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**A Critical Reflection on the “Social Investment”
approach used in the Chinese Social Work Reform**
A case study on the Guangdong “Shuangbai” social work plan

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List of Acronyms

ISS	Institute of Social Studies
CPC	Communist Party of China
Shuangbai	Guangdong “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan

Abstract

Many scholars, both in China and internationally, have engaged in a series of debates on how social work can be indigenized in the Global South. In these debates, “social investment” emerged as a new emerging paradigm in the vision of social workers. Advocates of this paradigm claim that it is a new alternative direction for social work in the pursuit of social justice. In China, in order to reverse many problems in the indigenization of social work, scholars borrowed this paradigm to advocate the government to carry out a reform of social work. This study uses the “Shuangbai” social work plan of Guangdong Province as an example to explore the potential and limitation of bringing “social investment” approach into social work’s practice. Firstly, we would do a theory exploration on how the “Shuangbai” plan reforms social work practice theory by using “social investment” discourse. Then, we would use the articles from the WeChat official account of the “Shuangbai” Plan as material to figure out the conditions and dilemmas of the typical path of the “Shuangbai” social assistance existing in the official discourse. We found that in China, the discourse of “social investment” offers social workers an opportunity to obtain larger space to practice, while such practices have little impact on the oppressive social structure. Moreover, we need to consider the possibility that the community organizations built by social workers through social investment will be absorbed by local authorities and used in social engineering unrelated to or even conflicting with social justice.

Relevance to Development Studies

In the last three decades, social work has increasingly emphasized the application of clinical treatment techniques to cases in order to heal their psychological problems. As a result, social work has been introduced by the Chinese Communist government as an important approach to mitigate social conflict. However, similar to many countries in the global South, social work scholars in China feel that the clinical treatment approach is simply unable to address regional and structural social problems, such as the phenomenon of left-behind children and the elderly. In this context, social work scholars in the global South believe that a development-oriented social work approach should be set up. This approach emphasizes the use of techniques such as human capital investment through an empowerment and strengths perspective to achieve the overall development of communities and society from both a meso perspective. Chinese social work scholars have also consciously developed similar theories and put them into practice, one example of which is the “Shuangbai” social work plan, the subject of this paper. This study allows us to explore two aspects that are relevant to development studies. The first is how Chinese social workers are linking traditional work content and techniques to community development goals; the second is the potential and limitations of social investment applied in authoritarian states.

Keywords

social work; social investment; indigenization; authoritarian state; social welfare provision.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Beginning in the mid-20th century, the Global South began to introduce modern social work knowledge derived from the West and to build the social work profession in response to the social problems that arose in the course of industrialization (Walton and Abo El-Nasr, 1988). What followed was a debate among social work scholars about the “indigenization” of European and American social work. This debate, mixed with debates about the mission of social work, whether its primary function is social reform or individual treatment, has been an enduring theme in the field of social work (Haynes, 1998). Now, based on these debates, the International Association of Social Work and the International Federation of Social Workers have developed a new definition of “social work”:

Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing (IFSW, 2014).

Compared with the revised definition, the latest one emphasizes the collectivist stance of social work and the focus on broader sources of oppression (Ornellas, Spolander and Engelbrecht, 2018). In this process, a new practice approach emerged, that is, developmental social work, proposed by Professor James Midgley from the United States (Midgley and Amy, 2010). He argues that social workers in the global South need to take a “social investment” approach to achieve community development, rather than just providing residual social welfare and psychological services (Midgley, 1996). This practice theory, inherited from developmental social policy, emphasizes that social work should contribute to “social development”, that is, “a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development” (Midgley, 1995, p25). In this practice approach, the social worker becomes a practitioner of social policy in the community with the goal of poverty reduction, rather than a counsellor using clinical psychotherapy techniques.

In Western countries, social and community development tends to be on the periphery of the main areas of social work practice, while in the global South it has a greater impact, because it “was considered most appropriate for most resource-poor countries” (Payne, 2014, p228). Recently, however, a similar transformation has taken place in Chinese social work.

Beginning in 2006, the Communist Party of China (CPC) adopted a series of decisions to build a “socialist harmonious society,” of which social work is considered a key mechanism (Gao and Yan, 2015). This was the beginning of the rapid development of modern social work in China. By 2016, the number of social work professionals in China had reached 760,000, 300,000 of whom were qualified with professional certificates (Ren, 2019, p60). However, in contrast to the rapid growth in numbers, social work meets many problems. Even in the government’s reports, one can see the voice of dissatisfaction with social work though it is euphemistically (Song, 2019). Some scholars argued that these problems are caused by the introduction of Western mainstream social work theory which emphasise the importance of individual treatment but ignores the importance of social reform (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p58-p59). They emphasized the need to transform Chinese social work through “indigenization” in order to respond to the actual needs of the people. Under their impetus, the first province in China to develop social work, Guangdong’s government, set out to

reform their social work program after 2016. In 2017, it began piloting a new social work program, the “shuangbai” social work plan, in 200 villages and towns in less developed areas of Guangdong. In 2019, a second pilot similar in size to the first was launched (Nanfang Daily Online, 2019). In 2021, it is transformed from a temporary pilot program to a long-term project that involves all villages and towns in the province and is included in the budgets of all levels of government (Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department, 2021).

The most important feature of the “Shuangbai” plan is their practice to achieve community social development by using the “social investment” approach (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). Similar to Midgley, Zhang Heqing, the chief supervisor of “Shuangbai”, believes that the professional dilemma of Chinese social work stems from the inability of clinical social work practice theory imported from the West to respond to the most pressing needs of the Chinese people in terms of livelihood, life, and culture, which is contrary to the claimed altruism of social work (Zhang, 2011). He argues that the practice theory of “Shuangbai” social work emphasizes the sociological analysis of service users’ problems within the social context of the community and the integration of the resolution of individual dilemmas into an asset-based community development framework (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p78-p80). Through “developmental social assistance,” social workers view social assistance as a process of “social investment” that helps service users build capacity, social capital, and market opportunities to promote self-reliance, thereby contributing to individuals and communities to reduce poverty (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). Through theoretical analysis, we can find that by introducing the discourse of “social investment” into the social work practice theory, Zhang reconstructs the path of social work in China to achieve social justice, that is, to promote poverty reduction through social investment.

This shift in practice has been recognized by the Chinese government. China’s Ministry of Civil Affairs saw the program as part of China social work’s highlights (Yan, 2019), while the Guangdong government approved this program more practically with financial support (Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department, 2021). This “success” of this program seems to demonstrate once again the vitality of this practical theory in less economically developed areas. However, we are sceptical about this “success”. China has a special policy context, one of which is the authoritarian party state (Howell, Martinez and Qu, 2021); the other is the productive and residual social welfare provision system (Hudson, Kühner and Yang, 2014; Pan, 2019). These two factors have been identified in much of the literature as considerable constraints on the practice of Chinese social workers. In theory and in practice, how does “social investment” help “Shuangbai” social workers to achieve their work goals within the constraints of these two factors? Or is it that, similar to other social work models, the “Shuangbai” social workers are still unable to break through the limitations of these two factors, and their success stories are based on specific conditions at play. And what are these conditions, if they exist? Moreover, we need to ask what unexplored risks lie behind this “success”? Summing up these doubts, we ask the following research questions. Why the “Shuangbai” social work approach could or could not promote local social development in China?

1. How has the idea of “indigenisation of social work” been used to reform social work practice through a social investment approach?
2. In official discourse, how the social workers practice social investment in Chinese communities, especially when they are doing social assistance?
 - (1) What are the prerequisites for these practices to happen successfully?
 - (2) What is the common dilemma that these practices encounter?

To answer these questions, we will critically analyse material from two sources. First, we will conduct a theoretical study of academic texts related to the “Shuangbai” plan to explore

how the “Shuangbai” theory localizes the discourse of “social investment” to generate a practical path to achieve local social development. This will build the theoretical foundation for the following discussion. Then we use context data collected from the case studies on the WeChat official account of the “shuangbai” plan from 2016 to 2021. These case studies are written by the social workers and selected by the “Shuangbai” office, which is the centre office of this program. While these texts certainly have an advocacy intent, their more important role is to guide front-line social workers on how to carry out their social work practice. In other words, we recognize that it belongs to the official discourse, but this official discourse can also be considered as a typical and ideal practice. On such a basis, these textual materials reflect the program office’s ideal imagination of developmental social assistance. After context analysis, a typical social assistance process will be generated for further critical analysis.

Following theoretical analysis and case studies, we found that the discourse of “social investment” has expanded the space and legitimacy of social workers’ practice at the local level. Social workers can build their legitimacy relatively quickly through policy practice and contribute to the cultivation of social relationships such as volunteer organizations in the community. Within the social network of the community, “Shuangbai” social workers can identify families suffering from poverty more quickly in the community than bureaucrats. When poor families are identified, “social investment” can better respond to the material needs of these poor families. In assisting these families, social workers will attempt to transform the problems of these families into community issues, thereby promoting neighbourhood mutual-help. However, this practical path is predicated on the recognition of the current social order. More than any other theory of practice, the “Shuangbai” social workers relied heavily on the support from the local authority and bureaucratic, without which their policy practice would have been difficult. Social workers will not be able to practice with social justice goals if the poverty in the community itself stems from their oppression. Moreover, local authorities can use the practices of these social workers to make a political defense for maintaining the inequitable social welfare provision. Therefore, they are quite receptive to this “harmless” social work discourse. In short, “social investment” both expands the local legitimacy of Chinese social work and limits its potential to transform oppressive social structures.

Chapter 2

The “Indigenization” of International Social Work in China: Dilemmas and the Chinese Context

2.1 The “indigenization” of social work in China

In the middle of the 20th century, the social work profession in the modern sense went through a process of transplanting a Western social work model to another context with some modifications to make the model applicable and adaptable to a different cultural and political context, and socio-cultural patterns, which is called “indigenization” (Walton and Abo El-Nasr, 1988). The concept has been controversial and the debate has centred on how to view the proliferation of social work professional values, codes, theoretical models, and practice skills on a global scale. Three different tendencies of opinion have developed around this focus. First, some scholars downplay the importance of “indigenization” and advocate the construction of an international universal social work (Lyons, 2006; Huang and Zhang, 2008). Secondly, some emphasize “indigenization” and believes that international social work is not only the result of the expansion of professional imperialism, but also the result of the construction of mainstream (Midgley, 2001). Other scholars advocate that social work should seek a balance between the poles of universalism and indigenization, and take a neutral stance in this debate (Ferguson, 2005; Gray, 2005). This discussion is intertwined with the debate over the primary function of social work, i.e., social reform or individual treatment (Haynes, 1998), as the theoretical and practical skills building in the US around individual treatment have been introduced largely to other countries (Midgley, 2001), including China (Zhang, 2011; Lin, 2022).

Many social work theories have an understanding of core concepts such as social justice, freedom, and human rights that conflict with the ideology of the CPC (Huang and Zheng, 2019). It is indisputable that under the leadership of the CPC, Chinese social work has maintained “stability” as one of its working goals, and there is little room for the development of radical social work (Leung and Tam, 2015). Thus, the question of how Chinese social work can both politically conform to the requirements of the CPC and deliver meaningful services to the target population has become a long-standing proposition for many social work scholars in China. However, even in Guangdong, the province with the longest history and most complete system of social work in China, the government expressed doubts about the effectiveness of social work in an official report.

Some private social work service organizations have insufficient credibility, low service capacity and insufficient standardized management (Department of Civil Affairs of Guangdong Province, 2016).

This report pointedly points out the dilemma of the “indigenization” of social work in China. Chinese social work does not channel meaningful social work services to disadvantaged groups, let alone make any transformative action on oppressive social structures. Around this status quo, two critiques of “indigenization” have emerged in China. Some scholars argue that the blind use of imported Western social work techniques without regard to local needs is not sufficient to achieve true “indigenization”, which is why social work practice encounters many difficulties (Wang, 2001; Gu, Zhang and Yang, 2007; Xu, Tian and Sun, 2021; Lin, 2022). On the contrary, some scholars regard “indigenization” as a political process, where social work is actually succumbing to the dominant Chinese ideology and is unable to achieve universal values such as the pursuit of social justice (Yan and Cheung, 2006;

Huang and Zhang, 2008; Huang and Zheng, 2019; Zheng and Zhang, 2020). In this debate, Zhang Heqing and other scholars put forward similar views to Midgley's, arguing that Chinese social work should respond to the needs of the public and facilitate the connection of local practical experience and poverty reduction practical experience in global social work (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p58-p59). This view synthesizes both sides of the debate and regards the "social investment" approach as an indigenous way of achieving the universal social justice value of social work.

2.1.1 The "making" of Chinese social work and its dilemma

In China, the development of social work as a profession does not have a long history. In 2006, the CPC passed a series of decisions about building a "socialist harmonious society" and regarded social work as a key mechanism (Gao and Yan, 2015). In the same year, the Chinese government officially recognized social work as a profession by issuing Regulations on the Social Workers Occupational Standard System (Bai, 2014). Yet, despite its short history, the growth in the number of social workers in China has been phenomenal. According to the Chinese government's plan, there will be 2 million social workers in China by 2025 (Xu, 2021).

This rapid growth is inseparable from the proactive actions of the CPC and the Chinese central government. The making of the social work profession in China has been largely a "government social-engineering project serving the state's political interest of building a harmonious and economically prosperous society" (Gao and Yan, 2015). Chinese social work takes this opportunity to earn its place in the social welfare system and even seeks to reform it while being alert to the potential threat of abandoning the value of social work (Wang, 2011). This process, "embeddedness", is seen as a practical method of the indigenization of social work in China (Wang, 2011). Specifically, in addition to social welfare delivery, social work is expected to facilitate the participation of community forces in the governance process, meet the need for diverse community services and alleviate interpersonal tensions (Leung *et al.*, 2012).

The "embeddedness" strategy was soon questioned by scholars and political elites. For example, in 2015, in Luohu District, Shenzhen, one of the best-developed areas for social work in China, several deputies at the People's Congress questioned the budget for purchasing social work services (Jiang, 2015). At the heart of these challenges is the dilemma of the indigenization. The first dilemma is the marginalization of social work at the local. It is argued that social workers embedded in the community social welfare system have not only actively excluded other workers in the community, but also distanced themselves from their clients in order to secure their position in the community with professional authority (Zhu and Chen, 2013). In other words, to secure the embeddedness in the power structure of social management, social workers always abandon its professional work and the people in need.

The second is the de-social of social work. Social work has a mission to promote social justice (Kam, 2014), but Chinese social workers often avoid this and approach their work with "pragmatic professionalism" (Lei, Cai and Chan, 2022). However, in this case, many social workers often fail to respond to the core needs of the service users, and sometimes some of them even use the service users to fulfil their work targets, which fundamentally subverts the objectives of the services (Huang and Xiong, 2018). On this point, some scholars also point out that due to the special political environment in China, the development of social work in China necessarily requires a pragmatic attitude, which could be understood as a part of the indigenization of social work in China (Lei and Huang, 2018).

The third point is the great regional differences in social work development, especially the great imbalance between urban and rural development of social work. In the decade after

2006, social work only had complete coverage in megacities such as Beijing and Shanghai (Guo, 2016). In rural areas, the development of social work is also quite lagging (Meng *et al.*, 2019). In such a situation, social work has no possibility to deal with many social problems arising from the urban-rural dichotomy, such as poverty alleviation in rural China (Liu, Guo and Zhou, 2018) and the issues around the left-behind children (UNICEF, 2017). This has also led to difficulties for social workers in seeking broad collaboration to solve social problems.

Since the rapid growth of social work in China has not solved the above three dilemmas, many scholars believe that the key to reform social work is the process of the “indigenization” of social work. They discussed it critically from different perspectives.

2.1.2 Critical Reflection to the “indigenization” of social work in China

For the above dilemma, scholars have made two critical analyses. Some scholars point out that Chinese social workers mainly use the skills of individual treatment and ignore the local need and the “indigenization” of social work value, which leads to the dilemmas. They argue that the theoretical system of social work was created in a Western context, so it could not function well until it is indigenous (Wang, 2001), especially in relatively closed rural areas (Gu, Zhang and Yang, 2007) and the ethnic minority communities (Watermeyer and Yan, 2022). However, in the process, there has been a disconnect between the development of social work theory and practice in China (Zhang and Liao, 2021, p31-p32), and the widespread application of individual treatment approach in social work is to be blamed as the cause (Luk, 2017). Internationally, whether individual treatment should be the main function of social work has been a long-term theme of many debates (Haynes, 1998). Many social workers, while using psychotherapy, ignore the structural oppression of society and even distance themselves from the people at the bottom (Kam, 2014). Similarly, social workers in China emphasize the application of psychotherapy skills, but avoid critical analyse on social values, leading to the phenomenon of “pragmatism professionalism” (Lei and Huang, 2018). Lu argues that the low operationalization of existing ethics results in social workers being unable to take further action after critically reflecting on their work (Lu, 2019). For example, the special social relationship pattern in Chinese communities makes a rigid professional boundary between social workers and service users, which is important in psychotherapy, is almost impossible (Cheung, 2017). In conclusion, they believe that the cause of the dilemma is that the traditional social work path of psychotherapy is unable to respond to the needs of the Chinese people, resulting in social workers unable to solve the structural problems of society. To change the situation, social work should be reformed basing on people’s need.

However, many believe that these dilemmas are results of “indigenization”. Yan and Cheung point out that “indigenization” is a political process, where “competing social forces try to dominate the recontextualization of an imported discourse” (Yan and Cheung, 2006). As a result of the “indigenization”, China is developing a unique form of social work: low professional standards, dubious not-for-profit and strongly dominated by the government. (Xu, Li and Cui, 2022). Zheng points out that the “indigenization” of the social work is finished by equating the professional values of social work with the mainstream values supported by the CPC (Zheng and Zhang, 2020). Huang and Zhang argue that social worker is likely to help sustain the structure bringing oppression, inequality and injustice when they blindly question the “western social work’s value” (Huang and Zhang, 2008). In addition to the “indigenization” of values, literatures suggest that the CPC uses outsourcing to control social organizations serving the party’s governance goals through contractual and financial control (Enjuto Martinez, Qu and Howell, 2021; Howell, Martinez and Qu, 2021; Lei, Cai and Chan, 2022). Such “indigenization” of the pattern of social work management stimulates social work agencies to chase profits. Efficiency-driven market make social work

organizations less professionally autonomous and deviate from their mission (Chan and Lei, 2017; Huang and Xiong, 2018; Enjuto Martinez, Qu and Howell, 2021), leading to greater job dissatisfaction and higher turnover intention among social workers (Wang, Jiang and Mao, 2020; Zheng *et al.*, 2021). What is worse, this kind of competition decreases over time (He, Liu and Chang, 2022), creating monopolies.

The central difference between these two perspectives is that they take different approaches to the external limitations of social work. The first view emphasizes that practice theories of social work imported from abroad are not adapted to the Chinese political, social, and cultural context, and therefore they should be modified through “indigenization”. Another view emphasizes the universality and legitimacy of social work values, arguing that social workers should not blindly subscribe to the mainstream ideologies because they may include the oppression of vulnerable groups. Zhang Heqing and other scholars try to find a breakthrough in this debate and construct an “indigenous” social work pursuing social justice. For better further discussion on their ideas, we need to understand the external limitation of Chinese social work.

2.2 Beyond “Indigenization”: Two External Limits to the Development of Social Work in China

The debate around the “indigenization” of social work does not take place in a vacuum, but in the context of Chinese social work practice. Therefore, it necessarily needs to face the external limits encountered in the process of social work development in China. In this context, we can consider “indigenization” as a process constrained by these factors. We focus on the two most important factors: state authoritarianism and residual social welfare provision.

2.2.1 State authoritarianism

In China, social service is under strong control by state authority. Since 2013, the Communist Party of China has adopted a national policy of formally outsourcing social welfare services to social organizations, which is regarded as “technologies of authoritarian statecraft in welfare provision” (Howell, Martinez and Qu, 2021). Within the framework of authoritarian governance, it presents the state with a conundrum: how to obtain “harmony” in society by controlling social organizations while maximizing their utility of the service by providing them enough professional autonomy (Leung *et al.*, 2012).

Many studies focus on the contractual relations between the Chinese government and non-government organizations when they try to explain how the state tries to “enable the recruitment of social organizations...without undermining social stability” (Howell, Martinez and Qu, 2021). For example, by controlling access to funding and categorization, many NGOs have had to actively align themselves with the government’s governance goals rather than adhering to organizational values and goals (Enjuto Martinez, Qu and Howell, 2021; Lei, Cai and Chan, 2022). If these social workers intend to change the unfair social status quo, their discourse and practice must be careful, especially not to directly challenge the rule of the Chinese Communist Party. For example, Chinese social workers tend not to use some words related to social justice in their documents like “human rights” for avoiding political risk (Lei and Huang, 2018).

Under authoritarian regime, the governance of the state often also requires the services provided by social organizations, in addition to suppressing the latter’s threats to stability. Xi Jinping, the leader of the CPC, often expresses in public that he wants to promote the “self-governance” under the leadership of the CPC (Guo, 2022). This reflects the political reality

that the realization of state authority requires the development of the social to reduce the increasing pressure of state governance. For example, studies have shown that community organizations and volunteers played a huge role in responding to the COVID-19 outbreak (Miao, Schwarz and Schwarz, 2021). It is seen as a prime example of state-led co-production (Cheng *et al.*, 2020). In other words, state authority effectively activated the power of the social to achieve co-production in health care at the local (Miao, Schwarz and Schwarz, 2021).

Therefore, some social workers and NGOs actively develop many strategies to respond to the status quo and maintain social work values (Yuen, 2018; Xu and Huang, 2020). They notice the need for the state to harness NGOs to deliver quality social services to the population, even though they want to control their radical nature (Leung *et al.*, 2012). For example, by selectively accepting government contracts, actively expanding funding sources, and engaging in moderate policy advocacy, social workers have succeeded in maintaining a high degree of autonomy and the trust of authoritarian governments (Yuen, 2018). In working with the government, some NGOs engage in political advocacy within the authoritarian regime of the CPC, although they may at the same time shun radical approaches to social advocacy (Su, Ma and Zhang, 2022). All in all, while state authoritarianism will undoubtedly weaken the critical spirit of social workers, the latter is not a passive puppet. Nor does it seem that the inadequacy of the critical spirit of Chinese social work should simply be attributed to the inevitable result of authoritarianism.

2.2.2 Residual social welfare provision

After the reform and opening up, China's social welfare system was deeply influenced by neoliberal ideology and the collapse of the collective economy, becoming an unbalanced and inadequate residual welfare system with strong productive overtones (Hudson, Kühner and Yang, 2014) (Pan, 2019). "Residual" means that the welfare system is primarily supported by the family and the market (Pan, 2019). When family and market provision fail and some individual needs cannot be met effectively, state intervention, such as the provision of social assistance, serves as a remedy (Pan, 2019). And the welfare system is designed for the "politically pivotal groups" (Hudson, Kühner and Yang, 2014), which could be seen as a way to promote economic growth, leading to "a serious, and growing, imbalance between urban and rural areas, between different regions and between different population groups" (Ren, 2019). Currently, with the rapidly rising technological revolution and dramatically rising social risks, the residual welfare system leads to uneven, if not regressive, development in China (Ren, 2019).

To reform social welfare and face these challenges, the Chinese government decided to reintroduce social work (Bai, 2014). However, Guo argue that the prerequisite for social work in China to be effectively embedded in the government welfare system is a Nordic-like social welfare system that allows social workers to deliver welfare (Guo, 2022). For a long time, in the field of welfare, Chinese social workers have only learned and practiced how to deliver social welfare (Ma, 2022). With insufficient formal welfare resources, social workers are often helpless and trapped when confronted with personal, family and community issues.

Situation may change after the transformation of China's social welfare system toward moderate universalism. The nineteenth National Congress of the CPC in 2017 construct a political foundation of building a welfare system in accordance with the moderate principle of universalism (Pan and Wang, 2019). "Moderate" means that "welfare provision concentrates on satisfying the basic needs of the citizens", the involution of "more social agents" is necessary with the goal of equity of opportunity, not equity of out-come (Pan and Wang, 2019). Therefore, "Moderate universalism" is more similar to the mixture of "basic universalism" and the "social protection floor", regarding universalism as a policy principle "to drive the piecemeal launching of transfers and services for all" (Franzoni and Sanchez-

Ancochea, 2016). Hong and Ngok find that this reform “considerably increases the likelihood to commit to social expenditure” (Hong and Ngok, 2022b). It is seen as a great change in the so-called “social policy era” in China (Hong and Ngok, 2022a). Using the four dimensions from Fischer (2018), we might say that “moderate universalism” is a step for being genuine universalism though it is not enough (Fischer, 2018, p244-p252). For example, Jane Duckett believes that the new social policy programs in China erode long-standing urban-rural segregation while being too generous to urban elites (Duckett, 2020).

Therefore, social welfare and social policy now is one of the main focuses of many social work plans. One of the basic tasks of these social workers is to provide social assistance, i.e., to allocate social welfare resources provided by the government to the “people in need” (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). These social workers actively participate in social assistance and are highly involved in the process of social policy practice. This is not a traditional concern of social workers, both because of the emphasis many social workers place on psycho-clinical therapy (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p196-p198). However, optimistic social workers believe that they can realize the value of social work in the process of this reform through a new social work practice approach: “Shuangbai” social work theory (Zhang and Liao, 2021a).

Chapter 3

The “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan and Social Investment

3.1 Developmental Social Work and Social Investment

The practice and profession of social work has a relatively modern and scientific origin in the West and is generally believed to have developed from three strands: individual casework developed in London by Charity Organization Society; Social administration originated from the Poor Law and the focus on social action developed from settlement movement in Britain and the United States (Lymbery, 2005; Harris, 2008). During this process, most social workers deal with emotional, psychological and other personal problems resulting from poor social relationships, while neglecting more structural social problems (Kam, 2014). To reverse this trend, some social work scholars in the global South have taken the experience of the Settlement Movement in the West as a starting point and proposed developmental social work theory as an alternative to traditional social work theory.

In the Global South, social work has also been developing for more than fifty years. Similar to Western countries, social work in these countries was designed to respond to the rapidly increasing social problems that emerged with industrialization (Patel and Hochfeld, 2013). However, social work as an “unproductive” activity has been highly questioned because of the eagerness of these countries to improve the quality of life of their people through economic development (Midgley, 1996). In response to this doubts, social work practitioners have had to spontaneously engage in more universalist community-based projects, such as promoting literacy education, building roads, and fostering local industry (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p7). These practices have gradually developed a new voice for integrating economic development into the social work agenda while ensuring that the fruits of economic development can be shared by all (Midgley, 1996). This voice has gained greater influence through international organizations such as the United Nations. (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p8).

Some scholars generate a new approach basing on these discussions. Morrison notes that over time, at least in the West, individual clinical case work has gradually become the only practice approach, to the extent that social work is increasingly seen as a personal and residual practice, limiting its potential to impact society (Morrison, 2010). Therefore, a new approach, the developmental social work approach, is needed to re-balance this trend (Morrison, 2010). In *Social work and social development: Theories and Skills for Developmental Social Work*, Midgley and Amy provide a detailed introduction to the developmental social work approach and strongly challenges the traditional social work approach (Midgley and Amy, 2010). In view of the importance of this book in the formation and development of the developmental social work approach, we will then analyse the characteristics of developmental social work in depth mainly based on the contents of this book, supplemented by some other scholars’ treatises.

3.1.1 The Usage of Social Investment in the Developmental Social Work Approach

The developmental social work approach has a pragmatism that puts the focus on the improvement of the social development and suspends the ideological debate. Developmental social work is a response to the assumption that by making service users aware of how they are being oppressed or exploited, while understanding and using their own strengths to resist

this injustice, the situation of these service users will be greatly improved (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p15). The idea of Sen, especially the one about “functionings”, have provided a conceptual basis for this theory. In his idea, poverty is not a lack of productivity or income, but rather “a failure to achieve certain minimum capabilities” (Sen, 1985), or “a failure to convert functionings into capability” (Fischer, 2018, p128). Inspired by this theory, many scholars have explicitly linked “assets” and “capabilities” to improve collective life by educating local people to identify and utilize assets and strengths within their communities (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p12). However, despite these fragmented theoretical contributions, it seems to be a difficult task to define a coherent concept for the developmental social work approach (Patel and Hochfeld, 2013). Given the conceptual ambiguity of this theory, we may need to distinguish it from other distinctive social work approaches in terms of its main characteristic.

The main characteristic of the developmental social work approach is applying investment strategies into professional practice (Payne, 2014, p240). Developmental social workers invest “tangible social investments” to enhance the service users’ capabilities and “facilitate their participation in community life and the productive economy”, premising on the strengths and empowerment of service users (Midgley and Amy, 2010, pxiii). These investments include “mobilize human and social capital, facilitate employment and self-employment, promote asset accumulation, and in other ways bring about significant improvements in the material welfare of individuals, families, and communities” (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p15).

In this approach, social investment is always regarded as community-based practice interventions (Midgley and Amy, 2010, pxiv). These social workers tend to be actively involved in the community and work closely with community groups to secure resources, access networks, and build local programs (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p18). In this process, social workers need to use mobilizing skills, leadership skills, brokering skills, enabling skills, mediation skills, coordination and networking skills and advocacy skills (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p18-p21). In addition, these social workers believe that service users could avoid social exclusion if they live in their community under the assistance of social worker. Therefore, they avoid the use of residential facilities and do their best to involve the service users into community life by using interpersonal and counselling skills (Midgley and Amy, 2010, pxiv).

In conclusion, the use of social investment in developmental social work is characterized by a community-based approach that leverages capacity and promotes empowerment. It places great emphasis on social workers providing tangible social investments to service users in order to enhance their capacity to participate in community life and the productive economy (Midgley and Amy, 2010, xiii). This approach questions the effect of individual treatment because it is too small in scope of impact to fundamentally change the social problems behind individual dilemma, such as poverty, and too expensive to be accessible to most people (Midgley, 1996). It links the traditional focus of social work on social relations with local economic development and regards the community work practice of social work as a process of social investment. The same characteristic could also be found in the “Shuangbai” social work theory. In the next section, we will get to know a large social work plan underway in China and the so-called “a result of indigenization to social work in China” behind this plan - the “Shuangbai” social work theory.

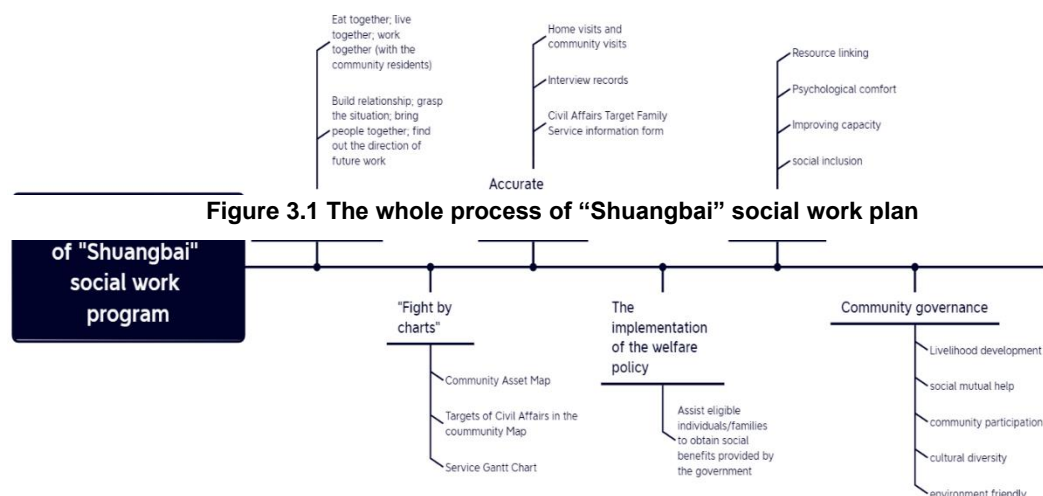
3.2 “Shuangbai” Social Work

3.2.1 The introduction of the “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan

In 2016, the Department of Civil Affairs of Guangdong Province reviewed and summarized the development and difficulties of social work in Guangdong in the past decade. In the report, we surprisingly find that the social work investment in the less developed areas of Guangdong¹ is less than 2% of the province, and the number of posts only accounts for 7% of the province (Department of Civil Affairs of Guangdong Province, 2016). In order to change this situation, in 2017, the Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department started the first pilot of the “Shuangbai Plan”.

After the pilot was launched, 200 social work service stations were built in the less developed areas of the province, with three to eight social workers at each station (Yan and Li, 2017). In addition, each service station was required to foster at least one volunteer organization to achieve a total of 200 volunteer organizations and 20,000 volunteers at all stations (Yan and Li, 2017). In 2019, a second pilot similar in size to the first was launched (Nanfang Daily Online, 2019). In 2021, Guangdong Provincial Government expanded the “Shuangbai Plan” to the “Shuangbai Program” and increased the location of the program to all townships and subdistricts in the province (Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department, 2021). Between 2021 and 2023, the Guangdong provincial government will provide 1.458 billion yuan (\$230 million) in subsidies to less-developed areas through the program. And the number of front-line social workers in the program will also increase to 30,000 (Yan, 2021). The inclusion of the “Shuangbai” social work program in the government annual budget can be seen as a recognition by the Guangdong government.

“Shuangbai” is based on a five-year cycle (See Figure 3.1²). In the first phase of the work, social workers are required to conduct action research in the communities they serve, uncover community assets, identify community issues, and work with stakeholders to develop work goals and work plans. In the second phase of the work, social workers cultivate and use social capital to achieve accurate identification of vulnerable groups in the community and to empower them by assisting them to access formal welfare resources. At the same time, social workers need to extend the plight of these service users to the topic of community governance, to promote community help for these people on the one hand, and to



¹ The original text is “eastern, western and northern Guangdong”, in other words, areas outside the affluent Pearl River Delta region.

² This table is made according to appendix II of the “Shuangbai” social work Introduction.

promote community co-governance on the other. In the last stage, social workers need to take one of the five goals of community development as a breakthrough to gradually achieve sustainable community development. These goals are described as “‘five-in-one’ sustainable development of communities”, including five goals: livelihood development, social mutual help, community participation, cultural diversity, and environment friendly (Zhang and Liao, 2021, p344).

It is important to note that the contractual relationship within the “Shuangbai” is special in China. In this plan, the front-line social workers are non-tenured employees of the sub-district government in their place of service instead of being NGO employees (Yan and Li, 2017). In other words, compared to employees in NGOs, they are fully embedded in the bureaucracy in terms of contractual relationships. They are subject to the guidance and supervision of the Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department. In practice, they are mainly supervised by outside experts hired by the government. It could be seen as a “dual relationship” (see Figure 3.2).

The first relationship is the contract relationship between social workers and local government officials. Social workers are contractually affiliated to the local government (township and sub-district level), and their direct superior (service station master) is the official in charge of civil affairs in the local government.

The second relationship is the professional relationship between social workers and social work supervisors. Social workers need to accept the supervision and guidance of experts and supervisors appointed by the provincial civil affairs department. In this process, supervisors evaluate the work of front-line social workers with professional theories and knowledge and provide them with certain assistance. Front-line social workers are still the main players in the process of communication although they could be assisted by their supervisor in this process.

Figure 3.2 “Dual relationship” in “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan



3.2.2 The Reconstruction of the Role of Social Work: Development and Social Investment

In Chapter 2, we discuss how many international and Chinese social workers regard psychotherapy skills as a key of professionalism. However, “Shuangbai” social work theory strongly disagree this tendency. Instead of individual treatment, development is the core concept of the “Shuangbai” social work theory. This approach focuses on linking individuals to community and social change and promotes community integration to improve the situation of

the excluded, to achieve sustainable community development, reflecting the distinctive characteristics of developmental social work. It emphasizes that the work of social workers should be centered on activating the asset to achieve the five goals of sustainable community governance, rather than simply delivering welfare resources. In Professor Zhang's book³, he claims that the professionalism of social work is embodied in "cultivating the endogenous power of the community, enhancing the conscious awareness of the community, and creating endogenous sustainable development of the community" (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p26). Zhang emphasized that social workers should play three roles: the role of building the capacity of community residents, linkers who bring external resources to the community through social networks, and collaborators who are the opposite of being an expert (Zhang, 2016). This is in contrast to the long-held perception of Chinese social workers who tend to believe that it is the techniques of psychotherapy that reflect their professionalism (Lei and Huang, 2018). To achieve development of the community, social workers need to employ many principles, including the strengths perspective, asset-based approach, internally focused and relationship driven (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p226).

More interestingly, in the area of social assistance, which has traditionally had little to do with social development, Zhang proposes "social assistance for development" (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). In his book, he explains the linkage between social assistance and development promotion:

In other words, developmental social assistance is a kind of social assistance that emphasizes on the basis of securing the basic livelihood of the recipients, and focuses on the self-help and mutual assistance development issues such as improving the capacity of the recipients themselves, building social capital and increasing market opportunities, in order to promote the ultimate self-reliance of the poor and truly escape from poverty (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p201).

For example, when dealing with a case of domestic violence, social workers not only provided formal welfare resources for the service user, but also assisted her son to attend a special school⁴, help her find a job, legal aid and group support from the "women's mutual aid group" (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p136-p140). Then, social workers "raised the issue of gender equality" in the "women's mutual aid group" and asked members to think about traditional Chinese ethical issues such as "men take care of the outside world, women take care of the home", and then carried out community education activities in the form of "people's drama" (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p142). In other words, social workers in this approach always seek to transform social assistance, which is not clear how to relate to the idea of universalism (Fischer, 2018, p243), into a part of the plan for the overall development of the community (Zhang and Liao, 2021a).

In short, in "Shuangbai", social workers are expected to meet the material needs of poor families in the community to some extent through formal welfare resources. On this basis, relationships among community residents are fostered and informal community-based safety nets are constructed to facilitate the conditions for vulnerable groups to access education, health care, or participate in formal employment. At the same time, social workers need to identify the strengths of individuals, families and communities, bring in external resources, activate the assets in the community, and achieve the development goals of the community.

In the above discussion, we understand that the "Shuangbai" social work program has now been incorporated into the government's official budget, making it a large social welfare program rarely seen in China. If we see this as the Guangdong government's shift from

³ He is the chief supervisor of "Shuangbai" plan.

⁴ The service user's son was unable to attend a regular school because of his intellectual disability.

discontent to approval of social work from 2016 to 2021, it is tantamount to arguing that the social investment approach has the potential to grow in the Chinese context. But will some risks lurk in this process? We need a more direct look at the practice of the “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan to make a more confident analysis. For better discussion on the case study, in the next chapter, we will discuss the methodology and research methods.

Chapter 4

Methodology and Methods

After a series of theoretical discussions, we learned that “Shuangbai” social work is characterized by the developmental social work approach to reform the concept of social work in China. However, what we see from the texts of the theory is only a neat, organized and systematic approach to the work, which alone is not enough to explore the potential and limitations of the social investment approach in the particular context of China. Therefore, we need to do a more detailed case study of the “Shuangbai” social work program.

4.1 Methodology

Using a case study approach, this study will examine the potential and limitations of the social investment approach in the Chinese context, with a particular focus on its potential to reform the social welfare provision system and change structural social problems. The case study approach has outstanding strengths in this research although it is often criticized for its low reliability (Mary, 2000). First, case studies have a high practical value, which is quite important in the field of social work (Lee, Mishna and Brennenstuhl, 2010). The complexity and uncertainty of social work practice determine that theoretical research in social work always needs to respond to complex realities with pragmatism (Guo, 2022a). Because the experimental method and other methods that emphasize control variables cannot avoid simplifying the “wicked problem” in reality and coming up with a linear answer, resulting in a disconnect between theory and practice (Alford and Head, 2017; Ansell and Geyer, 2017). In contrast, the case study approach has a great advantage in understanding the complexity of practice because it considers all the latent variables in the causal mechanism as much as possible (Yin, 2018, p55).

The second reason is the strong explorational nature of this study since the “shuangbai” plan is innovation and exploration of social policy in China aiming to reform the management and organization of social work and relevant research is still rare (Chen and Zheng, 2019). The advantage of theory generation and mechanism exploration of the case study approach could be prominent in this research (Gerring, 2007). As a “deviant” or “outlier” case, the “Shuangbai” social work plan is valuable since it could “inductively identify new variables, hypotheses, causal mechanisms, and causal paths” (George and Bennett, 2005, p75). It could be a supplement for further research on the practice of developmental social work in the Global South.

Last but not least, China’s tightening political control and strict epidemic prevention and control policies also pose significant challenges to the feasibility of social science research design (Alpermann, 2022). This means that both the experimental approach and the various research methods premised on participation are exposed to certain risks in this context. In this case, using open resources for case studies is a viable option for China Studies (Northrop, 2022). The publicly available material is often an important basis for the triangulation of data sources in a case study (Yin, 2014, p117). And as a Chinese, I have a natural advantage when I research these materials because I could understand the text combining Chinese context. Therefore, this study will mainly do a process tracing based on the case reports on the “Shuangbai” social work plan’s WeChat official account, which is the foundation of the theory generation.

4.2 The detailed process of the case study

To generate a theory around the social investment approach in the Chinese context, this case study uses “analytical induction”, which is similar to the grounded theory approach, but it requires the introduction of a theoretical framework before data collection (Lee, Mishna and Brennenstuhl, 2010). Therefore, the first step of the research is to generate a set of assumption around the mechanism of how the “Shuangbai” social work practice, especially social assistance, influence the local community in theory. It is expected to improve the data collection instruments especially when the case is an innovation or a “black box” (Yin, 2018, p246) and finally increase the internal validity or credibility of this case study (Lee, Mishna and Brennenstuhl, 2010). This step was in fact completed in Chapters 2 and 3. Based on the analysis of the “Shuangbai” social work theory and the social investment approach, we learned what social workers do, how they work and what they want to achieve in the end of the plan in theory. Based on this understanding, we chose the case of social assistance in the “Shuangbai” program as the entry point for our study because social assistance is generally individualized and residual, yet Zhang et al. assert that social assistance for individuals needs to promote both individual and community development (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). From this point of entry, we can better see through the fog of advocacy to see how social workers can achieve the ambitious goal of “co-development of individuals and communities” in the face of vivid and concrete poverty.

The second step is material acquisition and screening. The case studies written on the WeChat official account of the “shuangbai” plan from 2016 to 2021 are used in the second phase. These articles are selected by the program office so that they reflect the ideal casework strategies in this program. These WeChat articles come from the state sanctioned source. In other words, they are typical but not naturally generated. There is no doubt that selection bias is present in these materials, i.e., they reflect the more successful aspects of the “Shuangbai” social work plan. However, since these materials were not generated through a mandatory process, un-related to performance evaluation, their authenticity is still guaranteed (Charity Promotion and Social Work Department of Guangdong Provincial Civil Affairs Department, 2021). Moreover, even if there are inaccuracies in these articles, they reflect a discourse from the experts that reveals their political considerations. We need to use the existing academic and practical materials as a basis for analysing the “Shuangbai” materials, such as the external limitations faced by social workers, to identify the inauthentic parts of the materials and to consider the reasons behind such “inauthenticity”. With this premise, there are two goals of analysis that we can have from these materials. First, we can summarize the ideal mechanism of developmental social work practice in the Chinese context through social assistance and discover some possible necessary conditions, although we cannot confirm their necessity. What we are trying to do here is to unpack the black box between “social work practice” and “the development of the community” within the process of social assistance. Second, we can critically analyze the limitations of the developmental social work model in the Chinese context, which is more evident when the material is optimistically biased. We can delve into the limitations of this mechanism by identifying recurring contingent conditions in the mechanism, i.e., factors that are theoretically not replicable in the Chinese context. On the other hand, by imagining counterfactuals, we can also draw illuminating insights. These findings will form the basis of our next stage of critical analysis.

Specifically, the articles are acquired and filtered in the following steps. First, using web crawler technology, I obtained 1866 articles from the WeChat official account of the “Shuangbai” Plan. All of these articles are open to the public. Then, before I could filter the articles I needed, I needed a definition of “case story”. Between 2018 and 2021, the public website had a section called “Case Story” (个案故事) where articles were written about

the casework of social workers, with each article focusing on one family and, on rare occasions, two cases appearing in one article at the same time. The articles in this section served as the first batch of articles selected as research material. Based on these articles, a “case story” can be defined as an article that tells how a social worker works with service users, usually a family, to solve their dilemma.

It is worth noting that in 2017, the “Shuangbai” plan was launched, but the “Case Story” section was not yet opened. So, some articles which meet the definition of “Case Story” are not included. At that time, there was a section called “service point News” (站点动态), which introduced the work of different “shuangbai” social work service points. Therefore, I used the keyword “case” (个案) to filter out a small number of articles from the remaining articles that were not collected. In addition, this platform assisted the Guangdong government to publicize outstanding social work cases, and some of these cases are the practices of the “Shuangbai” social workers. I collected those involving social assistance as case stories. At the end of this process, I collected a total of 91 articles that recounted a total of 86 case stories (please see Appendix 1 for basic information on these stories).

During the material analysis phase, Nvivo12 software is used to better present the full course of the intervention in these cases. I set up a framework with nine sections: the social work station to which the case belongs, basic information about the service user, the process of contacting the service user, the case intervention pathway, the linkage between social assistance and community development goals, the service user’s unresolved dilemma, the attribution of the service user’s dilemma, the situation that was improved, and the contingency of problem solving. Then, during the coding process, I would take grounded approach and keep generating subcodes to populate the nine sections in more detail to get a typical process of casework with social workers.

In the last phase, we would use “Shuangbai” social work plan as a case to discuss the potential and limitations of developmental social work model in the Chinese context. We would generate a theory around how “Shuangbai” try to reform the welfare provision by using social investment approach. At the same time, we will do a critical analysis on the premises surrounding this mechanism, combining the Chinese context. And we would point out the potential negative consequences of some of the premises not being met.

Chapter 5

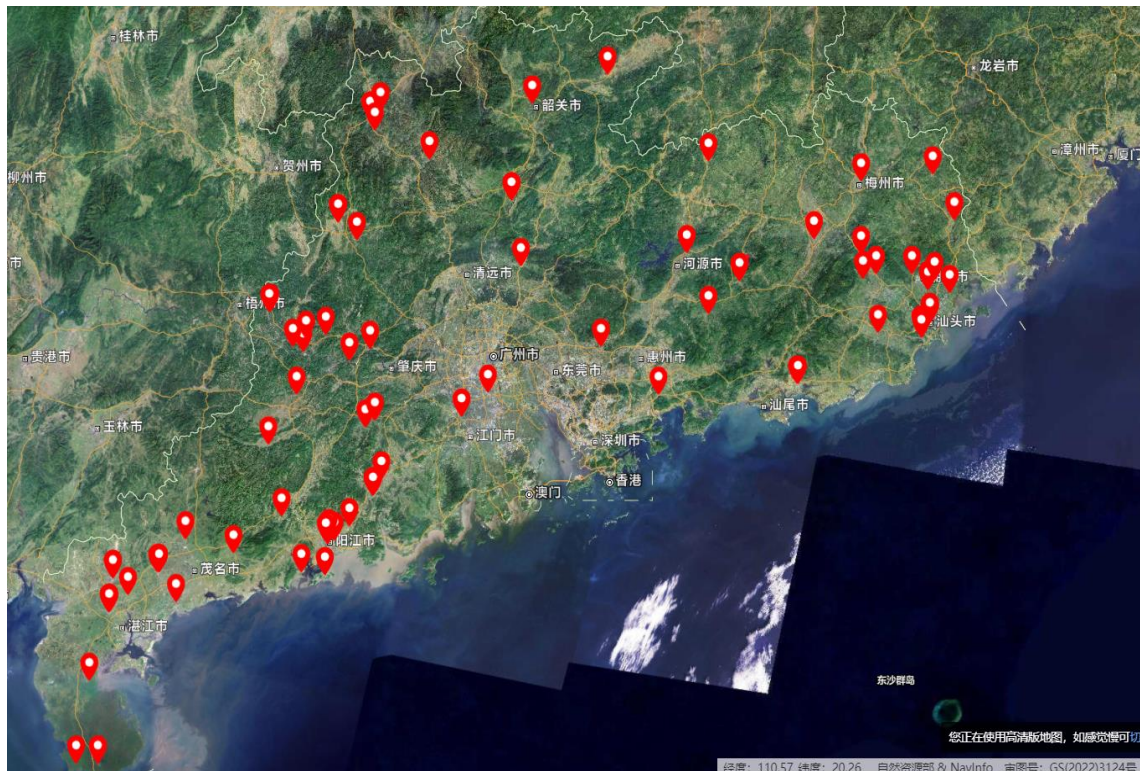
A Case Study: Developmental Social Assistance in the “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan

5.1 Background of the Cases

This case study involved a total of 86 cases, of which 7 cases does not specify the identity of the service user⁵, and of the remaining cases, 40 are females compared to 39 males. In terms of age distribution, 23 service users in these case stories are over 70 years old, 14 service users are between 50 and 70 years old, and 17 service users are younger than 18 years old, demonstrating the plan’s focus on vulnerable populations.

We could get more information from the geographical distribution of these cases. From Map 1, we can observe that these cases are widely distributed in three regions of Guangdong: the urban areas of the western coastal plain and the eastern coastal hills, and the mountainous areas. These areas, especially the mountainous areas, are the less developed regions of Guangdong, although some of them are better developed. These are often areas that have long been neglected by China’s welfare system, and as a result, individuals and families who have suffered misfortune are even more desperately mired in poverty (Pan, 2019), with some service users not even being able to get enough food. This is unthinkable in developed areas of China.

Map 5.1
Map of the locations of the cases

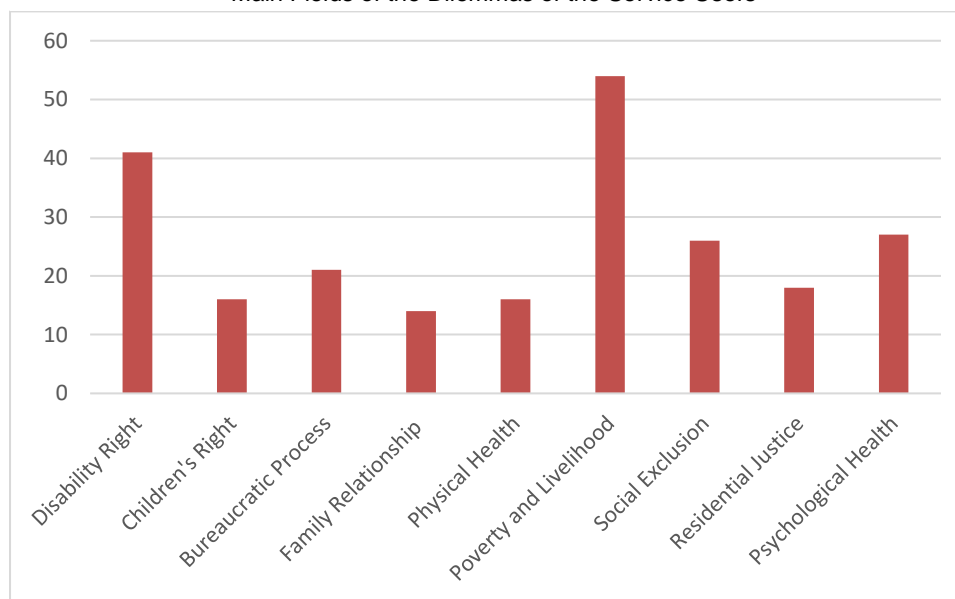


⁵ These cases often recount the problems of a family, and most members of the family have unique problems.

The problems faced by these cases are similar though their background may be different⁶. About half of service users' households suffer from livelihood and disability-related problems. It is linked to another characteristic of service users: almost all of them do not have a formal occupation other than farmer. Whereas family relationship problems and psychological problems, in which social workers traditionally intervene, were not the focus of this series of cases, only 14 and 27 cases dealt with these two dilemmas, respectively. In addition, it is noteworthy that almost all cases with minor as service users involve violations of children's rights. From the above analysis, we can paint a picture of the characteristics of these service users and their families. These families often have no financial income from formal employment and most likely have one or more disabled persons or elderly/minors who need to be cared for and need to pay for different categories of expenses such as medical bills, so they are financially stretched and deeply in poverty.

From the above characteristics we can find that these cases generally cover different categories of people living in rural and less developed urban areas. But these cases all share a distinct theme: livelihood security, poverty reduction and rights realization. It provides us with a good basic to understand the typical intervention process of these “shuangbai” social work theory. On the other hand, it also shows that the managers of the “Shuangbai” plan may want to maximize the effect of educating social workers through various case stories. Next, we will use these case story texts as the basis to do an analytical summary of “Shuangbai” social workers' typical path of developmental social assistance.

Table 5.1
Main Fields of the Dilemmas of the Service Users



5.2 A Typical Path of the Developmental Social Assistance in the “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan

5.2.1 The beginning of a case: discovery

To intervene in the problems of service users, social workers have to first identify these people in distress because they rarely come forward to ask for help. In only 11 of these case

⁶ A detailed explanation of these fields could be found in Appendix 3.

stories did the service users or their associates come forward to the social workers. It may cause by two reasons. First, many families have family members with disabilities, as well as families with financial difficulties and suffer from social exclusion. It is physically difficult and time-consuming for them to seek help. Second, many families have learned helplessness, which means they believe their action may have no influence on their situation because they are used to be ignored and be rejected (Hooker, 1976), caused by the lack of a formal welfare system. Therefore, social workers need to be the discoverers, proactively identifying these vulnerable groups and figuring out their plight and needs.

Social workers actively use local authority and social connections in the process of identifying these service users. Villagers' or residences' committees, China's grassroots residential self-governance organizations, often have a deep understanding of the disadvantaged groups in their areas, even though they may not be able to solve these people's problems. Social workers will ask them, as well as the local government, for a list of families known to be in trouble. However, social workers generally need to reacquaint themselves with the specific problems faced by these families, as they are only able to obtain fragmented information from this material. Twenty cases were identified in this way.

However, many more vulnerable groups are unnoticed because the situation of many families at significant economic risk is dynamic. Social workers need to use social relations and their observation skills to identify these groups during their frequent visits to the community. In these cases, at least 24 of the service users and their families were identified by the social workers. However, the social workers' energy is limited, so it is definitely not enough to identify vulnerable people by visiting the community. Therefore, the "Shuangbai" social workers adopted a method similar to the "snowball interview method", using the community residents' knowledge of the neighbourhood to identify the most neglected and excluded disadvantaged groups. The strategy is that through the service, social workers demonstrate their competence, gain the trust of the residents, and take the opportunity to train the villagers to become the "eyes" and "ears" of the social workers and to identify these vulnerable groups for them. For example, in one case, the social workers found out about another senior citizen in need of social work services through a service user (2020ZQ01). In these cases, at least 15 of the service users were identified by the residences. Moreover, even when the case is known, the neighbourhood can still provide social workers with valuable information about the case. In one case, for example, social workers learned of a family's need for assistance through the civil authorities, but they learned from the family's neighbours that the service user's wife had a propensity for violence against people, which was not learned before (2018JM02).

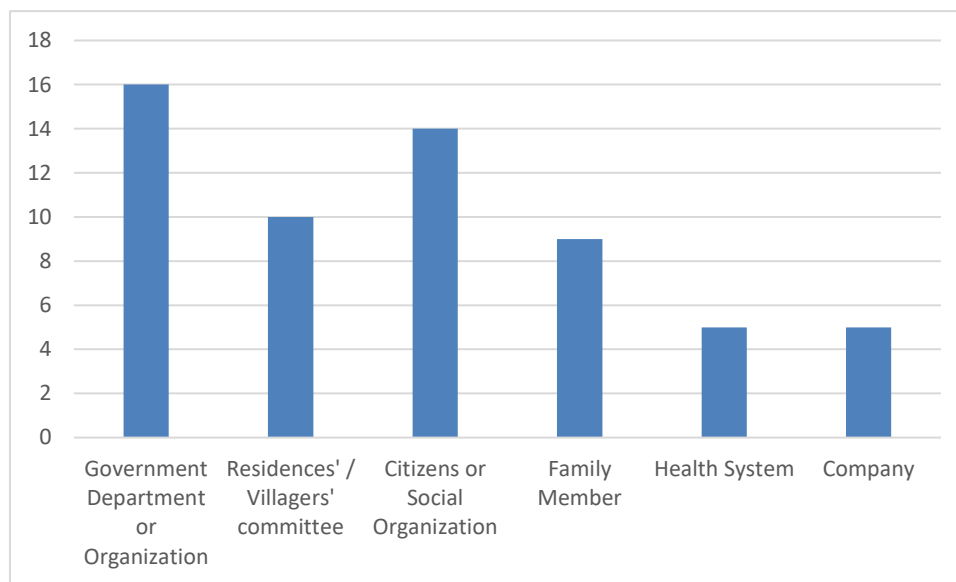
5.2.2 The first step of the intervention: policy consulting and resource brokerage

Theoretically, after the initial understanding of the service users' situation, social workers need to immediately communicate with street-level government workers whether the families are already receiving all formal welfare benefits (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p192). The vast majority of social workers in these case stories acted in a similar manner. This trend is evident by listing the "order of appearance" of each "character" in the case stories, i.e., the order in which the different subjects in the text were involved in the service users' problem solving. When the "social worker" is the first character to appear, the second character is often "Government Department and Organization" or "Residences' / Villagers' committee". A total of 26 cases fit this profile, accounting for 44% of these cases (Table 2). When "social worker" was the second one to appear in the story (24 in total), in 12 cases the third "character" fell into "Government Department and Organization" or "Residences' / Villagers' committee". Of the total number of case stories, 65 involved policy practice, and in 47 of them social

workers had accompanied the caseworkers in advancing the policy process. In this process, social workers necessarily had to deal with local bureaucracies as a social policy consultant.

However, the problems of many families cannot be solved by limited welfare formal benefits, including temporary cash assistance from government organizations. In such cases, social workers often need to take on the job of resource brokers to find appropriate resources for their service users. Through the network of volunteer organizations and NGOs, social workers can identify and apply for charitable resources from a number of NGOs. For example, in a case story that received high approval from Professor Zhang, the service user's husband died of a sudden and serious illness, and the family was suddenly in difficulty making ends meet because of the medical bill (2019ST01). Applying for formal benefits was so slow that the social workers turned to an NGO for help and applied for a large number of necessities for this family (2019ST01). In addition to donating goods, voluntary organizations, NGOs and some companies can provide money, fundraising channels, human resources and information resources to these service users. These resources are also used not only to solve

Table 5.2
The First Character after "Social Worker"
(when "social worker" appears at the first order)



the immediate problems of the service users, but also in the process of developing their livelihoods or employment. For example, in the case stories 2018ST01, 2018YJ03, 2019ST01 and so on, neighbours were mobilized by social workers to alleviate the stress of family care for these families, while community volunteer organizations and NGOs helped these service users find a satisfying job or develop a livelihood model that fits their strengths. So that, they could have an opportunity to work their way out of poverty. From Table 2, we can observe the importance of citizens or social organization in the first step of dealing with the service users' dilemma.

It is worth noting that social workers objectively use these welfare resources, whether from the government or from society, as a tool to gain the trust of service users. For example, in one case story, a service user's father allowed his daughter to participate in educational activities in the community after the social workers applied for a tablet for his family (2020QY02). This trust building often extends to community residents as well. The social workers were challenged by a community resident when they promoted community activities because the resident knew of an elderly man who was paralyzed and not able to receive the

services of a social worker (2020MM03). The attitude of these community members toward the social workers changed only after the elderly man received the formal welfare resources to which he was entitled (2020MM03). In one case, the service user even wanted to share the welfare benefit with the social workers in order to express his appreciation (2018ZQ01). This reflects the fact that social workers do objectively gain the trust of service users through social policy practice and resource brokering, although they do not want to make this obvious.

5.2.3 The second step of the intervention: education and mobilization

While welfare resources from a variety of sources can alleviate the financial hardships of service users, it would be overly optimistic to expect that these resources will change their poverty status. In his article, Professor Zhang cites “focusing on human investment, increasing market opportunities and building social capital” as typical features of developmental social assistance, but the process is still in a “black box” (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). In this step, these case stories present an “education and mobilization” process.

First, the social workers educate service users to consider trying a different way of life. In many of these cases, the service users suffered from social exclusion. Social workers often attribute this, in part, to their poor living conditions and poor habits, especially hygiene. There are two scenarios that recur in these case stories. The first is when the social workers first walk into the service users’ homes, where environment is harsh and smells bad. The second is when the service users engage in deviant behaviour in front of the social workers. For example, we could find both in the narrative of this case story.

The household hygiene was poor, the table and chairs were sticky and dirty, only the place where they usually moved was slightly cleaner ... The service user’s hygiene was very poor, she would habitually spit and wipe the spit with her clothes, and every collar and sleeve of her clothes were black and could not be washed clean. (2020ZQ01)

In such cases, social workers use different techniques to correct their behaviours so that these behaviours conform to the expectations of the collective consciousness of the community. The social workers will see the change in service users as a positive step forward and report it to the influential people in the community for support. They also integrate the service users into the community through community events, or even inviting them to join the community organization, trying to remove the labels that residences in the community have placed on the service users and improve their capability.

In addition to educating service users, social workers also hope to educate and mobilize neighbours and service users’ relatives, albeit in a softer way. In most of these case studies, the service users’ situations were not known to the community, or were deliberately ignored and avoided. But after the intervention of the social workers, the community members became aware of their situation and helped them through practical actions. For example, many service users struggle to care their families or being cared (often the elderly). To improve this situation, the social workers mobilize their neighbours and work together to help them. So that, one in these families could have time for a paid-job. In other case stories, when families faced high medical bills or educational bills, social workers would mobilize the community to raise money from society for them. In one case, they raised over 200,000 RMB (about US\$30,000) for a service user in two months (2019MM01). With this mobilization mechanism, social workers essentially construct an informal “social safety net” for these families. Families trapped in poverty can improve their livelihoods by participating in paid work through neighbourhood assistance, or reduce their financial expenditures to avoid high debt.

The essence of this mobilization process is a kind of public education to promote the cultivation of community cohesion. In this process, by making the “unseen” be seen, social workers actually portray the issue of a “small family” as a public issue of the “big family”

through local politics and social networks. Social workers then mobilize neighbours to actively participate in solving the problems of these poor families. This process often requires the assistance, or even leadership, of local political elites. Therefore, social workers need to elicit desirable positive changes in service users, otherwise the legitimacy of community mobilization is diminished. Ideally, through this mobilization mechanism, families in deep poverty can rebuild their livelihoods with community support. The relationship between neighbours could also become closer because of the emergence of this mobilization mechanism.

5.2.4 The last step of the intervention: advocacy and community action

Both the developmental social work approach and Chinese social workers have often been criticized for neglecting social justice advocacy (Midgley and Amy, 2010, p197-p198; Lei, Cai and Chan, 2022). In these case stories, some social workers linked social assistance with advocacy and community action. These social workers, often after identifying some kind of pervasive oppression in the process of addressing service users' issues, extract the common characteristics of these vulnerable groups into the central themes of their advocacy activities. Or, in the previous step, they have transformed a service user's personal encounter into a public issue for a community. This gives them a basis for advocacy and community action.

Social workers' initiatives are usually in the form of community presentations, lectures, and dramas, usually in public spaces in the community. Social workers use a service user's experience as an entry point for public education and advocacy, and invite the service user to convey the voices of this vulnerable group to the community residents. For example, in one case involving domestic violence, social workers invited a mother who had been the victim of domestic violence to perform a play in the community to encourage all women to actively fight against domestic violence (2020SG01). It eventually drew over 300 residents (2020SG01). The mother's words reflected the goal of the social workers' work: "I hope that through this performance fewer and fewer women will have the same experience as me." (2020SG01)

Social workers also take advantage of the overlap of the interest between service users and the residents to advance community movements. Of all the cases, one highlights this approach. In that case, the service user only wanted to square dance (a common recreational activity in China), but did not have a venue (2021QY02). After helping her to apply for a room for dancing, the social workers found that a considerable number of residents in the community also had this need, so the social workers applied to the government to build additional lighting in the town square for them to dance. Eventually, a small dance group became a large organization, and a network was established to connect the residents emotionally (2021QY02). Sometimes, unexpected public safety incidents are also a breakthrough for social workers. For example, after some tiles fell from a building and injured two people, the social worker turned it into a public issue, prompting the residents to prepare a group to "promote community residents to self-management" (2018MZ02).

To do advocacy and promote community action, these social workers need to be sensitive to that individual or family problems do not actually exist in isolation, but are an individualized manifestation of a collective community problem. Unfortunately, however, very few of these case stories success in this perspective. But the existence of these successful case stories suggests that the designers of "Shuangbai" social work hoped social workers to extend social assistance to advocacy and community action, as difficult as that may be.

Chapter 6

A Critical Analysis on the usage of “social investment” of the “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan

6.1 A New Indigenous Task of Social Workers: Make Targeting More Universal?

From the analysis of case story materials, we can find that the designers of the “Shuangbai” hope to develop the “indigenous” social work theory from the problems of China’s social welfare system. For a long time, there has been an exclusion error in China’s social welfare provision. Fischer notes that exclusion errors can become more serious in the context of urbanization, causing many of the more traditional rural-based social security systems to become ineffective or collapse, while governments with insufficient administrative capacity could also fail to accurately identify the poor (Fischer, 2018, p231-p232). In China, Rural Minimum Living Standard Guarantee program (Dibao) also suffer from high exclusion error and inclusion error, leading to significant negative social rate of return (Kakwani *et al.*, 2019). In other words, a staggering number of poor families in Chinese rural areas are not covered by formal welfare and lead a difficult life.

Zhang, and other officials in the “Shuangbai” social work plan put considerable emphasis on this in their publicity. When CCTV featured the plan, the news story was called “The Last Meter”, indicating that the government also recognizes the contribution of these social workers in identifying and assisting the poorest families (CCTV13, 2020). According to official materials, by taking advantage of social workers’ social relations in the community, one social work service point identified a total of 12 poor families not covered by minimum living standard guarantee and a total of 257 families in need of social work services in three years (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p173). The description of the busy business of this service point shows that “Shuangbai” promoters want to show its great potential to identify poor families in rural area.

This potential emerges from the informal social safety nets created by the social workers. First, in this sense, the plan can be interpreted as the Guangdong government hiring a large number of social workers to go out into the community to re-identify poor families and provide them with policy counselling services. These social workers are trained in policy practices and can quickly identify and assist a group of families in poverty. Then, the social workers actively promote the social inclusion of these service users in each social assistance process, making the “invisible” visible. Through this process, social workers build a basic understanding in the community that social workers can help poor families apply for the social welfare benefits to which they are entitled. It is on this basis that their work has real legitimacy. Therefore, social workers could use mobilization techniques to nurture community residents, especially the service users, to help the social workers “discover” more undiscovered poor families. It is critical that these social workers show community residents and local authorities that they are indeed bringing material uplift to the poorest families through their policy practices, so that an effective local collaboration outside the formal system can take shape. In this way, they can identify poor families in the community who are excluded from the formal welfare system.

What is more, through the informal social safety net, “Shuangbai” hopes to help poor families get rid of the situation of being excluded and achieve economic growth and social integration by participating in paid labour with the help of resources from the community and society, including material, human and cultural resources. In the case stories, many

families are composed of caregivers and those for whom they care. Caregivers cannot participate in any productive activities because they need to take care of the caregivers at home, usually children with mental disorders or the elderly. Under such circumstances, the process of social workers' problem solving often involves the participation of the neighbours, such as inviting the neighbours to help care for the cared for, or helping to introduce work. Caregivers can only participate in productive activities to earn income and achieve economic growth on the premise that they do not need to take care of their families. In other words, the "shuangbai" social workers wanted to build the trust of community residents (including local political elites) by using formal and informal welfare resources and their own labour as social investment capital in the community. Their goal is to build an informal social safety net to make up for the two defects of the formal welfare system, exclusion error and residual characteristic.

However, as we explained in Chapter 2, China's formal welfare resources are always not sufficient to address the problems of the poor, let alone help lift them out of poverty. In these case stories we find that even though there is a variety of temporary and long-term assistance from government departments and organizations, they usually does not fundamentally solve service users' problems, which is consistent with Zhang's judgment about the ineffectiveness of social assistance in China (Zhang and Liao, 2021a). In such cases, social workers often need to do resource brokering and mobilization to raise sufficient resources to change the status quo of service users, such as raising enough money to allow service users to receive surgery or education. Ostensibly, social workers have harnessed the still-sufficient social power to make up for the inadequacy of the government welfare system. But it may also be used as a political defence that the power of social solidarity is sufficient to produce social protection, so we do not need to continue the reform of the social welfare system to more universal. Moreover, under the threat of economic and social crisis, it is a matter of reflection whether such social power can be a reliable social protection for the underclass rather than being exhausted too quickly (Elson, 2012). Therefore, there is always a risk of backtracking if social workers only use social investment approach and focus on improving the material lives of disadvantaged people, while ignoring the importance of political practice.

6.2 The Fragment Political Practices Behind Social Investment

From the chapter 2, we know that the result of "indigenization" of social work in China is considered to be a kind of "pragmatic professionalism", that is, only emphasizing the practicality of technology, ignoring the social structural factors that oppress vulnerable groups (Lei and Huang, 2018). Advocates of "Shuangbai" social work believe that "indigenization" is a necessary stage for the development of Chinese social work, and propose a practical path to achieve social justice. We find that "Shuangbai" indeed has political practices, although they are incoherent and fragmented. "Shuangbai" has created a practice space with legitimacy for the social workers. In this space, social workers can promote some issues through daily political practice and piecemeal and subtle political advocacy to get the attention of community residents and local officials.

NGOs are often relatively unknown in China and are generally distrusted by the public and government, with little legitimacy or widely accepted accountability (Howell, Fisher and Shang, 2020). These organizations are also often unable to demonstrate through activism that they are upholding justice (Howell, Fisher and Shang, 2020). In Chapter 2, we also show how Chinese social work has been questioned by the government and the public. In this context, the "Shuangbai" social workers used social investment approach to improve the economic situation of poor families and declare it to the community through integrating the service users into the volunteer organization. After the reintegration of these excluded people into the interpersonal interactions of the community, the residents of the community,

especially the local elite, can naturally and easily detect positive changes in these service users. As we made clear in the previous section, social workers, with the assistance of local elites and community residents, have a great advantage in identifying families in need of services, so they can articulate the effectiveness of their work by reporting this unique information to government officials, especially those in the civil affairs system. Comparing that report of the Guangdong government in 2016 and the CCTV reports on this plan, we can see that the “Shuangbai” social work plan has indeed won the government’s support through their unique strengths. As a result of this process, social workers can gradually build up a legitimacy in the areas they serve, as Zhang says in his book, “The professional legitimacy of social work is obtained by social workers providing quality professional services to win the hearts of the people” (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p41).

As our world becomes more individualized and traditional society gradually becomes a risk society, the “life politics” proposed by Giddens has become a new focus of social workers, which requires social workers to develop practical skills for enabling service users to have a control of their lives (Ferguson, 2001). In “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan, social workers try to achieve this through education, mobilization, and community advocacy. In these case stories, we see that many social workers are promoting the improvement of the living environment and changes of service users’ deviant behaviours while promoting them to participate in the community activities. These moves pushed these service users to change the trajectory of their lives and begin to consider the possibility of a different life. After the social worker’s intervention, these service users regained control of their own lives and motivated these residents to assist the social worker’s work. For example, a service user was considered a stigma by the family because of intellectual disability and behavioural deviations, but after she changed her behaviour and image with the support of social workers, the head of the big family asked all family members should not only not ridicule and exclude this service user, but also support her in life (2021HZ01). As social workers mobilize communities to address the individualized problems of these service users, they are also engaging in a life politics practice. They bring these neglected poor or oppressed families to the front of the community, and try to realize another possibility in the lives of service users through the practice of mutual aid.

On the other hand, social workers also seek a space for policy advocacy through their practice and the writing of case stories. Zhou Feizhou believes that when a bureaucrat is arranged to directly face the problems of a specific poor family rather than abstract numbers, the traditional Chinese family ethics requirements play a role and prompt this bureaucrat actively helps these families as a “parent of people”, although formalism and bureaucracy do exist (Zhou, 2021). In “Shuangbai” social work plan, social workers use a similar strategy. They would bring officials from towns and cities to the homes of these poor families when officials visited and tell them what work they had done and where there were still difficulties. Although these processes are not considered advocacy, they may have the potential to become policy advocacy in the context of China’s moral and ethical system. We could see this possibility from a case story. In this case, the official is invited to visit a poor family living in a dangerous house.

Chen Ruimao, deputy director of the Civil Affairs Bureau ... said we need to apply for corresponding temporary assistance for this household according to the actual situation ... Now Su (the service user) have received the temporary assistance. (2020JY02)

Are these small and daily efforts of these social workers related to the Guangdong provincial government’s decision to expand the coverage of social assistance funds to more families who are in fact financially struggling but have not reached the Dibao’s threshold? We do not know for now. But we can find some clues in government documents. The government admits that there are families who do not meet Dibao’s standards, but still have

financial difficulties, and regards “Shuangbai” social workers as the policy practitioners of this new policy (Guangdong Provincial Department of Civil Affairs, 2022). At the very least, we could say that the social workers’ political practice has simultaneously made their legitimacy more solid. In conclusion, under the most cautious attitude, we found that “Shuangbai” hopes to carry out a prudent daily political practice while carrying out social investment. Through this cautious practice, “Shuangbai” hopes to achieve some political advocacy aimed at social fairness and justice. However, we can also clearly see that this practice is incoherent and fragmented even in official source texts. This shows that this practice path is still highly restricted by authoritarian regime and bureaucracy.

6.3 The Other Side of the Coin: Authoritarianism and Bureaucracy

However, it is also important to consider the common limitation of the social investment approach and the “Shuangbai” social work model, which are both naturally dependent on government authority and bureaucracy. Whether in policy practice or in mobilizing local residents, social workers need the assistance of the local government and the villagers’ / residents’ committees, otherwise they will not be able to achieve many of their goals. Under such situation, logically, social workers will either fall into the powerless predicament of doing nothing and not being recognized, or they will become a dispensable clerk for local authorities. In that case, these social workers would be back to the kind of dilemma described in Chapter 2.

Moreover, in many case stories, the resolution of service users’ dilemmas is predicated on strong support from these local political elites and bureaucrats, rather than on ordinary assistance with procedures. In addition to the efforts of the social workers, we also need to see that the influence of the local political elite played an important role in this process, while the formal social welfare system did nothing. In other words, if the local political elite had not cooperated with the social workers, this case story would not have had such a happy ending. For example, in one case story, a mother and son were living on the street. After the social worker reported the situation to the local government, communist officials in the community actively intervened in the situation. This family were then able to live in an unused vacant room and were given supplies raised by volunteers (2018ZJ03). Even if they are only assisting service users through the bureaucratic process to obtain formal social benefits, social workers sometimes need local bureaucrats to do things that are not part of their job. For example, social workers encountered a problem in assisting a service user to obtain legal status because they could not provide her marriage certificate (2019HZ01). Then, the township official contacted an official from the local public security system and obtained the latter’s approval to allow this process to proceed first (2019HZ01). Without the assistance of social workers and their good social relationship with the local government, these service users may be unable to navigate the bureaucratic processes required to access their benefits.

In order to ensure good relations with local political elites and bureaucrats, it is inevitable that social workers have to acknowledge their authority to some extent. In Chapter 2, we discuss how the authoritarian system of the state controls social workers and shapes their practice. However, these discussions tend to revolve around social workers’ legitimacy, funding sources, and contractual relationships with the government, with less discussion of their work practices. In this paper, we find that “Shuangbai” social workers need to maintain a good and close relationship with local political elites and bureaucrats in order to gain their trust, legitimacy and influence, otherwise policy practice and other work will not be possible. Under such a premise, unless they avoid any cooperation with the authority, they need to consider how to withstand such influence and yet be able to achieve the goals and value through some kind of skilful approaches. This is indeed quite difficult, especially considering that local political elites may be the perpetrators of some kind of oppression, and such goals

are even more difficult to achieve. In one case story, the service user was angry when he believed that he could not apply for welfare support because of an unreasonable requirement of the welfare policy. So, he wanted to argue with relevant government officials. At this time, the social workers rushed to stop it and feel “relieve” after the service user calm down (2017ZJ02). Compared with social workers in NGOs, it may be more possible for them to distort their work objectives when confronted with pressure from the local government. For example, social workers may regard their work as an “administrative matter” and abandon the goal of community governance (Zhang and Liao, 2021b, p261). “Shuangbai” may decrease the potential of social workers to achieve social justice because the application of social investment approach makes social worker naturally depend on the local political elites and bureaucrats.

In general, the “Shuangbai” social work “indigenization” path tries to win the space of practice with legitimacy and the trust of community residents and elites through the social investment approach based on policy practice, and then carries out piecemeal daily political practice and political advocacy to promote the progress agenda. However, there are two dilemmas in this path. Although the formal welfare supply is increasing, it is still insufficient. Moreover, to make social investment based on policy practice, social workers will rely on the high level of assistance from local authorities and bureaucrats. From the text of the case stories, we found that social workers often need the cooperation of local authorities and bureaucrats, and sometimes they even need to “turn on the green light”. Under such a premise, the cooperation between social workers and them must be based on the obedience of the former to the latter’s management. In other words, in the “Shuangbai” practice model, social workers cannot have an independent status in essence. Their potential to change social injustice will also be greatly weakened.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

We review the debate between scholars on the essence and necessity of “indigenization” of social work. In China, the core issue of this debate is the relationship between the “indigenization” of social work theory and the external limits of China’s social work development. In this debate, the two views stand out. One view is that the dilemma of social work development in China is due to the incomplete process of “indigenization” of social work theoretical system. Another view is that the dilemma stems from the loss of the value of social justice and the submission to mainstream values due to the success of the “indigenization” of social work theoretical system. In order to reform the practice model of social work, the “Shuangbai” social work theory attempts to start a new “indigenization” of social work in China by introducing social investment approach to respond to the needs of developing community residents.

As the main practice approach of developmental social work approach, the social investment approach emphasizes the economic improvement of service users through the promotion of employment, education, social inclusion and the establishment of micro and small enterprises and the inclusion of economic issues in the vision of social workers (Patel and Hochfeld, 2013). In China, scholars such as Zhang Heqing modified this approach according to Chinese social work practice, and finally formed the “Shuangbai” social work theory. They persuade the Guangdong Provincial Government to launch the “Shuangbai” social work plan based on this theory.

After reviewing the public materials of this program, especially the 91 articles about case studies posted on the WeChat official account of “Shuangbai”, we explored the typical process of social workers’ developmental social assistance. It is a process in which social workers construct an informal social safety net through the social investment approach. In this process, social workers did not only focus on welfare policy practice and livelihood development practice, but also tried as much as possible a micro and daily political practice, which was often not preached. If social workers only practice welfare policies, they will still gradually fall into a situation of functional failure, because in China, welfare resources are still quite limited, so as the charitable resources. So, social workers need to mobilize community residents to help each other, and in the process, families that are usually completely ignored became a public issue. Social workers engage in daily political practice and careful political advocacy in the process, hoping to promote a progressive agenda. However, inadequate formal welfare resources may make this informal safety net inadequate to withstand the impact of a crisis. On the other hand, social workers may only be able to make a small and elusive contribution to reform the welfare system to be more universal, but their work may be used as a rhetoric to defend the existing welfare system.

What is more, we are also acutely aware that if social workers place policy practice and livelihood improvement at the centre of their work, while making local social relationship a major strength of their work, they will inevitably need to maintain a friendly cooperation with local political elites and bureaucrats. In this way, how do social workers deal with situations where social work values and real interests conflict? Even the question itself could be problematic because if they cannot work with these political elites and bureaucrats, they cannot achieve the value of social work either, so they may not have a choice at all. In these case stories, local political bureaucrats and political elites have quite positive images, which on the one hand shows that social workers need to advocate for them, and on the other hand. It may also show that the positive attitude to social justice of these local governments and local political elites is a key prerequisite for social workers to make a difference.

In conclusion, “Shuangbai” is a new attempt to “indigenize” Chinese social work by introducing social investment, which has changed the practice path of Chinese social work to achieve its goals and values. However, we find that “indigenization” is not only a process of cultural transfer and adaptation of theoretical knowledge, but also a political process. Especially in authoritarian states such as China, where there is no depoliticized approach to social work practice, any practice needs to be accompanied by a political practice in order to be successful.

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Appendices

Appendix I

The case studies on the WeChat official account of the “Shuangbai” Social Work Plan

Case Code	Year	Location	Gender	Age	Identity	Introduction of the Case
2017HY01	2017	He Yuan	Not Applicable	Under 18	Student or Child	The social worker convinced the service user's father to contribute a small amount of money to treat his daughter with the support of charitable resources.
2017HY02	2017	He Yuan	Not Applicable	Under 18	Student or Child	The social worker assisted the service user by linking her to charitable resources so that she could have surgery to treat her congenital heart disease for a small amount of money.
2017MZ01	2017	Mei Zhou	Male	50-69	Farmer	The social worker gradually built up trust with the service user, informed him of the policy on welfare for people with disabilities, and applied for food waste from the village committee canteen for fish farming.
2017QY01	2017	Qing Yuan	Male	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user was a child with a hare-lip, whose father was seriously injured and whose mother had left home. The social worker applied for subsistence allowances for him and prepared resources for him to live and study in the form of fundraising. After the Bureau of Civil Affairs raised enough money for the service user's surgical treatment, the social worker intervened to improve his health condition in preparation for the surgery.

2017YJ01	2017	Yang Jiang	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	In the article, Zhang Heqing uses this case to explain how social workers can achieve community development through social assistance. The service user's family consisted of two senior citizens and a middle-aged mentally challenged person who were struggling to make ends meet. The social worker dispelled their misconceptions about the welfare system and assisted them with the procedures of Sub-sistence Allowances and Disability Security.
2017YJ02	2017	Yang Jiang	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	Community residents found a strange little girl wandering the streets and informed the social worker. After some questioning, the social worker found the girl's parents through the owner of the village kiosk.
2017YJ03	2017	Yang Jiang	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user is an elderly man who lives alone and suffers from loneliness. Using a "strengths perspective", the social worker found out that he was an art worker when he was young and invited him to instruct the volunteers in art to strengthen the informal network.
2017ZJ01	2017	Zhan Jiang	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service users are elderly people living alone in poor health who feel they are in a miserable situation. Through rational emotion therapy and life history narrative therapy, the social worker hopes she can realize the government's concern and the positive value of life. At the same time, the social worker urged her adopted children to care more about her, invited them to participate in activities organized by the social worker, and mobilized the residents to care about her situation.
2017ZJ02	2017	Zhan Jiang	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	Both the service user and his wife are elderly people in poor health. Their son needs to be hospitalized due to mental disorder and they cannot afford to pay for daily living and medical expenses. The social worker applied for temporary assistance of about 2,000 yuan for them, but this family was not eligible for the subsistence allowance and the disability certificate. The social worker prevented an angry service user who was trying to argue with the Disabled Persons Federation and calmed the "crisis".

2017ZQ01	2017	Zhao Qing	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	Service users have not left their homes for three years because of paralysis. Through regular visits, social workers bring her into the community to interact with residents, so that she can improve her psychological well-being and better integrate into community life. On the other hand, this case can be seen as an example of winning the trust of community residents by resolving a single case.
2017ZQ02	2017	Zhao Qing	Male	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Service users have their homes cut off from water and electricity, but do not inform others and just suffer in silence. After the social worker found out, he contacted the civil affairs department of the town government and the villagers' committee to help him restore water and electricity quickly. Next, the social worker reinforced his house with cement donated by community members.
2018CZ01	2018	Chao Zhou	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user's family is financially challenged and the service user's son suffers from physical disabilities and mental problems. The social worker learned from the villagers' committee that the reason why the family was not covered by the subsistence allowance policy was the objection of the service user's son. The social workers contacted the relatives of the service users to persuade them, and they finally agreed to apply for the living allowance. The family was soon included in the subsistence allowance policy.
2018JM01a	2018	Jiang Men	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user is mentally handicapped, her mother is paralyzed in bed, and her father locks her at home while farming. The social worker communicated with the Disabled Persons Federation and the hospital to give the little girl a chance to be diagnosed by the hospital. After being identified with a second-degree intellectual disability, she was placed in the disability-related formal welfare system. This case was then highly publicized by the "Shuangbai" plan, and as a result, the social worker was able to raise significant resources to improve the family's financial situation. Finally, the social workers communicated with a special education school and successfully placed this little girl in that school to protect her right to education. Her self-care abilities eventually improved a lot.
2018JM01b						

2018JM02	2018	Jiang Men	Male	50-69	Unemployed	The service user's lower limbs are paralyzed and his wife is mentally challenged; they struggle to make ends meet and are ostracized by the community. Social workers contacted the villagers' committee and the medical system to advance the disability assessment process, and successfully obtained the disability certificate for the service user. At the same time, the social worker collected a bed for them and mobilized several villagers to visit this family from time to time.
2018MM01	2018	Mao Ming	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user is a senior citizen living alone who cannot see well. The social worker applied for a radio at the villagers' committee and taught service users to use it. Later, with the assistance of the town government and the villagers' committee, social workers solved the problem of water leakage in this family's home. After the service user's ability to take care of himself declined, the social worker mobilized this family's neighbors to solve this family's feeding problem.
2018MZ01	2018	Mei Zhou	Male	18-34	Unemployed	Service users was home for long periods of time. He did not work, and did not know how to interact with people. The social worker invited him to become a volunteer. Through volunteering, the social worker gradually nurtured his abilities. But he was still unemployed at the end of the story.
2018MZ02	2018	Mei Zhou	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Some tiles fell from a building in the community, injuring two residents. The social worker agreed with the residents' suggestion and worked with them to set up a cautionary area. Then, the residences' committee decided that other dangerous tiles needed to be knocked down in advance, and the social worker worked with the residents to complete the work. The social worker later took advantage of this crisis to set up a management group and coordinate the cost of wall repairs for the residents. In addition, residents in the community came forward and suggested that an accessible restroom in the community had been locked and unusable for a long time. The social worker prompted the person in charge to open it up.

2018ST01	2018	Shan Tou	Male	50-69	Self-employed or Temporary Employed	The service user was once a well-known local manufacturer of handmade stationery, but has been out of this business for a long time due to a family change. Now he hopes to be able to start his own business again and make ends meet. The social worker found that he could use WeChat skillfully and judged that he could set up a virtual store on the WeChat platform to start his own business. The social worker works with him to register and set up a virtual store, and discusses marketing and business methods together. After the store was opened, the social worker linked several volunteer groups to assist him in developing sales outlets. Several cultural groups have also invited service users to set up offline booths.
2018YJ01	2018	Yang Jiang	Male	50-69	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user has a lower limb disability and relies on the small wooden stool to walk for a long time, resulting in severe wear and tear on the stool. The wooden stools sold in the market did not meet his needs, so the social worker persuaded the town wood factory to provide free wood and then hand-built a pair of small wooden stools for him according to his requirements.
2018YJ02	2018	Yang Jiang	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	This service user is an elderly person living alone and has a hearing problem. The social worker, together with the villagers and the village committee, persuaded her son to take care of her. The social worker then worked with the residents to thoroughly clean her home.
2018YJ03	2018	Yang Jiang	Female	18-34	Unemployed	The family of this service user is in financial difficulties. After dropping out of school due to family changes, she hardly goes out and closes her heart. During the psychological counseling of her, the social worker learned that she did not want to go to school and wanted to work early to help her family. So the social worker found her a local job as a teaching assistant and supported her to pass the interview. Later, the social worker invited her to participate in local voluntary organizations to further promote her social integration.

2018YJ04	2018	Yang Jiang	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The family of this service user is poor, and she suffers from illness. Her Doctor thought her disease was incurable and she could go home to get recovery. The social worker gave her hospice care and made her daughter a part of the community voluntary organization.
2018YF01a	2018	Yun Fu	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user is disabled in both legs, and her adoptive father has mental problems. And they live in a dilapidated house. Because this girl is an adopted street child, she has no legal status. The social worker first applied the charity fund and built a new house for this family. Social workers also coordinated with different government departments to advance the process of this little girl's legal status and disability status. Before and after the new house was repaired, the social worker linked the resources of multiple NGOs, equipped the new house with various household appliances, and provided this girl with a means of transportation for the disabled. During this process, the social worker patiently taught the girl to improve her self-care ability. Interestingly, the story mentioned that when they moved into the new house, the community residents were very happy and actively participated in the layout of the new house. However, the case story does not mention the realization of this service user's right to achieve education.
2018YF01b						
2018YF01c						

2018ZJ01	2018	Zhan Jiang	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	This service user has an unfortunate life experience, suffered from social exclusion, and her rights were damaged. After she was injured, it was normal for her to worry that she would not be taken care of, but the social worker believed that she "did not express a clear need" and advised her to "don't think about extreme situations", believing that she was capable of taking care of herself. Social workers mobilized community residents to deliver meals to her and informed them of her physical crisis in a timely manner. Later, the social worker invited her to participate in community activities, and accompanied by her neighbors, she complained and cried. The social worker accompanies her to go home and persuades her to pay attention to the help and care given to her by the community residents. In the end, she calmed down and shared with the social worker the food that the community residents gave her during the festival.
2018ZJ02	2018	Zhan Jiang	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user suffers from the cost of daily livelihood and health care, cannot treat his physical ailments, and cannot purchase tutoring services for his grandson. The social worker assisted him in applying for temporary assistance and invited his grandson to participate in the child empowerment activities at the social work station. In addition, social workers applied for daily necessities resources provided by government departments to ease their financial difficulties.
2018ZJ03	2018	Zhan Jiang	Male	50-69	Unemployed	The service user is mentally handicapped, unable to work, and used to live on the street with his elderly mother. After social workers found them, they worked with local government officials to persuade a resident to provide them with vacant housing. Then, the social worker informed the leaders of the community organization of the situation, and they worked together to mobilize two local enterprises to solve the family's electricity problem for free, and raised a batch of daily necessities for the two of them to use. Social workers worked with the community voluntary organization to furnish the vacant room and applied to the government for temporary assistance to settle in their new home.

2018ZQ01	2018	Zhao Qing	Male	50-69	Farmer	During the home visit, the social worker found that the service user had not received subsidies for the elderly. After verification by the social worker, it was found that the service user's old-age allowance had been in his exclusive bank account, but he forgot about it and forgot his password. So the social worker accompanied him to complete the password reset procedure, and successfully took out a total of 6,000 yuan of old-age allowance.
2019CZ01	2019	Chao Zhou	Male	18-34	Student or Child	This service user dropped out after graduating from junior high school. He is currently unemployed and his family is struggling financially. The social workers found him a vocational school, the tuition was borne by the state, and he could receive a bursary of 4,000 yuan. After his father learned about it, he was very supportive of him continuing to study. With the help of social workers, he chose his favorite major and continued his studies.
2019HZ01	2019	Hui Zhou	Female	35-49	Unemployed	This service user suffered from schizophrenia and severe gynecological problems, was hospitalized for a long time after stabbing someone, and was excluded by her family. Therefore, her ID card was not updated in time, which prevented her from entering the relevant welfare system and being transferred to a hospital for proper treatment. The social worker coordinated with her family to provide limited assistance to update her ID card, and cooperated with the villagers' committee to obtain a disability certificate for her.
2019QY01	2019	Qing Yuan	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	This service user was abandoned because of her harelip and was adopted by an elderly man who lived in a dangerous house. However, she not only dropped out of school due to lack of family education and bullying by her classmates, but also suffered from a chronic skin disease and needed psychological counseling. The social worker first psychologically counselled her to return to school and then intervened in her health condition to improve her self-care ability. The social worker then convinced her father to spend some money to renovate the house with a government special subsidy and applied for charitable resources from different sources for him.

2019ST01	2019	Shan Tou	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	This case is highly recognized by Professor Zhang Heqing. The service user's husband died, leaving her, her two sons and her sick mother-in-law behind. Since her husband had been the family's original primary laborer, the family was struggling to make ends meet, making her even more desperate. The social workers first counseled her and then linked the NGO's resources to temporarily give them a basic livelihood. Next, the social workers discussed the family's situation with the NGO and the kindergarten, so that her toddler could attend kindergarten with multi-source financial support and reduce the stress of caring for her child. The social workers then discussed with the leaders of the community organization and combined her strengths to find her a job as a knitter so that her family could have a source of income.
2019ST02	2019	Shan Tou	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	This service user suffers from mental illness and lives in a randomly built shack on the street, where relatives bring her meals. She later hurt someone during a mental illness episode. That's when the social worker discovered she didn't have a second-generation ID card and wasn't receiving the government benefits she was entitled to. The social worker assisted her relatives in the process of reapplying for her identity documents and welfare benefits. In addition, a charity provided her with financial support to ease her financial stress. After she was discharged from the hospital, she lived in a house rented for her by her relatives.
2019SW01	2019	Shan Wei	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Unemployed	This service user is illiterate and unemployed. Her husband is visually impaired, her son is mentally impaired and they have huge medical expenses. The social worker assisted her in moving her husband and son through the process of applying for disability-related benefits. The social worker then applied for the subsistence allowance for the family. In addition, the social worker assisted her son in enrolling in a special education school and mobilized her relatives to take care of the family, reducing the pressure on the service user. When the case was closed, she was going to sell dumplings at the market.
2019YJ01	2019	Yang Jiang	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	Although the service user has two sons, the family conflict is so intense that his sons are not obligated to support him, which makes his livelihood difficult. Social workers mediate family relations and push his sons to take up support obligations. Social workers then invited the family to participate in community activities and

						raised money to pay for his granddaughter's education.
2020CZ01	2020	Chao Zhou	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user, whose parents are missing or deceased, lives with his grandmother, is struggling financially, and has few friends. Social workers applied for a "de facto orphan" living allowance for her, 1,100 yuan per month. Then, the social workers applied to the civil affairs department and NGO for living allowances and living materials to relieve the family's financial pressure. Combining the interests and advantages of this service user, the social worker invited her to participate in community volunteer activities, so that she could gradually integrate into the community and improve her self-care ability.
2020CZ02	2020	Chao Zhou	Female	Not Applicable	Farmer	The service user quarreled with her mentally handicapped son, causing the latter to jump into the river and commit suicide, which attracted the attention of the social workers, who initiated a crisis intervention. The social worker first gave her psychological counseling, and then found a psychiatric doctor to diagnose her son and instruct her on how to care for her son. Her son's condition has improved greatly since then. At the same time, the social worker encouraged her to go and communicate with the neighbors she was familiar with. Taking this opportunity, social workers organized these residents to visit the family regularly as community volunteers.
2020CZ03	2020	Chao Zhou	Male	70 years old and above	Farmer	The service user supports himself and his paralyzed son by farming, but his produce sells for cheap. Social workers mobilized community residents to participate in publicity, and sold all the agricultural products of this service user at a fair price through the Internet. During this process, several NGOs offered to provide him with financial support. The service user's financial plight improved, but social workers also suggested that farmers' disadvantaged position had not been systematically addressed.

2020HY01	2020	He Yuan	Male	50-69	Self-employed or Temporary Employed	Neither the service user nor his daughter had legal status, so even with financial hardship, they were not eligible for welfare benefits. Expensive medical expenses to apply for legal status require the family to pay out-of-pocket. The social workers applied to the civil affairs department for support funds for him, and worked with the hospital, public security system, and civil affairs system to assist the family's situation. After they had legal status, social workers applied for various formal welfare supports for them.
2020JM02	2020	Jiang Men	Male	Under 18	Student or Child	One winter day, social workers found a child with suspected Down syndrome chained to a pole. The social workers learned from the villagers' committee and community residents, and worked together with the child's grandmother, established trust with the family, and learned about the situation. His father, a truck driver, was the family's sole breadwinner. His mother had to take care of a young child, while his grandmother took care of the housework and farm work. Unable to care for the service user, his grandmother tied him to a post. The social worker intervened urgently in the situation to educate the family about relevant policies and the recovery of disabled children. Social workers assisted them in taking the service user to the hospital for medical services, who was diagnosed with Down syndrome and intellectual disability. Afterwards, the social worker assisted them in advancing the process of claiming disability benefits, especially the application for recovery training for children with disabilities. He eventually managed to enter a special education school and rehabilitation program. On the other hand, the social workers found NGOs and companies to provide financial support for the family. The social workers then used this event to conduct a presentation in the community on the theme of protection of children, which was attended by nearly 100 children with disabilities and their parents. This family actively participated in a dance performance planned by a community volunteer group during the National Day cultural performance.

2020JY01	2020	Jie Yang	Male	35-49	Farmer	The service user's family is economically poor and his second and third daughters do not have legal status for unknown reasons. Social workers assisted them in consulting with several government departments to develop solutions. The acquisition of their legal status requires that the family pay for the paternity test. However, due to the weather, this service user had a poor harvest and could not pay. The social worker sought financial support from the NGO to assist them in successfully completing the paternity test procedure. Their problems were finally solved.
2020JY02	2020	Jie Yang	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	The service user was desperate after her husband passed away, losing her financial resources and raising four children on her own. The social workers reported the situation to the town government, and finally included the family in the subsistence allowance. At the same time, the social workers provided psychological counseling to the service user, mediated the family's relationship, and gathered the family's confidence to fight adversity together. With the efforts of social workers, the Secretary of Civil Affairs visited the family to advance the procedure for them to obtain temporary assistance. They improved the dilapidated and unsafe parts of the home with this temporary aid.
2020MM02	2020	Mao Ming	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	None of the children in this family have legal status. Their mother died, their father was the only source of income, and the family's financial situation was extremely poor. Since the application of legal status requires a paternity test, social workers cooperated with local volunteer groups and raised 13,000 yuan, which was used for the paternity test and children's education. After the children obtained legal status, the social worker further assisted the father in applying for various welfare subsidies, and arranged for one of the children with intellectual disabilities to enter a special school. Social workers pushed the family to improve their home environment and connect with relatives and friends.

2020MM03	2020	Mao Ming	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	During community activities, some community residents questioned the value of social workers because social workers have been unable to improve the condition of an elderly person. It was only then that the social workers discovered the service user and other families who were not included in the formal welfare provision. The service user has been paralyzed in bed for three years, but has not been able to receive disability-related benefits. The social worker contacted the medical experts of the Disabled Persons' Federation, went to his home to assess his physical condition, and finally included him in the disability-related welfare subsidy system. This event is understood by social workers as part of shaping the legitimacy of social workers and promoting resident participation in community development.
2020QY02	2020	Qing Yuan	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	The family consists of an elderly woman, a middle-aged man, and a pair of siblings. The father is visually handicapped and his son is handicapped both mentally and physically. Social workers assisted the father in assessing his son's disability to obtain relevant subsidies, and then persuaded him to apply for a wheelchair for his son. After being invited by the social workers, his daughter wanted to participate in the academic tutoring service organized by the community voluntary group, but he refused. Later, a company donated a tablet to the family to help the family's children still receive online education during the epidemic. After this, the father hoped that the social worker would allow his daughter to participate in the tutoring service.
2020QY03	2020	Qing Yuan	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user is a deaf child who has lost both parents and cannot be educated in a normal school. Local special children education schools are too far away to meet their needs. So the social workers teamed up with social workers in another neighboring area to find him a special education school that provided housing. The social workers of the two social work stations cooperated to finally arrange the child to enter the school smoothly. This case is the only one of these cases where multiple regional social workers worked together to solve a service user's dilemma.

2020QY04	2020	Qing Yuan	Male	Under 18	Student or Child	After the service user was diagnosed with thalassemia major, his mother abandoned him. He lived with his father and grandparents. In order to take care of him, his father gave up his job and only worked odd jobs around the house to earn income. On one hand, the social worker invited the child to meet more friends in community activities, and on the other hand, helped his father find a better job to improve his income. His condition was getting worse and worse, and the social worker and his father tried to find ways to raise money for medical expenses. Through the volunteer network, the social workers learned through a volunteer that there was a Chinese doctor in Shenzhen who could control the deterioration of the child's condition, and this volunteer even paid for their travel expenses on the way to the doctor. Although this child's condition was really under control, at the end of the story, the social worker admits that he did not really achieve social integration and his illness was not cured.
2020YJ01	2020	Yang Jiang	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user's father is always away and her mother is suspected to be mentally challenged and left her to return to her mother's house after a conflict with the girl's grandmother. The social workers intervened in the situation to mediate their relationship. The social workers discovered that her mother would treat her violently and that her father was not earning enough to support the family by working outside the home. The social worker sought the assistance of village officials to organize a family meeting for the family, and both parties reached a consensus and formed an agreement. This agreement was later nearly overturned, and the social worker intervened in time and eventually succeeded in restoring the family's relationship, and the girl was able to continue growing up in a "normal" family.
2020YF01	2020	Yun Fu	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	This service user originally lived alone in a dangerous house and then moved in with relatives. She was seriously ill and her dying wish was to be able to spend the rest of her life in her own home. The social workers then worked with her relatives to complete the process of receiving the subsidy for the renovation of her dangerous house. After receiving the relevant subsidies totaling 20,000 yuan, the dangerous house she was living in was transformed into a livable house, and her mental state improved greatly as a result.

2020YF02	2020	Yun Fu	Male	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user's mother has an intellectual disability and his brother is a behaviorally deviant teenager. This service user has poor learning skills, lacks a normal family upbringing, and often violates social norms. In addition, he was unable to participate in online learning because of his family's financial situation. So the social workers collected clothes for the family on the one hand, and invited him to come to the social work station for online classes on the other.
2020ZZ01a	2020	Zhan Jiang	Female	35-49	Unemployed	The service user's postpartum depression deteriorated into schizophrenia, and she refused to take her medication and behaved dangerously. Her husband works outside the home, but has a bad habit of gambling. Her son is currently out of school and jobless. The whole family lives in a dangerous house, with financial difficulties and high risks to personal safety. The social worker found a psychiatrist for her to provide free medical care, but she declined the opportunity because of her experience of being treated alone in a hospital with stitches after being domestically abused by her husband. As a result, the social worker contacted her husband and prompted him to take more care of her and to gather the documents for the disability certificate. After her violent behavior, she was admitted to the hospital. At the same time, the social worker communicated with the residences' committee many times about the possibility of helping this family to improve their living environment. At first, the committee believed that this family did not meet the subsidy regulations. Later, at the insistence of the social worker, this committee decided to help the family relocate for free. In order to provide the service user's son with a job, the social worker learned of a vocational school through residences' committee, and the fee was acceptable to this family. This family is now living in a new home. The service user is receiving medical attention and preparing to qualify for disability benefits, and her son continues his education.
2020ZZ01b						

2020ZJ03a	2020	Zhan Jiang	Male	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user's father is jailed for a crime, the mother remarries, and the orphaned service user lives with his great-grandfather. Later, the great-grandfather was paralyzed, he dropped out of school, and the family economy was in great difficulty. Social workers found him to be malnourished and to behave like dogs and snakes. On the one hand, the social workers teamed up with various government departments to help him re-education, and he was admitted to a child care institution to solve the problem of no one to take care of him. At the same time, the social worker gave him behavioral correction. In addition, the social worker helps the family apply for a variety of different welfare resources to ease their financial hardship. At the end of the story, the child voluntarily joined the community volunteer organization to assist in the development of community activities.
2020ZJ03b						
2020ZQ02	2020	Zhao Qing	Male	50-69	Farmer	This service user's family has multiple people with intellectual disabilities. Only the service user makes a living by farming and doing odd jobs. He is in financial difficulties, but because of policy adjustments, he has lost the benefits of the living allowance (the government believes that her eldest brother and two daughters could help them). In addition, his wife and his mother have conflicts. Social workers applied for some basic living materials for them from civil affairs departments and enterprises, and invited them to participate in community activities. After the subsistence allowance policy was changed, the social worker discussed with the town government and the villagers' committee and agreed that the family met the new standard. With the assistance of social workers, they successfully applied for the living allowance and related welfare subsidies. The social worker then counseled his wife and mother in an attempt to improve their relationship.

2021QY02	2021	Qing Yuan	Female	Not Applicable	Self-employed or Temporary Employed	This is a special case because the service user did not have financial difficulties. She just wanted to do square dancing (a common form of collective entertainment in China). At first, the social worker applied to the town government for a room at the cultural station for them to dance. Later, one person's wish became a group of people's wish, and more and more people wanted to dance, so much so that the dance studio could not meet the demand. The social workers applied to the town government to install a light in the town's square so that the villagers could dance in the square. Later, at a traditional local festival celebration, the woman and other dancers took the stage and were enthusiastically cheered by an audience of thousands. However, because of dancing, she was unable to juggle household chores. This is something that women like her are concerned about. The social workers encouraged her to teach her husband how to cook with a positive attitude. Her husband, who used to do no housework, would now send his wife out to dance and do the housework himself at home.
2021FS01	2021	Fo Shan	Female	18-34	Unemployed	This service user was struck by the successive deaths of loved ones and developed mental illness, but with milder symptoms. The social workers first found her a job in a handicraft workshop, a job she was not very good at. Later the social workers took her to visit a sheltered workshop for the disabled and she was very satisfied. She is now working in a sheltered workshop while recovering.
2021HY01	2021	He Yuan	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service users are senior citizens living alone. After observing the signs of stroke, the social workers, together with the residents' committee and neighbors, persuaded him to go to the hospital for medical treatment, but he refused. His family refused to care for him for a variety of reasons. Social workers mobilized community residents and the community volunteer organization to work together to care for him. He has no running water or electricity in his home. The social worker had already approached the electric company to install free electrical facilities for him and give away free electricity, but was refused. So the social worker helped him to install solar lights. After this old man became seriously ill, the social worker worked with the town government and the residences' committee to place him in an orphanage to receive medical

						care after he was discharged from the hospital.
2021HZ01	2021	Hui Zhou	Female	35-49	Unemployed	This service user and her three children all have some intellectual problems. The family suffered from community exclusion. First, the social workers used behavioral therapy to help this service user change inappropriate daily habits and improve her ability to take care of herself. At the same time, the social workers motivated her husband and children to give her more attention. After her image changed, the social workers took the initiative to approach the local family's patriarch, who ordered all clan members to respect the family. As a result, she could gradually get involved in several activities of this family. In addition, the social worker assisted her husband in applying for low income and disability-related welfare benefits. During the COVID epidemic, social workers mobilized community volunteers to provide them with financial support through activities such as charity sales.

2021JM01	2021	Jiang Men	Male	18-34	Unemployed	This service user suffered an accident, became paralyzed, and owed a lot of medical bills. His mother is suspected to be mentally challenged. Social workers worked with several government departments to assist the family in obtaining legal status and applying for formal welfare resources such as subsistence allowance and disability-related welfare benefits. In addition, the social worker assisted the family in applying for poverty relief funds from the CPPCC and other departments to alleviate their financial pressure. At the same time, social workers used poverty alleviation funds to work with the community volunteer organization to renovate the dilapidated house where this family lived. Afterwards, the social worker invited community members to guide and assist the service user's father in planting vegetables and raising poultry; volunteers from the medical system were invited to conduct rehabilitation training for the family. The social workers found a job as a hospital nurse for the service user's brother, and the family has had a stable income since then.
2021MM01	2021	Mao Ming	Female	50-69	The Elderly without a Formal Job	After this service user's husband died, her son got a brain tumor and the family fell into poverty because of medical expenses. The social workers applied for medical aid support for them and then worked with the community volunteer organization to assist her in caring for her sick son. However, her son's condition deteriorated rapidly and he died. The social workers counseled the poor mother and assisted her with the funeral process. Afterwards, the social workers nurtured her to become a core member of the community volunteer organization.
2021MZ01	2021	Mei Zhou	Female	50-69	Porter	The service user's husband suffers from mental illness and is violent during episodes, and one of her daughters is also mentally ill. The family of ten is supported by her income as a porter alone, which is very difficult financially. The social worker sought the assistance of the public security authorities to control her husband to the hospital for treatment after one of his episodes of illness. The social worker successfully persuaded the hospital to waive the deposit for the person's hospitalization. Later, the social worker solved many procedural troubles and finally assisted the family to successfully apply for the subsistence allowance.

2021MZ02	2021	Mei Zhou	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user lives in a dilapidated house that leaks when it rains. The social workers reported the incident to the officials of the town government's civil affairs department, who, after checking into the household, worked with the social workers to negotiate a solution with the officials of the villagers' committee. The social workers asked the nephew of the service user to contribute a home to him, and the government then allocated funds to improve the new home. After moving into the new residence, the social worker actively assisted him in participating in community activities, allowing him to restore his original social relationship. In the end he passed away peacefully.
2021MZ03	2021	Mei Zhou	Female	Not Applicable	Self-employed or Temporary Employed	Although the service user was successfully surgically cured of her cancer, she was in debt. She had no choice but to leave her children to the elderly. She and her husband went out to work together to make money and pay off debts. Social workers relieve the family's financial pressure by applying for disability benefits for the elderly in the family. Later, this mother's illness unfortunately relapsed. The increase in medical costs has made the family's financial situation even worse. Social workers first applied for temporary assistance for the family. The social workers then actively let her integrate into the community through community activities, and let the community residents pay more attention to her situation. After a community event, she wrote a thank-you note to the social workers, saying they were "warmth in the cold winter" for her.
2021QY01	2021	Qing Yuan	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user has mild cognitive impairment. One day, the villagers' committee asked the social workers for help. This old man could not find his identity documents and bankbooks, and he fell into a crisis of livelihood. The social worker first gave him the stored living materials, and then applied to the villagers' committee to use the village's fund to buy him winter clothes. After the crisis was resolved, the social workers wanted to suggest that he be admitted to a nursing home, but he refused. So the social workers confirmed a new guardian for him and mobilized residents to pay more attention to his condition. Social workers also maintain weekly interviews.

2021ST01	2021	Shan Tou	Female	35-49	Unemployed	The service user were physically disabled and suffered from chronic diseases. She was financially stressed and had low self-esteem. The social worker accompanies her to apply for financial aid for her daughter, relieves her financial pressure, and then invites her to help a first-year student with homework, a way to help her integrate into the community and regain her confidence.
2021ST02	2021	Shan Tou	Male	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	This service user is an elderly living alone who suffers from a sudden illness. Further treatment needs to be accompanied by a family member, implying that the medical expenses need to be borne by someone. The social workers turned detectives and finally found the old man's family, and after many consultations, including explaining the Medicaid policy to them, they finally agreed to accompany him for the next step of treatment.
2021ST03	2021	Shan Tou	Male	70 years old and above	Farmer	The service user is a farmer who lives in a dilapidated house with his intellectually disabled son. The social worker sought a free medical examination for him by a volunteer group in the hospital, and found that he was suffering from multiple diseases, and advised him to be hospitalized for a period of time. The social worker accompanied him to the hospital and reported his situation to the hospital director. In the end, his hospitalization expenses were all waived. The social worker then formed a relative visiting group to have his relatives take a more active role in caring for him and his son. In the end, the social worker assisted him in completing the procedures for the subsistence allowance and disability-related welfare benefits, which eased the financial pressure on the family.
2021YF01	2021	Yun Fu	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	This case is very special. The service user is Vietnamese and came to China illegally to get married to improve her life. The social worker coordinated with various government departments to help her apply for a Vietnamese passport and marriage certificate, and helped her purchase medical insurance. Then the social workers formed a Vietnamese women's mutual aid group on the one hand, and on the other hand, they helped her to participate in community activities and increased her contact with community residents. Interestingly, the social worker organized a Sino-Vietnamese cultural exchange lecture and asked her to become a Vietnamese culture lecturer to enhance the

						acceptance of Vietnamese culture in the local area.
2021ZZ01	2021	Zhan Jiang	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	<p>The service user is a pregnant woman with suspected intellectual disability. The cost of treatment for her son's illness compounded an already difficult financial problem. As the social workers were about to intervene, her son was critically ill, and she was so frightened that she fled home and her son died. The social workers, the women's federation and her family members discussed together and agreed that the baby she was about to give birth should be taken care of by her uncle. Her mother planned to steal and sell the baby after it was born, and social workers intervened urgently to prevent the tragedy from happening. The social worker reported the family's situation to various government departments and official organizations, and obtained various temporary relief funds. At the same time, social workers raised many materials from community volunteer organizations and NGOs. These possessions ease the family's financial stress. The social workers applied for an education subsidy, which prompted the young daughter of the service user to enter kindergarten, which guaranteed her right to education. With the support of the social workers, the service user began to grow vegetables and communicate with the community residents. Her husband started to do odd jobs to support the family.</p>

2021ZZ02	2021	Zhan Jiang	Male	18-34	Self-employed or Temporary Employed	The service user suffered from a mental disorder and was ostracized. His parents felt disappointed in him. The family is under financial pressure. The social worker first conducted psychological counseling for the service user and applied for two temporary relief funds for them. Then, the social workers actively guided him to learn to take care of himself, and arranged for volunteers to play chess with him to improve his ability. Finally, the social worker used a strengths-based perspective to review their life history with this family, motivate them to fight against the disease, and successfully invited them to become volunteers in the community, participating in community activities and increasing their contact with other residents.
2021ZZ03	2021	Zhao Qing	Female	50-69	Self-employed or Temporary Employed	This service user has a mental disorder but is reluctant to buy medication for financial reasons. She has low psychological self-esteem and is afraid of being discriminated against. The social workers stay with the family for a long time to resolve the discord within the family. In addition, the social worker applied for a disability-related long-term allowance for her. Eventually, she married her boyfriend, whom she met during her admission to the hospital, and feels more secure than before because of this allowance.
2021ZZ04	2021	Zhao Qing	Male	35-49	Unemployed	This service user was physically disabled in childhood due to an accident. He later lived on two boats with his mother for fear of being ridiculed by his neighbors. After 23 years of living on board, the two small boats have become uninhabitable. Yet, he still repeatedly refused the government's request for him to live ashore. Through long-term companionship, the social workers learned that he had low self-esteem, was concerned about discrimination and the inconvenience of living on shore. So social workers contacted other members of his family, community residents, and several government departments to work together to repair his old house and to provide him with a free radio signal and electricity. The social workers mobilized the residents to give care and support to this family. They eventually moved into the safe and comfortable new home, but were not fully integrated into the community.

2021ZZ05	2021	Zhao Qing	Female	35-49	Unemployed	This service user was adopted by a villager as a child. The villager was elderly and hoped the social worker could find her family. Because of her intellectual disability, the social workers were at one point unable to do anything about it. The social workers later found that she had unconsciously written down the name of a place. The social workers followed the trail and found her relatives. Her biological father was happy to accept her, however, other relatives refused to accept her. The social workers contacted several departments of the town government and negotiated with her biological family to take up their support obligations on the basis of the law.
2021ZZ06	2021	Zhao Qing	Male	50-69	Farmer	The family lives in a dilapidated house and is financially struggling due to various illnesses of the service user's wife, daughter-in-law (deceased) and granddaughter (cancer, thalassemia). First, the social workers contacted the officials of the villagers' committee to ask the engineering team to repair their houses for free. Social workers then instruct the family to clean up regularly. At the same time, social workers cooperated with civil affairs staff to apply for the subsistence allowance and temporary assistance for the family. Finally, the social worker learned that the old man used to be a member of the lion dance team and encouraged him to reorganize the team and perform lion dances in the community. At the same time, the social worker invited his granddaughter to participate in summer activities in the community, which greatly relieved his care pressure and created conditions for him to form a lion dance team.
2021ZZ07	2021	Zhao Qing	Female	70 years old and above	Farmer	The service user is an elderly living alone, suffering from illness and financial pressure, but does not meet the standard of the subsistence allowance policy. Social workers can only apply for materials from the civil affairs department as much as possible for her daily life. After her tumor recurred, she gave up treatment for financial reasons and fell into despair. Through fundraising platforms, social workers mobilized villagers and netizens to donate money for her (about \$45,000) and applied for major medical aid, which ended up covering about half of the surgery expenses. Later, the subsistence allowance policy was changed, and the social worker found that she met the criteria of the new policy and successfully assisted

						her to apply for the subsistence allowance.
2021ZZ08	2021	Zhao Qing	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	This service user has an intellectual disability and is ostracized by family members and community residents. The social worker patiently taught her to change her bad habits and found a free psychiatric diagnosis and treatment opportunity for her in the county, but she could not continue the treatment because she did not eat anything in the hospital. The social worker had to continue to patiently change her behavior. During this process, the social worker gradually changed the attitude of her family and community residents towards her, and everyone's concern and help for her increased significantly. Finally, with the assistance of the government, the social worker found a charitable foundation that, together with the government, supported almost all the expenses of the girl's special education. She was able to gradually improve her abilities in the special education school and enter the process of recovery.
2019MM01	2019	Mao Ming	Male	18-34	Student or Child	This service user had a sudden onset of aplastic anemia and required a bone marrow transplant. But her family is a single-parent family with poor economic conditions and cannot afford the high medical bills. Social workers mobilized her relatives and friends, community organizations, community residents and the media to raise funds for her, raising a total of more than 200,000 yuan. In addition, social workers applied for the government's critical illness relief fund, and finally resolved the cost of the boy's surgery.

2020SW01	2020	Shan Wei	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	The social worker assisted the service user and her younger sister to apply for the intellectual disability certificate to obtain the corresponding welfare subsidy, and applied for the subsistence allowance. Then, the social worker struggled to find a local handicraft workshop to accept the service user. At the same time, the social workers improved her self-protection ability through behavioral therapy, and made her stop stealing. In order to allow the family to have enough living space, social workers persuaded their relatives many times, and the service user's aunt finally lent them a vacant room. The social workers requested assistance from the community volunteer organization to collect a large number of free furniture and daily necessities for the family and decorate the new home.
2020ZJ01	2020	Zhan Jiang	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	This service user is an elderly woman who lost both her husband and son. After a fall, she lost her ability to take care of herself and completely relied on her daughter-in-law to take care of her, so she felt world-weary. While the social workers counseled her around her life history, the social workers discussed care plans with her caregivers and learned first aid techniques together. The social workers then applied for temporary assistance for the family, invited the neighborhood to hold a tea party together, and created an emergency contact book. In addition, the social workers organized regular visits to this family by community volunteers, seeking material assistance from hospitals, voluntary organizations and streets.
2020ZQ01	2020	Zhao Qing	Male	50-69	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The service user's foster daughter is suspected of having a mental disorder, but has no legal status. The social workers contacted the hospital, which sent an ambulance to take his adopted daughter to the hospital for medical treatment. At the same time, the social workers assisted him in obtaining legal status for his adopted daughter and then claiming all relevant welfare benefits. The social workers also guided him to acquire the habit of tidying up his home environment. When he later became seriously ill, the social workers actively intervened in the crisis, discussing strategies with town officials and mobilizing his neighbors as contacts to keep an eye on his health. On the other hand, the social workers raised resources from the community and provided him with a cell phone, a nursing bed and a caregiver. Fortunately, the social worker finally found his adopted daughter's real

						sister and solved the girl's care problem. This elderly man eventually passed away peacefully.
2020SG01	2020	Shao Guan	Female	Not Applicable	Unemployed	<p>On the way to visit the community, the social worker found a child crying on the road and found out that he was suspected of domestic violence by his father. A visit revealed that the young boy's mother (the service user of this story) had been suffering from domestic abuse at the hands of her husband for a long time. The youngest child in this family is mentally challenged. Before the social worker officially intervened in the issue, the service user fled the home because her husband threatened to kill his families. The social workers performed crisis intervention. They first informed the public security system about the incident, then counseled the children and encouraged their mother to return. Then, in order to allow her to work, the social worker worked with her to send her youngest son to a special education school. After that, she also found a job as a cleaner. With financial resources, she decided to divorce her husband, and the social worker assisted her in applying for legal aid from the women's federation. She successfully divorced her husband. Then the social worker not only assisted her in applying for the subsistence allowance, but also assisted her in applying for the medical aid provided by an NGO and the living allowance for students in need provided by the education system. The highlight of this case is that, with the support of social workers, the mother told her story to more than 300 residents in large-scale community activities, and used drama to inspire women to face domestic violence bravely. Then, as a resident representative, she discussed "anti-domestic</p>

						violence", women's association and other topics with other women volunteers.
2020JM01	2020	Jiang Men	Male	35-49	Unemployed	The husband and wife of this family are both intellectually disabled, and the son, although of normal intelligence, has not received education. The service user (the father of the family) was reluctant to admit his intellectual disability and did not apply for a disability certificate. After the social workers persuaded him, he compromised and accepted welfare subsidies related to intellectual disability. The social workers further found him a job as a security guard so that he could have an income. On the other hand, the social worker negotiated with the staff of the Disabled Persons' Federation and successfully sent his wife to an institution to receive training to improve her self-care ability. Finally, after consultation with the local government officials, they jointly supported his son to enter kindergarten for preschool education.

2020MM01	2020	He Yuan	Female	35-49	Unemployed	The service user, who raised two children on her own after a divorce and was unable to find a job due to health problems, was in deep financial distress and had serious psychological problems. The social workers gave her psychological counseling and then assisted her in applying for the subsistence allowance. In addition, the social worker has repeatedly linked social resources to prepare living materials for her. The social workers discovered her abilities in agriculture, assisted her in agricultural production, and found her a job that she could do during her slack. After that, the social worker invited her to join the community volunteer organization and gradually realized her community integration.
2020MM03	2020	He Yuan	Male	50-69	Unemployed	During the Covid-19 outbreak, community residents reported to the social worker the presence of a stray person in the community. Social workers intervened with the county civil affairs department, the public security department and the medical department to settle this man in a hotel. During this period, the social worker understood his situation in depth and together with the township officials referred him to the municipal aid station. According to the general procedure, the station will send him home for free.
2020QY01	2020	Qing Yuan	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Student or Child	The five children in this family are all without legal status, and their mother is mentally challenged and expecting a baby. After social workers intervened in this case, the public security system discovered that their father was a wanted fugitive and arrested him, leaving the children's mother alone in Guangzhou. The social workers intervened urgently and together with the police took her back to her hometown. She gave birth to her new baby without incident. The social workers, together with the town government and the village officials, raised funds to arrange for this family's two children to attend kindergarten for free and mobilized a local NGO to provide free accommodation for this family. The social workers engage the entire family in community activities and mobilize everyone in the community to become their "relatives" and work together to care for them in their daily lives. After the children's father was released from prison, the social worker and the village officials went to greet him and held a ceremony with the villagers where he crossed a fire bowl to "start over". The social workers then prompted him to develop a livelihood through the village support platform and

						build closer partnerships with other villagers.
2020YJ02	2020	Yang Jiang	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	The service user's mother, who earns her living by washing cars after a divorce, chooses to remain silent when the car wash owner's children bully the service user. This child became silent and inferior as a result. The social workers invited her to participate in community activities and positively affirmed her in order to gradually improve her psychological condition. At the same time, the social workers empathized with the mother and discussed with her how to better protect her daughter. Eventually, the child's mother quit her job as a car washer, found another job, and moved near a relative's home so that the relative could be involved in the child's care.
2020SG02	2020	Shao Guan	Female	70 years old and above	The Elderly without a Formal Job	The lock on the door of the service user's home was broken, and the social worker changed the lock for her with the consent of her family members who were working outside. Later, while visiting her, the social worker found out that she was sick and helped her clean her home. The social worker brought this issue to the attention of the villagers' committee, who urged her adopted son to take her to see a doctor. Two months later, she passed away. In the article, the social worker critiques the reasons for the appearance of this less-than-happy ending.

2020CZ04	2020	Chao Zhou	Female	Under 18	Student or Child	This service user was abandoned by her mother and lives with her father and grandmother in a modest house with no bathroom. This family is economically challenged. This girl lacks family education and is rejected by the rest of the community. The social workers contacted the town government, villagers' committee, construction workers in the village and volunteers to work together to build a toilet, a septic tank for this family. At the same time, the social workers collected the necessary home appliances for the family. Afterwards, the social workers encouraged the service user to actively participate in community activities and become a community volunteer to gradually improve her ability and integrate into community life. In order to strengthen her family education, the social workers contacted the school principal, teachers, her relatives and neighbors to discuss her education plan. Finally, all of them cooperated to participate in her family education.
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Appendix II

The Source of the case studies

2017HY01 and 2017HY02

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2017MZ01

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2017QY01

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2017YJ01

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2017YJ02

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2017YJ03

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2017ZJ01

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2017ZJ02

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2017ZQ01

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2017ZQ02

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2018CZ01

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2018JM01a

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2018JM01b

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2018JM02

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2018MM01

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2018MZ02

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2018ST01

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2018YJ01

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2019ST01

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2019SW01

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2019YJ01

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2020CZ02

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2020CZ03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247499651&idx=1&sn=a3e516b9672562303836ca7c20139e17&chksm=eb136824dc64e1324ae189ef861277c9a51b00b77e048c469e8c125035e0adc214d76beec7f1&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020HY01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247498511&idx=2&sn=b515b085ada61104270200ad1a9a261a&chksm=eb136ca8dc64e5be68a3d60c23ecaf9b338f0d03b82999984cf7f828afe667c01415054c181e&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020JM02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247493066&idx=1&sn=fd2a12930da770c6d45b18ec3c51e69a&chksm=eb13726ddc64fb7b9649cf2f9baa62640798902e14971226d63ee407f53c3048d1ab7805d65e&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020JY01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247496259&idx=2&sn=c204c7e5dd76415fd5cce825093843f7&chksm=eb1365e4dc64ecf27e004965760f4e6948e0a97580ff233350c36ba9658c468f736bd69c5a57&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020JY02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495841&idx=2&sn=f48460eb90737afba2d228e340e7a033&chksm=eb136706dc64ee10cc1f22694d67a433ccfaa03832b749b44b984d47ab86b5b8082b7669f6dd&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020MM02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495132&idx=2&sn=f625381f368a5f53f485e5bdc7942976&chksm=eb137a7bdc64f36d647f56fb9ab79d99bae641ac3d70343ad1682ef2b8dee003f19bf94fe15d&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020MM03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247497306&idx=1&sn=cd6021452705441e418dc5ca0d6cb27a&chksm=eb1361fddc64e8eb7d7a706a176cddcb4ff07764503df4ac99744629333c2579699b48db2bd1&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020QY02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247500306&idx=2&sn=24599dc5d0538ec0d34745176e470429&chksm=eb1355b5dc64dca397807888bbc8d67cfae231aef8e0593963a9ec3c959c11969b695617d2fd&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020QY03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247500283&idx=1&sn=9936771e48d995553be523b1538f2133&chksm=eb13565cdc64df4a8ba226fb3cfe077229e8c452eb88525e7d3584f101dd2009f317076e4cc4&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020QY04

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247496182&idx=2&sn=86e215de09aef5f0573ae2f7b154b91&chksm=eb136651dc64ef47d9cacd02282cef0d3a3efa72419286fe4d280bb895d333acf02e66d4bc38&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020YJ01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247493089&idx=2&sn=97501b1c7b3b5780b556e1df98caed7f&chksm=eb137246dc64fb50b906a28d515c51a1a662d8d52e02da116c121149f08bcb601b7235777fd&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020YF01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247496157&idx=2&sn=6eae1ead43680c256a7536f8f4ba3a90&chksm=eb13667adc64ef6c76922e2ba99b20fe3e443a618e98bdf6dd0e13c3dfb3049ea1a9bac4898b&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020YF02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495973&idx=2&sn=9da29223c260eb5eddf5dc5863978d77&chksm=eb136682dc64ef949fec3dc9972d10c906bb26be6e456fe0a5bff201f0f0300c0a2d80439406&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZZ01a

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247502416&idx=1&sn=ec2251f0bce7bbfddc594417fb0daa6ad&chksm=eb135df7dc64d4e186b0f79c65e963678a147a856d87e4ebc619678ef9eede60000c007d8d1d&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZZ01b

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247503343&idx=2&sn=abe65b5eba70f3933cdec9510bd61ac9&chksm=eb135a48dc64d35e085f18ef793cdb04c982a0aa4b112c443fc8820f9144541e54aa78e423c5&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZJ03a

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495244&idx=2&sn=d6d69dc3c53cb201ca4523cacc7690cf&chksm=eb1379ebdc64f0fd500d7e8b8cbbdf5006f7036ed339ab1a2a78ac0303fd036df9e69d93519e&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZJ03b

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247499818&idx=2&sn=593e1831b8abad26a37667e43f92f561&chksm=eb13578ddc64de9b6a15ad9c682a3201afbbda3a4bb33aa951036cef60b383fa2b6c92310b9b&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZQ02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247499427&idx=1&sn=93bff526c1e762bbe99a635445792b78&chksm=eb136904dc64e012f79f4acf933a7df3154c3a2385a30b8e8415e8b88a8f8421794cd5b1f6b7&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021QY02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247507310&idx=2&sn=93a294219eec75fb8597b2635ea38545&chksm=eb134ac9dc64c3dfc47a7f55dd33c36852226885270b31ddc5a614c6db2bf66ba2e29258f0de&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021FS01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247506482&idx=3&sn=5cb2daac040311bacb9f39eaf99784d0&chksm=eb134d95dc64c48334bb8436c980ce256bc0a5fdd3bbd481151fb5439a5e55d6d09aa54cc3eb&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021HY01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247506907&idx=3&sn=16f8d6c5d2ce2f65476d12e56e7161c7&chksm=eb134c7cdc64c56a1173aa37a71514a7438461dd3b89fa26dbe045771c8db481c3afd3b339cb&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021HZ01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247502946&idx=1&sn=11f0da587cb5e684f4a5771baf878d6&chksm=eb135bc5dc64d2d334e36a16446a4a8224abad81810391fac91f528c796bde06383c47c8983a&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021JM01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247505088&idx=1&sn=53460dd2ac7958a50ba101b375ff4c2f&chksm=eb134367dc64ca719407249ed3327098cd3df47785cdf810eb5bce215b7f3645f2ca626b3c4a&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021MM01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504039&idx=2&sn=2c77f02464ca805eef2431c448ad3466&chksm=eb134700dc64ce16d3c8eec6e841647077a3ecbfc61b4a3ef90802328f7a7c0484c073af352c&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021MZ01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247507098&idx=1&sn=8f868c9bdf371075b93cf6fa2e95e93e&chksm=eb134b3ddc64c22b379e73001e6a6c418c2ce7a4389f937ae1c3d83516c83870776ef733db3f&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021MZ02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504562&idx=3&sn=708dfca27e2699bbcd7108f456d0ac26&chksm=eb134515dc64cc0313f6dc418f30bb7b004ad05cbfde956abb091cb299447405765d3c19463b&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021MZ03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504418&idx=1&sn=ead4cabbbd20c65c3c537ca5f7a7a817&chksm=eb134585dc64cc93a3640edd6861b36b8d6b3020c59cfcca29a32ab00ace3e73bb3188428208&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021QY01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247507098&idx=2&sn=1e22be92437e221ece100e06da5571a4&chksm=eb134b3ddc64c22b24508a1c15ef77b9b39de69930c9a74f906697e9215db505793684b9e8ff&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ST01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247503361&idx=2&sn=03e919abcb6f2e0019b8d0e1bacd3b76&chksm=eb1359a6dc64d0b0ff28e762fdc176197b8c49cf2bca83f928208c81ffe187e5a5520011f24c&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ST02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247508588&idx=1&sn=57abd8ba3b728cbd05c26a2055815fde&chksm=eb1335cbdc64bcdd7f6744a099cd49e3b1c772b051eda768ed5f5bf0875c918b72b14fc5af00&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ST03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504176&idx=2&sn=88a4a2ce04aa61f8ddc015a6cd79b225&chksm=eb134697dc64cf813f9a9c98688ff40f591908f2e632d713a30f90c93ecfa798fc307b1bed97&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021YF01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504626&idx=2&sn=0f5721f02700860b68e8d858bb5b69ce&chksm=eb134555dc64cc43cc443e9d548f0c0d063eda07c73619f67a7b814c5d5e43c4a987c83a7041&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504155&idx=2&sn=43c373f70cc3ad238f934285c42f163a&chksm=eb1346bc64cfaac66129aaa8ad6ff103687f557626b00b93f6af5f56775c4e2c22a811525b&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504076&idx=1&sn=562955692d361a521fde485644abe238&chksm=eb13476bdc64ce7dff9a54f185917a80348cc67188ba8a9d219f5ba443b5c042786d40fb6ef4&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247506973&idx=2&sn=1fbe34a2eb2e71914b61b12765b9d08c&chksm=eb134bbadc64c2ac837dce667188dad1ba6d682fd431e7228351ec92de5324834ac553fa75db&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ04

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247505787&idx=1&sn=d9f4273ff032a42aa99a4d7076f073bf&chksm=eb1340dcdc64c9ca6788db7999726708d2e5f9fc80e0af3f2ee1890debb8003bbad7d6bb031d&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ05

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247506741&idx=2&sn=6cdcc84fb05f1c2b89c5417a6ad2fac9&chksm=eb134c92dc64c5849180ffbcf1e718558514278297bad4e31b3756a4d46cfcc4897f0d6ef6d1&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ06

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247504507&idx=1&sn=51b30522f8f49883542eba5a638855e3&chksm=eb1345dcdc64ccca859666d80b09d15ce544020d1f12e692c15fb53ef4fb003ed98c96773cd2&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ07

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247505707&idx=1&sn=5627010e233d5c54d9e07eef347beec2&chksm=eb13408cdc64c99aee7bb5da52bae715304fdd15a7b2b3132afb527b06ee4077b1929ed7c06d&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2021ZZ08

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247507236&idx=1&sn=f79ba9f09f3dc9a6323b9cf7920a1642&chksm=eb134a83dc64c395b3eb53e3bece8f6110fa905b40fc024b4b5b56bd0e5852c39416b172731c&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2019MM01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247490300&idx=1&sn=296a656726efaaa5c23837ca46220abb&chksm=eb108d5bdc67044de880d917ccc3640f554331929242652b34044de973d02125383149553027&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020SW01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495306&idx=3&sn=910a30444b1bc5593805c26908c86d5d&chksm=eb13792ddc64f03b25d0ef80607bf01f2e2d9257ca7a452684bc0920324cc760392395860985&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZJ01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495328&idx=3&sn=b06227fba0c8bda9c234bc0ae9f96140&chksm=eb137907dc64f0117ed48265127e6ae7d10ff43d150fd700d5c1a426fecee8353ce81904da22&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020ZQ01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495456&idx=4&sn=526827b5c757a1a75a9f160f3831bec9&chksm=eb137887dc64f1917c0e700226c0efa4c342bc703ee3b1caad6f11b326b0cc72b5bf22c29bb4&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020SG01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247494820&idx=2&sn=5ec861deef01fc29a728d05b362504fd&chksm=eb137b03dc64f2156ed1154a8f9fc0f4a8421a279b498b44a7297ea715e73ebfc04003d08142&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020JM01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247494926&idx=3&sn=9676ce06167c3b7d6e8aad6a7075b977&chksm=eb137aa9dc64f3bf878515bdb2c5e15aea9fd2c9858f84800978d778f28ac5fd81c125aba2d8&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020MM01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247494926&idx=2&sn=c6fef6e917bf50d0bb9514f47b010e3a&chksm=eb137aa9dc64f3bf4f4e2da18c3e6699b09cad4a7a5b5063d2b175d508e6c2f3f6d57c0d5909&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020MM03

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247493764&idx=1&sn=0bf75f4d891b5ca0a2e10ebd2400a5e0&chksm=eb137f23dc64f635f6ff12458bac2896b3a712c084da3caeb35a30a9a082e090d71d191e9f42&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020QY01

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495012&idx=4&sn=ac111fb1b1d093e858698905111709ff&chksm=eb137ac3dc64f3d568409674b24bb28f15d10c57309c179facb95d79aa49a23ade60b115a35b&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020YJ02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=Mzl3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495101&idx=1&sn=743fb086b78d1fb1b52bdc1961e44b82&chksm=eb137a1adc64f30c9399ee0433e66288120677a07994ae1c9c555c2d4cc89c44461279802f9b&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020SG02

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247495075&idx=1&sn=529d712661a22466e27c5e415896a721&chksm=eb137a04dc64f312c2e582bfdd72de766c163dace4a80e2abc8bd311e67486392f82fdf3f5dd&scene=27#wechat_redirect

2020CZ04

http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MzI3NDU4MDE2OA==&mid=2247493089&idx=1&sn=7cf3bc498169122c6f3779d621ea6bfd&chksm=eb137246dc64fb50829efcb7d5109b15814011ba90840c49bef9e4952bc8d131238265efe4&scene=27#wechat_redirect

Appendix III

Detailed Explanation of the fields in Table 5.1

Disability Right: A service user or a member within his/her household has a physical or intellectual disability and one is not receiving the relevant formal benefits, or his/her citizenship right is impaired by his/her disability.

Children's Right: According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, children's rights consist of provision, protection and participation. A child's right in the case is impaired, such as the right to an adequate standard of living, health care, education and services.

Bureaucratic Process: A service user has sought help from the government, but for various reasons, such as lost documentation, is unable to successfully complete the bureaucratic process to receive the formal benefit resources to which he or she is entitled.

Family Relationship: A service user is troubled by family relationship problems, such as miscommunication between parents and children or conflicts between couples.

Physical Health: A service user or his/her family suffer from a serious illness, who often struggle to pay expensive medical bills.

Poverty and Livelihood: A service user is very poor economically, has no stable income, and the sustainability of his/her livelihood is threatened, for example, by insufficient clothing and food.

Social Exclusion: A service user is socially excluded by the residences of the community and had little or no socialization.

Residential Justice: A service user lives in a dangerous house or is homeless.

Psychological Health: A service user or his/her family suffer from a mental illness such as depression, mania and so on.