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Research on How Party Building Leadership Boosts Rural Revitalization: An Analysis from the Organizational Perspective

Chuyuan Zhong[1,2*], Danyang Li[3]

[1]College of Marxism, Northwest A&F University, Xi'an, China
[2]Research Center for Rural Revitalization and Western Rural Governance, Northwest A&F University, Xi'an, China
[3]College of Humanities and Social Development, Northwest A&F University, Xi'an, China
[*]Corresponding Author, Email: 18672175670@163.com

Abstract. Organizational revitalization is the driving engine and fundamental guarantee for rural revitalization. By constructing an analytical framework of "the organizational foundation of Party building leadership for rural revitalization", this study finds that Party building leadership achieves organizational reconstruction through the mechanisms of elite absorption, organizational embedding and departmental integration; realizes organizational revitalization through the mechanisms of concept injection, organizational activation and network linkage; and promotes comprehensive revitalization through the mechanisms of value guidance, participation mobilization and shared development. Among them, the organizational reconstruction and organizational revitalization mechanisms of Party building leadership for rural revitalization have contingency, which need to be flexibly selected according to the village's resource endowment and original organizational foundation, so as to promote the comprehensive rural revitalization. This has certain enlightening significance for improving the policy accessibility of Party building leadership to adapt to the complex practical scenarios of rural revitalization.

Keywords: Party building leadership, rural revitalization, organizational foundation, process evolution mechanism

1. Introduction

The *Opinions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council on Comprehensively Promoting Rural Revitalization and Accelerating Agricultural and Rural Modernization* points out that "we should give full play to the leading role of rural primary-level Party organizations and continue to promote rural revitalization through Party building". The relationship between Party building leadership and rural revitalization has attracted extensive attention from the academic circle, which mainly focuses on subject strategies, practical experience and operation mechanisms. First, the perspective of subject strategy. As the personalized agents of the Party leading rural revitalization with a positive attitude, resident cadres and work teams need to

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play the roles of practitioners of the mass line, assistants of rural primary-level organizations, connectors of urban-rural integration and cultivators of endogenous driving forces of villages [1]. In practice, they form a "dual-track parallel" governance subject with the village two committees of rural autonomy, representing the formal state power and the grassroots autonomous force respectively [2]. Second, the perspective of practical experience. As the support at the methodological level, the governing concepts of "serving the people" and "taking the people as the center" guide all governance subjects to maintain sufficient sensitivity to the demands of the people through the mechanism of "political leadership of Party building" [3]. Following the concept of the mass line, a series of practical models of Party building leading rural revitalization have been derived, including the "Party branch-led cooperatives" model targeting the development of collective economy and the reorganization of village communities [4], and the "village-enterprise development joint Party committee" model that agglomerate the joint force of rural revitalization through cooperative governance of co-construction, co-governance and shared benefits [5]. Finally, the perspective of operation mechanism. The mechanism of primary-level Party organizations leading society is manifested as political mechanism, organizational mechanism, absorption mechanism and service mechanism, which respectively construct the leadership, organizational capacity, cohesion and responsiveness of primary-level Party organizations [6].

Although existing research has achieved fruitful results, there are still areas to be improved. On the one hand, previous studies tend to adopt fragmented and exogenous perspectives such as subject, concept, ability, rule, resource and system, which are difficult to explore the integrated elements of Party building leadership for rural revitalization and the original organizational tradition. On the other hand, the practice of Party building leading rural revitalization is a dynamic development process, and previous studies lack the distinction of its practical links and the revelation of the dynamic process evolution mechanism of different links. Therefore, based on the organizational perspective, this paper uses the research methods of case analysis and case comparison to construct a multi-dimensional integrated organizational analysis framework, studies how Party building leadership constructs the organizational foundation of rural revitalization and the practical logic of Party building leadership promoting rural revitalization, and deeply reveals the organizational mechanism and process evolution mechanism of Party building leadership for rural revitalization.

2. The organizational foundation of Party building leadership for rural revitalization: an analytical framework

2.1. From "organization" to "leadership": evolution of state-society relations and concept definition

The one-way organization and mobilization mechanism of modern political parties for scattered farmers is summarized as "the Party organizing society", which further derives governance models such as "party-state" and "party-government system". Since the reform and opening up, with the institutional withdrawal of state power and the diffusion of economic liberalization, it has been replaced by the structural transformation of political parties leading society, that is, "giving play to the functions of Party organizations in leading, agglomerate and serving grassroots society" [6]. In this sense, reducing the Party's leadership of society to the adaptive discourse of Party building leading rural revitalization, its basic meaning is characterized by taking the two-way interaction between primary-level Party organizations and rural society as the basic behavior mode, taking serving the masses and rural revitalization as the strategic goal orientation, and paying more

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attention to the organizational succession and harmonious coexistence between primary-level Party organizations and farmers' self-organizations.

2.2. From "organizational revitalization" to "comprehensive revitalization": the organizational foundation of rural revitalization

Since modern times, with the disintegration of the small-scale peasant economy and serious cultural imbalance, the rural construction movement has put forward the prescription of reconstructing rural society through organizational reconstruction, emphasizing that "if Chinese people do not join group organizations in the current world, they will have no way to survive" [7]. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the organizational foundation of strip and block governance with the integration of the Party and government was established. Since the reform and opening up, farmers' families that have been gradually de-organized in the contract responsibility system have not only faced the dilemma of public services caused by the empty shell of collective economic organizations, but also encountered the squeeze of foreign capital in the transformation of the agricultural market. How to rebuild rural subjectivity based on the reorganization of farmers has become the foundation of rural revitalization in the new era.

2.3. The organizational foundation of Party building leadership for rural revitalization: a correlation analytical framework

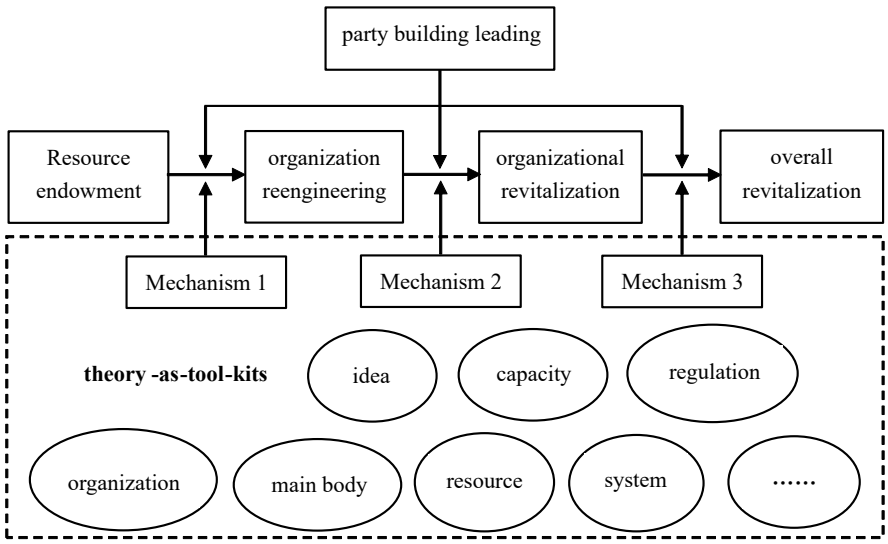


Figure 1. Multi-dimensional integrated organizational analysis framework of Party building leadership and rural revitalization

It can be seen that the reason why Party building leadership can consolidate the foundation of rural revitalization lies in organizational revitalization. Thus, an analytical framework of "the organizational foundation of Party building leadership for rural revitalization" is constructed, including three dynamic links and processes: organizational reconstruction, organizational revitalization and comprehensive revitalization. Among them, organizational reconstruction refers to the realization of organizational production and reproduction by Party building factors through creating new organizations and transforming old ones; organizational revitalization refers to the effective operation of the transformed organizations promoted by Party building leadership;

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comprehensive revitalization refers to that Party building leadership promotes rural construction, improves rural governance and promotes rural development through organizational revitalization. In the analysis of the process mechanisms of the above three links, based on the village practice itself, the instrumental elements such as subject, concept, ability, resource, rule and system in the scenario of rural revitalization are summarized, so that the theoretical discussion can truly touch the complex village governance situation and form knowledge supplement on Party building leadership for rural revitalization at the meso level.

3. Presentation of typical cases of Party building leadership for rural revitalization

The cases selected in this paper are all innovative practice models of local Party building leading rural revitalization, which have achieved certain governance effects, formed systematic local experience, and taken into account different aspects of rural revitalization.

3.1. Eastern Zhejiang case: Party building leadership and rural cultural construction

Case Village C[1] is a grouped central village in Shangyu, eastern Zhejiang, with a registered population of 2,911, including 91 Party members. It has been rated as a Civilized Demonstration Village of Zhejiang Province for many consecutive years. With the intensification of the materialization tendency of the market economy, Village C and the Daoxu Sub-district where it is located are generally facing the realistic obstruction of the lack of governance subjects and the overload of governance tasks. To this end, Daoxu Sub-district actively implements the policy of attracting capable people to return, and expands the functional setting of the Party committee relying on the adjustment of administrative divisions, so as to provide an institutionalized platform for outgoing rural sages to return to the village governance field. Under the policy mobilization of the Party committee, XHX, a young rural sage, returned to his hometown to participate in the general election and was successfully elected as the secretary of the General Party Branch of Village C. Secretary XHX gained emotional acceptance from difficult Party members and the masses through paired assistance and voluntary services. At the same time, he took the lead in donating money and called on 16 rural sages who have long been enthusiastic about village development to jointly establish a rural sage foundation. 3% of the annualized income is used to establish a cultural public welfare network benefiting the whole village, including youth scholarships, condolences to the elderly, and medical assistance for serious illnesses. So far, through emotional bonding and overall reciprocity, Secretary XHX has realized the organizational restoration of the village's cultural network, which has greatly improved the village's cultural construction and villagers' cultural life.

3.2. Central Hubei case: Party building leadership and rural public governance

Case Village Y is located in an immigrant resettlement area in central Hubei, with a registered population of 1,235 and a cultivated land area of 2,657 mu. The contradiction of agricultural land caused by more people and less land is continuous, and villagers' petitions triggered by the alienation of the two committees are frequent. Under this background, HW, deputy director of the Municipal Party Committee Policy Research Office, was selected to serve as the first secretary of the village. Taking organizational reconstruction as the starting point, HW held meetings of Party

[1] In accordance with academic norms, all place names, personal names, etc. appearing in this paper have beenanonymized.

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members and the masses, absorbed 2 demobilized soldiers into the Party branch, and successfully discovered 5 backbone villagers through the general election. At the same time, taking financial audit, project supervision, contradiction mediation and other matters as the event elements to stimulate the independent unity of villagers in Village Y, HW, together with the village two committees, gave Party members and the masses greater rights to collaborative action and shared opportunities for development. Taking project supervision as an example, villagers can equally share the employment opportunities in projects such as cultural corridors and villagers' homes, and at the same time form a supervision team to serve as supervisors for recording work and materials. Since then, Party members and the masses have participated in the governance of Village Y with greater enthusiasm, and the village was awarded the National Demonstration Village for Rural Governance in 2019.

3.3. Northern Fujian case: Party building leadership and rural industrial development

Case Village ZF is located in northwestern Fujian, with a registered population of 1,360 and a cultivated land area of 1,324 mu. To maintain their family livelihood, more than 30% of Party members and nearly 70% of villagers go out to work and do business in Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen, and one-third of the mountain terraced fields are abandoned. To this end, the Party Committee of ZF Village, together with 12 adjacent villages, established an industrial cooperative union. The union concentratedly transferred 2,000 mu of land at a price of 200 yuan per mu per year and built the Qingyu Orange project base. After the completion of the base, the cooperative union reached a long-term cooperation with the more powerful Jinyuan Agricultural Co., Ltd. through land trusteeship and factor equity participation. The two parties agreed that the cooperative union would be responsible for coordinating capital investment, labor dispatch and dispute mediation in the project area, and the trusteeship company would be responsible for the management, operation and sales of Qingyu Orange. Since then, ZF Village has realized the integration of factors on a larger scale relying on the industrial cooperative union and trusteeship services under the leadership of the alliance Party committee, and has also increased the collective economic income through land transfer management fees and fixed dividends. Villagers have also joined in the industrial revitalization and achieved wage income growth.

4. The organizational foundation of Party building leadership boosting rural revitalization

4.1. Organizational reconstruction mechanism of Party building leadership

By summarizing the specific ways in which the Party building leadership mechanism plays a role in typical cases, this paper sums up the practical mechanisms for Party organizations to make full use of the original organizational resources of villages to realize the reconstruction of village organizational foundation, including elite absorption, organizational embedding and departmental integration.

4.1.1. Elite absorption

The elite absorption mechanism mainly refers to that Party organizations integrate elite groups into the public process of village governance through institutionalized or non-institutionalized procedural arrangements, so that the endogenous demands of village development can be effectively responded to by elite groups, and thus cultivate the endogenous driving force of rural revitalization. Taking

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backbone villager RAG and outgoing rural sage RXX as examples, they not only care about the development of Village C for a long time, but also actively participate in the establishment of the village-level serious illness and poverty fund and the construction of public facilities such as cultural auditoriums. Secretary XHX took the initiative to absorb them into the financial supervision group and the rural sage council respectively, and developed them into the leader of the financial supervision group and the chairman of the council. This helps non-institutional elites to publicly transfer their own authority and allocative resources, and more conveniently build an organizational channel for effective communication between Party organizations and ordinary villagers, thereby promoting the formation of a cooperative rural construction pattern.

4.1.2. Organizational embedding

Grassroots Party building from the embedding perspective does not operate in isolation, but is an inter-embedded organizational system. This organizational embedding is concentrated in how the political party organizational process and organizational structure achieve benign interaction and form a Party-mass practical connection with the rural social system. The embedding of First Secretary HW into the governance of Village Y is based on the organizational structure of institutional empowerment and resource integration, as well as the organizational process of elite absorption and Party-mass mobilization. This also indicates that First Secretary HW has established the organizational goal oriented to good rural governance, and timely held Party-mass meetings, absorbed village governance elites and updated the organizational structure according to the village governance scenario where the "two committees" are loosely organized. At the same time, taking event elements such as financial audit and project supervision as the starting point, in the process of organizational mobilization that gives villages the right to collaborative action, it activates the practicality of the Party-mass connection, thus reconstructing the organizational path of Party building leadership embedded in specific village governance scenarios.

4.1.3. Departmental integration

Departmental integration refers to how grassroots Party and government departments under in-place control break through the limitations of territorial management to realize their own integration, and how to adopt strategic mechanisms to absorb market departments and third sectors to respond to village development demands. In the northern Fujian case, focusing on the county-level central task of "promoting development through industry", the township government refined the target management responsibility of village-level industrial transformation into layer-by-layer decomposed land transfer indicators to implement the Qingyu Orange project contracted level by level. Under this background, the industrial alliance Party committee led by the township Party committee and participated by all subordinate Party branches, while overcoming the bureaucratic resource dissipation among line departments, realized the centralized transfer of 2,000 mu of land in BL Village and ZF Village, and thus established a cross-village industrial cooperative union. As the target responsibility under administrative integration expands from land transfer to industrial revitalization, heterogeneous subjects such as village two committees, cooperative unions and companies have been successfully mobilized and integrated into a community of interests with multi-party cooperation, thus reconstructing the organizational foundation of industrial transformation.

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4.2. Organizational revitalization mechanism of Party building leadership

Organizational reconstruction has realized the reorganization and reuse of traditional rural social organizational resources. The Party's governance model has sunk in the process of transforming organizational resources into governance effectiveness of organizational reconstruction, and at the same time, with the embedding of governance concepts and governance advantages, under the action of concept injection, organizational activation and network linkage mechanisms, the organizational revitalization mechanism of Party building leadership has been generated.

4.2.1. Concept injection

Which concepts are injected into the relatively open village governance field is not given in advance, but depends on the initiative of Party building leadership itself. Therefore, the governance willingness of the village "two committees" organizations reconstructed based on elite absorption depends on whether the concept injection of Party building leadership can make the organizations relatively ignore administrative bureaucratic pressure or cadre self-interest orientation, and first regard themselves as mass autonomous organizations serving villagers. At the same time, which concept is injected to maintain and promote the organizational group with a sense of community cannot be separated from the concept resources of taking the people as the center at the political party organizational structure level and the existing organizational resources at the social structure level. As a result, before injecting the value concept of serving the people into villages with loose "two committees", Party building leadership needs to be based on the updated organizational structure through elite absorption, and thus activate the practicality of the concept of Party-mass connection.

4.2.2. Organizational activation

The involutionary situation where various organizations overlap and compete seriously restricts the independent activation of organizations. In response to this, rural social organizations do not exclude state Party and government power in the front-line village governance scenarios. On the contrary, on the premise of actively adapting to Party building leadership and carrying out cooperative dialogue with it, they rely on strategies such as the potential sinking, subject embedding, vanguard leading and multi-party coordination of Party organizations and their personalized agents to activate two-way independent development. In the eastern Zhejiang case, the rural sage foundation organization established in response to the call of Secretary XHX, under the emotional bonding and cultural potential of the former, merged with it into a collaborative construction subject jointly committed to cultural public welfare undertakings such as youth scholarships, condolences to the elderly and auditorium construction, and then realized the two-way activation of the independence of primary-level Party organizations and rural social organizations.

4.2.3. Network linkage

Different from the general mechanism of organizational revitalization realized by the independent activation of social organizations in the vertical dimension of "state-society", the vertical and horizontal network linkage takes the reconstruction of publicness and factor integration of primary-level Party organizations as key strategies. In the northern Fujian case, the industrial Party building alliance reconstructed cross-regional Party organizations by selecting an appropriate overall

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planning level, and thus strengthened the internal network linkage of organizations and the vertical Party building leadership function, and then took advantage of regional Party building and cross-village industrial cooperative unions to form a dual-track parallel and in-depth interactive network system. As a result, the Party building leadership model of "vertical to the bottom and horizontal to the edge" connected in the network linkage not only constructs a low-cost resource integration network urgently needed for rural development, but also reconfirms that Party organizations are effective organizational carriers for accumulating and releasing village publicness in the process of linking rural industrial cooperative unions and realizing collective economic revitalization.

4.3. Comprehensive revitalization mechanism of Party building leadership

The practical mechanism of Party building leadership effectively transforms the resources and advantages of organizational revitalization, and respectively responds to systematic issues such as whose rural revitalization it is, how to realize rural revitalization and how to sustain revitalization through value guidance, participation mobilization and shared development.

4.3.1. Value guidance

Whose rural revitalization constitutes the value orientation and driving foundation for the implementation of the rural revitalization strategy, which involves the fundamental issue of whose rural revitalization is just. Different from the concept injection mechanism oriented to the organization of scattered farmers, the value guidance mechanism targeting value integration aims to enhance the subjective consciousness and public orientation of organized groups. Its logic lies in that under the value guidance of the Party taking the countryside as the center and serving villagers, organized villager groups re-realize the important value of rural revitalization and the development opportunities contained therein, and thus take the initiative to participate in and promote the process of rural revitalization. In the eastern Zhejiang case, Secretary XHX successfully awakened the rural sage organizations and villager groups to voluntarily work for the construction of public facilities such as village-level markets and cultural auditoriums for 4 months by integrating value guidance into the mass line of paired assistance and the emotional absorption of rural sage organizations. This has effectively reconstructed the villagers' subjectivity and village publicness, and greatly met the villagers' needs for production, life and spiritual civilization.

4.3.2. Participation mobilization

Mobilizing participation is the inheritance of the mass line for primary-level Party organizations to more conveniently connect and respond to villagers' demands, organize and mobilize multiple subjects to participate in the comprehensive rural revitalization on the already revitalized rural organizational base through the reproduction of Party building potential and the reconstruction of organizational mobilization capacity. In specific practice, around the input of events with public nature, the mobilization capacity of primary-level Party organizations is transformed into the event solidarity state where multiple subjects voluntarily reach consistent collective action through flexible allocation schemes such as potential superposition, collaborative empowerment and factor incentive, and then continuously activate the potential of Party building leadership and the vitality of rural revitalization in close interaction. In the northern Fujian case, in response to villagers' employment demands and the demand for increasing village financial income, the industrial Party building alliance, while introducing the Qingyu Orange project, relied on land rent and dividends to

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mobilize villager groups, trusteeship organizations, industrial cooperative unions and others to participate in the consultation on public events such as fund use and labor dispatch in the project area. This not only effectively activates the vertical and horizontal organizational structure of the sinking of Party building potential and the presence of Party building leadership, but also smoothly connects the organizational process of mass mobilization and multi-party participation, and finally breeds the practical pattern of joint participation and construction in rural revitalization.

4.3.3. Shared development

The shared development mechanism refers to that primary-level Party organizations, relying on adaptive systems, promote multiple subjects such as villager groups and various organizations to realize whole-process sharing of development achievements, development processes and development opportunities, and thus enhance the endogenous driving force of joint participation and construction for the comprehensive rural revitalization. In specific practice, shared development is the purpose of joint participation and construction, and joint participation and construction is the premise of shared development, both of which jointly contribute to the sustainable revitalization of rural areas. Taking ZF Village in northern Fujian as an example, the industrial Party building alliance gives villagers the opportunity to share development by renting out land through the transfer of land management rights; effectively absorbs villagers' employment by using the Qingyu Orange project to realize the sharing of development process; and moderately adjusts the collective income of the village through the fixed dividend mechanism to realize the sharing of development achievements. Finally, it helps ordinary villagers, village collectives, industrial cooperative unions and others realize whole-process sharing, and continuously participate in the practice of promoting industrial revitalization through joint participation and construction.

Table 1. Party building leadership, organizational revitalization and rural revitalization

	Eastern Zhejiang Case	Central Hubei Case	Northern Fujian Case
Organizational Reconstruction Mechanism	Elite absorption	Elite absorption, organizational embedding	Departmental integration
Organizational Revitalization Mechanism	Concept injection, organizational activation	Concept injection	Network linkage
Rural Revitalization Mechanism	Value guidance, shared development	Shared development	Participation mobilization, shared development
Dimension of Rural Revitalization	Promote rural construction	Improve rural governance	Promote rural development

5. Basic conclusions and discussion

The practices of typical villages in eastern Zhejiang, central Hubei and northern Fujian cannot cover the complete experience expression of all regions in China. The key lies in the logical commensurability contained therein, that is, Party building leadership can realize rural revitalization in different aspects through organizational reconstruction and organizational revitalization. At present, China has entered a critical period of comprehensive rural revitalization. How to create a path of rural modernization transformation with Chinese characteristics under the leadership of the Communist Party of China has become a key issue that needs urgent attention. In view of this, this paper puts forward the following policy suggestions: First, primary-level Party organizations should have the embedding characteristics of harmonious coexistence with rural society, which is the

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necessary foundation for flexibly selecting first secretaries, village secretaries or Party building alliances to strengthen the presence of Party building leadership. Second, different villages should select appropriate organizational reconstruction and organizational revitalization mechanisms according to their original organizational foundation and resource endowment, which is the inherent requirement for reasonably setting rural revitalization goals and reducing revitalization costs. Finally, a flexible and independent space should be reserved between primary-level Party organizations and rural society, which is the practical premise for ensuring the two-way activation of Party building leadership and rural society and the sustainable revitalization of rural areas.

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