Analysis of Exit Mechanism for Poor Households of Poverty Alleviation Governmental Project in Rural of China: Effectiveness and Sustainability

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List of Acronyms

GPAP	Governmental Poverty Alleviation Projects
DHS/NBSC	Department of Household Surveys National Bureau of Statistics of China
MA	Monetary Approach
CA	Capability Approach
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
HDI	Human Development Index
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
CFPR/TUR	Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction: Targeting the Ultra-Poor
CLP	Chars Livelihood Program
FSP	Food Security Program
PSNP	Productive Safety Net Program
VUP	Vision 2020 Umurenge Program
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
MT	Mean Test
PMT	Proxy Mean Test
CPGC	The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China

Abstract

Various poverty reduction measures have been developed and implemented in many developing countries, such as China, which has made remarkable achievements in anti-poverty. To achieve the goal of comprehensive poverty alleviation in rural areas by 2020, the Chinese central government implements a series of projects that have been effective in a short time due to substantial government financial input and strict implementations. Besides the goal at a statistical level, implementations of governmental poverty alleviation projects aim to meet the poor's actual needs in terms of basic living standards and long-term independence resulting from the improvement of education provisioning and working skills. Therefore, the precise recognition and evaluation of the poor's needs are the premise for successfully implementing poverty alleviation strategies. Another direct way of ensuring the basic living needs of the poor is being satisfied is the appropriate exit measures in which the personal will and actual situation of the poor are required to be considered. This thesis aims to analyze the efficiency of the exit measures from the aspect of identification of the poor's requirements and to research the ability of these exit measures to avoid a return to poverty and solutions to deal with the return to poverty. In addition, this research also explores the factors that restrict the sustainability of China's poverty alleviation.

Keywords

Poverty alleviation, Exit mechanism, Sustainability, Governmental intervention

Chapter 1
Introduction
1.1 Poverty in China

When the People's Republic of China was founded, long-term wars and chaos left a dilapidated living environment and stagnant economic development for the people. Many people lived in extreme poverty and were unable to meet even the most basic food and clothing. With the gradual establishment of the national social security system, the construction of rural infrastructure, the promotion of agricultural technology, etc., the poverty situation of the people's lives has improved, which has also laid the foundation for the government's subsequent anti-poverty projects. After the economic reform and open up[1], China's rural areas took the lead in reforming the economic system and implemented the household contract responsibility system[2]. Productivity has been greatly improved, farmers' income has increased significantly, and farmers' food and clothing problems have been gradually resolved. The fast-growing economy in the past 40 years of reform and opening up has enabled China to achieve remarkable results in eliminating extreme poverty and has made important contributions to the cause of global poverty reduction. According to data from the World Bank, from 1981 to 2015, China reduced poverty population by a total of 728 million, while only 152 million people were lifted out of poverty in other parts of the world. From 2012 to 2017, the rural poor population under China's current poverty standards[3] decreased from 98.99 million to 30.46 million (Cheng, 2019, p.26). At the same time, the nutritional status, education level, life expectancy and other welfare indicators of the poor have also been comprehensively improved. The Chinese government plans to complete the poverty alleviation by 2020, which means that China will take the lead in achieving the poverty reduction goals in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development set by the United Nations (UN, 2016) than other countries in the world. This will vigorously promote the development of the cause of global poverty reduction, is of great significance to world equity and stability, and to a certain extent provides experience for the specific practice of anti-poverty worldwide.

Statement of the problem

However, China's anti-poverty situation is still grim. The total number of the remaining poor population is enormous due to the large population base, and the degree of poverty is profound; the cost of poverty reduction is high; consequently, it is challenging to stabilize after moving out of poverty. The China governmental poverty alleviation projects (GPAP) have taken a long time, and the preliminary project work lacks overall planning and enough financial support. Moreover, the lack of supervision in the implementation process caused an unavoidable waste of resources. For these reasons, many people who had already been out

[1] Economic reform and open up is a policy of domestic reform and opening to the outside world that China began to implement in December 1978. One of its contents is that the household contract responsibility system is related to this research.

[2] The household contract responsibility system is a form of agricultural production responsibility system in which farmers take the family as a unit and contract land and other production materials and production tasks to collective economic organizations (mainly villages and groups) (Xiao, 1995, pp. 469-470)

[3] The current poverty standard in China is 2300 yuan as the minimum standard for per capita annual income.

in the previous projects had returned to poverty, and the sustainability of poverty alleviation cannot be guaranteed. Therefore, in 2015, the Chinese government promulgated the Decision of the Central Committee of China on Against Poverty, which is the latest guidance document for GPAP. The contents of the paper include the latest anti-poverty measures, exit mechanism, etc., and its goal is to ensure that all rural poor people under the current standards will be lifted out of poverty by 2020. According to data from the National Office of Poverty Alleviation (DHS/NBSC, 2019), as of the end of 2019, the incidence of poverty in China was 0.6%, and the rate of return to poverty was 0.05%. The data shows that since 2015, GPAP has made significant progress. While the poverty rate has fallen further, it has also ensured the sustainability of exit to a certain extent. GPAP is in the final stage now, and the government announced that the project would be completed in two months, which is the end of 2020. The existing official data show that the project is progressing smoothly and will be successfully concluded as scheduled. According to the government, GPAP will be completed by the end of 2020, which means all rural poor people will be lifted out of poverty then, and the standard for exiting is comprehensive poverty alleviation. The poor will leave the project with improvement in basic living, such as medical care, education, employment, etc. Based on the existing data results, this paper analyzes the exit criteria, process, and effects of the exit mechanism. It combines interviews and surveys with poor households to explore the exit's effectiveness and sustainability out of poverty by poor people. Poverty exit that is, whether the poor can be reasonable and sustainable out of poverty.

1.2 Research question and sub-questions

The main research question of this thesis is:
Are the exit measures of the GPAP comprehensive and reasonable, and how sustainable is the poverty alleviation?

Main sub-questions are:
1) What are the basis and implementation guarantee for establishing the exit criteria for the poor in GPAP?
2) If the exit criteria are met, are the poor people's actual needs indeed met?
3) How to test the sustainability of poverty alleviation and how to prevent a return to poverty?
4) What are the obstacles to sustainable poverty alleviation?

Analytical Framework
The analytical framework is based on conceptualizations and measurement of poverty- the money metric and multidimensional approaches. Concerning exit measures, the study applies the theory of change on 'threshold graduation' and 'sustainable graduation,' which argues that poverty exit—graduation is not only based on the fixed threshold value but also needs to consider constraints and the background that facilitates to achieve sustainability graduation (Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001) This thesis compared exit measures in GPAP with these views as well analyzing whether these measures can fully address the actual needs of the poor. The framework is elaborated in Chapter 2.

1.3 Research Methodology

Literature analysis

When studying the development and background of the GPAP, this research mainly focuses on analyzing the policy documents issued by the government. As the Communist Party leads the Chinese government, substantial government control enables the communication and

implementation of policies from top to bottom to be more accurately implemented. Therefore, research-based on government documents is accurate to a certain extent. The analysis's object is selected from the main policies promulgated by the Chinese government to solve the poverty problem since the founding of new China in 1949, and introduced and studied them in stages.

When analyzing exit methods and standards, the study first introduced and analyzed some basic methods and compared exit measures in anti-poverty projects in several other countries. These countries mainly include developing countries such as Rwanda and Ethiopia. The reason is that China's poverty alleviation methods and models have borrowed from the experience of some developing countries and are similar to those countries in setting exit standards.

Data analysis: primary data and secondary data

When analyzing China's poverty alleviation program's sustainability, the research is mainly based on primary data from field surveys. The survey included the following three aspects: 1. Interviews with three grassroots poverty alleviation staff where they were asked about development and problems encountered; 2. Interviews and questionnaire surveys with the poor about 200, the main content of which is the degree of satisfaction of the poor with the GPAP, the willingness to exit, and the life plan after withdrawing from the project. The purpose of the field survey is to confirm whether the exit measures and standards are reasonable and effective based on the actual implementation of projects and its real situation. At the same time, according to the poor's actual situation and subjective wishes, the sustainability of poverty alleviation is judged, and the reasons for the low sustainability are explored.

The collection of the primary data for this study was conducted in X village of Yunnan Province. Yunnan Province is located in the mountainous area of southwest China, with closed traffic and an underdeveloped economy. It ranks second in the country in terms of the number of poor people and the incidence of poverty and is a crucial area for GPAP development. On the other hand, Yunnan Province is my hometown. X Village is very close to where I live, so I am familiar with the survey site and people I know work for the GPAP project. Therefore, this site is a typical poor area in China and provides convenience for my survey, so I chose to collect raw data in X village of Yunnan Province.

In my fieldwork work, I mainly visited X village three times to conduct satisfaction surveys on the poor, interviewing GPAP staff, and collecting relevant data. The following three questions restrict the fieldwork in this research. Due to the impact of the coronavirus epidemic, I have minimized the frequency and time of face-to-face contact with interviewees. All survey work and data collection are done by myself. Before visiting, it was first determined that there was no infection in the village, and masks and disinfectants were prepared for both myself and interviewees. The questionnaire was distributed to each poor, and then they left their homes. After three working days, I conducted on-site collection and short-term oral interviews. In the process of distributing, collecting questionnaires, and interviewing the poor and staff, I kept a distance of more than 1.5 meters, and each of us washed hands and wore masks in advance. The interview time for each poor is controlled within 10 minutes, and the interview time for staff is controlled within half an hour per person. Secondly, because the poor people participating in the project have frequently accepted household surveys and filled out satisfaction questionnaires during the project withdrawal phase, they are accustomed to this form. However, in this process, project staff may intentionally guide them

to give a satisfactory answer to the survey, which may not necessarily reflect their true wishes. Therefore, when designing the questionnaire in this study, more detailed questions were asked to avoid filling out their description. These questions and answers were listed and analyzed in detail in Chapter 4 of this research. Finally, since the poverty alleviation project is conducted and evaluated by the government, taking into account the interviewees' privacy and concerns, the questionnaire issued by this research is anonymous, the name of the interviewed person is not published in this research, nor is it make a recording. This study also analyzed part of the second-hand data, a small part of which is collected from previous studies by related scholars, such as the number of people who have been lifted out of poverty over the years; most of them are collected from official Chinese documents and World Bank data, such as China's poverty rate and Poverty alleviation rate, etc.

Chapter 2
Analytical framework: Conceptualizations of poverty, poverty measurements and sustainability

A practical poverty alleviation project must first solve the problem of defining and measuring poverty because this is the basis for identifying recipients and formulating measures. First of all, the two elements closely related to the definition of poverty are the causes of poverty and the manifestations of poverty. These two elements can easily be confused. To make a precise and proper analysis of poverty alleviation projects' effectiveness, this paper first discusses the definition and measurement of poverty. 'Poverty is used in two main senses: in its first, common usage in development, it is a broad, blanket word used to refer to the whole spectrum of deprivation and ill-being; in its second usage, poverty has a narrow technical definition for purposes of measurement and comparison' (Chamber, 1995, p.179) poverty is indeed a relatively abstract concept. For the purpose of reducing poverty, poverty needs to be measured, but its specific definition depends on its measurement method. For example, when people choose to measure poverty by income, poverty can be defined as low income. In fact, low income is only one of the manifestations of poverty. The embodiments of poverty are diverse, or the problems caused by poverty are various, so the measurement methods and the definition of poverty are also different. In formulating poverty alleviation policies and implementing specific measures, defining poverty is the key to identifying target groups, and measuring poverty is also the guarantee for the development and accurate exit of poverty alleviation projects.

2.1 Poverty measurement

The significance of measuring poverty lies in two aspects. One is defining poverty: to what extent can the measured object be called poverty? On the other hand, it measures the degree of poverty, from which people can know the development and changes in poverty. Since poverty measurement is a process of concretizing abstract concepts, this process will be subject to certain conditions, subjective and dynamic. The current definition and measurement methods of poverty are not uniform. There are many forms: ‘there is an acknowledgment of its multidimensionality, combined with a pick and choose approach in advocacy with little consistency across studies’ (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, 2003, p.244) Before expounding the basic views on the definition and measurement of poverty, this paper needs to clarify a few points. First, the definition of poverty is not limited to the material level of life but should also include culture, politics, individual, and overall development capabilities. The second is that different measurement methods and definitions are used in different social

environments and conditions. The measurement of poverty is universal to a certain extent, but it is not entirely applicable. Different measurement methods should be acceptable.

2.1.1 Monetary approach (MA)

At present, there are two more common methods for measuring poverty. One is the monetary approach, also called the money-metric approach. This is a measurement in monetary units in which data capture is based on income, expenditure, or relevant indirect data (Fischer, 2018) such as accumulated assets, GDP, and so on. Using currency and related data as measurement indicators is generally subject to criticism, mainly focusing on two aspects. People believe that focusing poverty measurement on monetary indicators will cause the development of poverty alleviation projects to excessively pursue money or economic growth and use this as the primary goal. On the other hand, these data are not comprehensive enough and usually only reflect a specific aspect of the situation. For example, it is difficult to calculate non-monetary income and expenditures, similar to the extent to which unpaid housework offsets some consumer expenditures (Fischer, 2018). One of the key points in using money-metric to measure poverty is to set the poverty line by choosing and evaluating appropriate data. These data can be direct, such as income and consumption, or it can be determined by estimating the need for a nutritious diet, clothing, and rent (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, 2003, p.247). There are also some controversies in the choice of these currency data. For example, in the direct monetary data choice of using income or consumption, calculating income is more accurate and more straightforward than calculating consumption. However, consumption data can measure poverty more accurately than income data as it is closer to accumulation and the standard for measuring long-term income, avoiding some short-term fluctuations in income and resource acquisition (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, 2003, p.249). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) had set a consumption power of 1.9 US dollars per person per day as the international extreme poverty line. (UNDP, 2006) In addition, some indirect data are also used as a money-metric approach. Starting from the basic needs of humans for food, some data related to food, energy consumption, and nutrient access were early adopted by some developing countries as data choices for measuring poverty. For example, using energy consumption as a measure of data, that is, when constructing the poverty line, the calorie demand is linked to the basal metabolic rate. The poverty standard in India is energy consumption, which is 2100 kcal for urban residents and 2400 kcal for rural populations (Saith, 2005, p.4603). This standard is used to calculate the price of food needed to provide energy sources. However, using this method to measure poverty could mean that the food choices and preferences of the poor are ignored ((Saith, 2005). The poor need to choose cheap food to meet their energy needs, and their exercise and food preferences will be restricted (Saith, 2005, p.4603). When measuring poverty with data related to food demand, some non-food basic needs may be ignored. Even if this part of the demand is taken into account, how to measure and include this in poverty Line calculation is also a problem that requires careful consideration.

Therefore, using the monetary approach to measure poverty also faces some criticism because of insurmountable drawbacks. First, when measuring poverty using data directly or indirectly related to income, consumption, food consumption and nutritional needs 'have to be made in the estimation procedure, e.g., about the composition of the food basket; adult equivalence scales; inter-sectoral and inter-regional variations in diet and prices; income distribution data to be used in the estimation process, etc.' (Saith, 2005, p.4602) These assumptions need to have a certain degree of scientificity, and they need to be selected in a reasonable range and time span in order to ensure the stability of its assumptions and scientific

calculations. Second, as the most direct and universal unit of money-metric measures, money cannot fully reflect the poverty situation in measuring some indirect data related to poverty. Some scholars believe that it is difficult to evaluate factors that cannot be directly reflected by the amount of money, such as health, education, etc. In response to this problem, proxy means testing can actually be used as a supplementary method. When investigators conduct household surveys, they evaluate poverty by observing the usage of some household items, especially durable goods. Eventually, these situations will also be converted into a standard unit, namely money, through setting calculations (Fischer, 2018, p.64). However, even if proxy means testing can convert some abstract situations into more accurate monetary data through scientific model calculations, money-metric measures, it cannot measure other situations that unable to be reflected in monetary units—for example, people's happiness, freedom, political participation, etc. In the 2001 World Development Report, poverty was regarded as a deprivation of capabilities to achieve full human potential. 'Poverty from this perspective is not merely a matter of reduced income or consumption but amounts to a state of relative powerlessness and exclusion from decision-making processes' (Green, 2006, p. 1111). Moreover, most of the components calculated in the money-metric measures belong to the value judgments, 'for example, about what should constitute an essential consumption basket' (Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, 2003, p.253). These are some relatively objective data but not objective enough to accurately reflect the degree of poverty. Under this circumstance, the lack of participation of poor subjects and the lack of assessment of their own situation by poor subjects will lead to poor satisfaction with the actual needs and urgent needs of the poor in poverty alleviation projects.

2.1.2 Capability approach (CA)

Another method of measuring poverty is the capability approach (CA), which was proposed by Amartya Sen in the 1980s. It is a socio-economic evaluation method that can replace monetary measures such as income and expenditure to measure poverty (Gasper, 2007) Laderchi, Saith and Stewart agreed that 'poverty is defined as deprivation in the space of CA, or failure to achieve certain minimal or basic capabilities, where basic capabilities are the ability to satisfy certain crucially important functionings up to certain minimally adequate levels' (2003, quote in Sen, 1993, p.41) In the practice and development of this method, Human Development Index (HDI) and Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) are more commonly used as indicators in capability analysis and measurement. HDI is developed by UNDP, proposed in the Human Development Report to evaluate the development of society in terms of economy, ecosystem and culture, etc. The report believes that this indicator 'captures the three essential components of human life: longevity, knowledge, and basic income for decent living standard' (Srinivasan,1994, quote in UNDP, 1990, p.238) Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is a further improvement of HDI. MPI can reflect conditions for multidimensional poverty and can also measure the degree of multidimensional poverty. In 2007, the economist Amartya Sen founded the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative. Alkire, the head of project, believes that identifying poverty from multiple dimensions and use more indicators related to people's daily life to indicate poverty, which can more accurately measure poverty and measure people's ability deprivation (2010). The MPI index uses three dimensions to measure poverty—health, education and living standards, including ten indicators: child mortality, nutrition, years of schooling, child school attendance, electricity, drinking water, sanitation, flooring, cooking fuel, assets (Alkire, 2010, p. 7)

Compared with the monetary approach, CA has two significant advantages. One is the

multidimensional measurement of poverty. The indicator settings in HDI and MPI include many aspects of people's daily lives, not just monetary data. The other is that the method can also reflect the amount of deprivation of individuals or families at the same time. Sen believes that when measuring poverty, it is necessary to analyze different types of deprivation within a general framework (Alkire, 2010). However, although CA has evaluated poverty from many dimensions, it is still unable to measure some potential dimensions. For example, 'empowerment, work, environment, safety from violence, social relationships, and culture among others' (Alkire, 2010, p.12). In addition, CA 'tends to lead to more emphasis on the provision of public goods'(Laderchi, Saith and Stewart, 2003, p. 269). It is similar to the money-metric approach, lacking self-evaluation by poor subjects. Moreover, these two methods only provide data support for measuring poverty but do not reflect the causes of poverty. Based on these shortcomings, there are some other poverty measurement methods that can be used as assistance, such as the social exclusion approach, well-being measuring, and so on.

The research object of this paper, the poverty alleviation project of the Chinese government, mainly uses the money-metric approach and the capability approach in poverty measurement, so I mainly discussed these two poverty measurement methods.

2.2 Exit methods in anti-poverty projects

The significance of expounding and discussing poverty measurement viewpoints is that they are the basis of the research theme. This paper focuses on the analysis of the effectiveness and sustainability of exit methods in anti-poverty projects. The poverty exit's effectiveness is to set up a reasonable exit method and accurately identify the recipients who meet the exit conditions. This research mainly elaborates the views of some Chinese scholars as on the one hand, because the research object is the exit mechanism of the Chinese government's poverty alleviation project; on the other hand, China started implementing precision poverty alleviation early and achieved certain results, so related discussions are more detailed.

Chinese scholars' current research on precision poverty alleviation mainly focuses on several mechanisms, such as the identification mechanism of the poor, the management mechanism, the entry, and exit mechanism. Wang (2015) pointed out that in the specific anti-poverty work, problems such as unclear identification of poor objects, fuzzy analysis of causes of poverty, and vague construction of assistance mechanisms are likely to occur. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out refined management by establishing a scientific and practical identification mechanism for the poor. On this basis, Liu (2014) suggested that in order to avoid deviation from target, it is necessary to establish specific files or cards to keep information for each poor, implement information management, and tailor-made targeted assistance measures. Wu and Zhao (2015) believed that in the process of poverty alleviation, it is necessary to pay attention to the opinions of the recipients and combine precise poverty alleviation with a consultation. The above several representative viewpoints all believe that the focus of poverty alleviation measures should be on accurately identifying the poor and their needs. On the one hand, it is necessary to classify and identify the access conditions of poverty alleviation projects and analyze the causes of poverty; on the other hand, implement precise poverty alleviation measures based on the causes of poverty, and closely track the assistance of the poor to respond to effective measures. Accurate identification and precise management are the basis for an effective exit. Li (2016) pointed out that the causes of poverty are complicated, and the scope of the project is too wide under anti-poverty activities before 2015. It is difficult to distinguish different causes of poverty to formulate targeted assistance

measures, which results in limited poverty alleviation effects. Therefore, it is necessary to establish an applicable poverty exit mechanism and evaluation system. Liu (2016), based on the field investigation of the rural poverty exit mechanism, pointed out that the current Chinese society lacks effective supervision on the implementation of the exit process. Therefore, a scientific poverty exit mechanism should be constructed based on the actual poverty alleviation situation to maintain the fairness of precision. Yan (2016) proposed that a strict, standardized, and transparent poverty exit mechanism should be established on the basis of the actual effect of poverty alleviation and the recognition of the masses. The views mentioned above on the exit mechanism are mainly to put forward corresponding suggestions in response to some current problems in the exit process of the Chinese government's poverty alleviation projects. These suggestions can be roughly summarized as follows:

·Exit methods should be applied to different poverty issues to ensure that the recipients can withdraw from the project only when they receive effective help and the poverty situation is effectively improved.
·The exit process needs to be effectively supervised to ensure the fairness and effectiveness of the exit.
·The setting of exit method and exit process needs to consider the recipient's wishes and attach importance to the recipient's satisfaction survey.

2.3 Sustainability

After the withdrawal, the sustainability of the poverty alleviation effect is also an aspect explored in this paper. Sustainable development is an economic concept that values long-term development. Sustainable poverty alleviation is very important for poverty alleviation. When temporary poverty alleviation and relief-type poverty alleviation occur frequently, precise measures can only make up for the shortcomings of the short-term, and the ensuing difficulties and continued poverty are still inevitable. Therefore, in order to protect the effectiveness of targeted poverty alleviation, the government needs to establish more sound policies and build a complete political system to help the poor areas and people. Strategic measures for sustainable poverty alleviation are conducive to the economic development of poverty-stricken areas, from local interests to holistic interests; it is conducive to maintaining a virtuous circle of limited resources in society and promoting the sustainable and efficient development of economic, social, and cultural aspects. The sustainability of poverty alleviation is embodied in two aspects, one is the sustainability of the policy itself, and the other is the sustainable guarantee of the effect by exit methods.

The current research on the sustainability of poverty alleviation measures by scholars outside of China mainly lies in industrial poverty alleviation. For example, in the papers discussed in the IFPRI conference edited by Stephen and Thomas, they believe that poverty alleviation measures need to be integrated with ecological agriculture and pay attention to the sustainable use of resources (1997) On the other hand, some studies also believe that the development of tourism can consolidate the results of poverty alleviation, but placing the sustainability of poverty alleviation on the development of tourism cannot solve the problem of uneven regional development. 'tourism is but a tool for poverty alleviation. A tool may be used to perform or facilitate a task but it cannot compensate for ill-conceived plans, lack of capacity and/or cooperation, inappropriate technology transfers and general dysfunction' (Chok, Macbeth, 2007, p.161) The research on the sustainability of the policy itself is concentrated on domestic scholars in China. The more general research is Dong's view (2018) that sustainability establishment of poverty alleviation mechanism, resources need the whole

society to promote. Similarly, Lu (2017) also pointed out from three related aspects that the sustainable path of targeted poverty alleviation is the sustainability of the poverty alleviation mechanism, the sustainability of the poverty alleviation resources as well as each subject of society must provide a guarantee for the sustainability of poverty alleviation actions. These suggestions are particularly important at the critical time when China's poverty alleviation work is about to be completed. This research paper will also explore the poverty alleviation exit mechanism from these three aspects.

In addition, this study agrees with Sabbats and Devereaux's discussion of the continuity of withdrawal measures. They describe withdrawal as graduation, which refers to the transition of the recipient from a state in which they need help to no longer needing support (Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, p.924). Still, this kind of graduation is a process that not only requires a time buffer to avoid and cope with the return to poverty, but also different conditions of the participants require other graduation. For this reason, Wheeler and Devereux also proposed that when setting graduation criteria, that is, exit conditions, distinguish the threshold graduation (a static program-defined benchmark) between sustainable graduation (the ability of the household to remain above the benchmark in the medium to long term via a transformed livelihood) (2001, p.924). That is to say when setting the exit criteria; it is necessary to set fixed conditions and adjust the exit method according to the specific poverty situation of the participants, such as setting a hierarchical exit. The fourth chapter of this research analyzed the sustainability of exit measures in detail based on Sabbats and Devereaux's graduation theory.

Chapter 3.
The development history of the China's Poverty Alleviation

Before expounding on the development process of poverty alleviation in China, two concepts need to be clarified. One is that the poverty alleviation projects studied in this research refer to GPAP led by the Chinese government. The state formulates policies, invests funds investment, and being responsible for implementation and supervision. This series of projects are phased, long-term, and cover the whole country. Second, the poor population in GPAP refers to the rural poor. The beginning of GPAP can be traced back to the founding of new China, but it was really organized and planned to launch on a large-scale in China in 1978. On the one hand, the poverty problem in rural China is prominent at this time. The incidence of poverty in China's rural areas in 1978 was 30.7% (NBS, 2000), which means that one-third of the rural population in China faces poverty, and most of the poverty at this time was extreme poverty. Therefore, GPAP targets the rural poor as the main subject of assistance. On the other hand, compared with the rural poor, the urban poor has better social security. The aid to the urban poor is comprehensively considered by many governmental departments, including the Ministry of Human Resources, Social Security, the Ministry of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development. Although there is no separate definition standard for the urban poor, the urban low-income groups can receive the urban subsistence allowance, and their basic living problems can be solved with it. Therefore, GPAP is aimed at the rural poor and is carried out in poor rural areas.

The GPAP for rural poverty can be traced back to the born of new China, which began in 1949. During this period, there was no special poverty alleviation policy. The way to help

the poor was to reform the political system and use the public ownership of the means of production to solve the problems of inequality in distribution and class exploitation, thereby alleviating the poverty problem caused by inequality in a social structure. Besides, to establish basic social security to help the poor. In the context of widespread poverty where the living standards of the rural population are low, the government had focused on poverty alleviation on temporary relief for subsistence poverty. According to the History, Experience, and Enlightenment of the Anti-Poverty of China (Xu, 2019), from 1949 to 1978, the government mainly carried out some rural infrastructure construction. The main purpose is to improve agricultural production conditions and transportation conditions, first to meet the food need of the rural poor. These two measures show that a complex social security system based on the collective economy of the People's Commune was established during this period; because of this, poverty alleviation and social security are integrated.

Beginning in 1978, the Chinese economic system reformed and the implementation of the contract responsibility system for rural households started. The contracting of land management rights to households greatly mobilized the enthusiasm of farmers, liberated the productivity of the countryside, and speeded up the growth of agriculture and the rural economy. The rapid economic growth caused by the reform of the rural management system at this stage constitutes the main impetus for rural poverty reduction. Although no special poverty alleviation agency had been established at this stage, regional poverty alleviation development and national poverty alleviation policies had been formally implemented. In 1984, as a specific document in the national level of poverty alleviation, Notice on Helping Poverty-Stricken Areas to Change was released, and the country began to consider poverty alleviation as an essential task. The government's anti-poverty measures at this stage are mainly to activate rural productivity through institutional reforms. Although there is not much direct investment of funds, remarkable results have been achieved. By 1985, the rural poor population had been reduced by about half, and the poverty rate had dropped from 30.7% in 1978 to 14.8% (NBS, 2000). The remarkable results show the high efficiency of this poverty alleviation work. The reason is that it has fundamentally solved the problem that caused the poverty of farmers, that is, the improvement of productivity and the overall rural economy. Although this kind of poverty alleviation work does not apply to all rural development stages, it suggests that no matter what kind of poverty reduction measures, it is necessary to consider the causes of poverty and find a fundamental countermeasure.

Began in 1986, the Chinese government's anti-poverty work entered a formal stage, and it began to carry out long-term work in a planned way. The anti-poverty actions at this stage had two characteristics. One was standardization, and the other was simultaneous direct relief and industrial development. Compared with direct cash transfer, the Chinese government paid more attention to poverty-stricken rural areas relying on their environment and resources to out of poverty. First, the Chinese government formally established a particular agency and initially found the classification standards for poor counties, villages, and poor households. In 1987, the State Council established an economic development agency in poverty-stricken areas (renamed the State Council's Poverty Alleviation Office in 1993) and issued various poverty alleviation policy documents. In 1994, the government promulgated the National 87 Poverty Alleviation Plan. The content of this plan involved all aspects of the life of the poor, including basic survival issues, medical treatment, schooling, employment and other issues to solve the difficulties of the poor. At the same time, at this stage,

the government had also established a special poverty alleviation fund. Under such circumstances, poverty alleviation governance is gradually institutionalized.

From 2001 to 2011, GPAP entered the stage of comprehensive promotion. This comprehensiveness was mainly embodied in the integration of different policies; that is, education for poverty alleviation, medical poverty alleviation, housing poverty alleviation, employment support and other policies are simultaneously implemented and interacted. These various measures involving significant aspects of social development in all phases but they are different steps by step. During this process, the central government adjusted the specific actions and concrete goals according to practices and changing facts. At first, the poverty alleviation policy focused on guaranteeing food and providing credits and tax benefits for encouraging family sideline, which was also implemented in the following stage. Then, the government provided more financial support, and more infrastructure construction was developed. After the work in this stage, the poverty alleviation work has achieved apparent results and completed as planned. To achieve the total goal of comprehensive poverty reduction, it is crucial to ensure effective measures in the last stage. Therefore, no matter the local or the central government are increasing supports with human and financial resources.

Beginning in 2012, GPAP started the final stage, aiming to lift all rural poor people out of poverty by the end of 2020. Based on the fact of the last stage of poverty alleviation, the Chinese government introduced the overall outline document named Decision of the Central Committee of China on Against Poverty（Decision 2015）at the end of 2015. According to this document, GPAP has entered the final stage. At this stage, GPAP work needs to increase efforts to ensure that it ends on time and also to ensure its quality, which is the needs of the poor are truly met, and poverty alleviation can be sustained. Therefore, in this document, GPAP has some new content on the original basis. It can be summarized as the following aspects. First, the accuracy of the policy has been improved, which is reflected in the accurate identification and accurate assistance of the poor and their needs. The second is counterpart assistance; that is, poverty alleviation workers provide one-to-one assistance and keep in touch with the poor. The third is that the government provides final guarantees to the poor, which means that under any circumstances, the basic livelihood of the poor can be guaranteed by the government. By 2019, there were some visible statistical achievements on poverty reduction in terms of the reducing number of poor which included 90% of total poor people had got rid of poverty, the increase in rural poor's annual income above the primary poverty line a lot, the improvement of medical protection. Besides these data, the fact about whether actual poor's needs are met should be highly concerned during the process of poverty alleviation. Abhijit Banerjee, who is honored with Nobel Prize in Economics in 2019, suggested that poverty reduction strategies should be produced standing in the poor's mindset (2011). It means that instead of the pursuit of statistical progress, policies should focus more on solving practical problems for the poor. This thesis draws on a series of governmental guiding policies produced from 2015, which mainly characterize the way to address the poor needs accurately, and on their effect, analyzing the effectiveness and consolidation measures towards re-poverty an exit mechanism.

Chapter 4
Exit standards and measures in anti-poverty projects

4.1 Exit measures

The poverty alleviation measures of various countries have achieved good results in different scopes and levels, especially those in developing countries. Policymakers and beneficiaries pay special attention to issues such as the applicable population, entry rules, welfare benefits, supervision and implementation, and effect evaluation. However, with the great progress of poverty alleviation projects in various countries, a series of issues concerning the project exit mechanism needs to be taken seriously. The importance of the exit measures in poverty alleviation projects is reflected in the following aspects. First of all, the effective withdrawal of the poor from the poverty alleviation project is the purpose of the project itself, the best result of the government's work, and also the requirement to solve the difficulties for the poor. Second, the implementation of poverty alleviation projects has certain limitations. For example, the government's fiscal budget can only achieve the effective use of resources after a certain number of poor people are lifted out of poverty and benefit the new poor. Moreover, financial pressure makes poverty alleviation projects that require large amounts of funds not to be implemented permanently. On the other hand, the reduction of the poor population, the overall improvement of national living conditions, and income growth are also essential requirements for social development. The most important thing is that a reasonable exit procedure can encourage the poor to actively get jobs, take the initiative to get rid of poverty and reduce dependence, and improve their ability to keep out of poverty.

Currently, there are two necessary conditions for the poor out of poverty alleviation projects. One is to exit unconditionally. For example, projects need to be completed within a specified time and generally are not limited by implementation effects. Although this exit method is simple and straightforward, it will limit the effectiveness of the entire project. For some families that have been impoverished due to the loss of labor, this withdrawal method cannot provide a guarantee for the poor people's sustainable exiting. The other is the conditional exit, which is to set certain standards. When poor people meet the exit standards, they need to withdraw from the project. These standards are generally an income standard, or if health, education, hygiene, and other conditions reach a certain level, the poor can exit. Most countries have adopted the second exit method for poverty alleviation projects. Compared with the expiration and end, a conditional exit is more secure for the poor because exit does not mean the poor to leave the project, neither a finish. It aims to lead the poor to be in an independent situation in terms of basic living conditions and access to the ability to get income.

4.2 Exit standards

4.2.1 Exit based on a certain annual income or assets

Many countries use a certain amount of annual income as the criterion for dividing the poor; that is, the minimum annual income is the poverty line. Those whose annual income is below the poverty line are the poor, and the poor can participate in a series of poverty alleviation projects. Similarly, when poor people participate in projects and their annual income reaches above the line, they need to withdraw from the project and stop acquiring preferential treatment. This is based on income as the exit criterion. However, the other is to use assets as a criterion. 'Asset accumulation models focus on the acquisition, retention, and transmission of assets as fundamental to well-being' (Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, p.913). When the number of assets is used as the benefit of the exit criteria, to a certain extent, assets can reflect people's ability to sustain poverty alleviation. A certain

amount of savings or other types of assets of the poor can show that their basic living expenses can be met and reflect that they can get rid of poverty continually and a certain degree of risk resistance. A complex but more comprehensive method is to set the 'asset threshold'. The threshold model believes that when the assets of poor families accumulate to a certain amount, the family's ability to get rid of poverty, that is, productivity and resistance to risks, will show an upward trend. At this time, it can be considered that poor people or families have reached the standards for graduating from projects. Family assets are below the threshold; even if they have a certain amount of savings, this part of the assets is not enough to enable them to escape poverty sustainably on their own and fail to meet the criteria for poverty alleviation. Therefore, the determination of the threshold is crucial. 'Thresholds for achieving independent sustainable livelihoods cannot be defined in terms of (essentially arbitrary) income poverty lines, as suggested above, but by the crossing of asset and income thresholds associated with poverty traps' (Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, p.914) When calculating the threshold, it is necessary to comprehensively consider the expenses of the poor in all aspects of daily life and the employment situation. Therefore, compared to directly assessing the income or assets of the poor, the calculation of the threshold is very complicated, requiring higher accuracy and time cost. A lower threshold may be unable the poor to live on their ability; a higher threshold will lead to a waste of resources. What is difficult to deal with is that each family's situation is different, and the calculated threshold is also different. The government cannot determine the exit with a unified threshold, let alone calculate every family's exit threshold. Besides, another problem is that even in the same family, poor individuals will have different thresholds due to family structure (such as gender composition and dependency ratio).

4.2.2 Exit that meet multiple specific criteria

This exit criterion can be called the 'performance evaluation.' The management department evaluates the beneficiary families' economic and social conditions by formulating an index evaluation system. If the beneficiary family's income level and the requirements of health, education, and hygiene meet a certain standard, they can exit (Fang, 2016, p.90). Many specific criteria generally include housing conditions, health conditions, education conditions, and employment conditions in addition to income standards. The advantage of stipulating multiple exit standards is that criteria are based on the poor's specific needs, ensuring that the poor will withdraw from the project after their actual needs are met. This is also the standard for testing the effectiveness of projects and monitoring them. During the entire exit process, there are two key points. One is whether the poor have the conditions for exiting. The other is whether they can obtain sustainable income after maintaining a state of poverty and moving towards a better living. These general exit criteria are difficult to predict the sustainable poverty alleviation ability of individuals or families who withdraw from the project. For example, it is difficult to assess their workability. Another problem is that evaluating whether poor people meet multiple standards requires many surveys, which require many workforces and violate the privacy of the poor, such as health surveys and household surveys.

4.3 Exiting case analysis

Typical poverty alleviation projects that set a standard for the income or assets of the poor to exit include several in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Rwanda. In Bangladesh, there are two large-scale poverty alleviation projects—Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction: Targeting the Ultra-Poor (CFPR/TUP) and the Chars Livelihood Programme (CLP) (Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, p.917). In CFPR, the government classifies the poor whose assets are less than $1 a day as extremely poor and uses this as a standard to calculate how

many people have exited extreme poverty after implementing a series of poverty alleviation programs(Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, p. 918) In CLP, the assets and income of the poor are evaluated by project investor. If the income of the poor is evaluated as a sustainable income, they need to withdraw from the project. In Ethiopia's Food Security Programme (FSP), the exit method is phasing Over. When the beneficiary meets certain conditions, they will be transferred from the core part of the FSP. Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) and enter another malleable project which provides other funding to beneficiaries. The exit criterion is, 'a household has graduated when, in the absence of receiving PSNP transfers, it can meet its food needs for all 12 months and is able to withstand modest shocks' (Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, quote in FSCB, 2007, p.919) In Rwanda, the Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP) divides the poor into seven groups based on their assets, income, and labor, including extreme poverty, ordinary poverty, and non-poverty. This project provides different help for different groups. Similar to FSP in Ethiopia, in VUP, when the assets, income, and labor conditions of the poor rising and meeting the standards of the upper level, they can withdraw from their original group and enter the upper group. Therefore, the exit standard is the classification standard. In summary, when setting exit standards for several poverty alleviation projects in these three countries, they are mainly evaluated based on the assets and income of the poor. Although in the VUP, the exit criteria consider the labor force of the poor, there is no special calculation rule for labor; in the CLP, the sustainability of the income of the poor is evaluated, but there is no clear evaluation method; In the PSNP, there are poor people who meet the specific standard 'self-sufficient in food for 12 months', but this standard cannot accurately predict whether people out of poverty will fall into poverty again after one year.

The exit measure with multiple standards is widely used in Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) in developing countries. Latin America is the birthplace of the CCT program, which has accumulated rich operating experience in the past 20 years of practice. In recent years, CCT has also put the establishment of an exit mechanism on the agenda. In the exit process set by many CCT projects, there are two very important processes, namely, exit identification and re-certification of beneficiary qualifications. In these two processes, CCT generally adopts two assessment methods-Mean Test (MT) or Proxy Mean Test (PMT). PMT uses a series of alternative indicators such as economic income, consumption, or assets to evaluate the family's status. The scoring formula used in the household income assessment system needs to be updated regularly to reflect changes in household assets, demographic structure and poverty. This method is similar to the above-mentioned passing a certain income and assets. The other is the MT, which usually conducts a comprehensive assessment by conducting home visits to the poor, investigating the actual living conditions of the poor. In the assessment, there is a general standard for various matters, such as whether the housing is safe, whether the drinking water meets the sanitary standard, and so on. In addition, the evaluation is mainly based on the specific conditions of the poor, so there will be different particular standards for the evaluation of each poor. The Chinese government's poverty alleviation projects have also borrowed CCT's exiting measures from various aspects, such as the evaluation methods, evaluation frequency, evaluation process and re-identification. The next chapter of this research will describe and analyze the exit process of the GPAP in detail.

Chapter 5
The exit mechanism of the GPAP

In 2015, GPAP entered the final stage. To ensure the completion of the project, the Chinese

government formulated and promulgated Decision 2015. In this guiding outline, precise poverty alleviation measures and exit methods have been further improved. It has also added a series of specific and more comprehensive exit standards and exit procedures in the poverty exit mechanism.

5.1 Prerequisites

Before analyzing the effectiveness of GPAP exit according to the exit criteria, exit process and exit effect, it is necessary first to clarify several prerequisites, namely, GPAP access requirements, the scope of poverty alleviation, and the categories of poverty alleviation objects.

5.1.1 Access requirements and poverty measurement

The access requirement of GPAP is the identification of recipients and can also be understood as a measure of poverty. In the first chapter of this research, two types of poverty measurement methods have been described, the money metric approach and the capability approach. When GPAP identifies the poor, it combines these two methods to develop a series of poverty exit identification standards. These standards can be summarized as: income poverty line and the general poverty line. The income poverty line is the national poverty standard. China established an absolute poverty standard in 1986. This standard means that the food purchased per person per day must meet the consumption of at least 2100 calories. According to estimates, the amount of money needed to purchase these energies is 206 yuan[4] a year. After continuous adjustments, rising prices and consumption levels, the Chinese government set 1067 yuan as the poverty alleviation standard in 2008. Since then, the standard has been raised to 1196 yuan due to rising consumption and prices. In 2011, the Chinese government decided to set the per capita annual income to 2300 yuan (constant price[5] in 2010) as the new national poverty alleviation standard, and more low-income people will be included in the scope of poverty alleviation. This poverty standard is the standard used by the Chinese government to calculate the incidence of poverty, and it is also the standard used by GPAP to identify assistance targets. In 2013, GPAP raised the standard to 2736 yuan (equivalent to the 2010 constant price). According to this income standard, the poor are identified, and the money metric approach is used to measure poverty. This standard is also the access condition set by GPAP for the poor, that is to say, people whose annual income is below this line are all GPAP's help targets. As described in Chapter 1, MA may not have a comprehensive response to poverty, and it is difficult to accurately assess education and health. Poverty not only has the connotation of economic shortage in income and/or consumption expenditure, but also includes access to and exclusion of opportunities in terms of social services, and the ability to resist risks (Wagle, 2002) Therefore, on the basis of using the income poverty line as the project access standard, GPAP also adopts CA to measure the poverty level and specific needs of the poor. Among them, the content of CA assessment includes living environment, food and drinking water needs, health status, educational opportunities, employment situation and other aspects. The combination of these two methods has two advantages. One is that the use of MA can quickly and directly identify the poor into the project; the other is the use of CA to pinpoint the poverty level and specific conditions of the poor in order to provide corresponding assistance.

[4] China's currency unit, 1 yuan RMB is approximately equal to 0.13 Euro.

[5] Constant price refers to the fixed price used to calculate product value indicators in each period. The value of the product calculated at a constant price eliminates price changes (Lu, 2013, pp.504-505)

5.1.2 Scope of poverty alleviation

China's household registration system[6] divides the national population into two parts by household registration type, urban population and rural population. But in terms of identifying the poor, GPAP classifies the urban population as non-poor. This does not mean that there is no poverty in the urban population, but because the urban population whose annual income is below the national poverty line is guaranteed by the urban society of low income. On the one hand, through receiving the subsistence allowance and other assistance from the social security system, the annual income of the urban poor has exceeded the national income poverty standard, so the urban poor are not the target group of GPAP. On the other hand, the poverty relief enjoyed by the urban population belongs to the urban social security system, which is parallel to GPAP but not related. Therefore, the scope of GPAP is only in poor rural areas of China, which is also the research scope of this paper.

5.1.3 Targets for poverty alleviation

GPAP's objects are divided into four categories: poor counties, poor villages, poor households and poor people. However, the identification of poor counties and poor villages is based on the incidence of poor households and poor people in the region, so fundamentally, the recipients are poor individuals and poor households. For individuals, according to GPAP's access requirement, when their per capita annual income below the national poverty line can enter the project and receive assistance. For households, GPAP mainly examines the basic living conditions of the entire family, including living environment, daily diet, individual health, education and income, etc. When poverty alleviation projects use households as the basic unit, some countries use an equivalence scale to determine the content based on the size of the household. Generally speaking, under a given standard of living, the cost of raising a two-person family is lower than the cost of raising two single-person families (Hussain, 2003), so the subsidy for a poor household is composed of two persons will be less than two separate families consist of poor individuals. However, GPAP does not determine the content of assistance based on the size of the family and the equivalence scale. Each individual in a poor household receives the same help as a separate poor individual. Under such circumstances, the significance of classifying the recipients on a household basis is to be able to analyze the causes of poverty of poor individuals from the perspective of the family environment and make corresponding assistance programs. Moreover, adding poor individuals to the category of poor households also facilitates population management and household surveys. Furthermore, in addition to poor households' categories, there is also the classification of poor villages and poor counties, and the number of poor households is one of its criteria. Therefore, GPAP's targets are mainly poor individuals and poor households.

5.2 Exit criteria and procedures

Regarding the identification of targets, GPAP sets out general standards and top-down aid departments from the Poverty Alleviation Office of the State Council to the offices of village Regarding the identification of targets, GPAP sets out general standards and top-down aid

[6] The household registration system of China is a population management policy implemented by the government on its citizens. The characteristic of China's household registration system is that it divides household registration attributes into agricultural and non-agricultural household based on the region and family member relationships. Authorities at all levels conduct investigations, registrations, and declarations of household registrations within their jurisdiction, classification, division, and compilation etc. according to certain principles.

departments from the Poverty Alleviation Office of the State Council to village committees' offices. The project staff will create a personal file for each poor person identified and confirmed to enter the unified management project. After that, the project will assist each poor individual or poor household according to their actual situation and assistance standards. In this process, all the assistance and changes in the poor's living conditions will be recorded in their respective files. GPAP will regularly or irregularly conduct household surveys of the poor and update the contents of the files. When the recipients meet the criteria for exiting the project, the staff will initiate the exit process.

On the one hand, the significance of the poor's effective exit in poverty alleviation projects lies in improving the efficiency of the use of social resources and testing whether the needs of the poor are actually met. On the other hand, it aims to enable poor people and regions to acquire the endogenous strength of self-development rather than relying on social help for a long time (Sheng, 2019). For example, the government funds will help poor households start and develop their businesses; they will also help build an online platform for selling agricultural products. When the economic capacity of poor areas and people clearly reach or exceed the social average, they should withdraw from the assistance system. Grasping the exit conditions and time nodes can improve the efficiency of the use of social resources without causing a waste of resources. Also, the precise withdrawal of poverty alleviation projects can also prevent them from over-reliance on preferential treatment to a certain extent, which is conducive to cultivating the endogenous motivation of poverty alleviation targets (including poor people and regions) and exerting personal efforts to maintain a regular and progressive life.

5.2.1 Exit criteria

In the current Chinese government's poverty alleviation projects, precise exit has a strong implementation, and its guarantee and premise are in two aspects. First, the central government has stipulated specific and clear phased goals and set strict time points for its realization. For example, 2020 is the last stage of the poverty alleviation project. According to the central government's goals and orders (CPGC,2018), it is necessary to achieve complete poverty alleviation nationwide by December 31, 2020. Comprehensive poverty alleviation refers to the fact that there is no longer an impoverished rural population, which means the per capita annual income of the poor in the formerly impoverished areas is at least achieved the national average; the main areas of basic public services in the former impoverished areas are close to the national average; the problem of poor students being out of school has been solved; the basic old-age insurance, basic medical insurance, and critical illness insurance cover the poor population and achieve the minimum living security. Although the strict timing guarantees the effective progress of poverty alleviation to a certain extent, it will also cause the poor people to be crammed to assistance, which not their actual needs as well as not considering sustainability. The reason is that the government aims to achieve the exit goal on time. To solve this problem, careful and reasonable exit standards are critical.

GPAP's exit standards are set on the basis of poverty identification and measurement. The standard mainly draws on HDI and MDI indicators and constructs four dimensions of poverty exit according to the actual content in the poor population file and the current poverty situation in the region. Each dimension is divided into 3 or 4 sub-goals.

1. Poverty foundation. The most basic indicators of GPAP to measure poverty are the per capita income of the poor, the incidence of poverty, and whether poor individuals have

mastered more than one practical technology, which reflects the improvement of farmers' living standards and overall quality.

2. Economic development. Poverty is not only a product but also a manifestation of underdevelopment. The primitive manifestation of poverty is the low level of economic development, and even its income cannot support people's basic survival needs. In this dimension, the content to be evaluated by the GPAP exit standard includes consumption level, living conditions (housing conditions), health status, and skills and industrial development.
3. Human development. In this dimension, the setting of GPAP's exit criteria mainly refers to the education level and educational opportunities of the poor, skills training opportunities and employment opportunities.
4. Living environment. The exit standard of this dimension is aimed at the exit of poor villages and counties. Its content is mainly the construction and improvement of infrastructure, such as electricity supply rate, access rate, water supply rate, toilet access rate, etc., which need to meet certain standards.

According to Opinions on Establishing a Poverty Exit Mechanism (2016), the content and specific exit criteria of GPAP in these four dimensions can be summarized as the following figure:

Figure 1. Exit criteria

Unit	index		standards
county	main	comprehensive poverty rate	poverty rate + error rate+ missed rate<3%
	auxiliary	error rate	<2%
		missed rate	<2%
		mass acceptance	>90%
village	poverty rate		<3%
	transportation		hardened road connects the village to the county; safety protection in dangerous sections
	electricity		full coverage
	digital tv & satellite broadcasting		coverage>99%
	internetwork		coverage to village committees, schools and clinics
	medical service		standardized clinic
	activities & public place		public service & place
individual	Per capita income		>national poverty alleviation standard (according to the standard determined in that year) & food security
	housing safety		normal use and safety

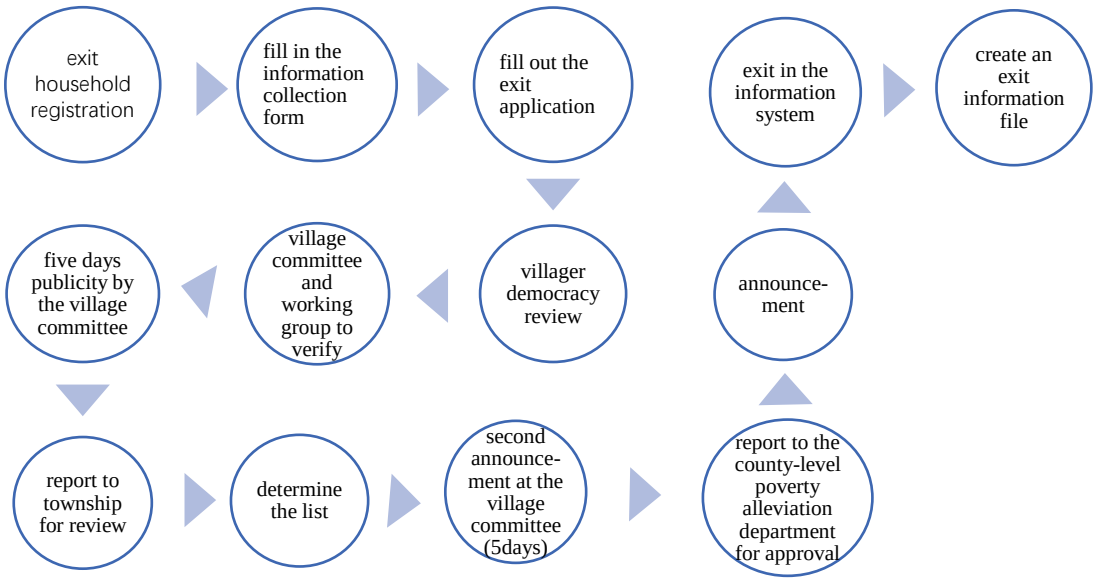
	compulsory education	No school-age children drop out of school due to poverty
	basic medical treatment	medical insurance, critical illness insurance, eligible medical assistance
	Drinking water safety	water quantity & quality, water intake convenience and water supply guarantee

5.2.2 Evaluation method and process

In the process of poverty alleviation, staff will conduct household surveys regularly or irregularly. The content of the survey is also the content in figure 1. This method of the household survey is similar to the Proxy Means Test (PMT). Investigators conduct household surveys, including observations, inquiries, and verification with relevant personnel and neighbors, to keep records of the poor's actual conditions and keep track of them. When the recipients' situation tends to be fair and can be maintained to a certain extent, staff will advise them to apply for withdrawal from GPAP.

The exit process is that the poor households, with the help of the poverty alleviation staff, independently apply for an exit. Afterward, the reviewer conducts a household inspection in accordance with the standard. If the result of the review meets the exit criteria, it will be reported to the village committee. The village committee will conduct a re-examination and a meeting evaluation. The relevant departments at the municipal, provincial and national levels will conduct spot checks based on the reported results. In this process, departments at all levels will respectively let staff actually enter households for regular or irregular spot checks to ensure the correct withdrawal of poor households. All inspections are in accordance with the exit criteria, but in addition to the unified standards, GPAP will also make certain adjustments according to the applicant's specific circumstances. In these household inspections, as long as a situation does not meet any of the withdrawal criteria, they will not be withdrawn and continue to get help in the project. The specific flow chart is as follows:

Figure 2. Exit process



In this process, the actual situation of beneficiaries who are deemed to be eligible for exiting needs to go through the procedure of four discussions and two disclosures, that is, investigations at all levels by relevant departments, joint resolutions, and public disclosure. This identification process, to a large extent, ensures the accuracy of effective exit.

The monitoring in the exit process is mainly a random inspection and a responsibility system for poverty alleviation. The random inspection refers to that the poverty alleviation departments at all levels conduct periodic household surveys of applications to know the results of poverty alleviation. The poverty alleviation responsibility system mainly supervises the poverty alleviation staff, which means that each government department cadre is responsible for one or several poor households and communicates with them, helping them at the individual and government levels. This responsible person must know the situation and needs of the poor households in a timely manner during the process, provide help to them, and be accountable for the accurate information. This work content will be directly linked to the position and salary of the person in charge.

5.3 Exit effect

In the Chinese government issued Decision 2015, a guidance document for the final stage of the GPAP, the government decided to complete the entire project by the end of 2020 and achieve the poor's elimination. Under this premise, an accurate poverty exit mechanism has been established and improved. Here this paper first needs to explain the analysis object of this part: the exit mechanism of the project, including exit criteria, exit procedures and exit effects, not the entire project. Therefore, this research has analyzed the exit results from three aspects: return to the poverty rate, household survey rate, and recipient satisfaction. The purpose is to explore whether the exit method adopted by GPAP is reasonable and effective.

In the final stage of the project, GPAP made good progress. Among them, precise exit and sustainable exit are the performance of exit effectiveness, so this paper analyzes the effectiveness of exit starting with these two aspects. This research first evaluated the overall situation of the withdrawal effectiveness based on the return to the poverty rate. Poverty return

refers to the possibility that the poor people who have been out of poverty may fall into poverty again due to one or more risks (Wang, 2019), so the reason for the return to poverty may be that the results of poverty alleviation are not sustainable, or there has been an unpredictable crisis or an unscientific exit. Therefore, the return to the poverty rate can reflect the rationality of withdrawal to a certain extent. However, this response is not precise and complete, so this part also collected the exit process's household survey rate. This rate can reflect the degree of acquisition and accuracy of exit information. In addition, this paper also conducts a survey on the satisfaction degree of withdrawal from poor households in the form of questionnaires. The survey content includes feedback from the recipients on the withdrawal criteria, withdrawal procedures, and exit results based on the recipients' personal wishes to analyze the rationality and insufficiency of the withdrawal mechanism.

5.3.1 Analysis of return to poverty rate

In this section the e poverty alleviation rate and return to poverty rate in the last 5 years of GPAP is presented. The formula for calculating the poverty alleviation rate and the return to poverty rate is: (within a certain period of time)

Poverty alleviation rate = Poverty exit population / Total poverty population

Poverty return rate = The population of return to poverty / Poverty alleviation population

(The relevant data comes from the Poverty Monitoring Report of Rural China and the information released by the State Council Leading Group Office of Poverty Alleviation and Development)

Figure 3. China's rural poor population (Unit: ten thousand people)

Year	Total number of poor	Number of people out of poverty	Number of people returning to poverty	Poverty alleviation rate	Return to poverty rate
2015	5575	1442		20.39%	
2016	4335	1240	68.4	22.24%	5.52%
2017	3046	1289	20.8	29.73%	1.61%
2018	1660	1386	5.8	45.50%	0.42%
2019	551	1109	0.54	66.81%	0.05%

(source: Poverty Monitoring Report of Rural China, 2019, p.3)

It can be seen from figure 3. that starting from 2016, the number of people returning to poverty has been reduced by three times each year, and the rate has dropped continuously. By the end of 2019, the rate has been close to zero. The data shows that both the poverty alleviation effect and the project withdrawal effect are significant. However, there are two problems in this rate in reflecting the effect of withdrawal. First of all, there are many factors that affect the return to the poverty rate. The main factors may be the sustainability of poverty alleviation measures and the anti-poverty ability of the recipients. The exit method does not have a high weight in the influencing factors. In addition, getting rid of poverty is a dynamic process, and in a short time or temporarily is not enough to prove that poor people are completely out of poverty. The short-term low and drastic reduction cannot prove the complete success of the poverty alleviation project and the absolutely reasonable and effective exit mechanism. Therefore, the return to the poverty rate is one of the references for analyzing the effect of the poverty exit mechanism.

5.3.2 Frequency of household surveys

This section presents data on the number of household surveys through field surveys in Village X in Yunnan Province[7] as follows:

Figure 4. Household survey data
Total number of households: 69
Number of household visits by project staff: average of **30-40** times/household/year
Number of household visits to responsible person: average of **4** times/household/year
Number of household visits after exit to responsible person: average of **4** times/household/year

The data source of Figure 4 is divided into two parts; the data verbally described by the project staff and the data actually recorded. In interviews with project staff, it was stated that the staff conducts household surveys of poor households frequently, with an average of 30-40 times a year. However, they only recorded the actual situation, solutions and results of poor households, but the process of visits (including investigator's name, the time and specific content of each household survey were not specifically recorded). According to the staff, home visits have become the norm, so they will not deliberately record each home visit's time. In addition to the poverty alleviation staff, each poor household also has a responsible person for assistance and supervision, who comes from other government agencies. Relatively speaking, the number of household surveys by the responsible person is far less than that of the staff in the project, but they have corresponding records each time they enter the house. Therefore, part of the data in this study comes from these records. From the statistical results of figure 4, it can be seen that the person in charge visits, on average, four times a year. After the poor households withdraw from the project, they continue home visits and provide a certain degree of help at roughly the same frequency. All in all, according to the data collected and learned, the frequency of household surveys is relatively high, whether it is during project implementation or after exit from poverty. Especially during the project, the project staff keeps in touch with the recipients almost at any time. In addition to the information from the staff, this research also further verified the frequency of household surveys with the recipients through questionnaires and interviews.

5.3.3 Satisfaction survey

This section presents the results of the satisfaction survey questionnaires on poverty withdrawal administered to the poor population of X Village in Yunnan Province. The purpose of which was to explore:

1. If the exit criteria are met, whether the actual difficulties of the exitees have been improved;
2. Whether the poor are satisfied with the exit criteria and procedures;
3. The subjective willingness of the poor to withdraw from the project;
4. The degree of satisfaction of the poor with the poverty alleviation measures and assistance received;
5. The degree of satisfaction of the poor with the household survey;
6. Self-assessment of the risk of returning to poverty.

The questionnaire was distributed to all poor people in Village X. A total of 248 people in

the village participated in GPAP, and 245 people were administered the survey and 218 feedback results were obtained. According to the questionnaire, the results are organized as follows:

Figure 5. Survey result data

Number of feedbacks	Number of poor people: 248	Yes	Not sure		
	Number of questionnaires issued: 245				
	Number of feedback received: 218				
Information accuracy	Know the exit criteria	211 (97%)			
	Know the exit process	197 (90%)			
	Know the exit result	213 (98%)			
Process compliance	Have been accepted household survey	189 (87%)			
	Have been evaluated and reviewed	170 (78%)			
	Confirmed the result	214 (98%)			
Exit validity	Satisfied with the exit result	207 (95%)			
	The poverty situation has improved	218 (100%)			
	Returned to poverty	14 (6%)	21 (10%)		
Exit initiative	Opt-out	164 (75%)	22 (10%)		
	Willing to exit	183 (84%)	Unwilling	Want to continue to get preferential treatment	30 (14%)
				Think they have not escaped poverty	5 (2%)

Withdrawal protection	Think there is a risk of returning to poverty	145 (67%)	47 (22%)
	Apply for protection	Regular household survey and help	189 (87%)
		Continuous help	137 (63%)
		Minimum income guarantee	213 (98%)
	Continue to accept household surveys	153 (70%)	
Other	Satisfied with the form of household survey	190 (87%)	
	Satisfied with the frequency of household surveys	174 (80%)	
	Believe that privacy has been violated	21 (10%)	7 (3%)

This questionnaire summarizes the content of the survey into six aspects, namely, information accuracy, process compliance, effectiveness, receiver initiative and withdrawal guarantee. In terms of information accuracy and process compliance, more than 90% of the poor are aware of the exit criteria and procedures, 87% of the poor said they have accepted a household survey, and 78% of the poor said they have received an assessment and review (this number should actually be higher, because there can be several poor people in the same poor household. The home visit is based on households, and not every poor individual has personally accepted it) Almost everyone knew and confirmed the exit result. From these aspects, the household surveys during the withdrawal process are detailed. The project's information acquisition of the withdrawals and the withdrawals' awareness of the project regulations are relatively consistent. In terms of exit effectiveness and exit security, all exitees said that their poverty situation is improved. However, more than half of the people believe that they will be at risk of returning to poverty, and most of them hope to receive continuous help, such as continuous household surveys and minimum income guarantees. In terms of enthusiasm for exiting, about 14% of people are unwilling to withdraw from the project, mainly because they want to continue to receive preferential treatment. One aspect worth noting is that although more than 80% of poor people do not have much opinion on the form of household surveys, 10% of them believe that their privacy has been violated during the process of household surveys. This is mainly because high frequency of visits and lack of communication before entering the house. All in all, GPAP's poverty exit mechanism is reasonable in terms of information acquisition and process specifications, and its execution is accurate. However, the form of household surveys needs to be further improved, such as

paying attention to the privacy protection of the poor. In addition, the sustainability of the exit mechanism also needs to be further guaranteed by risk warning and continuous assistance. At the same time, during the exit process, it should prevent the poor's dependence on the project and guide them to exit correctly.

5.4 Analysis of effectiveness of the exit mechanism and existing problems

5.4.1 Effectiveness

According to the return to poverty rate, household surveys and questionnaire survey results, the effectiveness of the GPAP withdrawal mechanism can be verified to a certain extent. Its effectiveness is embodied in the following aspects:

1. The exit criteria are reasonable. The return-to-poverty rate and its changes, as well as the results of the questionnaire survey, show that the poor withdrew after the actual difficulties were solved and were satisfied with the results. Based on this, it is believed that the withdrawal criteria are relatively comprehensive and meet the actual situation and needs of the recipients.
2. Accurate information acquisition. Poverty withdrawal is based on accurate information. Moreover, the project tracks the living conditions of the poor for a long period of time after they withdraw, and there are fewer mistakes and omissions.
3. Withdrawal is guaranteed. When the poor people withdraw from the project, staff continued to pay return visits to those who have dropped out, and provide assistance equivalent to the project participants if needed. Therefore, the withdrawal mechanism has certain safeguards.

However, through the analysis of the data in the previous figure and the interviews with the poor and poverty alleviation staff, it is believed that the exit mechanism of GPAP also has some shortcomings.

5.4.2 Problems

1. Incomplete household survey records.

When obtaining the household survey's relevant data, it was discovered that although the household survey work and the information acquisition of the recipients are relatively adequate, the poverty alleviation staff do not have a good record of the household work status. The recorded situation lacks an accurate number and date of household entry. Due to insufficient household survey work, although poor households' actual situation can be accurately understood and their difficulties can be resolved in a timely manner, the lack of adequate records of household information is not conducive to the supervision and assessment of project workers. It is also difficult to quantitatively analyze the effectiveness of exit based on the number of household entries and related information so as to identify problems and further improve the exit mechanism.

2. The participation of poor households in the exit process is insufficient.

In GPAP, the poor's active participation is not high. From the identification of recipients, implementation of poverty alleviation measures to withdrawal, most measures and actions are unilaterally led by the government. The series of information acquisition processes and assistance implementation and even withdrawal almost all rely on the project workers' effort. Even during the withdrawal process, the project staff will help the target to apply. Therefore,

the poor's participating in the project are prone to passively wait, ask for, and rely on behaviors (Hu, 2019, p44). After reaching the withdrawal conditions, their consciousness of taking the initiative to withdraw is weak, and the degree of participation and cooperation is not high. According to the questionnaire results, before the staff helped to apply for withdrawal, some eligible quitters did not even know whether they should exit or did not know the process. What's more serious is that subjects who meet the withdrawal conditions are subjectively unwilling to withdraw from the project because they want to continue to enjoy the benefits and help provided by the project. They even deliberately conceal the true situation during the exit review, which makes it difficult to project progress.

3. Lack of dynamic adjustment.

After the poor households withdraw from the project, they still bear the risk of falling into poverty again. When people out of poverty return to poverty due to emergencies such as natural disasters or accidents, they need to be involved in GPAP again. However, GPAP does not explicitly provide for the process of re-identification and inclusion. If the return-to-poor people are included in the process of the initial identification of poor households, the corresponding work is usually arranged according to the opening time of the information system every year (Jiang, 2014, p77) It means it needs to cost a certain period time to re-include those who fall back into the GPAP after they exited. Also, there is no unified standard for processes in various regions. This would lead to the fact that those returning to poverty cannot get help in time, and the poverty situation may deepen. Moreover, because there is no unified process and detailed regulations, once the number of people returning to poverty increases, it may cause confusion in personnel management. People who are poor for the first time and those who return to poverty are easily confused, which makes it difficult to implement poverty alleviation measures. In addition, as poor households gradually get rid of poverty, groups that were originally on the edge of poverty have entered a situation of relative poverty. In the case of limited resources for poverty alleviation, timely adjustment of targets is a major problem faced after withdrawal.

4. The self-assessment of the exit mechanism is not scientific enough.

The evaluation and review of poverty exit are carried out by poverty alleviation staff at all levels, who conduct the review work based on the information of the main body of the project implementation report and household survey. The method of evaluation by project staff based on the internal report may lack sufficient scientificity or may have arbitrary behavior, such as false evaluation for completing the tasks. In order to achieve the precision of poverty exit, its assessment subjects need to be diversified. The third-party evaluation has the characteristics of professionalism and independence. The evaluation of poverty exit through a third-party organization avoids the inaccuracy of self-monitoring by the project implementer (Cheng & Deng, 2017, p21). Moreover, because the third-party evaluation indicators are not static and unified, they have different evaluation indicators for different projects, which can better ensure the ultimate effect and justice.

5. Privacy issues.

This study learned from the feedback of questionnaires and interviews that some (about 10% of the survey respondents) believed that their privacy had been violated during the household survey. The reason is that, on the one hand, the frequency of household surveys is too high, and the staff will visit the house almost once a week, which makes project participants feel that they are surveilled. On the other hand, project staff generally do not inform the poor in advance and make appointments with them before entering the house. In addition

to the daily home visits, there are also supervisors at all levels who conduct household inspections from time to time. Therefore, in the face of frequent visits and strangers who appear from time to time, the poor could feel insecure. Simultaneously, the project staff also ask relevant information of the poor to their neighbors, relatives and friends for verifying. To a certain extent, this might cause information leakage of project participants. Therefore, some of them are resistant to the form of household surveys.

Chapter 6
Sustainability of exit

By mid-2020, almost all recipients of the GPAP project have reached the project's exit criteria and completed the exit process. However, the poverty exit is a dynamic and long-term state. Long-term and thorough exit not only requires supervision and follow-up guarantees but more importantly, the poor need endogenous development motivation, supplemented by a good development environment. This part analyzed the sustainability of GPAP from the above aspects, including the sustainability of the exit mechanism and the sustainability of poverty alleviation measures.

6.1 Sustainability of the exit mechanism

Poverty return is a significant obstacle to sustainable poverty exit. There are many factors that may lead to poverty return in all aspects of the poverty alleviation process. Therefore, how to prevent the return of poverty has been paid attention to in all aspects of GPAP. Among them, in the exit link, there are two important measures to prevent the return to poverty: early warning measures and a long-term linkage mechanism. Both of these measures regard exit as a dynamic process, and, to a certain extent, they respond to the viewpoints of Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux (2001) on sustainable graduation: threshold limits on sustainable graduation and the impact of background conditions on sustainable graduation.

The sustainability of exit requires background conditions. It requires projects with contextually restricted measures (such as market demand, infrastructure and natural conditions) (Sabates, Wheeler and Devereux, 2001, p.934). Consistent with this view, at present, GPAP has established an early warning information processing center, where it can effectively collect and process information that will affect the lives of those who have escaped from poverty and the deterioration of their quality of life. On this basis, the information center could design warning indicators for the risk of returning to poverty and dynamically monitor the poverty-stricken households based on these indicators (Fan, 2018). The early warning mechanism has three aspects. One is to track and monitor the poverty-stricken households and strengthen extracting and evaluating the income status and other potential actors that might cause returning of poverty. Also, it would carry out pre-processing before the happening of return so as to eliminate the return before it occurs. For example, in collaboration with agricultural departments and other relevant departments, strengthen early warning of natural disasters, prevent disasters from causing large-scale damage to agriculture, and prepare emergency plans in advance. Secondly, after collecting the information that may lead to the return of poverty, the project has special review experts (mostly project staff who implement measures and professionals from relevant departments, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Department of Microfinance, etc.) assess the risk and formulate corresponding measures. The advantage of this kind of assessment is that it can deal with the possibility of returning with more scientific response measures.

The opposite of threshold graduation is sustainable graduation. This kind of graduation is a dynamic process, so corresponding dynamic measures are also needed. This research exemplifies Rwanda's VUP in Chapter 4. The hierarchical exit is implemented in this project, and exitees in the original project category according to different standards and enter different levels. China's long-term linkage mechanism is similar to this. The long-term linkage mechanism refers to continuing to provide assistance to the poor according to the standards in the project for a certain period of time after they were exiting. At the same time, this mechanism is establishing long-term contacts with other social security departments and provide skills training and employment positions. Among them, helping exitees to contact other social security departments refers to the inclusion of these people into the social security system, including old-age security, low-income security, medical security, and education security system. The social security provided by the government previously only targeted the urban poor, but it will also be established in rural areas after the GPAP ends. What GPAP needs to do is to continue to provide early warning of risks and targeted assistance to exitees before the rural social security system is perfected. In this case, the poor can try their best to avoid returning to poverty in the gap period after exiting and before entering the rural social security system. In addition to tracking and assisting the living conditions of poverty-stricken people, GPAP also provides them with free skills training and public welfare jobs, as well as improving the overall environment in rural areas, so as to encourage people to rely on themselves to get rid of poverty with a good development environment completely.

However, even if the exit mechanism includes these further preventions of poverty, and at present, the return to the poverty rate is not very high. However, the project has not yet been completely completed, and a large number of poor people have just withdrawn from the project or got out of poverty in the short term. When coupled with the structural poverty in rural areas, these problems would have a negative impact on sustainable poverty alleviation to varying degrees.

6.2 Obstacles to sustainable poverty alleviation

The primary and fundamental factor that affects the sustainability of poverty exit is the structural poverty in rural areas and the lack of endogenous development motivation of the poor. These two obstacles are embodied in the lack of skills and confidence of the poor in their own development, their dependence on preferential measures for projects, and the vulnerability of poor areas themselves. Although GPAP provides comprehensive comparative assistance to the poor, there are still deficiencies in solving the above problems, requiring a long time, human resources and financial investment. These problems are almost impossible to be completely resolved before the end of 2020.

Development vulnerability in poor areas

Poor rural areas in China are often located in mountainous areas; therefore, traffic congestion and poor natural conditions are the root causes of unfavorable development. This state of poverty and lack of development have existed for a long time. People lack the environment for development, and their development ability cannot be exercised and improved. In addition, natural resources and the ecological environment are the support of agricultural development. Therefore, the rational use of natural resources and the protection of the ecological environment are the inevitable choices for sustainable development. However, poverty exposes people to survival crisis; it forces them to break the laws of natural development, unrestrained exploitation, and utilization of natural resources, which makes the ecological environment continue to deteriorate. The consequence is that the vulnerability of poor areas

continues to increase, resulting in unsustainable development. In some rural areas, due to the destruction of the ecological environment, the government has implemented policies that restrict resource extraction in order to protect the ecology. However, the development of these areas basically relies on existing local resources. Due to the restrictions of relevant policies and the already very fragile ecological environment, the poor people have no support for survival, economic income is reduced, and the efficiency of agricultural production is reduced. They fell into poverty again. When their exploitation of local ecological resources is close to the limit, the small part of the remaining resources can no longer meet their survival needs, coupled with less contact with the outside world, making it difficult for them to obtain effective outside support. As a result, it is difficult for the poor to obtain what they need to survive from their place of residence. It is also difficult to get production and living resources from the society; on the other hand, so they fall into poverty deeper.

Lack of initiative for the poor

Based on the questionnaire results in the last chapter and interviews with GPAP staff, this research has learned that in generally poor areas, including the survey respondents, some project participants are unwilling to withdraw or rely too much on project benefits. These people have become dependent on government relief funds, which has created a mentality that they dare not, do not want to, and are unwilling to get out of poverty. Moreover, because they do not want to take the initiative to get rid of poverty, once they leave the government's support, they return to poverty. Some people who could have been able to get rid of poverty through their own efforts have always had the mentality of relying on relief. They believe that the poorer the people, the more they can get relief. Therefore, when the project identified poverty exit conditions, they deliberately concealed the truth in order to continue to receive continuous help. Of course, this part of the situation is generally verified during household surveys and assessments, but some poor households still do not agree to withdraw from the project. Due to the poor's dependent psychology, they take the government's funding for granted, increasing their demands, so the government is increasingly unable to meet their expanding needs. They even put forward higher requirements after obtaining government relief, asking the government to provide them with tobacco, alcohol and gambling money. To a certain extent, these unreasonable demands reflect the dependence and laziness of some poor people who rely on GPAP for everything. At the same time, it also reflects the single poverty alleviation method and improper measures that GPAP almost covers everything for the poor.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

China's anti-poverty activities, especially the government-led poverty alleviation program, have achieved remarkable results after nearly 40 years of development. Among them, GPAP, as the most representative one, at present, is in the stage of exiting and will be completed at the end of 2020. Therefore, the project is widely discussed, and reports on the project frequently appear on various media communication platforms. Most of this part of the content is the publicity of the government's achievements, and there are also discussions on the actual effects of the project and follow-up measures. Inspired by these discussions and my professional studies, this paper takes GPAP's exit mechanism as the main research object to study its effectiveness and sustainability. More specifically, this paper summarized the exit criteria and exit procedures in the project exit mechanism and analyzed their rationality. Through literature analysis, the project exit standard covers many aspects of the life of the poor (living environment, dietary needs, health and hygiene status, education and employment); in the exit process, household surveys are used to collect and evaluate information on

the poor. In other words, when the poor meet the exit criteria, it means that their lives have been basically guaranteed. In order to further verify this conclusion, this study also collected household survey rates and conducted a questionnaire survey on poor households in a village in Yunnan Province, China. The content of the survey is mainly to verify the degree of awareness of poor exitees about whether their living conditions match the exit requirements, and their satisfaction with exit procedures and exit effects. The results showed that more than 90% of the exitees' actual situation was consistent with the exit requirements and knew the exit process. Among them, 70% of those who withdrew said they had accepted at least one household survey. These data reflect to a certain extent that the poverty exit mechanism in the GPAP accurately identifies poor households, the exit criteria are relatively comprehensive and reasonable, and the exit process is relatively strict.

However, this study learned from the results of the questionnaire and interviews with project staff and poor households that there are still some shortcomings in the withdrawal mechanism. First of all, because the project is too dominant for the participants, it takes care of solving almost all the difficulties in their lives, but it does not provide them with sufficient guiding help and training. Even in the exit process, they are completely dependent on the project staff. The recipient is subjectively unwilling to withdraw from the project because he wants to continue to enjoy the benefits provided by the project. When the poverty alleviation staff conduct the exit review, they may conceal the true situation, which causes difficulties for exit work. Second, the exit mechanism is not well managed for those who may fall into poverty again. When the phenomenon of returning to poverty occurs, people who fall into poverty again cannot be immediately re-included in the project and receive help. When the number of people returning to poverty increases, it will cause confusion in the management of GPAP, which is reflected in confusion between the first-time poor and those returning to poverty, resulting in difficulty to implement poverty alleviation measures. In addition, the lack of third-party assessments in the evaluation and review in the exit mechanism could affect the accuracy and fairness of exit to a certain extent, and there is also a lack of more scientific supervision. Finally, 10% of the survey respondents said that household surveys during the exit process might infringe their privacy due to frequent visits and information exchanges with other people.

Finally, this study also analyzed the sustainability of GPAP and its exit mechanism, as well as tried to analyze the factors that created these obstacles. The exit mechanism has certain advantages in terms of sustainability. It includes early warning measures for poverty return and a long-term linkage mechanism. Early warning measures for poverty alleviation continue to dynamically track and collect information for a certain period of time after the withdrawal of the poor (not fixed), to analyze the risk of returning t through experts, and then to implement preventive measures. Such early warning measures can effectively reduce the occurrence of poverty. In addition, the long-term cohesion mechanism provides guiding assistance for exits to enter the normal national social security system. At the same time, GPAP continues to provide assistance to those who withdraw from the social security system to solve their life difficulties (including employment difficulties). Therefore, this study believes that the exit mechanism has good sustainability. However, the overall sustainability of GPAP has not yet been verified because the project has not yet ended and the sustainability of poverty alleviation measures requires long-term observation. As far as the current situation is concerned, this research attempted to analyze the factors that may hinder the sustainability of the project, including structural poverty in poor areas and lack of initiative by the poor. Structural poverty in poverty-stricken areas is mainly reflected in the fragility and imbalance

of development. The reason is mainly due to the limitation of the geographical environment and the unreasonable exploitation of resources. The lack of initiative of the poor is reflected in their dependence on projects, as well as their lack of survival and employment skills. In response to these factors, after the poor people withdraw from GPAP and the project ends, there is still a great risk of returning to poverty, and the government's follow-up measures need to be implemented in a timely manner. For the poor, the government should increase publicity and education on learning and employment and provide more skills training and employment opportunities. For the overall development of poverty-stricken areas, the government is better at providing industrial poverty alleviation in order to develop the characteristic local economy and, at the same time, publicizing ecological and environmental protection, as well as increasing investment in infrastructure construction (traffic roads, agricultural irrigation), etc. All in all, the end of GPAP does not mean the elimination of poverty. The government and the whole society need to continue to invest in fighting poverty.

Appendices

Data used for Figure 4.(Source: Local poverty alleviation office)

Appendix 1. Number of household visits by the responsible person								
Years / Frequency / Household number	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total	Average	Average after exit
1	4	2	7	5	5	23	4.6	5
2	6	5	6	2	3	22	4.4	4.4
3	5	2	5	5	5	22	4.4	4.4
4	5	4	4	3	4	20	4	4
5	7	3	4	5	3	22	4.4	4
6	4	5	4	5	7	25	5	6
7	6	4	5	6	4	25	5	5
8	3	3	3	6	3	18	3.6	5
9	3	2	4	5	6	20	4	3.6
10	3	6	5	4	4	22	4.4	4
11	3	3	3	5	4	18	3.6	4.4
12	4	7	3	4	3	21	4.2	3.6
13	3	4	5	3	2	17	3.4	2.5
14	2	2	4	4	3	15	3	3
15	5	1	5	4	4	19	3.8	3.4
16	6	5	4	4	4	23	4.6	4
17	5	2	5	5	6	23	4.6	5.5
18	3	4	4	4	2	17	3.4	3.4
19	4	5	4	6	5	24	4.8	5.5
20	5	4	5	4	3	21	4.2	4.2
21	2	6	2	3		13	3.25	3.25
22	4	3	2	5		14	3.5	2.5
23	4	4	8	7		23	5.75	3.5
24	3	4	3	7	3	20	4	3
25	4	4	5	5	5	23	4.6	5
26	4	2	6	5	5	22	4.4	4.4
27	4	4	3	5	5	21	4.2	5
28	3	4	4	5	4	20	4	4.5
29	3	5	5	5	6	24	4.8	5.5
30	3	4	5	5		17	3.4	2.5

31	4	4	4	2	4	18	3.6	3
32	4	3	3	4	4	18	3.6	3.6
33	3	5	5	6	5	24	4.8	4.8
34	4	3	4	4	4	19	3.8	4
35	4	3	5	4	3	19	3.8	3
36	4	2	6	5	8	25	5	6.5
37	5	5	5	6		21	5.25	5.5
38	2	4	4	4		14	3.5	3.5
39	5	5	4	5	6	25	5	6
40	4	3	4	6	5	22	4.4	5.5
41	3	4	4	5	3	19	3.8	4
42	5	5	4	5	4	23	4.6	4
43	2	2	3	4		11	2.75	2.75
44	5	3	5	3		16	4	4
45	4	2	4	3		13	3.25	3.25
46	4	4	5	5	4	22	4.4	4.4
47	4	3	3	5	4	19	3.8	3.8
48	4	3	6	6	3	22	4.4	4.4
49	4	2	4	5	5	20	4	5
50	2	3	4	8	3	20	4	4
51	3	5	5	6	3	22	4.4	4.5
52	4	4	5	6	6	25	5	6
53	3	3	4	5	4	19	3.8	4.5
54	4	2	3	4	4	17	3.4	4
55	5	5	4	5	4	23	4.6	4.6
56	3	3	4	5	4	19	3.8	3.8
57	3	4	5	5	3	20	4	4
58	3	3	2	3		11	2.75	2.75
59	5	4	5	4		18	4.5	0
60		2	3	4		9	3	0
61	3	4	6	6	5	24	4.8	4
62	6	2	4	4	4	20	4	5
63	4	4	4	5	4	21	4.2	4.2
64	4	4	6	4	4	22	4.4	4.4
65	4	2	5	3	4	18	3.6	3.5
66	6	5	8	9	3	31	6.2	3
67	4	3	3	5	4	19	3.8	3.5
68	3	3	4	4	3	17	3.4	3.5
69	5	4	5	4	4	22	4.4	4
Average							4.1	4.0

Questionnaire used for Figure 5. Survey result data

Appendix 2. Questionnaire on Poverty Exit Satisfaction			
A. Location:			
B. Situation			
Are you out of poverty?			
Yes No			
C. Issues related to poverty exit satisfaction			
Information accuracy	C1. Do you know that you have exited poverty?	Yes No	
	C2. Do you know the exit criteria?	Yes No	
	C3. Do you know the exit process?	Yes No	
Process compliance	C4. Have you accepted household surveys during the process?	Yes No	
	C5. Have you been evaluated and reviewed during the process?	Yes No	
	C6. Has the exit result been confirmed by yourself?	Yes No	
Exit validity	C7. Are you satisfied with the exit result?	Yes No	
	C8. Has your poverty situation actually improved?	Yes No	
	C9. Have you ever returned to poverty?	Yes No	
Exit initiative	C10. Are you quitting voluntarily?	Yes No	
	C11. Have you been willing to exit? (If not, please share the reason)	Yes No	Reason:
Withdrawal protection	C12. Do you think you are at risk of returning to poverty?	Yes No Not sure	
	C13. What kind of protection do you hope to get after exit?		
	C14. Do you continue to accept household surveys after exit?	Yes No	
Other	C15. Are you satisfied with the form of household survey?	Yes No	
	C16. Are you satisfied with the frequency of household surveys?	Yes No	
	C17. Do you think your privacy has been violated during the household survey?	Yes No Not sure	

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Annexure (A): Photos of the filed work

Responsible person's household survey registration form, which records the time and the content of the survey.

2017 年贫困农户帮扶记录

序号	时间	帮扶内容	支持资金（项目）	成效	户主签名
1	10月	都帮慰问	200元	完成	杨宝兰
2	2017.08	参保合作医疗	100元	完成	杨宝兰
3	2017.10	扶贫日慰问	200元	完成	杨宝兰
4	11月	购买养老保险	100元/人	完成	杨宝兰
5	11月	购买农村互助保险	180元/人	完成	杨宝兰
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

扶贫成效意见：多种渠道帮助脱贫

村党总支书记签字：
年 月 日
扶贫工作队队长签字：
年 月 日

4

2018 年贫困农户帮扶记录

序号	时间	帮扶内容	支持资金（项目）	成效	户主签名
1	31/1	都帮慰问	200元	完成	杨宝兰
2	1/6	走访了解贫困情况		完成	杨宝兰
3	2/6	走访调查		完成	杨宝兰
4	10.12	走访慰问	200元		杨宝兰
5	12.12	入户了解情况		完成	杨宝兰
6		购买人身保险	100元	完成	杨宝兰
7	11月	购买养老保险	100元/人	完成	杨宝兰
8	11月	购买农村互助保险	180元/人	完成	杨宝兰
9					
10					

扶贫成效意见：通过帮扶，贫困户生活有所改善。

村党总支书记签字：
年 月 日
扶贫工作队队长签字：
年 月 日

5

Daily household surveys of poverty alleviation staff

Living conditions of those who have left poverty

Annexure (B): Informants

List of informants (names have been omitted to avoid exposure of interviewees)

Interviewee	Function	Date of interview
Zhao	Deputy Director of the Village, Project principal	September 29th 2020
Xu	Responsible person	September 29th 2020
Yao	Responsible person	September 29th 2020
Y.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
Y.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
Z.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
Z.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
Z.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
Z.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020

Z.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
L.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
L.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
D.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
D.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020
W.	Recipient	October 12nd 2020