



Practice and Reflection of Moral Standards Embedded in the Withdrawal Mechanism of the Poor People

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Abstract: Through the field research on the embedded practices in the withdrawal criteria for poor people in some rural areas, this article thinks that the major reasons of these practices being challenged include poor operability, quantification difficulty, tense relationships, different responsibility judgment and so on. But the essential reason is negative effects from the moral label of "lazy". So it is important to deal with the relationship of moral aim, moral means and moral effect.

Keywords: moral standard, withdrawal mechanism, moral means, moral effect

1. INTRODUCTION

In November 2015, "the Decision on Winning the Battle of Poverty" was released. After reviewing the past remarkable achievements in the field of poverty alleviation and development in the Chinese countryside, this file put forward new goals in the new era: by 2020 achieving "two not worries, three guarantees", and ensuring that all rural more than 70 million poor people are lifted out of poverty. According to the document, targeted poverty alleviation should be implemented to "help the real poor", ensure the targets accurate, and implement dynamic management of poor population in and out. In April 2016, "the Opinions on Establishing the Poverty Withdrawal Mechanism" further refined the withdrawal mechanism for the poor population. The document stressed that the withdrawal of poor people would take the household as the unit, using the annual net income per capita as the reference standard for the withdrawal. The document also stipulated that the withdrawal of the poor population would be carried out in an orderly manner according to democratic evaluation, verification and publicity. It can be said that the above two documents have laid a solid institutional foundation for the implementation of the dynamic management of the rural poor population and ensured the smooth realization of the targeted poverty alleviation targets, and guaranteed the standardization and targeting of the withdrawal of the poor population. In the National Poverty Alleviation Summary and Commendation Conference in February of 2021, President Xi Jinping announced that China has achieved a comprehensive victory in the tough battle against poverty. This accomplishment will be remembered in world poverty alleviation history forever. And this point also gives us some enlightenments to think this event over from a historical perspective. That is to say, we can analyze it from the angle of poverty alleviation history.

As a matter of fact, in the dynamic management and withdrawal of the poor population, various localities have formulated more detailed withdrawal mechanisms according to the actual situation of the region, and have also formed some specific practices that are easy to understand and to enforce, and put forward some specific withdrawal indicators. For example, Yi Na town of GuiZhou province brought up an idea of "four views", namely "to see the house first, see the grain secondly, see the strong labor force thirdly, and then see the students at home lastly"; GuangXi's "five-step identification method", namely "interviewing, looking, calculating, comparing and discussing"; combined with the local reality, on the basis of the net income per capita index, GanSu province added the housing, drinking water, education, health and other indicators. Among the indicators, net

income per capita and safe housing are rigid indicators. And on the basis of the withdrawal of the poor population standard, some administrative villages in the provinces and cities (including some autonomous regions), further detailed the withdrawal standards. For example, in Y Village of Z County in Inner Mongolia, which we investigated, the withdrawal indicators included owning houses ,cars, tractors, and social security benefits, working as veterinarians, village cadres and having jobs in cities, unwilling to work and so on. Also for example, another survey in S village of X county in He Nan,10 indicators are included in withdrawal indicators, namely having certain industry income by enjoying financial support , family members as village cadres, five guarantees family, more than 15000 Yuan bank savings, large farm tools or cars, building area of more than 180 square meters, having financial support personnel at home , all the family members moving out , lazy and unwilling to work and so on.

The establishment of these specific withdrawal indicators is summarized and refined on the basis of actual situation of the region in various localities, especially in the rural poverty alleviation work, which greatly promotes the accurate identification and accurate management of the poor population. However, we have also noted that some localities have also added moral standards to the withdrawal indicators of the poor population, namely "moral embedding", as the entry-withdrawal criteria for judging the poor population, such as Z County in Inner Mongolia and X County in He Nan Province mentioned above. In addition to these two counties, when we conducted actual investigations in some places, we also found that some administrative villages or villager groups had included this indicator in the identification of the object of assistance. This in the academic research on the poor withdrawal mechanism has not been studied, and many specific staff engaged in poor dynamic management did not give corresponding attention. On the contrary, They basically adopted the attitude of acquiescence and recognized the opinions of the masses. So, how does this standard work specifically in practice? What are the problems faced during the operation? What is the implementation effect of this standard embedding in? These issues still need further investigation. This is also the main content of this paper.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The academic circle has much discussed on the dynamic management and withdrawal mechanism of the poor population. For example, Zhou Cai (2005), through studying the dynamic management of subsistence allowances in poor areas, put forward the backward management mechanism of subsistence allowances, fuzzy evaluation, demand and interest temptation, supervision and other problems in poor areas, which have a strong inspiration for the researches on the operation difficulties of the withdrawal mechanism of poor people; Shen Xinzhong (2013) emphasized the important role of information construction, basic data, and a stable monitoring team in the dynamic management of the poor population; Deng Ling et al. (2014) proposed to establish a poverty alleviation information network system to realize the information connectivity at the administrative level; Dou Xiaohong's (2015) research on GuZhang County of Hu Nan province, on the basis of pointing out the basic conditions of the county poor, the arduous task, the lack of withdrawal mechanism, proposed to increase the county poverty alleviation support, improve and refine the withdrawal mechanism; Mo Guanghui (2016) pointed out that due to the complexity of reality ,slack poverty alleviation staff and the malicious interference of some masses, although some innovation in precise poverty alleviation , the effective results can't be completely guaranteed . On this basis, it is proposed to pay attention to the social factors that cause poverty, curb human exclusion and institutional exclusion, and control the identification error; Liu Huifang et al. (2016), according to the survey data of the poor population in Huang Gang City, believe that the foundation of targeted poverty alleviation is not solid, and the difficulty of identifying the objects and the causes is great. These directly affects the implementation effect of targeted poverty alleviation; Gu Shengzu et al. (2016) believe that the mechanism of poverty alleviation identification and withdrawal in China is not perfect, and the scale of poverty reduction population and the growth level of poor population should be included in the local performance evaluation; Zheng Ruiqiang et al. (2016) believe that big data mining should be used to analyze the situation of the poor population, finding out the dynamic poverty behavior mechanism of the poor population, and constructing a positive withdrawal mechanism and a risk prevention system.

In general, the researches of the above scholars on the withdrawal mechanism of the poor people focus more on the difficulties and obstacles of the implementation of the withdrawal mechanism, but rarely involves the specific research of specific withdrawal indicators. Different from these scholars, Zhang Qi, Shi Le and Gao Xiang have studied this field deeply. Zhang Qi and Shi Zhile (2016), on the basis of the analysis of local poverty withdrawal mechanism differences in a paper, put forward four withdrawal criteria dimensions, including basic poverty dimension (poverty scope, labor and income level), economic development dimension (consumption level, living conditions, health, skills and industry development), cultural development dimension (average health, culture, education and social security) and living environment dimension (infrastructure and forest coverage, etc.) , and pointed out the policy orientation of the development of future withdrawal mechanism. From the perspective of index setting, this research pays more attention to the regional withdrawal mechanism. Although it can provide reference for the withdrawal mechanism of the poor population, it cannot be directly used for the withdrawal operation of the poor population. Gao Xiang et al. (2016) have built the identity identification index system of the rural subsistence allowance households, taking labor income, other income, housing assets, other assets, living expenses and unexpected expenditures and other six indicators as the reference standards for identifying the subsistence allowance households, thus enhanced the accuracy of the identification of poverty alleviation targets. Although both Zhang Qi and Gao Xiang have paid attention to the problems of establishment of the indicators of the poor population entry-withdrawal , no attention has been paid to the specific practice of the local moral standards embedding.

3. METHODS AND MATERIALS

This paper mainly adopts the case method and the interview method. Y Village in z County and X Village in S County of Inner Mongolia and S Village in X County of HeNan Province are the main research areas of this paper, and these three villages are taken as individual cases to analyze the problem of moral standards embedding in the withdrawal mechanism of the poor population. It should be noted that the choice of location is not random, mainly because the county survey carried out by the author's scientific research task covers the above sites, and the problem of embedding moral standards is more prominent, so we finally decided to carry out in-depth research in this area. In each village, the author and the members of the research group interviewed the village heads and some villagers in the village, and collected a lot of useful first-hand information. Of course, due to the theme of this article, some information is not reflected here.

4. LOCAL PRACTICE OF MORAL STANDARDS

In 2013, “the Opinions on Promoting Rural Poverty Alleviation and Development ” proposed to file the poor population and established a targeted poverty alleviation work mechanism. In 2016, “the Opinions on Establishing a Poverty Withdrawal Mechanism” called for establishing a strict, standardized and transparent poverty mechanism. On the basis of the above documents, more detailed withdrawal mechanisms have been formulated, especially in the administrative villages or natural villages as the first line of the poor population withdrawal work. The village committee and the subordinate "first secretary" directly shoulder the important tasks of object identification and cause identification .Only by finding out the base number of the poor population at this level and establishing an accurate information database can we lay a foundation for targeted poverty alleviation and precise management. Therefore, in view of the problem of "poverty by laziness" in some administrative villages, the village committee members in these places have added moral factors into the withdrawal standard of the poor population.

(1) "Eight kinds of people"

Z County of Inner Mongolia is a state-level poverty county, and the task of withdrawing the poor population is more arduous. On the basis of the investigation of the village committee and the village "first secretary", the subordinate villages have formulated more detailed withdrawal standards. For Y village, which does a solid job out, they use 4,000 Yuan as the income standard, and then determine whether the poor people should quit. But they face some very difficult problems when working on this. As the village chief said, " *In recent years, the state has supported too much money, and everyone stretches out their mouths and asks for money unconditionally*". But after receiving the subsidies, some people do not use them reasonably to promote production, but "enjoying", "playing away".

When talking about the causes of poverty in the village, the village chief said, "*The problem of self-initiative cannot be solved. Some people sit down before they are still 60 years old. Anyway, they quit the labor after the state gives them money.*" Therefore, when formulating the withdrawal mechanism for the poor population, village Y enumerated eight standards(that is, the "eight kinds of people")to carry out the poverty withdrawal work. The eight types of people include: "*those who have houses, enjoy subsistence allowances, veterinarians, village cadres, have cars and buildings, have tractors, migrant workers in cities, and lazy persons*".

According to the village chief, many people in the village are "poverty by laziness" Therefore, they have added this indicator to the withdrawal criteria for the poor, trying to establish a village atmosphere of diligence and thrift. They also hope to solve the shortage of poverty alleviation numbers of people and the optimal allocation of poverty alleviation resources, and better achieve the goal of targeted poverty alleviation.

(2) Quantification of "diligence" and "laziness"

Compared with Y Village in Z County, X Village in S County of Inner Mongolia has also added moral standards into the withdrawal indicator system. So this village is also faced with the problem of "poverty by laziness" in withdrawing work. So an ethical indicator was also added into the withdrawal criteria. Then what is their implementation of this standard like? In our survey, we found that they measured the "industrious" and "lazy" by digital indicators such as food production and livestock quantity." *For example, to see how much your food produced, how many cattle, sheep and horses died. He collects little food, very little, isn't that lazy ?*,"*Those lazy people just have land but do not plant, farm but not hoe the land, do not water the land. The farmland has no income, they have the means of production but have no income. the land is barren, they don't care, Isn't that lazy? There are many in the countryside*". The village chief said. Because of this, it is hoped that through quantitative forms, "the lazy persons" will be restricted from the scope of poverty alleviation.

In addition to the village in Inner Mongolia, there are some administrative villages in some other provinces that are also making such attempts, such as the S Village in X County of He Nan Province, as mentioned above. So How effective is the implementation of this standard?

5. CHALLENGING FACTORS

From our investigation, the attempts of these villages in this regard have faced many challenges .The main reasons can be roughly divided into the following aspects.

(1)Poor Operability

For example, some poor people and non-poor people in Village Y believe that, unlike a real "hard standard" such as a house, a car, this standard is too "soft" or belongs to the soft indicator, difficult to operate, not clear at a glance. This will become a reason to stink people, blame people, and will provide "rent-seeking" opportunities for some people when poverty alleviation numbers are in short supply. For the X village, some digital indicators are used to try to quantify "laziness" and "diligence" to weaken and resist the opposition from some villagers. However, because the production and quantity of agricultural production and breeding of livestock are affected by a variety of reasons, such as natural factors, capital input, family labor force and so on. Therefore, in judging laziness and diligence, a person cannot be recognized as diligence or laziness solely based on yield and quantity.

(2)Causing Tension

Some of the poor people in village Y opposed to this standard most. Although "*first support and encourage their own hard work to get rich*", the village committee set this standard. But as the village chief said, "*laziness is not good to say, you say somebody is lazy, he will pout (meaning abuse) you*".Therefore, the people in charge of withdrawal do not want to make enemies in the village because of this standard. If so, both personal life and village work will be affected in the future. At the same time, it is not easy to take this one as the reason for evaluating the poverty of some villagers, otherwise it will affect the social relationship between the villagers under the background of "acquaintance society".

(3) Different Judgments of Responsibility

Different people have different views on the causes of poverty among the poor people, and the Perceptions of Responsibility or responsibility judgment will vary greatly (Weiner, 2000). During the investigation in Y village, villagers had mixed opinions about the causes of a 52-year-old villager, Uncle Zhen, who was poor. Some think that he lost his father in the early years, junior high school dropout, low level of education. Later, he was widowed and lack of labor. Uncle Zhen himself also held this claim. But others disagree. They thought Uncle Zhen's poverty is because of "worthless" and "lazy". His family has two unmarried sons and has a lot of labor force. This rhetoric of different liability judgments leads to the confusing moral standards.

(4) Re-vulnerable

Regardless of the causes of poverty, the weak position of the poor people in the society is obvious. Some basic needs are difficult to meet, capital accumulation difficulties, lack of ability to get rich, inferiority complex and other problems are prominent. As Grandma Li, a poor family member in S Village of He Nan province, said, "*afraid of being mocked*". In this way, if the moral standard really works, which is strictly implemented, the lazy and poor people will be more embarrassed, become the jokes of others, and increase the social exclusion degree they suffer in their villages, thus making their disadvantaged position more prominent.

From the above discussion, we find that the reasons why the practice in these places facing many challenges include the difficulty of operation, easy to cause conflict and so on these villages.

Despite the problems with moral standards embedded in the local practice of poor people withdrawing, can we say that this practice has completely failed? Of course not. This point can be found out from the above cases. In Y village, some of the villagers' abusing is actually a strong reaction to the label of "lazy". The moral recognition given to diligence in the Chinese cultural tradition and the moral depreciation of "laziness" are the fundamental reasons why it can play a role. Chinese culture has always emphasized "*knowing shame*" (知耻), from Confucius to Lu Jiuyuan, to Gong Zizhen's "*ordinary people shameless, humiliate their wealth*" (庶人无耻, 辱其身家). In the list of shameful matters, laziness is particularly prominent, so the Chinese people will admonish their children "*diligence can get rich*" (勤能致富), "*lazy people' richness is not long*" (人懒富不长), "*people's livelihood lies in the diligence*" (民生在勤). Diligence is no longer simply a choice initially forced to make a livelihood, but evolves into a way of life and living habits, and it has become an important indicator to measure the moral conduct of the family and the individual. On the contrary, laziness is endowed with a strong moral derogatory color, which is a slack on their own roles and obligations, and will be ridiculed and censured by the public opinion. Therefore, some of the villagers' abuses above is actually a strong reaction to the label of "laziness". "Status Hierarchy" by this moral label is very difficult to change in the short term once formed (Lowe, 2002). This would expose their family members and even future generations to criticism in entire villages or even larger areas for their poor reputation. Uncle Zhen blamed his poverty on his low education level and low labor force, rather than focusing on internal, controllable and stable factors (Weiner, 1985), which also makes us realize that no one wants to be morally labeled as "lazy". Therefore, the local practice of adding moral standards into the poor withdrawal standards can still play a certain role.

6. CONCLUSION AND REFLECTION

Moral purpose is the moral goals and consequences that people expect and strive to achieve when making their behavior choices, and the specific goals and consequences of the behavior are clearly defined (Zhu Ping, 1990). Moral means are the specific way and method used to obtain the above moral goals and consequences. In the local practice that moral standards are embedded in the withdrawal standards of the poor population, the moral purpose is to give rewards to the diligent and punish the lazy, promote the virtues of thrift, and form a good atmosphere, which is also in line with the goal of national and local targeted poverty alleviation. In this regard, the legitimacy of the moral purposes is indisputable. And for this sake, embedding moral standards into the indicator system seems reasonable.

But in many cases the validity of such moral means in its implementation is not fully considered, the applicability of this ethical approach in a larger cultural and social context is not thought over, the realization of moral purposes is not considered according to the various social relations and social structures within the village. Therefore, from the perspective of the relationship between moral ends and moral means, we can find that moral purpose is difficult to realize when the role of cultural and social contextual factors is ignored, even if the moral purpose is irrefutably justified. At the same time, the use of moral means cannot be regarded as appropriate only for moral purposes, but it's more important to see the final effect. Therefore, only when the moral purpose, moral means and moral effect are comprehensively considered, and examined in the social relations and social structure, the expected goal can be achieved. Moreover, ethical standards that are embedded and must work together with other identification criteria for other withdrawal mechanisms, which is also a point to be emphasized in this paper.

The above only describes a fragment or part of China's achievements in the anti-poverty field since 2015, and only analyzes the withdrawal of the poor from the moral perspective of villages, so there will inevitably be an over-generalization situation. However, the author believes that it is this micro-record and theoretical analysis from a historical perspective that can lay an important foundation for the in-depth study of China's anti-poverty history.

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