Investigating on Targeted Poverty Alleviation Campaign in China—Case Study of Guizhou Province

by

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Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

1.Introduction

Poverty has been a haunting issue that has tracked concerns all over the world. The United Nations lists eradicating extreme poverty and hunger as the top one goal in The Millennium Development Goals Report (United Nations, 2015). As one of the most populous countries in the world, China has been playing a central role in the global reduction of poverty. During 1990-2015, based on the extreme poverty line of $1.25 one day per person, the population living in extreme poverty has reduced 1.064 billion, among which, the accomplishment of China's poverty alleviation has contributed over 70% to this result (United Nations, 2015).

Ever since the reform and opening up in 1978, the world has witnessed China's tremendous economic growth, which has been served as the main driver in China's poverty alleviation in the past decades (Gao & He, 2022; World Bank, 2001, 2009). However, due to the dual system of urban and rural, which is part of Maoist-socialist state strategy to industrialize the country by dividing the country into "two systems" to create a second-class population so that their labor, property and products are easily subject to exploitation or expropriation, the fruit of development was able to be shared evenly through the country (Chan & Wei, 2019). The combination of backward economic development level, unevenly distributed health and education resource, insufficiently provided infrastructure and public services has shaped the multidimensional poverty that is concentrated in rural China (Liu, Guo & Zhou, 2018). As a matter of fact, rural poverty dominates the scene in China, left a total of 82.49 million people of Rural China living under the poverty line by 2013, with the poverty incidence rate in rural China is still as high as 8.5% (NBS, 2020). On top of that, there presents a distinct spatial agglomeration feature of the distribution of China's rural poor: most of them lived in densely mountainous, highly arid, ecologically vulnerable, disaster-prone, and habitat conservation areas, which were mainly old revolutionary bases or places where minorities clustered (Wang & Wang, 2015; Liu et al., 2017).

The constant high economic growth accompanied by the government's antipoverty endeavors have contributed to the great achievement in poverty reduction in China in the past four decades. Nevertheless, the islanding effect of the rural poverty-stricken regions and the diminishing marginal effect of invested antipoverty resources urges a transition in the poverty alleviation strategy (Guo, Zhou & Liu, 2019). It is under such background that a programmatic document for poverty alleviation: "Opinions on Promoting Rural Poverty Alleviation through Innovation Mechanisms" was issued by the State Council in 2013, proposing to establish a mechanism of targeted poverty alleviation in order to eradicate the remaining poverty as scheduled by 2020 (Liu, Guo

& Zhou, 2018). The effect of this new anti-poverty strategy turns out to be exceedingly positive. China announced to have eradicated extreme poverty by 2020, with all 98.99 million poor rural population have been taken out of poverty, and 832 poverty-stricken counties as well as 128,000 villages have been removed from the poverty list (The State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China, 2021).

Targeted poverty alleviation as a national antipoverty campaign has received much attention. Most of the research focus on the general formulation of this campaign and examine the outcome of it from a national perspective. However, in order to understand the mechanism behind this campaign, the question of how is this strategy implemented locally deserves more analysis. Guizhou, an inland province located in the southwestern of China with a high proportion of ethnic minority population. Both of the unfavored natural endowment and diversified need of ethnic minorities poses great challenges to the poverty reduction in this province. Therefore, it is of much significance to analyze how Guizhou is transformed from the province with the most impoverished population in China to the province that has lifted the biggest amount of people out of poverty during this campaign.

In this article, we will use the case of Guizhou province to investigate the mechanism of targeted poverty alleviation campaign in China. The structure of this thesis will be organized as follows: First, we will introduce China's characteristics of poverty and review previous poverty alleviation programs in different stages. Next, in the theory part, the definition and measurement of poverty, the distinction between transient poverty and chronic poverty will be discussed. After that, the research method and the data being used in this article will be introduced. The fifth section is a case study of Guizhou province, which will focus on how the targeted poverty campaign is carried out in the local level. The sixth part of the thesis is a discussion section, we will discuss the concerns and disputes around the implementation of targeted poverty alleviation campaign in Guizhou. The last session of this article is the conclusion session.

2. Background

2.1 Characteristics of Poverty in China

2.1.1 Rural poor

Although it has been acknowledged that absolute poverty tends to fall with economic growth, but it has also been hypothesized that the sectoral and/or geographic composition of economic activity affects the aggregate rate of poverty reduction independently of the aggregate rate of growth. After using China's provincial panel data to analyze, Montalvo and Ravallion (2010) find that the primary sector was the real driving force in China's remarkable success against absolute poverty, rather than the secondary (manufacturing) or tertiary (services) sectors, and that the unevenness of the growth process across sectors greatly attenuated the overall pace of poverty reduction.

Contrary to the soaring overall economic growth since the reform and opening up in 1978, the share of agriculture in the national economy has been declining dramatically over the years. As is shown in the graph below, the share of agriculture in GDP has been dropped from around 30% in the early 1980s to merely 7.65% in 2020 (World Bank, 2022).
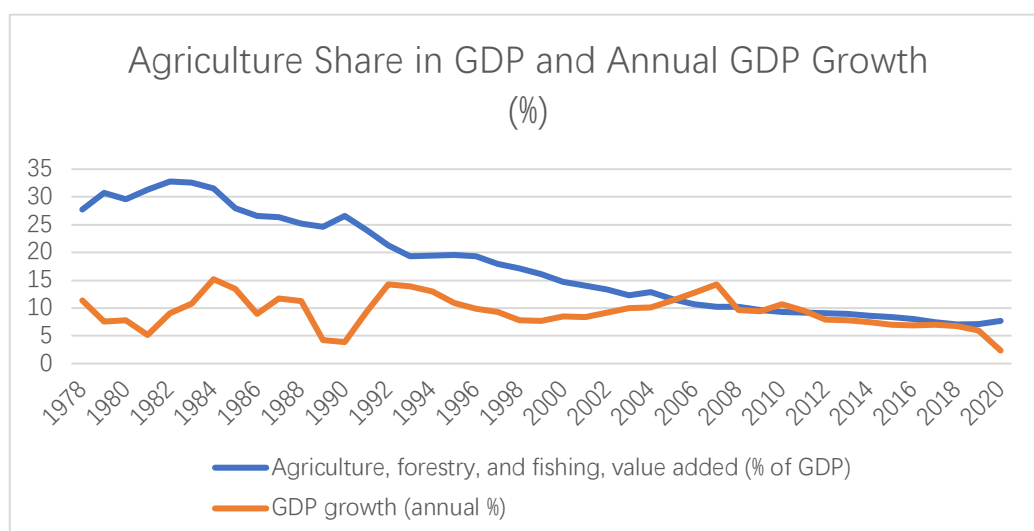

Figure 1. Agriculture Share in GDP and Annual GDP Growth of China
Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators. (2022)

The declining of the share of agriculture in the total GDP is not only a natural result of economic structural transformation, but also a deliberately designed development strategy proposed by the Chinese government.

The core of China's urban-rural dual system is the disparities of the treatment towards industrial and agricultural sectors. On the one hand, industry, almost totally located in cities, was designated as the priority sector of the economy and was state owned. It was under strict state management and received strong state support and protection and was the sector that generated revenues for the state. The industrial sector not only enjoyed subsided price for key inputs, including energy, utilities and land, it also received favored conditions to get access to finance. Meanwhile, the agricultural sector was basically excluded from state-provided welfare. Agriculture was regarded as a supplemental sector to provide cheap raw materials (mainly food grain), labor, and capital for the urban-industrial sector (Chan & Wei, 2019).

Following the diverging treatment of rural-agriculture and urban-industry, comes the divergence residing in the income and welfare among rural and urban citizens. However, the permanent migration from countryside to city is strictly administrated through the Hukou system, which serves as a key instrument in maintaining the sectoral and institutional segmentation. Under the *hukou* system, each individual is fixated within his/her own small hukou administrative unit (a neighborhood in the city, or a village) at a different position in the hierarchy within the broader rural urban division. Despite the fact that voluminous rural labors came to the city and served as the backbone of export-led manufacturing and urban construction since the reform and opening up, they were mainly employed as temporary and informal workers due to the lack of urban hukou, which means lower wages and ineligibility to access all kinds of welfare and rights which were enjoyed by city citizens (Chan, 2009).
As for the peasants living on agricultural activities in rural areas, the depressed grain prices and collective ownership of lands offered rural residents limited opportunity to increase their income compared to people who have urban hukou.

Notwithstanding that the Chinese government's endeavors to change the unfavored policies toward agriculture and rural residents since 2003, which consist of the abolition of agriculture taxes and fees, subsidies for agriculture production activities, public cash transfers aimed at low-income populations such as the *dibao* (minimum livelihood guarantee) program, and the final abolition of *hukou* system, it should be recognized that there is still a significant imbalance between the development of urban and rural areas in China as a result of the long-term influence of the dual system and urban prioritized development pattern. Overall, the concentration of poverty in rural area is one of the biggest characteristics of China's poverty (Luo, Li & Sicular, 2020).

2.1.2 Spatial Concentration

Lack of natural endowments, poor geographic conditions and fragile ecological environment are the main causes behind persistent poverty, the distribution of the Chinese rural poor exhibits a distinct spatial agglomeration feature (Liu, Liu & Zhou, 2017; World Bank, 2001; Zhang et al., 2013). Poverty is mainly concentrated in the remote deep rocky mountainous areas, border areas and minority areas of central and western China and gradually gathers towards the southwestern region. The proportion of poor people in the northwestern and southeastern regions of the Hu Huanyong line was 16.4% and 83.6%, respectively, indicating the uneven distribution of the rural poor (Liu, Liu & Zhou, 2017). Moreover, the spatial distribution of the poverty-stricken areas of ethnic minorities in the southwest shows the characteristics of high overlap between poverty-stricken areas, ecologically fragile areas and ethnic areas (Xiang, Deng & Qu, 2013), which could be explained as an evolving result from purposeful choices in the history by the ethnic minority groups to discourage states from curtailing their freedom during the history (Scott, 2009).

2.2 China's Poverty Alleviation Retrospect

China's poverty alleviation strategy has been three-pronged, striving to integrate economic development, social safety nets, and targeted initiatives to address poverty(Gao & He, 2022). Poverty alleviation strategies in China went through four stages with differing focus: relief-type poverty alleviation (1949–1985); development-oriented poverty alleviation (1986–2006); development-oriented poverty alleviation combined with social security system reforms (2007–2012); and targeted poverty alleviation (since 2013) (Liu et al., 2020).

2.2.1 Relief-Type Poverty Alleviation (1949-1985)

From the foundation of People's Republic of China to the early stage of reform and opening-up policies (1949–1985), China's economy has been remained backward, and the Government's financial capacity was weak. Most of the rural poor people could barely meet the subsistence-level life. In this period, relief-type poverty alleviation measures were mainly adopted to solve the problem of insufficient food and clothing supply, including food and clothing relief for rural poor people (Liu et al., 2020). However, the relief-type poverty alleviation strategies are fragmented and could not solve the rooted problems underneath the China's rural poverty (Bai & Wang, 2020).

2.2.2 Development-Oriented Poverty Alleviation (1986-2006)

Since China started reform and opening up in 1978, China's economy started to enter a new era of rapid and sustained growth. It is during this period, China's poverty alleviation strategy started to turn from the pure relief to development- oriented poverty alleviation (World Bank, 2022). Different from relief-style poverty alleviation before, development-oriented poverty alleviation comprehensively utilizes human resources, economic resources, social resources, and natural resources, and relies on market and scientific and technological means to improve the self-development ability of poor areas and poor populations (Bai & Wang, 2020).

The role of China's economic growth in poverty reduction has mainly manifested in two ways (Wang 2008). First, the introduction of the Household Contract Responsibility System in late 1970s promoted developments in agriculture that increased farm incomes of the rural poor, and later, this was promoted mainly by science and technology developments in the agricultural sector (Zhu and Chen 2016). On the other hand, economic development directly provides more opportunities for the rural population working in nonagricultural sectors and urban areas, which largely increase nonfarm income for the poor population (Wang 2008; Montalvo and Ravallion 2010). Second, the economic growth caused by market reforms, infrastructure investments, etc., increased the fiscal revenue of the Government and made the Government more capable to implement poverty reduction policies to help the rural poor population, which is called an indirect effect of economic growth in poverty alleviation (Wang 2008).

Although the rapid growth of China's economy helped reduce rural poverty significantly, it also resulted in a disequilibrium in rural development between the midwestern and eastern areas. China's Government recognized that poverty reduction could not rely entirely on general economic development, and began to implement poverty reduction strategies since the mid-1980s, which played an important role in promoting large-scale poverty reduction (Liu et al., 2020). In order to better promote poverty alleviation policy, in 1986, the Chinese government established the State Council's Leading Group for Poverty Reduction (LGPR). Its primary responsibilities included developing guidelines, policies, and plans for national poverty alleviation work (Yan, 2016; He, 2018; Wang & Zeng, 2018).

Geographic based development-oriented poverty alleviation efforts began with the National Poverty Reduction and Development Programs in the mid-1980s, as a response to lagging economic growth and stagnating incomes in some Western and Central areas of the country (Freije et al. 2019). The State Council's Leading Group for Poverty Reduction identified poor counties, primarily based on county-level average rural per capita income. Adding provincially designated areas, the list reached nearly 700 counties (of around 2,100 counties in total in 1985) (World Bank, 2001). From then

on, the focus on poor counties as the unit for policy intervention became an important feature of China's poverty alleviation efforts.

The Rural Poverty Alleviation and Development Program Outline for 2001–200 redefined the targeted criteria and broadened the scope of government assistance. The focus changed from counties to villages (about 148,000), including some that were not on the list of poor counties. The designated communities collectively served 76 percent of the rural poor in the country. Villages that have been designated could apply for projects that support local production and infrastructure (such as food-for-work programs, worker training, and agri-business development, including technology extension services), as well as investments in social infrastructure (schools, clinics, community and recreation centers), all with a strong participatory approach (World Bank, 2022).

2.2.3 Development-Oriented Poverty Alleviation Combined with Social Security System Reforms (2007–2012)

Since 2007, China has begun to merge development-oriented poverty alleviation with a social security system. Between 1986 and 2006, most of the rural poor population with the potential to work was lifted out of poverty through agricultural development and nonfarm employment, thanks to the continued implementation of development-oriented poverty alleviation programs. Small-scale temporary living help, on the other hand, has difficulty satisfying the fundamental needs of the elderly or poor who are unable to work, resulting in chronic poverty among them. In 2007, the government recommended a minimum basic living guarantee system (*Di Bao*) for the rural poor as one strategy for social security, as a powerful complement to development-oriented poverty alleviation initiatives (Liu et al., 2020).

2.2.4 Targeted Poverty Alleviation (since 2013)

Although the previous poverty alleviation strategies have been effective in different periods, China as a populous developing country, the poverty scale remains large by 2013. According to the poverty registration data, there remains 14 contiguous areas of dire poverty, 832 poverty counties, 128 thousand impoverished villages and over 30 million poor households and more than 70.17 million poverty individuals by 2013 (Wang & Liu, 2015). What is more, the tasks of lifting people out of poverty are becoming more and more challenging as the easier goals have already been fulfilled in previous periods. The left poverty-stricken areas present an "islanding effect", which refers to the concentration of impoverished population in remote deep rocky mountainous areas where the ecological environment is fragile and there is an

agglomeration of ethnic minorities. Besides that, the deprivation or weaken of working ability due to illness, disability and age result in the largest part of poverty in the individual aspect. At the same time, with the structural transformation of China's economy, the traditional poverty alleviation pattern through rapid urbanization and export-led growth is becoming less effective(Liu, Zhou & Liu, 2016; Liu, Liu & Zhou, 2017).

In order to achieve the goal of eliminate extreme poverty in all its forms by 2020, which is the deadline proposed at the beginning of reform and opening up by China's previous general secretary, Deng Xiaoping, in his blueprint for China to comprehensively build a well-off society, Chinese government declared the plan to take targeted measures to ensure that assistance reaches poverty-stricken villages and households since 2013. Different from preceding area-targeted antipoverty measures, the poverty alleviation campaign in this new period is more precise as identifying the diversified needs and multiple causes of poverty of the impoverished households. The targeted anti-poverty policies mainly include: (i) lifting the poor households who have the ability to manage poverty through involvement in industry development; (ii) relocating the poor who live in mountainous areas with limited resources to more hospitable areas, such as nearby plain areas or towns; (iii) implementing ecological compensation policies to help those poor people living in ecological preservation areas; (iv) preventing intergenerational poverty transmission by strengthening educational aid; and (v) helping physically disabled people with special social security measures (Wang & Zeng 2018; Zhou et al. 2018).

3.Theory and previous research

3.1 Poverty Theory

3.1.1 Definition of Poverty

Initially, Poverty was merely regarded as an economic phenomenon, which refers to the condition in which people fall behind the social standard of living in material aspect. Smith (1776) defined poverty as "the inability to purchase necessities required by nature or custom". Rowntree (1901) defined poverty as "earnings insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency". Despite it is not controversial that inadequate command over commodities is the most important dimension of poverty, the approach focusing on failing to meet the basic need due to insufficient income neglects other significant dimensions of poverty (Lipton & Ravallion, 1995). Increases in real income may not directly resulted in the improvement in health care, nutrition, education and etc.

Realizing the problems of the basic need approach, economists came up with the definition of poverty emphasizing on "capabilities". Sen (1985) defined poverty as "absolute deprivation in terms of a person's capabilities related to relative deprivation in terms of commodities, incomes and resources". However, there are also shortcomings lying in the approach of "capability". We rarely observe capabilities, but rather certain "achievements". The mapping from the latter to the former is not unique, but depends on factors such as preferences(Lipton & Ravallion, 1995).

Although there is no uncontested definition of poverty has been given, acknowledgement has been reached that we should recognize the limitation of commodities-centered conceptualization of well-being when defining poverty. As researches on poverty deepen, we will find that poverty not only has the connotation of the shortage of economic factors but also includes missing out on opportunities, lack of access to or exclusion from social services and other social deprivation (Wagle, 2002; Alkire and Foster, 2011; Alkire and Sumner, 2013). In this thesis, we will adopt the definition given by the world bank in their 2000 report, which defines that poverty as a multidimensional phenomenon that encompasses the lack of opportunities, lack of empowerment, lack of security, and malnutrition and poor health(World Bank, 2000).

3.1.2 Measurement of Poverty

Same as the definition of poverty, so far, the debate on what is the appropriate method to measure poverty has not been settled. Ernst Engel was one of the pioneers who explored on the measurement poverty, and he suggests He created a theory on law of consumption which highlights a cause-effect correlation between income and expenditure. This concept led to major research on poverty and the equation indicated that when a high proportion of revenue is spent on food, it is deprivation; in contrast, people are prosperous if they allocate a small proportion of income to food (Zimmerman, 1932). However, Engel's methodology is not satisfying not only because he did not specify the percentage on how much people spend on food should be considered poor, but also because except food, human being need a wide range of minimum things to meet basic needs such as shelter, health, education, nutrition, clothing, access to information, security, freedom, and social inclusion (Thorbecke, 2005).

Constructing on the criticism of previous unidimensional measurement of poverty, Amartya Sen (1999) contributed to this filed by coming up with the theory of 'capabilities and functioning', acknowledging that although it is difficult to construct a minimum standard of different kinds of freedoms, social exclusion, security, and degree of discrimination, one person could be deemed as poor if he/she is deprived lower than it is thought. Yet his argument is also not satisfying enough, since this standard is too subjective. There could be multiple interpretation on 'deprived lower than it is thought' according to the varying norms and conditions in different societies.

In order to determine poverty based on a monetary basis, Charles Booth, is one of the pioneers using income to categorize living conditions into eight classes. However, Booth failed to specify what poverty line and basic needs are (Spicker, 1990). Similar to Booth, Seebohm Rowntree, classified poverty into two levels namely primary and secondary poor based on interviews which gather household information. Rowntree constructed poverty line by listing necessities such as food, fuel, clothing, and miscellaneous household items, and then he converted them into currency on how much does it cost for these products. Anyway, Rowntree's approach is also challenged for not being able to include other necessities beyond materials that physical needs such as entertainment, newspaper subscription, and church donations. Moreover, it also fails to take inflation into consideration (Stanton, 1973).

Apart from the attempts to measure poverty using an absolute poverty line, there are also attempts to decide poverty by using relative standard. Henderson (1975) suggests that anyone who has revenue less than haft of average income households is considered as poor, and this line has to adjust upward when average income households increase. Although this methodology solves the problem of the uncertainty caused by inflation, it still faces the charge of unaccountability brought up by the influence of extreme value

and the possibility of data collection inaccurate leading to errors conclusions (Saunders, 2005).

As the discussion on poverty gets deepened, it has been acknowledged that the well-being of a population and, hence its poverty, which is a manifestation of insufficient well-being, depend on both monetary and non-monetary variables (Bourguignon & Chakravarty, 2019). Therefore, income as the sole indicator of well-being is inappropriate and should be supplemented by other attributes or variables, for example, housing, literacy, life expectancy, provision of public goods and so on. The need for such a multidimensional approach to the measurement of inequality in well-being has been already emphasized (Kolm, 1977; Atkinson & Bourguignon, 1982). An example of multidimensional measure of well-being in terms of functioning achievements is the Human Development Index suggested by UNDP (Streeten, 1981). It aggregates at the country level functioning achievements in terms of the attributes life expectancy, per capita real GDP and educational attainment rate (Bourguignon & Chakravarty, 2019). What is more, in 2013, UNDP published the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), which tracks deprivation across three dimensions and 10 indicators: health (child mortality, nutrition), education (years of schooling, enrollment), and living standards (water, sanitation, electricity, cooking fuel, floor, assets).

3.1.3 Transient Poverty and Chronic Poverty

Transient poverty is a component of time-mean consumption poverty at household level that is directly attributable to variability in consumption, which can be thought of as a measure of vulnerability to falling consumption; While chronic poverty is the poverty that remains when inter-temporal variability in consumption has been smoothed out (Jalan & Ravallion, 2000).

It is important to distinguish these two concepts not only for descriptive purpose, but also because the difference between the two is also likely to call for distinct policy attitudes and responses. Despite that some measures, such as an effective safety net may simultaneously help relieve transient and chronic poverty, there are also plenty of cases that need distinguished institutions and initiatives to deal with these two different kins of poverty. For example, direct interventions, such as relief work schemes, can help the poor, or near-poor, to avoid forms of adjustment to transient distress, such as asset depletion, which would otherwise be costly in the longer-term. On the other hand, a long period of economic prosperity may serve as the best solution to chronic poverty, but it is not attainable and flexible enough to address the problem of transient poverty(Lipton & Ravallion, 1995).

To cope with transient poverty, Morris (1974) claims that it is significant to include private, community and government's strength to make adjustments to fluctuations.

On the one hand, social insurance might be effective in some conditions, as community-based risk-sharing arrangements may well be less prone to moral hazard and adverse selection (in traditional village settings in which participants are well known to each other), but it is less implementable without binding and legally enforceable contracts when the threat of destitution reduces the probability of continued participation in social insurance (Coate & Ravallion, 1993; Fafchamps, 1992). Instead of interventions aiming to decrease risks and smooth the fluctuation, Lipton and Ravallion (1995) claims that understanding how markets and other indigenous institutions actually work - and how public action can enable them to work better- is often the key to success in the relief of transient poverty.

In terms of chronic poverty, policies that are aimed at improving the productivity of the poor through altering choice on land, human capital and credit are widely pursued. Besides, policy interventions that help increase input volume via redistribution-such as land reform-and sustain appropriate price are also practical approaches(Lipton & Ravallion, 1995).

3.2 Previous research

China, used to be the biggest developing country with the most impoverished population, and has made extraordinary achievement lifting billions of people out of poverty, has drawn attention from the researchers around the world. Substantial research has been done focusing on multiple factors that caused poverty in China (Du, Park & Wang, 2005; Labar & Bresson, 2011; Montalvo & Ravallion, 2010), and as Liu et al (2017) points out that the lack of natural endowments, poor geographic conditions and fragile ecological environment are the main causes behind persistent poverty, while suffering from illness is the greatest contributor to current individual or transient poverty in rural China. According to a poverty decomposition analysis based on the data from 1988-2013, rural poverty reduction in China was mostly due to income growth rather than redistribution (Luo, Li & Sicular, 2020). Montalvo and Ravallion (2010) comes up with the statement that the lopsided growth pattern favored industry while depressed agriculture has led to the more severe rural poor and has actually impeded the poverty alleviation speed.

With regard to China's poverty alleviation endeavors in the past decades, there is abundant research summarizing the experience and analyzing the problems embedded in previous alleviation program (Duclos, Araar & Giles, 2010; Park & Wang, 2010; Piazza & Liang, 1998; World Bank, 2000). First, world bank (2001) claims that the key issue with the existing poverty reduction programs is not lack of sufficient funds, but to be more efficient with the money using. Secondly, among the area-targeted poverty

reduction projects, assistance fails to cover the poor population residing outside the designated poor counties, while there is also a substantial leakage of assistance to the non-poor within the poor counties (Park & Wang, 2010). At the same time, financial monitoring and supervision of the use of poverty reduction funds is also worth paying attention to(Rogers, 2014). Additionally, there are other concerns with the overall coordination among different departments in the earlier poverty reduction programs are less satisfying (Park & Wang, 2010). Besides, some scholars shed lights on the problems around ethical minorities in previous poverty alleviation (Bai & Wang, 2020; Xiang, Deng & Qu, 2013; Zhang & Wang, 2013). The challenge to lift ethnical minority groups from poverty is even more arduous, since they are generally having higher poverty incidence rate and deeper poverty degree since they tend to inhabit in more isolated location with worse natural endowment due to historical factors (Xiang, Deng & Qu, 2013). Meanwhile, economic development sometimes can contradict with the protection of their unique traditional culture and social value (Wang, 2015).

In 2013, the Chinese government initiated the targeted poverty alleviation campaign in order to end poverty and create a well-off society by 2020. Different from previous poverty alleviation strategy, in this period the target of antipoverty policies is narrowed down from regional and county levels to village and household scales (Wang et al., 2007; Li, Tang & Xu, 2015; Guo, Zhou & Cao, 2018; Liu et al., 2018). Li, Su & Liu (2016) conducted a nationwide survey covering 13 provinces in China finding out that there are diverse needs of the impoverished households of different ages and different poverty causes. Therefore, it is necessary to apply tailored anti-poverty strategy with more precise targeting. In this article, we are going to focus on the case of Guizhou province, a poverty-stricken province which has the most impoverished population in China and at the same time has achieved poverty reduction in the biggest scale. We are aimed to investigate how targeted poverty alleviation campaign is implemented locally, and thus discuss the detailed mechanism behind this campaign.

4. Method and Sources

A case study is an in-depth, detailed examination of a particular case or cases within a real-world context (Bromley, 1986). The case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin, 2003). Since the targeted poverty alleviation campaign in China is a strategy only being promoted since 2013, to better understand the mechanism of this newly prevailing campaign, we believe that exemplifying case study will be an appropriate method for this research.

The statistics data used for manifesting the poverty alleviation progress in Guizhou province are accessed from Guizhou Statistical Yearbook from 2013-2021. The literature data for the regulations and rules regarding to the poverty alleviation policy derive from 'Guizhou Province Targeted Poverty Alleviation Standard System', which is a collection of government documents revolving targeted poverty alleviation standard in Guizhou collectively issued by Organization Department of the Provincial Party Committee and the Provincial Poverty Alleviation Office of Guizhou. One of the limitations of the data source in this thesis is the accountability of official documents, there is possibly a violation of the written regulations in real life practice. Thus, concerns about the real implementation situation of the policy will be further discussed in the discussion session.

5. Poverty Alleviation in Guizhou Province

5.1 Brief Introduction of Poverty Situation Guizhou

5.1.1 The Challenges of Antipoverty in Guizhou

Guizhou province, located in the southeast of China, is a region with the most impoverished rural population in China. According to the Poverty Monitoring Report of Rural China (2020) conducted by the China's National Bureau of Statistic, there were still over 1.5 million rural poor residing in Guizhou province by 2010, which is the largest scale nationwide.

The rooted poverty in Guizhou is resulted from various factors. Nevertheless, the hostile geographic environment and fragile ecological condition lay as the primary obstacle in the development of Guizhou province. Guizhou Province is mainly mountainous and hilly, with diffused rocky desertification and low environmental carrying capacity and karst-exposed areas account for 61.92% of the total area of the province. The entire territory of Guizhou is a unique mountainous landform composed of mountains and inter-mountain basins. Mountains and hills account for 92.5% of the territory of Guizhou Province. In Guizhou Province, 61.01% of the land has a slope of more than 25 degrees, and the area of forest land is more than three times that of cultivated land (Guizhou Department of Natural Resource, 2021). High mountains and steep slopes, fragmented terrain and complex land use are the major factors tackle not only the development of agriculture, but also the construction of infrastructures such as transportation in Guizhou.

What is more, Guizhou is a province with multiple ethnical groups. There are 56 ethnic groups in the province, and among which, there are 18 ethnic groups dwelling in Guizhou for generations. By the end of 2009, the minority population in Guizhou accounted for 39% of the province's total population (CNR, 2012). To be noticed, there is a huge overlap in the minority residence area with the harshest mountainous area. On the one hand, the deep rocky mountains protected the minority nations from outside conflicts and nurtured their unique culture. However, on the other hand, the isolated location of minority groups also hindered their interaction with outside world, which caused their lagging behind in terms of mindset of modern institutions in the aspect of

marketing and so on. Moreover, the unfavored geographic location makes minority group more difficult to access some basic infrastructure and public service. Low education and poor health condition is a prevailing problem existing in minority nations. Accordingly, while China has achieved remarkable outcomes in poverty alleviation in recent decades, the proportion of the poor population in minority areas is still higher than the national average, and the speed of poverty reduction is also lower than that of non-ethnic minority areas (Xiang, Deng & Qu, 2013). According to the data of the State Ethnic Affairs Commission, by 2011, the rural poor population in the eight ethnic provinces and autonomous regions was 39.17 million, accounting for 32% of the national rural poor population, and the poverty incidence rate was 26.5%, which was higher than the national average 13. 8 percentage points.

5.1.2 The Achievement of Poverty Reduction in Guizhou

First of all, income fluctuation is the most direct indicator of revealing the changes in poverty situation. As can be seen in the graph below, the per capital disposable income of rural households in Guizhou has more than doubled during the targeted poverty alleviation campaign, from 5434 yuan of 2013 to 11642 tuan of 2020.
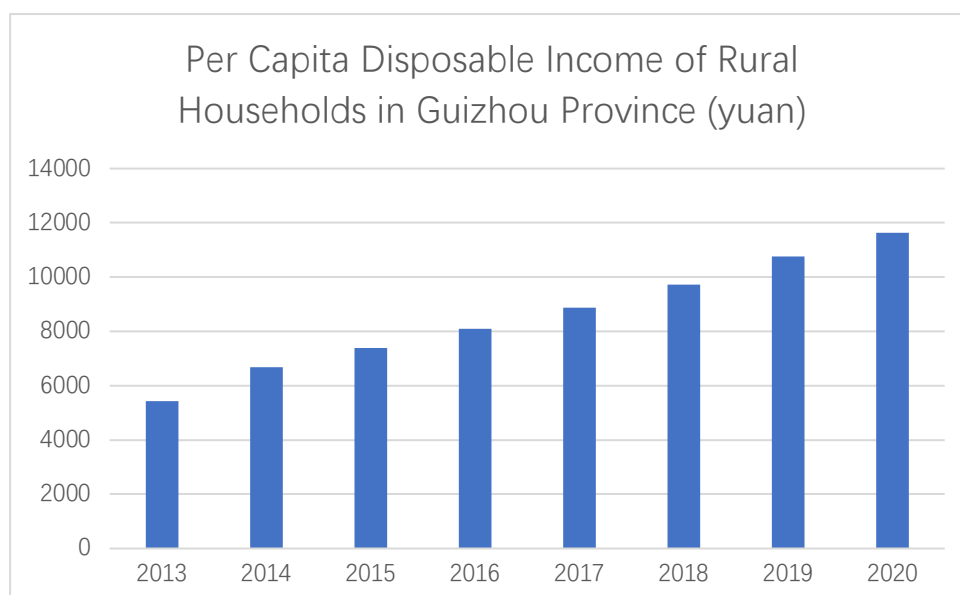
Figure 2. Per Capita Disposable Income of Rural Househole in Guizhou Province (yuan)
Source: Guizhou Statistical Yearbook 2020

Using the framework of multidimensional poverty index, the progress of poverty alleviation could be reflected through three main dimensions: Education, health and living standard (Bourguignon & Chakravarty, 2019). Adjusted to the situation in China and based on the data availability, we decide to observe these three dimensions via three

indicators respectively: school enrollment rate, mortality rate of children under 5, number of durable goods owned by rural households.

Shown in the graph below, the enrollment rate of in all types of school has been increasing from 2013, especially the enrollment rate of compulsory education period (primary school and junior secondary school) is almost close to 100% in 2020.

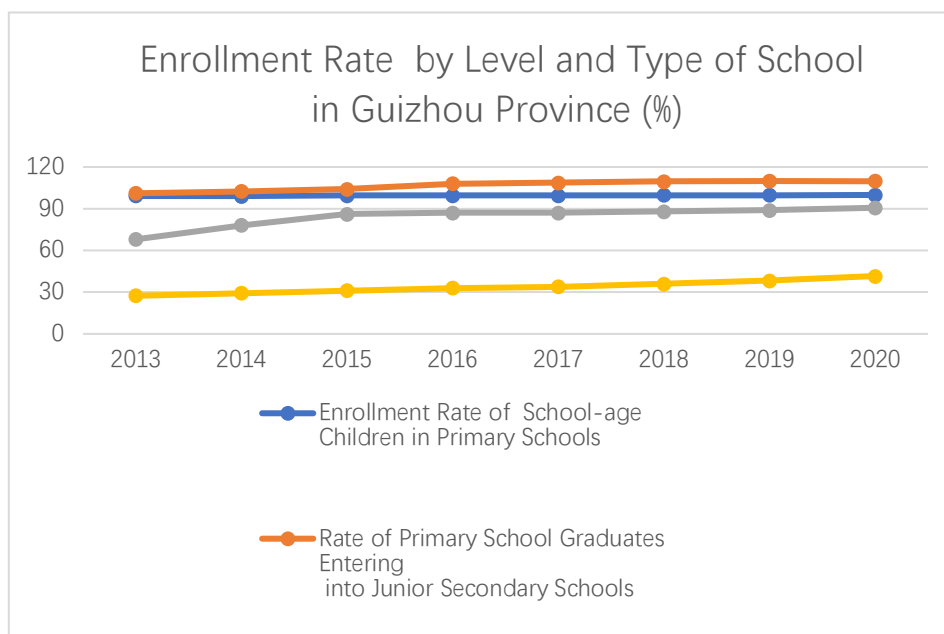*Figure 3. Enrollment Rate by Level and Type of School in Guizhou Province (%)*
Source: Guizhou Statistical Yearbook 2020

The mortality rate of children aged under 5 in rural Guizhou has declined dramatically throughout the period, from 13‰ to 7.5‰ in 2020.
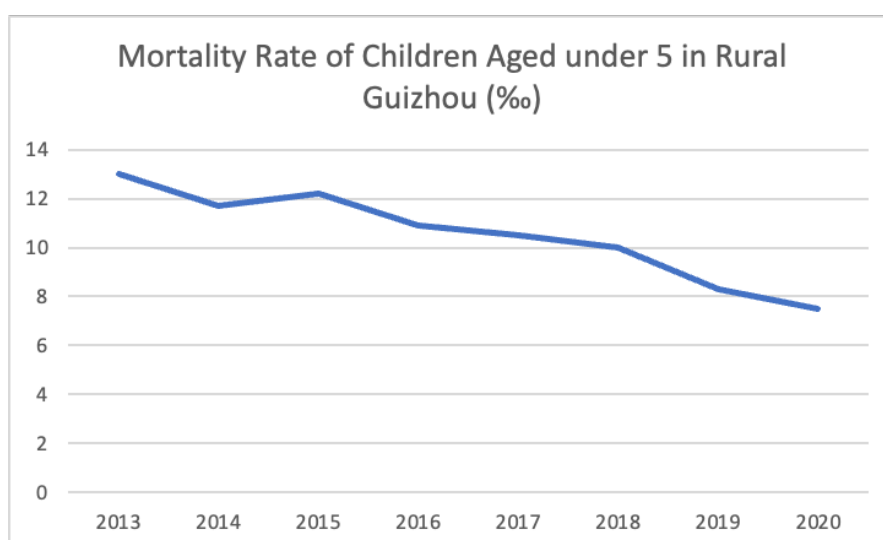

Figure 4. Mortality Rate of Children Aged under 5 in Rural Guizhou (‰)
Source: Guizhou Statistical Yearbook 2020

The number of all kinds of durable consumer goods owned by rural households has been increasing steadily during the campaign. Notably, the number of refrigerator and washing machine owned by per 100 rural households has reached very close to 100 set by 2020, 94.4 set and 98.1 set respectively. The penetration rate of water heater increased tremendously, from 13.8 set to 66.8 set. Beyond, the ownership of mobile phone has been soaring, from 190.1 unit to 301.2 unit.
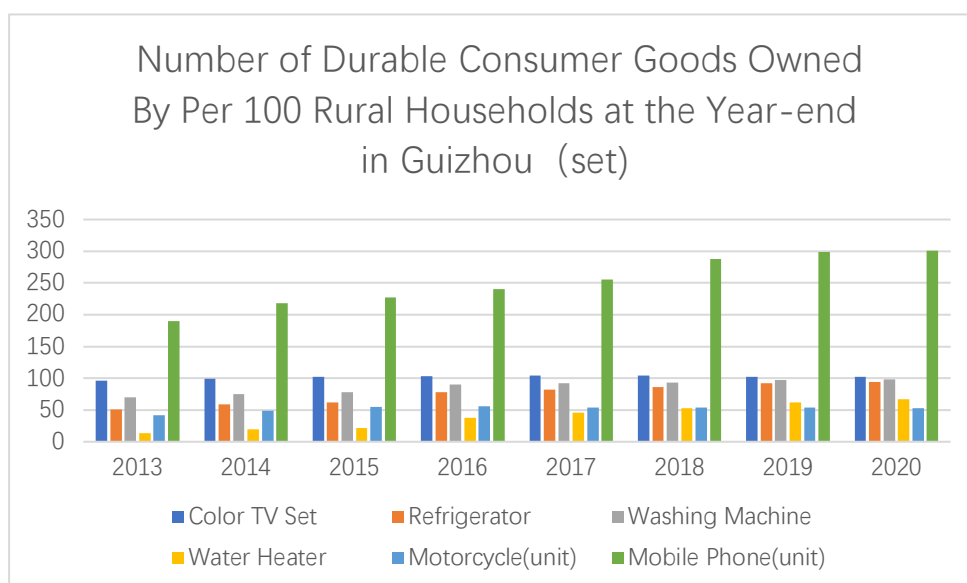
Figure 4. Number of Durable Consumer Goods Owned By Per 100 Rural Households in Guizhou（set)
Source: Guizhou Statistical Yearbook 2020

5.2 Targeted Poverty Alleviation Experience of Guizhou

5.2.1 Precise Identification of Impoverished Populations

Precisely identifying the impoverished population is the initial step of poverty alleviation. Only when the objects of poverty alleviation are targeted, the following up funds and resource could be maximumly taken advantage of. China's current poverty line is 2300 yuan (2010 constant prices) per capita net income per year. Guizhou province set the poverty line according to the national poverty standard, and at the same time make local adjustments taking into account of the key indicators required by the central government, which is Two Assurances and Three Guarantees. Two assurances

refer that the rural poor should be assured of adequate food and clothing, while three guarantees refer that impoverished rural population should be guaranteed compulsory education, basic medical services and safe housing.

As indicated below, in order to be identified as impoverished household being eligible to access the later on assistance and benefits, there is a rigid process including 7 steps and 3 evaluations to be gone through in Guizhou province.
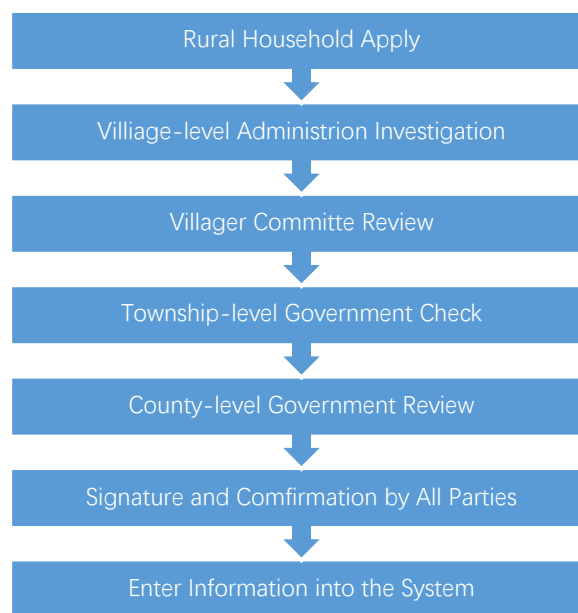
Figure 5. Poverty identification process in Guizhou province
Source: Guizhou Province Targeted Poverty Alleviation Standard System (2020)

First of all, the rural household need to apply themselves according to the poverty identification standard of the year. Next, the village level poverty alleviation administration group consisted of village party members, villagers committee members, main person in charge of the resident working team, first secretary dispatched by higher level, and village representatives will conduct individual income survey on site and investigate the received application based on a precise assessment matrix of poverty level which includes four indices, namely: the house, the level of food stock, labor capacity, and education. Meanwhile, a detailed information review in regard to the applicants will be conducted in the database of three administrative levels, which is province, city and county. If the prior preliminary check is approved, then comes to the third step: villager committee review. When the application is approved by the villager committee, it will enter the process of township level government check, and then it is county level evaluation. The result of the application can only be confirmed until all the previous check sessions have been approved, and then signatures of all the involved parties in the poverty alleviation work will be required to complete the confirmation. Only after all these evaluations and public notifications, the identity of impoverished rural household can be confirmed and their information can be registered in the provincial information platform on poverty alleviation.

Saliently, the on-site investigation of livelihood conditions and re-visit survey serve as the first guarantee to make sure the registration of the real poor. Nonetheless, the big data platform containing information from multiple government departments is the key to assure the precision of the impoverished household identity. For example, with the data from Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, the ownership of land and real estate could be detected; Plus, using the information provided by the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, affiliated company information is also clear. Through comparing the applicants provided information and the coordinated government department information, the false reporting of impoverished population could be largely prevented.

5.2.2 Unified Poverty Information Platform

When impoverished households are applying for the identification, they are required to answer a detailed questionnaire (See in Appendix) to clarify their income source, production and living conditions including agricultural land size, irrigation situation, accessibility to clean water, electricity, sanitation facilities and so on. What is more, they also need to state their main poverty cause. All these information will be recorded as archives of the impoverished households. Guizhou province has established a unified poverty information platform applying big data technology based on the self-reported information and data from multiple government department. Through this platform, users such as poverty alleviation cadres and persons in charge of assistance can quickly inquire about the basic conditions of poor households, causes of poverty, and assistance measures, etc. The platform also has the function to detect the incoherence between the individual reported information with the data from government bureaus.

One of the biggest advantages of this information platform is that it realizes the information sharing and exchange among different government departments, which overcomes the failure in coordination in previous poverty alleviation period. On the other hand, via this platform, government officials could introduce poverty alleviation measures that suit the specific area better using the quantified poverty information. Furthermore, with the whole process of poverty situation tracked, it is more transparent to inspect the allocated fundings and examine the performance of concerned officials.

5.2.3 Clear Division of Poverty Alleviation Responsibility

As we have discussed in prior sessions, one of the outstanding problems with previous poverty alleviation programs is the ambiguous division of poverty alleviation responsibilities. There has been intention to coordinate multiple departments when setting the poverty alleviation goal, but due to the unclear responsibility division and

isolation of information, the cooperation among several parties was less efficient and the result of poverty reduction was less satisfying. In terms of addressing the above shortcomings, during the targeted poverty alleviation period, a clearer responsibility division and incentive system regarding to evaluate the work of involved officials is built.

Guizhou province has assigned officials from government departments and institutions to all the impoverished villages in the system since 2013. These dispatched officials play a fundamental role in implementing poverty alleviation campaign locally. To be mentioned, Guizhou government has made hard requirements on the eligibility of official to be dispatched, which is that one should be a CCP member and at the same time his/her rank should be mid-level (Chu/ Ke level) governmental officials in or above county level. The selected officials will form a resident working team to be stationed in each impoverished village, and there will be one official be assigned as the first secretary to be in charge of the resident working team. According to the requirement, the working team members have to work on site in the villages for no less than 20 days each month, and their duty is to promote and implement poverty alleviation policies, help building grassroot organization, facilitate industrial development in villages, and foster the employment of rural labors.

The dispatched officials are jointly managed by their original unit, township party committees and county/city party committee organization department. In practice, township party committees, county and municipal party committee organization department will be responsible for the daily management of the resident working team, while their original institution has the responsibility to evaluate the dispatched officials' work in impoverished villages at least twice per year. On top of that, the provincial and municipal level government will adopt cross-inspection, random inspection, unannounced and unannounced visits, and online tracking, etc., to inspect their loyalty to the poverty alleviation work. Besides, there will be daily, half-year and year-end assessment, which takes up 20%, 30%, 50% respectively, with regard to the annual grading to the dispatched officials. For officials who are graded high in their annual assessment, they will gain the priority to be promoted; while for those whose scores are low, there is also according punishment.
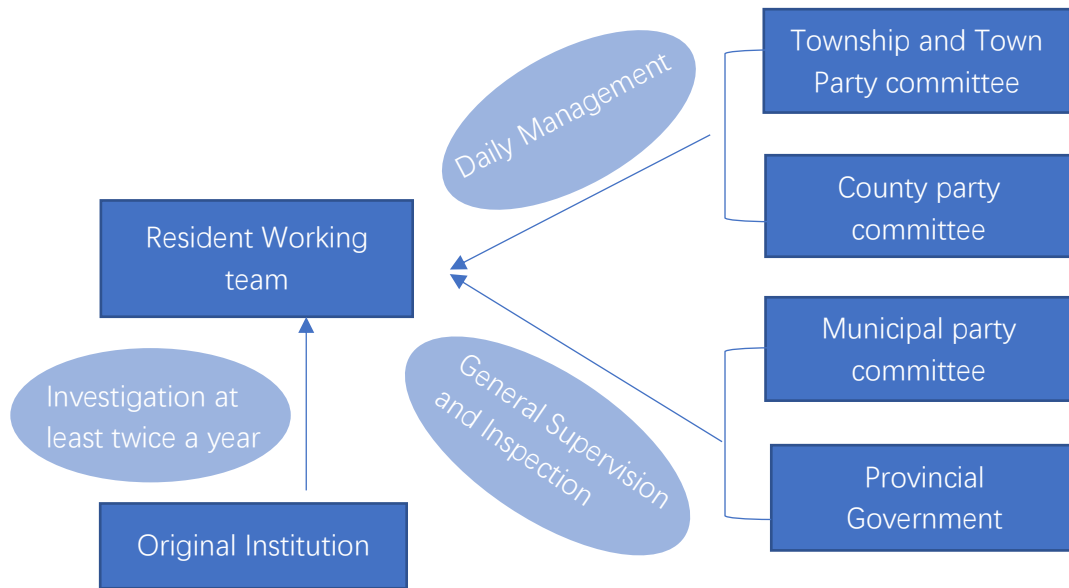
Figure 6. Organization structure of resident working team
Source: Guizhou Province Targeted Poverty Alleviation Standard System (2020)

5.2.4 Poverty Alleviation Through Industrial Development

Industrial development, especially agriculture, plays a significant role in poverty reduction (Montalvo & Ravallion, 2010). Guizhou is a province that suffers from severe rocky desertification，and steep high mountains fragments the lands which makes the agriculture in rural Guizhou barely able to meet the subsistence need of the households. In a relative long period, the agriculture development in Guizhou province is immensely poor. During the targeted poverty alleviation campaign, Guizhou government has committed itself to transform the traditional agriculture into modern agricultural industry, aiming to increase the income of rural impoverished people by promoting more efficient and higher value-added industry.

After assessment of the geographic and climate environment of the province, the provincial government decided to stimulate five agricultural industries in Guizhou：vegetables, tea, mushroom, Chinese herbal medicine, and ecological poultry. County-level party committees and governments could choose at least one dominant industry from the above category with the principal of good market prospects, high added value, quick results, broad driving scope, strong competitiveness, and harmonious coexistence with ecological construction based on local factors such as resource endowment, climatic conditions, industrial base, and market demand.

To get better understanding of how the mechanism of promoting industrial development in impoverished regions works, we could specifically scrutinize the case of tea industry in Sinan County of Guizhou. Sinan has the typical karst topography, the

soil is barren and the surface is rugged, which is not conducive to development of food crops. However, the deputy governor of Sinan, Xiaodong Wang, finds out that the natural environment of Sinan, high altitude, low latitude, little sunshine, cloudy and foggy climate, is exactly suitable for the growth of tea. Therefore, tea industry was chosen as the leading agriculture of Sinan to put efforts on. What is worth noticing is that Wang used to be a governor of Changshu, a city located in Jiangsu province, which is the most developed province in China. He was appointed to Sinan through a project called East-West Cooperation in Poverty Alleviation, which is a policy started from 1996 that pairing the developed provinces and municipalities in the east with the impoverished regions in the west. The form of east-west cooperation is diverse, involving government backing, cooperation from enterprises, social assistance, and human resources support.

After deciding to promote the development of tea industry, Sinan government invited several tea producers of Jiangsu province to have an inspection trip to Sinan, actively looking for potential investors. Next, the tea producers from Jiangsu province who decided to invest selected Zhaijiaba and Xunjiaba as their tea growing base from 28 towns in Sinan after fully compared and demonstrated their geography, climate and soil characteristics. To build a large-scale tea base, the prior challenge is to convince the villagers to transfer their individual land use right. In this section, it is the poverty alleviation resident work team members who visit the villagers household by household, explaining the benefits of this project. Knowing that through transferring the land use right to the tea producer, they can not only gain the rent by land right transferring, salary by working in the tea base, but also the dividends from the profit of the company, majority of the villagers are attracted by the blueprint of this project. In the tea planting process, the tea producers from eastern province introduced fine tea varieties such as "White Tea No. 1" to help Sinan develop high-quality tea. Besides, the government of Sinan County invited the experts from Jiangsu Tea Research Institute to give farmers in Sinan onsite guidance on techniques relevant to tea planting, picking and processing.

As for the selling section, it is also a joint work of multiple powers. From the government side, the government of Sinan invited big e-commerce platforms like Tmall.com, JD.com, and Daily Youxian to form an online sales operation team, built WeChat sales mini-programs, carried out a series of live broadcast activities, and promoted the "Sinan White Tea". Guizhou government's endeavors in selling also including measures such as setting up tea exhibition counter in the freeway rest area, providing free vending matching spot in public transportation stations, and organizing tea companies to participate in all kinds of trade fairs. From the enterprise side, companies not matter state owned ones or private companies are encouraged to participate in helping this career in all forms. As an example, state-owned enterprise will give priority to purchase products from impoverished areas as their welfare for the employees; Private companies, especially internet companies, are encouraged to launch free special section on their website to promote the agriculture products from poor areas.

Meanwhile, the big tea companies who invested in Sinan as their material base, have their own mature sales channel, which ensures the market potential of the tea planted in Sinan.

5.2.5 Poverty Alleviation Through Resettlement

Due to the harsh natural environment of Guizhou, there are plenty of impoverished population reside in remote mountainous areas with harsh environment with little access to basic infrastructure and public service. Especially, majority of the ethnical minorities are stuck by this kind of disadvantageous environment. It is expensive to build infrastructures and also the potential of developing industries there is limited. For those impoverished people living in extremely barren areas, Guizhou government aims to reduce poverty through resettlement. During 2016-2020, 1.92 million people were relocated through relocation project, of which 1.578 million were registered poor people, 949 centralized resettlement sites were built, and 465,000 resettlement houses were built (Information Office of Guizhou Province, 2021).

Revolving the resettlement project, there are some vital aspects to be emphasized to provide a sustainable life for impoverished people to move. First, Guizhou government choose the resettlement location based on the employment capacity. The selected resettlement site must be able to provide the amount of jobs that meets the need of the moving in impoverished population. Secondly, centralized resettlement to urbanized areas is preferred, since in that case, the impoverished people could simultaneously enjoy the existing infrastructure and public services around the town. Thirdly, the responsibility around relocation is divided to increase accountability. The provincial government takes the responsibility to raise the fund, while the county level government is taking charge of the construction and the village resident working team is responsible for the communication with impoverished villagers. Fourth, the budget of the relocation should be strictly controlled to provide the relocating population an affordable resettlement cost. The assigned house size is corresponded to the family size. The per capita housing area for urban resettlement shall not exceed 20 square meters, and the per capita housing area for rural resettlement shall not exceed 25 square meters.

Further, considering there are a large proportion of ethnical minority groups involved in the resettlement program, Guizhou government has designed additional policies to take into account of the diverse need of them. Specifically, there are social volunteering work and service center being set up under the unit of street in 64 resettlement sites of ethnic minorities among 40 counties in Guizhou,
（Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission of Guizhou, 2020）

5.2.6 Poverty Alleviation Through Education

Education is acknowledged to be the most fundamental way to prevent the intergenerational transmission of poverty by improving labor quality (Bird et al., 2010). The uneven distribution of educational resource has been haunted the development of rural Guizhou for long. Primarily, it is the lack of physical facilities. The schools in rural Guizhou used to be scarcely scattered, and the school environment were of poor condition. Students in rural areas had to commute for hours to get to the school. The high time cost and poor family financial situation forced substantial amount children of schooling age to drop out of education. Additionally, the quality of education in rural Guizhou was also deficient, since it is hard for schools located in the remote rural areas to sustain knowledgeable teachers. The parents who sought better education quality for their kids would spend more money to send them to schools in the county or city, one the one hand, it increased the family's financial burden and exacerbated the issue of poverty; on the other hand, the loss of students left the schools in rural areas less motivation to improve their education quality, leading to the more and more unequal in education issue.

To break the vicious circle of education, poverty and inequality, Guizhou government focused on the below three aspects. First of all, allocating more funds to support education in rural areas. Since 2013, 5-6% of the administrative expenses of the party and government organizations per year have been saved for the development of education. The number of students receiving financial assistance in Guizhou has increased from 6.22 million of 2013 to 10.9435 million in 2020. During the same period, the money used for educational assistance has also increased from 6.01 billion yuan to 14.662 billion yuan. The usage of educational funds covered the building and renovating of school buildings, scholarships and student loans, free nutritional meals for rural students etc. (Information Office of Guizhou Province, 2020).

Moreover, Guizhou government put efforts on ensuring the coverage of free compulsory education, which is a basic state policy deriving from 1986 and revised in 2006 to exempt the tuition fee for all the students in primary school and junior secondary school. As we have discussed above, although the tuition fee is free, the relatively high commute cost plus the food expense still blocked some of the kids from extreme poor family to receive education. Combined with the resettlement project, on the basis of the original educational resources around the resettlement sites, Guizhou has made great efforts to the construction of new schools supporting the resettlement sites. A total of more than 18 billion yuan has been invested in building, renovating and expanding 669 schools supporting the resettlement sites (Information Office of Guizhou Province, 2020). Children who used to spend hours to get to school now can study on the campus within walking distance. With the help of unified information system of impoverished population, Guizhou province has also established a "Direct Reporting System for Students Suspected Dropping Out of School during Compulsory

Education Period", which effectively allows the teacher to receive the early warning of students who are suspected of dropping out of school, and then they can timely interrupt and persuade them to return to school.

Beyond that, more focus has been put on the improvement of education quality in rural areas. 2,632 rural primary and secondary schools in 66 counties in rural Guizhou have formed a "one-to-one" pair-support relationship with high-quality schools in the eastern cooperation cities. Via Smart Classroom, a project taking advantage of the digital information technology, the students in rural Guizhou could watch the live lecture from the teachers in pairing eastern schools. There are also regular volunteering teachers from Guiyang, the capital city of Guizhou, coming to the rural schools to share their teaching experience with the local teachers and train them in the aspect of school management.

6. Discussion

In this thesis, we have presented how the targeted poverty alleviation campaign is carried out in Guizhou province. In this session, we are going to further discuss the limitation and future challenges of the existing targeted poverty alleviation institution.

First of all, the present poverty identification system still needs improvement to cover more impoverished people. China has set a lower bar of poverty's definition compared to the international standard. The threshold set by China to define extreme poverty amounts to $1.69 a day at current exchange rates, while the World Bank's global threshold is $1.90. This gap in poverty definition means a large amount of people living slightly above China's poverty line is still considered poor in a global standard but are not eligible to enjoy the assistance that are limited to the registered poor people. What is more, the current method to identify impoverished people has little guarantee of accuracy, since there is no such official statistics or monitoring system of peasants' annual income in each village, the poverty identification only relies on the village committees' estimation or the cadres' subjective judgment of those households of which the per capita income might be below the poverty line. Even though a series of evaluation is required to ensure the accountability, without an objective income monitoring system, there is still space for the villagers to bribe to get the quota to be able to be registered (Li, Su & Liu, 2016).

Secondly, there remains the problem of top-down poverty alleviation. The targeted poverty campaign is a product of China's distinctive regionally decentralized authoritarian (RDA) regime, which is specialized in affecting executive's incentives and behaviors (Xu, 2011). Xu (2011) argues that, the RDA institution is characterized as a combination of political centralization and economic regional decentralization. Politically, subnational government officials are appointed from the above, and the national government uses the appointment and promotion of subnational government officials as a crucial tool to induce regional government officials to follow the central government's policies. In terms of economics, the subnational government enjoys relatively large freedom and initiative, they are in charge of initiating, coordinating, and delivering public services.

The targeted poverty alleviation is a central-planned policy to address the problem of rural poverty and regional disparities, and each province can make adjustment in their practice according to regional difference. One the one hand, the regional decentralization in implementation allows the grassroot government to make the most suitable development plan according to the local condition, for example, Guizhou government chose the promoting industry based on the assessment of local resource.

On the other hand, officials involved in targeted poverty alleviation campaign are mainly under the pressure of regional competition and motivated by the promotion decided by upper government, which means the punishment and incentive system is dominated by the upper government rather than the appraisal of the people. The rule of the evaluation institution inevitably determines that this campaign is top-down, which means less weight to the public's participation. Naturally, there is 'poverty number reduction' more than poverty reduction in some places where the grassroot officials only concern about finishing the task of lifting people out of poverty list and neglecting the antipoverty follow up (Li, Su & Liu, 2016).

Thirdly, the resettlement project is not satisfying in communication with people. The poverty alleviation resettlement program differs from other forms of state-driven resettlement by its official emphasis on voluntarism. Even so, there is a lack of guideline on how voluntarism can be guaranteed in practice (Lo & Wang, 2018). According to a large-scale household survey of migrants in this program conducted by Lo and Wang (2018), only 4.6% of the respondents indicated that they were well-informed regarding the poverty alleviation resettlement program. As for the question about people attitude towards resettlement, the vast majority (85.9%) responded that they would have been more supportive of resettlement if they had better information on location, housing, amenities, and subsidies. Although the principal of voluntarism is emphasized by the central government, the assigned task of relocating a considerable number of people in a relatively short time may seduces the regional government to violate voluntarism to fulfil the target number. It could be interpreted as that inadequate participation of people in the decision process would lead to information asymmetry, which will add the difficulty in increasing people's willingness to consent.

Fourth, more diversified policy and welfare system should be built to cover the multiple needs of people from different age groups. The aging population poses challenge for future poverty alleviation. The poverty headcount ratio of the elderly in rural China was three times that in the urban areas (Cai et al., 2012). According to a nationwide survey covering 2,075 households in 22 impoverished counties of 13 provinces, the ratio of aging population and people who lose their working ability because of disability consist of 31.2% of the respondents, which indicates that labor shortage is an evident problem challenging the impoverished regions (Li, Su & Liu, 2016). Except endeavors to promote employment, the establishment and perfection of social care and welfare system is necessary in rural China.

7. Conclusion

From the above illustration, we could reach the consensus that this campaign has achieved great success in improving the living condition of impoverished people in Guizhou through making customized solution to their targeted problems. Through precisely targeted the real poor, Guizhou government could concentrate the funding and resource to the neediest population. In that case, the problem of fraudulent claim could be prevented to the biggest extent. By unifying the data managed by different departments, the whole process of poverty alleviation becomes more transparent. The improved information sharing has enhanced the communication and coordination within multiple departments. Through a clear division of responsibility, the dispatched officials are under a strict organizing system to be evaluated, which effectively motivates them to be more committed to the poverty alleviation work. Via promoting selected industries best matched with the local condition, Guizhou province has transformed the traditional self-sufficient agriculture to more profitable modern agricultural industry. By implementing poverty alleviation resettlement project, the fundamental poverty problem rooted in ecologically fragile and locationally isolated areas could be solved in Guizhou province. Through strengthening the focus on education, both of the facility and quality of education in rural areas have been tremendously improved.

But what need to be acknowledged is that, this campaign is more of an upgradation rather than a diversion of the previous poverty strategies. The achievement of this campaign has to be built on the basis of success of the previous strategies that has eradicated the universe poverty in China. A distinguished merit of this campaign is the narrowness of the poverty alleviation object down to the household level, and without the prior efforts in antipoverty attempts from region level to county level and to community level, the current strategy would be too arduous to be carried out.

This campaign manifests a narrowness in the ambiguity in poverty alleviation objects, measures and responsibility, but shows more broadness in the involved power. The poverty reduction has become a social task not just single government department is included, but multiple government organizations and numerous enterprises consisting state-owned and private companies have made enormous contributions (Boullenois, 2020).

Nevertheless, the problems within the current targeted poverty alleviation campaign should be attached to more importance in the future work. Initially, a wider range of poverty identification system should be built to cover more impoverished people based

on accurate and comparable income data. Secondly, the evaluation system should also take the satisfaction of people into consideration, in that case the problems with top-down campaign could be released to a bigger extent. Thirdly, the communication and information exchange with impoverished population should be strengthened. Only by broadening the participation of people into the decision process can the multiple needs of impoverished people be better taken care of. Finally, a sound social security system should be built confronting the challenge of aging population and cover more impoverished people who lose the ability to work.

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Appendix

Information Collection Form of Impoverished Household			
Chapter 1: Basic Information			
Address:		Bank Name (optional):	
Tel：		Bank Account (optional):	
Identification Standard： □ National □ Provincial □ municipal		Poverty Identity Classification: □ General impoverished household □ Impoverished Household in *dibao* System □ Impoverished Household in *wubao* System	
Whether have a family member who is a military member or martyr □ yes □ no	Whether only have one child □ yes □ no	Whether have two female children in the family: □ yes □ no	
Chapter 2: Information of Family Member			
NO.	1	2	3
Name			
Gender			
ID number			
Relationship with the household head			
Ethnic			
Political Status			
Studying in School Status"			
Education Level			
Health Condition			
Working Skills			
Job Information			
Whether an active military			
Whether participated in the critical illness insurance program			
Hukou category			
Chapter 3: Cause of Poverty			

Major cause of poverty (choose one only): □ illness □ disability □ education □ natural disaster □ lack of land □ lack of technology □ lack of labor □ disadvantageous transportation condition □ lack of motivation	
Other cause of poverty (choose two at most): □ illness □ disability □ education □ natural disaster □ lack of land □ lack of technology □ lack of labor □ disadvantageous transportation condition □ lack of motivation	

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2" align="center">Chapter 4: Return to Poverty (if applicable)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">□ illness □ disability □ education □ natural disaster □ lack of land □ lack of water □ lack of technology □ lack of labor □ lack of fund □ failed industrial development</td></tr>
</table>

Chapter 5: Income Information

Income from wage and salary		Allowance from one-child policy		Pension	
Income from Household Operation		Allowance from five guarantees program		Compensation fee for ecological protection	
Income from property		Allowance from *dibao*		Production and operating expenses	
Income from transfer		Oher transfer income			

Chapter 6: Production and Living Conditions

Land size (mu)		Whether have access to electricity for production	
Land with Irrigation system size (mu)		Distance from the main road of the village (kilometer)	
Forest size (mu)		Condition of road	
The Size of Farmland Return to Forrest (mu)		House Size (square meters)	
Fruitland size (mu)		Whether have access to electricity for living	
Grassland size (mu)		Whether have problem to access drinkable water	
Waterland size (mu)		Whether have access to safe water	

Chapter 7:   Responsible Person for Poverty Alleviation

NO.	1	2	3
Name			
Political Status			
Organization Name			
Start Time			
End Time			
Organization Address			

TEL			