent needs of China's economic development, the transformation of the economic system and the rapid progress of urbanization, a large number of people poured into the city, various industries entered the fast lane of development, due to the imperfection of laws, regulations and policies and systems, there are a large number of social risks and social conflicts and contradictions resulting from the vigorous development of the city. For example, as well as the survival security after the

population surge, the power rent-seeking after the land expansion and the social stability after the system change and so on. Therefore, the policy at this stage focuses on the establishment and improvement of urban health care, housing, food and economic areas and natural disaster prevention and management areas of laws and regulations. Mainly through the provision and support of basic security, to prevent the survival crisis of urban society, weaken the sense of injustice in the social strata in order to achieve the role of preventing social risks.

In the use of policy tools, it shows the characteristics of environmental policy tools, supplemented by supply-based policy tools, and the absence of demand-based policy tools. In this stage, the proportion of the three types of policy tools is 31% for supply type, 64% for environment type and 5% for demand type. Among them, the use of environmental policy tools is mainly reflected in the protection of legal environment and policy environment, and the use of supply policy tools is mainly reflected in the supply of public services and financial support, but the number of demand-oriented policy tools is relatively small, which is reflected in the use of the single tool of government outsourcing and purchase. At this stage, the number of types of use of policy tools is seriously uneven, and the diversity of specific policy tools is poor.

In the dimension of risk management stage, it shows that the emergency response system is weak and the object is single, and the risk awareness is weak and institutionalized, as shown in figure 3. In the aspect of risk identification and prediction, the proportion of policy tools is 7%, the proportion of risk prevention and pre-control is 61%, and the proportion of emergency response is 21%. In particular, the policy text does not explicitly put forward the word risk in this stage, mainly through the words of social problems, livelihood issues, population issues and other related words to reflect the prediction of potential social risks by government departments at that time, and also regard the basic livelihood security and the supply of public services as the main way to prevent social risks. Accident safety and natural disaster response measures and institutional arrangements are considered to be policy tools for emergency response. It can be seen that the cognition and consciousness of risk prevention and control or emergency management are not clear at this stage, only in the basic urban community.

On the basis of the establishment of the meeting system and system, the social management is carried out at the same time, and the urban social risk is controlled and responded to.



**3Figure 3.** Use of policy tools in the urban social risk accumulation phase  
(photo source: the author collates according to the analysis data)

## (2) 2004-2015: the outbreak stage of Urban Social risk

From 2004 to 2015, it is the outbreak stage of urban social risk in China. In this stage, the policy focus of our country is obvious, the value risk related policy is clear, and the network risk response target appears; the choice of policy tool type is still mainly environmental type, but

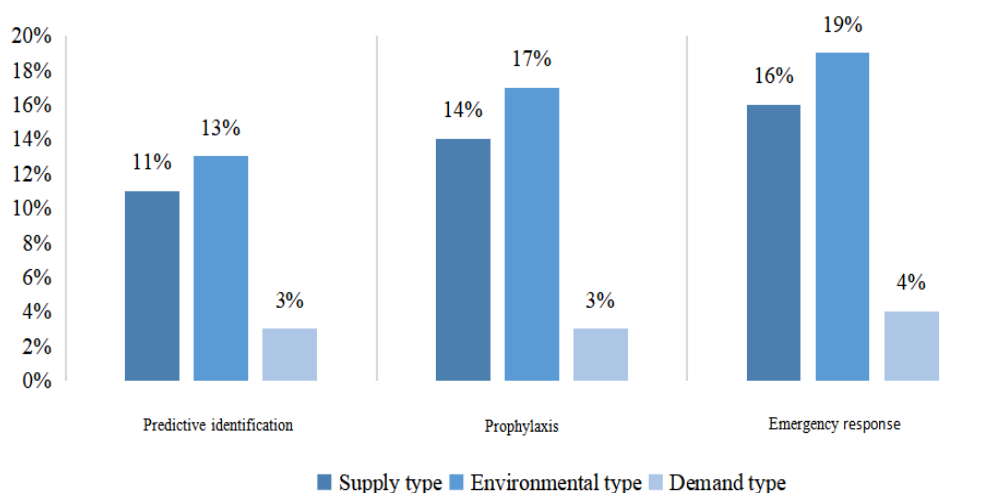


the number of the other two types of policy tools shows an obvious upward trend; attention to all stages of risk management, especially the attention to risk response and prediction is obviously strengthened.

In terms of policy focus, on the one hand, the trade ties between China and other countries in the world are getting closer and closer. In the era of globalization, it is inevitable to bind to the world. On the other hand, the process of urbanization in China continues to advance, the expansion of urban extension is rapid, the rapid delivery of population movement is accelerated, the number of engineering construction and industrial production projects is obviously increased, and the accumulated social risks arising from land expropriation and demolition, production safety and environmental protection have broken out one after another. The outbreak of risk has also promoted the expansion of the number and field of risk management policy in our country. In addition, the outbreak of SARS in 2003 and the Wenchuan earthquake in 2008 also directly pushed the construction of emergency management system to the key areas of national concern, and the relevant policies showed explosive growth. From the repeated words of "production safety", "emergency management" and "integration" in the policy text, we can see that the risk management policy in this stage mainly pays attention to the developmental social risk response, as well as the identification and prevention and control of crisis risk by identification and trust. In the later period of the popularity of the Internet and the impact of major events in the network society on the real society has become more and more significant, there are also some of the relevant institutional provisions for network security or online code of conduct.

In the use of policy tools, environmental tools are still the main, but supply-oriented and demand-oriented policy tools show a significant upward trend. The proportion of policy tools used in this stage is 41% for supply type, 49% for environment type and 10% for demand type. Among them, supply-oriented policy tools are mainly reflected in capital investment, public services and technical support; environmental tools are mainly reflected in the legal, institutional and organizational security of emergency management system and system, as well as social mobilization and other environmental optimization; demand-oriented tools increase the number of government procurement and outsourcing, at the same time, public-private cooperation is also significantly enhanced.

In the dimension of risk management stage, the emphasis degree is obviously improved in the emergency response phase, the risk pre-control tools show an increasing trend, and the awareness of risk prediction is enhanced as shown in figure 6. Driven by natural disasters such as SARS, snow disaster and earthquake, as well as group events, the use of policy tools in risk prediction, prevention and control and emergency response has increased significantly, accounting for 20%, 32% and 47%, respectively. In the whole stage of risk management, the use of policy tools has increased significantly, and the risk assessment and prediction have been greatly strengthened. In addition, the types of policy tools in emergency response have shown a significant trend of balanced development.



**4Figure 4.** Use of policy tools in the urban social risk outbreak phase  
(photo source: the author collates according to the analysis data)

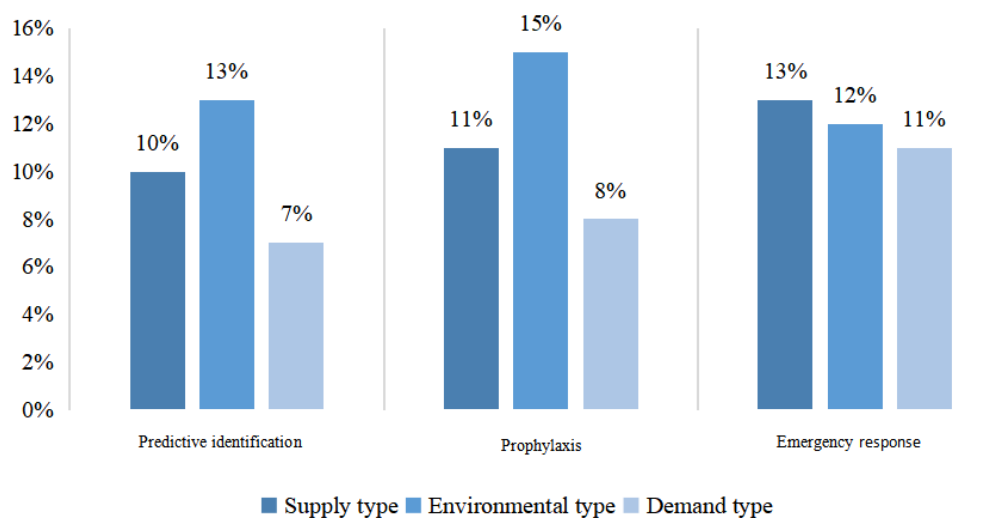
### (3) 2016-present: the emerging stage of New Social risks

Up to now, the new urban risk emergence stage in our country, although this stage is not long, but the focus of risk management and the use of tools have changed significantly. In the aspect of policy focus, we should pay more attention to the identification and pre-control in the early stage of risk outbreak, and further strengthen the ability to respond to emergency. In the use of policy tools, the quantity of policy tools is still dominated by environmental tools, and the gap between the total amount of the three tools is gradually narrowing, and attention should be paid to encouraging other social subjects to participate in risk management through environmental optimization and policy guidance. In the stage of risk management, the use of policy tools in the phase of preventive control and emergency response has been significantly increased.

In the aspect of policy focus, due to the frequent occurrence of network events in recent years, the attention paid to the prevention of network security risk has been obviously enhanced at the policy level. A series of legal policies, including the Network Security Law of the people's Republic of China, have been issued one after another, which has played a better role in preventing the outbreak of network security risk. In addition, the outbreak of "COVID-19" in early 2020 has promoted the improvement of China's public health emergency response system, strengthened the ability of risk prediction and prevention and control, on the other hand, accelerated the process of digitization in China, reflecting the role and great potential of information technology in risk identification and prevention and control. The policy level also reflects a strong tendency, but for the use of information technology also focuses on how to make technical services and risk management needs, the potential risk prediction and prevention and control of technology itself is still slightly inadequate.

In the use of policy tools, environmental tools are still the main, but supply-oriented and demand-oriented policy tools show a significant upward trend. The proportion of the three policy tools is 34% for supply type, 40% for environment type and 26% for demand type. At this stage, the use of all kinds of policy tools is more balanced, and the use of supply-oriented tools is significantly increased, mainly reflected in the supply of funds, technical inputs and public services. In addition, there has been an increase in the diversity of demand-oriented tools and an increase in the number of uses, including through advocacy guidance and public-private partnerships.

In the dimension of risk management stage, the use of policy tools takes into account the various stages of risk management, and the emphasis on risk identification and prediction has been enhanced. The investment of capital and technology in the stage of risk identification and prediction and pre-control has been increased, the construction of policy and legal environment in the emergency response stage has been strengthened, and the personnel training and organizational construction related to risk management have been increased. However, relatively speaking, the attention to risk identification and prediction is relatively low, especially in the digital age, there are still deficiencies in the security and value risk prevention and control brought by digitization.



**5Figure 5.** Use of policy tools in the emerging phase of new social risks  
(photo source: the author collates according to the analysis data)

## 5. Conclusion and Reflection

The arrival of the digital age not only means that the information connection between people and things is more close and frequent, but also the innovation of computing technology. From "connection" to "computing" information technology has made a qualitative leap, which brings convenience to urban society and also contains great risks, which further confirms the reflexive theory of modernity in the risk society. It also brings great challenges to the present and future urban society and even the whole world. Under the background of the changes of the times and social transformation, under the guidance of the changes of urban social risks and risk management policies and tools in our country, this paper combs the urban social transformation stage of our country, analyzes the evolution of policy tools and policy priorities in each stage, and draws the following conclusions:

First of all, since the reform and opening up, China's urban social risk has gone through three stages: risk generation, agglomeration outbreak and new risk appearance, which reflects the characteristics of urban social risk from single conventional risk to old and new risks, uncertainty, diffusivity and damage. Secondly, the social risk management policy has changed from basic survival risk to development risk and value risk, from emergency response after risk outbreak to risk identification and prediction in advance and the improvement of timely resolution ability. The policy tools based on environmental type have gradually evolved into both environmental and supply tools. The use characteristics of policy tools driven by demand tools, in addition to the perfection of law and system, strengthen the investment and planning of technology and talents, and the use of guiding tools, and improve the diversity of tools. Finally, for new risks and potential risks, the forward-looking policy has been strengthened, the policy-

making characteristics of events and disasters have been gradually weakened, and the ability to prevent and control network security and value risks in the digital age has been strengthened, but the identification and prevention of risks such as algorithm defects, technology alienation and so on need to be strengthened.

In a word, the policy system of urban social risk governance in China is not perfect, on the whole, the policy of risk identification is relatively insufficient, the number and types of demand-oriented policy tools need to be increased, and the policy of risk management for the new society lags behind. In addition, because this study ignores the possible urban social risks caused by the policy itself, only combs the overall risk management policies from the macro perspective, coupled with the intertwined symbiosis of all kinds of risks in urban society, it is very complex, so it is difficult to clearly divide and predict the potential urban social risks. In the process of policy sample selection and coding, there are strong subjectivity and loopholes, which is also the deficiency of this study.

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