



Targeted Poverty Alleviation and Rural Restructuring in China: Hints from Guizhou Province

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ABSTRACT China's Targeted Poverty Alleviation of 2013 contributed to both rapid and major changes in rural areas of central and western China, particularly in Guizhou Province. These changes differed from the changes caused by the Reform and Opening-up policy of the 1970s. Present research confirms statistically that the economic growth and living standards were effectively improved by the Targeted Poverty Alleviation (TPA) activities. There has, however, been little research critically examining how the TPA activities changed the rural areas both socially and culturally. This study examines how TPA activities changed the rural areas. The researchers found the dramatic changes caused by TPA are concluded as economic, social and spatial restructuring: 1) Economic Restructuring: Village collective economy and farmers' cooperatives became more significant relative to households as the basic economic unit. Widespread land transfer transformed farmers into workers. E-commerce became a significant platform extending the local rural economies; 2) Social Restructuring: Family structure was divided deliberately to facilitate utilization of policy. Social relationships became more complex; and 3) Spatial Restructuring: The land transfer made the individual scattered family farms more standardized, altering traditional farming culture. Relocation and resettlement for poverty alleviation resulted in social inclusion dilemmas, potentially fracturing the traditions of cultural inheritance. In order to promote effectiveness of poverty alleviation, local culture based research was suggested to be intensified.

INTRODUCTION

Since the president Xi Jinping first put forward the Targeted Poverty Alleviation (TPA) in 2013, the central and western areas of China have been undergoing fundamental changes in the rural areas. There has been a dramatic rise in poverty research which has prompted new programs. Most of the rural villages in central and west China have an entire new look as the result of the TPA. The poverty alleviation projects resulting from TPA were heavily funded and large sums of Federal money poured into villages in

the fight against poverty. Historically, studies of poverty could date to the 18th century, when Adam Smith noted "relative poverty" in the work of "The Wealth of Nations" (Smith 1776). Poverty studies have attracted numerous scholars for more than a century. Later on, the definition and measurement have been fully discussed since Rowntree did his research in London in 1901. Definitions were discussed from the "minimum necessities needed to maintain physical abilities" or "socially acceptable" minimum amount of money for the particular environment (Rowntree 1901) and "substantive capabilities" (Sen 1976) to the Human Poverty Index (HPI), which was defined as a basic lack of the most basic opportunities and choices for human development - a long, healthy, and decent life, freedom, social status, self-respect, and respect for others (UNDP 1990). Some other researchers focused on the causes of poverty, such as environment-poverty (Bryant 1997) became a popu-

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lar topic for poverty study. But apparently, the focus today is still on the achievements of TPA and the understanding of poverty.

The key factor of poverty alleviation is to determine who are poor and where they are. But to identify the poverty or poverty measurement by complex definition would be difficult to realize. With the implementation of TPA, China defined the poverty with the Chinese own experience and features. The poverty was described as a “general term for economic, social, and cultural backwardness; a living situation characterized by a lack of basic life necessities and services and a lack of opportunities and means for development” (National Bureau of Statistics PRC 1990). Some researchers argued that poverty is a survival crisis and life dilemma caused by various obstacles and constraints. A certain level of poverty is a social state, and it would be a vicious cycle to be unimproved (Qu and Zuo 1997). Generally, poverty was defined not just a low level of income, nor as just a poor educational, health, and nutritional situation, but also includes vulnerability, lack of voice, and social exclusion, or concluded as political, social, cultural, and other elements.

Chinese scholars and government have developed the concept and focused on food, clothing, basic education, safe housing and basic health care (Yan 2015). These items can be measured and are less abstract than the more complex concepts of social well-being referenced in some definitions of “poverty”. The TPA covers a series of outstanding and historic measures in poverty alleviation. The TPA stresses on the accurate poverty identification, accurate anti-poverty project arrangements and capital utilization. It also addresses actions to specific households, provides for supervisor appointment, and specifies criteria for accurate poverty alleviation achievement.

In the past, the populations in poverty were calculated according to the available statistical data only, the number was not accurate. There were no definitive answers to questions such as “who was poor”, “where has poverty occurred”, and “how to help”. Furthermore, the arrangements of poverty alleviation might not be suitable for the farmers. For example, the cause of the poverty was often an insecure house, but the action was to develop the agriculture indus-

try. The capital was invested into industry, and the insecure house still remained. This resulted in low efficiency of poverty alleviation. As a result, the rural poverty status remained serious and undeveloped.

The TPA is a system of poverty identification, measurement, evaluation and alleviation; it can theoretically realize accurate identification, effective aid and long-term capacity improvement. Unlike the estimated poverty population from statistical data, accurate identification can focus on specific households or individuals. The identified poor are recorded dynamically in the poverty alleviation management system. Based on the system, especially the causes, targeted measures are designed to overcome the problems causing poverty, such as insecure house, poor infrastructure, serious disease, etc. The process developed pursuant to the TPA is traceable and the result can be evaluated.

With the implementation of Reform and Opening-up policy, rural China has experienced significant changes (Yan 2015). Economic-driven migration is one of the most impressive factors that has changed rural Guizhou. This results in a series of socio-economic changes including rural restructuring, balanced regional development, and labor market changes (Long et al. 2016). Investigation reveals that in the past 30 years, the young rural laborers have been attracted by the higher income and colorful life of cities, mostly abandoning traditional farming of ordinary crops. The migrant workers made great contributions to cash income and meanwhile had to leave the aged and children at home. The aged became the main labor force in rural agriculture. Due to inadequate labor force, they had to abandon the poor land or land in poor traffic conditions. The resulting drop in agricultural productivity has left the people without enough productivity for self-support and required the young outside to make money to afford some daily necessities or expenditure on behalf of the children. So, the economy in rural Guizhou turned from agriculture to non-agriculture, and the latter played a more crucial role in the family. Those who accumulated wealth by going away to work in cities eventually went back to the village, but the village was not the only home for them. They preferred to buy an apartment or to build houses in a town or city.

Changes resulting from the Reform and Opening-up policy could be occurred gradually. But the changes caused by TPA are much more significant in Guizhou province. As the researchers investigated in Guizhou province, rural Guizhou has been experiencing tremendous economic, social and spatial restructuring. The focus of current studies is poverty identification and economic growth, but few people notice the rapid changes in social and spatial restructuring. These changes are in progress, but the impact on rural life requires further study. So, this study aims to investigate the tremendous changes caused by TPA, and arouses attention to negative results coupled with TPA achievements.

Theoretical Background

Study on rural restructuring has been conducted since 1990s, the town experienced recession soon after agricultural deregulation due to cutbacks in farmer expenditure. As Tu and Long summarized, rural restructuring includes at least spatial evolution of rural settlements; functional differentiation and evolution of rural territory; the pattern and process of rural development and transformation; the layout and optimization of rural settlements; the mechanism and model of rural spatial restructuring in typical regions; the social order change and the remodeling of rural governance system to the paths of rural restructuring (Tu and Long 2017). The rural restructuring was inevitably pushed by globalization, industrialization and urbanization. In rural China, the restructuring can be clarified in the following aspects: social, economic and spatial restructuring. Studies also reference this phenomenon as spatial restructuring, industrial reshaping and administrative reorganization (Long et al. 2016).

Rural restructuring or village hollowing characterized with land abandonment, land transfer and labour loss was quite normal in rural Guizhou. As this investigation showed, in a small village with 32 households in Sansui County, only 10 households were still doing farm work in the village. Furthermore, there were no more than 10 people under 50 years old who engaged in farming. More than half of the young migrant workers built or bought houses in towns or cities. They moved out of the village and planted trees instead of plants, came back occasionally to take

care of the forest. This is not a case; it is a universal phenomenon appearing in rural Guizhou. The young are seeking work opportunities outside and accumulate wealth for the family, and the aged stay at home to grow some vegetables and crops as supplementary. As the result of migration of young people to the cities, the effects on villages varies between two extremes. On one hand, in the villages with inadequate land or poor condition, much abandoned land resulted in the decline of traditional crop farming and livestock breeding. On the other hand, villages with good land resources and infrastructure such as transportation and irrigation system may obtain more opportunities to develop modern agriculture and engage high-efficiency agriculture.

As the carrier of economic activities, the land utilization reflects the economic reshaping. Some migrant workers are still keeping their old houses in their original home villages while owning new houses in towns. Some expanded the homesteads to build new homes near the main roads. Therefore the settlements have gradually concentrated along the road. This kind of natural evolution is driven by the convenience of traffic and business. But another kind of relocation and resettlement arouses our interest, which is the relocation for poverty alleviation.

Relocation for poverty alleviation is quite different from the naturally concentrated settlements. The naturally concentrated settlements moved gradually along the main road of the village, while the relocation and resettlement for poverty alleviation always relocated the whole village to a town or city. The relocation and resettlement of a whole village can improve the effectiveness of public services and is a good poverty alleviation method. It may, however, break the inheritance of traditional farming culture. So, the researchers' primary interest was to explore the rural restructuring associated with the TPA.

Along with the rapid urbanization and village relocation or combination, China's traditional village is typically characterized by agricultural civilization, acquaintance society and clan relations (Yan 2015). These relationships have been disassembled, and rural social development is facing a decline of autonomous organization. There is a weakening of the rural management mainstream and a progressive disappearance of

cultural memory symbols (Long and Liu 2016). Present research explores paths to address the problems in rural restructuring and to, optimize a new rural construct. As Tu and Long (2017) stated, to address the problems of rural social restructuring it is necessary to improve the rural institution system, cultivate new rural management, protect the unique rural cultural landscape and enhance the rural cultural function. Rural restructuring involves various factors and elements, most of which are fully discussed. So, in this paper, the researchers focused on the restructures caused or enhanced by implementation of the TPA.

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted using an anthropological research and sociology approaches. For the most part, the village or household data was from field study. Data relating to socioeconomy and geography of the province information was collected from the various government records such as the Guizhou statistical yearbook and the Guizhou government annual report. Field study covered more than 40 villages and included over 1200 households. The researchers applied stratified sampling to select villages from northern, southern, western and eastern Guizhou, attempting to reflect the variety of Guizhou's geographical locations. The indicators of location, transportation, industry development, minority structure, infrastructure etc. were considered to determine field surveys. They selected 10 villages from Yunnan-Guangxi-Guizhou Rock Desertification area, 10 villages from Wuling Mountain area, 10 villages from Wumeng Mountain area, and 10 villages from another part of Guizhou. Those villages represent different types of poverty in Guizhou in the researchers' opinion and could reflect the overall poverty situation of Guizhou province. To better understand the social and economic restructuring, they applied random sampling and stratified sampling to get information from different groups.

Investigation of villagers aimed to get the information about changes resulting from TPA. The researchers conducted a set of questionnaire surveys which involved the family members, land, income, policies or programs from

TPA. Furthermore, the researchers conducted semi-structured interviews with villager representatives, companies involved in poverty alleviation, employees from poverty alleviation department and village heads. These interviews collected a more comprehensive body of information and supplemented the researchers' initial research factors about TPA and its effect on social, economic and spatial restructuring.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Economic Restructuring

Traditional planting and breeding are main activities of farmers, but can only satisfy their own consumption, and it is almost impossible to get cash from traditional planting and breeding. The small-scale cultivation or individual cultivation is not only costly, but also vulnerable to risks of diseases, pests and market failure. Due to the risks and the limited marketing opportunities, it is hard to improve their income by traditional agriculture. When given the opportunity most young labors went to developed provinces to hunt jobs. But in recent years, employment in developed eastern China became more and more difficult. While concurrently, the rural benefit policy became much better, especially the TPA. Significant numbers of farmers went back home to seek a chance. These farmers were trained in factories or experienced in business and have a broad vision and spirit of adventure. They are willing to create, initiate and cooperate. In the context of TPA, increasing household income and improving the living environment have become the most important requirements.

The traditional economic behavior of individual peasant is obviously inconsistent to meeting the requirements above. So, farmers' cooperative is a possible way to achieve this goal. With the support from government, the cooperative can integrate land resources, technology, and capital. The cooperatives can participate in a broader market to develop a certain targeted agriculture industry with relative high added value. This "new form of collective economy" motivated the farmers' potential and has continued to do so. So, in the past a few years, the individual household economies of farmers has

been challenged by birth of these cooperatives and agriculture companies. The farmers' cooperative and land transfer altered the traditional rural economy system. The village collective economy resulted in a rebirth of rural villages, and played a more important role in rural development. Individual household economies have blended into a team for higher income. Technology has become more important than traditional experiences and e-commerce has become a vital way to develop the economy.

Dominance of Farmers' Cooperative in Rural Economy

Since the Household Contract Responsibility System was applied in China in the 1980s, rural economy has been characterized by household-based or individual entities. The collective economy faded from the implementation of Household Contract Responsibility System. But with the TPA, the collective economy based on farmer cooperatives flourished again, which was quite different from situation before the 1980s.

The poverty alleviation cannot be accomplished by any single part; it needs effective cooperation between government, society, community and the poor. Cooperatives have been regarded as an ideal way for poverty alleviation through self-help and mutual assistance (Wu and Xu 2009). The farmers' cooperatives are usually founded by several core members, who act as initiators for poverty alleviation or economic development. Cooperatives are naturally characterized as pro-poverty. According to the researchers' investigation, at least one farmer cooperative was established in each village. And 18 villages have 2 or more cooperatives, that account for 45 percent of the villages (N=40) they have surveyed. These cooperatives are widely accepted by farmers. All-win cooperatives involve both internal bodies such as core members, professional farmers or ordinary farmers and external bodies such as government, markets and society.

The members of cooperatives need the resources provided by government to increase their income. The government needs a platform to deploy poverty alleviation resources effectively to enhance the poverty alleviation. Thus, cooperatives can obtain better social benefits.

So, with the implementation of TPA, farmers' cooperatives are greatly encouraged by government, with usually at least one cooperative founded in each village. In addition, developing farmer cooperatives is a good way for farmers to get access to markets, to strengthen relationship between villagers based on the common interests and goals (Long et al. 2016).

The present cooperatives in Guizhou province are all about agriculture, and are typically named "XXX professional farmer cooperative of planting and breeding". The participation in the cooperatives is voluntary, with willing cooperation, which is similar to the understanding of Fan (1999). It is not only initiated by farmers, but it links farmer and market (Zhang 2002), and runs like a company. The core members are not only the shareholders, but also decision makers. First of all, they need to make all preparations to apply for a cooperative: apply for a loan (usually poverty alleviation loan), transfer land for the production, and introduce the planting or breeding program.

The favorite plants of the cooperatives in Guizhou are technological fruits, tea and herbs. Planting needs large scale production, so large areas of land transfer is crucial for the production. Although the contracting right of the land is still in farmers' hand, the right of utilization is transferred to cooperatives. And generally, the tenancy term with the cooperative lasts for more than 20 years. So, the land of individual households has turned into a "standardized place" with the same operation manual. If needed, those whose croplands were transferred to cooperative could seek work in cooperative and receive specialized training. The farmers became part-time workers to operate intensive cultivating. Cooperatives are generally superior to individuals in utilization of rural beneficial projects and finance. So, the profits made by cooperatives are much better than the individual households. The cooperative itself becomes an important economic entity within the village. The better profits raise cooperatives to a high status, and attract more and more participation of ordinary farmers, who imitate the planting like cooperatives and abandon the traditional farming. The profits from cooperatives become an important supplemental income of the family.

Another form of cooperative is the livestock breeding, which differs slightly from planting. In Guizhou province, cattle, goat, pig, chicken, duck, fish and some other special types of livestock are preferred for livestock raising cooperatives. These kinds of cooperatives are mainly run in the following two ways: One is that the initiators invest a certain amount finance to build breeding houses and purchase breeding livestock. Then farmers grow feed crop such as pasture for cattle and goats on their own land and sell to cooperatives. The technique, seeds, and fertilizer needed in growing pasture are provided by cooperatives. Farmers can get better profits from the technique based crop planting than traditional food planting. The second way is alliance breeding. Several households join together to raise a certain kind of livestock. This kind of operation often occurs in cattle, and there is no need to build excessive concentrate houses. The farmers concentrate to manage daily caring of cattle in turn in the name of cooperatives. But in fact, the cattle belong to each different family. They did this for two purposes: saving labor and obtaining support from government. Taking care of 30 cattle a day is more effective than 3 cattle a day. So, ten families allied together to care of 30 cattle in turn as an efficient way to improve efficiency. Furthermore, a certain number of cattle can get financial support from government, and while the number of cattle an individual household can raise is obviously not satisfying the criteria.

The explosion of farmers' cooperatives in Guizhou in the recent 5 years has been a major change in rural China. The rural cooperative economy, which has been ignored for more than 30 years in China was characterized as rural economic restructuring owing to TPA. The cooperative could get finance and project support from Department of Poverty Alleviation. This no doubt greatly encourages farmers to initiate cooperatives. For the government, cooperatives reflect the poverty alleviation achievements and have demonstrated effectiveness for the poor. They are willing to support the cooperatives to participate in the agricultural industry and help the poor to enhance self-development ability.

One fact needs to be noted is that the cooperatives play a crucial role in rural economy. This survey reveals, 61 out of 75 cooperatives are

running good and works well for poverty alleviation. Dividends of villagers vary from 450 RMB to 2200 RMB / person in the investigated villages in 2017, which greatly promoted the income of the poor villagers. Furthermore, compare to individual farmers, cooperatives obtained much more support both finance and policies from government, society and organizations. This greatly stimulated the burst of farmer cooperatives in the past 4 years. And cooperatives gradually dominate the economy in villages Guizhou.

Dramatically Increased Land Transition and Non-grain Preference

Since the 1980s, the Household Contract Responsibility System has been dominant in rural China and land transfer seldom occurred in rural areas. Within the Contract, the family members could fully make use of the contracted land to improve their productivity to feed the family. Due to the rapid industrialization, urbanization and socio-economic development, tremendous changes have occurred in rural Guizhou. The structure of land use was characterized with non-grain preference for higher economic interests, farmland abandonment and village hollowing. But in the strong developed Karst Rock Desertification areas, feeding the whole family members from the traditional agriculture became impossible. Going out for temporal work was an effective way to solve the problem of inadequate food. Previous study revealed, over 40 percent of rural laborers were working outside (Dan et al. 2011), and about 6 million rural laborers were seeking jobs in other provinces. Since 1980s, the massive loss of young labor force has been an outstanding feature of the Guizhou rural areas. The people over 60 years old were the main force engaging the traditional household-based agriculture in most villages. With the loss of the young labor force, more and more croplands were left abandoned and uncultivated (Chen et al. 2013). This laid a basis for land transfer. Prior to this out-migration by the young, the fragmented ownership pattern in the Guizhou mountainous rural areas made land transfer and consolidation unlikely.

The TPA involves vast rural beneficial policies and projects such as housing, medical care, education aid, infrastructure and industry de-

velopment etc. This new industry favorably achieves poverty alleviation goals, and obtains great inputs from the government. With the introduction of government, more and more companies have begun to invest in the agriculture industry. The economic crops or fruits with higher prices are favorable for these enterprises and cooperatives encouraged by local government. And the traditional grain farming becomes less important in land transfer process. Large areas of farmland are now used for planting economic crops or developing long term non-agricultural industry (Long and Liu 2016).

The “Three-Transformation Reform” of Shuicheng County is a typical land reform practice of Guizhou province. Field study revealed, that the land transferred for planting, livestock breeding and tourism are most popular in Guizhou province. Take Shuicheng County for example, 69333 ha cropland has been transferred in “three-transformation” reform since 2015. And in the birth place of “Three-Transformation Reform”-Ejia village, 446.67 ha cropland (44.9% of the total cropland) has been transferred from individual farmers to plant *Actinidia sinensis*, Cherry, Loquat and other fruits by a company. The farmers who engage in land transfer can get a fixed income of 600 RMB/ Mu per year for land transfer; 600 RMB and 700 RMB dividend in the second five years; 600RMB and 1400 RMB dividend in the third five years; 600 RMB and 1900 RMB in the fourth five years. This kind of land transfer covers 875 households and 3062 persons, in which 221 households and 751 persons are in poverty. As estimated, the engaged farmers can get 13 million RMB when full productive period of the fruits comes. Another village named Songlv village in the town of Ajia, Shuicheng County, 1251.6 ha land has been transferred to plant fruits, which accounted 88.84 percent of the total cropland and barren slope of the village. Actually, land transfer almost happens in every village at present with the foundation of farmers’ cooperatives. The fragmented lands contracted by different households were reunited to unitary ones with higher standards of planting. Besides planting and breeding, the land could be transferred for tourism development. A skiing company in Shuicheng County transferred 333 ha land for the ancillary facilities, which involved 1261 poor households.

Whether transferred for planning or tourism, the land utilization changed fundamentally. The timetable for the individual households has been quite flexible and free according to the land owners’ schedule in the traditional Household Contract Responsibility System. But now, the transferred unitary land is much more like a factory producing department. Part time workers converted from farmers are working in the fields according to the arrangement of company and supervised by a technician. TPA changed the utilization of land, and the land altered the traditional agriculture.

Shuicheng County is the most typical case of non-grain preference. Corn and potatoes are favorable grain crops of farmers because these can be easily planted with steady yields and less risks. But in 2016, farmers were informed to abandon these crops, and all of the farmland (69333 ha) of Shuicheng County were forbidden to plant grains. Generally, because of the low benefits of the traditional grain farming, non-grain preference of farmland use is related to the population movement to cities, the abandonment of farmland, the food consumption pattern adjustment and change of agricultural structure etc. (Wang and Liu 2009). The non-grain preference in Shuicheng County was partially pushed by farmers and mostly for the sake of TPA achievements. So, the local government encouraged through its policies to plant economic crops instead of grains. And thus, land transfer became common than ever.

Encouraged E-Commerce Becoming an Essential Platform for Village Trade

E-commerce is now spreading explosively all over China. Guizhou is one of the provinces that greatly benefits from e-commerce. Since 2015, the Big Data Expo has been held in Guiyang for 4 times, which greatly promoted the development of e-commerce in Guizhou. But in rural Guizhou, the e-commerce is just beginning. Farmers began to buy what they need online, but they didn’t sell products online. They simply didn’t have surplus products when performing traditional agriculture, and they didn’t know how to do business online. The traditional agriculture in Guizhou province inevitably fell into the dilemma of inadequate products or products in

excess of demand. Especially with the large scale agriculture products in excess of demand would really hurt the farmers. The e-commerce could help solve this problem. Under TPA, local government and some farmers began to seek opportunities to sell the agricultural products to the outside. Take Yanhe County (located in Wuling Mountain area) for example, a college graduate helped the farmers of Shazipo village sell 50 thousand tons of pomelos within one day. That almost equals to a month that the villagers had to spend in the past for the same result. Furthermore, the price of pomelos sold by e-commerce was higher than the individual farmer's selling price. E-commerce is an effective way to turn the surplus agriculture products into cash, and needs to be activated. Besides the platform on each county government net, villages began to build their own e-commerce platform to provide supply and demand information of agriculture products. E-commerce is becoming a kind of lifestyle of rural Guizhou. So, with the TPA, e-commerce surpasses rural Taobao in many cases and becomes not only a means of business, but a lifestyle. Farmers can buy and sell products through the e-commerce platform.

Social Restructuring

With the fast development of rural economy, tremendous changes have occurred and are occurring in rural areas. The traditional rural communities have been disassembled and recombined. In Guizhou province, integrating several small villages into a bigger one is quite normal. As field survey revealed, the population of the biggest village could reach nearly 10 thousand, which covered more than 10 rural communities. These changes may cause some negative consequences such as increased cost of rural governance both for villagers and village committee. Furthermore, the development of economy may result in the loss of young labors of rural community, the downfall of the old governance system and distortion of traditional values. The governance system of rural community is responding to cultivate a new-type agricultural management main body which is believed to be effective solutions to address rural social structure reconstruction (Long and Liu 2016). Besides the problems discussed above, some changes

need to be noted such as family structure, social relation and cultural cognition.

Deliberate Separation of Family Structure

The family is believed the most important social institution in China and blood ties have traditionally been the cornerstone of society. Filiality is at the center of the traditional Confucian family structure. It explains how each member of society should act in order to be most filial. A son should be a respectful, obedient and loyal servant to his parent, elder siblings, and elder family members (Rosemont and Ames 2009). Traditionally, sons and their wives lived with the son's parents until the parents died at which time the sons divided the household and property. The filiality won't allow sons to leave the parents to live alone, and parents always live with the youngest son (this could be differing in some cases). Daughters usually get married and form a new family, but won't inherit the family property, unless they were unmarried or the family had no sons. This kind of family structure has been dominant in rural Guizhou since the era of Mao. Although the Reform and Opening-up motivated migrant workers who might change the lives of all other family members, the family structure still kept the essence of filiality to support the aged.

Owing to the favorable policies of TPA, there did occur some changes in family structure in rural Guizhou. The researchers found some interesting cases that some young men left their old parents live alone or some kids live with their grandparents. These young men are living in big and new houses nearby while the old parents are in the dilapidated house. This kind of family splitting is not because the sons are not filial to their parents, but for some other reasons. The researchers' further investigation revealed, the sons made good use of poverty alleviation policy and divided the household deliberately. The poverty in China is identified by the registered household (registered in one household) and is measured by per capita net family income, adequate clothing and food, safe house and affordable basic medical care and education of the family. A household with just an old couple can be easily be qualified to be a poor family! Because these two family members are not la-

bors and don't have enough income to support the family. The aged (over 60 years old) may get rural subsistence allowance and young kids can get some educational aid. However, if the son and daughter-in-law are included in, then the per capita net income is easily above the poverty line. In this case, the living condition is better, and that larger household won't be qualified as a poor family. So, in order to fully use the TPA resources, a new family structure that consists of only the aged is common in rural Guizhou. But recently, the local government noticed this and tried to prevent the purposed family separation.

Differentiation of Social Relation

Neighborhood relationship and clan relations are the most important relations in rural villages. The rural society is relative homogenizing: the same profession and almost synchronous time table for working. In the past, the economic dominance of agriculture and other resource-exploitation industries and the relative stability of rural communities meant that hegemonic discourses could represent the rural as a homogeneous space and that such homogenizing representations were taken as the basis for rural policy and the organization of rural life (Woods 2011). In the acquaintance society, the relation is interrelationship but simple, neighborhood relationship, relatives, villagers and village head, are behaved in harmonious. The interrelationship of relatives and neighbors with the same profession can effectively keep the balance between each other and avoid conflict occurrence. The binding relationship of neighbors and relatives can balance with the village head's right. So, traditional rural village has little inner conflicts except for the resources scramble or some special cases.

The TPA brought about abundant favorable policies, and sometimes represented as gifts, cash and specific problem solutions to the village. These favorable projects are mostly entitled to the people under poverty line. For these gifts, villagers began to fight for the qualifications to be poor. So, it was interesting when the researchers interviewed with a family member, he or she would claim that his or her family was really poor, sounded to be the poorest family in the village, or poorer than the neighbors we've

seen. Some villagers even reported to the researchers that someone was not qualified to be poor, and his family was tough enough. These behaviors reveal at least two trends of changes. The first one is the tie of relatives or neighbors began to loose, villagers began to uncover others for their own interests. And the second one is that the trust in village head and others declined. One could suspect that there must have been some certain relations between village head and the household of poverty, especially the household with almost the same situations compared to himself. So, the trust in the past gradually declined while suspicion or even jealousy began to arise.

Challenges of Traditional Rural Ethics

Traditionally, achieving prosperity through hard work has been regarded as virtue of a man and being poor was shamed. But under certain circumstances, to be poor is good. With the increasing investment to poverty alleviation, capital and projects are pouring into poor villages. Furthermore, these aid programs must be implemented to the specific household. The "clever" villagers, as stated above, might fight for a qualification to be poor, and pursue interest without following the traditional ethics. Such examples can be reflected in family structure mentioned above. Being poor is no longer shamed or a symbol of incapability, but a status deserving pride. This was reflected in a typical case the researchers met in a County. A healthy man driving a luxury car to the village committee requested to allocate a rural subsistence allowance to his parents. Actually, it's easy to understand his behavior. His parents are over 60 years old and registered in a household by themselves. According to the criteria of poverty identification, income calculation just includes the registered members of the household. The young man belongs to another household and his income cannot be calculated into his parents' household. So, legally speaking, his parents without labor may be qualified as poor and obtain some allowance. But on the other hand, to support the aged is the son's obligation, and this obligation won't be shifted to government or society unless the sons lack of ability to support their parents. This is not a unique case, but frequently occurs and

is a common phenomenon in rural Guizhou. Being poor is not shamed, and to divide the family structure deliberately for sake of one's own interest is legally reasonable but inconsistent with ethics.

Spatial Restructuring

Generally, rural settlements are based on Chinese Fengshui and in a natural evolution state, which is often spatially scattered and chaotic. It is hard to optimize the public infrastructure and governance services in the scattered rural settlements (Long and Liu 2016). Also, the scattered settlements will increase the cost of environment conservation. These scattered farmers are typically living in a poor environment or areas being strictly protected for ecological function, rare plants and animals. These people need to be moved out for better utilization of public services. The result is that the natural evolution may leave the house unoccupied and the village hollowed. Furthermore, the rapid urbanization and industrialization has drawn migrants from rural areas to the cities, resulting in labor loss in rural areas and 'hollowed-village' phenomenon.

The labor loss and hollowed-village has left farmland abandoned and houses vacant. The social, economy and culture were reshaped. The reshaping of social and economic structures in rural China will reflect in its spatial distribution as Long (2014) stated. Reshaping of social and economic structures will change the utilization mode and allocation pattern, and then restructures the rural space (Long 2014). Besides, the spatial restructuring of village combination, land transition and relocation processes were enhanced in terms of poverty alleviation. Long (2012) and other scholars (Kuang 2015; Tonts and Athley 2005; Long and Liu 2016) have made much discussion on these topics and we will focus on the relocation for poverty alleviation.

Relocation for Poverty Alleviation

There are certain people living in extremely poor areas. These areas are characterized by fragile environment, resources scarcity, poor infrastructure, and frequent natural disaster. People there are facing difficulties with drinking water, transportation, electricity, telecommunication,

medical care and education. Improving the infrastructures and getting rid of the poverty seems to be impossible. These people are typically spread out, living in such scattered mountainous areas, that the needed infrastructure building is a huge cost and is well beyond the affordability of government.

For the effectiveness of public infrastructure and socialization services, anti-poverty by relocating and resettlement in other places may be a good solution. From 2012 to 2016, Guizhou provincial government has built new apartments to relocate 924.3 thousand people, and in 2017, 750 thousand people are to be moved out of their original houses. According to planning, 2.04 million people will be relocated and resettlement by 2020 (Huang and Ye 2016). The object of relocation is to solve the farmers' subsistence in mountainous, strong rocky desertification areas, where people lack of resources to survive. The whole village relocation and resettlement can really improve the living conditions and is good for poverty alleviation. However, there at least three problems relocation and resettlement has to overcome.

First, the "extremely poor" may not benefit from relocation and resettlement policy. Although the relocation policy covers at least one employee for each household relocated, whether the farmers are competent or willing to accept the work arranged by the government still remains to be seen. The researchers found in their survey that there are some farmers who are not competent and unwilling to accept the job because they are not satisfied with the payment offered by the government. In some other cases, the government has trained farmers to work as security guards in an industrial park. However, the farmers did not work in accordance with the principles of the factory. A director complained that several guards fell asleep after drinking too much and failed to let him enter the factory at night. Although farmers in rural areas carry out agricultural activities according to the agricultural calendar, their work quite differs from the factory, which needs to be strictly obeyed. It is difficult to change habits developed for a long time through short-term training. It is hard to train them for industrial activities. So, the extremely poor may not benefit from this policy due to failing to engage in the jobs afforded by

government.

Second, social inclusion of relocation and resettlement is a problem to be overcome. The focus of relocation today mainly concentrates on employment, resettlement and social insurance, but the social inclusion should obtain more attention. In general, social inclusion is concerned with communities, groups, and individuals – with a primary focus on those that are marginalized – and with access to and level and quality of participation, and integration in the rudimentary and fundamental functions and relations of society (Fudge 2014). The concentrated resettlement residents are from different villages and ethnic groups, the inclusion between different groups of resettlement residents and inclusion to the local society are difficult for these new residents. If they cannot be included in the local society well, a new “poor village” may appear in city or town, which therefore results in some social problems. Furthermore, the “new built village” altered even destroyed the old spatial pattern of the original village, and formed a new pattern that may be strange for resettlement residents.

Third, the potential fracture of culture inheritance may occur. The rural villages are the base and carrier of agriculture civilization inheritance. The mountains, waters, fields, forests, roads and other spaces are commonly formed the carrier of traditional culture. But the whole-village relocation and resettlement will leave the village hollowed and cut off the ties between farmers and agriculture. This was proved in our investigation. The youngsters resettled to towns and cities and were not able to grow crops. It’s a new farmer generation without agricultural know-how. According to the Planning for the Implementation of the Relocation project of Poverty Alleviation of Guizhou province, 84.96 percent of relocation population will move into industrial park settings, which results in millions of farmers’ abandonment of agriculture. This was demonstrated in words of a politician in charge of poverty alleviation in Guizhou. His remarks mean to cut off the poor root to be a farmer for those willing to relocate to the county in the future. Those relocated in cities might be poor for this generation and could be tolerated, but we will get rid of poverty for the next generation. His remarks sound reasonable to eradicate pov-

erty. How will the new problems such as social inclusion, livelihood adaptation and traditional culture inheritance can be fully addressed? The whole village relocation to cities will leave a hollowed village and form a new one that won’t engage in agricultural production. Besides the problems to be solved in the “new village”, the abandonment of agriculture may inevitably result in the fracture of the ethnic culture and farming culture.

CONCLUSION

Changes or restructuring has always been present with the development of society. The rapid and widespread nature of the TPA makes attention to social and spatial factors, particularly important. In the past, the restructuring, no matter economy, society or space of rural Guizhou, proceeded gradually. The implementation of TPA brings benefits to farmers while it speeds up or enhances the process of restructuring, but some problems arise. To address these problems, more detailed actions need to be designed in TPA.

The economy entity such as farmers’ cooperatives and e-commerce platform are crucial to the prosperity of rural villages. Encouragement of farmers’ cooperatives and e-commerce by specific help will help flourish rural development. Farmers are good at planting and breeding, but they lack technology, capital and management capacity. Good guidance can help them to activate the endogenous power to develop and therefore affect the other farmers to advance. Policy and projects-support are significant to the development of farmers’ cooperatives and e-commerce.

Traditional family keeps the essence of rural ethics; the deliberate separation of family structure should be prevented, and harmonious interpersonal relationship should be rebuilt. Despite the deviation of neighborhood cooperation that was partially caused by TPA, the harmonious and mutual assistance relationship still can be recovered from the agricultural projects such as collective behaviors of irrigation system construction, road construction, house construction, and rush harvest, etc. In terms of family structure separation, we can make full use of the wisdom of people, which can easily deal with

this phenomenon. As an employee's remarks to a rich man who asked the village committee to allocate rural basic living allowance to his parents: "If you sign a contract with the government and declare to abandon your parents, then the government can help you to send them to the *old people's home* to support them". For these words the man who asked allowance for his aged parents gave up the idea to shift supporting obligation to government and society. A detailed regulation is urgently needed to prevent this phenomenon and it shouldn't be so tough to achieve.

Social inclusion and culture inheritance of relocation and resettlement are much more complex, whether or not the migrants can steadily settle down. Cultural based resettlement with certain land for agriculture and cultural space included may be helpful to continue the culture inheritance of the groups. Agriculture even just for vegetables would allow them to have a period of time to adjust to new environment and livelihood. Cultural space in town or city may not be as good as that of in the village, but can at least provide an extended space for them to conduct their cultural practices.

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NOTES

1. Targeted Poverty Alleviation (TPA) in Chinese Pinyin, it is called "JING ZHUN FU PIN".
2. Yunnan-Guangxi-Guizhou Rock Desertification area, Wuling Mountain area and Wumeng Mountain area are belong to the 3 of 14 concentrated & continuous poverty areas of China. The authors visited 30 villages from the 3 areas.
3. "Three-Transformation Reform" was first introduced in Shuicheng County, Guizhou province. By introducing enterprises to villages, the land was transferred to enterprises for economic benefits.

Then farmers could have the rent and shares from the enterprises. Besides, investing or working in enterprises for certain shares could get more interests. "Three-Transformations" means to transform peasants to shareholders, land (labor or technique) resources to assets and money to share capital.

4. Mu: Chinese traditional unit of area, conventionally used in rural China, 1Mu=666.66 m².

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