The adjustment mechanism and innovation path of grassroots governance in ethnic areas

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Abstract. This paper focuses on the problem of grassroots governance in ethnic areas, aiming to solve the conflict between the standardization of bureaucracy and local knowledge, and explore the reasons why some areas form a ' policy-culture ' symbiosis and other areas fall into involution. By combing the literature, this paper points out the limitations of the study of state centralism and social centralism, reveals the tension generation mechanism between the standardization of bureaucracy and the heterogeneity of local culture, as well as the three-dimensional tension between the logic of " de-contextualization " of bureaucracy and the " embodiment " of local knowledge, the modernity narrative of policy discourse and the semantics of local culture, and expounds the interactive mode and dynamic debugging space of " two-way infiltration. " The conclusion emphasizes that the cooperation between formal institutions and informal institutions is an inevitable choice to improve the effectiveness of governance. Culture plays a central role in the interaction between the two, and points out the direction of future research. At the same time, it proposes to pay attention to collaborative output and define the critical conditions of embedding to promote the implementation of symbiotic embedded governance.

Keywords: regions in habited by ethnic groups, grassroots governance, bidirectional embedding, policy adjustment, informal institution.

1. The raising of the problem

The grassroots political power in ethnic areas is an important part of the national governance system and the basis for the implementation of national policies in ethnic areas. Grassroots governance in ethnic areas is an important part of national governance, which is of great significance to safeguarding national unity, ensuring border stability and promoting high-quality development of the country [2]. The implementation of policies is a key link in governing the country. In the process of policy implementation, due to cultural differences, concept conflicts or traditional customs and other factors, it is difficult for the policy to be successfully implemented or the effect is not good. Grassroots governance in ethnic areas needs to meet the rigidity of national policies and the flexible needs of local society at the same time, so as to form a governance pattern of co-construction, co-governance and sharing. Secondly, the same policy has different effects in different ethnic communities, which reflects the complexity of grassroots governance in ethnic areas.

At present, the study of ethnic areas has fallen into a one-way dilemma. Focusing on the new national governance system established with the project system as the core, it has formed a hierarchical governance mechanism between the central and local governments, and has had many unintended consequences for the grassroots society. The theory of " village system " and " administrative contract " sinks into the society, but ignores the cultural re-embedding of local governments. [3] The static analysis of the existing framework is embedded in the structure, which lacks the process tracking of the strategic ideas of grassroots cadres. This reflects the theoretical conflict between embedding as one-way penetration from the national perspective and emphasizing local resistance from the social perspective. This paper proposes a new explanatory framework, focusing on the two-way mutual construction process of state and society, in order to transcend the binary opposition.

Then, our research questions are gradually clear : how does the standardization of bureaucracy conflict with local knowledge ? Why can some regions form a ' policy-culture ' symbiont, while other regions fall into involution ? Dual embeddedness includes institutional embeddedness and relational

embeddedness. Institutional embeddedness refers to the rigid requirements of the state on the grass-roots level through the bureaucratic system, policies and regulations. Relational embeddedness means that the grassroots regime must adapt to the local social network. The essence of tension is the conflict and contradiction between the unity logic of modern state construction and the special logic of local social tradition. This paper proposes a two-way interactive model.Correct the presupposition of " zero-sum game between state and society, " As shown in Figure1. 1“State-Society Bidirectional Interaction”. Respond to the " structure-activism " debate in political science, and provide mechanism design reference for borderland governance and urban ethnic embeddedness.

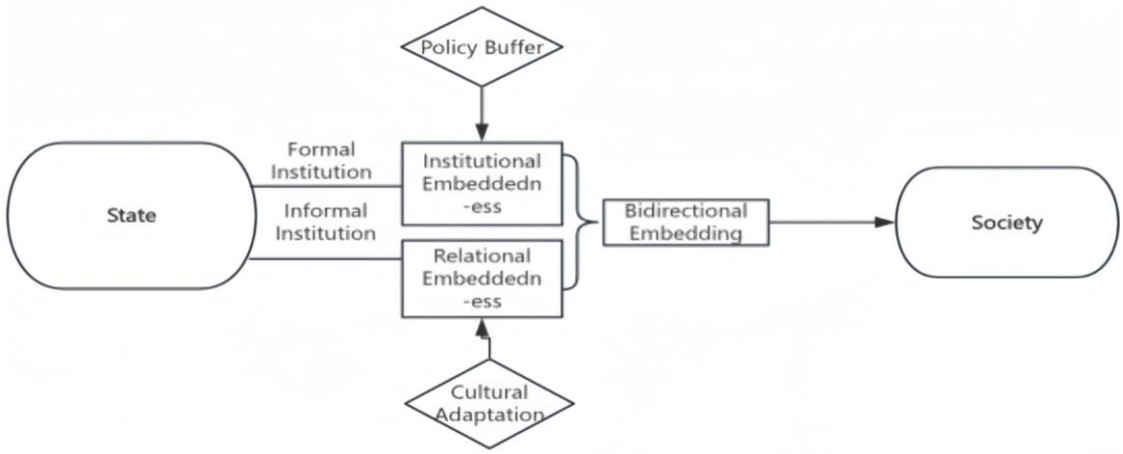


Figure 1. State-Society Bidirectional Interaction

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1. A review of existing research

Check the existing literature, focusing on the following ideas:

National centralism takes administrative absorption of society as the core logic, and relies on the bureaucratic system to implement standardized models such as grid governance to the grassroots level in ethnic areas [1]. This kind of research emphasizes the high efficiency of national policies and resources ' sinking ' through administrative channels, and believes that unified governance rules can quickly realize the coverage of national will to the grassroots level, such as promoting the standardized supply of public services and social control with ' one network unified management '. However, in ethnic areas, social operation is deeply embedded in informal institutional networks such as culture, religion and customs, and the one-way promotion of administrative integration often encounters adaptation difficulties. The study of national centralism focuses on administrative thrust, but ignores that local society is not a blank, but selectively accepts and transforms administrative rules by virtue of cultural autonomy.

This perspective also obscures the reinterpretation process of national governance resources at the grassroots level. As a policy transmission hub, grassroots cadres in ethnic areas do not mechanically implement administrative instructions, but will reinterpret policies in combination with local culture[4]. The national centralism emphasizes the rigidity of administrative integration, but does not pay attention to the flexible adjustment of policy implementation in grassroots governance, and it is difficult to explain the differences between policy texts and practical forms in the governance practice of ethnic areas. Social centralism invokes Scott 's weapon theory of the weak, focuses on the " flexible resistance " of society in ethnic areas to national governance based on culture and customs, and emphasizes that local society maintains cultural autonomy and traditional life order by adhering to informal systems [4]. In such studies, family authority, religious rituals and tribal customs are often regarded as buffer areas against administrative intervention. For example, ethnic communities give priority to following family elders ' agreements rather than administrative rules in land allocation and public affairs decision-making.

However, this perspective has the limitation of " antagonistic presupposition, " which overamplifies the opposition between the state and the local society, and ignores the possibility of symbiosis and mutual construction between the two. In the process of participation, local society not only uses national resources to activate intangible cultural heritage inheritance, such as the birch bark of the Ewenki people to make intangible cultural heritage projects, expands the market through the support of national cultural tourism, but also takes the initiative to integrate the ecological protection and modern life concept advocated by the state into the creation of intangible cultural heritage stories, so as to realize the synergy between local culture and national governance objectives. At this time, local society is not a simple resistance, but a ' flexible dialogue ' with national governance through culture as a medium, and reconstructs governance rules through resource exchange and value integration. Social centralism has not fully realized the motivation of local society to accept national governance. In ethnic areas, young people 's demand for modern public services and development opportunities promotes local society to actively connect with national governance resources. For example, in the ethnic communities of some cities in Xinjiang, residents spontaneously participate in the construction of embedded communities. With the help of the cultural exchange platform built by the state, they promote the communication and integration of various ethnic groups, which not only meets the needs of individual development, but also helps to achieve the goal of national governance. This practice of active absorption breaks through the single narrative of local resistance, indicating that the interaction between the state and local society is a two-way choice based on their respective needs, rather than simple repression and resistance.

The distinction between state-centrism and social-centrism is essentially an extension of the " structure-activism " theoretical controversy in the study of governance in ethnic areas, but they have failed to grasp the core logic of dual embeddedness. National governance needs to adapt to local social and cultural ecology, and local society is also actively integrating national resources to achieve self-development. The two form a unique governance form through continuous interaction.

2.2. Construction of theoretical framework

Embeddedness is an important concept in sociology. It was first mentioned by Polanyi in the book " Great Transformation. " It has been widely used in theoretical research such as economic sociology, institutional change, technological innovation, and organizational alliances [5]. Embeddedness theory emphasizes that the trust generated by interpersonal interaction is the basis of organizational transactions, and focuses on the study of organizational behavior from the social structure of the organization. Many scholars extend the concept of embeddedness from the basic idea of embeddedness theory, put forward the theoretical framework of embedded supervision, embedded integration, embedded autonomy and so on, and use it to analyze the relationship between state and society, the integration of political parties, the relationship between state and local government. Embedded governance theory is a new management theory, which aims at improving organizational flexibility, meeting individual needs and improving the overall function of society and pursuing collaborative optimization. Embedded governance theory points out that the best way for the state to encourage and implement collaborative optimization is to integrate social resources, such as information and activities, into local social groups synchronously, and to conduct spiritual and substantive dialogue with a common starting point. This paper explores the dual dimensions of embedded governance, namely institutional embedding and relational embedding.

The " institutional embeddedness " in China 's grassroots governance refers to the integration of institutions, policies and organizations at the national level into the grassroots governance system through standardized and structured ways to achieve effective guidance and integration of grassroots society. Its core is to combine the national governance objectives with the actual needs of the grassroots to form a stable and sustainable governance mechanism. The relational embeddedness theory was first proposed by American sociologist Mark Granovetter. Relational embeddedness in social governance refers to an interactive mode between the government and social organizations, in which the government influences and guides the development of social organizations through

structural and membership embeddedness [6]. The relational embeddedness in society is manifested as a top-down, relying on informal networks such as kinship and geography.

In view of the above analysis, it can be found that the state is deeply embedded in the social grassroots through policy implementation and resource input [7]. Fiscal transfer payment is a direct manifestation of the embedding of national resources. From infrastructure construction to public service supply, where the capital flows, the influence of national governance extends to, helping to inherit and develop national culture, and strengthening the country 's participation in cultural inheritance and governance. At the social level, society does not always passively undertake the governance of the government, but reversely shapes national governance with cultural adjustment and traditional authority absorption, and awakens the internal identity of society with symbolic politics and emotional governance**.**

3. The multi-dimensional operation mechanism of grassroots governance in ethnic areas

3.1. Tension generation mechanism

The standardization requirements of bureaucracy revolve around the efficient and orderly operation of the organization. The core content includes: standardization of workflow, clear provisions on the processing steps, operation methods and time nodes of each task, and ensuring consistency of similar work in different scenarios and performed by different personnel.[8]

There are fixed processes for the application materials, audit links and feedback time limits of administrative examination and approval. Personnel management standardization, unified recruitment standards, according to the job requirements set clear qualifications, professional, skills and other access conditions, to avoid subjective arbitrariness. Assessment and reward and punishment norms adopt objective and quantifiable indicators, and implement rewards and punishments according to unified rules. The authority and responsibility are standardized, and the power scope and responsibility boundary of each position are clearly defined through the hierarchical structure and job description, so as to avoid power overlap or responsibility prevarication. The information transmission within the organization is mainly written documents, and the file format, content elements, transmission channels, etc.are standardized to ensure that the information is accurate and traceable. To formulate unified rules and regulations, restrain the behavior of members of the organization, and ensure the coordination and consistency of team action. These standardized contents together support the stable operation of the bureaucracy organization, which is the basis for its realization of division of labor and cooperation and improvement of efficiency. The standardization of bureaucracy requires that it can play an active role in specific scenarios and organizational types for Chinese management practices, especially for organizations with large scale, complex division of labor, and need for stable order. [9]

Standardized processes and rules can reduce arbitrariness in management, ensure that organizations at different regions and levels maintain consistency in implementing unified policies or dealing with similar affairs, and avoid efficiency loss or implementation deviation caused by " fragmentation. " Secondly, the standardization of personnel recruitment, assessment rewards and punishments, resource allocation and other aspects can reduce the interference of human feelings, subjective preferences and other factors. Standardized document records and process trajectories make the management process traceable, which helps superiors supervise subordinates and the public over the organization, and also provides a basis for responsibility identification, especially in the field of public management, which can improve transparency and accountability efficiency. China has a vast territory, a long history and many ethnic groups. These factors lead to the heterogeneity of Chinese culture and form unique opportunities and challenges for unified management and policy implementation. For example, the contradiction between the policy of changing customs and the national traditional customs is a typical manifestation of the tension between the standardization requirements of China 's bureaucracy and the heterogeneity of local culture. In essence, it is the

collision between ' unified normative governance ' and ' national cultural particularity ' in practice. Standardization pursues a unified and efficient governance logic, and local culture emphasizes the particularity and diversity of survival logic. There is a natural conflict between the two because of the differences in goals and principles.

3.2. Three-dimensional tension production mechanism

The logic of " de-contextualization " of bureaucracy conflicts with the " embodiment " of local knowledge. For example, the policy of grassland right confirmation aims at clearly defining property rights and standardizing grassland utilization. It adopts standardized processes to demarcate grasslands and register rights, trying to establish a unified and quantifiable property rights management system. The wisdom of nomadic ecology is the knowledge crystallization of the nomadic people 's ' embodiment ' in the grassland environment. Nomadic herdsmen follow the seasonal, climatic, water and grass changes, practice the transfer mode of ' living by water and grass ', go to alpine grassland in summer, return to lowland pasture in winter, and achieve ecological restoration in different plots in annual rotation grazing. This wisdom also includes the perception of the delicate balance of grassland ecology, such as judging the grassland carrying capacity by observing the status of livestock and the growth of vegetation, determining the timing of transfer and grazing intensity, which is embedded in the practice of nomadic life and deeply bound to grassland ecology. This clearly shows the conflict between the two logics.

The modernity narrative of policy discourse and the dislocation of local cultural semantics. National laws regulate betrothal gifts from modern jurisprudence such as social justice and freedom of marriage. For example, the ' Civil Code ' and related judicial interpretations clearly prohibit the use of marriage to obtain property. [10] Guided by universal rules, the law pursues unified and rational adjudication of marriage disputes in different regions and different customs backgrounds, and maintains individual rights and interests in marriage relations and social public order and good customs. As a symbol carrier of traditional authority, village rules and regulations are deeply embedded in rural social culture. On the issue of betrothal gifts, it relies on the long-standing local marriage customs to construct a reasonable judgment standard for betrothal gifts. Based on the human network and collective memory of rural society, this traditional authority binds betrothal gifts with family reputation, neighborhood relations and custom inheritance, regulates villagers ' behavior with conventional forces, and maintains a long-term and stable marriage order in rural society. The conflict and interaction between the two reflect the collision between the logic of national governance and the logic of rural social culture.

The dislocation between the modernity narrative of policy discourse and the semantic field of local culture. In social governance, policy discourse often relies on modern narrative to promote change, while local cultural semantic field follows its own logic. The gender ethical tension encountered by the policy of " women 's liberation " in ethnic areas clearly presents this dislocation and conflict. The Women 's Liberation policy encourages women to break through traditional family roles and enter the public sphere. [11] However, in the context of national culture, female roles are closely related to national identity and cultural heritage. When the modern narrative of the " women 's liberation " policy meets the local cultural semantic field of ethnic gender ethics, there is a friction in the meaning system due to the multiple dislocations of the concept of equality, social roles and practical logic.

3.3. Diversified presentation of debugging path

Build policy dialect. For example, local culture often contains unique ecological and ethical symbols. Taking the classification of rural garbage as an example, if modern discourse such as " environmental protection index " and " legal obligation " is directly applied, it is easy to encounter conflict with the dislocation of local semantic field. The classification of garbage is translated into " pure land protection, " and the ecological wisdom in local culture is excavated. Many villages spread land to nourish life, which needs the traditional cognition of generations of protection. The classification of garbage is bound with the protection of the land of ancestors and grandparents, so

that the policy discourse can be integrated into the local cultural context and the threshold of understanding and acceptance can be reduced.

There are traditional authorities in local society. For example, Bimo is the inheritor of religion and knowledge in Yi culture, so that party members have the identity of ' Bimo '. They can not only implement policies as party members, but also gather ethnic consensus through Bimo 's cultural authority. The villagers ' committee integrates the administrative resources of the two committees of the village and the local prestige of the villagers. The villagers are familiar with local customs and have deep connections. The village committee has the policy and organizational ability to jointly deal with bride price disputes, clan contradictions and other problems, and use a mixed identity to bridge the gap between administrative authority and cultural authority.

Establish a ' policy buffer post ' with cultural interpretation power. In policy implementation, conflicts often occur due to cultural understanding deviations. ' Policy buffer posts ' are composed of grassroots cadres, cultural inheritors, and legal advisers who are familiar with local culture. For example, when the land transfer policy in ethnic areas is implemented, the buffer post can explain the connection point between the voluntary transfer in the policy and the sharing custom of ethnic land, and transform the policy provisions into an operation plan that conforms to the local cultural logic, which not only guarantees the bottom line of the policy, but also respects the cultural tradition and avoids the conflict caused by hard implementation.

The formal rules are universal, but there are seasonal rhythms in local culture and production and life. Taking the law enforcement of grassland ecological protection as an example, if the grazing prohibition period is strictly implemented throughout the year, it will conflict with the production cycle of ' summer transfer and winter supplementary feeding ' of nomads. Formulate seasonal law enforcement rules : according to the growth cycle of grassland vegetation, adjust the period of grazing prohibition and rest grazing, strictly prohibit grazing and restore ecology when there are abundant water and grass in summer, and allow moderate supplementary feeding in winter, which not only conforms to the policy goal of ecological protection, but also adapts to the production logic of nomadic culture, so as to realize more flexible rules and more humanized governance.

Use the traditional discussion mechanism to complete the policy coordination. There are efficient informal governance resources in local culture. ' Firewall Council ' is a traditional form of consultation among ethnic minorities in southwest China. In promoting the policy of village tourism development, it is not necessary to force the decision-making of the administrative conference, but to convene the Huotang Council, so that the villagers, rural sages and village committees can discuss the distribution of tourism income and the protection of cultural resources in a ' traditional ' way. Based on the cultural identity of the traditional deliberative mechanism, a policy consensus can be reached, which is more acceptable than the official document.

Cadres participate in life etiquette, such as weddings and funerals to gain trust logic and practice. Life etiquette is the most emotional scene in local culture. Grassroots cadres ' active participation can break through the identity gap of ' administrative managers '. At the funeral of the Yi nationality, the cadres follow the custom of ' keeping the spirit and sending the spirit ' to help. When participating in the rural wedding of the Han nationality, they assist in preparing and presiding over the process of respecting the tea and recognizing the relatives, so that the villagers can feel that the policy executor is also a member of the community of life.Emotional ties build the cornerstone of trust for policy communication.

Weaving the policy effectiveness into the local collective memory narrative. The local collective memory carries the historical identity of the ethnic group and transforms the policy effect into a memory symbol. For example, a village can achieve industrial poverty alleviation through ' precise poverty alleviation '. It can excavate the story of the old branch secretary leading villagers to find industries and young people returning home to start businesses, integrate into the narrative of the village 's development history, and tell it in the New Year 's party and school education. Let the party 's good policy become a new part of the local collective memory, internalize the policy from external

requirements into a self-development story, and continue to strengthen cultural identity and policy support.

4. Theoretical innovation

The core of the framework proposed in this study is to jump out of the binary opposition of " state-centered theory " or " social-centered theory, " and regard the governance of ethnic areas as a process of continuous consultation and dynamic mutual construction. Its effectiveness does not come from the unilateral implementation of state power or the persistence of local traditions, but depends on whether the two can reach a tacit understanding in the process of interaction. This tacit understanding is based on the recognition of the governance value of the uniqueness of local culture by the state and the recognition of the ultimate legitimacy of state authority by local society. The result of debugging thus transcends the zero-sum game framework of " control-resistance, " and breeds a hybrid governance form that is neither pure bureaucracy nor traditional hereditary system. It has both the implementation of national will and the adaptability of local culture.

In the relationship between the state and the place, ' two-way infiltration ' is a very dynamic interactive model, the formation of this model has a profound social background. From the historical dimension, China, as a country with a vast territory, many ethnic groups and many cultures, has long had a tradition of interactive adjustment between the central government and local society. As Mr. Fei Xiaotong explained the " difference sequence pattern " in " rural China, " it also reflects the complex relationship between the power structure and the local society in the traditional society, and provides the historical and cultural origin for the two-way infiltration of the modern state and the place.[12]

The state 's absorption of local wisdom is not only reflected in the policy principle of " coming from the vulgar, " but also in the specific governance technology. When implementing policies such as environmental protection, anti-poverty and stability maintenance, the state will actively consult and adopt the opinions of local leaders and religious leaders, and transform the national discourse into local knowledge. In the implementation of environmental protection policies, in view of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, the state fully recognizes the sacred status of the Tibetan sacred mountain sacred lake belief in the hearts of the local people. Therefore, the state combines the concept of ecological civilization construction with the belief of Tibetan holy lake, transforms the protection of ecological environment into the protection of holy lake, and lets the local people agree with the environmental protection policy from the heart, which greatly reduces the resistance of policy implementation and improves the efficiency of ecological protection. In terms of anti-poverty work, the southwest minority areas have a unique form of social organization and local knowledge system. When carrying out poverty alleviation work, the state actively consults the opinions of local leaders and religious leaders. With their in-depth understanding of the local society, they can provide highly targeted suggestions for the location of poverty alleviation projects and the choice of industries, so as to make poverty alleviation policies more suitable for local reality and help poverty alleviation achieve tangible results. The same is true in the work of maintaining stability. In some ethnic enclaves, religious leaders and local leaders have high prestige and influence among the people. Through communication and consultation with them, the state uses their strength to convey to the people the country 's policy intentions, resolve potential social contradictions, and maintain social harmony and stability.

At the same time, localities internalize national norms. Local elites and people are not passive recipients. They will take the initiative to learn national laws and policies, and use these national rules to compete for resources, safeguard rights and interests, or enhance their voice in local affairs. With the advancement of modern state-building and the increasing convenience of information dissemination, local society 's contact and understanding of national laws and policies have become more in-depth. For example, in some rural areas, villagers take the initiative to learn the country 's policy of benefiting the people. When it comes to land contracting, collective asset allocation and

other matters, they will use national laws such as the " Organic Law of the Villagers ' Committee of the People 's Republic of China " to fight for their own resource rights and interests, and ensure that village affairs management is carried out within a legal framework. There are also some local traditional authority holders who will actively learn from national policies and use national policies to consolidate traditional authority. For example, the head of an ethnic minority area, with the help of the state 's educational support policy for ethnic minority areas, organizes local youth to participate in various skills training and education projects organized by the state, which not only improves the quality of the local people, but also plays an organizational and coordinating role in the implementation of the policy. It further enhances its voice in local affairs and realizes the ' localization ' reproduction of national rules. This " localization " is not a distortion of national norms, but a creative transformation and integration of national norms based on local society 's own cultural and social structure, so that state power can be more effectively embedded in local society, and local society can also be better developed in the national system.

In addition, it is worth noting that there is a dynamic debugging space. There is not a clear and insurmountable boundary between formal institutions and informal institutions, but a broad elastic boundary. In the mediation of grassroots disputes, the formal system represented by the official judiciary, the mediation of village elders as an informal system, relies on local customs, traditional ethics, and the prestige and experience of the elders. In the actual grass-roots dispute mediation work, the two often work together to form a mixed mechanism of " joint governance of officials and people. " On the premise of following the legal framework, we should make full use of the flexible provisions and positive factors in the policy, and properly and flexibly use the methods of informal system without violating the fundamental system and law, so as to better realize the substantive justice by combining the principle of law with the flexibility of the people.

5. Conclusion

In the grassroots governance of ethnic areas, the formal system and the informal system have their own advantages and limitations. It is difficult to effectively deal with the complex governance situation by relying on either party alone. Although the formal system is authoritative, normative and coercive, it may lack sufficient flexibility and adaptability in the face of the special cultural traditions, social structures and customs in ethnic areas ; based on local culture and social network, informal institutions can better fit the life logic and values of local residents, but their authority and stability are relatively insufficient. Therefore, the cooperation between the two is an inevitable choice to improve the effectiveness of grassroots governance in ethnic areas, which is helpful to realize the scientificity and rationality of governance, taking into account the principle and flexibility.

The elastic boundary between the formal system and the informal system is the key area for the interaction between the two, which provides a broad space for governance innovation. Within this elastic boundary, the governance subject can flexibly use the rules of the formal system and the resources of the informal system according to the specific governance scenarios and actual needs, so as to realize the complementary advantages of the two. This flexibility enables governance strategies to better adapt to the diversity and complexity of ethnic areas, improve the pertinence and effectiveness of governance measures, so as to better meet the needs of people of all ethnic groups, and enhance their sense of identity and satisfaction with the governance process and results.

Culture plays a central role in the interaction between formal and informal institutions. The rich and diverse cultural traditions in ethnic areas are an important source of informal institutions, which have a profound impact on the behavior patterns, value orientations and social relations of local residents. The implementation and implementation of the formal system in ethnic areas must fully respect and consider these cultural factors, avoid conflicts with local culture, and reduce the resistance to the implementation of the system. At the same time, the excellent cultural elements in the informal system can also provide a useful supplement to the formal system, enrich the connotation of the formal system, and make it more cultural affinity and social foundation.

The future research on the interaction between formal and informal institutions in grassroots governance in ethnic areas can further expand the breadth and depth of research. On the one hand, in terms of research scope, more ethnic areas and different types of governance areas should be covered to obtain more representative and universal research conclusions ; on the other hand, in terms of research depth, multidisciplinary methods, such as anthropology, sociology and law, can be used to deeply analyze the internal mechanism and influencing factors of the interaction between the two from different perspectives, so as to provide more targeted and operable theoretical guidance and policy suggestions for the practice of grassroots governance in ethnic areas. For example, setting up the position of " cultural adjuster " in ethnic areas can better help eliminate the cognitive conflict of governance and promote the coordinated implementation of the system ; formulate a ' cultural assessment guide for policy implementation in ethnic minority areas ' to standardize the collaborative path and ensure the quality of implementation. At the same time, with the development of the times and social changes, focusing on new governance issues and challenges, as well as the innovation and adjustment of formal and informal institutions in response to these changes, will also be an important direction for future research.

It jumps out of the limitations of single-dimensional evaluation of governance effectiveness and focuses on the collaborative output after the mutual embedding of the state and society. It is no longer isolated to see whether the policy implementation is up to standard and whether the human network is active. Instead, it focuses on the comprehensive indicators such as the efficiency of contradiction resolution, the temperature of people 's livelihood services, and the strength of social identity after the combination of the two, so as to accurately measure the synergistic efficiency of symbiotic embedded governance. Clearly define the critical conditions of over-embedding and under-embedding. When the policy implementation completely ignores the local cultural traditions, such as the mandatory implementation of governance measures in conflict with ethnic customs, or the human governance arbitrarily breaks through the bottom line of the system, it is excessive embedding that leads to policy distortion ; when the formal system is difficult to reach the grassroots end, or the informal network cannot connect with the national governance, it affects the governance efficiency. By identifying the threshold, it provides a theoretical scale for the dynamic calibration of grassroots governance, promotes a virtuous circle between the state and society in mutual embedding, and makes symbiotic embedded governance truly effective.

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