Brief on International Poverty Reduction Studies

The content of this issue

The Overview of the Studies on Poverty and Poverty Reduction conducted by China’s scholars in 2006

2006 年中国贫困与减贫问题研究综述
The Overview of the Studies on Poverty and Poverty Reduction conducted by China’s scholars in 2006 (hereinafter referred as “Overview” for short) is one of major outputs of the program named “Annual Compilation and Review of Literature on Poverty and Poverty Reduction of China in 2006” which is one of the applied research projects of International Poverty Reduction Center in China in 2007. The program was co-funded by United Nations Development Programme, supervised by the China International Center For Economic and Technical Exchanges, accomplished by joint research team set up by Foreign Capital Poverty Alleviation Project Management Center of Gansu Provincial Poverty Alleviation Office and the College of Humanities and Development of China Agricultural University with the commission of International Poverty Reduction Center in China.

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In the aspect of “Definition, Nature and Manifestation of Poverty”, the Overview analyzes the achievements made by China’s scholars in reviewing the findings of international academia on poverty definition and nature, and sums up the outputs of their researches on manifestation and consequence of poverty in current China; In the aspect of “Monitoring and Evaluation of Poverty”, the Overview highlights the results of studies launched by academia at home on constructing poverty measurements and the deficiencies of China’s poverty measurement system; In the aspect of “The Causes and Reasoning of Poverty”, the Overview outlines the perspective, content, method and achievement of researches made by China’s scholars related with this aspect in 2006 from institutional and non-institutional dimensions; In the aspect of “Strategy, Policy and Impact Evaluation of Poverty Reduction”, the Overview introduces the innovation made by China’s scholars in theories related with poverty strategies and policies, and elaborates on the perspective, content and conclusion of their researches concerned with China’s poverty reduction interventions; In the aspect of “Poverty Reduction Mechanisms”, the Overview lays out the recommendations of China’s scholars in improving poverty reduction mechanism and their comments on efficiency and impact of current poverty reduction mechanism in rural China; In the aspect of “Urban Poverty”, the Overview outlines the findings of China’s scholars in 2006 about the size, composition and determinant of urban poverty and social relief policies initiated in urban China, and makes comments on the deficiencies of current studies on China’s urban poverty.
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With the transformation of socio-economic development pattern in recent years, scholars in China have probed deeper into the heart of poverty and poverty reduction issues, expanded the scopes and connotation of their research and boosted the value of their research in theoretic terms and its application to policy-making. The paper reviews and comments on the results of research on poverty issues by Chinese scholars in 2006 as six aspects, namely, definition, nature and manifestations of poverty, monitoring and evaluation of poverty, determinants of poverty and mechanisms causing poverty, strategies and policies of anti-poverty and their impact evaluation, anti-poverty mechanism and urban poverty.

definition, nature and manifestation of poverty

I. Definition, Nature and Manifestation of Poverty

Laggard as their start of research on poverty issues, Chinese scholars have raised their understanding over the definition, nature and manifestations of poverty up to international level. In 2006, their studies on poverty definition are predominated by sorting foreign research results, and lack expansion or extension at a deeper level. Research path about poverty definition is from income poverty to multi-dimensional poverty. Zhang Lili believes in her study that poverty was at first defined and measured largely by the capability of purchasing commodities, subsequently by the consumption of products and services closely related to living standard, and nowadays by focus on vulnerability, risks and deprivation of rights. Gao Yunhong and Chen Lizhong point out that poverty, in its definition, has gone beyond the limit of income, and it means not only scant income, but also incompetence, social exclusion, absence of public service, and deprivation of opportunity and rights. Wang Yanping, from her studies on the changing understanding of poverty definition in UN Human Development Report, World Bank Development Report and many other documents alike, depicts the definition upgrading from low income to a multiple dimensions encompass-
ing incompetence, social exclusion, physical incapability, lack of medical care, deprivation of opportunity and rights and so on. In their analysis of changed poverty definition based on transformation of social welfare theories, Wang Chunping et al. conclude that in traditional welfare theories, poverty equals lack of material resources and income while in modern welfare theories, lack of capability takes the place to be the core of poverty.

The perspective of Amartya Sen is the most representative in the field of research on modern poverty definition. In her works “To Fill The Philosopical Hollow of Economics----The Research of Amartya Sen’s Economic Thoughts”, Dr. Wang Yanping gives an all-inclusive summary of Sen’s thoughts on poverty, especially those about incapability and social exclusion.

Looking into the nature of poverty is no less important than making out what poverty is. The academia has, therefore, introduced the concept of poverty types, that is to classify poverty into different types, mostly absolute poverty and relative poverty. Wang Biyu points out in his analysis that absolute poverty is a living status in which people can barely maintain basic subsistence, having nothing to do with the level of socio-economic development and income, so that there are strict rules on the measurement of absolute poverty and identification of the living modes of the absolute poor. Relative poverty is another poverty status in which the individuals or households find their incomes lower than social average to a certain extent, judged by the gaps of income between low-incomers and other social members. In this case, poverty is a relative and dynamic term. It makes an important feature of inequality and can not be measured and judged without subjectiveness. Poverty, in narrow sense, indicates no more than material poverty, the impossibility to keep the lowest standard of living and production.

In the practical research, what the definition and nature of poverty implies is who are the poor, and how the poor fall into poverty or the manifestations of poverty. Chinese scholars relate the answer to who are the poor mainly to the vulnerable in China, like women, the elder, off-farm workers and rural residents. Rural population and ethnic minorities in the mid-west of China dominate Chinese vulnerable, featured in: 1) economic vulnerability, more specifically, low income and tough economic difficulties; 2) political vulnerability, more specifically, low capability of expressing and pursuing self-interest; 3) cultural vulnerability, more specifically, low educational level and outdated mentality; 4) psychological vulnerability, more specifically, mental imbalance and lack of mental momentum to shake off poverty. (Chu Fengmei, 2006; Han等多维内涵的过程。王春萍等以社会福利理论变迁为基础对贫困概念的变迁进行了分析，她认为，在传统福利理论中，贫困是物质资源和收入匮乏，而在现代福利理论中，能力缺乏是贫困的基本内涵。

在关于现代贫困涵义的研究中，阿玛蒂亚森的观点最具代表性。王艳萍博士所著《克服经济学哲学贫困——阿马蒂亚·森的经济思想研究》一书对森的贫困思想进行了系统总结，特别是森提出的能力缺乏说与社会排斥说。

对贫困的理解除了排除概念外，认清贫困实质也很重要。为此，学术界引入了贫困类型的观念，也即将贫困划分为不同的类型，最常见的划分是绝对贫困和相对贫困。王延对此进行了分析，他指出，绝对贫困是指人们维持基本生存状态，与社会经济发展水平和收入水平无关，关于绝对贫困的测量及其生存模式的认定都应有严格的规定。相对贫困指个体内或家庭收入低于社会平均收入一定程度所表现出的贫困状况，它由低收入者与社会其他成员收入的差距来判定。在这种状态下，贫困是相对的、动态的，是不平等的一项重要特征，其测定和判断具有一定的主观性。狭义贫困仅指物质上的贫困，反映维持生活与生产的最低标准。

贫困的概念和实质反映到实践研究中，就是要回答“谁贫困”和“如何贫困”的问题，也即贫困的表现。关于“谁贫困”的研究，中国学者大都集中在主要的弱势群体上，如女性、老年人、农民工及农村居民，中西部地区农村人口和少数民族是中国弱势群体的主体，其弱势具体表现为：（1）经济弱势，即收入水平低，面临较为严峻的经济困境；（2）政治弱势，即表达和追求自身利益的能力较低；（3）文化弱势，即教育文化水平低，思想落后；（4）心理弱势，即精神贫困，心态失衡，缺乏摆脱贫困的心理动力。（楚凤梅，2006；韩卫平2006；等等）

至于“如何贫困”的研究，大体上有教育贫困、人文贫困、精神贫困、文化贫困、信息贫困、能力贫
As for the answers to how the poor get into poverty, there mainly are educational poverty, human development poverty, psychological poverty, cultural poverty, information poverty, capacity poverty and poverty of rights, just to name a few (Xu Zhaojun, 2006; Wang Chunlin, 2006; etc). They reflect causes of poverty which are the lacks of elements like capital, right and opportunity. In these studies, the increasing attention was paid on the return to poverty. Chen Duanji conducted systematic studies on the seriousness, regional distribution, frequency and harm of return to poverty. Other than above studies, some experts also concentrate on the relationships between regional and urban-rural disparities and poverty when probing to poverty causes, arriving at a conclusion that the gaps between different regions and groups in the all socio-economic fields is one important feature of poverty in China.

II. Monitoring and Evaluation of Poverty

二、贫困的监测与评估

Poverty assessment provides foundation for monitoring poverty status and making anti-poverty policies. In 2006, poverty assessment indicators and poverty line are the two highlights of research on poverty monitoring and evaluation for Chinese scholars.

According to Feng Xingguang and Zhang Xiaojing, the poverty measurement indicators fall to three categories: first, quantity of the poor, for instance, aggregate population of the poor and poverty incidence, etc; second, income levels of the poor, for instance, income gap, average income gap and income gap rate; third, combination of the above two indicators, for instance, Sen Index and FGT Index. Of the three categories, poverty incidence, income gap rate, Sen Index and FGT Index are the most commonly used. The two researchers evaluated the bunch of indicators by axiom standard that is used for measuring the quality of poverty indices, and reached the idea that single poverty indicator is unable to accurately figure out the depth of poverty and an indicator system is imperative.

Wang Rongdang explored the design basis, goal hierarchy, framework and indicator selection of rural poverty indica-
tor system, and analyzed the ways of indicator identification and selection by three dimensions from poverty subject and poverty object to poverty measurement. In light of the reality in China, he produced a set of indicators applicable for impact evaluation of region-based poverty reduction of rural China in the new era, taking Yunnan Province as a case for empirical analysis. By means of the poverty indicators internationally applied, Li Jing et al. measured the status and trends of rural poverty from 1995 to 2004 and analyzed the impact of income growth and distribution on poverty, based on the statistical data of rural household sample surveys in Jiangsu Province. The result is that a higher poverty line is required in developed areas to shed light on low incomers and those households exposed to high risks. With rural income growth effect underlined, income distribution among the poor deserves more attention.

Regarding poverty line, the emphasis of Chinese scholars in 2006 was laid on the methodologies of constituting poverty lines and the ways of their optimization. Drawing upon the latest survey data of the research team of “poverty measurement and anti-poverty policy evaluation on urban poverty in China during transition period”, Chen Lizhong and Zhang Jianhua counted subjective poverty lines in seven typical cities by intersection method and regression analysis. It turns out that, close to the relative poverty line in its value, the subjective poverty line is much higher than the relief standard currently applied to urban poor-line of minimum living allowance. Comparing the variety of methods of constituting poverty line and elaborating on the process of counting poverty line using ELES system, Luo Zuoyan comes to a point that the system is applicable for measuring relative poverty and determining national and regional poverty standards. It is practicable for the analysis results in detail can simply be drawn from sampling survey grouped data. Furthermore, Wang Rongdang has taken a glance of the components, counting methods, evolution and adjustments of rural poverty line. Wang Biyu and Pang Bolin have done quantitative research on the trends of poverty incidence and rate of poverty gap. Wang Pingping et al. compared Chinese poverty standard with international poverty standard in aspects from origin, method, indicators and impact, revealing the underlying causes to different estimations on China’s poverty. Wang Chunping et al. believe that the defects in the traditional approach of measuring individual welfare and poverty simply by income or resources possession have held it blind to the non-income determinants to poverty and dynamics of poverty. The capability-based measurement of individual welfare has instead broken away from traditional welfare theories at the root to arrive at a

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new space of knowledge. It also studied the connotation and measurement of poverty with the understanding framework of capability.

It can be drawn from the results of research on poverty measurement that the dynamic nature and individual traits of the poor are given more concern in the upgraded systems of indicators and methodologies, the majority of which, however, are constrained with income and distribution, overlooking the other dimensions of poverty. In spite of sustained progress and improvements in poverty definition, the research on poverty measurement in China falls much behind. Income poverty is where Chinese scholars linger on with their studies of poverty measurement. Measurement that is able to touch upon capability poverty, social exclusion and other diversified dimensions of poverty has yet to be translated from books to practice, and a sound and operable system of measurement methodologies and indicators yet to be shaped up. All has evidenced the fact that poverty measurement is an area that requires more research.

III. Poverty Determinants and Causes

三、致贫因素和致贫机理

There are two general divisions of studies on poverty determinants and causes conducted by China’s scholars. One seeks to explain poverty with institutional dimension. The other does that with non-institutional dimension.

In his research, Li Dingyi finds that rural poverty in China has a root in the defects of current land system, resource distribution and income redistribution, i.e. residential segregation between urban and rural areas. Lack of rights in many areas for farmers and imbalance of public service provision between urban and rural areas are important causes of poverty in rural China. Xiong Bin attributes rural poverty in China to three elements from residential system, social security, and land ownership. Based on institution economics theory, Zhang Wei relates rural poverty to the deficiencies of property system, social security system, financial system, legal system and traditional culture. In general, the studies of institutional causes to poverty in China cover land ownership, residence system, property system and provision of public goods, among which land ownership is the root for land loss causing poverty has been seen as one of the typical institutional causes to

根据贫困测量研究的成果来判断，贫困测量新的指标和方法强调动态性和主体性，但这些方法大多仍以收入——分配为基础，忽略了贫困的其他维度，与贫困概念的不断发展和完善相比，中国贫困测量的研究要滞后很多，贫困的测量至今在方法开发上仍停留在收入贫困线为主的阶段，而对于能力贫困、社会排斥等多维贫困视角出发的贫困测量仍停留在理论水平，在实践研究中并未形成科学的、可操作的测量方法与指标体系，因此，对贫困的测量的研究仍然需进一步加强。

中国学者关于致贫因素和致贫机理的研究总体上可分为两类，一类是从制度层面去解析贫困的原因，另一类则是从非制度层面，即一些表征因素去解读贫困的产生。

李定铁的研究发现，现行土地制度和资源分配与国民收入再分配机制存在缺陷是我国农村贫困存在中的一个重要制度根源，城乡有别的户籍制度、农民多方面权利的缺失及城乡公共服务供给不均衡等因素是农村贫困的重要成因。熊滨从户籍制度、劳动社会保障制度和土地制度三个方面分析了我国农村贫困的制度原因。张伟以制度经济学理论为研究基础，指出中国农民贫困问题的现状源于产权制度的缺失、制度结构的差异、保障制度的偏颇、财政制度的歧视、法律制度的失灵和传统文化制度的禁锢。综上所述，对我国贫困制度成因的研究是围绕
In the analysis of institutional perspective, Xue Baosheng places his focus on the causes in political, cultural and management terms concerning public management, elaborating on the ongoing gaps between the east and the west, between urban and rural areas, between different social classes and between the rich and the poor and the economic, historical, realistic and social policy reasons to the gaps. From his conclusions, the gap between East and West of China comes along with the development trends described by the theory of regional disparity and the theory of unbalanced growth, in which institutional gap is regarded as an important determinant of enlarging gaps. The gaps rise with the other elements more realistic, namely, low income, inadequate consumption, unfair taxation, poor public facilities, insufficient inputs to education and health, and low participation in social activities and politics.

In contrast with the homogeneity of analyses of institutional cause to poverty, that of non-institutional cause is much more diversified, extensively encompassing environment, education, regional particularities, individual traits of the poor, culture, social capital, social labor division, infrastructure and health. For instance, Wang Biyu summarizes the major causes of poverty in rural China as problems with natural environment, infrastructure construction, living and consumption, production, labor transfer, education, and regional economic development. Cheng Lijun raises four determinants of rural poverty, institution and policy, resources and environment, production and development, population and qualification. Zhao Xuezeng argued that the major causes of poverty include poverty itself, geographic condition, the conflict between population expansion and productivity growth, as well as individual activities.

China was fruitful in the studies on a certain poverty determinant in 2006. It has been found by Zhang Yanping et al. that poor education and inadequate human capital accumulation in the west of China determinate poverty in this area. In his analysis of educational development in poor areas, Chen Quangong raises concerns about the failed or reduced effects of education on poverty reduction for the facts that education in rural poor areas has long been lagging, that the system and goals of education do not fit the realities in the area, that input to education is far from enough and that education inequality is rising. With his work on the mentality of the poor, Cao Bin discovers that chronic poverty has reduced some of the poor into special mentality, or so-called poverty culture. The mentality is a result of poverty, and in reverse a constraint...
to economic and social development in poor areas. From the angle of health risks, Tang Shengchun highlights the economic burden of medical expenditures (especially those in bulk) on rural residents. Medical burden and the inequalities on medical consumption are important contributing factors of poverty.

IV. Strategy, Policy and the Evaluation of their Impact on Reducing Poverty

有关反贫困战略、政策及其效果评估方面的研究在 2006 年中国学者的研究中占有很大的比重。与贫困的概念、实质和表现方面的研究相同，中国学者关于反贫困战略与政策的原创理论研究比较少，利用国际反贫困理论进行应用分析比较多。

霍平和华迎放对国际反贫困理论进行了梳理，从马尔萨斯理论一直到诺斯、速水次佑郎制度经济学的理论，介绍了恰雅诺夫的家庭生命周期理论、刘易斯的二元经济论和结构论、舒尔茨的贫困经济学理论、拉美发展经济学家的依附理论和世界体系理论以及诺斯、速水次佑郎等人的制度经济学理论，这为我们了解国外的反贫困理论提供了便利。

另有学者从马克思主义理论的角度对反贫困战略与政策进行了研究。杨丽艳从原因、表现、后果三方面对马克思无产阶级贫困化理论进行了分析，认为该理论在当代表现为经济全球化背景下发达国家和发达国家之间资本主义国家工人阶级的贫困化。李少荣的研究认为，马克思主义反贫困理论对中国社会主义反贫困实践具有重要的现实指导意义。

陈端立、詹向阳通过对贫困理论研究历史轨迹的回顾，指出西方贫困理论大多针对的是发达国家的贫困问题，而对发展中国家贫困问题的研究明显不足，滞后于反贫困的行动。国内理论界对贫困问题的研究，大多与农村贫困有关，至今尚未形
by the slow progress in urban poverty.

Chinese scholars keep their eye on the evolvement of strategies and the effects of policies when it comes to the subject of poverty reduction strategies. Lin Ka and Fan Xiaoguang indicate the three phases of poverty reduction policy evolvements in China, from the welfare security under the planned economic system, to government-led poverty reduction program targeting regional development, and to the establishment of a holistic package of social security systems that finally leads to the setup of a social safety net. Gao Yanqiong and Tang Zhongyi put another version of the three phases as blood-pumping poverty reduction, development-oriented poverty reduction and overall elimination of poverty. Drawing on the data of sample surveys of rural households, Miao Qi and Zhong Funing has measured the changes of rural poverty in China since 1985, to arrive at the discoveries that with the sharp decline of rural poor contributed by government policies, the index of poverty depth and poverty severity are getting worse, leaving the average income of the remaining poor further from poverty line and the life of extreme poor even more difficult.

In China, the scholars tend to start impact evaluation of poverty reduction policies with the special development-based government-led measures and policies, including poverty reduction by human resource development, by participatory method, by education, by government finance, by resettlement and migration, by agricultural industrialization, by agricultural science and technology, by labor transfer and by the development of local tourism, etc. Poverty reduction experiences in some typical areas also count. The best of the measures and practice in Tibet, Ningxia Hui Ethnic Autonomous Region, Sichuan Province and other areas in the mid-west of China and suburbs of Beijing have been extracted by many researchers (Huang Xiaokui, 2006; Wen Qiuliang, 2006; etc). In the case of the world as large, experiences in Brazil, India, Pakistan and the United States have been appealing to researchers who are engaged in studies of women self-help groups, management of forestry resources and welfare system, etc (Le Bo, 2006; Chu Liming et al., 2006; etc).

Participatory method and NGO involvement in poverty reduction are nowadays making their way to the academic field of China. Chen Mingde et al. checked over the foundation, context, effects and faults of Village-based Development Plan (VDP) of poverty reduction which has been carried out on a large scale in China. Li Xiaoyun and Tang Lixia et al. made systematic summary of the procedure and methodologies of formulating participatory VDP and their application and effects, recognizing VDP’s roles.

对反贫困战略的研究，中国学者大都关注国家反贫困战略的变迁和现有减贫政策的效果。林卡和范晓光指出，中国的反贫困政策经历了计划经济体制时期的体制内福利保障、以区域发展为导向的政府专项反贫困计划、建立各类社会保障制度从而构建社会安全网等三个阶段。高炎琼、唐忠义则认为我国扶贫政策经历了输血式扶贫、开发式扶贫和全面消除贫困三个阶段。苗齐、钟甫宁采用农村住户抽样调查数据，测算了1985年以来中国农村贫困状态的变化情况，发现近20年来中国扶贫政策在减少农村贫困人口方面取得了巨大成功，但贫困深度指数和贫困强度指数却更加恶化，不仅剩余贫困人口的平均收入水平更加远离贫困线，而且深度贫困者处于更为不利的地位。

在反贫困政策效果评价方面，中国学者多以中国专项扶贫开发措施为出发点开展研究，人力资源开发扶贫、参与式扶贫，教育扶贫、财政扶贫、移民搬迁扶贫、产业化扶贫、农村科技扶贫、劳动力转移扶贫和旅游扶贫等都是关注的热点。一些典型地区的反贫困经验也是一项重要内容，许多研究人员从地区层面到西藏、宁夏、四川等中西部地区以及北京郊区的扶贫措施和经验进行了总结（黄小葵，2006；文秋良，2006；等等）。从对外的研究来看，巴西、印度、巴基斯坦、美国等国的扶贫经验成为研究者青睐的研究对象，研究内容包括妇女自助团体，森林资源管理，福利制度等（乐波，2006；褚利明等，2006；等等）。

随着参与式扶贫和非政府组织扶贫等方式的出现，对这两个方面的研究也逐渐升温。陈明德等对我国整村推进扶贫开发的政策基础，产生背景以及效果和存在的问题进行了研究。李小云、唐丽霞等也对参与式村级发展规划制定的程序与方法以及应用与效果进行了系统地归纳和总结，认为参与式村级规划提高了我国扶贫瞄准程度，打破了传统资金分
in refining targeting of poverty reduction, breaking obsolete fund distribution and utilization, raising the transparency of fund utilization and administration and promoting democratization in rural areas. However, the effect of VDP is constrained by the technical deficiencies existing in its formulation and implementation. The major deficiencies are that: 1) the implementation of VDP was limited to poverty reduction administration system, lacking other government departments’ participation; 2) inefficient integration of various resources caused the shortage of funds in launching VDP; and 3) participatory planning at present can only be applied to some simple projects.

What matters to Chinese scholars in their research on NGO roles in poverty reduction is how to appropriately position and develop NGOs in China at this time of being. As referred by Zheng Guangliang and Wei Shuyan in their comprehensive review on the mechanisms of international NGOs to be involved in poverty reduction, in comparison with NGOs in developed countries which get at poverty reduction goals predominantly by charity and donations and sometimes complemented by mutual support of individuals, generosity of the rich, government finance and direct assistance to developing countries, NGOs in developing countries are more the ones suffering from limited financial sources, engaging in the practical implementation of specific projects or locking targets in rural areas. Deng Guosheng et al. highlighted the necessity of the cooperation between government and NGOs in the field of poverty reduction in the perspectives of integrating various resources, fully making use of advantages of government and NGOs, and improving the efficiency of reducing poverty. From international experiences, they made further analysis on the modes, components and mechanism of the cooperation between government and NGOs.

It has to be taken note that China has seen an increase of studies on relationship between economic growth and poverty reduction since the World Bank country-specific report China’s Progress against Poverty which highlights the huge effects economic growth on poverty reduction in China. All these studies affirmed vast positive influence of economic growth to poverty reduction. Of them, Wen Qiuliang’s study was extensively inclusive and comprehensive for the parameter and non-parameter estimation methods that have been applied. In his point, despite the considerable achievements of China made in economic growth and poverty reduction and more encouragingly the decline of poor population and poverty incidence faster than economic growth since mid-1990s, the rate of both growth and decline has been uneven by region. More than economic growth itself, poverty is reduced by increasing
V. Poverty Reduction Mechanisms

五. 反贫困机制

With regard to poverty reduction mechanisms, Chinese scholars focused on rural poverty reduction mechanism and its impact evaluation and upgrade, especially the targeting and organization system.

In 2006, the analyses concerned with anti-poverty mechanism done in China was prevailed with retrospect and prospect of its development trends, to name just a few of them: 1) Poverty reduction policies in rural China are implemented much in its own ways which feature the double goals of economic growth and poverty reduction for poor areas, development orientation centering in poverty reduction projects, methods of regional targeting and social involvement led by governments; 2) The strategies of poverty reduction in China have undergone a major shift from relief-based to development-based measures, from direct relief to integrate economic development, from blood-pumping to blood-making and from the single roles played by governments to social involvement and international cooperation; 3) Changes have been taking place in the specific government measures. For instance, poverty reduction funds are no longer equally disbursed, but concentrated together with human resources, funds and material resources for integrated development; preferential treatments are provided to poor areas in credits, taxes and economic investments; various central governmental departments give more supports in the aspects of finance, materials and technique to poor areas; increase the joint inputs of central and local governments and poor residents themselves; Poverty reduction policies by governments have been acting along with innovation of rural institutions. 4) Defects and problems with China’s poverty reduction mechanisms are still daunting. For instance, economic elasticity of poverty which determines whether the poor can be benefited as much as possible. During the period from 1993 to 2004, growth in the west and coastal areas of China did a lot more good to the poor than that in the mid. In different sectors, growth is also playing different roles of poverty reduction. It is the case in national average, agriculture contributes the most while the second and tertiary industries do less than it. As far as regions are concerned, there are obvious disparities in poverty reduction across sectors.

关于反贫困机制的研究，中国学者研究的重点是中国农村反贫困机制的机制及其效果评价与创新，特别是瞄准机制和组织机制。

2006年，中国学者对中国反贫困机制的分析多是对其发展趋势的回顾和展望，其代表性观点有：1) 中国农村扶贫政策的实施模式具有很强的中国特色，即满足贫困地区经济增长和扶贫双重目标，以项目为中心的开发式扶贫、采用区域瞄准方式和政府主导推动下的全社会扶贫；2) 中国扶贫的战略实现了重大调整，由救济式扶贫向开发式扶贫转变，由单纯直接救济向贫困地区经济综合开发转变，由单纯向贫困地区“输血”向增强贫困地区“造血”功能转变，由单纯政府主导向动员全社会力量和加强国际合作扶贫转变；3) 政府具体的扶贫措施出现了一些变化。如，改变平均使用扶贫资金的方式，集中人力、财力和物力进行综合开发，在信贷、税收和经济开发等方面给与贫困地区优惠政策，中央各职能部门在资金、物资和技术上向贫困地区倾斜，加强中央、地方政府和贫困地区居民共同投资的力度，政府的扶贫政策与农村制度创新“互动”，等等；4) 中国扶贫机制的缺陷与问题依然突出，如扶贫对象瞄准还没有形成动态精准的识别机制，扶贫项目选择针对性不强，扶贫资金使用多元化机制尚未形
the mechanisms to identify dynamic targets of poverty reduction in a refine way are yet to shape up; selections of poverty reduction projects are far from relevant to real needs; a mechanism of diversified and rationally prioritized expense of poverty reduction funds are still called for; a sound split of labor in administration of poverty reduction efforts is not in place; and the monitoring system of poverty reduction is defected with inconsistent information and untimely supervision (Kuang Yuanpei, 2006).

In the research on poverty reduction mechanisms, the key is the administration of fund-using. Li Xiaoyun, Tang Lixia et al. have given comprehensive analyses of the administration and usage of government poverty reduction funds in China, including the institution of fund inputs and management, efficiency of fund-using and targeting of the funds, etc.

In review of the results in this regards, it can be concluded that Chinese scholars have to look further into the hearts of poverty reduction mechanisms in their studies in a more innovative way. Policy recommendations have yet to be provided adapting to the actual needs of mechanism innovation in the new era when balanced development between urban and rural areas is required.

VI. Urban Poverty

六，城市贫困

Urban poverty, a subject relating to multiple issues with extensive consequences, has become a social concern since it rose in the mid of the 1990s. In 2006, the studies from Chinese scholars on the issue of urban poverty in China concentrated in the status, characteristics, monitoring, causes, effects and countermeasures of urban poverty, and so on.

With no standard to measure urban poverty in China, different results have come up by different scholars adopting different data and processing methodologies. The sources of data include: 1) statistical data from All-China Labor’s Union; 2) statistical data calculated by the standard of urban minimum subsistence allowance in different cities; 3) statistical data figured out in sample surveys. The overall size of urban poor in China is about between 20 million and 40 million, much in equivalence with rural

成，重点不够突出，扶贫工作管理分工合作机制尚未建立，扶贫监管体系信息不对称，监督不及时的缺陷明显（匡远配，2006 年）。

在反贫困机制研究中，关于扶贫资金使用管理的研究至关重要。李小云、唐丽霞等对中国财政扶贫资金的管理和运行进行了全面的分析，包括扶贫资金的投入与管理体制、扶贫资金的使用效率以及扶贫资金的瞄准等。

从对本部分的研究成果的整理来看，中国学者关于反贫困机制的研究还不够深入，创新性不足，政策建议不能满足新时期统筹城乡协调发展背景下创新中国扶贫机制的实际需要。

中国城市贫困问题产生于 1990 年代中期，因其涉及问题广泛、影响深远而得到了社会各界的广泛关注。2006 年，中国学者关于城市贫困问题的研究集中在城市贫困的现状、特征、监测、成因、影响和对策等几个方面。

关于城市贫困规模的估计，由于我国没有制定城市贫困标准，不同学者根据不同数据来源和处理方法得出了不同的结论。具体的来源有：1）中华全国总工会的统计数据；2）根据各地城市低保标准统计得出的数据；3）根据抽样调查推算得出的数据。总的来讲，中国城市贫困规模约在 2000 万
However, the points with urban poverty status in China are much in the same terms: 1) The urban poor is composed of five groups, namely, the unemployed and laid-offs, early retirees who used to work in public sectors, outsiders of public sectors (those who have never been working in public sectors but making their lives by temporary jobs or selling at the street, and the disabled and elderly with no support from offspring), poor off-farm workers, and farmers losing land to urbanization and industrialization; 2) The urban poor is seen the vulnerable who have been excluded to various extent from labor market, public services and social security; 3) Urban poverty is caused by five factors. First, unemployment brought about by economic institutional reforms and economic restructuring; second, lack of effective supporting policies; third, lame social security systems that are too weak to build a secure safety net in real sense; fourth, current distribution policies that are working against poverty reduction in cities; and fifth, the lack of social foundation to back up social policies and the lack of effective social work to build self-independence in the poor.

In the studies of urban poverty reduction, two issues have been placed in the core center: policies of social relief for urban poverty reduction and social support network for poor urban households.

Studies of social relief policies have been locked on Minimum Living Allowance (MLA), social relief and medical support, of which the top is the MLA. In the studies by He Ping and Hua Yingfang that are typical than others, there are four limitations with the urban MLA system: First, absence of sound systems, specifically, absence of nationally applied medical, education and housing relief policies, and absence of mechanisms to select the beneficiaries of the Allowance by their qualifications; second, weak enforcements, specifically, low standard of the Allowance, harsh criteria, lack of legal guarantee and employment security measures helping the laid-offs not in effective force; third, shortage of finance, specifically, big gap between Allowance supply and demand, unstable sources of financing, supportive projects like education, housing and medical relief delayed in normal operation, target of most reliefs in many areas limited to individuals or specific groups and only temporarily without institutional sustenance; fourth, irrational administration, specifically, excessive players involved working with blocked coordination. In general, the administration for the time-being fails to guarantee comprehensive social security for the urban poor.

至 4000 万之间，与农村贫困规模旗鼓相当。

综合来看，中国学者关于中国城市贫困状况的分析观点基本一致，主要包括：1）中国城市贫困群体构成大体由五部分组成，即：结构调整出现的失业人员与下岗职工、较早退休的“体制内”人员、“体制外”人员（即那些从来没在国有单位工作过、靠打零工、摆小摊养家糊口的人以及残疾人和孤寡老人）、进城务工的贫困农民工和在城市化、工业化过程中因土地被征用而失去生活来源的农民；2）城市贫困人口是社会弱势群体，在就业市场、公共事务、社会保障等方面受到了不同程度的排斥；3）城市贫困因五方面因素所致。一是经济体制转轨、结构调整导致失业造成贫困；二是缺乏有效的扶持政策；三是社会保障制度不健全，保障功能薄弱，无法构建一道真正的安全网；四是当前的收入分配政策不利于缓解城市贫困；五是缺乏支撑社会保障政策的社会基础，缺乏帮助贫困群体“自立”的有效社会工作方式。

在中国学者关于城市反贫困研究中，有两个方面的问题得到了极大的关注，即：城市反贫困社会救助政策和城市贫困家庭社会支持网络。

关于社会救助政策的研究，主要针对的是低保、社会救助和医疗扶持，尤以城市低保首当其冲。其中，何平、华迎芳的研究比较具有代表性，他们认为，目前我国城市低保制度存在四个方面的缺陷：一是制度缺失。即缺乏全国性的医疗、教育、住房救助政策，缺乏最低生活保障对象资格识别机制；二是执行不力。包括：低保标准过低，条件苛刻，缺乏法律保障，针对下岗失业人员就业保障措施未得到有效落实，等等；三是资金不足。低保资金供给与需求缺口较大，资金来源渠道不稳定，教育、住房、医疗等救助项目迟迟不能步入正轨，多数地区基本停留在个案或部分人群的临时救助上，缺乏制度性的救助；四是管理体制不顺。所涉
Government roles are underlined in the construction of social supporting network for poor households. Hong Xiaoliang and Yin Zhigang looked into how the poor urban households cope with living difficulties under the subject of social supporting network for poor households. They find that social supporting network for poor urban households is dominated with free economic aid and mental support, not able to completely solve unemployment of the families with the meager labor support. Urban poverty has to be relieved not by self-adjustment of the families alone but rather by government interference. It has been raised by many scholars that the governments should contain and finally settle urban poverty by financial transfer, construction of social security system, strengthened policy enforcement, and increase of guidance over industrial development.

Objectively speaking, studies on urban poverty by Chinese scholars are far from perfect. For example, most of them remain at non-theoretical and superficial levels; more of them are devoted to social classes of population less to spatial distribution; those combining poverty reduction and urban socio-economic development are in great shortage; those working on the demands of urban poor and equal distribution of urban resources are lagging behind, etc. Chinese scholars are required to boost their research at both theoretical and practical levels according to the new characteristics, new trends of the evolvement of urban poverty and the requirements of constructing new types of urban socio-economic development modes, so as to correctly judge the status and socio-economic consequences of urban poverty, to give sound policy recommendations of adjusting and optimizing strategies of urban poverty reduction, and to make new contributions to urban poverty reduction in China.

部门过多，协调不畅。总体来看，目前的管理体制无法从组织上保证城市贫困群体获得系统的综合性社会保障。

关于贫困家庭的社会支持网络建设，大量研究强调了政府的作用。洪小良、尹志刚以贫困家庭的社会支持网络为主题研究了城市贫困家庭对生计困难的情况。他们认为，城市贫困家庭的社会支持网络以无偿经济援助和精神支持为主，虽有部分劳务支持，但无法完全解决贫困家庭就业难题。城市贫困的缓解不能依靠家庭的自我调节，而是要更多的依赖政府干预，很多学者提出，政府应通过财政转移支付，建立社会保障体系，加大政策扶持力度，加强产业开发指导，遏制并逐步解决城市贫困问题。

客观来讲，中国学者关于城市贫困问题的研究还存在诸多不足。比如，大量研究依然停留在非理论层面，缺乏深度，人口阶层研究较多，空间研究偏少；减贫与城市社会经济发展结合的研究严重缺乏；对城市贫困阶层的需求以及城市资源公平配置等方面的研究滞后，等等，不一而足。需要中国学者根据城市贫困演变的新特点、新趋势以及构建城市新型社会经济展模式的要求在理论和实践两个层面加强研究，对城市贫困的状况及其社会经济后果做出准确的判断，提出调整优化城市减贫战略的科学的政策建议，为推进中国城市减贫事业发展做出新的贡献。
Review on businesses of International Poverty Reduction Center in China in 2007

With the strong leadership of the BOT and the support of various actors, IPRCC has been moving towards its goal of building an international standard of poverty reduction training, innovating exchange mechanism of to worldwide poverty reduction and preparing a research platform for poverty reduction, in accordance with the annual work plan and the implementation scheme. In addition, it has also managed highly efficiently as expected to construct an office building. It carried out all the tasks scheduled at the beginning of the year with satisfying results despite the difficulties of staff and time pressure under a tight deadline.

—Continued institutional and staff capacity building. Specifically it determined clear responsibilities and work allocation for staff, optimized organizational structure; recruited new staff, enhanced team capacity; improved regulations, standardized management; ensured high quality construction on time of the Center’s office building; and produced publicity material to increase its impact.

—Completed two major international exchange events designed to further raise the name of IPRCC. Specifically, it successfully played its part as an organizer of the International Conference on Taking Action for the World’s Poor and Hungry People and convened the first China-ASEAN Forum on Social Development and Poverty Reduction.

—Undertook international training, exchange and research activities in the area of poverty reduction to enhance its role as a platform, including: (1) It successfully conducted three training seminars targeting developing countries, 78 medium-senior level officials from 33 countries in Asia and Africa participated in the events, promoting its brand development as scheduled. (2) It enhanced international exchanges on poverty reduction and expanded the scope of these exchanges by organizing four international seminars, a field trip by the Center’s BOT members to poverty reduction project sites, sending a delegation to Africa to study poverty reduction, participating in international meetings on poverty reduction, receiving overseas delegations, and increasing daily external contacts and communication.(3) It raised its level of applied research to build a research base.(4) It consolidated and expanded its operational network to lay a foundation to enable greater development in the future.

—Explored potential partners to design a diversified cooperation mechanism. Firstly, it endeavored to become involved in Chinese government programs of assistance to, and cooperation with, Africa. Secondly, it managed to get the approval for the Program of Capacity Building for Poverty Reduction in Developing and Transition Economies; Thirdly, it has applied to the implementation of related national projects.

中国扶贫中心2007年工作回顾

在理事会正确领导与有关各方的大力支持下，中国国际扶贫中心根据年度工作计划和实施方案，围绕“树立国际减贫培训品牌，创新国际减贫交流机制，构建国际减贫研究平台”的工作目标，全面推进各项业务工作，同时按照“赶工期、保质量”的总体要求抓好中心大楼建设。在人手少、时间紧、任务重的情况下，经过努力，顺利完成了年初确定的各项工作任务，取得了较好的效果。

——继续加强机构与队伍建设，提高了机构与队伍能力。主要是：明确分工、优化结构、充实人员、提高能力；完善制度、规范管理；保质保量，抓好基建；适度宣传，扩大影响。

——顺利完成两项重大国际交流活动的承办工作，进一步扩大了影响。分别是：“关注贫困，行动起来”国际研讨会与第一届“中国—东盟社会发展与减贫论坛”。

——全面推进国际减贫培训、交流和研究活动，进一步发挥机构的平台作用。包括：（1）成功举办3期面向发展中国家的减贫培训班，对来自亚洲和非洲33个国家78名中高级官员进行了培训，按计划推进品牌建设；（2）多方位推进国际减贫交流，积极拓宽交流领域；举办了4次国际研讨会；组织了理事会单位代表扶贫项目考察；组团赴非洲开展减贫考察，参加各项国际减贫会议；接待来华考察团组；加强对外日常联络与沟通。（3）提高应用研究水平，推动国际减贫研究平台建设。（4）积极巩固和拓展中心业务网络，为进一步发展拓展发展空间打下基础。

——努力拓展合作伙伴，进一步推动多元化合作机制的形成。一是积极争取参与我国对非减贫援助和合作；二是成功开发“帮助发展中及转型国家开展减贫能力建设项目”；三是积极申请执行国家有关项目。
About Brief on International Poverty Reduction Studies

Applied research on international poverty reduction is one of three leading functions of IPRCC, with the theme of China poverty reduction experiences internationalization and international ones localization and the direction of carrying through applied study and policy analysis, contributing to realize the missions of IPRCC based on developing influential research findings and creating a platform for information sharing and dissemination. Therefore, IPRCC irregularly compiles and publishes this journal to lay out the outputs of research programs carried out by the Center and other related academic institutions and fellows, introducing poverty reduction theoretic knowledge and methodologies at home and abroad and disseminating international experiences and lessons.