

Научная статья
УДК 325(510)
DOI 10.18101/978-5-9793-1802-8-2022-128-142

**RELOCATION AS A MODE OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION:
CASE STUDY OF JINGGU COUNTY, YUNNAN PROVINCE**

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Abstract. The year 2020 was a decisive year when China won a nationwide battle against poverty to build a moderately well-to-do society. The key to combat poverty was placed on practical measures to identify poverty-stricken areas. One of the measures to relieve large numbers of people from poverty was relocation. Yunnan province is predominantly mountainous or hilly with many poor counties that often suffer from natural disasters. Taking the case of a typically poor, mountainous, and highly inaccessible Jinggu County for a special study, this paper evaluates the process of relocating 3,721 households during the years between 2016 and 2018, and the resolution of a series of subsequent problems after relocation. By means of a questionnaire survey, the investigation focuses on the manner by which relocation was carried out and the management of problems that followed. By means of a series of response measures and suggestions, the study will attempt to provide a useful reference on poverty alleviation through a relocation model.

Keywords: Relocation, Jinggu County, poverty, survey, counter-measures.

Since China implemented fully its precise poverty alleviation measures, an annual average of over 10 million people have been freed from poverty, which has created a miracle in the history of poverty reduction in the world.

Zou and Li, 2020: 54.

1. Introduction

Since the 18th National Congress, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, with the General Secretary Xi Jinping at its core, has made it clear that eradicating absolute poverty is one of the most urgent tasks in China. Xi claimed that it is critical to meet the basic requirement of the poor by 2020 in food, clothing, education, medical care and housing security. For him, lifting the poor out of poverty is the core indicator directly related to the quality of his political task (Xi, 2015:159). Xi also urged that poverty alleviation efforts must be carried out in five ways in response to the specific needs of each poor area and its people. These include improvement of the production system, education facilities, social security measures, and resettlement of the poor, and compensation to those resettled (Xi, 2017: 85).

Due to Yunnan's rugged topographic terrains and other unfavourable factors, poverty levels in the province are extremely serious, and may be ranked among those most difficult in the country (Liu & Liu, 2020:103). The province has a total of 88

counties classified as poor, as 94 per cent of them are found in mountainous zones, characterized by karst formation as well as their exposure to earthquakes, landslides, mudslides and other natural disasters such as floods and rugged terrains. It was found that 27 of these 88 counties, with 3539 abject poverty villages which require resettlement as the only means to improve the economic destiny of their inhabitants.

This paper explores the Jinggu County, Yunnan Province seen as most characteristic in its struggle against poverty and deplorable living conditions, and relocation of villagers is perceived as an effective means of poverty control.

2. Survey Method and Relocation Measures

Jinggu County has a land area of 7777 square kilometres, of which mountainous and hilly areas account for 97.46 percent, with a forest coverage of 575,000 hectares, which makes up 78.3 per cent of total area. Basic infrastructure is generally poor which makes access and external links extremely difficult.

Survey method

On June 10, 2017, the author first made a preliminary trip together with the Secretary for Poverty Alleviation stationed at Weiyuan Township and other village heads to Qianjia Village and Wenhui Village where we visited those who were required to move out and resettle elsewhere. An indepth understanding was made with the help of the village heads with regards to the difficulties and other problems of the villagers on transport, water supply, electricity, telecommunications, education as well as other infrastructure issues.

Jinggu County is one of the 88 poor counties in Yunnan Province, known as Jinggu Yi Autonomous County, located in southwestern Yunnan Province, west of Pu'er City, bordering Ning'er County to the east, and Simao District to the south. There are six towns, four townships and 136 administrative villages in the whole county (Figure 1). By the end of 2018, Jinggu County had a total population of 316,600, of whom 270,000 or 83 per cent were classified as farmers. Minority groups comprising mostly the Dai and Yi made up 152,900 or 48.3 per cent of the population while the majority were the ethnic Han people.

In September 2018, with the help of the local officials, we approached a few resettlement villages around Weiyuan Township, namely Qianjia Village (Qianjiacun), a village where a large number of people were relocated, involving 172 households or 713 individuals. Other villages were those relocated in concentration points near Weiyuan Township, namely Mangnai, Baoshan, Daping and Qianjiacun. Through a random questionnaire sampling method, a total of 50 questionnaires were distributed to the resettler household heads. The results were then processed and analysed in an attempt to help towards a better understanding of the effectiveness of relocation, job training and problems of adaptability.

Understandably, poor living conditions as the key reason for moving out made up more than one-third of the respondents who were resettled from their hilly villages. Before the move, because of their isolated location, transport cost was the highest of all expenses. Before they were resettled, surveyed households received almost half of the income from farming and petty trade, and indeed, households on average had one-fourth of income from government assistance.

Despite 70 per cent of the farms continued to be farmed after resettlement, six out of ten households had to rely on wage income in their new settlement sites, which

shows their traditional subsistence farming was terminated, and a new wage earning livelihood had just begun. This explains why 50 per cent of the household claimed they badly needed new skills training to equip them for new jobs. After the move, half the interviewees also complained their lost farmland was replaced with new farm plot which was small and far away from home. As the expenditure item after the move shows, 40 per cent of villages felt that new living expenses tended to be higher than their place of origin where they could be more self-sufficient in basic needs harvested from crops, vegetables and homestead livestock.

Relocation Measures

In 2013, an official preliminary study had listed 100 of the 136 administrative villages as poverty villages, comprising of 14247 poor households or 52,383 people. A target was then set by the Yunnan provincial government to relocate 3721 poor households or 14,292 people in two years from 2017 to 2018. According to the party and provincial government's instructions, the selection criteria, objective and relocation method were determined as follows (Song, 2021):

a) Selection criteria

- i. Villages sited in deep and rocky mountainous areas suffering seriously from severe cold, desertification and soil erosion. Soil fertility, water supply, and sunlight in these areas are difficult to come by to meet the production needs of local inhabitants;
- ii. Farming areas are situated within the prohibited or restricted development zones identified by China's "Major Function-oriented Zone Planning" under the jurisdiction of the State Council;
- iii. Infrastructure set-ups such as transport and communications, water and electricity supplies, education, and medical facilities are very poor, and it is extremely costly and difficult to build infrastructure in such areas;
- iv. Local fragility features such as natural disasters are serious and frequent; and
- v. Areas affected by reservoir construction or earthquakes.

As per procedure prior to the relocation, households affected will have to sign a "relocation agreement" with the township government which consists of the demolition of old houses, and compensation details. Upon signing, poverty relief and benefits are ensured with the compensation package and resettlers have agreed that their old houses could be dismantled by the authority.

According to the specific needs of affected villagers in different areas, both centralized and dispersed resettlement methods are adopted. By centralization approach, it means villagers are resettled in groups along important traffic lines based on rural township development planning. Such villages may be located near an industrial park or holiday resorts fit for rural tourism. Dispersed placement is divided into two types where villagers would be placed in urban-like settlements, along traffic lines where they could adapt more easily. Others who have found jobs in the nearby urban areas would be settled in rental housing blocks there.

(b) Housing subsidies

Resettled households will receive 20,000 yuan per capita as subsidy for building their new house, in addition to an old house demolition compensation of 6000 yuan per head if they choose to dismantle the house by themselves. Land cost subsidies for housing vary from place to place. Those relocated within 3 km around Jinggu County Town are entitled to 12,000 yuan per household, those located within 3 km around a

township will receive 10,000 yuan per household, and 8,000 yuan per household if relocated in a centralized village along key traffic lines. Those who have resettled individually by their own choice will receive no subsidies (Jingbanfa, 2016).

(c) Number of households involved in the relocation in Jinggu County jing

In 2016, Jinggu county identified 1151 poor households or 4319 people within its jurisdiction for resettlement in 41 centralized sites, comprising of 846 households or 3167 people, and 305 households or 1152 people in decentralized sites. Centralized placement made up 73.3 per cent. In 2017, the number of households to be relocated increased to 2570 households or 9973 people (Jingbanfa, 2016). By the end of December 2018, construction of all 3721 relocation housing units in Jinggu County had been completed and successfully approved. What remained to be done were some specific infrastructure projects and follow-up actions. Figure 2 below shows the contrast of housing conditions between the old sites and the new resettlement sites.

3. Jinggu County's Main Relocation Practices and Results

a) Safeguarding measures to facilitate housing construction.

In practical and implementation terms, Jinggu County's party Secretary General assumes the role of a commander-in-chief, assisted by his deputy secretaries. Their task is to ensure that the correct package of relocation is put in place. All those to be relocated will receive their housing units in accordance with household size and their choice of location offered for selection. All paper work must be executed accordingly in proper legal terms regarding compensation and other duties to comply with which resettlers have signed in acceptance. Based on the "Jinggu Yi Autonomous County's Poverty Reduction and Relocation Implementation Program", specified in Jing Office Issue (2016 No. 36) and 2017 Notice No. 49), all poor households living in the mountainous and hilly areas, suffering from scattered services, inconvenient transportation, ecological fragility and other difficulties are entitled to the government guidance and aids in the process of relocation (Jingtuo Zhifa, 2017).

b) Funding

In 2015, Jinggu County Xingjing Investment Co. Ltd. was established in association with the Pu'er branch of the Agricultural Development Bank of China, as the main body for providing construction loans to resettlers. Over the period 2015-2018, it had secured 695.30 million yuan to support relocation activities, subsidies provided for private housing construction took away 374.73 million yuan, and infrastructure construction cost 320.57million yuan¹.

c) Strict implementation of the "Double Monitoring System"

This system requires a key representative from the county government and the Director of the key developer company to form a joint management team to monitor the progress of the relocation work. Their role is to oversee and supervise all 72 relocation sites or settlements to ensure that construction of housing, infrastructure and public services are appropriately executed according to plan. They would have to make clear to their 740 cadres that organization in terms of policy publicity, housing construction, relocation measures, demolition of old houses, and the follow-up

¹ Provided by the local village officials.

non-farm employment and other assistance work were well conducted for the resettlers and met the standards¹.

d) Results of implementation

(i) By the end of December 2018, the construction of 3721 relocation housing units for 14,292 people had been completed and successfully passed the quality check. Our survey shows that a Li family, originally living in hilly Qianjiacun, had to send their children to a primary school 10 km away from home after their village school was demolished due to too small school population. To make it easier for their children's schooling, few village households did choose to lease small plots of land near Weiyuan Township and built simple houses with hollow bricks and asbestos tiles to live there. Consequently, better quality houses of relocation have provided a better accommodation alternative to villagers resettled in better serviced sites.

(ii) Improved living conditions. From sites with poorly equipped infrastructure especially transportation, educational resources, resettlers have moved to centralized settlements with richer resources, in terms of transportation and other infrastructure services, such as piped water, electricity, access roads, broadband Wifi, cultural rooms, recreational venues and public toilets.

According to a random questionnaire survey collected from the resettlers, 98.3 per cent of the respondents believed that new living environment and conditions were significantly better than the old ones. For example, the 58 households from Liu'an Villagers under the jurisdiction of Yongping Township were relocated to sites close to a Yongping Township's primary school and medicare centre, and the two high schools of the Jinggu County Town. This has facilitated access to better quality public services.

(iii) From our survey, resettled households' income levels have improved. With a relocation program aimed at employment protection, industrial training has been organized to equip resettlers with the needed skills to meet the needs of new employment opportunities. Work fairs have been set up to educate farmers new job possibilities and skills required. More specifically, there were a few areas in this resettlement program where resettled farmers would be able to find new jobs, as follows (Zhang & Duan, 2020:64):

- Land leasing for commercial farming: Given that much farmland has been left vacant near the township zone due to exodus of local workforce to urban areas, efforts have been made to encourage those farm plots lacking labour to lease them to resettlers for commercial farming purposes including aquaculture. Commercial crops such as sugarcane, fruit trees and vegetables are potential crops that have attracted resettlers as they provide relatively good cash income. The County's organizing committees are responsible for training resettlers to undertake such labour-intensive activities. In Mangnai resettlement area, for instance, our record shows there were 112 households who leased out a total of 530 *mu* of farmland to grow sugarcane, vegetables and fruit trees. In 2018, each household received a net income of 12,000 yuan². Jobs training to meet decent income levels. Relocation is not only to help people build new houses and new homes, it involves equally the rebuilding of life with dependable means of liveli-

¹ Data obtained from the statistical figure provided by the 740 local officials collated from different villages.

² One hectare (10000 m²) is equivalent to 15 Chinese *mu*.

hood whose sustainability and income stability are critical. Thus, the type of industries to develop to suit the needs of the resettlers from the deeply poverty-stricken areas has to be tailor-made. Their income levels should be gauged appropriately to meet at least the minimum living standards comparable to the low- and middle-income earners of the normal urban sector after adjusting the relative poverty line of China (Zhang & Duan, 2020:64).

- Skills training for labour intensive jobs: Through skills training, the displaced labour force population can master one or two skills, especially in the labour-intensive area which is more easily picked up by normally lowly educated resettlers. Those jobs more readily available jobs are services for the local community, handicraft and some other value-added activities so that the displaced people can be employed in close proximity. The Fuxingzhai settlement in Weiyuan Township shows jobs are available in construction, catering services, crop planting (vegetable, sugarcane and watermelon cultivation), fish breeding and repair. The whole settlement has so far generated more than 450 jobs for the resettlers, creating a total income of about 3 million yuan. Over 80 physically disabled and elderly after passing the assessment test, were assigned simple public welfare postings, by which they receive a monthly pay of 300 yuan.

- Land reuse in vacated areas. Land plots being left behind by resettlers are encouraged to be leased out to enterprising businesses to grow commercial crops on a profit-sharing basis. By so doing, resettler households will continue to earn extra income. Given their farming experience, resettlers would be able to provide useful advice to undertaking enterprises on soil fertility and other constraints.

- Development of poverty-relief workshops. These workshops aim at helping the poor to create home-based income-generating activities. By the end of 2018, Jinggu County had set up 15 poverty-relief workshops, absorbing 228 workers to take part. Employing the 5000 yuan subsidy provided for each household, for example, 50 relocated households from Minle Town took part to upgrade and expand a tea plantation and raise its yield after investing a total of 70,000 yuan. Resettler households have been hired on priority basis in the tea business and they are also involved in negotiating tea sales contracts and designing development plans.

- Development of photovoltaic power generation projects. Resettled villagers are encouraged to connect their home electricity supply by using sunlight to generate photovoltaic power. Such power is also used for villagers to invest in their cultivation of different crops, aquaculture and value-added processing of agricultural products.

(iii) Other measures to promote employment and income

- Employability recording of resettlers: A logbook system has been set up by recording details of resettlers, including their age group, educational and skill levels, and job preference. For those already being employed and those still waiting for employment, their skills and job preference are studied, and the type of training they hope to acquire. Having compiled their personal profiles in the data bank, data are shared as a pool among different levels of local government departments, public and private enterprises and various cooperatives. Appropriate arrangements are then made in the deployment of jobs. Updating of individual data is constantly executed by a computer system to facilitate such allocation of jobs.

- Encouraging enterprises and social organizations to offer employment to resettlers. An incentive system has been set up to encourage enterprises to take in resettlers.

Employers are offered social insurance subsidies or one-time job subsidies when they open up a stable employment for them. For instance, a sum of 200 yuan of social security benefits is given to an employer who offers a 3- to 6-month of stable employment to an individual. More subsidies are provided for longer employment periods. A subsidy of 250 yuan per person is provided for a maximum of 12 months from the seventh month.

- Posting of higher education graduates and supporting them to set up enterprises. Over 90 per cent of such graduates normally get employment within a year after graduating. For those about to graduate, what has been done is that each one is recommended jobs twice within a year after leaving school. More importantly, they are encouraged to start their own business which is considered a better way to bring them out of poverty. Free guidance is given to such potential entrepreneurs, and an eligible person is given a loan of up to 100,000 yuan to start a business venture, and this policy is also applicable to those who choose to return from the city to start a business in their home town or village.

- Matching job skills to new employment services for relocated workforce. In Yongping Town, Yiban Township, Bi'an Township, an employment transfer service centre has been set up to provide job transfer service to resettlers. During the "Employment Assistance Month", "Private Enterprise Recruitment Week" and other special activities, work fairs are organized as a platform by the township governments for enterprises to meet up with relocated villagers, serving as a recruitment "green channel", with job offers at the villagers' doorstep.

(iv) Using household publicity method to motivate enthusiasm

From the policy point of view, follow-up actions are seen as imperative to enhance effectiveness of resettlement. Initiatives have to come from cadres stationed in the village. From September 2018, cadres pay visit to resettled farmers once a week, finding out their livelihood difficulties and helping them with possible solutions. By understanding farmers' work plan, cadres normally have a meal together with them and hold a meeting to discuss issues; all these activities have improved their mutual relationship and mutual trust.

Educational forums are also held to propagate ways to build up "civilized villages" which include family management, improving village sanitary services, and effective ways to work and help each other. During the meetings, villagers are encouraged to express their views and share their own experience as to how they have improved their decent income. The purpose of such discussions is to motivate people's enthusiasm in making extra incomes.

From our survey, we found a resettler named Mr Ye who used to live alone in the old village, where he spent much time in heavy drinking with no interest to improve his life. After coming to the new village, he saw a entirely changed social environment where people enjoyed a new life of hope. He was influenced by his team members and the village cadres who kept giving him encouragement. He began to understand that poverty reduction must come from one's own effort. After moving into a new home, his living conditions have changed dramatically, and he now has more exposure to new things and job opportunities, and is prepared to learn new skills.

4. Existing Problems

As said, Jinggu County implemented its relocation plan in 2016, and completed its relocation in 72 sites with basic infrastructure provided in 2018. Follow-up actions have been taken up since 2019 to consolidate the results of poverty alleviation. Actions include the assurance of housing security, and improvement in income, access to medical care, education facilities, and living conditions in general.

Relocation project consists of a relatively long period of effects. The quick-impact refers to the assurance of housing security in a shortest possible time. Long-term effect refers to the follow-up development associated with adaptations of farmers' living habits. Due to limited education standards, farmers after moving to a new place could find problems in survival and livelihood. Having left their familiar living environment, they might encounter in their new life some sort of psychological exclusion, especially when they have been cut off from the production materials they used to have. They should be prepared to face the new challenge of survival, which is "moving out, be steady and then getting better off" (Xinhuashe, 2020). To achieve this objective, they must remove obstacles that hinder their efforts to improve income, as soon as possible by adjusting to the new environment which is a long cycle.

For Jinggu County resettlers, fighting poverty is just the beginning. Overcoming different types of difficulties and adaptations is no easy task. For example, housing size tends to be smaller than farmers' previous houses built within their own land plots. Administrative procedures and paper work are sometimes more complicated than they have expected, notably in the area of compensation and disputes. To some, adaptation is not that straight forward. From our interviews and questionnaire survey, it is possible to sort out the existing problems that require good follow-up actions.

Case 1: Mangnai resettlement site in Weiyuan Township is Jinggu County's most populous site and it is also Pu'er municipal government's prototype model for show to outsiders. The settlement is 7 km from Weiyuan, close to the provincial road. With good accessibility and locational advantage, a total of 193 households or 793 people moved into five administrative villages of the resettlement area.

During our visit in September 2020, we saw resettled villagers gathering around the village compound, and we were welcome by villagers who played violins and sang songs. To us, they expressed their gratitude to the Communist Party and the government with great joy shown on their face. They said they have concrete floors in the new house, their children go to school much more easily than before, and it is convenient to market their farm produce in the central market and visit their neighbours. The village we visited had 166 households, all of which now lived in new buildings. They said their old village which was more than 40 kilometres away from the county town, had no primary school, and children had to travel 15 kilometres to a school in a larger village. Now, they can easily consult a doctor.

The village party secretary of Qianjiacun also told us that relocation was organized on the "one household, one house" principle. After the move, old houses in the former village were demolished and land was returned to greenery because of poor suitability to farming. There was an exception however. Xu Yingwu was a 53-year-old man in a household of two and he was living with his mother Wang Jialan, aged 90. Having been long addicted to alcohol, he was unable to work as a regular worker. As his elderly mother was unwilling to move to the new concrete house in the Mangnai

resettlement site and given Xu's limited ability to work, they were allowed to stay on in the old village to lead a simple life.

(i) Problems

a) Reemployment is slow. The dualistic rural-urban issue has brought along new problems to resettlers after the move, as the new urban-like living environment is completely different from their previous rural environment." (Zou & Xiang, 2017:76). Arguably, relocation is merely the means but the purpose is poverty alleviation of the farmers. As such, developing a variety of economic activities serves to bring up the resettlers with higher incomes. Thus, it is key that those activities introduced must be sustainable in both income and business returns. To this end, as said earlier, the local county government has adopted measures to establish information banks in order that poor households could be trained a variety of skills. However, there are problems that could be summed up as follows:

- The fact is that training skills are often difficult to match jobs needed. In order to further improve the production technology level and employability of poor households, the Jinggu county's human resources and security bureau has organized training in pig and cattle breeding, tea cultivation, and skills in cleaning, welding, mud-brick design. Training is divided into two categories: a) longer term training organized during off-farm periods in groups lasting from 15 to 30 days. This normally covers welding and mud-brick design; and b) short-term training organized during busy farming period with on-site supervision provided. This covers livestock raising and economic cropping skills. Site supervision is most appropriate for the latter category because it is much easier to understand techniques and skills involved while doing the job and it is effective for supervisors to pinpoint mistakes on the spot.

- Lack of means of production is often a problem. After leaving their old farms, resettlers could hardly use tools they have brought along from their old homes. Going back to their old farms to cultivate something is far away even if it is allowed. The new place, however, has no provision of extra plots for farming purposes, and this has created among the resettlers a sense of disorientation. Many resettlers thought they could have created additional income or for self-consumption by having a vegetable or pig or fish raising plot near the new home. But this is not possible as there is no provision of additional land plots for such purpose in the original plan.

Though farming cooperatives have been created to allow richer farmers to guide or to employ resettlers to generate more incomes, the results so far have been unsatisfactory. In our interviews, it was found that some relocated farmers were unaware of the establishment of farmers' professional cooperatives in their villages or jurisdictions. The 1000 yuan provided to richer farmers to offer guidance is also felt to be too small and ineffective (Jingtuo Zhifa, 2017)

(b) Demolition of old houses has not been easy and smooth. Based on the principle of relocation, households having demolished their old houses and ancillary facilities, and buried all debris properly will be compensated a sum of 6,000 yuan. However, it was found that there were problems with households who have been relocated more than 50 km away as many have refused to do so. From our questionnaire survey, we realized that problems arose because, first of all, the distance was a barrier for them to return to demolish their old homes and handle livestock and other production materials on time due to difficulties and cost involved in travel.

Secondly, further away relocation sites have often less satisfactory facilities and this has made more difficult for resettlers to adjust to their new life. Simply said, certain elderly people are just reluctant emotionally to leave their old homes to which they have been attached for a long long time. Consequently, some have opted even to stay on and continue farming and keeping their livestock (Zhang, 2018: 77).

(c) Arbitrary construction of housing extension area. New houses provided to resettlers are based on household sizes, varying from 25 square metres for a single person to 150 square metres for a 6-person household and more. Household size however can increase with new babies born or additional needs after relocation. Some households have chosen to build their house extension without formal approval which has created unsightly structure as a result. Also, some aged people have never used electric utensils such as rice cooker. They would build a small kitchen extension to do cooking. Planning and design standards have hence been infringed upon. Naturally, it is extremely difficult and unpopular for officials to order them to demolish the added structure. Thus, they have been left as they are, at least for the time being.

Li Xuezhong is a case in point. Li used to live with his mother and a younger brother. They were relocated to a 75-square metre house at Mangnai settlement in Weiyuan Township, with two bedrooms, a kitchen and a living room. One of the two bedrooms was used by the mother, and the other shared by the two brothers. Soon after relocation, Li Xuezhong's brother got married and had a son. This household suddenly saw the increase from three people to five, making it very tight in getting around. They decided to convert the kitchen into a bedroom, and used simple materials with asbestos tiles to build a small kitchen outside in the yard. Li also leased a plot of land near the settlement to grow corn. Given the need to store the harvested crops, he transformed his living room to make it a storage room. From the practical need of the family, it is realistic that they have to solve their accommodation problems the way they could.

(d) Difficulties in social adaptation. There is no doubt that poor households from an adverse living environment have started after relocation to enjoy housing security, employment and school for their young. Nevertheless, moving from remote villages to better-developed areas, there is an urban and rural cultural gap that would emerge in their new life coupled with psychological pressure and impact that requires farmers to adapt. Compared with the countryside, the new urban-like life is competitive and fast-paced. Living previously in a small village where neighbours are familiar with each other and the production mode is simple and unique, the town has the characteristics of diversity and greater extent of indifference. Adjusting one's rural behaviour and way of life to an urban one definitely needs a relatively long period of time.

Clearly, adjustment requires adaptation in production lifestyle, and consumption patterns. In the old village, farmers were free to farm on plots allocated which on average was five *mu* or more. Besides growing rice and other cereals, they could raise livestock and have fruit trees and vegetables as they liked. Though cash income was generally low, they were able to make ends meet, and elderly people above 60 usually were satisfied with that kind of life.

After moving into the urban-like settlement, most of the relocated farmers have found their farmland is quite a distance away, and the land size for each household is much smaller. Getting a larger plot of land for farming requires rental to be paid. Given their low education level, many farmers have also found difficulties in picking up

new skills especially those needed for technical jobs. Moreover, unable to grow their own vegetables and raise a few chickens for self-consumption, they need much more cash to meet daily needs from the local market. Other household expenditure has also increased, such as piped water, electricity, garbage removal costs, to name just a few (Liu, 2018:42).

(e) Management deficiency. Handling resettlers from different villages in one new community requires unique management and coordination skills. During the first year of relocation, the management committee was first formed by nominations from all villages involved so that each would have a representative. As they were picked by public officials and not elected by their own respective villagers, instructions handed down to villagers sometimes were ignored. Moreover, committee members who worked without allowance and adequate fund would have little incentive to take up responsibility to perform. Consequently, bill collections were slow and maintenance jobs were not done up to the standard.

(f) Many Sustainable development issues needs skillful handling. The sustainable development and consolidation of poverty alleviation achievements after the relocation of the displaced people need to be careful proposed. Poverty alleviation relocation is an important issue. It is particularly important to consolidate the achievements of poverty alleviation in the border minority areas and prevent them from returning to poverty relocation implementation results and do a good job in the follow-up development of relocated people (Gao and Wang, 2021:70).

Finally, registration for the transfer of residency from the old village to the new site has not been executed in good time. As a result, some resettlers have to go back to their old village to get some paper work done, as in China the seal of the local authority is a must when one has to make applications of some kind.

5. Countermeasures and conflict resolution

- Expedite follow-up actions: Training of new skills is an urgency that cannot be delayed. New skills especially technical skill training will enhance the competitiveness of resettled households in the job market. Skill training should aim at areas where supply is insufficient and this has to be identified through market research, as matching market demand and skills supply is critical. Where necessary, intensive training and on-the-job training have to be conducted.

- Encourage private enterprises to take part and develop industries with local characteristics and resources made available that the local population including the resettlers are familiar with. To make it more attractive, the government authorities should provide incentives to such enterprises such as tax exemption in the first five years. Along with such investment, proper training with the sponsorship of local government and the enterprises should be provided to resettlers to prepare them for the job.

As said earlier, developing photovoltaic power plants in Mangnai resettlement site of Weiyuan Township has a good potential given the relatively flat site with rich sunlight supply. From the present scale where 199 households have already been involved and an average household income of over 2000 yuan has been made, it is possible to expand the scale to a greater extent.

- Improve the management mechanism and promote the autonomy of villagers

Villagers including the resettlers should be recruited into the management committee. The committee has different sub-committees under the coordination of the president such as building, public environmental and health, resettlement issues etc. Committee members should be those with calibre and strong sense of responsibility from different relocated villages. Their term should be one year renewable yearly upon reelection. At this moment, committee members have no remunerations. An incentive mechanism should be set up to encourage them to perform better and take up more responsibility. In fact a role model system should be established so that those with excellent performance will be rewarded in kind or in cash. This will serve as a measure to improve the work of the members of the management committee.

Moreover, the management style of the elected committee must be transparent and open, willing to explain to the villagers the rationale of various charges and how fees collected are spent. Full accounts should be made public for verification and finally audited by a qualified auditor. With good involvement of the villagers, the sense of identity and participation can be built up. Reasonable rules and regulations should be drawn up or updated to cover details of the collection of fees, duties of personnel assigned to perform certain tasks will therefore be made clear and follow-up actions are monitored.

■ Increase policy advocacy and stimulate endogenous motivation

People can be motivated to be self-reliant, to work hard and to maintain their interests to respond to poverty relief policies, rather than passively cooperate in the implementation of policies, as suggested by Zhai et al. (2019:22). In order to offer help towards poverty alleviation, tens of millions of public servants and civilians have offered themselves to fight on the poverty frontline in many aspects, not just in terms of income, but also in housing, education and health. In health issue, major illness insurance, medical insurance and basic medical care have been on the pipeline. However, poor households must help themselves in order to be helped effectively and this has to come from their own endogenous motivation, as it is the key element for the poor people to get out of poverty.

Nevertheless, many poor households have the mentality of dependence. They refuse to find their own way, instead their response to job training is not proactive. It is imperative therefore to strengthen ideological education to stimulate the residents to aspire them to do so.

■ Strengthening social adaptability of the displaced population

Of the three main objectives of relocation, getting those who have 'moved out' and 'get steady' in the new life is the key focus and a positive rule on relocated households. That means adapting changes from an old environment to the new one, including establishing new interpersonal relationship is critical (Long et al., 2019). After moving, displaced farmers would experience the transformation of not only consumption pattern, way of life but also mode of production. Apart from improving income, new harmonious social relations have to be created with new neighbours and the neighbourhood as a whole which will help resettlers free themselves from the feeling of strangeness and exclusion. Therefore, the management committee needs to establish communication links among resettlers and local population. Organizing group public dance, singing folk songs and other activities during seasonal festivals or in the form

of contests is capable of enhancing neighborhood interaction, eliminating strangeness and feelings of isolation or loneliness.

Furthermore, expediting household registration process in the new site would help them associated more closely with the new environment. After they have settled down, resettlers should be encouraged to participate in the election activities which will enhance their sense of localized identity. As the scholar Ye Jihong has noted, cultural interaction is the coagulant of interpersonal relations, getting residents in the community to participate in cultural activities not only can establish mutually beneficial trust relationship, but is also conducive to improving neighbourhood relations (cited in Long & Liu, 2019:116). Through social capital, cultural interpersonal relations building, it has a great significance in the construction of a bonded community.

For Jinggu County which is an autonomous county with large numbers of Yi and Dai minority groups, ethnic Han farmers who have moved here would find cultural and social practices different from theirs. Therefore, it is highly useful to organize cultural performances characteristic of ethnic minorities with the participation of the Han resettlers. Strengthening cultural exchanges and interaction between local residents of different ethnic groups would consolidate partnership and identity building with the local community, thus promoting mutual understanding as well as a harmonious and friendly neighbourhood relations.

6. The social benefits of poverty alleviation

Poverty has always been an important problem troubling our development, and eliminating poverty is one of the core tasks to achieve regional sustainable development (The World Bank Research Observer, 2013:140). Due to Yunnan's rugged topographic terrains, relocation is a valid method in poverty relocation and creates a lot of benefits. In order to consistent with the five pronged strategy overall plan for the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics, we will promote poverty alleviation progress in economic, political, cultural, social and ecological areas: as we can see in our survey, the sum of income after move, the living expenses, the wage income of relocations have improved obviously; The political benefit mainly refers to the targeted poverty alleviation policy of the relocated poor households after the implementation of the relocation project (Lu and He, 2018:78), as the income and infrastructure have been ameliorated, which have widely and highly appraised in the world; as we see in our survey, the expenditure of entertainment and education facility have greatly improved; after the relocation, the farmland has been turned back, the rocky desertification has been improved, it will be good to conserve water and soil, and the nature reserves construction.

Conclusion

After almost 10 years of fighting poverty vigorously since President Xi took over the national leadership in 2012, nearly 100 million of Chinese poor people have been lifted out of poverty which is indeed a remarkable result (People's Daily, 2021). This study used Jinggu County as a case study and we have discovered that relocation is not an easy task. Besides the provision of public services and subsidies, training and re-training of resettlers and their adaptation capacity to new life are issues that need to be strengthened as an important follow-up action. Government planning must also cover the feasibility study of potential crops and industries that can help resettlers raise income. Local conditions, market potential and the suitability issue are another key fac-

tor that can be critical to the success or failure when introducing economic activities. Certainly, resettlers are themselves the key decisive factor in changing their own destiny as to improvement of income and creation of a better future for their children. Initiatives come from resettlers and the public authorities can only play the role of facilitators and guidance.

Despite certain problems such as adaptation and skill deficiency, a total of 3721 resettlement housing units for 14,292 people in the whole Jinggu County had been completed by the end of 2018. There is housing security, and resettlers' living conditions have improved and income has improved. As a whole, poverty reduction has been effective in the Jinggu County's experience. However, follow-up developments have remained an uphill task. Promoting industrial development, improving the management mechanism, and advocating more villagers' autonomy, as well as stimulating endogenous motivation among villagers are a long-term process, which will serve as a basis towards a brighter rural revitalization and urbanization era. This is seen as the right development path, which will substantively achieve the objective of poverty alleviation paving a better off future.

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