

# The Labor Order and Duty Boundaries of Rural Grid Workers

-- Taking Village S In Beijing as An Example

Yan Lan<sup>1, a</sup>

<sup>1</sup>China University of Political Science and Law (CUPL), Beijing, China

<sup>a</sup>16604810617@163.com

**Abstract.** Against the backdrop of the country's efforts to modernize grassroots governance, grid-based governance, as an innovative practice model, faces the dual challenges of blurred boundaries of responsibilities and alienation of labor order. This study takes Village S in Beijing as the field point and systematically examines the labor characteristics and duty dilemmas of rural grid workers in the rural acquaintance society through methods such as in-depth interviews and participatory observations. The findings are: (1) Institutional failure of the duty list, and widespread phenomena such as publicization of private affairs, responsibility of public affairs, and subjectivization of assessment standards; (2) Grid workers are trapped in the role paradox of "all-rounder", and the boundaries between public and private labor are dissolved by the double squeeze of the network of personal connections and administrative pressure; (3) The flexible working mechanism leads to the dynamic extension of duty boundaries, creating a vicious cycle of "task absorption - resource dependence - assessment alienation". Based on this, a three-dimensional reconstruction path of "system - process - culture" is proposed: define the boundaries of rights and responsibilities through the "Guidelines for the Performance of Duties by Urban and Rural Community Grid Workers", and establish a task access mechanism of "three reviews and three preparations"; Promote the process reengineering of "professionalization of public affairs + integrated online and offline platform"; Build an incentive system of "basic salary + performance bonus + project allowance" and foster a governance culture of "everyone is responsible". Research shows that the improvement of rural grid governance efficiency requires breaking through the structural conflict between bureaucratic logic and local logic, embedding emotional governance in institutional reconstruction, retaining humanistic care in technological empowerment, and ultimately achieving the transformation of grassroots governance from campaign-style governance to institutionalized governance.

**Keywords:** Grid governance, Grid worker team, Labor order, Duty boundaries, Rural soci.

## 1. Introduction

With the continuous development of grid-based governance, grid workers, as the "nerve endings" of grassroots governance, play a key role in information collection, policy promotion and rapid response. The Third Plenary Session of the 20th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China explicitly proposed "adhering to and developing the 'Fengqiao Experience' of the new era and improving the urban and rural grassroots governance system under the leadership of the Party organization that combines self-governance, rule of law and rule of virtue", once again emphasizing the fundamental role that grid workers play in resolving conflicts and preventing risks, as well as the importance of accelerating the construction of a grid worker team.

The grid-based governance model was initiated by Dongcheng District of Beijing in 2004 and has developed into an important innovative measure for grassroots governance during the epidemic prevention and control period. The Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China first proposed the governance direction of "grid-based management", the Fourth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee further incorporated it into the framework of modernizing the national governance system, and the report of the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China explicitly called for the construction of a grassroots governance platform of "grid-based management + digital support". In the post-pandemic era, grid-based governance has transformed from an emergency tool to a regular pillar of grassroots governance. In recent years, local governments around the world have deepened their grid governance practices through institutional

innovation and technological empowerment. However, with the transformation of grid governance from extensive management to refined services, the difficulty of grassroots governance has gradually increased, and the pressure on grassroots governance has also grown.

At present, the grassroots grid governance system is facing three prominent problems: First, the institutional framework is not yet perfect. Some regions have not formed systematic grid management normative documents, the standards for the division of rights and responsibilities are ambiguous, and there is a formalistic tendency of "implementing meetings through meetings". Second, the workload of grid workers is overloaded, and the phenomenon of "one person holding multiple positions" is widespread. Third, the performance supervision mechanism is weakened. Although a list of job responsibilities has been established, there is a lack of support measures such as dynamic assessment and accountability. Some grids have a perfunctory working mode of "emphasizing record-filling and neglecting on-site visits", which directly affects governance efficiency and public satisfaction.

At the same time, rural grid governance faces more complex and severe practical predicaments. Rural grid governance is confronted with structural conflicts between the administrative system and the tradition of self-governance, misalignment between public service supply and farmers' demands, and insufficient compatibility between technological empowerment and rural social culture. In addition, there is a phenomenon of "formalistic governance" in some rural grids, which is manifested as an excessive reliance on ledger management and neglect of actual service efficiency. Based on this, this study selected Village S in District P of Beijing for field investigation. By clarifying the labor order and duty list of grid workers, it explores the failure process and reconstruction path of the duty boundaries of rural grid workers, with the aim of achieving long-term development of grassroots governance.

## 2. Literature Review

(1) Two-way pressure system: The double squeeze of administrative pressure and public pressure

At present, grassroots self-governing organizations are facing the predicament of overburdened governance, with the core being "overload of duties" and "excessive accountability". [1] Especially in the rural governance field, while the execution of higher-level tasks shows a trend of rigidity, village cadres are facing a governance situation of scarce governance resources, heavy governance tasks and complex governance rules under the pressure system, making it difficult to meet the diverse public service demands of villagers and increasing the burden at the grassroots level. [2] [3] In 2024, the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued the "Decision on Further Comprehensively Deepening Reform and Promoting Modernization with Chinese Characteristics", which proposed that "a list of duties to be performed by townships (sub-districts) should be formulated and a long-term mechanism for reducing the burden on the grassroots should be improved." However, in the process of implementing the policy, some regions have encountered the predicament of path dependence, overloading compensation and retaliatory rebound, making it difficult for the central government's policy to achieve the expected results. [4] Regarding the reasons for the burden reduction predicament at the grassroots level, Ma pointed out that the systemic predicament of burden reduction at the grassroots level is the result of the combined effect of the pressure system, the resource-dependent structure and the informal operation mechanism. [5] Hu further pointed out that the reasons for the burden at the grassroots level have gone far beyond the single theoretical framework of the pressure system and are influenced by multiple variables such as "superior power, subordinate power, duty norms and supervision and assessment mechanisms" in the organizational system. Therefore, multiple governance measures need to be adopted to "relieve the burden" at the grassroots level. [6]

Grid workers have the responsibility of linking national policies to the grassroots level, and they have the dual attributes of being subordinate to the tasks of their superiors and directly serving the people. Some scholars have argued that "there are a thousand threads above and one needle below." Under the command of the "thousand threads", the grassroots government is overwhelmed with all

kinds of affairs, and some civil servants are even working as busy as five days and two days, day and night. Under the government management model of homogeneity of duties, governments at all levels manage a lot of things that should not be managed, cannot be managed, and cannot be managed well, and undertake too many matters that are not within their own scope of responsibility. [7] Lower-level governments have to take charge of everything, which makes it difficult for them to distinguish what they should and should not be responsible for.

In summary, grid governance can promote the overall orderliness of rural governance by easing the tension between exogenous and endogenous order. [8] But precisely because grid governance is endowed with a strong cohesive nature, in governance practice, rural grid workers need to take into account the various task indicators of higher-level departments and village cadres as well as the endogenous demands of villagers, which puts them in a two-way pressure system and makes their workload increasingly heavy. [9]

#### (2) Rural society: The deep embedding of relationships and emotions

The workload and pressure level of rural grid workers are even deeper. Because rural social networks are tighter, most villagers are acquaintances. Human feelings are the foundation of rural social practice, and villagers help and interact with each other by giving each other "face". [10] Most of the daily affairs of rural grassroots governance are trivial matters of family and neighborhood disputes, which can be resolved alone with the intervention of the comprehensive governance officer through "human relations", without the need for village officials, legal and public security personnel to be present. Grid workers have accumulated good credit capital by providing free assistance to other villagers before they take office. Therefore, after taking office, grid workers need to maintain their image of helping others while fulfilling their duties as grid workers, and these daily labors are included in the subjective assessment of villagers, which increases the pressure on grid workers to perform their duties. In rural society, if a grid worker refuses to meet a villager's personal demands, the villager will decide whether to cooperate based on their previous interaction experience with the grid worker, which to some extent will have a negative impact on subsequent household visits and other work. But in contrast, emotions are also an effective governance strategy for grassroots officials and grid workers. Emotional mobilization and communication can find a breakthrough for the implementation of complex problems. Especially when dealing with conflicts and disputes that are closely related to the vital interests of the grassroots people, emotional factors such as human feelings and face may be more effective than systems and techniques. [11] Emotion is an important bond for building a community of rural governance. Rural governance requires long-term investment and long-lasting effects. "Interest coupling" should not only meet the rational needs of villagers in the short term, but also conform to their value needs and be able to stimulate their emotional identification, that is, the coordinated construction of "interest - emotion". Otherwise, even if there are some interests, it will be difficult for villagers to accept and identify with them. [12] In short, relationships and emotions play an indispensable role in rural society and grassroots governance, and have a significant impact on the operation of the grassroots governance system.

#### (3) Failure of the list of responsibilities: Formalization, generalization and target substitution

In the context of overburdened rural grid workers, it is particularly important to establish and regulate daily work in accordance with a reasonable list of responsibilities. On March 24, 2015, the General Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and The General Office of the State Council issued the "Guiding Opinions on Promoting the Power List System of Local Government Departments at All Levels". The list of powers and responsibilities sets out the norms for the performance of duties by public officials in the administrative process and the boundaries of duties between public officials and departments at all levels, providing rigid standards for administrative actions. "The power and responsibility list came into being as a practical and effective system, but having a list does not mean having a list system," but the implementation of the power and responsibility list system is highly subjective in the pressure-driven operation of the government. [13] As for the criteria for classifying items on the list, the "9+X" standard proposed in the "Guiding

Opinions" is still in use at present, and local governments have developed different criteria based on this, resulting in confusion in the division of powers and responsibilities. [14]

As a result, in practice, the list of responsibilities often fails, and the actual responsibilities assumed by grassroots governments under the influence of multiple factors exceed the original limit of responsibility setting, resulting in a more obvious phenomenon of responsibility "overflow". The generalization of responsibilities at the grassroots level often manifests as an increasing number of additional tasks, such as the temporary arrangement of inspection tasks by higher-level governments occupying personnel and time at the grassroots level, and the complexity of actual administrative situations leading to a shortage of manpower. [15] There is no objective basis for the work of civil servants. The unified assessment content and methods often do not fully match the actual situation of the specific unit, but according to the regulations, the assessment must be based on the list of duties, resulting in the abstraction and homogenization of assessment results, making it difficult to accurately assess the actual situation of each department and its personnel. [16] This adds to the chaos in the governance process, forcing grassroots civil servants to bear more pressure.

#### (4) Informal cooperation: Driven by consensus, relationship and emotion

How grid workers can achieve long-term performance in the face of such high-intensity and low-reward daily labor. The community is not a cold organizational system, but a warm "home," which requires emphasis on emotional elements. Emotion is a scarce social resource that can integrate social relations, a precious governance resource that can increase governance flexibility. In a governance community, emotions between people and organizations are not entirely spontaneous and need to be "created" externally. Emotional elements should be used as important social capital and governance tools, and emotional relationship connections should be continuously strengthened to provide a source of trust and governance strategies for the governance community. [17] The study found that grid workers, through reaching consensus and uniting intentions, achieve mutual assistance and cooperation in their daily work, ultimately facilitate the advancement and implementation of complex tasks.

Existing studies have mostly focused on the refined governance experience of urban grids, lacking a systematic analysis of the particularities of rural grids. In terms of research methods, cross-sectional data analysis has been adopted, and there is a lack of examination of the dynamics and spatial heterogeneity of the governance process. This absence of research leads to policy design being prone to "urban governance" path dependence, making it difficult to effectively respond to the "last mile problem" in rural governance, and there is an urgent need to build a theoretical framework and research paradigm with local adaptability. This study found that grid workers, through reaching consensus, achieving unity intentions, and achieving mutual assistance and cooperation in daily labor, ultimately facilitate the advancement and implementation of complex tasks.

### **3. Research Methods**

#### (1) The importance of rural grid workers and the typicality of the field

In the process of modernizing grassroots governance, the grid worker team, as the "nerve endings", undertakes core functions such as policy transmission, public opinion collection, and conflict mediation. The establishment of the micro-grid team in District P of Beijing began around 2021. Through systematic top-level design and Party building leadership, a grassroots governance system covering the entire region, with clear responsibilities and efficient response has been gradually constructed. According to the implementation opinions on deepening the "micro-grid" governance mechanism, 320 villages (communities) in the district were divided into 3,170 micro-grids, with 45 households in each village and 130 households in each community as the standard, achieving full coverage of 197,000 households and 457,000 residents.

By 2024, District P has resolved over 280,000 public demands through micro-grids, with a conflict resolution rate of 35%, and has achieved remarkable results in key tasks such as environmental improvement and epidemic prevention and control. For instance, Town D has implemented a "grid +

points system" for quantitative assessment, clearing 22,000 problem locations in back streets and alleys; Town J has established a "321" response mechanism, enabling simple requests to be resolved within two hours. This model not only serves as a "sensitive tentacle" for grassroots governance, but also stimulates the intrinsic motivation of the masses to participate in governance through the concept of "turn to grid workers whenever there is a problem".

## (2) Overview of the field and investigation process

In this study, Village S in District P of Beijing was selected as the field site. Village S is a typical case of rural governance across the country, with a complete grid team structure. The "micro-grid" governance model was featured in the Farmers' Daily, incorporated into the municipal "immediate response to complaints" system, and promoted among 320 administrative villages in the district. Its governance experience is highly typical and scalable.

In the three-level linkage system of "village committee - grid worker - villagers" constructed in S Village, the grid worker plays a pivotal role that connects the upper and lower levels. Village S has achieved a governance loop of "people walking in the grid and affairs being handled in the network" through the fine grid division of every 45 households, in combination with the "five households in one group and ten households in one link" mechanism. Especially during the epidemic prevention and control period, the grid workers demonstrated strong emergency response capabilities. The grid map was able to precisely identify close contacts, complete the lockdown of the entire village within half an hour, and complete nucleic acid testing for all residents within 24 hours, effectively blocking the transmission chain and highlighting the "dual-purpose" feature of grassroots grid governance.

Unlike traditional hierarchical governance, the grid workers in Village S have shown a distinct feature of "flexible labor". On the one hand, grid workers undertake administrative functions such as policy implementation and information collection; on the other hand, they need to handle the individualized demands of villagers, embodying the dual roles of "policy implementers" and "people's livelihood service providers". This dynamic adjustment of duty boundaries provides a typical sample for understanding the labor order in grassroots governance.

The fieldwork period for this article is six months, from June to August 2024 and from January to March 2025. The location is Village S, District P, Beijing. Primary data were mainly collected through in-depth interviews and participatory observations. A total of 28 people were interviewed in depth, including all 8 grid workers, 3 grid leaders, 1 village party secretary, and 16 villagers belonging to the 8 grid workers. Each interview lasted for more than 2 hours. During the study, close ties were formed with the grid worker team, villagers and village cadres. The wechat group of the S village grid was continuously tracked and observed for eight months, and multiple daily patrols and household surveys were carried out together with the grid workers.

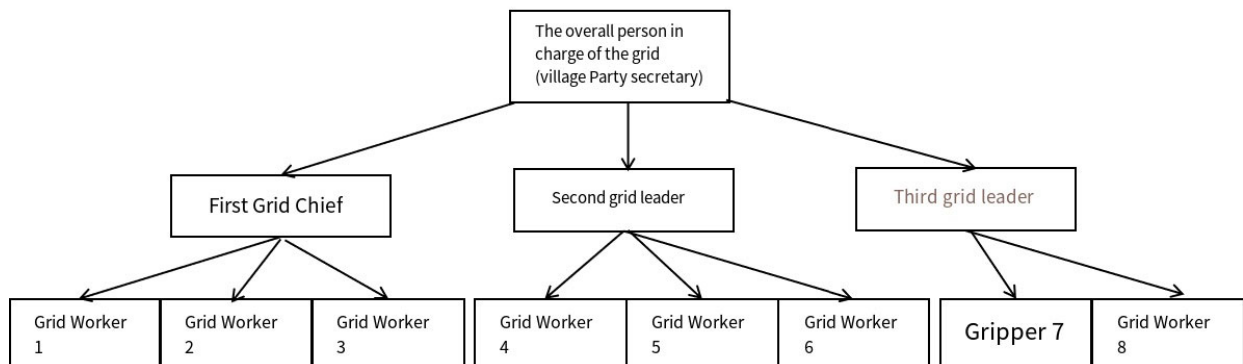
According to research, the construction of the S village grid team was initiated during the grassroots epidemic prevention period in 2021. Since then, relevant departments have successively issued documents such as "Opinions on Deepening the 'Micro-Grid' Governance Mechanism in District P", "Notice on Issuing the 'Interim Measures for the Management of Grid Workers in District P'", and "Interim Guiding Opinions on Further Strengthening the Assessment and Evaluation of Grid Workers in District P", promoting the gradual implementation of institutionalized management and assessment of grid workers in each village. In 2024, the town where Village S is located formulated the "Implementation Plan for Further Strengthening the Assessment and Evaluation of Grid Workers", which further clarified the assessment criteria and responsibilities of grid workers and stipulated three major categories of assessment criteria for grid workers: key work (45 points), daily work performance (25 points), and public satisfaction (30 points). Specifically, there are 10 criteria, including immediate response to complaints, civilized city creation, urban and rural environment, garbage classification, implementation of basic systems, mastery of basic information, daily household visits, online work, and completion of other key tasks. The village grid governance implements a reward and incentive mechanism and a quarterly performance assessment system for wages, and selects outstanding grid workers every month. The village grid team consists of one village party secretary, three grid leaders and eight grid workers. The details are as follows:

**Table 1.** Basic Information of Grid Workers in Village S

Name	Age	Gender	Relationship with Village S	Family financial situation
HBY	Post-70s	female	Native of the village	Farming in the village
HJC	Post-80s	female	Married out of the village	Farming in the village
CZ	Born in the 1970s	male	Native of the village	Children go out to work

**Table 1.** Basic Information Form of Grid Workers in Village S (Continued)

Name	Age	Gender	Relationship with Village S	Family financial situation
WLL	Post-80s	female	Native of the village	Farming in the village
HY	Post-90s	female	Native of the village	Farming in the village
ZJH	Post-80s	female	Native of the village	Farming in the village
ZHF	Post-80s	female	Native of the village	No other source of income
ZM	Post-90s	female	Native of the village	Run a small store



**Figure 1.** Structure diagram of the grid worker team in Village S

#### 4. The Labor Order of The Grid Workers in The Three Villages

(1) Grid workers and Villagers: Public-Private Interweaving, Demand-oriented and cooperative production

In Village S, since neither the grid workers nor the villagers are clearly aware of the specific provisions of the duty list, they have made a vague judgment on the boundaries of the grid workers' duties and the scope of their work, which is manifested in the interweaving of public and private

nature of the grid workers' work. "There is no clear division. Simply put, we go wherever we are needed and do whatever we are required to do." (202408WGY02) In the daily work of the grid workers, villagers often ask the grid workers for help in repairing household items, paying phone bills and utility bills, registering business licenses and other big and small matters. At the same time, the grid workers are also responsible for helping villagers clear the garbage in front of their houses and complete the garbage sorting. "Help people deal with more trivial matters. It's the common people, the elderly who can't use their mobile phones, or they can't light their gas cylinders, or they can't fix their electrical appliances, all come to us. So they approve of us. There are fewer young people in the village, mostly elderly people. There are more elderly people and they make up a larger proportion, about 60 percent. Basically, it's such a small matter, there's nothing big." (202408WGY04) For daily collective activities in the village, the grid workers are in a co-production relationship with the villagers, such as collective cleaning and fire drills. "It's a mess, really exhausting, doing it every day, getting numb all over every day, but we have to keep going. Last year, I mobilized a group of people to pick chili peppers. You have to pick them." (202408WGY01) In response to villagers' private requests, if grid workers refuse to help, there is a risk that villagers will not cooperate well in subsequent household visits. "Sometimes when he investigates something in your village, you go to his house and he thinks, 'What's the use of this? One person doing this, you know?' But we're familiar with people, right? You have to get them to cooperate a bit. We do the work too, right? "He does work too, but he does it anyway" (202408WGY01) Correspondingly, the villagers give positive evaluations to the grid workers and their families who actively offer help, thereby enhancing the overall reputation and social status of the grid workers and their families. As a result, there is a village-oriented labor relationship and reciprocal relationship between the grid workers and the villagers, and the labor order is characterized by the interweaving of public and private and cooperative production. It is worth noting that the labor order of the grid workers is closely related to the social and historical environment within the village. In the supplementary investigation of the neighboring villages of Village S, it was found that the existence of historical legacy issues such as clan enmity conflicts has a significant impact on the effectiveness of grid governance. The long-term accumulation of grievances among villagers has led to the backlog and delay of related issues in grid governance, which is not conducive to the development of related work.

#### (2) Grid workers and higher-level departments: Rigid obedience and one-way connection

Grid workers are in a bureaucratic system and are grassroots workers outside the establishment. Therefore, in their daily work, grid workers subjectively believe that village cadres and staff from higher-level departments are all their leaders. "We first accept all the tasks assigned by the leaders, including investigations and handling some disputes within our jurisdiction in the village, that is, conveying some instructions and serving the people." (202408WGY03) Objectively, grid workers also need to strictly carry out various tasks temporarily assigned by their superiors in the process of fulfilling the list of grid governance duties. "Some villagers are not very cooperative with the work of the grid workers, especially some more conservative ones. But in any case, the grid workers have to complete the tasks assigned by their superiors, such as the previous vaccination work, which they have to push forward even if it is difficult." (202503CZS03) Therefore, the interaction between grid workers and their superiors is characterized by an order of unconditional and rigid obedience, that is, a top-down one-way management relationship, without a bottom-up feedback mechanism.

#### (3) Grid workers and village cadres: Assessment and mobilization are related to interests

Village cadres are the direct managers of grid workers and are responsible for allocating various tasks assigned by their superiors and village official duties to the grid workers. From the very beginning of the operation of the grid governance system, village cadres are responsible for screening and mobilizing villagers to apply for grid positions. The village party secretary and the Organization Department of the district committee jointly assess grid positions in the form of written tests and interviews. After the grid workers are on the job, the village cadres carry out the duties of training, supervising and managing the grid workers, which specifically include assigning tasks to the grid workers, supporting their daily work, and ultimately evaluating them based on their performance. In

Village S, the village party secretary told the grid worker that he would be trained as a reserve cadre and given full promotion incentives. As a result, a close interaction was established between the village officials and the grid workers, and the grid workers developed a willingness to be re-elected for a long term. In addition, the village grid workers, through their effective interactive communication methods, can bring the village committee closer emotionally to the villagers, dispel the villagers' concerns about the leadership status and purpose of the village cadres' visits, and help the village cadres deal with the difficult daily household visits. At the same time, grid workers can also fully obtain first-hand information such as the latest policies and information during their tenure, so as to adjust their rational choice strategies.

Overall, there is a leadership and being led relationship between grid workers and village officials, and they are stakeholders to each other. It is particularly noted that the leadership style of the village officials themselves plays a non-negligible role in the work order of the grid workers. In this case, the village secretary of Village S, as a representative of the people's Congress, has the leadership characteristics of an institutional entrepreneur, attaches great importance to grid governance, and handles all matters, big and small, in the daily management of grid workers properly. Through supplementary process assessment of grid workers, the complex labor of grid workers has received full positive feedback, increasing the scientificity and rationality of the assessment mechanism. For example, for the arduous task of river channel cleaning assigned by superiors, even if the grid workers did not complete it thoroughly, the village secretary would give bonus points based on the numerous assistance provided by the certified grid workers to the villagers and the labor practice they put in, in order to balance the arduousness of the grid governance work and the rewards of the grid workers' efforts.

#### (4) Grid workers and relevant public servants: Part-time, assistance and substitution

In Village S, there are public servants such as cleaners, mediators and forest rangers. There is a phenomenon where grid workers concurrently serve as forest rangers and village committee members concurrently serve as grid workers, resulting in the characteristic of overlapping duties in their performance of duties. As a result, villagers, without knowing the list of duties of each public servant, have a vague understanding and even misunderstanding of the specific duties of the grid workers, thinking that the grid workers need to undertake the duties of forest rangers, mediators and cleaners. In fact, grid workers often assist cleaners in clearing the garbage in front of villagers' houses and the environment of the river, and their public labor is included in the assessment criteria. Over time, this has led to an overburdened labor order, resulting in an excessive workload for grid workers.

At the same time, the part-time job itself is part of the pressure on the grid worker, and due to the small number and variety of other full-time public servants, as well as the unsatisfactory performance of mediators themselves, the grid worker has shifted from an assisting role to a leading role under the condition that their duties overlap with those of the grid worker, thus increasing their pressure. As a result, in the context of the continuous advancement of grid governance and the increasingly strict supervision and accountability, the lack of dedicated personnel to handle public affairs has gradually extended to grid workers, making them undertake public affairs governance responsibilities outside their duty list, either individually or jointly, further increasing their labor burden. It is worth noting that village committee members serving as grid workers can enhance the close connection between cadres and the masses, which is conducive to the improvement of the relationship between cadres and the masses and the advancement of grid governance.

**Table 2.** Work Situation of the grid worker team in Village S1

Name	Former occupation as a grid worker	Part-time jobs	Reasons for choosing to be a grid worker	Reasons for Persistence	Grid worker exam Batch	Whether it was an outstanding grid worker in the last selection
HBY	Cleaner	Continue to work as a cleaner	On the original basis Increase revenue	Stable job	First Batch (Pre-pandemic)	is
HJC	Villagers from neighboring villages	Part-time Cleaner	Married into the village, Increase income	Have a sense of belonging	Second batch	is
CZ	Forest ranger	Continue to serve as a forest ranger	Increase income on top of the original basis	A stable job with a good income	First batch (Pre-pandemic)	no
WLL	Villagers	no	Enthusiasm Love by nature Be helpful	Needed Feeling good	Second batch	no
HY	Villagers	no	There are few in the village The technicians in the village are often asked for help	Feel valuable and the work is meaningful	Second batch	no
ZJH	Villagers	no	No job	Inseparable from grid workers This group	The second batch	no
ZHF	Villagers	no	I couldn't leave the village with my children, so I had to find a job within the village	It's interesting. Every day's work is real Do small things	The second batch	no

**Table 2.** The Work situation of the grid workers in Village S (Continued)2

Name	Former occupation as a grid worker	Part-time jobs	Reasons for choosing to be a grid worker	Reasons for Persistence	Grid worker exam Batch	Whether it was an outstanding grid worker in the last selection
ZM	Small store	Also serves as an assistant to the village committee	Get timely Information	There are many tasks for grid workers, but they can all be accomplished through hard work, and everyone respects us	Second batch	no

**Table 3.** Table of Village Affairs Personnel in S Village (excluding the two committees of the village)

Village staff Name	Grid worker	Cleaner	Mediator	Forest ranger	Assistant to the village secretary
Specific duties		Undertake the daily maintenance of the village's environmental sanitation, garbage sorting and the improvement of key areas	Handle villagers' disputes, petition matters and emergencies, and participate in the work of the village-level conflict mediation committee	Responsible for forest fire prevention patrols, wildlife protection and ecological resource management	Assist the village party secretary in organizational building, Party member management and supervision of key tasks
Allocation of personnel	8	5	1	3	2
Specific roles	Four part-time jobs	Two grid workers part-time + hired villagers	Members of the village committee	One grid worker concurrently + three full-time forest rangers	One part-time grid worker + one village committee member

(5) Among grid workers: Consensus-based cooperation

Village S is divided into eight grids, and each grid is equipped with one grid worker. Since the beginning of the epidemic prevention and control, the grid workers have made outstanding contributions to safeguarding the lives and safety of the people, and have accumulated a good social reputation and mass base. "We have all tried our best to complete the task, and there is nothing we can't do so far. Most of the villagers understand the work because during the pandemic, the first batch of cleaners who also served as grid workers were very conscientious and responsible to the people when they were working. So the people, though certainly not very supportive of our new grid workers, are quite supportive of us and of our daily work." (202408WGY04) The team of grid workers in this case is the second generation, inheriting the fine traditions of the first generation of grid workers, with strong professional skills and a high spirit of dedication to service. In the face of the complex tasks assigned by the higher authorities and the two-way pressure system under the diverse demands of the villagers, a consensual cooperation based on a common culture was formed among the grid workers. Specifically, some grid workers live in grids that are not exactly the same as those they manage. In order to facilitate their own work and meet the demands of their families, grid workers have reached consensus cooperation, that is, grid workers cooperate with and assist the work of other grid workers and commit to taking care of each other's families in the grids they are responsible for. In addition, in the rural society, villagers are in a system of acquaintances, and there is an emotional basis for mutual assistance and unity. Correspondingly, the work order of the grid workers is inseparable from the influence of the familiar society, and the eight grid workers thus form a close community of interests and emotions.

Village S has always adhered to Party building leadership in grid governance. Village cadres and grid workers have taken the lead in firming up ideals and beliefs and promoting the spirit of service, giving full play to the exemplary effect of a benchmark village in grid governance. In the daily work of grid governance, grid workers have consciously developed a relatively fair demand of "not being afraid of scarcity but of inequality". "Basically every network is more or less the same, and the treatment is the same" (202408WGY01) At the same time, the village party secretary also referred to the unified assessment criteria, comprehensively considered the labor effort and work effectiveness of the grid workers, and formed basically consistent performance results, giving the grid workers a

sense of balance and fairness at both the psychological and practical levels. In addition, Village S has a set of effective internal incentives and a unique grid culture. At the end of each year, the village secretary of S Village organizes eight grid workers to select the best grid worker of the year through internal voting and on-site mutual evaluation, and gives material rewards to those who work hard and contribute the most. This system has created a positive incentive model among grid workers and promoted a positive value recognition and unity atmosphere within the grid worker team. In summary, through consensus-based cooperative relationships, the grid workers worked together with the village cadres and resolutely completed the tasks assigned by the higher authorities, achieving effective operation of grid governance.

## **5. The Failure Process of Duty Boundaries**

### **(1) Publicizing private affairs**

In Village S, there is a complex social relationship between villagers and grid workers. On the one hand, the grid workers are relatives, friends and acquaintances with the villagers before taking office and often offer help to other villagers' requests. After taking up the role of grid workers, the grid workers and the villagers have reached a rule of continued interaction of "seeking help" and "providing help". On the other hand, the nature of the grid worker's work is highly helpful. If the grid worker fails to respond to various demands of the villagers, it will directly affect the villagers' evaluation of their performance, and the villagers will selectively cooperate with the grid worker's subsequent work based on whether the grid worker provides help. As a result, the boundaries of the grid workers' duties began to blur, showing the public nature of the villagers' private affairs.

### **(2) Responsibility for public affairs**

The list of duties of the grid workers in Village S covers all aspects of public affairs within the village and is broad and ambiguous. The grid duties list requires grid workers to "assist" in performing some of their duties. But in reality, because grid workers have rich working experience, their efficiency and effectiveness in handling affairs are higher than those of other public servants and even full-time staff. Therefore, most of the public affairs in the village, especially those that are not handled by full-time staff, are ultimately taken over and handled by grid workers. As a result, the relevant departments and villagers will develop a path dependence on the duties that the grid workers perform on a daily basis, and thus ignore the existing duty list and create a new operational duty list. At the same time, the list of responsibilities for the connection between the higher-level departments and the grid workers is also ambiguous and does not clearly define the collaborative relationship between the departments and the grid workers. Therefore, in practice, if there are tasks under the jurisdiction of each department that are similar in nature to the work of the grid worker, the relevant department will ask the grid worker to assist in completing them. On this basis, the handling process of various public affairs has been incorporated into the assessment scope of villagers, village cadres and relevant departments, which has led to the accountability of public affairs.

### **(3) The list of responsibilities has been extended**

In the process of performing duties, grid workers not only need to complete the prescribed actions on the duty list, but also face increased workload. For example, regarding environmental governance issues, the list of responsibilities reads as follows:

Environmental patrol. Take the lead in doing the "three responsibilities in front of the door" and garbage sorting work, and communicate with the segment cleaner in a timely manner when environmental problems are found.

But in fact, grid workers are responsible to the end, specifically by helping villagers complete garbage sorting, cleaning the front of the door, and being accountable for it.

Similarly, grid workers need to provide special services to specific groups of people in the area, as stated in the list of responsibilities:

Provide special services. Understand the needs of low-income, disabled, low-income, and key preferential treatment recipients within the grid, and assist in solving their actual difficulties.

But in reality, the service work of grid workers has long gone beyond the realm of "assistance", directly providing life services to special groups and acting as "service providers". In addition, the list of duties itself requires grid workers to "assist in solving practical difficulties" constitutes a blurring of boundaries, which leads to the immediate disappearance of grid workers' duty boundaries, as grid workers need to help low-income households solve many difficulties in life at any time.

In addition, the scope of assistance provided by grid workers to disadvantaged groups has expanded from individuals to families, that is, from helping individuals to intervening in family care and providing assistance to their families as a whole. Specifically, grid workers need to get involved in the families of disadvantaged groups, pay real-time attention to the disadvantaged groups, help them contact their families and assist their families in taking care of the disadvantaged groups. Their daily work is no longer just about understanding the difficulties and helping to solve them, but directly helping low-income households maintain their daily lives. It is worth noting that in the annual assessment of the village grid team, the grid worker who helps more low-income households in their grid is a bonus point, and the one with the highest score will receive a material reward, which directly confirms the failure of the boundaries of the duty list. When additional labor is incorporated into the assessment system, the boundaries of the duty list will also extend infinitely.

**Table 4.** Assessment form for the grid worker team in Village S

<b>Assessment Dimensions</b>	<b>Assessment content</b>	<b>Points</b>	<b>Proportion</b>	<b>Scoring basis</b>
Key Points Work Assessment	Respond immediately to complaints	15 points	45%	Timeliness of work order processing, rate of conflict resolution, Control of repeated demands
	Civilized City Creation	9 points		Publicity coverage, questionnaire participation rate, The effect of environmental improvement
	Urban and rural environmental inspection	9 points		Frequency of daily inspections, rate of problem rectification, Timeliness of reporting difficult issues
	Rural human settlements management	7 points		"Three responsibilities in front of the door" implementation rate, cleaning up sanitation dead corners, facility maintenance
	Supervision of garbage sorting	5 points		Classification accuracy, publicity coverage, Facility integrity
Daily Evaluation	Implementation of basic systems	5 points	25%	Attendance management, ledger recording Dress code, service attitude

**Table 4.** Assessment Form of the grid Worker Team in Village S (continued)

Assessment Dimensions	Assessment content	Points	Proportion	Scoring basis
Daily Evaluation	Basic information mastery	5 points		Human-land-things-organization data update rate, risk point warning response
	Frequency of home visits	5 points		The weekly visit rate of key households, the monthly visit rate of all staff, and the completeness of information collection
	Online work carried out	5 points		Group management standardization, timeliness of information forwarding, and activity of interaction
	Other key tasks	5 points		Quality of completion of temporary tasks assigned by the village committee
Democracy Evaluation	Public satisfaction	30 points	30%	"Good/Fairly Good/Average/poor" votes weighted calculation (see formula)
One vote Veto	Safety accident, Violations of discipline and law, etc	-	Downshift directly	If any of these conditions are triggered, the award will be disqualified

(4) Rigidity of the superior task

The grid governance in Village S is led by the Party Committee Organization Department, and the grid workers work in coordination with departments such as the Ministry of Public Security, the Ministry of Civil Affairs' household registration Department, and the Ministry of Environmental Protection in the course of performing their duties. As the village grid workers have the dual identities of villagers and public servants, they unconditionally obey the tasks assigned by their superiors in their daily work. Even if the tasks exceed the grid workers' duty list, the grid workers choose to carry them out resolutely. However, since the departments have not formed a clear list of responsibilities for working with the grid workers, in practice, they often connect with the village cadres according to their own complex task requirements and assign operational tasks related to the duties of the grid workers. Take the information collection task assigned by the public security department as an example. The description of "information officer" and "collector" in the grid officer's duty list is as follows:

Basic information collection. Collect and update basic information in a dynamic manner, and have a clear understanding of the situation of people, places, events and things within the grid.

Understand public sentiment and public opinion. Keep a diary of public sentiment and report major public sentiment to the village (community) in a timely manner.

Keep important information in mind. Timely discover and report good deeds, exemplary deeds and behaviors that affect social stability and harm the interests of villagers within the village (community).

Apparently, the information collection tasks assigned by the relevant departments are not on the list of responsibilities, but the performance of such tasks remains an important part of the assessment and evaluation system for grid workers. It is worth noting that assisting the public security department in repeatedly visiting households to investigate information may to some extent lead villagers to reject the work of grid workers, that is, villagers think that grid workers interfere with their daily lives, thereby affecting their evaluation of grid workers and hindering the subsequent work of grid workers.

In addition, grid workers also cooperate with the Ministry of Health to carry out sanitation tasks in order to meet the requirements of the "Three Responsibilities in Front of the Door", garbage classification and river cleaning indicators. Assist the Disabled Persons' Federation and help it implement the protection work for the disabled; Assist the National Health Commission and higher-level hospitals in conducting daily physical examinations. This is described in the list of duties for grid workers as follows:

Other assigned tasks. Other temporary and urgent tasks assigned by superiors.

Although the list of duties indicates that grid workers need to complete temporary tasks assigned by their superiors, the cooperation between grid workers and other departments has long gone beyond the nature of "temporary" and "urgent", and has formed a regular and typed work feature, that is, undertaking various related tasks assigned by the superior department at fixed times. At the same time, there is a lack of feedback mechanism in the connection between grid workers and higher-level departments, which fails to reflect the problem of their overburden at the grassroots level in grid governance. The grid system lacks a supervisory department for grid workers, and grid workers only maintain close contact with village cadres, who manage grid workers as they are both public servants and villagers. Therefore, The current situation where the boundaries of duties of grid workers fail and the long-established labor order are difficult to change and optimize.

#### (5) Daily labor performance

The performance of duties by grid workers is directly supervised and evaluated by villagers, village cadres and higher-level departments, presenting a distinct feature of daily labor performance. Specifically, villagers can give their opinions directly to the village cadres through the wechat group chat of S Village, and they can also reflect their satisfaction with the work of the grid workers by whether they sign during the process of collecting opinions in households. The village party secretary directly assesses the grid workers through his direct participation and observation of their work, as well as feedback from various aspects such as villagers and higher-level departments.

But the assessment is based on the village party secretary having a clear understanding of the boundaries of the grid worker's duties, following the objective standards of the existing duty list, and avoiding absorbing too many subjective opinions to make a wrong evaluation of the grid worker's work and thereby affecting the grid worker's enthusiasm for work. In Village S, grid workers need to go door-to-door to collect villagers' opinions during the year-end assessment, and villagers selectively sign based on their usual interaction experiences with the grid workers, and the signatures represent satisfaction with the grid workers' work. At the same time, villagers' understanding and support for the work of grid workers, as well as the leadership style of village officials, play a crucial role in the effectiveness of grid governance. Generally speaking, the village party secretary needs to incorporate the overall work process of the grid workers into the assessment. If only the governance results and the one-sided opinions of villagers and higher-level departments are taken into account, it is easy for the work of the grid workers to fail to receive the recognition they deserve, and the long-term development of rural grid governance will also be deadlocked.

#### (6) Subjectivity of assessment criteria

In rural society, some villagers and village officials, constrained by their own educational attainment and cognitive level, find it difficult to make rational judgments on the work of grid workers in accordance with objective assessment criteria. Their evaluations are often subjective and

immediate, and are affected by primacy effect, recency effect and their own interests, making it difficult to make fair and objective evaluations of the work of grid workers. At the same time, due to the high complexity of public affairs within the village, the work of grid workers far exceeds the actions and scope stipulated in the duty list, and some tasks assigned by superiors are long-term and arduous, making it difficult to achieve results in short-term governance measures. Therefore, the village party secretary needs to take into account the evaluation of each subject and the effectiveness of the tasks. It is undeniable that village officials will inevitably involve subjective evaluation in the assessment of grid workers, but subjective evaluation does not necessarily produce negative results. In this case, the village party secretary combined the use of informal process assessment to give positive feedback on the work of the village grid workers. Overall, the system of action as assessment and assessment as pressure has strengthened the labor order. In addition, there is no result feedback talk after the evaluation of village cadres, which leads grid workers to be unaware of the assessment details and results, and they can only avoid risks by completing tasks more actively, thereby increasing their sense of tension and pressure.

## **6. The Path of Reconstructing the Boundaries of Responsibilities**

In terms of labor order, the interaction between grid workers and villagers, superiors, and village cadres in Village S shows complex characteristics such as public-private interweaving and rigid obedience, and there are phenomena of mutual assistance and cooperation among grid workers and collective balanced performance. Problems such as the publicization of private affairs, the accountability of public affairs, the pressurization of duty lists, the rigidity of tasks assigned by superiors, the performance of daily labor, the subjectivity of assessment standards, and the lack of feedback mechanisms have severely restricted the effectiveness of grid governance and the enthusiasm of grid workers, leading to the failure of duty boundaries. To effectively address these predicaments, a comprehensive and systematic strategy system needs to be established, starting from multiple dimensions such as institutions, processes, incentives, supervision and evaluation, and cultural shaping, to achieve innovation and development in grid governance.

### **(1) Institutional reconstruction: Laying a solid foundation for the boundaries of responsibilities**

Institutional reconfiguration is at the core of addressing the problem of ambiguous boundaries of responsibilities for grid workers. The root cause of the confusion of duties faced by grid workers in Village S in Beijing lies in the lack of clear institutional norms. To address this, it is imperative to draw on the principle of "statutory authority" in Japan's Local Autonomy Law and formulate a specific regulation, "Guidelines for the Performance of Duties by Urban and Rural Community Grid Workers". Through this regulation, a list of 28 basic duties in six major categories, including basic information collection (covering dynamic updates of population and housing, etc.), agency services for public welfare (including 18 types of matters such as social security and medical insurance), and safety hazard investigation, is clearly defined. By subtracting the list of duties for grid workers (reducing the ambiguous and the word "assist"), the situation where grid workers in Village S undertake a large number of non-professional personal tasks such as sweeping the floor and paying phone bills can be fundamentally prevented, and the boundaries of duties can be prevented from being extended at will.

In addition, it is suggested that the "three Reviews and three preparations" task access procedure be implemented, namely, the initial review by the township where the grid worker is located, the joint review by the political and legal affairs commission, the legality review by the judicial bureau, and the final report to the discipline inspection and supervision commission for record and public announcement, drawing on the experience of Zhejiang's "Twenty Measures for Reducing the Burden on Grassroots". Ensure that the newly added tasks are legal and reasonable, and avoid the problem of excessive accumulation of tasks by grid workers in Village S due to the increased burden on the duty list.

### **(2) Process reengineering: Improve the operational efficiency of grid governance**

1. Add dedicated personnel for public affairs and define the boundaries of village affairs responsibilities

In the process of optimizing the procedures, add full-time positions for public affairs, reduce part-time work, and assign dedicated personnel to handle professional and repetitive tasks such as the maintenance of public facilities and environmental sanitation management to avoid misleading grid workers into overstepping their boundaries. Take Village S as an example. Previously, grid workers had to handle complex core duties such as collecting public opinions and mediating conflicts, as well as public affairs such as road cleaning and street lamp maintenance, resulting in scattered work energy and low efficiency. The root cause lies in the small number of professional village workers in S Village (there is only one mediator) and the fact that some grid workers also work as cleaners and forest rangers. At the same time, village affairs should be managed uniformly by the village committee, reducing the possibility for grid workers to assist the village committee in managing other village affairs (such as serving as assistants to the village secretary), so that grid workers can focus on their own duties, such as understanding the needs of residents, promptly identifying and mediating neighborhood disputes, improving the refinement of community governance, and enhancing the professionalism and efficiency of public affairs handling.

2. Build an integrated online and offline feedback platform

Develop a dedicated APP or set up a website online, through which grid workers can upload problems encountered in their work in real time, such as finding safety hazards in a certain area or residents having questions about a certain policy. Regular work exchange meetings are organized offline, inviting all levels of management departments and grid workers to participate together. Grid workers can elaborate on the problem situation in detail, and management departments provide on-site answers and solutions. In response to feedback issues, relevant departments respond promptly and formulate detailed solutions to form a closed loop of work, avoiding repetitive tasks and overloading of tasks by grid workers. Assign specific personnel to carry out tasks at the grassroots level to avoid the situation where superiors shirk and shift tasks from their own departments to the grid worker team.

(3) Incentive compatibility: Maintain a good ecosystem for the grid worker team

Break the traditional one-size-fits-all assessment model and establish a system of publicizing duties and assessment within the village. Make the assessment of grid workers transparent, allowing them to clearly understand the scope of their duties and the specific bonus or deduction of each item in the current quarter, promoting self-reflection and self-improvement. At the same time, the standardization of performance basis is an important guarantee of fairness in incentives. Develop a detailed performance list, clearly defining assessment indicators and weights such as the accuracy of information collection and service satisfaction. When conducting evaluations, strictly follow the list content, avoid including irrelevant matters in the comprehensive judgment, prevent grid workers from getting bonus points for performing additional tasks, thereby reducing the phenomenon of internal competition among grid workers and ensuring fairness and impartiality in the evaluation.

Supervising the dimensions of evaluation and objectifying performance standards are key to ensuring the scientific nature of the evaluation. Set reasonable and differentiated assessment criteria for grids of different regions and task difficulties. For grids with a high concentration of people, complex personnel flow, and acute conflicts, appropriate consideration should be given to the difficulty of information collection, and the weight of assessment indicators should be adjusted; For grids with relatively simple environments, focus on indicators such as the improvement of service quality to ensure that the assessment results reflect the differences between the actual performance of grid workers and the working environment, and encourage all grid workers to work actively in their respective positions.

In terms of salary structure, a composite model of "basic salary + performance bonus + project allowance" will be established. A performance bonus of 20% of the basic salary will be given to grid workers who perform well in the annual assessment, and additional special allowances will be given to those who obtain professional qualifications such as social workers to encourage grid workers to

improve their professional qualities. At the same time, open up dual career development channels. On the one hand, establish an administrative promotion sequence of "junior grid worker - senior supervisor - community secretary" to provide promotion space for grid workers with management ability; On the other hand, the professional title of "Grid Governance Engineer" will be added to enable them to enjoy the same treatment as professional and technical positions in public institutions, providing a development path for professional and technical grid workers and changing the restricted career development situation of grid workers in Village S.

(4) Supervision and evaluation: Ensure the standardized operation of grid governance

Improving the supervision and evaluation mechanism is an important guarantee for ensuring the standardized operation of grid governance. We have developed a list of fault tolerance and exemption for grid workers, which clearly defines eight types of exemption situations such as emergency response to natural disasters and handling of public emergencies, and exempts them from liability for work mistakes not caused by subjective intent, creating a relaxed working environment for grid workers and preventing them from being overly cautious about mistakes. Drawing on the innovative practice of Shenzhen's "Fengqiao Experience", district and county-level grid workers' rights protection centers have been established to provide one-stop services such as legal aid, psychological counseling, and work injury claims, to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of grid workers and promote the sound development of the grid team.

(5) Cultural shaping: Create a good atmosphere of co-construction and co-governance

Cultural shaping is dedicated to fostering a positive and uplifting cultural ecosystem for grid governance. Carry out the annual selection of "Most Beautiful Grid Workers", set up multi-dimensional and distinctive awards such as "Service Pioneers" and "Innovation Experts", and include the selected ones in the talent pool of reserve cadres of the Party and government for key cultivation, set up role models of outstanding grid workers, and inspire the sense of honor and mission of grid workers. At the same time, the village is fostering a sense of community governance that "everyone has a responsibility and everyone fulfills their duties", enhancing villagers' awareness of solving affairs by themselves and avoiding over-reliance on grid workers. Change the previous situation of low participation of villagers in Village S, promote active participation of community residents in grid governance, and create a good situation of co-construction, co-governance and co-sharing.

## 7. Conclusions

This study, through field investigation of grassroots grid workers in Village S in Beijing, reveals the deep-seated contradiction between the ambiguity of duty boundaries and the alienation of labor order in the practice of grid-based governance. The study found that the network of acquaintances in rural society and the rigid requirements of the administrative system are squeezing each other, causing grid workers to fall into the role dilemma of "all-rounders" : on the one hand, private affairs are incorporated into public governance due to personal ties, and the infinite demands of villagers are in tension with the limited list of responsibilities; On the other hand, the rigid transmission of higher-level tasks and the formalization of assessment mechanisms force grid workers to constantly adjust between the identities of "policy enforcer" and "service provider of people's livelihood", creating a vicious cycle of flexible labor. This dissolution of the boundaries of responsibility not only intensifies the tendency of "involution" in grassroots governance, but also reflects the difficulty of matching institutional supply with local practice in the process of modernizing national governance.

Research has confirmed that the failure of the grid workers' duty boundaries follows the evolutionary logic of "publicizing private affairs - publicizing public affairs - extending the duty list", and its root lies in the structural conflict between the bureaucratic logic and the local logic. Technology empowerment has failed to effectively break through the cultural barriers of rural society, instead giving rise to formalistic response strategies due to the digitalization orientation of assessment indicators. The case of Village S shows that relying solely on "burden reduction lists" or "technology substitution" cannot solve the predicament of grassroots governance. It is necessary to build a multi-

dimensional collaborative governance ecosystem - both defining the boundaries of rights and responsibilities through institutional design and achieving task diversion through the smart grid management system; Not only should differentiated incentive mechanisms be established to invigorate the team, but also a governance culture of "everyone's responsibility" should be cultivated to relieve the burden of human relationships. Only by achieving a triple breakthrough in institutional restructuring, process reengineering and cultural shaping can we promote the transformation of grid governance from an "emergency tool" to a "long-term governance".

Although this study focuses on the typical case of Village S, the disorder of responsibility boundaries it reveals has universal warning significance. In the context of the deepening of the rural revitalization strategy, how to balance the efficiency pursuit of technological governance with the value rationality of rural society and build a more resilient grassroots governance system still requires continuous deepening of theoretical exploration and practical innovation. Future research could be extended to different regional types of rural grids, and adaptive governance models could be extracted through cross-case comparisons to provide theoretical support for modernizing the national governance system and governance capacity.

## References

- [1] Zhu Guanglei, Huang Yazhuo. From "Responsibility isomorphism" to the Government Responsibility System: The Generation and resolution of the phenomenon of Overburdened Grassroots [J]. China's administrative management, 2024, (4) : 6-15. DOI: 10.19735 / j.i SSN. 1006-0863.2024.04.01.
- [2] Li Yaolei. From Flexibility to Rigidity: Manifestations, Impacts and Optimizations of Changes in the Operation of Pressure-type Systems [J] Ningxia Social Sciences, 2022, (01):45-53.
- [3] Luo Qiangqiang, Liu Tingting. Composite governance: complex situation of rural governance practice logic [J]. Journal of henan normal university (philosophy and social sciences edition), 2025,52 (01), 40-46. DOI: 10.16366 / j.carol carroll nki. 1000-2359.2025.01.06.
- [4] [https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/202407/content\\_6963770.htm](https://www.gov.cn/zhengce/202407/content_6963770.htm)
- [5] Zhang Guolei, Gong Rui, Shen Feiwei. The implementation dilemma and Optimization path of the Burden Reduction policy at the grassroots level under the Pressure System: A Research Analysis based on M Town in the Pearl River Delta [J]. Journal of guizhou normal university (social science edition), 2024, (5) : 70-80. The DOI: 10.16614 / j.g znuj. SKB. 2024.05.007.
- [6] Ma Guodong. A study on the Systemic Dilemma and Governance Path of reducing Burden in Grassroots Communities: An Analysis based on "Rights and Responsibilities System - Resource Structure - Operation Mechanism" [J]. Leadership science, 2024, (5) : 128-132. The DOI: 10.19572 / j.carol carroll nki LDKX. 2024.05.019.
- [7] Hu Xiaodong. Grassroots "Burden Reduction" and Governance: A Discussion on Root Factors [J]. Governance Research, 2022,38 (02):32-43+124-125.
- [8] Zhou Zhenchao, Zhang Jincheng. Layer upon layer of escalation under duty isomorphism - An explanatory framework for the long-standing Formalism [J]. Theoretical Discussion,2018,(04):28-33+1.DOI:10.16354/j.cnki.23-1013/d.2018.04.004.
- [9] Peng Shan, Tang Shaoyi. Operational logic of Rural grid-based Governance from the perspective of Rural order [J]. Guizhou Social Sciences, 2024, (11):137-145.
- [10] Wu Jinqun, Chen Yuanxun. The two-way Pressure System in Grassroots Governance and Its Operating logic: A Case Study based on the Grid Management of Town H [J]. Journal of guangxi normal university (philosophy and social sciences edition), 2024, 60 (02) : 12-27. DOI: 10.16088 / j.i SSN. 1001-6597.2024.02.002.
- [11] Yan Hong: "Acquaintance Society, Face and the Reproduction of Village Publicness," Journal of South China Agricultural University (Social Sciences Edition), No. 4,2023.
- [12] Lu Chuanzhen. Emotional Consultation: The Internal Logic for the Effective Operation of Rural Grassroots Consultative Governance - an Analysis based on the Case of the Protection and Utilization of the Ancient Village in Town C [J]. Journal of yunnan university (social science edition), 2023, 22 (01) : 104-114. The DOI: 10.19833 / j.carol carroll nki jyu. 2023.01.014.

- [13] Pan Bo, Wang Lifeng. How external forces "activate" the Endogenous Dynamics of Rural Governance communities: A Case Study based on Volunteer Services in K Village, E City [J]. Journal of central university for nationalities (philosophy and social sciences edition), 2024 ploydy (4) : 100-113. The DOI: 10.15970 / j.carol carroll nki. 1005-8575.2024.04.012.
- [14] Liang Yuan. Let the list of powers and responsibilities bear institutional fruits in practical application [J]. Chinese Public Administration,2018,(8):13-17.
- [15] Zhu Guanglei, Zhao Zhiyuan. The logic of the construction of the list of powers and responsibilities system from the perspective of the government responsibility system [J]. Journal of Nankai University (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition),2020,(03):1-9.
- [16] Yang Qiuyue, Qiu Shi. Flexible Governance under the Generalization of Responsibilities: An explanatory Framework for the "Extra-institutional expansion" of grassroots governments [J]. Nanjing, social science, 2025 (01) : 70-81. The DOI: 10.15937 / j.carol carroll nki issn1001-8263.2025.01.008.
- [17] Wu Zhenxing. Thoughts on Improving the Performance Evaluation System for Civil Servants in China [J]. Journal of South China Tropical Agricultural University,2003,(01):56-60.
- [18] Sun Qiangqiang. Relationship Reengineering: The Operational logic of Grassroots Party Organizations Leading the Community Governance Community [J]. The CPC tianjin municipal party committee party school journal, 2024, 26 (01) : 78-87. The DOI: 10.16029 / j.carol carroll nki. 1008-410 - x. 2024.01.008.
- [19] Guo Taihui, Niu Chaojia. Innovation of Grassroots Governance mechanism by embedding Bureaucracy into the "human Network" - A Case study of County D [J]. Governance research, 2024, 40 (6) : 105-122 + 159-160 DOI: 10.15944 / j.carol carroll nki. 33-1010 / d. 2024.06.009.
- [20] Zhu Guanglei, Zhang Zhihong. Critique of "Isomorphism of Duties" [J]. China Think Tank,2013,(01):36-53.
- [21] Yan Kun, Sun Yanfei. Forming Brothers: Situational Relationships and the Labor Order of Food Delivery Riders [J]. Sociological Review,2024,12(06):205-229.