十八洞村摆脱贫困的实践与经验

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摘 要：作为精准扶贫首倡地和全国脱贫攻坚楷模，十八洞村的精准脱贫实践和经验值得总结和推广。本文在长期跟踪研究的基础上，从精准脱贫的历程、主要做法和经验启示三个方面立体式解读了十八洞村案例。精准扶贫以来，十八洞村的精神风貌、生活状态、产业发展、社会治理、基础设施和公共服务均发生了翻天覆地的变化，这得益于精准扶贫方略引领下精准发掘内生动力、精准识别扶贫对象、精准制定扶贫方案、精准发展扶贫产业、精准凝聚社会合力等系列举措。进一步地，本文认为十八洞村成功摆脱贫困的经验虽有“五个结合”等多种总结，但背后更普适性规律则是通过基层组织重建、市场要素重塑、社会秩序重构，在贫困乡村创建和完善有为政府、有效市场和有机社会发挥作用的前提和条件，充分发挥三者的协同效应，助推贫困乡村走出政府失灵、市场失灵和社会失灵的“三重失灵”困境，走上现代乡村治理和发展之路。

关键词：十八洞村 精准扶贫 精准脱贫 三重失灵 经验

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十八洞村作为精准扶贫的首倡地，是中国贫困乡村精准扶贫精准脱贫的一个缩影。2013年11月3日，习近平总书记深入该村调研，作出“实事求是、因地制宜、分类指导、精准扶贫”的指示，并要求“不能搞特殊化，但不能没有变化”，要探索出“可复制、可推广”的经验。2017年2月，十八洞村整村脱贫，2020年，村人均纯收入由2013年的1668元增加到18369元，比全国贫困地区农村人均收入高出5781元，村集体经济从空白发展到集体收入超过180万元，实现了从深度贫困到生活宽裕、从“村合心不合”到互助互兴、从破旧落后到“醉美乡村”、从闭塞偏远到现代文明、从封闭保守到开放自信的巨大转变。2018年6月2日，老挝执政党总书记、国家主席本扬率党政高层代表团到十八洞村学习脱贫经验，自此，十八洞村经验走出了国门、走向了世界。作为精准扶贫、精准脱贫的成功案例和生动实践，十八洞村先后被评为“全国先进基层党组织”“全国少数民族特色村寨”“全国乡村旅游示范村”“全国文明村”“全省脱贫攻坚示范村”，在2021年2月25日召开的全国脱贫攻坚总结表彰大会上荣获“全国脱贫攻坚楷模”的荣誉称号。那么，十八洞村究竟是如何在如此短的时间内实现翻天覆地巨变的呢？成功的密码究竟是什么？有哪些可复制、可推广的经验？这些经验对国家减贫理论的贡

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献是什么？围绕这些问题，近年来各级政府部门、各类智库机构、不同学科背景的专家学者都进行了总结和讨论，给出了各种不同的解释（陈文胜等，2021；丁建军等，2021；尹怡诚等，2019；新华社国家高端智库，2021；Yang 和 Liu，2021）。不同于现有的研究，本文尝试从政府失灵、市场失灵和社会失灵“三重失灵”以及有为政府、有效市场和有机社会三者协同的角度对十八洞村摆脱贫困的经验进行解读，基于该村精准脱贫历程、主要做法的详细调研资料，在有为政府推动、有效市场培育、有机社会构建及其三者耦合协同框架下，阐释其走出“三重失灵”、摆脱贫困陷阱、重塑发展新路径的过程，并进一步提炼精准扶贫方略助推贫困乡村摆脱贫困的一般规律，以期为十八洞村经验的可复制可推广性提供更普适的理论支撑。

一、十八洞村精准脱贫的历程

十八洞村位于全国集中连片特困区之一的武陵山片区腹地，湖南省湘西土家族苗族自治州花垣县双龙镇（原排碧乡）西南部的高寒山区，是一个纯苗族村，面积约9.4平方公里，平均海拔700米，村内地形复杂，属于高山熔岩的喀斯特地貌，由4个自然寨和6个村民小组组成，共225户939人，人均耕地0.83亩。2013年，全村的人均纯收入为1668元，分别是所在地花垣县农民人均纯收入4903元、湖南省农民人均纯收入8372元、全国农民人均纯收入8896元的34.01%、19.92%、18.75%，贫困发生率高达57.7%。精准扶贫后，十八洞村走上了快速脱贫致富之路，实现了精神风貌、生活状态、产业发展、社会治理以及基础设施与公共服务等全方位巨变。

（一）精神风貌：从心散慵懒到合作互助

2014年以来十八洞村的精神脱贫主要表现在三个方面：一是村级层面从“村合心不合”到齐心协力谋发展。2005年7月撤乡并村，原来的竹子、飞虫两个行政村合并成十八洞村，但合并基础不稳固，合并不仅未带来任何新的发展机遇，反而出现了一系列新矛盾和新问题，如党员、干部意见不合，两村之间离心离德，党支部和村委会缺乏凝聚力等。2013年，总书记到村考察给十八洞村发展带来了绝佳机会，鼓舞了村民摆脱贫困的志气，一大批能人开始返乡创业建设家乡；同时，花垣县委精准选派5名干部组成驻十八洞村扶贫工作队，建强党支部和村委会，并通过举办篮球赛、文艺晚会，组织苗歌会、赶秋节、过苗年、鹊桥会等文体活动，实现了“村合心合”。二是村民的精气神从心散慵懒到你追我赶奔小康。2014年以前，由于村庄常年戴着“贫困帽”，村民的意识贫困较强，普遍存在“等靠要”的思想，家家户户都想当贫困户坐等脱贫。“扶贫先扶志，治贫先治根”。驻村工作队利用村两委换届契机，把讲政治、有文化、能力强、群众信任的能人选出来，优化班子结构，建强村支两委，发挥班子引领作用。同时，创新推行“群众思想道德星级化管理”模式、“互助五兴”基层治理模式，促进了村民各互助小组之间你追我赶氛围的形成。三是干群关系上从不信任不支持到团结一致向振兴。2014年初，驻村工作队进村时，有村民泼冷水，有村民在村部围墙上写标语辱骂驻村工作队干部，村级会议参会人员不到一半，还有村民在基础设施建设中不配合、在猕猴桃合作社参股动员会上讲风凉话等，对驻村干部和村支两委不信任不支持。随着精准扶贫工作的有序推进，发展成效逐渐显现，村民素质稳步提升，村民开始积极支持村干部工作，主动团结在村支两委和驻村工作队周围，团结一致奔向振兴，形成了“投入有限、民力无穷、自力更生、建设家园”的十八洞精神。

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（二）生活状态：从深度贫困到小康生活

自精准扶贫以来，十八洞村日常生活也发生了翻天覆地的变化。一是从深度贫困到消除绝对贫困，实现“两不愁三保障”，完成了从贫困到温饱的转变。2014年以前，十八洞村贫困度深且贫困面广，贫困人口占全村总人口的57.7%，吃穿用度皆发愁，1/3的家庭一年难吃几顿肉，基础条件差、居住环境简陋，饮水靠小水井，往返挑水需要一个小时，人畜共居，房旧屋破、敞风漏雨，经过几轮扶贫始终在“年年扶贫年年贫”的泥潭中难以自拔。经过2014年贫困对象精准识别，2015年道路拓宽、危房改造等基础性工作，2016年贫困发生率由2013年的56.76%下降到1.28%，率先在全县退出贫困村行列，2017年2月，十八洞村贫困人口全部脱贫，顺利实现了“两不愁三保障”。二是从基本生存难到生活质量稳步提升，逐步追求物质生活小康到人的全面小康，实现了从温饱到小康的迈进。精准扶贫前，十八洞村村民基本生存需求甚至都无法满足，食品消费支出所占比例大，其他如通信、文旅、娱乐支出几乎可以忽略不计，厕所基本上是旱厕，生活垃圾到处可见，毫无生活质量而言。随着精准扶贫的推进，人均纯收入明显增加，村民食品饮食结构、消费结构发生明显变化，通信、文旅、娱乐支出比重大幅提升，耐用电器种类也明显增多，厕所等村内生活环境明显改善，实现了垃圾遍地向村容村貌干净整洁转变。三是从贫困温饱到小康富裕，脱贫成效不断巩固，从全面小康奔向生活富裕的步伐有力。2018年，十八洞村人均纯收入增加到12128元，返乡年轻人持续增多，实现家门口就业，“空心村”十八洞成为历史，老光棍持续脱单，主导产业、集体经济稳步发展，脱贫成效得到巩固，致富奔小康的步伐越来越快。2019~2020年，乡村振兴起步有序实现，人均纯收入进一步增至14668元和18369元，从小康奔富裕的步伐越来越有力，带动周边村寨走向共同富裕的效应逐步呈现。

（三）产业发展：从传统生计迈进新兴产业

长期以来，十八洞在人均0.83亩耕地的传统种养业和外出务工中反贫困、奔小康，产业基础不实，产业发展几乎为白纸一张。精准扶贫以来，产业扶贫重塑了十八洞村的经济结构，奠定了脱贫致富的产业基础。一是从传统生计到特色种养助力，短期产业发展成效快。精准扶贫初期，针对传统种养收入低，外出务工是村民主要经济来源的现实，重点发展见效快的短期产业，如以猕猴桃、烤烟、野生蔬菜、冬桃、油茶为主的种植业，以湘西黄牛、生猪、山羊、稻田养鱼为主的养殖业。2014年，初步形成烤烟318亩、西瓜183亩、野生蔬菜41亩、油茶30亩、冬桃4060株的规模，依托互联网平台销售桃树采摘权，225户农户从中获益170万元。针对特色养殖业，采取散户和大户相结合的模式，以湖南德农牧业公司为龙头，支持重点养牛户2户，投放能繁母牛30头，落实牧草种植面积87亩，散放养区面积100余亩，支持山羊养殖户2户、生猪养殖1大户带10小户共同发展。二是从生计方式单一到多元化产业推动，脱贫成效得以巩固。2014~2017年，十八洞村由外出务工、传统种养等单一生计方式，逐渐转变为乡村旅游、猕猴桃种植、山泉水、苗绣和养蜂业等多元化产业推动。猕猴桃种植方面，采取异地土地流转和“合作社+农户”入股形式，开发1000亩精品猕猴桃产业；特色养殖方面，为净化乡村旅游环境，不再发展湘西黄牛、生猪、山羊等养殖业，重点扶持10余户村民养蜜蜂，成立十八洞村苗大姐蜜蜂养殖专业合作社；苗绣产业方面，结合留守妇女多的实际，组建了十八洞苗绣专业合作社，并与中车集团、吉首金毕果民族服饰公司签订订单协议，组织培训92名留守妇女发展苗绣产业；山泉水产业方面，引进步步高集团，按

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“50+1”分红模式开发十八洞村山泉水；乡村旅游方面，依托得天独厚的自然景观优势和习总书记到村视察的影响力，成立了十八洞农旅专业合作社，发展以农家乐、红色游为主的旅游产业。三是从产业扶贫到产业兴旺衔接有序，实现高起点乡村振兴。精准脱贫后，十八洞村以乡村旅游为主要抓手，在运用好十八洞政治品牌的同时，不断将十八洞品牌社会化，通过市场运作将政治优势最大化，依托品牌建设，实现长效有保障的产业发展。同时，不断提升五大产业发展的市场化、组织化和开放性程度，壮大村级集体经济，夯实“互助五兴”基层治理模式的物质基础。

（四）社会治理：从问题重重到井然有序

2014年以来，十八洞村由于长期贫困导致的无序混乱状态发生了蝶变，从问题重重走向井然有序。一是从小偷小摸泛滥到夜不闭户成常态，社会治安秩序井然。2014年以前，十八洞村小偷小摸现象普遍存在，偷鸡鸭、偷摩托车转卖现象泛滥，养猪人家晚上不得不睡在猪圈旁以防自己家猪被偷。如今，伴随着物质生活条件的不断提高、村民素质的逐渐觉醒，小偷小摸现象自然消亡，随着乡村旅游的快速发展，十八洞村配备了保安大队，村内治安秩序良好，村民经常夜不闭户。二是从公共场所无序到主动守秩序讲文明，卫生秩序、交通秩序、公共场所秩序有条不紊。2014年以前，十八洞村部破烂，连开会场所都没有，村庄整体上处于脏、乱、差的状况，公共卫生、公共场所秩序尚未建立。2014年以来，十八洞村建起了新村部、停车场、村级游客服务中心、村级电商服务站、苗寨特色产品店、村级金融服务站和村级民族文化展示中心等，公共空间不断拓展，伴随“五改六到户”、垃圾入桶，以及交通设施改善和交通工具的增加，公共场所、卫生和交通秩序从无到有，村民公共意识逐渐加强，开始自觉守秩序讲文明。三是从光棍问题突出到家庭幸福美满，光棍们相继成家立业。2013年，该村40岁以上的单身汉有38人，成家立业是他们的老大难问题。精准扶贫后，十八洞基础建设、生活水平发生了深刻变化，村里每年都会举办“相约十八洞，牵手奔小康”相亲会，助力脱单。如今，当年村里的41个大龄男青年，29个找到了老婆，全村一半以上贫困大龄男青年成功“脱贫”又“脱单”，过上了幸福生活。

（五）基础设施与公共服务：从短板突出到有效保障

2014年以前，十八洞村“交通难”“读书难”“看病难”“保障难”问题突出，2014年以后基础设施与公共服务得到显著改善。一是从偏僻闭塞到联通内外，实现了从道路泥泞到交通方便、信息闭塞到通邮联网。虽然新农村建设以及2011年新一轮攻坚战启动后先后实施了村道、村部等基础设施建设，但因4个自然寨地域广、居住散，村内基础设施仍很不完善。农网改造也一直没有进行，宽带网络无法进村，通信设施铺设受阻、信息不畅，村里没有自来水，供电经常不稳定，偏僻闭塞、封闭保守。2014年后，村里有了连接每家每户的青石板步道，连通内外的柏油大道，基础设施建设同传统民居改善有机结合，圆满完成“五改六到户”任务，交通、通信、供水供电短板问题得到解决，坐拥联通全国及全球的邮局、银行和宽带网络，通上了自来水，用上了放心电。二是从就学、培训不便到村内入学、就近培训，入学难、培训难等教育短板问题普遍得到解决。针对村里竹子小学设施简陋、师资力量薄弱等问题，村民自发筹资筹劳，重新整修学校，更换设施，师资方面建立健全了教师交流和支教机制，适龄儿童就学率达到100%，九年义务教育得到了有力保障。同时，教育扶贫资助确保了贫困

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家庭的孩子“能上学、上好学”。此外，村里组织了苗绣、厨艺、普通话、英语、电子商务、乡村旅游等各种培训班，满足村民技能培训需求。三是从就业就医难到民生保障有序，实现家门口就业，患病村民及时救治有保障，特殊困难户生活有依，政府兜底。精准扶贫以来，十八洞村为村民提供了就业平台，外出务工人员大批返乡创业，留守老人、妇女等通过摆摊、织苗绣等，实现二次就业。基本医保、大病保险、医疗救助三重保障，以及标准村卫生室建设，有效解决了群众患病得不到及时有效治疗的问题。因生活不能自理的特困人员、重病重残人员和孤寡老人等共39户144人全部被纳入农村低保对象，提供基本生产生活保障，实现了社会救助兜底。

二、十八洞村精准脱贫的做法

作为精准扶贫首倡地，为了贯彻落实习近平总书记“实事求是、因地制宜、分类指导、精准扶贫”的指示和“不能搞特殊化，但不能没有变化”的要求，花垣县委成立了县委十八洞村精准扶贫工作领导小组，派出精准扶贫工作队和第一支书驻村，深入开展精准扶贫工作。主要做法有：

（一）夯实党建，精准发掘内生动力

花垣县委县政府以驻村帮扶工作队、村支两委和青年突击队建设为载体，以转变观念、提升群众思想道德水平为方向，通过夯实党建精准发掘十八洞村脱贫的内生动力。一是建立强有力的组织保障体系。成立了由县委书记任组长的十八洞村精准扶贫工作领导小组，并派出县委驻十八洞村扶贫工作队，实现驻村帮扶长期化、制度化。二是精选驻村帮扶工作队。考虑到十八洞属纯苗村，为便于与群众沟通交流，从全县五个单位中抽调5名具有农村工作经验且会讲苗语的“精兵强将”组成十八洞精准扶贫工作队，长年驻村开展工作。三是加强村支两委建设。为改变当时党支部薄弱、散漫局面，工作队进村后切实抓好村支两委换届，把讲政治、有文化、能力强、群众信任的年轻、脱贫致富能手推向干事创业的前台，新配备建制专干为村主干，增配9名村主干助理，解决工作量大、人手不足的问题，同时发动党员干部带头，积极参与精准扶贫各项建设，充分发挥了村支两委的组织力以及脱贫攻坚的“堡垒”和村民心目中的“主心骨”作用。四是组建青年突击队。考虑到村里贫困户劳动力不足，“五改”工作难以推行，把村里20多名在家的年轻人组织起来，组建“十八洞村青年突击队”，帮助村里欠缺劳动力的农户，确保全村“五改”工程稳步推进。五是探索思想道德星级管理模式，多途径推进群众观念转变。针对群众法律意识淡薄、“等靠要”思想严重但面子观念较强的实际，以组为单位，每半年组织一次全体村民大会，对全组16周岁以上村民，从支持公益事业、遵纪守法、社会公德、职业道德、家庭美德、个人品德六个方面通过公开投票进行道德星级评选，实行公开表彰和挂牌管理，结合农村道德讲堂、群众代表大会、村级文化活动等宣传精准扶贫政策，创建十八洞精神，统一群众思想，有效转变了村民思想观念。六是创建“互助五兴”新机制。根据地缘相近、产业相近、志趣相投、优势互补的原则，以党员、能人为骨干，组建5人左右的互助小组，围绕学习、生产、乡风、邻里、绿色五个方面，开展互帮互助，共同提高思想素质，发展壮大当家产业，纯化乡风民风，和谐村民关系，建设美丽村庄，最终实现共同脱贫发展、共创幸福生活。同时，采取承诺践诺、量化积分、双向互评等方式，对互助小组进行评议考核，激励先进、鞭策后进。2018年底，全村的225户共组建互助五兴小组41个，实现了家家户户全覆盖。

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（二）实事求是，精准识别扶贫对象

为切实找准真正需要帮助的贫困户，十八洞村驻村工作队立足实际，深入调查摸底，扎实开展全村贫困户的识别工作，为全面实施十八洞村精准扶贫打下坚实基础。一是深入调查摸底。以两项制度为基础，按组召开群众大会，进行深入细致的宣传和动员，对225户农户逐户进行调查摸底，全面掌握每户村民家庭成员基本情况、联系方式、收入来源及发展产业意向等并建档造册，对外出务工村民进行电话调查，确保不漏户、不漏人。二是制定识别标准。制定了《十八洞村精准扶贫贫困户识别工作办法》和“十八洞村贫困农户识别九个不评”的标准，即有楼房或商品房的家庭不评、2000年以来违反计划生育政策的家庭不评、嗜赌成性及劳教不改的家庭不评、不务正业及懒惰成性的家庭不评、不履行赡养义务的家庭不评、时常刁蛮阻扰公益事业和当地经济的家庭不评、全家外出务工通知不回的家庭不评、国家公职人员家庭不评、拥有大中型农业机械和各类车辆及加工厂的家庭不评。三是严格民主监督。为防止出现优亲厚友等现象，采用“七步工作法”严格识别工作程序，全程接受民主监督，即：第一步，户主申请或者群众推荐；第二步，以村民小组为单位召开群众大会投票识别并当场公布结果；第三步，由村民代表、村支两委成员、镇（双龙镇）党委政府代表及县扶贫工作队三级会审；第四步，公告公示，将结果在村里张榜公布不少于7天；第五步，进行乡级审核；第六步，进行县级审核；第七步，为识别出的贫困对象建档立卡，逐户制订脱贫措施，采取直接帮扶、委托帮扶、股份合作等多种形式，集中力量予以扶持。最后，成功识别贫困户136户533人，占全村总人口的57.7%。

（三）分类规划，精准制定扶贫方案

十八洞村以规划为引领，通过制定全村整体发展规划、扶贫脱贫项目规划和农户个体脱贫规划等系列规划，系统回答“扶持谁、谁来扶、怎么扶和如何退”四个问题，实施精准发力。一是全村整体发展规划。工作队严格遵循习近平总书记提出的精准扶贫“可复制、可推广”要求，深入调查研究，组织村组干部、村民代表外出考察学习，充分征求国家住建部专家团队、县委十八洞村精准扶贫工作领导小组和县直相关职能部门负责人的意见，结合十八洞村实际，制定了《十八洞村精准扶贫精准脱贫规划》，确立了“人与自然和谐相处，建设与原生态协调统一，建筑与民族特色完善结合”的建设总原则，按照“投入少、见效快、原生态”的总基调，以“把农村建设得更像农村”为理念，打造“中国最美农村”，以“天更蓝、山更绿、水更清、村更古、心更齐、情更浓”为目标，把“鸟儿回来了、鱼儿回来了、虫儿回来了、打工的人儿回来了、外面的人儿来了”确定为努力方向。二是扶贫脱贫项目规划。在全村整体发展规划的统领下，十八洞村结合“五个一批”制定了一系列相互支撑的扶贫脱贫项目规划。如为了推进乡村旅游发展制定了《十八洞村旅游扶贫试点规划》以及“11·3”工程项目、山泉水厂项目、小水电项目、教育培训基地项目、大型苗族文化晚会项目、旅游线路和服务设施建设项目、乡村客栈项目、景区管理和服务人员培训项目、苗族边边场项目、徒步越野赛线路建设项目等配套项目。此外，为猕猴桃种植项目、苗绣加工项目、养殖项目、劳务输出项目、电子商务扶贫项目等也制定了详细的发展规划。三是农户个体脱贫规划。十八洞村用实际行动践行了“因乡因族制宜、因村施策、因户施法，扶到点上、扶到根上”这一指导思想。在全村整体发展规划、扶贫脱贫项目规划的基础上，工作组通过精准识别，根据每户贫困户的致贫原因、实际困难，按照“五个一批”的要求，将贫困户纳入到具体的扶贫项目中，为贫困户制定个体脱贫规

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划。四是民生难题解决规划。针对“读书难”“看病难”和“保障难”等民生难题，分别建立了村小基本教学设施和学校食堂、厕所和运动场地等附属设施建设以及教师交流和支教机制规划，村卫生室标准化改造规划，弱势群体、孤寡老人、贫困户等救济救助精准“兜底”规划等。五是实施驻村规划师制度。为了巩固规划引领的实施成效，实现各项规划之间的有效衔接，并着眼于全面推进乡村振兴，十八洞村与湖南大学设计研究院签约，创建了湖南省首个驻村规划师制度，充分发挥驻村规划师“美好蓝图的讲解员”“村民诉求的传递员”“项目实施的监督员”“技术资源的输送员”“村庄发展的研究员”和“乡村规划的宣传员”的作用（尹怡诚等，2019）。

（四）因地制宜，精准发展扶贫产业

十八洞村立足较为丰富的生态资源、农业资源和文化资源优势，实施资源变资产、资金变股金、农民变股东“三变改革”，因地制宜地发展了种植、养殖、苗绣、乡村游、山泉水、劳务经济等多元产业。一是发展以猕猴桃等特色种植业。根据山区特点积极发展特色种植业，探索“飞地经济”新模式，采取异地土地流转和“合作社+农户”入股形式，从华融湘江银行贷款1000万元，并想出了“政府发的扶贫款不直接发给贫困户，而是自愿集中起来参股，贫困户每年分红获得收益”的好办法，通过与花垣县苗汉子公司股份合作，打造1000亩精品猕猴桃核心主导产业。其中，花垣县苗汉子公司出资306万元占股51%，十八洞村民和村集体出资294万元占股49%。二是发展以湘西黄牛、生猪、山羊、蜜蜂、稻田养鱼为主的养殖业。前期采取散户和大户相结合的模式，以湖南德农牧业公司为龙头，支持重点养牛户、山羊养殖户、生猪养殖大户，扶持10余户村民养蜜蜂。后期为配合乡村旅游产业的发展，调整优化养殖结构，生猪等养殖退出本村，转移到周边邻近村，进一步扩大蜜蜂养殖规模。高品质的生态资源保障了蜂蜜的品质，提高了十八洞蜂蜜产业的附加值。随着“十八洞”品牌影响力的不断提升，十八洞村养蜂产业的发展前景光明。三是开发以苗绣织锦为主的民族工艺品制造业。十八洞村根据留守妇女多和有刺绣传统的实际，组织26名留守妇女组建了十八洞苗绣专业合作社，培训92名留守妇女发展苗绣产业，并与吉首金毕果民族服饰公司签订订单协议，实施订单生产，实现了在家就业增收。2018年进一步与湖南工业大学、中车株机、山谷居民、七绣坊、金田文化等知名企业开展合作，强化产品研发、销售和人才培训，把十八洞的苗绣加工成时尚的箱包、服饰、挂件，销售到北上广、港澳台，坐上高铁走向了世界各地。四是发展以农家乐、红色旅游为主的旅游产业。依托得天独厚的自然景观优势和习近平总书记到村视察的影响力，十八洞村编制了《十八洞村旅游发展规划》，着力打造群众路线教育实践活动基地和乡村游农家乐。一方面，结合交通基础设施建设、农村“五改”、农村环境综合整治、申报特色民族村寨等项目，打造乡村特色与民族文化旅游，大力发展农家乐休闲旅游；另一方面，引进首旅集团、消费宝等战略投资发展红色旅游、神秘苗寨、峡谷溶洞游等乡村游产品，引导农户通过经营、租赁、入股等形式获得收益。2018年成立十八洞农旅专业合作社，全年接待游客30余万人次，实现旅游收入300余万元，荣获了“全国乡村旅游示范村”称号，2021年6月，十八洞村与矮寨、德夯共同组成的矮寨·十八洞·德夯大峡谷景区成为湘西州首个国家5A级旅游景区。五是开发十八洞村山泉水产业。习近平总书记曾夸赞过十八洞村的山泉水是“真正的农夫山泉”，驻村工作队抓住湖南步步高集团董事长进村调研机会达成合作协议，由步步高集团“一条龙”全程开发销售十八洞牌山泉

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水，十八洞村集体以资源和品牌入股，占股15%，每年保底分红50万元，劳务用工优先安排十八洞村民，同时每销售一瓶水，提取1分钱作为村扶贫基金。就这样，十八洞村与中国500强企业联手，发展起了山泉水产业，生产瓶装水和大桶饮用水。中车株机公司签下连续5年每年3万件的山泉水采购合同，并携手十八洞山泉水设立“十八洞蓝书包”基金，每售出一瓶山泉水将自动捐赠出5分钱，所筹资金全部用于帮助十八洞村贫困学子，如为其购买学习用品、设立奖学金等。山泉水产业是十八洞村的一项长久性产业，既拉动了就业，又实现了村集体收益的稳步增长。六是发展高水平劳务输出经济。驻村工作队和村干部按照对建档立卡贫困劳动力“培训全覆盖、推荐就业全覆盖、跟踪服务全覆盖”的要求，结合主要劳务输出目的地深圳和广州的劳务需求，组织相关部门对所有贫困劳动力进行引导式、针对性培训，最大限度提高贫困劳动力就业技能，目前，全村仍有1/3的人员选择外出务工，务工仍是十八洞村重要的收入来源。

（五）创新机制，精准凝聚社会合力

在充分挖掘内生动力的同时，十八洞村有效地整合了外部力量，在整合社会扶贫力量、统筹扶贫资源、形成扶贫合力方面采取了以下措施：一是协同扶贫机构。习近平总书记考察十八洞村后，中央、地方各级扶贫机构及相关部门高度重视十八洞村的减贫与发展。各级各部门领导多次考察、调研十八洞村的扶贫工作，解决实际困难。“上面千条线，下面一根针”，为了协同各级各相关部门的扶贫举措，十八洞村充分发挥了工作队、村支两委、青年突击队的基层组织作用，以规划为蓝本、以项目为载体，主动协调各级各部门的扶贫政策、扶贫资源，使各部门的扶贫工作在十八洞村有序开展，释放协同效应。二是统筹扶贫资金。多方整合扶贫资金，积极整合行业、部门、社会扶贫资金，确保扶贫资金使用由“撒胡椒面”向“握指成拳”转变。首先，为了避免资金堆积现象，十八洞村的建设资金采取由相关职能部门积极向上“争资上项”的方式解决，并积极协调爱心企业捐资建设，同时采取招商引资的方式引进投资商来村投资开发建设。其次，积极与县农村商业银行对接、合作，试点金融扶贫模式，认真调查摸底贫困农户发展致富产业意愿，发放小额信贷，由扶贫开发办贴息，简化农户小额贷款程序，积极探索“农户联保”“多户联保”“公司+农户”“专业合作组织+农户”等多种担保形式，降低信贷准入条件，扭转小额信贷“贷富不贷贫”倾向，解决贫困农户发展产业资金瓶颈问题。此外，坚持“民有、民用、民管、民享，周转使用，滚动发展”和“不出村、不吸储”的基本原则，通过将财政扶贫资金、农户入社资金、无偿社会帮扶资金或捐赠资金、占用费转入本金“四位一体”的聚资方法，发展壮大村级“互助金”规模。三是整合社会力量。十八洞村积极整合社会力量，实现跨越式发展。在州政协和移动、联通、电信的大力支持下，村里实现网络全覆盖，建立了村级电商服务站、村级金融服务站、村级邮政便民服务站。同时，依托湖南盘古电子商务有限公司，村里建设了电子商务平台，解决农副产品对外营销难题。借助中国邮政的“邮三湘”网络平台，向游客销售村内4060株桃树的采摘权，与金毕果民族服饰公司等多家公司签订苗绣订单协议，为苗绣合作社提供稳定销路。引入首旅集团华龙公司、北京消费宝公司等战略投资者，打造以十八洞村为核心的旅游景区，实现乡村旅游“升级”等。

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三、十八洞村精准脱贫的经验

作为精准扶贫首倡地，十八洞村精准脱贫是中国贫困乡村精准扶贫精准脱贫的缩影，其经验既是十八洞村的经验，也在较大程度上体现了中国精准扶贫的经验。关于十八洞村经验以及中国精准扶贫经验，已形成了多种解读，如“五结合”经验、“5D”中国减贫学（新华社国家高端智库，2021）[1]、“5W2H”精准扶贫模式（Yang 和 Liu，2021）[2]等，这些经验总结都很有启发性。比如，“五结合”经验认为，十八洞村的成功得益于“在扶贫对象识别上，不搞暗箱操作，注重公开公平与群众满意相结合；在内生动力激发上，不搞空洞说教，注重典型引路与正向激励相结合；在发展扶贫产业上，不搞大包大揽，注重统筹布局与因地制宜相结合；在基础设施建设上，不搞大拆大建，注重留住乡愁与彰显美丽相结合；在攻坚力量统筹上，不搞孤军奋战，注重发挥基层党组织堡垒作用与党员干部先锋作用相结合”。显然，从十八洞村的精准脱贫历程和主要做法来看，这一总结是合适的。不过，十八洞村的做法背后的理论逻辑是什么以及这些经验背后的普适性规律是什么，似乎还有待进一步挖掘。结合发展经济学中结构学派（含新结构经济学）、新古典学派以及行为学派的观点，本文认为十八洞村精准脱贫经验（见图1）是贫困乡村在有为政府推动、有效市场培育、有机社会构建及其三者统筹作用下走出政府失灵、市场失灵和社会失灵等“三重失灵”，走向与现代文明相契合的良性发展过程，是乡村发展维度上国家治理体系和治理能力现代化的体现。

（一）强化基层治理能力，发挥有为政府推动作用，走出政府失灵

相对于结构学派认为欠发达地区和国家发展需要强政府干预和推动不同，新古典学派认为存在政府失灵，要将“政府之手”约束起来，防止政府干预导致的“扭曲”（黄阳华，2021；王今朝、萨米，2019）。不过，政府失灵实际上至少包括两个方面，一是“政府缺位”，二是“政府越位”，究竟是哪种形式的失灵则需要依据具体的情境来分析。因而，新结构经济学提出了“有为政府”概念，强调政府应该有所为有所不为，即做到既不缺位也不越位。

中国乡村在古代很长一段时间奉行皇权不下县的治理理念，村庄治理实行国家间接参与、宗族主导治理的村庄自治结构（陈文胜，2021）。这种治理模式在农业文明时代具有很强的韧性和较高的效率，但伴随文明形态演进、现代化进程以及城乡关系变迁，特别是在工业化、城镇化的冲击下，乡村社会出现了加速转型，呈现出以农业生产要素高速非农化、农村社会主体过快老弱化、村庄建设用地日益空废化、农村水土环境严重污损化和乡村贫困片区深度贫困化等“五化”为特征的“乡村病”（刘彦随，2018）。与此同时，国家治理逻辑从权力本位向权利本位转变，政治领域权力相对减弱、经济领域和社会领域的权力逐渐增强（陈文胜，2021）。这一方面动摇了传统乡村治理秩序的基础，传统乡村治理模式效能衰减，出现了严重的“缺位”；另一方面，这一

[1] “5D”中国减贫学基于政治经济学的视角指出，中国的减贫经验为坚强领导（determined leadership）、细绘蓝图（detailed blueprint）、发展导向（development oriented）、数字管理（data-based governance）、分级实施（decentralized delivery）。

[2] “5W2H”模式是精准扶贫核心要义的缩写，即“精准识别”通过建档立卡解决“什么是贫困、哪里贫困、为什么贫困、谁贫困、什么时候贫困”（what，where，why，who，when）等5个问题；“精准帮扶”解决如何提供帮助和支持的问题（how to offer help and support），对应“五个一批”的扶贫路径；“精准退出”着力解决如何客观科学地测度和退出的问题（how to measure the end of poverty alleviation），对应第三方评估体系。

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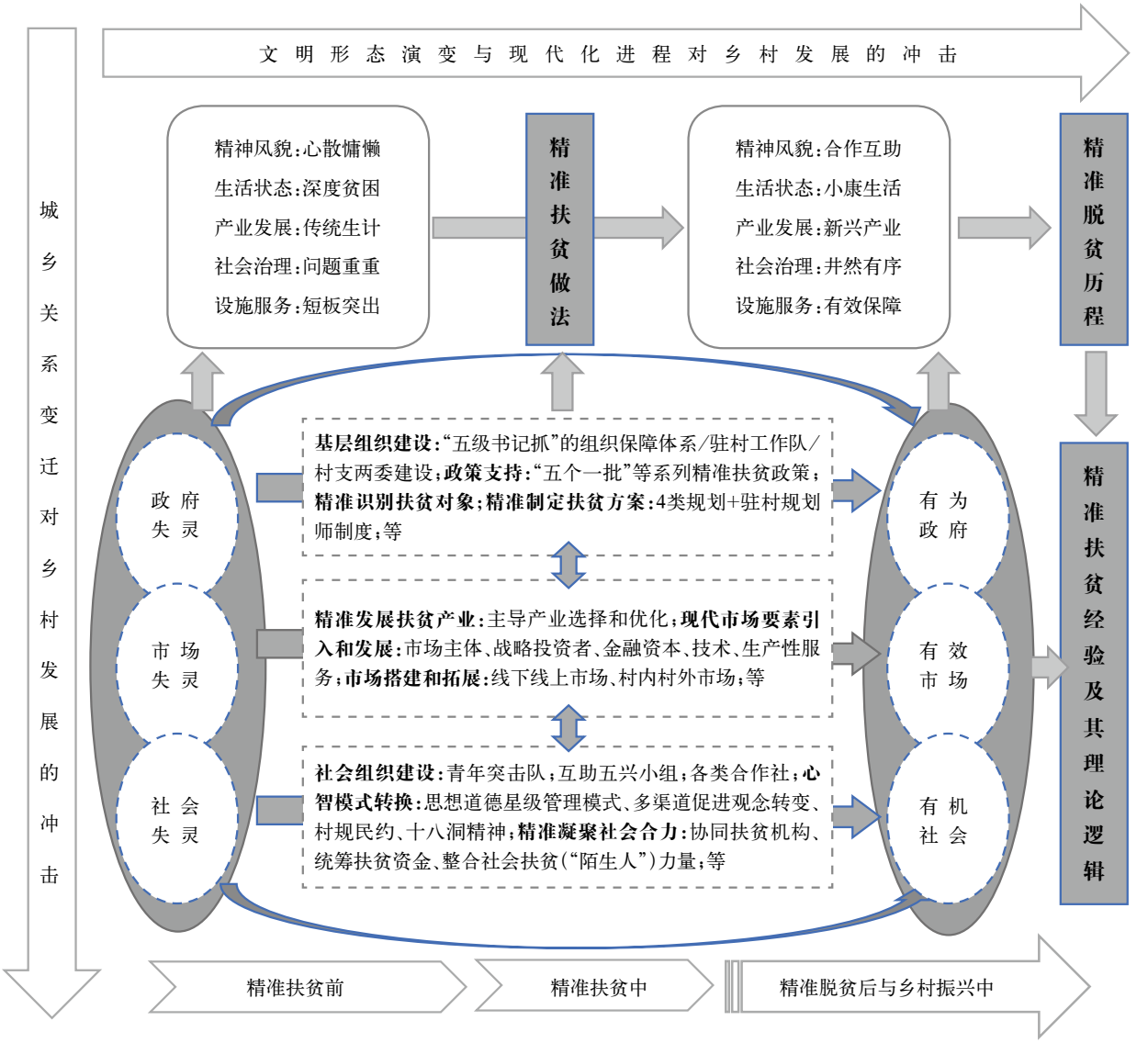


图1 十八洞村精准脱贫经验的理论逻辑

以"缺位"为主要形式的政府失灵又加剧了"乡村病"。精准扶贫之前十八洞村的情景正是中国12.8万个贫困乡村的真实写照。

对深陷贫困陷阱的十八洞村等贫困乡村而言,内在的治理资源缺失与外在的公共服务需求迫切需要公权力下乡,精准扶贫顺应了这一需求并为公权力下乡提供了天然的契机。以"五级书记抓扶贫"、基层党建为突破点深入推进"组织建设、村级管理、村民议事、村务监督、村级发展、自身建设"等工作,同时,通过扶贫工作队、第一书记驻村以及村党支部书记和村委会主任"一肩挑"的公职化,将村民、村级组织、基层政府和派驻单位之间的关系整合到党群干群关系之中,将派出单位、本地体制、乡村社会和个人关系等资源整合进村庄社会之中(陈文胜,2020)。显然,这一公权力下乡和基层治理组织建设、基层治理能力强化的过程就是在组织

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层面解决政府缺位的失灵问题，此外，“五个一批”的精准扶贫政策落实等则是在政策层面解决政府缺位失灵问题的体现。需要注意的是，在精准扶贫阶段组织和政策缺位是政府失灵的主要方面，这一失灵在精准扶贫方略下得到了有效纠正，但随着精准脱贫后乡村振兴的推进，“越位”层面的政府失灵应引起关注。

（二）培育现代市场要素，发挥有效市场机制作用，走出市场失灵

新古典学派批评结构学派强调欠发达问题的特殊性有失偏颇，忽视了新古典经济学的一般性，否认了“结构”的存在性，主张重视自由市场这只“看不见的手”在资源配置中的作用，以“自由化、私有化、市场化”全面取代结构范式的“市场失灵、资本积累、大推动”，“华盛顿共识”是其标志性主张（黄阳华，2021；王今朝、萨米，2019）。市场机制作为资源配置的基础性手段已是共识，但市场机制发挥作用有其前提条件，即市场经济本身已经建立，并且依赖个人理性、信息对称、极低交易成本等严格假设。显然这一前提在欠发达地区特别是贫困乡村并不成立。因而，市场失灵不可避免。

长期以来，中国乡村地区以自给自足的小农经济、庭院经济为主要形式，市场发育十分滞后。在工业化、城镇化、市场化、国际化等现代化进程的冲击下，传统乡村的商品化、市场化程度不断提升。不过，这种转型是梯次的、进展不一的，东部沿海地区、城郊地区等发达地区的乡村市场化、现代化、城乡一体化程度较高，也率先摆脱了贫困，走向乡村振兴。但精准扶贫之前的十八洞村等12.8万个贫困乡村由于位置偏远闭塞，村庄受工业化、城镇化、市场化和国际化的影响整体较弱，而且是碎片化的，以外出务工为主要经济形式。传统生计与小农经济使得乡村市场经济发展既不具备条件，也缺乏有效需求。这种自我排斥进一步使贫困乡村游离于主流经济循环之外，进一步被边缘化。

精准扶贫方略尤其是产业扶贫对贫困乡村加快融入市场经济体系，创建市场机制发挥作用的条件，走出市场失灵发挥了重要的作用。扶贫产业发展方面，突破传统生计类型，以市场为导向，因地制宜地发展了猕猴桃规模化标准化种植、蜜蜂特色养殖、苗绣加工、山泉水生产、乡村旅游等特色新兴产业，跳出了自给自足的小农经济形态，融入主流经济循环；现代市场主体方面，引入步步高集团、吉首金毕果民族服饰公司等战略投资和合作企业，培育十八洞农旅专业合作社、十八洞山泉水厂等现代经营主体；现代市场要素和经营理念方面，建立了湘西长行村镇银行村级网点，从华融湘江银行贷款发展猕猴桃产业，创建“十八洞”品牌体系，实施“三变改革”激活和整合村内长期闲置的生产要素，农家乐经营中实行了“六统一”经营模式；市场搭建和拓展方面，在村内公共空间搭建实体市场，在村外县城和州府所在地开设相关产业实体门店，在线上开展直播带货，通过线上线下相结合的方式有效拓展了十八洞村的市场范围。这一“时空压缩”下从无到有、从传统到现代的市场经济培育，为十八洞等类似贫困乡村发挥有效市场的作用创造了条件，使其走出了市场经济发育滞后的市场失灵，接下来，需要进一步防范由于严格假设前提导致的市场失灵。

（三）构建现代社会秩序，发挥有机社会融合作用，走出社会失灵

人类的经济活动总是嵌入在他们的社会关系之中，不能脱离社会环境而存在，即经济并非像经济理论中所说的那样是自足的，而是从属于政治、宗教和社会关系的（姚庆丰，2000）。经济学关于政府和市场关系问题

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中把整个经济系统简单地分为私人活动领域和公共活动领域，分别由市场和政府发挥主导作用的讨论，忽视了社会（狭义）自组织和社会秩序的作用。事实上，社会自组织的主体缺失或其功能缺失也会导致市场与政府无法有效顺畅沟通、相互协助、密切配合，继而引发市场失灵或政府失灵，使经济系统陷入发展困境。这种由于社会自组织主体缺失或其功能缺失导致的社会正义与社会自治力的缺失被定义为“社会失灵”（姚庆丰，2000；黄建，2015；汪居扬，2012）。

中国传统乡村社会是一个长期封闭的农业社会和相对稳定的熟人社会，所对应的社会秩序是以血缘、亲缘、地缘关系为基础的“差序格局”（费孝通，2013），宗族权威和人情交往在维持社会秩序中发挥着重要作用。但随着行政村体制的建立，以及市场化、城镇化的冲击，传统“熟人社会”向“半熟人社会”（贺雪峰，2000）、“无主体熟人社会”（吴重庆，2011）转变。精准扶贫前的十八洞村等类似贫困村兼具上述三类社会形态的主要特征，并且在长期贫困和生存压力下，村内“偷、盗、抢”等现象时有发生，进一步滋生出“等、靠、要”等贫困思想和心智模式（汤吉军，2021），呈现出宗族权威弱化、差序格局淡化、社会秩序恶化、社会自治缺失化等“社会失灵”现象。与此同时，对于生存条件恶劣、长期贫困的村庄而言，“陌生人”缺乏进入的意愿，兼具“熟人社会”“半熟人社会”和“无主体熟人社会”特征的社会结构则具有较强的稳定性，由此导致的“社会失灵”难以消除。

十八洞村在精准扶贫实践中深刻认识到了该村“社会失灵”及其背后的原因，并以驻村工作队进驻为契机开启了“陌生人”进入的通道，将发展空间拓展和社会秩序重构有机结合起来，助推十八洞村走出社会失灵，走向有机社会。首先，心智模式转换上，通过思想道德星级管理模式创建和实施、村规民约的推行、十八洞精神提炼和宣传等多渠道促进“等靠要”观念的转变，彻底改变了十八洞村的社会风气和精神风貌；其次，社会自组织培育和功能发挥上，先后成立了青年突击队、各类合作社以及41个互助五兴小组等，并引导这些社会组织规范有序运行，社会组织功能得到有效发挥；最后，进一步畅通“陌生人”进入通道，充分发挥“陌生人”对社会秩序重塑的作用。如扶贫工作队队员，苗汉子合作社、富硒猕猴桃合作社管理人员，吉首大学、湖南工业大学、湖南大学相关专家，十八洞山泉水外地员工，十八洞旅游公司的外地员工，荣誉村民，以及每年数十万的外地游客等“陌生人”带来的巨大信息流，彻底打破了村庄的封闭格局，新的社会网络关系不断形成，十八洞村迈入城市文明与乡村文明交融的多主体社会和新的现代社会格局。

（四）发挥有为政府、有效市场和有机社会的协同效应，走出“三重失灵”

政府、市场和社会是经济社会发展中最重要的“三只手”，它们有各自发挥主导作用的领域，但又都不是万能的，它们相互依存、互为前提（李玲，2014）。它们的失灵均存在两种情形：一种是“缺位”导致的失灵，即在其应该发挥主导作用的领域由于主体或功能缺失没有发挥作用；另一种是“越位”导致的失灵，即在不应由其发挥主导作用的领域发挥了不合适或扭曲性的干扰作用。这两类失灵都不利于经济社会的良性发展。对于贫困乡村而言，以前一类失灵为主，并且往往是“三重失灵”叠加。因而，如何发挥好有为政府、有效市场和有机社会三者的协同效应，走出“缺位”导致的“三重失灵”是贫困乡村摆脱贫困的根本挑战，构建起有为政府、有效市场和有机社会协同的现代治理体系和治理能力是乡村振兴和共同富裕的根本保障（唐任伍，2022）。

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精准扶贫之前，十八洞村之所以长期陷入贫困陷阱，“年年扶贫年年贫”，根本原因在于既没有发挥好有为政府、有效市场和有机社会各自的效应，更没有发挥好三者的协同效应。外部帮扶力量、资金、项目没有形成和内化为打破“三重失灵”的合力，最终被吞没于既有的社会秩序中，“等靠要”的贫困文化和心智模式更加剧和固化了社会失灵、市场失灵和政府失灵。精准扶贫方略作为集“5W2H”于一体的一揽子干预工程，建立了政府、市场和社会协同推进的大扶贫格局，形成了全社会共同参与的多元主体社会扶贫体系。在具体落实中，各地既发挥了这一顶层设计和综合干预的系统性，又强调因地制宜，实现了理论与实际的有机结合，如基层党建与“互助五兴”相结合等，最终在基层组织重建、市场要素重塑、社会秩序重构以及三者的耦合协同下，助推贫困乡村走出了“三重失灵”。

十八洞村精准脱贫实践中“有为政府、有效市场和有机社会”协同耦合的经验也是我国乡村治理体系和治理能力现代化的鲜活样本。党的十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的中央领导集体，把“国家治理体系和治理能力现代化”作为改革目标，不断推进现代国家三根支柱——有为政府、有效市场和有机社会建设。其中，发展不充分不平衡的广大农村地区、贫困乡村是短板，是主战场。受市场化、城镇化、工业化等冲击，贫困乡村的社会碎片化、无序化问题突出，社会治安、环境治理、基础教育、基本医疗难以保障，摆脱贫困、走向共同富裕缺乏根基。因而，贫困乡村的精准扶贫精准脱贫不是单纯摆脱贫困的问题，而是要建立现代乡村治理体系、提升治理能力的问题。十八洞村的精准扶贫实践正是在这一理念的指导下开展的，并创建了支部建设带动“互助五兴”，以“互助五兴”推进经济建设、政治建设、文化建设、社会建设、生态文明建设“五位一体”总体布局在基层有效贯彻落实等系列经验。当然，贫困乡村的治理现代化是一个长期的过程，仅仅在精准扶贫阶段难以完成，在乡村振兴阶段还要继续以“有为政府、有效市场和有机社会”协同机制构建为抓手，接续和全面推进乡村发展和治理现代化，稳步走向城乡融合和共同富裕。

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Shibadong's Experience in Poverty Alleviation

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Abstract: *Shibadong Village, the birthplace of the "targeted poverty alleviation" campaign, has set a model for China's poverty alleviation and elimination efforts. Based on data obtained from long-term field research, this paper illustrates Shibadong's journey out of poverty by outlining its main practices of targeted poverty alleviation, and summarizing the learnings that are worth sharing. Guided by the "targeted poverty alleviation" strategy, measures were taken to unleash the endogenous development force of the village by precisely identifying targets, developing targeted rural industries, implementing specific relief plans tailored to each household, and bringing cohesion among different social forces. Thanks to these efforts, the village has undergone tremendous changes in many areas such as civility level, living conditions, industrial development, social governance, infrastructure and public services. This paper argues that Shibadong's experience has universal applicability for poverty elimination. We believe that by building an enabling government, an effective market and an organic society, and giving full play to the synergistic effects of the three, poor villages can break out of the dilemma caused by the "triple failures" and achieve modern rural governance and development.*

Keywords: *Shibadong Village, targeted poverty alleviation, targeted poverty elimination, triple failures, experience*
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Shibadong Village, the birthplace of the "targeted poverty alleviation" campaign, is the epitome of China's endeavour to alleviate and eliminate poverty in a targeted manner. On November 3, 2013, during his inspection tour to Shibadong, General Secretary Xi Jinping presented the concept of "targeted poverty alleviation" for the first time, stressing that poverty alleviation must follow a "reality-based, case-by-case, category-specific and targeted approach." He noted that it was vital to summarize replicable and scalable experiences from pilot efforts. Putting the notion of "targeted poverty alleviation" into practice, Shibadong explored a new model of poverty reduction which could be applied elsewhere. In February 2017, the whole village climbed out of poverty, and since then, it has made impressive strides on various fronts. The per capita net income of the villagers underwent a significant increase, from 1,688 yuan in 2013 to 18,369 yuan in 2020, 5,781 yuan higher than the average income level of the nation's impoverished rural areas. In addition, the village collective economy was boosted, with the annual

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collective income growing from literally zero yuan to about 1.8 million yuan. In this way, Shibadong completed a stunning transformation in a relatively short period of time, going from being severely impoverished to being well-off, from being dilapidated and backward to being civilized and "mesmerizing beautiful", and from being isolated and closed to being open and modern.

Shibadong's transformation has won it international fame, gaining it attention from the rest of the world. In June 2018, it received a visit from the General Secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and Lao President Bounnhang Vorachith and his high-level party delegation, who came to the village to learn from its experience in poverty alleviation. As a fine example of targeted poverty alleviation and elimination, Shibadong Village has won many honorary titles in China, including "National Advanced Grassroots Party Organization", "National Characteristic Countryside of Ethnic Minorities", and "National Rural Tourism Demonstration Village", just to name a few. At the National Poverty Alleviation Summary and Commendation Conference in February 2021, Shibadong was awarded the title of "National Role Model in Poverty Alleviation".

Questions abound with regard to Shibadong's dramatic changes in such a short period of time: How did it do it? What is the key to its success? What are the replicable and scalable experiences? How does this contribute to the theory of poverty reduction? Over the past few years, these topics have stirred extensive discussions among governments at all levels, think tanks, and experts with different disciplinary backgrounds in China (Chen et al., 2021; Ding et al., 2021; Xinhua National high-level think tank, 2021; Yang and Liu, 2021; Yi et al., 2019). This paper attempts to illuminate Shibadong's success in poverty elimination from the novel perspective of combining an enabling government, an effective market and an organic society. Based on data obtained from field research, the paper first outlines the important practices of the village for targeted poverty elimination, and elaborates the process by which the village managed to escape from "triple failures" (i.e. government failure, market failure and society failure) and shape a new development path. By synthesizing Shibadong's practices, this paper aims to shed light on the general applicability of the strategic approach of targeted poverty alleviation.

1. Shibadong's Journey of Targeted Poverty Alleviation

Shibadong lies deep in the Wuling Mountains in northwestern Hunan Province, one of the most concentrated continuous poverty-stricken areas in China. With an area of 9.4 square kilometers and an average altitude of 700 meters, the village has a complex geological condition characterized mainly by karst topography. Composed of 4 natural villages and 6 villager groups, Shibadong has 225 households and a total of 939 residents who are all of Miao ethnicity. Due to the unique topography, the per capita arable land only stands at 0.83 mu. In 2013, 57.7% of the population lived under the extreme poverty line, and the per capita net income of farmers was 1,668 yuan, only 19.92% of the average net income of Hunan Province (8,372 yuan), and 34.01% of the average national net income (8,896 yuan). However, since implementing targeted poverty alleviation efforts, Shibadong has embarked on a remarkable journey of poverty reduction, and experienced all-round improvements in ethical standards, living conditions, industrial development, social governance, infrastructure and the provision of public services.

1.1 Attitude and Ethical Standards: From Sluggish and Lack of Solidarity to Collaboration and Mutual Support

Transformation in people's attitude and ethical standards is mainly manifested in three aspects: First, the previously divided villages came together to seek development through concerted effort. The village of Shibadong was an amalgam of two administrative villages (named *Zhuzi and Feichong*) which were merged into one in 2005. The "marriage" however did not spawn new development opportunities; instead, a series of new conflicts emerged due to discord among Party members and cadres, as well as

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a lack of solidarity among the two villages, and a lack of cohesion between the Party branch and the village committee. To address these issues, five talented cadres were chosen by the Huayuan County Party Committee to form an anti-poverty working team, and they were dispatched to the village to ensure the thorough implementation of poverty alleviation efforts and to strengthen the village Party branch and committee. In addition, to enhance unity and cohesion among the villagers, various cultural and sport events were organized including basketball games, evening galas, Miao song contests and other traditional festivals.

Second, villagers' previously sluggish attitude was transformed into a spirit of hard work. Before 2014, Shibadong villagers were generally settled in the status of perennial poverty, and the prevailing mentality was to ''wait and rely on others'' to lift them out of poverty. Realizing that poverty alleviation must start with awakening and mobilizing the will of the people, the working team optimized the governing structure by absorbing competent villagers into the team and giving full play to their leading role. It also piloted an evaluation system to rate villagers' ethics and morality in order to boost the general ethical standards. In addition, it introduced a grass-roots governance model in which one Party member or an identified team leader offered dedicated support to a villager group consisting of 5 households, who helped each other within the group, thereby simultaneously cultivating an atmosphere of mutual support and competition among different groups.

Third, the relationship between cadres and the masses shifted from distrust to unity. When the working team first entered Shibadong in 2014, some villagers showed contempt, and some even painted defamatory slogans on the wall to insult them. Few showed enthusiasm for group initiatives. Less than half of the villagers participated in village-level meetings, and there was little collaboration in implementing projects. Notwithstanding the obstacles, the persistent mobilization of the working team finally paid off: Villagers slowly became more cooperative and began to actively support the initiatives of the cadres. As such, the Shibadong spirit of being ''self-reliant, building a new hometown with limited investment but unlimited manpower'' started to take shape.

1.2 Living Standard: From Extreme Poverty to Moderate Prosperity

After implementing the targeted poverty alleviation measures, the living conditions in Shibadong saw an incredible improvement. First, extreme poverty was eradicated in less than 3 years. Prior to 2014, poverty in the village was deep and broad, with 57.7% of the villagers living under extreme poverty. Most did not have sufficient food or clothing, a third of households could barely afford meat in their diet, and there was no access to running water or electricity. Living conditions in homes were dreadful, with people and livestock cohabitating under the same roof – if there was even a roof. Previous attempts to improve villagers' living conditions all failed to extricate people from the quagmire of poverty. Since 2014, however, following a series of measures including precisely identifying impoverished residents, improving road infrastructure and renovating dilapidated houses, the poverty rate in Shibadong plummeted to 1.28% in 2016, and in 2017, the entire population in Shibadong shook off poverty, realizing ''two assurances and three guarantees,'' i.e. assurance of adequate food and clothing, and the guarantee of access to compulsory education, basic medical services and safe housing.

Second, on the basis of the above, the quality of life steadily improved. Previously, villagers struggled with basic subsistence and hardly had any money to spend on communication, cultural and recreational activities. There were no sanitary toilets in the village, and household garbage was littered everywhere. In other words, the quality of life in Shibadong was low. However, with the progressive implementation of the targeted poverty alleviation measures, things changed dramatically: The per capita net income increased significantly, people's food and consumption structures improved, electrical appliances became widespread, the whole village gained access to sanitary toilets, and an organized household waste collection and treatment system made the streets clean and neat.

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Third, the poverty alleviation efforts were consolidated and aimed towards achieving moderate prosperity. In 2018, the per capita net income increased to 12,128 yuan, and the number of young people returning for local employment continued to increase, making Shibadong the ‘‘hollow village’’ a thing of history. Aged bachelors got the opportunity to establish families, leading industries started to emerge, and the collective economy saw a steady growth. All in all, Shibadong is squarely positioned to become a prosperous village, and its spillover effect is gradually motivating adjacent villages to develop and march towards common prosperity.

1.3 Rural Industrial Development: From Traditional Subsistence to New Industries

For a long time, the villagers of Shibadong relied only on traditional farming or outside employment for their subsistence, which seriously constrained improvement of their living conditions. Due to the targeted poverty alleviation campaign, Shibadong has reshaped its economic structure and established an industrial foundation for poverty alleviation and prosperity. First, the village developed unique plantation and animal husbandry industries which brought quick profits to the impoverished farmers. Such industries included planting kiwi fruit, tobacco, wild vegetables, winter peaches and camellia oleifera, and rearing Xiangxi cattle, pigs and goats, as well as fish farming in paddy fields. The limited arable land had prevented Shibadong from developing kiwi farming on an industrial basis. Therefore, it rented land from a neighboring village and devised an innovative shareholding scheme of ‘‘cooperative + farmers’’ to operate the kiwi business. It also harnessed e-commerce platforms to sell peach “picking rights,” which brought a total profit of 1.7 million yuan for 225 households. A model connecting big players with smallholder farmers was adopted for animal husbandry. Working together with Hunan Denong Husbandry Company, the village supported 2 cattle-rearing households, 2 goat-rearing households, and 1 big pig-rearing household and 10 small households.

Second, villagers diversified their sources of income by developing rural tourism, a bottled water industry, Miao embroidery and a beekeeping industry. At the later stage of development, villagers switched livestock breeding to beekeeping for the sake of developing rural tourism. The village supported 10 beekeepers and established a beekeeping cooperative with the brand name of Shidadong Village Miao Sisters. Similarly, it established a cooperative for Miao embroidery and organized training workshops for 92 left-behind women. It also signed a pre-sale purchase agreement with CRRC Group and Jishou Jinbigu Ethnic Clothing Company. As for rural tourism, harnessing its rich natural resources and leveraging with the influence brought about by President Xi’s visit, it focused on developing farm stay tourism and “red tourism.”

Third, Shibadong strives to achieve prosperity and rural vitalization based on industry-based poverty relief, by further developing rural industries. For example, it is exploring and marketizing the political value in the “Shibadong” brand, with the aim of ensuring sustained industrial development through brand-building and maximizing its political advantage. In addition, it is continually enhancing the levels of marketization, institutionalization and openness, and strengthening the village collective economy.

1.4 Social Governance: From Chaos to Order

Shibadong has undergone a fundamental change in social governance, from chaos and disorder to a new system with good order. Before 2014, the village was infested with petty theft, cases of stolen poultry and motorcycles were rampant, and some pig farmers had to sleep next to the pigsty to prevent from their pigs being stolen. Nowadays, thanks to the continuous improvement in the living standard as well as in morality, such phenomena have become history. In addition, the village has expanded the public space and built up many new public facilities such as the new village committee, parking lots, Miao speciality product store, ethnic cultural exhibition center, and even service centers for tourism, e-commerce and financial services. Littering has stopped, the transportation infrastructure has improved, sanitation facilities have been established, and people’s awareness of maintaining public order has

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gradually improved. Another interesting area of development was for bachelors. As of 2013, there were 38 bachelors over the age of 40 in the village, and starting a family was a thorny challenge for them. With the help of match-making events set up by the village, 29 out of 41 relatively elderly bachelors have found life partners and subsequently started families.

1.5 Basic Infrastructure and Public Services: From Inadequate to Guaranteed

The most prominent challenges Shibadong faced were inadequate basic infrastructure and a lack of access to education, medical care and social security, all of which have improved considerably since 2014. First, the village constructed new roads and built modern post offices and an internet infrastructure, which transformed it from remote and isolated to well connected with the outside world. To improve people's living conditions, the "targeted poverty alleviation" campaign focused on 5 ''reconstructions,'' i.e. the reconstruction of kitchens, toilets, ponds, livestock pens and baths; and to improve the basic infrastructure, the campaign undertook targeted measures to ensure 6 "accesses," i.e. access to water, electricity, road, housing, communication and ecological environment.

Second, targeted initiatives were launched to tackle the challenge in education and vocational training. Villagers pulled together funds and labor to renovate the dilapidated Zhuzi Primary School and update the facilities. The village established teacher exchange and teaching support programs to improve teachers' quality, leading to a 100% enrollment rate of school-age children and a good coverage of the nine-year compulsory education. Special support was provided to children from poorer families. It also organized vocational training in Miao embroidery, cooking, Mandarin, English, e-commerce and rural tourism to improve villagers' skills and their employment opportunities.

Third, targeted efforts were made to increase employment in the village or nearby places, as well as to ensure medical support for the sick and basic social security for special groups. In concrete terms, the village provided a favorable platform to attract migrant workers to return to their hometown and start businesses. It also offered employment opportunities for the left-behind elderly and women through supporting street vendor stalls and the Miao embroidery business. Furthermore, the village introduced basic medical insurance and serious disease insurance, and set up a medical aid assistance system and a standard clinic to ensure the sick can get timely treatment. Rural subsistence allowances were given to those special groups with severe illness, disabled groups and orphaned elderly to guarantee their basic livelihood.

2. Shibadong's Practices for Targeted Poverty Alleviation

Shibadong, the pilot for targeted poverty alleviation, put the "reality-based, case-by-case, category-specific and targeted approach" proposed by President Xi into practice. A leading group chaired by the first Party secretary of the county was established to oversee the targeted poverty alleviation efforts, and a dedicated working team was dispatched to the village to carry out concrete poverty alleviation measures. In the following sections, we outline Shibadong's targeted poverty alleviation practices in 5 areas.

2.1 Unleash the Endogenous Developmental Potential

Huayuan County Party Committee and government integrated a solid poverty alleviation force composed of a working team, the Party branch and village committee, and a youth commando team, who worked together to drive mindset change and improve the ethical standard of the population, thereby unleashing the endogenous developmental potential of the village. Several concrete measures were taken in this regard:

(1) Establish a robust organization system. The forming of a leading anti-poverty group chaired by the first secretary of the county Party committee showed its strong commitment to offering sustained and

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institutionalized support to the village.

(2) Dispatch a working team consisting of an augmented workforce. Considering that the village's entire population is of the Miao ethnicity, five competent members who could speak the Miao language and had relevant working experience were selected and dispatched to the village to lead the poverty alleviation efforts on the ground.

(3) Strengthen the Party branch and the village committee. During the village leadership re-election, the working team identified and absorbed those politically and culturally educated, competent, trustworthy and ambitious young people as members and gave full play to their leading roles. In addition, the working team staffed nine assistants to support the village leader in carrying out poverty alleviation measures.

(4) Form a youth commando team. As there was a lack of workers in poor households, it was difficult to push forward some reconstruction projects. The village got some 20 unemployed young people together to form a Shibadong youth commando team to support the reconstruction work in households which did not have the capacity.

(5) Pilot an ethical standard rating system. To change villagers' weak legal awareness and passive mentality, the working team organized ethical education classes and various cultural activities to boost the Shibadong spirit. In particular, it divided villagers over 16 years old into several groups, and organized village-wide meetings once every 6 months to publicly evaluate and vote the ethical standard of the groups. Criteria in six areas were assessed, including supportiveness in public welfare undertakings, abiding by discipline and laws, social values, professional ethics, family virtues and personal morality.

(6) Establish a mutual assistance mechanism. Led by a Party member or a competent team member, mutual assistance groups consisting of five members were formed. By the end of 2018, all 225 households were formed into 41 mutual assistance groups. Group members supported each other in uplifting the spirit, developing industries, improving social etiquette and civility, fostering harmonious neighborhood relations, building a beautiful countryside, and ultimately achieving poverty alleviation.

2.2 Precisely Identity Targets of Poverty Alleviation

In order to offer targeted support and ensure fairness, the village-based working team conducted investigations at a granular level to identify those households that were in dire need. More specifically, they:

(1) Organized meetings with villager groups and conducted in-depth investigations into the situation of each and every family member in all 225 households. A profile for each member was created including contact, income source and level information, as well as intention to engage in industrial activities.

(2) Developed identification criteria and methods. Overall, 9 types of families were excluded from receiving targeted poverty alleviation support, including those families (i) who possessed houses of over 2 stories, (ii) who violated the family planning policy after the year 2000, (iii) who engaged in gambling and failed to reform, (iv) who were unwilling to work, (v) who refused to support the elderly or school-age children at home, (vi) who obstructed projects for social welfare and local economy development, (vii) who insisted on working elsewhere, (viii) who worked in the public sector, and (ix) who owned large and medium-sized agricultural machinery, vehicles or factories.

(3) Intensified supervision by the people. To prevent nepotism, the team strictly followed a 7-step procedure in identifying targeted households: Step 1 - Voluntary application or upon recommendation by others; Step 2 - Group vote during village-wide meetings and announcement of the result on the spot; Step 3 - Joint review by village representatives, village committee members, county government representatives and the county leading group; Step 4: Publicize the result for at least 7 days; Step 5 - Review at the township level; Step 6 - Review at the county level. In the end, 533 people from 136 households were identified, accounting for 57.7% of the total village population. Step 7 - After the

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identification, a profile for each identified target was created, tailored poverty reduction solutions were devised, and supporting methods such as direct assistance, entrusted assistance or shareholding cooperation were offered.

2.3 Formulate Category-Specific Targeted Planning

The working team formulated a series of plans to address the four key questions of ‘‘whom to support, who to support, how to support and how to exit.’’

(1) Plan for the overall development of the village. The working team formulated the ‘‘Plan for Target Poverty Alleviation and Elimination in Shibadong Village’’ after conducting study tours and consulting experts of the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, as well as soliciting opinions from the county leading group and relevant departments. The plan underlined the importance of ensuring a harmonious coexistence between people and nature, as well as ensuring coordination and balance between construction and ecology, and preservation of ethnical characteristics during the reconstruction of the village. The aim was to build “China’s most beautiful countryside,” with bluer skies, greener mountains, clearer waters, a more authentic village with harmonious relations and stronger bonds.

(2) Planning for poverty alleviation projects. A series of projects were planned to include but not limited to developing rural tourism, a bottled water industry, a small hydropower plant, education and vocational training, as well as infrastructure projects for hiking and trekking, etc. Kiwi planting, Miao embroidery, livestock breeding, labor export and e-commerce development were also included.

(3) Planning for individual farmers. Based on the principle of offering tailored support, the working team identified the specific needs of impoverished households, and devised concrete projects and targeted measures to help them shake off poverty.

(4) Plans for improving social welfare. To tackle the challenges in schooling, medical treatment and social security, specific plans were formulated to build basic educational infrastructure such as classrooms with basic equipment, school canteens, toilets and sport facilities. Teacher exchange programs and assistance mechanisms to improve schooling in the village were also included in the planning. In terms of social security, specific plans were formulated to standardize clinics, and provide aid and relief assistance to vulnerable groups.

(5) Mechanism for bringing in village planners. Shibadong Village and the Design Institute of Hunan University signed an agreement to pilot a village-based planner mechanism. Under this framework, professionals would stay at the village to support the specific planning of the village. They would also serve as the ambassador of the village’s development, the communicator of villagers’ needs, the supervisor over project implementation, the conveyor of technological resources, and the researcher of rural development (Yi et al., 2019).

2.4 Targeted Industrial Development Tailored to Local Conditions

Harnessing its abundant ecological, agricultural and cultural resources, Shibadong carried out various reforms to turn resources into assets, funds into share capital, and farmers into shareholders by developing a diversified rural industrial development base.

(1) Plantation industry: In developing the plantation industry, the village piloted various innovative models including an “enclaves economic model” and a “cooperative + farmer shareholders” model. The village did not directly distribute the poverty alleviation funds to the poor households, instead, it mobilized the households to participate in shares which would issue dividends to them every year. The village and a company from the county collaborated in the development of a premium kiwi fruit industry. In this partnership, the company invested 3.06 million yuan, accounting for 51% of the shares, and Shibadong villagers and the village collective invested 2.94 million yuan, holding 49% of the shares.

(2) Animal husbandry industry: As introduced earlier, in the beginning, the village adopted a model

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of "smallholders + big players" in which small households were offered support in rearing cattle, goats and pigs. At the later stage, it optimized the husbandry industry, moving livestock breeding to neighboring villages while expanding the beekeeping industry. The pristine ecological environment ensured a high quality of honey was produced in Shibadong, and thanks to this added-value, Shibadong honey has become a well-known brand.

(3) Ethnic handicraft manufacturing industry: Doing embroidery and making brocade have long been folk traditions in Shibadong. Considering that there were many left-behind women, the village created a Miao embroidery cooperative consisting of 26 skilled women who trained a further 92 women. The working team helped the cooperative obtain orders from Jishou Jinbiguo Ethnic Clothing Company, thereby ensuring employment opportunities for the left-behind women. In 2018, the village developed partnerships with Hunan Industry University and some well-known enterprises to improve product development, sales and training. As a result, Miao embroidery has been sold as a unique fashion to markets at home and abroad.

(4) Rural tourism: Thanks to improvements in the transportation infrastructure, living conditions and rural environment, Shibadong successfully developed rural tourism by harnessing its unique scenic landscape and ethnic culture. It joined hands with companies such as Beijing Tourism Group to strategically develop tourism projects such as "red tours," "mysterious Miao village," canyon and karst cave tours in which local farmers could obtain income through operating, leasing, renting, and shareholding. In 2018, the village received more than 300,000 tourists throughout the year and generated over 3 million yuan profit from tourism alone, which earned it the title of "National Rural Tourism Demonstration Village." In June 2021, Shibadong leveraged the natural resources of two neighboring villages to form the Aizhai–Shibadong–Dehang Grand Canyon Scenic Spot, which has become the first national 5A-class scenic spot in the Xiangxi Autonomous Prefecture.

(5) Bottled water industry: The mountain spring water in Shibadong is of premium quality, which earned it praises, including from President Xi. The village closed a deal with Bubugao Group to develop the Shibadong-branded spring water, from which the village collective would obtain 15% of the shares with a guaranteed annual dividend of 500,000 yuan. In addition, for every bottle of water sold, 1 fen would go to the village's poverty alleviation fund. As such, the village, in collaboration with China's Top 500, successfully developed the Shibadong spring water industry, producing and selling bottled water to the whole nation. Other companies also became involved. The state-owned CRRC Zhuzhou Electric Locomotive Co. Ltd., signed a purchase contract for 30,000 bottles of water for 5 consecutive years. It also helped set up the "Shibadong Blue Schoolbag" fund, which allocates 5 fen from each bottle sold to support poor school children in the village. The bottled water industry has become a sustained industry which not only stimulates employment but also brings steady income to the village collective.

(6) High-skilled labor export. As present, the major source of income for 1/3 of the villagers comes from working elsewhere. Based on the requirements in major labor import cities such as Shenzhen and Guangzhou, the working team and village cadres organized relevant departments to provide guided and targeted training particularly to those impoverished households in order to improve their employment opportunities.

2.5 Innovative Mechanisms for Social Cohesion

While fully unleashing the endogenous developmental potential of the village, Shibadong also effectively integrated exogenous resources and leveraged social forces in the poverty alleviation efforts. Several specific measures were taken:

(1) Coordinating the poverty alleviation efforts of different institutions. The working team, the Party branch and village committee, and the youth commandos played an active role in coordinating the various poverty alleviation measures of various departments at all levels, pulling together all efforts towards the implementation of the plans and projects introduced above.

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(2) Leveraging various poverty alleviation funds and ensuring that the funds are used in addressing targeted issues and helping targeted people. The village tried to diversify funds for construction, e.g. by actively mobilizing donations from philanthropic enterprises and through investment promotion activities. It also piloted a poverty alleviation financial model together with the county branch of the Rural Commercial Bank. After scoping and examining the intention and capacity of poor households to develop small businesses, the bank offered micro-credit to those eligible in a simplified process, supported by the county's poverty alleviation and development department. It experimented with several innovative guarantee schemes, such as "household joint guarantee," "company+farmer household guarantee," and "cooperative+farmer household guarantee" to lower the threshold of credit access, which helped farmers get the financial support needed for developing businesses.

(3) Leveraging various social forces to achieve leapfrog advancement. With the support of the local government, as well as China Mobile and China Unicom and China Telecom, the village has full coverage by telecommunication networks, and has established an e-commerce service station, a financial service station and a delivery service station. In addition, an e-commerce platform was set up to facilitate the selling of agricultural products to external markets. And as introduced above, it joined hands with various enterprises to develop and expand the embroidery and tourism industries.

3. Learnings from Shibadong's Experience

There have been several attempts aiming to summarize and interpret Shibadong's experience in targeted poverty alleviation, including the "5D[1] Chinese poverty alleviation study" (Xinhuanet), and the "5W2H[2] targeted poverty alleviation model" (Yang and Liu, 2021). We illustrate the model of "5 combinings" here. This model holds that the success of Shibadong in poverty alleviation derives from 5 "combinings": (i) Combining openness and fairness with people's consensus in the process of identifying targets; (ii) combining guidance with incentives in stimulating endogenous growth potential; (iii) combining overall planning with locally adapted solutions in developing rural industries; (iv) combining authenticity with modern elements in infrastructure construction; and (v) combining the vanguard role of Party members and cadres with mobilizing social forces. This model reflects the gist of Shibadong's experience; however, one question remains unanswered: What are the universally applicable learnings from Shibadong's experiences which could be used to guide poverty alleviation efforts in general? Drawing upon insights from development economics such as the structural school (including the new structural economics), the neoclassical school and the behavioural school, this paper argues that Shibadong's experience in poverty alleviation (see Figure 1) displays a benign developmental process in which a poor rural village successfully broke out from the "triple failures" of government, market and society, through the coordinated efforts of an enabling government, an effective market and an organic society. This process also shows the modernization level of the governance system and the governance capacity of a country in the area of rural development.

3.1 Addressing "Government Failure": Grass-roots Governance and an Enabling Government

Scholars of the structural school maintain that for underdeveloped regions and countries, strong government interventions are essential for economic development, whereas those of the neoclassical school argue that the "hands of the government" should be restrained to prevent distortion caused

[1] From the perspective of political economics, China's experiences in poverty alleviation can be summarised in "5D", i.e. determined leadership, detailed blueprint, development oriented, data-based governance, and decentralized delivery.

[2] "5W2H" is the abbreviation summarising the essence of targeted poverty alleviation, that is, to achieve precise identification by asking 5W questions (what is poverty, where does poverty arise, why is there poverty, who is in poverty, and when); and to achieve targeted support by addressing 2H questions: How to offer help and support – this relates to finding the path of poverty alleviation, and how to measure the end of poverty alleviation – this relates to building a third-party evaluation system.

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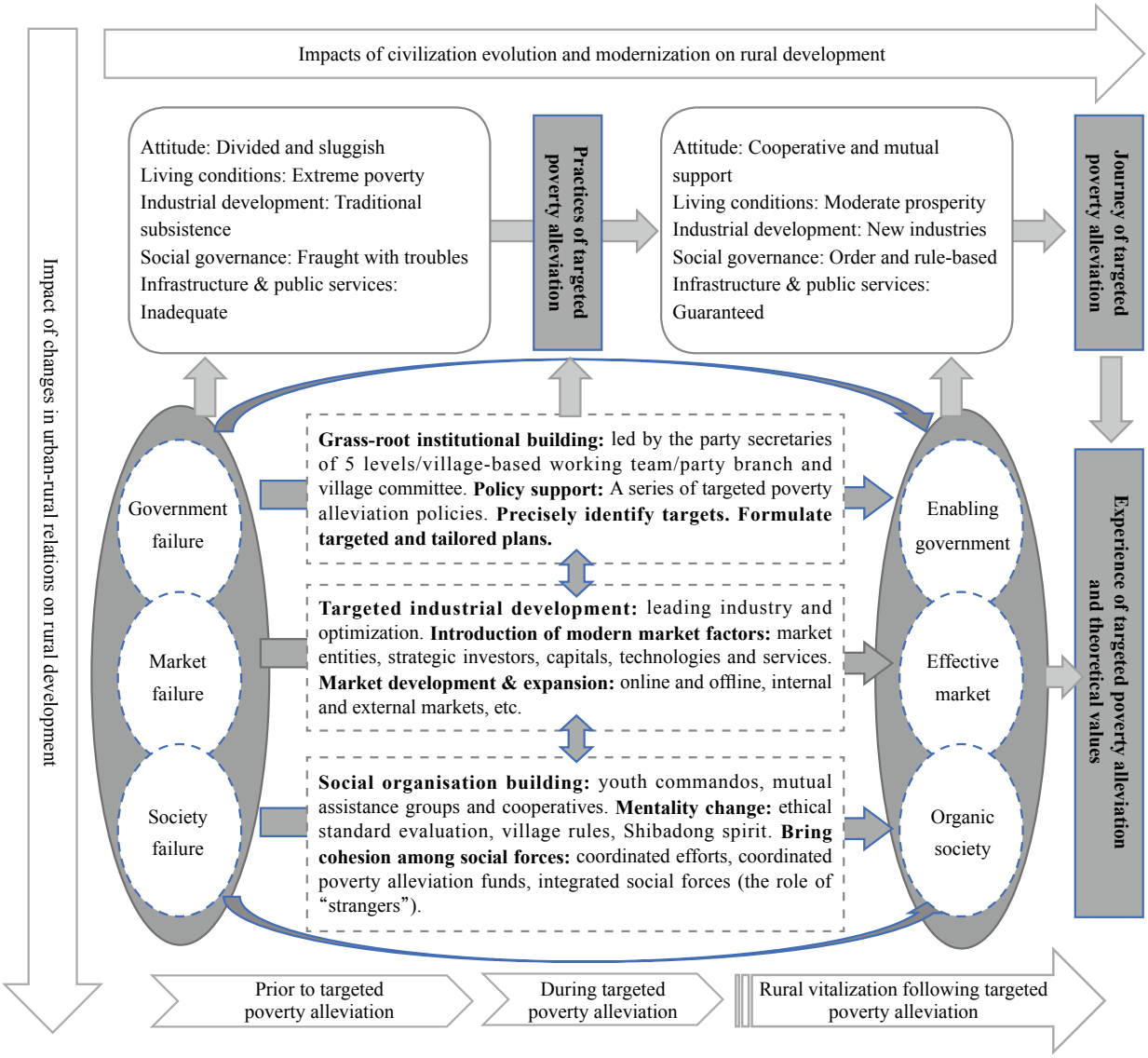


Figure 1: Mapping of Shibadong's Experience in Poverty Alleviation

by government interventions and therefore government failure (Huang, 2021; Wang and Sa, 2019). Government failure can manifest itself in two ways: The first is through the "absence of government," and the second is through "government offside." As an alternative, the new structural economics puts forward the concept of an "enabling government," stressing that there are times that the government should be active and times it should be inactive, that is, it should neither be absent nor offside.

In China's ancient history, imperial power did not permeate through the county level. The central government was only indirectly involved in the governance of villages, which were predominantly governed by clans (Chen, 2021). In the era of agrarian civilization, this relatively autonomous rural governance structure proved to be resilient and highly efficient. However, due to modernization and a shift in the urban-rural relationship, rural society has experienced a transformation, which has been driven by industrialization and urbanization. In particular, "rural sickness" has become increasingly

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prevalent, manifested in the "de-agriculturalization" of agricultural production factors, the rapid aging of the rural population, the increasing number of hollow villages, the worsening soil and water pollution, and the perennial impoverishment of certain rural areas (Liu, 2018). Concomitantly, the logic of national governance has changed from power-based to rights-based, with power being weakened in the political field but heightened in the economic and social spheres (Chen, 2021). This transformation has led to two consequences: The traditional base of rural governance has been shaken, and the effectiveness of the traditional governance model has diminished, resulting in the "absence of governance." This "absence" has led to government failure, which has exacerbated the "rural sickness" described above. The old Shibadong, representative of China's 128,000 impoverished villages, was previously an example of that government failure.

We believe that for villages that are deeply trapped in poverty, the delegation of state power to the village level is urgently needed. The targeted poverty alleviation campaign in Shibadong is a good example in this regard. Headed by the Party secretaries at five levels (provincial, municipal/prefecture, county, town and village), it focused on grass-roots Party building and institutional construction, based on which it further mobilized villagers' participation in public affairs. In addition, by dispatching a dedicated poverty alleviation working team, and empowering the Party branch and village committee, enabled the integration of all resources at the village level (Chen, 2020). In summary, Shibadong attempted to address government failure at the institutional level by relegating state power to the village level, and building grass-roots governance institutions and governance capacity. In parallel, it attempted to remedy the problems caused by the "absence" of government by formulating and implementing various poverty alleviation policies. During the targeted poverty alleviation campaign, the "absence" of institutions and policies was the main cause of government failure, but with the advancement of rural vitalization following the success of poverty alleviation, government failure caused by "offside" would be of main concern.

3.2 Addressing "Market Failure": Modern Market Forces and the Role of Market Mechanism

The neoclassical school accentuates the role of the "invisible hand" of the free market in resource allocation, and represented by the "Washington Consensus," this school promotes "liberalization, privatization and marketization" (Huang, 2021; Wang and Sa, 2019). There is a consensus that market mechanism is the basic means of resource allocation, but the premises for that to work are a well-established market economy, rational individuals, information symmetry and extremely low transaction costs. These premises obviously do not hold in underdeveloped areas, and particularly not in poor villages. Along this line, market failure seems to be inevitable in those poor areas.

Traditionally, China's rural economy has been characterised by a smallholder subsistence agrarian economy and a courtyard economy, in which market development has largely lagged behind. However, driven by the trends of industrialization, urbanization, and internationalization, traditional rural villages have seen continuous improvement in terms of commercialization and marketization. However, the level of advancement has varied across regions: Villages in the eastern coastal areas have a relatively higher degree of modernization and hence they were among the first ones to shake off poverty, whereas such villages as Shibadong in the remote and isolated hinterland were largely left behind. In these 128,000 poverty-stricken villages, traditional smallholder subsistence farming has seriously hampered the development of a market economy since there was neither condition nor demand for it. As a result, impoverished villages have been further marginalized and pushed away from mainstream economic cycles.

The strategy of targeted poverty alleviation supported by industrial development has played a vital role in accelerating the integration of poor villages into the market economy system, thereby enabling them to break out of the market failure. The new rural industries in Shibadong introduced above were

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market-oriented and integrated into the mainstream economic cycle. The strategic partnerships with big companies and the fostering of industrial cooperatives have given rise to modern market entities; the establishment of a village-level bank branch, the mechanism for obtaining bank loans to develop the kiwi fruit plantation industry, the cultivation of the Shibadong brand and so on all suggest the activation of modern market elements and the modern economic operation concept in Shibadong. In addition, Shibadong developed and expanded markets through both online and offline channels, including setting up markets in the village, stores in the county and the city, and carrying out live-streaming e-commerce. The new forms of market economy present a golden opportunity for rural areas such as Shibadong to unleash the power of effective market mechanisms, thereby supporting them in addressing challenges caused by market failure.

3.3 Addressing "Society Failure": Modern Social Order and Organic Social Forces

The economic activities of human beings are always imbedded in their social relations and they cannot exist independently from the social environment, that is, the economy is not as self-sufficient as argued by economics theories, but is subordinate to political, religious and social relations (Yao, 2000). In the discussions of economics theories, the entire economic system is simply divided into two spheres, namely, private and public, and these two spheres are predominantly led by the market and the government, respectively, which totally disregard the role of social (narrowly defined) organizations and social order. In fact, social organizations play an important role in facilitating effective and smooth communication between the market and the government, enabling them to mutually support each other and closely cooperate with each other. The lack of social organizations would lead to inadequate social justice and social autonomy, which would further lead to market failure or government failure. Such consequences caused by the absence of social organizations or by the lack of their functions are defined as "social failure" (Huang, 2015; Wang, 2012; Yao, 2000).

The traditional Chinese rural society has long been a closed agrarian society and its web of social relations has been relatively stable, interwoven by acquaintances. The corresponding social order is based on bloodline, kinship, and geographical relations (Fei, 2013), in which clan authority and personal relationships play an important role in maintaining the social order. However, with the establishment of village administrative systems and the influence of marketization and urbanization, the traditional "acquaintance society" has been transformed into a "semi-acquaintance society" (He, 2000) or a "baseless society of acquaintance" (Wu, 2011). Prior to the targeted poverty alleviation campaign, Shibadong and other similarly poverty-stricken villages displayed the main characteristics of the above-named social relations. And due to perennial poverty, the phenomena of stealing, robbery, and looting were rampant, which gave rise to villagers' sluggish and dependent mentality (Tang, 2021). With time, the consequences of "social failure" started to be prominent, manifested in the weakening of clan authority, the deterioration of social order, and the lack of social autonomy. At the same time, "strangers" or outsiders are reluctant to enter villages that are suffering from poor living conditions, making it harder to shatter the deep-rooted rural social structure.

In practicing targeted poverty alleviation, Shibadong recognized such "social failure" and begun taking measures to address the root causes. First of all, it worked to change people's mentality and attitudes through implementing an ethics rating system, and formulating village rules and regulations, as well as by conducting vehement advocacy. Secondly, it cultivated various social organizations and developed their functions by establishing and giving full play to the roles of youth commandos, industrial cooperatives and 41 mutual assistance groups. Finally, it opened a channel to encourage outsiders to come to the village, leading to the expansion of development space and the reshaping of the social order of the village. "Strangers" such as the stationed working team, managers of cooperatives, experts from universities, non-local employees of the bottled water factory and tourism companies,

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and tourists brought in an enormous amount of new information and social relations, which completely shattered the village's closed and isolated social systems.

3.4 Breaking Out of the "Triple Failures": Coordinated Efforts of Government, Market and Society

Government, market and society are the three most important "hands" in economic and social development. They play a leading role in their respective fields, but they are not omnipotent. Rather, they are interdependent and complementary to each other (Li, 2014). Their failures can be twofold, one is caused by "absence," that is, it does not play a role it should play; and the other is caused by "offside," that is, it inappropriately or distortingly interferes in areas it should not enter. For impoverished villages, the former type of failure is dominant, and it is often a combination of failures caused by the simultaneous absence of government, market and society. Therefore, how to break out of the "triple failures" is the fundamental challenge for the poverty-stricken villages (Tang, 2022).

The fundamental cause of perennial poverty in Shibadong was that it failed to actualize the respective function of the government, market and society, let alone leverage their synergistic effects. External supporting forces, funds, and projects all fell victim to the existing social order. However, the targeted poverty alleviation strategy integrating the "5W2H" elements successfully established an effective poverty alleviation system supported by the government, market and society. Guided by the top-level design, the village implemented targeted intervention measures adapted to local conditions. In a nutshell, through reconstructing grass-roots institutions, reshaping market factors, and rebuilding the social order, Shibadong successfully tackled the "triple failures" of government, market and society.

The experience of Shibadong as outlined above is a fine example of the modernization process of China's rural governance system. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, the central leadership collective with General Secretary Xi as the core has reaffirmed "modernizing the national governance system and governance capacity" as the key goal of the socialist reform, and has since continuously promoted the construction of the three pillars, i.e. an enabling government, an effective market and an organic society. The vast rural areas and impoverished villages with insufficient and unbalanced development are the weakest spots and hence the areas targeted for reform. With the deepening of marketization and urbanization, problems of social fragmentation and disorder in poor villages have become ever more prominent. At the same time, the provision of social security, basic education and medical care is still far from meeting the targets of common prosperity.

In conclusion, the issue of poverty alleviation concerns the building up of a modern rural governance system and governance capability. The practices of targeted poverty alleviation in Shibadong Village precisely reflect this point. The mutual assistance groups established under the leadership of the village Party branch simultaneously promoted economic construction, political construction, cultural construction, social construction and ecological civilization construction. Undoubtedly, governance modernization in impoverished villages is bound to be a long process, which we cannot expect to be completed during the phase of poverty alleviation. In the following stage of rural vitalization, villages must continue to build a collaborative mechanism between an enabling government, an effective market and an organic society, to comprehensively promote rural development and governance modernization, and steadily move towards common prosperity. CE

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