

**Research on the Mutual Reference of China's
Poverty Reduction experiences under Lancang-
Mekong Cooperation Frame
Theory and practice of CDD projects in China
and
The Impact of Community Driven
Development Approach on Rural Development
(The case of mountainous areas in Vietnam)**



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Development Approach on Rural Development of LMC countries

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**Research on the Mutual Reference of China's
Poverty Reduction experiences under
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Theory and practice of CDD projects in China**

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[Abstract]

Over the past four decades of reform and opening-up, China has achieved rapid economic growth and achieved remarkable poverty reduction. Studying and learning from China's experience in economic growth and poverty reduction has become a hot topic in international development theory and practice. Starting from the perspective of poverty reduction, this research report takes the internationalization of China's CDD poverty reduction experience as the theme, and discusses the practice and experience of China's CDD development, centering on China's poverty reduction process and effect, theoretical development of CDD and institutional innovation of CDD in China. Combined with the current situation of targeted poverty alleviation in China, this paper proposes policy Suggestions to promote targeted poverty alleviation at this stage by referring to CDD theory and practical research.

Given the wide scope and long cycle of CDD project practices in China, the findings on the effectiveness of CDD project objectives and mission realization in this report are mainly based on the case of The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project (knows as "Sustainable development projects in China's poor rural areas"). Research has shown that CDD programs in China have achieved good project results in empowering farmers, targeting poverty alleviation needs and poverty targets, improving project sustainability, enhancing the capacity of farmers and communities, and alleviating poverty. Meanwhile, the practice of CDD in China has accumulated valuable experience and lessons for enriching, innovating and improving China's original poverty alleviation mechanism. Drawing on theory of community-driven development and its practical experience has certain enlightenment significance for improving China's targeted poverty alleviation work.

The article argues that China's experience of poverty reduction is a product of China's specific historical, political, and economic and social development. The pilot and exploration of CDD project, to a certain extent, has enriched and accumulated China's experience in poverty reduction. In the face of targeted poverty alleviation and the "post-poverty reduction" period when China achieves a well-off society in an all-round way after 2020, how to effectively share the substantive connotation of China's development and poverty reduction experience with the international community, rather than simply copying, is the core of the internationalization of China's experience.

Key words:

CDD, Poverty Reduction in China, Mechanism innovation, International Experience, Post-poverty reduction era

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1.China's poverty reduction process and achievements

Poverty is one of the greatest challenges facing the world. A scientific approach to poverty eradication, particularly one based on efficiency, sustainability and a balance between environmental and climate change, has long been the goal of citizens and policymakers. Over the past four decades of reform and opening-up, China has achieved remarkable economic growth and unprecedented poverty reduction. Since the founding of the new China, the Chinese government has been committed to developing production and eradicating poverty. Over the past 70 years, especially since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), China has achieved the largest, longest and most beneficial poverty reduction in the history of mankind and made historic achievements, which lays a solid foundation for the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The number of people living in poverty in rural areas has been greatly reduced, and incomes have continued to grow rapidly. According to estimates by the National Bureau of Statistics, between 1978 and the end of 2018, the number of people living in absolute poverty in China's rural areas dropped from 770 million to 16.6 million, and the incidence of poverty dropped to 1.7 percent. In 2018, the per capita disposable income of rural residents in poor areas was 10,371 Yuan, accounting for 71 percent of the national average. The problem of the Chinese nation not having enough to eat and not having enough to wear for thousands of years was solved historically.^[1]

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Chinese government has been advancing poverty reduction and blazed a path of poverty reduction with Chinese characteristics.^[2] The change of the concept and policies of poverty reduction in China is a process of continuous innovation. China's poverty reduction process can be divided into the following five stages:

1.1 From 1949 to 1978: the exploration stage of poverty reduction after the founding of new China.

In the early years of the founding of New China, poverty and backwardness were the basic national conditions. At that time, the fundamental task of poverty reduction was to ensure that the people had enough to eat and enough to wear, that they could become self-sufficient in production and life, and that they could be provided with the most basic survival guarantee. Most of the government's poverty reduction measures were short-term relief and emergency measures or overall economic growth to alleviate poverty.

In 1950, MAO Zedong made a speech saying that after the establishment of the Central People's Government, its main energy should be transferred to economic construction and the adjustment of industry and commerce.^[3] By developing rural collective economy and establishing cooperatives, Chinese government increased production and income, eliminated polarization between rich and poor in rural areas, and finally realized the goal of common prosperity.^[4] These measures have greatly alleviated poverty. In general, from the beginning of the founding of New China to the beginning of the reform and opening up, China's poverty reduction measures were basically relief poverty alleviation in a broad sense. To some extent, these poverty reduction measures alleviated some local poverty at that time, but they could not solve China's poverty problem in a deep and large scale.

In the late 1970s, poverty was still a widespread problem, accounting for nearly half of the country's population.^[5] Poverty reduction under the centralized planned economy at that time could not really solve the problem of poverty, but the work at this stage pointed out the direction of poverty reduction in the future, and accumulated certain experience for the development of poverty reduction policies from rough and shallow to precise and in-depth.

1.2 From 1978 to 1985: Structural reform promotes poverty reduction.

In 1978, according to the poverty standard set by the Chinese government, the number of people living in poverty was 250 million, accounting for 30.7 percent of the total rural population. The main reason is that the agricultural management system does not meet the needs of the development of productive forces, resulting in low enthusiasm of farmers for production. Therefore, the reform of the system has become the main way to alleviate poverty.^[6]

The third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee summarized and reflected on the experience and lessons of previous economic and social development . Subsequently, a series of reform measures were implemented to promote economic development. This stage of poverty reduction shows the characteristics of promoting poverty reduction through institutional reform, and rural economic restructuring is the biggest driving force for poverty reduction. China began to reform the land management system first in 1978, that is, to replace the collective management system of the people's communes with the household contract management system. The reform of the land system greatly stimulated the labor enthusiasm of the peasants, thus greatly liberated the productive forces and improved the land yield rate. At the same time, the price of agricultural products were gradually lifted in rural areas and township enterprises are vigorously developed. These reforms have promoted the rapid

development of the national economy and transmitted benefits to the poor through three channels, namely, the increase of agricultural product prices, the transformation of agricultural industrial structure into industries with higher added value, and the employment of rural labor in non-agricultural fields, so that poor farmers can get rid of poverty and become rich.

On the eve of reform and opening up, according to the poverty line set by the National Bureau of Statistics in those days, the number of poor people in China was 250 million, with an incidence of poverty in rural areas of 30.7 percent. Reform and opening up and rural economic development have brought about a rapid decline in the number of poverty-stricken people. By the end of 1985, the number of poverty-stricken people in China was only 125 million, and the incidence of poverty had dropped to 14.8 percent. The number of people living in poverty in rural areas was reduced by an average of 17.86 million each year.^[7]

1.3 From 1986 to 2000: collectively referred to as the large-scale development-oriented poverty alleviation stage.

The period from 1986 to 1993 is seen as a small phase. In the mid-1980s, driven by the policy of reform and opening up, the vast majority of rural areas in China enjoyed rapid economic growth by virtue of their own development advantages, but a few areas lagged behind due to economic, social, historical, natural and geographical constraints. The gap in economy, society and culture between the poor areas and other areas, especially the developed eastern coastal areas, is gradually widening. China's rural development is not balanced, a considerable part of the low-income population can not maintain their basic needs. Since 1986, Chinese government has adopted a series of major measures: the establishment of special poverty alleviation agencies, the allocation of special funds, the formulation of special preferential policies and the thorough reform of the traditional relief poverty alleviation system. Since then, the Chinese government has carried out development-oriented poverty alleviation in a planned, organized and large-scale way nationwide, and China's poverty alleviation work has entered a new historical period. After eight years of unremitting efforts, the per capita net income of farmers in poverty-stricken counties, a key state aid, increased from 206 yuan in 1986 to 483.7 yuan in 1993. The number of people living in poverty in rural areas dropped from 125 million to 80 million, an average reduction of 6.4 million per year or an annual decrease of 6.2 percent. The proportion of poor people in the rural population dropped from 14.8 percent to 8.7 percent.^[8]

From 1994-2000: The critical stage of poverty alleviation

The strategy of poverty alleviation has shifted from the previous focus on poverty relief to the focus on development-oriented poverty alleviation by utilizing the resources of the poor areas. The anti-poverty policy in this stage can be divided into policy

guarantee and financial input. The main content of the poverty alleviation policy guarantee including establishment of the State Council Leading Group for Poverty Alleviation and Development, the targeting mechanism of poverty alleviation targeting poor counties, the development of township enterprises and the improvement of the external environment of rural labor mobility. In March 1994, the Seven-year plan for Poverty alleviation was promulgated and put into effect, which clearly stated that we should concentrate human, material and financial resources and mobilize all sectors of society to basically solve the problem of food and clothing for the 80 million poor people in rural areas by the end of 2000 in about seven years. This is the first action program for poverty alleviation and development in the history of New China with clear targets, measures and deadlines.

By the end of 2000, the seven-year priority poverty alleviation target had been basically achieved. According to statistics, the number of people living in poverty dropped from 125 million in 1985 to 32 million in 2000. Great achievements have been made in this stage of poverty alleviation. With the rapid growth of China's economy, the gap between urban and rural areas has been increasing, and even the gap between the rich and the poor in the countryside. The emergence of this pattern of income gap has posed new challenges to China's poverty alleviation and development work in the new century.

1.4 From 2001 to 2012: Village-level poverty alleviation

promotion stage

“The Program for Poverty Alleviation and Development in China’s Rural areas (2001-2010) ” proposed for the first time that poverty alleviation and development should be “based on poverty-stricken villages” and concrete measures should be implemented at the level of poverty-stricken villages. The promotion of poverty alleviation at the village level is a new adjustment of China's poverty alleviation and development policy and a great attempt to reduce poverty in the 21st century. Subsequently, the state identified 148,000 poor villages, covering about 76 per cent of the country's poor population. The policy of promoting poverty alleviation at the village level takes the poor villages as the main work carrier, concentrates human, material, financial and other resources, focuses on improving the conditions of infrastructure, education, medical treatment and sanitation that affect farmers' production and life, cultivating competitive industries, speeding up industrial development, and significantly improving the quality of the population in poor areas.

However, with the deepening of the anti-poverty work, the village-level poverty alleviation approach, which takes the poor villages as the basic unit and aims at the coordinated development of the economy, society and culture at the village level, no longer fits the reality of poverty reduction in China. In 2013, President Xi Jinping put

forward the requirements of "seeking truth from facts, adapting measures to local conditions, giving guidance according to different categories, and targeted poverty alleviation". China's poverty alleviation and development work has shifted from village-level poverty alleviation to targeted poverty alleviation.^[9]

1.5 From 2013 to 2020: Targeted poverty alleviation.

In November 2012, the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) put forward the goal of "building a moderately prosperous society in all respects" in the report. In 2013, Xi Jinping proposed the concept of "targeted poverty alleviation" during a visit to Xiangxi, Hunan Province. The core meaning of targeted poverty alleviation lies in "taking measures according to local conditions and taking measures according to people, households and villages", so as to effectively solve the problem of scattered poor farmers and different causes of poverty. In 2015, the Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Winning the Battle against Poverty was released, making a comprehensive plan for poverty alleviation during the 13th Five-Year Plan period. A series of policies have been put in place to ensure the steady achievement of poverty alleviation targets. Statistics show that since the 18th National Congress of the COMMUNIST Party of China (CPC), China's poor population has decreased from 98.99 million in 2012 to 16.6 million in 2018, and over 13 million people have been lifted out of poverty every year for six consecutive years. Of the remaining 832 poor counties in China, 28 were lifted out of poverty in 2016, 125 in 2017 and about 280 in 2018.^[10] There were 128,000 registered poor villages in 2013, and there were 26,000 by the end of 2018. The substantial reduction in the number of people living in poverty has laid a solid foundation for completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects on schedule.

2. Theoretical basis for the implementation of CDD.

Any practical operation is recommended on a theoretical basis.

2.1 The concept of CDD theory

Community-driven development (CDD) refers to the development mode of empowering communities to make decisions, organize themselves, manage themselves, supervise themselves and benefit themselves with the help of the government or other external departments. The World Bank defines CDD as: empowering community members and their organizations with the control of decision rights and resources. Community members and their organizations establish partnerships with external

organizations and service providers that provide demand response, including local governments, the private sector, non-governmental organizations and the central government.^[11] In the 1990s, the World Bank and other international institutions began to advocate and actively explore new approaches to CDD in developing countries such as Latin America.^[12] With the support and encouragement of the World Bank, this approach has gradually become accepted and widely tried by relevant donor governments and communities.

2.2 Exploration and improvement of CDD theory.

CDD theory is constantly explored and improved through practice on the basis of relevant theories. Its theoretical basis including Need theory, Public Goods Theory, Theory of civil society and knowledge economy Theory, and other theories such as: Empowerment Theory, Theory of endogenous development and participatory development theory, Sustainable Development Theory, Theory on the overall development of the community, and the Theory of Sustainable Livelihoods, all which provides an important theoretical support for the formation of CDD theory.^[13]

See Table 1: The main theoretical basis of CDD

Name of Theory	Content	Embodiment of CDD
Empowerment theory	Poverty is the deprivation of basic viable capabilities, and empowerment theory suggests that poverty reduction and development must rely on three forces: social, political and psychological.	Empowerment is the core of CDD theory.
Endogenous development theory	Local people as subjects of development; Bottom-up approach to developing and nurturing local capacity for development; Respect for indigenous knowledge, etc.	Community-driven; Bottom-up development; Focus on capacity enhancement; Respect for indigenous culture
Participatory development theory	Empowerment is the core of participatory development; Whole process engagement; Partnership building; Focus on capacity building	Higher stage of participatory development with deep and broad participation; Cooperation; Focus on capacity building
Sustainable development theory	Sustainability; Equity; Commonality	Pursuing sustainable development; Embodying inclusiveness
Sustainable livelihoods theory	Sustainability of livelihoods in the context of vulnerability; Having living capital; People-Centered	Sustainable development; Material, financial, human, social and other livelihood capital acquisition
Integrated community development theory	Comprehensive development in politics, economy, society, culture and ecology	Diversification and integration of objectives

2.3 Evolution of CDD theory

2.3.1 Initiation of CDD theory

After World War II, most of the colonial countries became independent one after another, and the rural areas in these countries were very poor, which seriously hindered the development of the country. Therefore, seeking the development of rural areas and eliminating poverty became the primary basic goal of the development of these countries. In the 1950s, Akhter Hamid Khan, an early pioneer of community development in Bangladesh, argued that community development should go hand in hand with local development and that local governments should form partnerships with communities and be planned and managed jointly by citizens, communities and local governments. Akhter Hamid Khan's development concept is different from the previous centralized development concept, advocating decentralization and participation, which is the origin of the idea of CDD.^[14] This approach places the planning and management of development in the hands of local governments and communities, with the central government, outside technical departments and non-governmental organizations providing only the necessary support and services.

2.3.2 Localization process of CDD theory in China

In fact, the CDD theory is not entirely foreign to China. It has a very deep ideological foundation in China, which can be traced back to MAO Zedong's idea of mass line from the mass to the mass in the early 20th century.^[15] The basic connotation of the Mass Line is to gather the opinions of the grass-root masses, transform them into systematic opinions, and take corresponding measures to address these opinions and implement them through the masses. To discover and test truth in practice, and to trust and rely on the masses. This is similar to the idea that CDD depends on community members' self-organization, self-management, self-supervision and self-development.

2.4 Formation of CDD theory

Taking time as the axis, the formation of the CDD theory can be divided into the embryonic stage, consulting stage, participation stage and empowerment stage according to different development modes, the level of community members' participation in the development, decision-making power and capital management right.^[16] At different stages of development, the degree of community participation shows a progressive character (see Table 2 for details).

Table 2: Evolution of CDD theory

	1950s	1960s	1970s-80s	1990s	2000
Development pattern	Centralization	Technology orientation	Region development projects	CBD	CDD
	Decentralization	Green Revolution	Integrated rural development projects		
		CPD	NGO and private sector leading		
Development stage Embryonic stage → Consultation stage → Participation stage → Empowerment stage					

Source: Hans P. Binswanger; Local and Community Driven Development; Moving to Scale in Theory and Practice. The World bank Washington D.C.2010.

3. Brief introduction of CDD project implementation in China

At the end of the 20th century, although some development projects in China assisted by international non-governmental organizations did not use the name and concept of CDD, the basic idea of CDD had been applied in the design and operation of the projects. CDD was officially piloted in China in 2006.^[17] The practice of CDD in China can be divided into the following two stages:

3.1 The exploration stage in the late 20th century

"Empowerment" is the essence of participatory development and the core of community-driven development. CDD is the higher stage of participatory development. Early participatory development projects in China have also provided experience for the implementation of CDD to some extent. For example, the village development and forestry project in Guizhou in 1994, the Poverty Alleviation project in Huoshan in China in 1998, and the comprehensive community development project in Luquan County in Yunnan province and Yilong County in Sichuan Province in 1999 were launched by Oxfam Hong Kong. These projects emphasize the involvement of local villagers in their planning and implementation.^[18] Although these projects do not directly refer to the concept of community-led development, they have the characteristics of CDD from their emphasis on villagers' participation and community members' attempts to manage projects and funds themselves.

3.2 The formal implementation stage in the early 21st century

In 2006, China officially applied the CDD theory to the pilot projects on poverty reduction and community development. On the basis of good results achieved in the pilot projects, related poverty alleviation projects were further carried out in 2010. In

this stage of practice, the basic idea of CDD was followed from the design and implementation of the project to the supervision.

(1)The World Bank CDD Pilot Project in 2006

In May 2006, the World Bank launched a CDD pilot project in China in cooperation with the Foreign Investment Project Management Center of the Office of the State Council Leading Group for Poverty Alleviation and Development. The pilot project selected 60 key poverty-stricken villages in Jingxi County of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, Jialing District of Sichuan Province, Zishui County of Shaanxi Province and Wengniuti Banner of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. For the first time, this project officially takes the CDD theory as the guiding theory of the project and guarantees it through the mechanism design throughout the project.^[19]

(2)The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project

The world bank's fifth poverty alleviation program, also known as "Sustainable development projects in China's poor rural areas" was based on the results of the 2006 CDD pilot project. During the period of construction from 2010 to 2015, the project was carried out in the provinces of Henan, Chongqing and Shaanxi, involving a total of 776 administrative villages in 25 counties (districts), benefiting a total of 95.11 million people and 45.42 million poor people.^[20] The project aims to improve the ability of communities to organize, manage and develop themselves, improve infrastructure and living conditions, and enable villagers to achieve steady income growth. By summarizing the experience of poverty alleviation and exploring the ways and means of poverty alleviation and development under the new situation, the project provides the decision-making basis for China's poverty alleviation and development.

4. Mechanism innovation and main practice of CDD projects in China

At the end of the 20th century, China carried out the practice exploration of CDD in the early stage, and formally implemented CDD project in the early 21st century. The practice of CDD in China has achieved good poverty reduction effect, and its theoretical thoughts and practical experience can provide beneficial reference for the current implementation of targeted poverty alleviation and poverty governance. In order to achieve the overall goal of empowering communities and enhancing their capacity for self-organization, self-management, self-supervision and self-development, CDD in China has developed a completely different organizational structure from traditional poverty alleviation projects.

In view of the wide scope and long cycle of CDD projects in China, this research report mainly introduces the overall management structure of CDD projects in

combination with The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project, and then introduces the CDD projects from four aspects, including community decision-making, mass participation, external management and technical support.

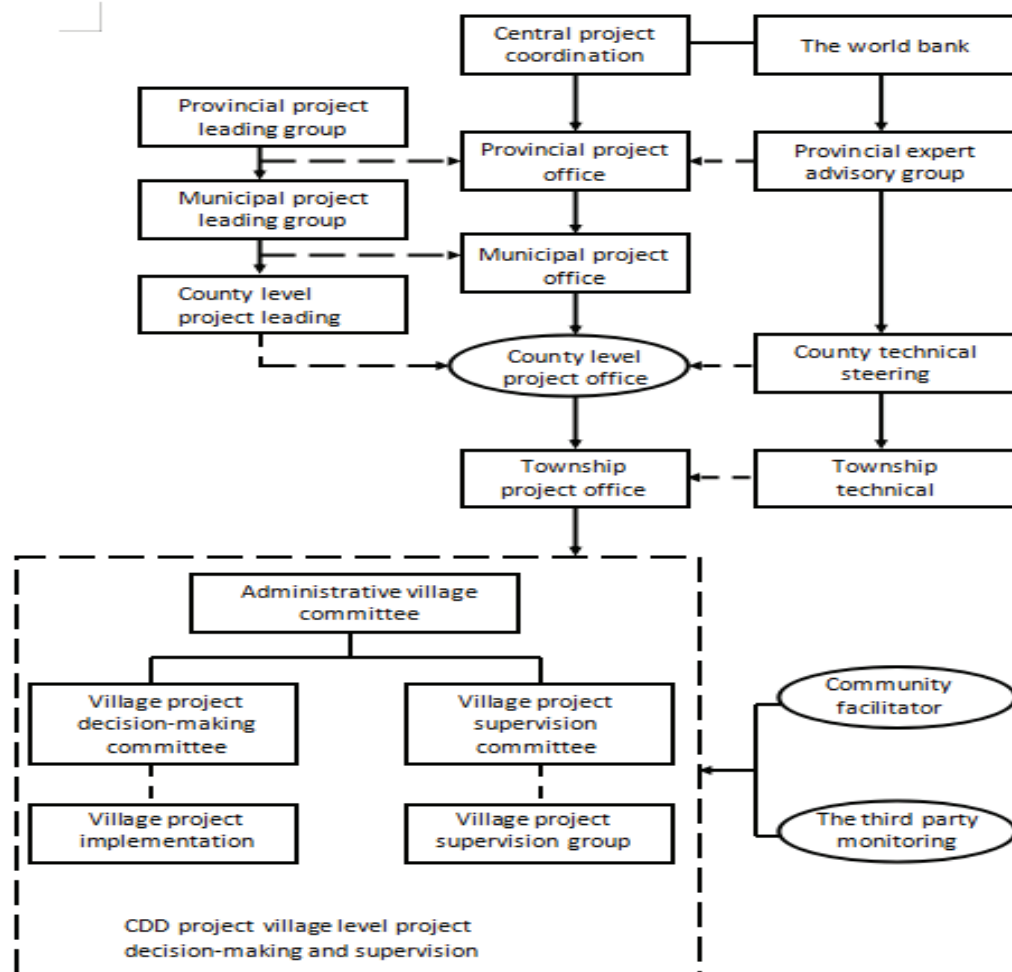
4.1 Project organization and management structure

Project management organization refers to a special work organization composed of personnel from different departments and professions in order to complete a specific project task. Perfect, efficient and flexible project management organization is the organizational foundation to ensure the realization of project objectives.

4.1.1 Organizational management framework for CDD projects

Different from the traditional poverty alleviation model, the CDD model requires that funds be directly allocated to the community, and the community allocates resources through democratic decision-making. Therefore, CDD projects need to establish entirely new project management organizations at the community level, rather than relying on traditional administrative organizations. On the basis of drawing lessons from the organization and management structure of successful CDD projects in the world and taking China's national conditions into full consideration, the world Bank's fifth-phase poverty alleviation project in China has established a six-level project organization and management system to ensure the right of the community to allocate poverty alleviation resources and the enthusiasm of farmers to participate.^[21] The specific organization management structure diagram is shown in Table 4.^[22]

Table 4:Project organization structure diagram



Note: Inside the dotted line is the composition of community organizations, while outside the dotted line is the external management and support organizations. For some administrative villages with fewer people, there is no implementation group or supervision group at natural village level, but implementation group at the natural village. In an administrative village with a small number of villagers, a decision-making committee is not established, and the village committee of the administrative village performs the functions of the decision-making committee on its behalf.

The main bodies involved in the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project project mainly include the following categories: First, the World Bank; Second, the Central Project Coordination Office; Third, provincial and municipal project leading groups and project offices; Fourth, the project leading group, project office and project technical steering committee at the county level; Fifth, township level project management office and township project technical guidance group; Sixth, villagers' committees; Seventh, village-level project decision-making committee, supervision committee, unincorporated village project implementation group and supervision group, which are decision-making and implementation subjects at the community level; Eighth,

community facilitators and third-party monitoring institutions are external technical support subjects.

4.1.2 Characteristics of the CDD project management organizational structure

The organizational management structure of CDD project has the following characteristics:

First, the project funds go directly to the village; Second, community has the right to allocate poverty alleviation funds; Third, the government functions from leadership to service; Fourth, specialized external technical support and services. The CDD program introduced a community helper system. Relying on the community facilitators who stay in the village for a long time and making full use of external professional technical support and services, the project community can improve the scientific decision-making and effectively enhance the collective action ability of the community.

4.2 Project decision-making and supervision system

4.2.1 Composition of the project decision-making and supervision organization

The goal of CDD projects is not only to change production and living conditions in the poor areas through the implementation of project. It is more important to improve the collective action ability at the community level through the organizational practice process, so as to enhance the endogenous development power of the community. The most essential feature of the CDD model is that the farmers in the poor villages collectively own the final decision-making power of the project. Community decision-making requires the combination of direct democracy and indirect democracy, and special supervision of democratic decision-making through the establishment of supervisory institutions. The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project establishes a system of project decision-making and monitoring that is democratically elected by the community. With the administrative village as the basic unit of project organization and implementation, the village project decision-making committee and village project supervision committee can represent the overall interests of the community elected by the villagers' congress.

See Table 4: CDD project decision-making and supervision organizational framework in village level.

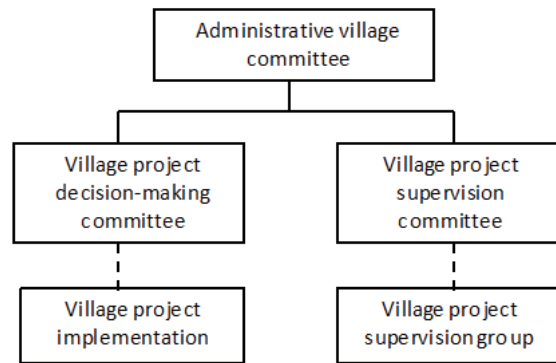


Table 4:

CDD project decision-making and supervision organizational framework in village level.

4.2.2 The characteristics of Project decision-making and monitoring organization

First of all, the community decision-making and supervision committee is democratically elected by the villagers assembly, which can represent the interests of the majority of villagers. At the same time, there are clear requirements for the participation of special groups such as women in project management. For example, at the village level, at least one woman is required to participate in project decision-making and monitoring organizations.

Secondly, the members of decision-making and supervision committees in administrative villages are mainly village cadres. Village cadres can enhance their sense of democratic management by participating in the decision-making and implementation of CDD pilot projects. In the process of organizing villagers to make decisions on CDD project, village cadres have learned and mastered the procedures and methods of democratic decision-making, and the behavioral results have become fair and just, making villagers more recognized and satisfied.

In addition, community implementation group and supervision group members are elected by villagers' votes, and the successful implementation of community project activities can enhance the social capital of project management members.

Finally, compared with traditional poverty alleviation and development projects, the decision-making bodies or different interest groups of CDD projects have undergone fundamental changes in the decision-making process, which is conducive to the innovation of the management service mode of government and technical service subjects. In CDD project, the project community becomes the main body of the project decision, while the government project management agency or NGO becomes the

guarantor of the community decision, and actively innovates more effective service support mode to ensure the project plays a better role.

4.3 Approaches to farmer participation and empowerment

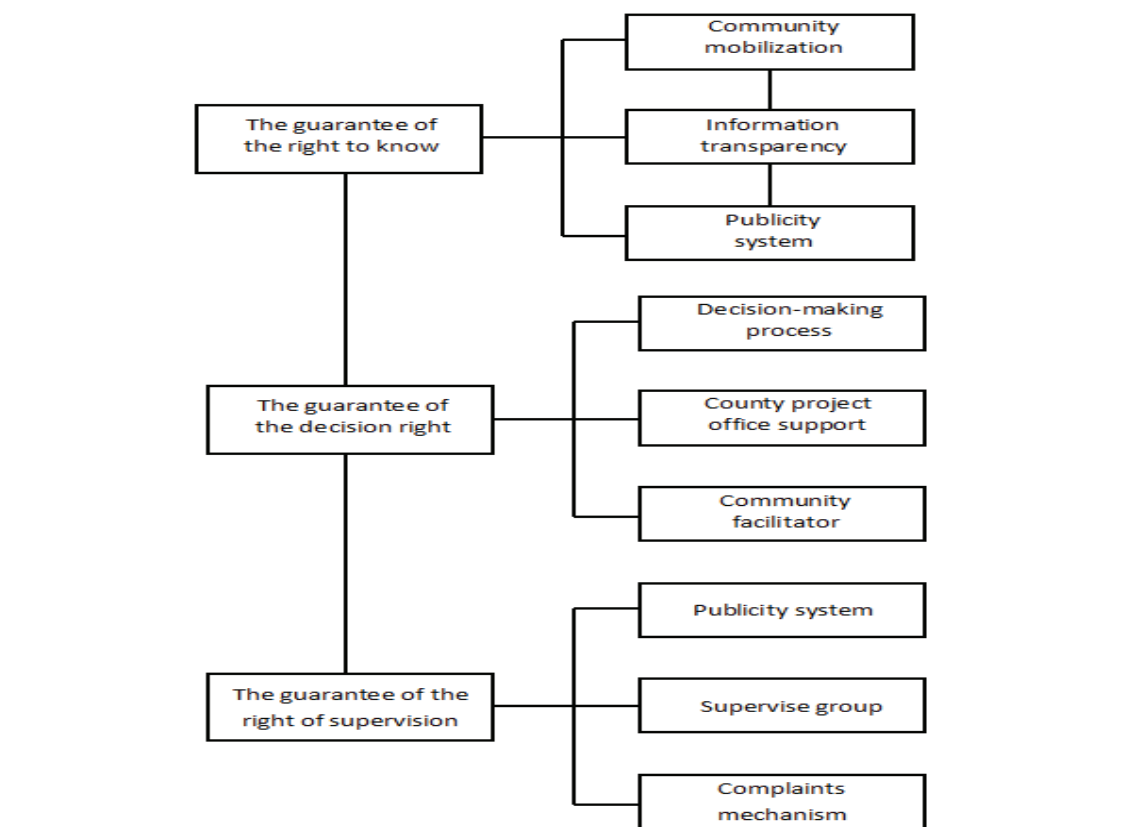
The significance and value of farmers' participation

In order to overcome the tendency of traditional communities to exclude and neglect vulnerable groups, the CDD project areas have clearly defined the proportion of women and poor households participating in the community decision-making process. In general, women and poor households should not be less than one third of the total number of participants. When it is necessary for villagers to collectively make decisions, the number of participants should not be less than 80% of the total number of people in the community; otherwise, the community decision-making will be regarded as invalid. In THE CDD project, the community decision-making mechanism has adopted various effective measures to promote the participation of vulnerable groups in the community, which fully reflects its purpose of poverty alleviation. In the decision-making process of THE CDD project, vulnerable groups in the community, including women, children, the elderly and poor families, are really valued. Their wishes are expressed through community decision-making mechanisms and they become indispensable decision makers for project activities. This obviously has a positive catalytic effect on the improvement of their consciousness in all aspects.

4.3.1 Organizational framework for farmer participation

In the design of CDD pilot project in China, the successful experience of CDD project in foreign countries has been extensively studied and absorbed. The project design combines the reality and cultural characteristics of China's rural areas, especially poor areas, and forms a series of effective systems and mechanisms for how to guarantee farmers' rights to know, make decisions and supervise in the project.

See Table 5: Organizational framework for farmer participation in CDD projects



4.3.2 The characteristics of Organizational framework for farmer participation

For the participation and empowerment of farmers in CDD project, the villagers' right to know, decision-making right and supervision right are integrated in one. Neither of them can be separated from the other. Therefore, the overall social environment for project operation is constructed through the project design, which can not only ensure the use efficiency of project resources, but also meet the needs of most people in the community to the maximum extent.

4.4 Project leadership and management system

4.4.1 Project leadership and management organizational structure

The community level is responsible for the specific selection and implementation of the project, but the organization and management of the project involves the central, provincial, municipal, county and township levels. Only through the transmission of project responsibilities and project concepts can the project organization and management be put into practice, and the effective development and implementation of the project can be realized at the community level. The specific leadership and management organization of CDD project includes the central project Coordination Office, provincial, municipal, county (district) level project leading group and project office, township project office and administrative village committee. China's CDD project sets up a multi-level project leadership and management organization system.

On the one hand, it is to coordinate the implementation of project supporting funds and communicate with relevant departments for technical support. On the other hand, in order to grasp the overall progress of the project, summarize and exchange experience in a timely manner, and solve various problems during the implementation of the project. (See Table 6)

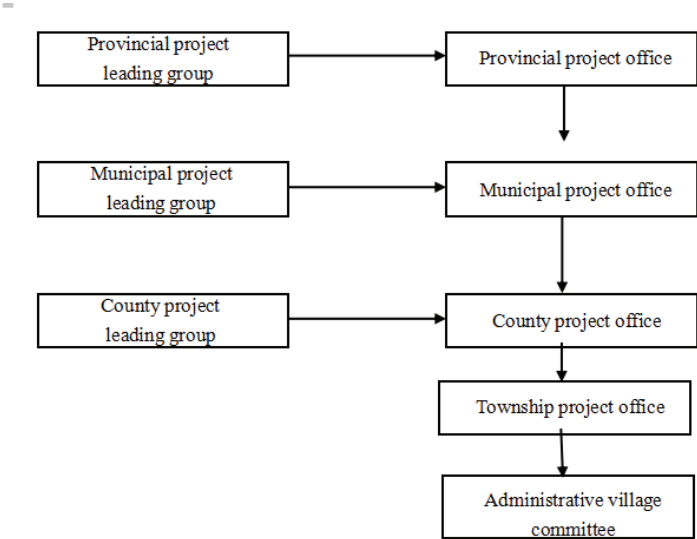


Table 6: CDD project leadership and management organizational framework

4.4.2 Characteristics of the project leadership and management organizational framework

In CDD projects, the subject of project leadership and management organization is basically the same as that of traditional poverty alleviation projects, but the responsibilities of each subject in the two types of projects have changed, especially those at the county level. The management dept. of CDD such as county-level project offices are mainly responsible for organizing, coordinating and providing services. They no longer have the decision-making power over the selection and implementation of projects. They are more concerned with how to effectively help communities make scientific decisions, so as to give play to the poverty alleviation benefits of poverty alleviation funds and improve the organization and management capacity of communities

As a way of poverty alleviation introduced from abroad, CDD have the following characteristics in the process of project implementation in China:

First, the leadership and management organization of CDD project grafts China's existing administrative management system and constructs a hierarchical management system with clear responsibilities. It also helps to fully learn and absorb the management experience in the traditional poverty alleviation model and reduce the uncertainty and risk in the implementation process of CDD project.

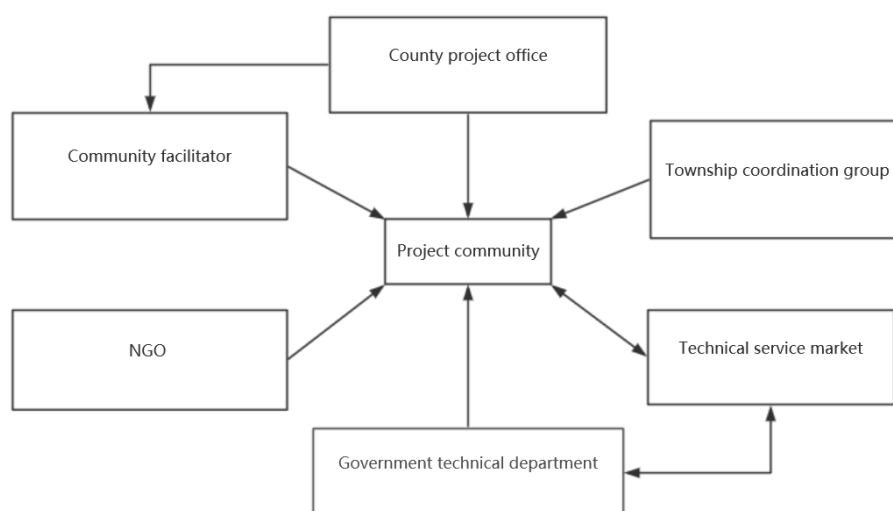
Second, local leaders serve as leaders of leading groups and attach great importance to CDD projects. As a new poverty alleviation model, CDD has attracted the attention of leaders at all levels and plays a very important role in fund management, technical service and experience exchange during project implementation.

Third, the attention and participation of relevant functional management departments at all levels. This has played an important role in the preparation, coordination and implementation of the project.

4.5 Project support and service system

4.5.1 The framework of project technical support and service system

The World Bank's fifth poverty Alleviation project provides detailed arrangements for the functions of project executing agencies at all levels and establishes a relatively complete system of technical support services (See Figure 7: CDD project technical support service system of organization framework). Within this framework, county project offices, community facilitator and township coordination groups are provided with in-house technical support and services; The technical support services provided by Ngos, government technical departments and technical service market belong to external support. Among them, community facilitators are full-time staff who assist and guide the implementation of projects in the community, which is a prominent feature of the organization and management system of the World Bank's Fifth Poverty alleviation project. The effective operation of CDD project's technical support service system depends on the positioning of the following organizational functions of technical support services and their specific play in practice.



See Figure 7: CDD project technical support service system of organization framework

4.5.2 The characteristics of Project support and service system

The biggest characteristic of the technical support service system of CDD project in China is the effective division of labor and cooperation among different organizations around the objectives and requirements of the CDD pilot project, so as to continuously improve the level of technical support and service. "Trust the masses to effectively manage their own affairs" is the consistent policy of the CPC in China's rural work and the basic principle of CDD project operation. The technical support service system of CDD project is built and operated around the capacity building of poor communities and poor people, and its operating mechanism fully embodies the principle of community-driven. Timely and effective technical support and services are key to the successful implementation of project activities by the community.

It shows the characteristics of the following aspects:

- (1) Improving the system arrangement of technical support service system;
- (2) Establishing the operation mechanism of technical support service system oriented by the needs and demands of community and villagers;
- (3) Promoting the formation of community self - technical support service mechanism;
- (4) Management mechanisms promoting the continuous improvement of community technical organization capacity.

5. The planning and management mechanism of CDD project

Organized and standardized operation is an important feature of CDD projects. After World Bank reached the cooperation intention with Chinese government, two sides fully discussed the overall plan and objectives of the project and formulated standardized operation procedures and methods for some important management systems in the implementation of the project. The CDD project in China clearly defines the overall plan and objectives of the project. Detailed objectives are decomposed and implemented through the important management mechanisms and operations of the project, including fund management, procurement management, technical support and service, and follow-up management.

5.1 The overall plan and objectives of the project

The goal setting of CDD project is related to the goal setting of the project resource provider as well as the development needs of the community farmers. Therefore, the project design considers both the overall macro level and the realistic needs of the community at the micro level.

5.1.1 Overall goal

The National Poverty Relief Office, in full consultation with the World Bank, decided to further promote pilot CDD projects in China and set the overall goals of the World Bank's Fifth poverty alleviation project

Its main objectives are as follows:

Firstly, through the preparation, implementation and management of the project, the ideas of the cadres and masses in the project area have been greatly changed, the ability to design, implement and manage the project has been greatly improved, and the villagers' self-organization, self-development and self-management ability have been constantly improved.

Secondly, the infrastructure in the project area has been greatly improved, the enthusiasm of the villagers to develop production has been enhanced, the income has been steadily increased, and the production and living conditions have been improved.

Thirdly, to explore the links between poverty, vulnerability and adaptation in rural China and to provide a basis for future policy design.

Fourthly, to explore new experiences, new methods and new models in the work of poverty alleviation and development in the region through the use of foreign-capital projects, so as to further deepen the work of poverty alleviation and development in the region.

From the perspective of the above objectives, the overall objectives of CDD project are relatively diversified. The most core point is to focus on the development ability of farmers in poor areas, especially the organization, management and implementation ability of poverty alleviation projects.

5.1.2 Specific objectives of Sub-project

To ensure the realization of the overall goal, the overall goal is subdivided into sub-project goals of community infrastructure and public service construction, household income and capacity building, and project management and monitoring and evaluation.

5.1.3 Project objectives in community level

The prominent feature of CDD projects is the participation and decision-making of communities and farmers, which determines that the project objectives at the community level should be determined by the community consciously. The CDD project puts forward very clear requirements for the participation of communities and farmers, and develops very specific operational procedures to give the public the right to know, participate, manage and supervise the project to the greatest extent.

5.2 Project fund management

5.2.1 Project fund management system and operation

The project fund management mode of CDD project is different from that of general poverty alleviation project. In the CDD project, whether the funds come from the World Bank or domestic matching funds, for the project community, the funds to the village are free funds. In the use of funds, the project community decides the selection of specific projects, the use of funds, the distribution of funds in the community, how to organize the implementation of projects and the whole management of the use of funds according to the scope of funds determined by the government. Project fund management mainly includes five links: fund account management, fund plan management, project fund application, fund allocation and financial publicity.

5.2.2 The function of the management of funds directly to the village

The function of the management of funds directly to the village including the following aspects: First, it is conducive to reduce the occurrence of corruption; second, it is helpful to raise the enthusiasm of the masses to participate in the project; third, it is beneficial to improve the relationship between the cadre and the mass and promote the harmony of the community; fourth, it is conducive to the integration of poverty alleviation resources and the improvement of the use efficiency of funds; fifth, it can effectively solve the follow-up management problems of the project.

5.2.3 Experience in project fund management

According to the principle of giving consideration to fairness and efficiency, the fund allocation and management mechanism of CDD project fully embodies the people-oriented principle. The new mechanism respects the will of poor communities and poor people and aims to solve their real life and production difficulties. It builds on the existing capabilities of poor communities and poor people, while constantly developing and improving their capabilities. The characteristics of CDD project fund allocation and management mechanism are mainly reflected in the allocation of project funds in different communities in poor villages and the supervision after one-time allocation of funds to communities.

Each measure is a kind of systematic design, each link of the use of funds under the constraints of the system and the supervision inside or outside the community. More importantly, when communities and villagers treat project funds as their own, they develop a sense of self-consciousness in managing their funds

5.3 Technical support and service for the project

5.3.1 Types of support techniques and services for the project

The technology involved in CDD projects is a broad concept that includes both "hardware technology" and "software technology". According to the actual operation of CDD project technical support and service, the content of technical support and service can be broadly divided into the following 7 categories: engineering technology, agricultural production technology, organization technology, management technology, information technology, conflict processing and human resource training and evaluation.

5.3.2 Giving play to the role of each service subject

All levels of CDD project management are fully aware of the importance of technical support services to ensure successful project operation from the outset. After the project was launched, it strengthened the integration of CDD project technical support service resources and established the technical support and service supply system including project office, community facilitation, government technical department and many other services. All departments and staff should solve the problems encountered in each link of community project implementation to achieve the expected results of the project.

5.4 Follow-up management of projects

5.4.1 The objectives of follow-up management system

The purpose of CDD project follow-up management system design is to enable the community to better use and manage the project and improve the sustainability of the project. The design of the project follow-up management system has three main objectives: to ensure the sustainable operation of the project; to enhancing the capacity of collective community management; to improve the ability of farmers to develop themselves.

5.4.2 The design of the follow-up management system

To achieve the goal of project follow-up management, China's CDD project puts forward three institutional requirements: first, the establishment of village rules and regulations. This is the premise of sustainable development in the subsequent stage of CDD project. Second, establishing rules and regulations. This is the basis for sustainable development in the subsequent phases of the CDD project. Third, late maintenance training. This is the guarantee of sustainable development in the subsequent stage of CDD project.

5.4.3 Experiences in project follow-up management

Because CDD projects empower people, farmers in poor communities truly feel that this is their business. Farmers in many project areas have spontaneously organized and carried out follow-up maintenance work of the project and also innovated the follow-up management method of the project. In general, the follow-up management of the project has achieved short-term funding sources, personnel security, long-term management system to restrain.

6. Discovery of CDD project goals and tasks achieved in China

The overall goal of China's CDD project is to produce a more effective demonstration of poverty alleviation by providing the most needed help to the poorest villages and farmers. The project will explore effective ways to build a new socialist countryside in poor areas, improve and increase the efficiency of poverty alleviation funds, and continuously improve the ability of poor people to achieve sustainable development of the project area through the establishment of community self-organization and democratic management mechanism.

Using the data of project monitoring, investigation and evaluation, this research report takes the implementation effect of the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project as an example to comprehensively analyze from four aspects from four aspects: farmers' participation, development demand satisfaction, sustainable development and farmers' and communities' ability improvement.

6.1 The project successfully achieved the design goal of empowering farmers to participate in community development.

6.1.1 Overall participation of farmers

In the implementation process of CDD project in China, farmers' extensive, deep and whole-process participation in the project process is regarded as a basic content and key way to realize CDD development. From the survey of sample farmers and the results of participatory interviews, the project successfully achieved the design goal of empowering farmers to participate in community development.

1) Extensive participation of farmers Based on the sample survey results of the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project, more than 90% of the surveyed project farmers have participated in at least one project activity. (Figure 9) Among the three provinces, the proportion of farmers participating in the project was ranked from high to low in Henan, Chongqing and Shaanxi respectively. Shaanxi province, which had the lowest participation rate, reached nearly 86%. ^[23] The high participation rate of farmers in the project, on the one hand, reflects the effectiveness of the project publicity and launching work, on the other hand, also reflects the extensive participation of farmers in the project.

Table 8: Sample households' participation in CDD activities in project village

Unit: %

Province code	Participate	Not participate	SUM
Henan	93.98	6.02	100
Shaanxi	85.63	14.37	100
Chongqing	89.89	10.11	100
Mean	90.39	9.61	100

2) Farmers really participate in the whole process

The survey results of the interviewed households in the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project showed that 92.5% of the interviewed households had family members who participated in the discussion and selection of projects in the village, and more than 3/4 of the interviewed households had family members who participated in the discussion of project implementation plans. Surprisingly, more than two-thirds of the respondents had a family member who participated in or watched the bidding, which was probably the first public bidding they had ever seen in their lives. 44% of the interviewed farmers have contributed money or voluntary labor for the project, and 34% of the interviewed households have someone involved in the construction of the project.

52% of the respondents had a family member involved in the follow-up maintenance of the project.^[24]

3) Farmers are deeply involved in project activities.

The survey found that farmers in the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project were deeply involved in the project. In most cases, farmers are deeply involved in the project. Records of various meetings kept in the village show that in the main events, farmers exercised their rights by voting.

6.1.2 The participation and equal benefits of the poor households have been achieved.

According to the questionnaire data of the sample villages of the CDD project, the proportion of the beneficiary poor households in the total number of beneficiaries is 69.69%, slightly higher than the proportion of the poor households in the project villages.^[25] In the three provinces and cities, the proportion of poor households benefiting from the project is equal to or slightly higher than that of poor households in villages. This suggests that the poor can benefit equally from the infrastructure and public services projects being implemented.

Table 10 :The proportion of poor households benefited in sample villages from CDD project Unit: %

	Proportion of poor households benefited from CDD projects	Proportion of poor households in project villages
Henan	74.8	74.17
Shaanxi	67.58	67.8
Chongqing	45.16	44.44
Mean	69.69	69.01

The CDF in the CDD project shall be distributed in the form of voluntary application by farmers and approval by the community Mutual Aid Fund Council. According to the statistics of the monitoring data of the three provinces and cities, as of June 2015 when the survey was conducted, the poverty-stricken households in the CDF project accounted for 49.6%, and the poor population directly benefiting from the project accounted for 48.6% of the total beneficiaries of the project.

Analysis of the distribution of project benefits by data from different sources shows that The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project has achieved the goal of equal benefits for the poor households in the project area.

6.1.3 Women's empowerment

The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project places special emphasis on woman's participation, emphasizing woman's participation throughout the project operation and setting requirements for the proportion of woman's participation. From the results of the implementation of the project, the participation of women is indeed relatively high.

This is mainly shown in the higher proportion of women directly involved in the project community decision-making and monitoring institutions. According to project monitoring data, nearly one third of the members of community project organizations are women. Women accounted for an average of 32.3 per cent of the members of community project organizations in the three project areas. For example, in administrative village decision-making committees, women account for an average of 34.4 per cent.^[26] The average ratio of women in the participation of the village people's project decision or implementation plan discussion, bidding, training, or follow-up maintenance is 65.5%. (See Figure 11) The wide participation of women in the decision-making and implementation process of projects has to some extent transformed the traditional positioning of women among community members. At the same time, woman's capacity for self-development has been enhanced, enabling them to participate effectively in the public affairs of their communities.

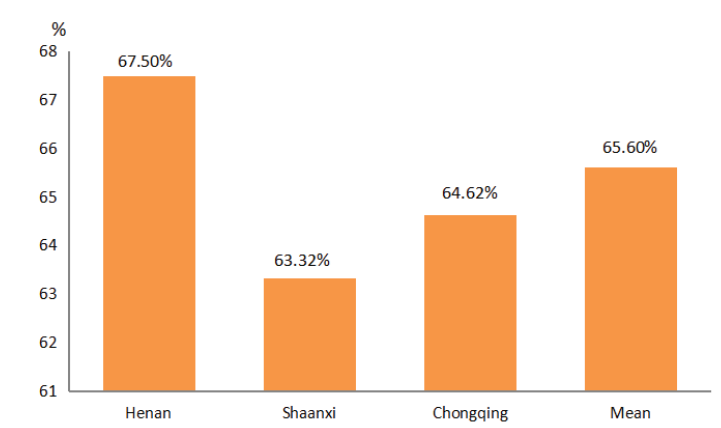


Figure 11: The proportion of farmers participating in the project in adult women

Note: Participating in project activities refers to participating in any link of the village group's project decision or implementation plan discussion, bidding, training or follow-up maintenance; The calculated sample is a sample of farmers with adult women.

6.2 Effectively target the needs and goals of poverty alleviation

From the implementation results in the project areas, the CDD model has fully proved its effectiveness. Specifically expressed in the following four aspects:

6.2.1 It achieved precise targeting

In the area selection phase, the CDD program focuses on targeting the poorest communities. During the project implementation phase, a series of institutional arrangements and management procedures ensure that the project targets poor groups and women. In addition, woman's participation has always been an important goal in the construction, management and implementation of project institutions, and the participation rate of women in CDD is significantly higher than that of other similar poverty alleviation projects. Of course, the proportion of women participating in the project is still somewhat lower than that in the southern project area due to the serious culture and habits of male chauvinism in the project area, especially in northern Shaanxi.

6.2.2 Meeting the needs of communities and farmers

According to the statistics of peasant household survey data, more than 90% of peasant households think that the project reflects their needs, and the satisfaction of peasant households in the project area on the improvement of infrastructure reaches over 92%.^[27]

The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project is conducted in a farmer-involved, community-driven manner, which maximizes farmers' autonomy in project selection. According to the survey results of the third party final assessment, 96% of the farmers surveyed believe that the projects they implement are the ones they need most. Among them, 97%, 96% and 91% of respondents from Henan, Shaanxi and Chongqing think projects are the most needed.^[28]

At the same time, the interviewed farmers also fully affirmed the positive role of the project. Nearly 93% of respondents said the program had a significant impact on their families. The surveyed farmers were satisfied and very satisfied with the CDD effect, on average, accounting for nearly 94% of all samples, while only 2.4% were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the project effect. This shows that the vast majority of farmers think that the project has produced satisfactory results, and further confirms that the project has successfully achieved the goal of meeting farmers' needs.

6.2.3 Realized the project construction cost savings

Thanks to a series of innovative approaches such as farmer participation and community procurement, CDD supports infrastructure that costs 40 per cent less than comparable infrastructure built by other means.

6.3 Project sustainability enhanced

Project sustainability includes not only the sustainability of the follow-up operation of specific projects after project implementation, but also the sustainability of poverty alleviation methods explored by the project.

6.3.1 The sustainability of the infrastructure built by the project

The statistical results of the project monitoring and evaluation system show that the follow-up management system has been established in all CDD projects, but there are great differences in the follow-up management. (See Figure 12) Among the three provinces and cities, statistics from Shaanxi and Chongqing found that 27.8% and 36.8% of the projects had “very good” follow-up management, and statistics from Henan province found that 81.23% of the projects had “good” follow-up management, without listing the projects with “very good” follow-up management.^[29]

Figure 12 : CDD project follow-up management

Unit: %

	Project count	Very good	Good	General	SUM
Henan	778		81.23	18.77	100.00
Shaanxi	1388	27.81	71.83	0.36	100.00
Chongqing	394	36.80	62.44	0.76	100.00
SUM	2560	20.74	73.24	6.02	100.00

6.3.2 Sustainability of CDF

CDF pilot communities have established the management system for CDF. The sustainable operation of CDF faces three risks: the risk of idle fund; the lack of professionals ; the lack of regulation.

From the perspective of the operation of the community development fund, the sustainable operation of the project is mainly faced with three risks: the risk of idle funds; The lack of professionals implies risks; The risks of lack of regulation.

6.3.3 Sustainability of CDD mode

The CDD mode explored in The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project is the biggest asset and contribution to poverty alleviation in China. According to the observation and analysis of the implementation process of the project, the CDD mode exists and develops after the end of the project, which needs to meet the conditions of six aspects.

First, the government delegated power and transformed its functions. Second, external technical forces can provide necessary support. The third is the need for the cooperation of community facilitator. Fourth, extensive and whole-process participation of farmers. Fifth, the democratic establishment of the project management organization in administrative village and villager group. Sixth, reforming the management system of some agriculture-related funds.

6.4 Capacity of farmers and communities improved

The impact of the project on the improvement of the capacity of farmers and communities is mainly reflected in the following aspects.

6.4.1 Effects at the community level

1) Improvement of community infrastructure and public services

The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project have played an important role in improving the infrastructure, public services and other aspects of the beneficiary communities. Since the implementation of the project, 93.6 per cent of the villages have hardened their roads, 95 per cent of the villagers' groups have access to roads, and traffic conditions have improved significantly. Meanwhile, the drinking water, water conservancy facilities and environmental protection facilities have all been improved. In some of the villages, activities such as schools, clinics, cultural squares and village appearance improvement were supported, which improved the public service capacity and living environment of the beneficiary communities.

To some extent, the improvement of infrastructure and the provision of community mutual funds have improved the economic development conditions of beneficiary communities and promoted the development of specialized farmer cooperatives. The project also improved the community governance structure and coordinated the relationship between villagers. According to the survey of 63 project villages, after the implementation of the project, the number of villages with village rules and regulations increased by 5, and the number of community security cases decreased by 79.2% on average.

2) The cultivation and improvement of community talents

The CDD program enhances the ability of communities and farmers to participate in and manage public affairs, and also cultivates a large number of local talents who are familiar with project management procedures and methods. These talents will become an important asset for the future development of the project community. In participating in the project, these talents have gained various abilities to improve, including community organization ability, community management ability, community coordination ability and community information exchange ability.

3) Improved community governance structure

The interest and ability of farmers cultivated by the project to participate in project planning and management as well as relevant project management experience will have a long-term impact on the improvement of community governance structure. According to the survey results, the project on the whole achieved the goal of improving rural social relations and optimizing governance structure, and affected and improved the employment, income and quality of life of farmers to different degrees. Overall, the project improves the overall satisfaction of farmers' life.

6.5 Poverty alleviation in the project area

Through the follow-up investigation, it is found that the CDD project has achieved good poverty reduction effect, reducing the number of poor people and the incidence of poverty. The proportion of poverty-stricken people in the tracked households dropped from 54.3 percent in 2010 to 26.8 percent in 2014. It has been reduced by more than 50%, twice as much as the control households, indicating that the implementation of the project has achieved significant poverty reduction. The incidence of poverty in the three provinces and cities was significantly lower than that in the control households. However, the incidence of poverty in the project villages is still as high as 26.8 per cent, indicating that the task of poverty alleviation in the project villages is still heavy.^[30]

7. Experience and lessons of CDD projects in China

CDD sustainable development projects in rural Areas of China contain many innovative factors in project design, implementation and management. The success of the project has formed valuable project experience, while the problems in practice have also formed some lessons. Both experience and lessons learned are important assets in the CDD project's practice.

7.1 The project development experiences of CDD

In order to ensure the unified and standardized implementation of CDD project in China, the provincial project office has compiled and issued a set of project management measures based on the national project manual, which has realized the institutionalized, organized and standardized operation and provided valuable experience for the future poverty alleviation work. For example, project Management Measures, Procurement Management Measures, Community Development and Infrastructure sub-project Management Measures, Community Development Fund sub-project management Measures, Management Measures of Community Facilitator and so on. In addition, local project offices have also established a set of management systems, such as the project joint meeting system and the project inspection system,

which have accumulated a set of management systems with new ideas and new efficiency for poverty alleviation work.

The implementation experience of CDD in China also includes the following aspects:

7.1.1 Targeted directly at poor communities and poor farmers to achieve accurate identification

China's CDD project targets the poorest communities and farmers as the direct target and important monitoring indicators, and achieves targeted poverty alleviation through a series of related system design and operation management. The results of monitoring and investigation show that the project has successfully achieved the design goals of targeting poor communities and poor farmers.

The main experience of realizing accurate targeting is: By using different aiming methods and system design comprehensively, aiming at three level of project, community and peasant household is implemented. First, the project community should be selected through statistical data ranking, open discussion and evaluation among villages. Second, farmers are widely involved in sorting according to their needs, aiming at the most urgent problems that most farmers need to solve. Third, the use of market rules for the automatic targeting of poor households.

7.1.2 Farmers participate in the whole process to mobilize the vitality of the subject

Deep participation is the main innovation and central goal of CDD projects. China's CDD program has designed a series of A series of institutions to truly empower communities and farmers and ensure their ownership and ownership of the project. The philosophy and practice of CDD are completely consistent with the Chinese government's long-term political philosophy of believing in, relying on and serving the masses. The main experience of the project is to establish relevant organizations and systems to realize farmer participation and community-driven throughout the whole process of the project.

First, building community project organizations. The highest proportion of village cadres and the number of women representatives among the members of each project organization are clearly stipulated. Second, establishing a system to ensure and realize farmers' participation. Third, farmer participation and community-driven run through the whole process of project selection, planning, procurement, implementation, supervision and management.

7.1.3 Train and equip qualified community coordinators and define their roles and functions

Community facilitator is a special or indispensable role design in CDD projects. Community facilitator system is a kind of institutional innovation, its effective

operation is related with other institutional innovation. In the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project in China, all villages were staffed by qualified community facilitators hired by the county project office. Community facilitators undertake a total of 16 tasks related to the project, playing the role as the agency of the county and township project management departments in the administrative village (community), effectively ensuring the smooth development and the completion of the project. In a sense, without community facilitators, the progress and effect of China's CDD practice will certainly be less than the final result of the project. But we should not view the community facilitator system in isolation and avoid exaggerating its role in CDD projects. In the CDD project, the community and villagers are regarded as the leading roles, while the community helpers are the supporting roles.

In the CDD project organization design, the community facilitator is the intermediary between the project management agency and the project community. As the dispatched personnel of the project office, he plays the role of bridge between the project office and the community under the direct leadership of the project office, and assist the county project management agency to manage the project implementation. At the community level, he first acts as intermediaries between the administrative village management committee and the community project implementation group and monitoring group. The community facilitator assists the community project organization in understanding and accepting the project philosophy, principles, procedures and methods. At the same time, he promotes the establishment and function of the community project organization according to the project's requirements, so that the three organizations operate independently and coordinate with each other. The more important role of community facilitator is to play an effective communication and coordination role between the community project implementation organization and the villagers, especially between the strong and vulnerable groups in the community. Community facilitators assist the villagers to prepare and implement the project in accordance with the project requirements and ultimately achieve the project objectives.

Therefore, the function of community facilitators depends on the project objectives of CDD, that is, to establish a mechanism for sustainable development of the community and promote the improvement of community self-organization, self-management, self-supervision and self-development ability. In this process, the community and villagers play the main role in the project implementation, while the community facilitator only plays a corresponding role. The functions of community facilitator are divided into five interrelated parts, namely, communication function, training function, coordination function, support function and supervision function. In practice, these five functions constitute an organic whole, and around the project objectives, with the implementation of the project and continue to play a role. On the whole, community facilitators play a role of assisting and supporting in the project community.

7.1.4 Pay attention to the innovation of implementation institutions, improve the ability of farmers

CDD projects attach great importance to the capacity building of institutions and farmers, and enrich the way and content of capacity building through the innovation of poverty alleviation methods.

First, capacity building should be an important part of project construction. Capacity building plans and funding have been earmarked for the project in sub-projects.

Second, the management ability of farmers should be taken as an important part of capacity building to promote government managers to adapt to the new mode of development. Management capacity and community sustainable development capacity building may have a more profound impact on future rural development than technology and skills training.

Thirdly, the capacity building should be placed in the practical process of rural development. The project involves farmers throughout the process, and improves their management and self-development abilities through the "do and learn". Similarly, the role and working mode of the government have been gradually transformed in practice, which has improved the management and operation capacity of the government under the new development mode.

7.1.5 Emphasize and adhere to the concept of sustainable development

Sustainable development is a direct objective of the CDD project. The project not only includes a specific sub-project on adaptation to climate change and sustainable land management, but also emphasizes and adheres to the concept and method of sustainable development throughout the design and implementation of the project. The project has accumulated important experience for exploring the establishment of environmentally friendly green poverty alleviation.

7.2 Lessons for CDD projects in China

Although CDD has achieved great success in The World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project in China, there are also some lessons to be learned.

7.2.1 The connection between "government-led" approach and "community-driven" approach is inadequate. "

For many years, the government-led poverty alleviation approach has made great achievements in China's large-scale and planned promotion of poverty alleviation and development, but this approach also shows certain limitations in practice. The introduction of CDD can, to a certain extent, make up for the deficiency of the original

mode and further improve it. However, in the exploration and trial of CDD poverty alleviation methods, some departments and organizations may have some deficiencies in their understanding and adaptation of such methods, leading to insufficient connection between the two methods in practice. CDD is quite different from the original government-led approach in China. When the two poverty alleviation approaches coexist, it is easily affected by the inertia of thinking and behavior. On the other hand, under the CDD model, there are deviations in understanding and operation of how to exert external support and guidance.

During the pilot period of CDD project in China, China's rural development entered a new historical period of Socialist New Rural Construction. On October 8th solstice 11st, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee of the Communist party of China was held in Beijing, the meeting put forward to promote the Socialist New Rural Construction, namely, “production development, prosperous life, rural civilization , village neatness and democratic management”. New rural construction provides a good opportunity for institutional innovation and management democracy in China's rural development, and also provides a good platform for CDD pilot work. Through effective mechanism innovation, CDD projects in China is closely combined with the reform of rural grass-roots government and the democratization process of rural communities, and combines government-oriented development with CDD.

To be specific, the first is to establish a demand-oriented planning procedure and fully listen to the opinions of farmers in the process of formulating new rural construction plans at all levels.

Secondly, in the process of allocating resources for new rural construction, market mechanism should be introduced to establish an open, just and fair competition procedure for community participation, so as to make the limited resources meet the most urgent needs and demands of rural areas and farmers to the greatest extent.

Thirdly, it is to establish the accountability system of rural basic government. Effective information channels and increasing the transparency of projects can provide adequate institutional guarantee for farmers' supervision.

Fourthly, to enhance the service consciousness and ability of rural local governments, so that government departments at all levels to find a new role in the new rural construction of areas. In practice, the government should establish scientific and objective standards to test the work efficiency of government departments at all levels. At the same time, in the process of introducing CDD, the government needs to increase the training and guidance for implementation departments, project managers, project officials at all levels and let the project officials establish the new management concept of transforming government functions, transferring from simple command management to service and support so as to adapt to the CDD projects more quickly. In this way, we can avoid being influenced by the thinking and behavior inertia of the original government-dominated poverty alleviation mode, and reduce the operational deviation caused by the improper understanding of CDD. With the continuous implementation

and promotion of the project, the project management and implementation departments at all levels will continuously deepen their understanding of CDD, which is conducive to the implementation of the project.

Fifth, to strengthen the capacity building of self-organization, self-management, self-supervision and self-development in the community. A joint project management committee with the participation of the government and the community should be established at the township and village levels to build a close cooperative partnership between the community and government departments, so that the villagers' self-governance ability can be enhanced through the project implementation.

7.2.2 Changes in personnel and environment adversely affect the stability and quality of project management

The stability and consistency of project management are important conditions to ensure the quality and efficiency of project work. The adverse impact of human and environmental changes on the implementation of the world Bank's fifth poverty alleviation project has also been exposed. There are mainly as follows: First, frequent turnover of project management personnel affects the quality and efficiency of project management. Second, the change of village committees leads to the adjustment of some village project organization members, which also affects the stability and quality of project management to some extent.

In order to reduce the negative impact of personnel and environmental changes on the stability and quality of project management, the following aspects can be addressed. First, ensure the stability of the project management team. For the person who is the core manager of the project, try not to change or avoid frequent change after determining the job responsibilities. If there is a real need to adjust the project organization members due to work reasons, it is needed to train the job responsibilities to the new adjusted personnel and complete the work handover in time, so that the new and old staff can complete the work handover smoothly and ensure the stability and quality of the project management.

7.2.3 The low utilization rate of community development funds

The utilization rate of community development funds is low.

Most developing countries are faced with the problem that poor farmers have few loan opportunities and high loan costs. However, the funding for CDF under the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project has been a persistent problem of not releasing. Although the project CDF grants had a turnover rate of 1.06 times over the project life-cycle, the weighted average community development fund (including farmer contributions) had a turnover rate of only 55%, in other words, only 55% of the funds on average could be turned over once a year.^[31]

According to the survey, there are three main reasons for the low turnover rate of community development funds in the five-year project of the World Bank. First, the improper arrangement of CDF project mechanism led to the fact that nearly half of the mutual funds did not start lending until the last year after the completion of the project, which affected the lending cycle. Second, the rural financial environment in the project area is relatively complex. On the one hand, a large number of poor peasant households have difficulty in obtaining loans; on the other hand, in addition to CDF, other poverty-relief discount loans and government-launched mutual aid funds for poor villages also provide low-interest loans. So poor farmers with loan needs are reluctant to use CDF because of its high interest rate close to the market rate. Third, the project managers in some project areas do not understand the community development fund well enough, and they are not very enthusiastic about the publicity of the project and the release of funds, so the funds cannot be released in time.

In order to improve the turnover rate of CDF, we can try to solve it from different aspects. First of all, a reasonable CDF project mechanism should be established to allow mutual funds to make loans in a timely manner and reduce the impact of delayed loans on the lending cycle. Secondly, improve the understanding of project management personnel on CDF, strengthen the economic training to publicize CDF application conditions and procedures for farmers, and cultivate farmers' financial security and credit awareness.

8.The application and inspiration of CDD theory and practice

For a long time, the consistent guiding ideology of poverty alleviation in China has been government leading, social participation and people being the main body. CDD has some enlightening value to further improve China's poverty alleviation and development. This part will explore the inspiration of CDD theory and its practical experience for China's targeted poverty alleviation work, and put forward relevant policy Suggestions for improving China's targeted poverty alleviation work in the context of new era development.

8.1 Inspiration of CDD to China's Targeted Poverty Alleviation work

Since targeted poverty alleviation was proposed in 2013, China's poverty alleviation and development has entered a new stage of development. With the deepening of the poverty alleviation strategy, the government has greatly increased its support for poor households. How to fully mobilize the initiative of the poor and improve their development ability and endogenous driving force has become an important part of improving targeted poverty alleviation work. On the basis of summing

up the experience and lessons of CDD, it has certain enlightenment for promoting China's targeted poverty alleviation work.

8.1.1 The background of targeted poverty alleviation in China

The proposal of targeted poverty alleviation not only has its specific historical background, but also has its profound internal reasons

Firstly, Great achievements have been made in China's long-term poverty alleviation work.China's large-scale poverty reduction efforts have improved the living conditions in poor areas and raised the economic income of the poor. But at the same time, many problems have been exposed in the poverty alleviation work since the reform and opening up nearly 40 years ago, such as the difficulty in targeting poverty alleviation targets.These problems make it difficult to carry out poverty alleviation work further.

Secondly, the task of lifting people out of poverty will be arduous.The 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China proposed to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020, and the progress of poverty alleviation will directly affect the realization of the goal.The overall target set out in "China's Rural Poverty alleviation and development Program (2011-2020) "is also nearing its end. It will be more difficult to lift people out of poverty without taking special measures.

Thirdly, there are good external conditions.First of all, since the reform and opening up, China's economy has developed steadily and rapidly and accumulated relatively abundant material resources, which can provide strong financial and material support. Secondly, nearly 40 years of poverty alleviation work has accumulated valuable experience, which provides a good reference for the following poverty alleviation work.Third, the goal of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects on schedule has become a strong driving force for the government and people to work hard.At the same time, China's strong political and institutional advantages can provide effective coercive force guarantee for the development of poverty alleviation.

Based on the above factors, China formally proposed and began to implement the targeted poverty alleviation strategy in 2013, and made use of China's unique political and institutional advantages to achieve targeted assistance and poverty alleviation.

8.1.2 China's main measures for targeted poverty alleviation

Targeted poverty alleviation refers to a poverty alleviation method that USES scientific and effective methods to accurately identify poverty objects, accurately diagnose poverty factors, and provide precise assistance and management to different households according to the regional environment of different poverty-stricken areas

and the causes of poverty of different poverty-stricken households. Implementing the "six targets" for targeted poverty alleviation is the basic idea and specific requirements of targeted poverty alleviation work, which refers to "Targeted project arrangement, Targeted use of funds, Targeted delivery of help to poor households, Targeted station of officers in poor villages, Targeted outcomes of poverty reduction" .

Targeted poverty Alleviation Will help poor people out of poverty through five different measures, which are industrial development, relocation, ecological compensation, education and social security. In addition, poverty alleviation measures such as labor service export, health and asset income can also be adopted.

The implementation of the targeted poverty alleviation strategy changes the way of poverty alleviation, but does not change the purpose and direction of action for poverty alleviation. By giving full play to the joint efforts of the government, the market and society, the way of poverty alleviation and development would be innovated and comprehensive, coordinated and sustainable poverty reduction and development would be realized.

8.1.3 Inspiration of CDD for China's Targeted Poverty Alleviation Work

1) To enhance the awareness and ability of self-development of the masses

CDD gives decision-making power and control of funds to the community, and makes community members exercise and improve their self-development ability through "do and learn", which is conducive to achieving stable poverty alleviation and sustainable development. In the process of targeted poverty alleviation, institutions and rights should be guaranteed to improve the self-development capacity of poverty alleviation targets, and support and help them to improve their self-sustainable development capacity by participating in poverty alleviation projects and activities.

2) Rely on the masses to enhance democratic participation and decision-making

CDD emphasizes the decision-making power and resource control of community members and organizations. Projects are decided by community members according to the urgency of the need to solve the problem. In the process of targeted poverty alleviation, poverty-stricken villages and households can choose their own projects and be responsible for the results. In this way, the project can not only improve the targeting, but also enhance the identity of the poor to the project, improve the participation enthusiasm and the matching of the project.

3) Innovating poverty alleviation mechanisms to form a joint effort between the government and other forces

The implementation of CDD projects requires the government to establish a good partnership with the private sector and Non-Governmental organizations to promote the transformation of government functions into policy guidance and strategic support. If

the goal of poverty alleviation is to be completed as scheduled, in the stage of targeted poverty alleviation, the whole society must be concentrated and the villagers must be actively guided to participate in poverty alleviation.

8.2 Policy Suggestions from CDD theory and experience to improve China's targeted poverty alleviation work

The goal of CDD is highly compatible with targeted poverty alleviation. The concept and methods of CDD contain many elements that can provide useful reference for targeted poverty alleviation in current China.

1) The selection and implementation of poverty alleviation projects should give more consideration to the development capacity and real needs of the poor.

It is the focus and difficulty of the targeted poverty alleviation work to accurately grasp the needs of each poverty alleviation target and select appropriate ways of help according to its feasible ability. Drawing lessons from the CDD approach for problem diagnosis and whole-process participation, let the poor and villagers together to diagnose the causes of poverty of each poor and the most appropriate way to help, mobilize non-poor people to participate in the analysis of the causes of poverty of the poor and the discussion of the ways of poverty alleviation. This can not only improve the quality and effect of targeted poverty alleviation, but also enable non-poor people in the village to understand, care about and support the government's targeted poverty alleviation.

2) Strengthening the capacity and institutional building of the communities in poverty-stricken villages

We should guarantee the democratic participation and democratic decision-making in the poverty alleviation work through system construction. In targeted poverty alleviation, for poor villages with large numbers of poor population, we can learn from the experience of effectively organizing farmers in CDD projects and establish a targeted poverty alleviation working group attended by villagers' representatives and village officials. Working group members will jointly analyze the causes of poverty alleviation, discuss the ways of poverty alleviation and help, and provide timely help and guidance in the process of poverty alleviation, which will effectively improve the quality of targeted poverty alleviation.

3) Strengthen the training and administration of the first secretary of poverty alleviation and the poverty alleviation team stationed in villages.

In CDD projects, community facilitators in the villages strongly ensure the smooth implementation of the project and the completion of the project plan. This feature is very similar to the practice of appointing the first secretary of poverty alleviation and the village task force in the process of targeted poverty alleviation in China. The experience of selecting, training, managing and evaluating community facilitators in

CDD can be used for reference by the first secretary of poverty alleviation and the poverty alleviation task force in the village.

9. China's poverty governance will entered a new stage after 2020.

By 2020, China will completely eliminate absolute poverty in rural areas according to the current standards, which means that the problem of absolute poverty that has plagued China for a long time will be a thing of the past and the goal of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects will soon be achieved.

But as long as the economy and society are developing, the problem of poverty will always exist in any society. After the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects, poverty will remain a major issue in China's development. The disappearance of absolute poverty does not mean the disappearance of poverty, but means the end of the first form of poverty in the development stage of human society. After that, poverty will appear in relative terms.

China will entered a new stage of poverty governance after achieving the goal of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The characteristics of poverty have changed and will continue to change, and the characteristics of poverty presented by absolute poverty will be presented in a more relative and multidimensional manner. In a sense, dealing with relative poverty is more complicated because it involves the mediation of income and welfare, and the distribution of income and welfare involves different regions and different groups. The task is more complex and, in many cases, difficult to manage than facing absolute poverty directly.

This means that after 2020, poverty alleviation will be transformed from an uphill battle to a protracted one. Dealing with relative poverty will be a long-term task, and with the development of social economy, the policies and measures to deal with relative poverty at different stages will be different. Poverty alleviation after 2020 should not only focus on specific issues such as income distribution, social security, education and medical care of the poor groups themselves, but also focus on the overall situation of national reform and development under new conditions. In this sense, the response to relative poverty cannot take the form of poverty alleviation, but focuses more on the establishment of long-term mechanisms to alleviate relative poverty. The fight against relative poverty will no longer be a "huge-crowd strategy", nor a "putting funds to work". It will rely more on policies on economic development, taxation, public finances and fair employment.

10. Reference from the sustainability development of CDD projects in China for Lancang-Mekong countries

Poverty has always been an important livelihood issue in the Lancang-Mekong region and an urgent issue for the governments to address. How to effectively alleviate poverty is one of the issues of the greatest concern and urgency to the governments of the six Lancang-Mekong countries (China, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam). It is also a priority area where outstanding results are most likely to be achieved in cooperation. Deepening cooperation and exchanges on poverty reduction among Lancang-Mekong countries is of great practical significance for enhancing the soft power of regional cooperation. The experience explored through the practice of CDD in China is the biggest asset formed by the project and the biggest contribution to China's poverty alleviation. According to the observation and analysis of the implementation process of CDD project in China, the implementation of CDD projects and sustainable development need to meet the conditions of six aspects.

Firstly, the government delegated power and transformed its functions.

The CDD is likely to work only if the government devolves the use and management of poverty alleviation and rural development funds directly to villages. In the long run, it is possible and necessary for the government to devolve the management of agricultural support funds to villages. Under the strong pressure of poverty alleviation, whether the government has enough courage to devolve the use and management of poverty alleviation funds to villages is also a key factor affecting the follow-up development of CDD projects.

Secondly, external technical forces need to provide necessary support.

In the implementation of rural development projects, there are many professional problems that need to be solved by external technical forces. It is very important for the existence and development of CDD project that the external, especially the specialized technical departments of the government, should provide necessary technical support in a timely manner to ensure that the relevant technical problems in the implementation of rural development projects can be solved. If the community fully procured the required technical services from the market, it would not only push up the cost of the project, but also may affect the normal implementation of the project due to the lack of information. Therefore, the government can make clear relevant policies so that relevant government departments can provide technical support for villages implementing the community-led development approach.

Thirdly, the cultivation and cooperation of community facilitator.

Community facilitators play an important role in the smooth implementation of CDD projects in China. For example, community facilitators assist project villages in

initiating community advocacy and establishing community management institutions. Under the guidance of county project management organization, community facilitators play multiple roles as coordinator, information liaison and archivists for CDD projects. Therefore, in the development process of CDD project, it is necessary to straighten out the management relationship and strengthen the training of such personnel. The normal and healthy operation of CDD mode requires the staff like community facilitators to play their corresponding roles, and the management and assessment methods of such personnel should be standardized.

The fourth is to fully activate and incubate farmers' extensive whole-process participation in the project.

The extensive participation of farmers in the whole process is the basis for the existence and normal operation of CDD projects. From the beginning, the need and enthusiasm of farmers to participate in the implementation and management of community projects needs to be aroused through adequate publicity and mobilization and necessary training. Only when the organization carries out sufficient propaganda and mobilization, and lets the farmers truly believe that they have the final decision-making power in the selection, implementation, management and use of the project, will the farmers actively participate in it. At the same time, the necessary basic skills training is also an important factor to ensure the full participation of farmers. As long as farmers are truly empowered, there is an inherent need and enthusiasm for participation in community projects.

Fifthly, the project management bodies of administrative villages and villagers' groups are established through democratic means.

The project management organization in the administrative village and the villagers' group elected by the villagers is the organizational guarantee for the realization and normal operation of the CDD projects. The premise for these administrative bodies to function is that farmers must organize themselves under the guidance of township and village committees. Members of the organization are representative; the management of community projects is open and transparent. The participation of farmers in the whole process provides a democratic foundation for CDD, but in terms of project selection, implementation, planning, procurement, supervision and management as well as follow-up management, community project management agencies still need the assistance of community helpers.

Sixth, some necessary reforms should be carried out in the management system of agriculture-related funds.

To implement the CDD projects, it is necessary to reform the management system of some agriculture-related funds. In the World Bank's Fifth Poverty Alleviation Project in China, with the cooperation and support of the government, community procurement and flexible payment methods have been implemented, thus ensuring that communities can truly take the lead in the whole process of project management. These procurement

and payment methods are not allowed in the current fund management. From the results of project implementation, it is safe and effective to adopt community purchasing system and flexible payment method, which not only facilitates the implementation of community projects, but also does not cause any problems in fund management. The government can expand adoption and promotion under appropriate conditions based on the practice of CDD projects.

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The Impact of Community Driven Development Approach on Rural Development

The case of mountainous areas in Vietnam



A view of Sa PA in Vietnam

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Abstract:

In the 1980s, Vietnam was classified as one of the poorest countries in the world with centrally planned economy. As political changes in Soviet Block and the determination of Vietnam Communist Party leaders, Vietnam have gradually transformed from a backward, war-torn country into a low middle income. According to World Bank, Vietnam has achieved 2,566 USD GDP per capita. (at current price)¹

Thanks to Doi moi in 1986, poverty rate in Vietnam has decreased rapidly from over 70% in 2002 to less than 6% in 2018 which can be translated into more than 45 million people have been lifted from poverty. As a result, Human Development Index (HDI) of Vietnam in 2018 was ranked 118 among 189 countries and territories². However, when inequality is calculated, the Inequality HDI of Vietnam has been affected quite a lot, from 0.693 to 0.580. Among which Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), 4.9 percent of the population (4,677 thousand people) are multidimensionally poor while an additional 5.6 percent are classified as vulnerable to multidimensional poverty (5,369 thousand people). The multidimensional poverty headcount is 2.9 percentage points higher than income poverty. Therefore, the poverty alleviation needs a further concentration in other aspects of poverty like health, education, gender equality....

In order to fight against the Vietnamese government has implemented some poverty reduction programs such as Program 135 (P 135) and Program 30a (P30a) (improving the living conditions of ethnic minorities), Program 132 and Program 134 (targeted mainly at the Central Highlands to increase access to land and improve housing conditions), the Hunger and Poverty Eradication Program (HEPR), and later NTP-PR (health insurance for the poor). P135 phase I was implemented from 1997-2006 (the initial plan is 1998-2000 and the second phase is 2001-2007) and P135 phase II from 2007-2010. In 2016, Vietnam Prime Minister rectified for Decree number 1722/QĐ-TTg dated 02, September to implement P135 during 2016-2020.

Furthermore, in the context of economic turmoil since 2008, the opportunity for poor households to benefit from economic growth is in big question. In Vietnam, people in ethnic minority and mountainous areas have faced many challenges in overcoming poverty, narrowing the income gap with other communes in other districts and provinces and eliminating risks for social instability.

In this paper, we focus on the story of poverty alleviation in Vietnam by using both qualitative and quantity analysis. At the beginning, we use the Vietnam Household Living Standard Survey (VHLSS) to compare the factors that contributes to poverty alleviation in Vietnam. The results of estimation show that, although the Program 135 is not really beneficial for the households in treated communes, the income of the households in the Program 135 has improved slightly. However, per capita income of households in the communes in the control group showed a faster increase in income in the same period from 2014 to 2018. This is explained by two reasons: (i) the Program 135 includes many project components, including many projects aimed at improving the quality of life, improving health and education system in communes in program and may not produce specific results in a short time. (ii) households in the communes in the control group have more opportunities to access and benefit from economic growth. This result is also

evidenced by the results of Gini coefficient which are increasing between household groups and regions across the country.

Second, by analyzing the in-depth interview to local community in Northern mountainous province to show the language barrier to local community when they are involved in the communication to project staffs or the local staffs. Therefore, one aspect is that in the providing instructed documents in mother tongue of ethnic people.

Key words: Poverty reduction, Community participation, Community Driven Development, Vietnam.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1.Theoretical background of Community Driven Development:

In preparation for World Development Report 2000/2001, World Bank conducted a series of studies named Voice of the Poor which are condensed from the interviews of nearly 60,000 poor from over 60 countries in the world. The findings of the research not only shed a light to universal and comprehensive definitions of poverty and the poor but also indicate a new approach in the development projects. In response to propose what might lead to the greatest difference in their lives, the poor concreted the ideas that governments and NGOs to give direct involvements by: (i) direct assistance through community-driven program so they can shape their own destinies, (ii) providing ownership of financial aids and (iii) their own organization so they can negotiate with governments and NGOs. The definition stems from an approach of the development process driven by the poor.

World Bank defines Community Driven Development (CDD) as an approach that gives controls over planning decisions and investment resources for local development projects to the community. The key assumption underlies that people are the best judges of their lives if they are given adequate support, resources and information. As a role of poverty reduction, CDD can promote responsiveness to demands, more inclusive, more sustainable and more cost-effective which can be translated into immediate and lasting results at grassroots level. Inclusiveness can be achieved through effective targeting, inclusion of vulnerable and excluded groups. Cost efficiency can be gained through demand responsive allocation of resources, reduced corruption and misuse of resources, lower cost and better quality and maintenance and the community's willingness to pay for goods and services.

Although there is no clear difference between CDD and its counterpart, Community-based Development (CBD), some aspects like community responsibility, collaboration, consultation and information sharing are less focused in CBD than in CDD projects. In practical aspect, The World Bank has shifted toward CDD approach in its projects since late 1990s.

In a CDD project, there are 5 key components:

- (i) Community-based organizations (CBOs);
- (ii) Participatory planning and design;
- (iii) Control of resources;
- (iv) Involvement community in terms of direct and indirect (providing inputs, labor or funds or management and supervision of contractors);
- (v) Participatory monitoring and evaluation.

CDD can be considered an important complementary to public goods like infrastructure, education, health care. Furthermore, CDD can be effective in the case of failure of local institution due to capacity lacking, corruption, powerful local elites (elite capture). Therefore, by mobilizing the community members, the own priorities and reliable source

of information from community can make services responsive to demand expressed by the community.

In practice, CDD can be effective in projects involving community infrastructure development, common property resource management, microenterprise development and local governance or decentralization support.

In implementing development projects at various international donors, CDD approach has been expanded in many projects. During 2000-2005, there were 188 CDD projects at World Bank which accounted for 9.3 billion USD of total lending. In terms of sectoral distribution, 47% were in the multisector projects, followed by agriculture, environment and natural resource management water supply sanitation, education and health. Among those 188 projects, 12 projects worth 100 million USD and 43 project ¹

The World Bank has also defined various forms of CDD in conjunction to its own lending and investment programs that can be applied in different contexts. They can be defined as the following types:

- *Community management*: CBOs control investment decisions, manage investment funds, and full implementation of activities.
- *Local government and CBOs making co-decisions*: elected local government authorities manage investment funds together with CBOs as co-decision makers on investment and implementation.
- *Local government with community participation* – whereby local government manages investment funds, and implements activities in consultation with local stakeholders (including CBOs, citizens, NGOs etc.).
- *Other agencies and CBOs making co-decisions* – whereby government line departments, corporations, or NGOs etc. manage investment funds together with CBOs as co-decision makers on investments and implementation.
- *Other agencies with community participation* – whereby government line departments, corporations, or NGOs etc. manage investment funds, and implement activities in consultation with CBOs.
- *Reform of enabling policies and institutions* – including institutional and policy reforms in support of community driven development that significantly increase the amount of funds directly available to any of the categories above.

1.2. Community Driven Development in practice:

1.3. Poverty reduction in Vietnam and the lesson learnt from P135 in Vietnam:

a. Poverty reduction in the view of Vietnamese government: As defined in Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy, “poverty reduction is not simply about passive redistribution of income, but about creating a growth dynamic – a process that enables the poor and communities to take initiative and self-help efforts in improving their situation in order to overcome poverty”. Therefore, active participation of the poor and community in development process.

1. ADB (2006), A review of community driven development and its application to the Asian Development Bank.

Thanks to the efforts by Vietnam government, the poverty rate in Vietnam has been declined in overall Vietnam and the disparities has been minimized among groups of ethnic minorities (as in Table 1 next page). In contributing the positive results, many poverty reduction programs have been designed to implement the poverty reduction. The government program 135 on “Social-economic Development Program for Most Hardship

Table 1. The poverty rate in Vietnam by region and races

Region/Groups of people	1993	1998	2002	2006
Northern Mountainous	81.5	64.2	43.9	30.2
North East	86.1	62.0	38.4	25.0
North West	81.0	73.4	68.0	49.0
Red River Delta	62.7	29.3	22.4	8.8
North Central Coast	74.5	48.1	43.9	29.1
South Central Coast	47.2	34.5	25.2	12.6
Central Highlands	70.0	52.4	51.8	28.6
South East	37.0	12.2	10.6	5.8
Mekong Delta	47.1	36.9	23.4	10.3
Urban	25.1	9.2	6.6	
Rural	66.4	45.4	35.6	
Kinh and Chinese	53.9	31.1	23.1	
Ethnic minorities	86.4	75.2	69.3	
Total	58.1	37.4	28.9	

Source: GSO, Statistical book various year

Communes in the Ethnic Minority and Mountainous Areas (or Programme 135 as named after Document 135/1998/QĐ-TTg issued by Vietnam Prime Minister) has been first implemented by Vietnam government in 1998. In initial, the program will be separated into two phases: (i) phase I from 1998 to 2000 and (ii) phase II from 2001 to 2005. However, in 2006, Vietnam government decided to extend 5 years and named the period of 1997 to 2005 as the phase I. The main objectives of phase I are:

- Increase production, improve livelihood of minority ethnics groups
- Develop infrastructure
- Implement the basic public services: electricity, school, hospitals and water
- Enhance mental aspects of life

To increase the opportunities for poor households, phase II was implemented from 2006 to 2010 (as P135-II) as the largest and most important poverty reduction program targeted in ethnic minorities and poor regions in Vietnam. The main objectives of P135-II are:

- Reduce the poverty rate in the target areas below 30%
- Ensure more than 70% of the households in the target areas have annual income per capita higher than 3.5 million VND
- Improve agriculture productivity of the main crops
- Increase net primary and net secondary school enrollment rates at least 95% and 75% respectively.

To achieve these objectives, P135-II was designed with four major support components:

- (i) agricultural production support through improving skills and training the ethnic minorities on new production practices;
- (ii) support to develop local infrastructure and to increase the households' access to that infrastructure;
- (iii) improvement of the socio-cultural life and access to public services;
- (iv) strengthening the administrative and professional capacity of local officials and enhancing their knowledge of investment and operations management.

The total budget allocated for P135-II was about US\$ 1.1 billion for 2006- 2010 period.

- (i) improved poverty targeting of program resource allocation;
- (ii) deepening and scaling-up of community-driven approaches to planning, managing, operating and maintaining basic rural infrastructure;
- (iii) enhanced fiduciary transparency and accountability in program implementation through wider use of social audit approaches;

and (iv) process monitoring and impact evaluation.

Some results from implementation of the program:

- The living standards of both Kinh and ethnic minority households have been improved by increased ownership of durables: 70.9 percent of households had a telephone in 2012 and nearly 70 percent of households had a television. The percentage of households having a motorbike increased from 43.8 percent to 66.2 percent. Both the poor and non-poor, and all the ethnic minority groups are experienced increases in motorbike ownership.

- P135-II has had positive impacts on several important outcomes of the ethnic minority households, including productive asset ownership, household durables ownership, and rice productivity. Most of groups enjoyed positive impacts in income from agriculture, household total income, and household per-capita income. A particularly important result is that poverty among minority households in treatment communes declined significantly more than it declined in comparison communes. Finally, minority households enjoyed a reduction in travel time to health facilities.

- The poverty incidence among ethnic minorities decreased but still remains high. Nung, H'Mong and Tay were most successful in poverty reduction. However, the living conditions of the remaining poor households, especially the poor households of Thai and Muong groups, improved less. The majority of poverty reduction was achieved by income growth, but the rate of growth tended to decrease overtime. In addition, poverty reduction at the household level appears not to be sustainable, as a large proportion of poverty is transient: households may graduate from poverty, but then fall back into poverty over time. Kinh households are more likely to be transiently poor, while other ethnic households are more likely to be persistently poor.

- Households incomes in the target areas increased by around 20 percentage points from 2007 to 2010. Households at low income levels experienced

lower income growth rates than households at high income levels income. Households in the P135-II communes rely largely on agricultural income. Nearly 60 percent of total income of the households is from agricultural activities. However, there is a transition from farm to non-farm activities. The share of income from wage tends to increase overtime, albeit at a slow rate.

- There was an improvement in the access to electricity in the Program 135-II communes. The proportion of households with electricity increased from 68.6 percent in 2007 to 83.6 percent in 2012. However, compared with the figure of 98 percent of households nationwide, the electricity coverage in the Program 135-II communes remains low. Access to electricity varies substantially across ethnic minority group.

Some lessons can be share among the implementation of P135-II:

- **Capacity strengthening through training activities at commune level**
P135-II is the only National Targeted Program that has strongly enforced decentralization to commune level with the introduction of commune investment ownership. In order to facilitate the decentralization process, capacity building at the local level is essential. Phase II has shown the importance of local-level institutional capacity-building with more than 7 percent of the Program's total funding allocated for this activity, a 6 percent increase from Phase I. Throughout the Program, a number of decentralization policies have been presented to enhance autonomy and accountability of local government in targeted areas. Shifting investment ownership responsibilities from provincial and district levels to communes require the communes' strong capacity in administrative and financial planning as well as project management. Local staff training is one of the key capacity strengthening activities at commune level. Local authorities have organized training on administration, financial and project management skills for 178,000 commune staffs and village staffs. Training is delivered in the form of short-term courses, which last approximately 5 – 6 days per course.

- **The transfer of project's investment ownership from higher administrative level to local authorities requires formation of Project Management Unit (PMU) at commune level.** PMU holds legal authority to carry out administrative activities and financial transactions of commune projects. Circular 676/2006 states that PMU has to be formed before any project implementation. Following the formation of PMU, a set of prerequisite management system for the Program is to be implemented before the commune undertakes any project. Table 2 provides information on the adequacy level of management system at commune level.

Table 2. Project Management and Planning at commune level

Unit: %

	2007	2010
Communes with PMU	70.04	93.93
using participatory planning	93.02	93.94
with training plan for commune officials	80.95	73.71
having communication plan	84.52	90.35

using new report format	34.42	38.16
organizing participatory M&E activities	87.50	86.64

Source: UNDP (2002), Assess on P135-II.

For communes where PMUs are established, the application of participatory planning is extensive. The percentage of communes with participatory planning stands at 93 percent in both 2007 and 2010. While the numbers of communes having communication plan and organizing participatory M&E activities remain relatively high in both years, the application of new reporting format has not been well established at commune level. Despite an improvement in the use of new reporting format from 2007 to 2010, only less than 40 percent of the communes use this one in 2010.

- Ownership of P135-II investment projects: Decentralization is pushed forward in P135-II with the introduction of commune investment ownership whereby commune office is given the responsibility for take leading of small and medium infrastructure projects including administrative and technical procedures. While all of the projects in Phase I were undertaken at district level which was believed to have sufficient capacity to carry out the work, this new policy in Phase II is considered a challenging but necessary step towards the success of community-driven approach; that is to build up institutional capacity at commune level.

Taking up the responsibilities of an investment owner, the commune has to master the process of preparing profile design for construction, budget estimate, organizing bidding and selecting the contractor as well as supervising project implementation and handing over the completed project to beneficiaries. All of these activities require thorough understanding of the procedure as well as technical knowledge even for small-scale projects. This requirement leads to the low proportion of P135-II commune-owned projects in 2007 (21.5 percent).

- **Capacity strengthening at community – Household Participation:** Recognizing the importance of participatory approach, P135-II has strongly promoted informed public participation in program planning and management. Household participation in the selection stage of infrastructure projects is critical for project planning at grassroots level. According to local participatory scheme, all households are informed about selection meetings and each would appoint one representative to attend the 88 meeting. After collecting community opinions during the selection meetings, the Planning Board and village head would then build an investment project list in order of importance. With strong emphasis and close guidance of higher administrative authorities, the Program has succeeded in encouraging household to participate in project. In 2010, around 85 percent of P135-II projects have organized local selection meetings; while the proportions of households aware of the meetings are 56.1 percent and 79.3 percent in 2007 and 2010 respectively. These figures first show an improvement in household awareness over the period 2007 – 2010, indicating better information dissemination at village level. Nevertheless, the gap between household awareness rate and the actual rate of meetings organized persists. With an increase in awareness about selection

meeting, attendance rate in selection meeting has climbed accordingly from 49 percent in 2007 to 73.9 percent in 2010, in which only 51 percent of poor households attend selection meeting in 2010. This means that 49 percent of poor households have been overlooked in project selection stage.

- ***Household contribution to implementation stage of P135-II infrastructure projects:*** Community contribution for public investment does not only include financial and labor support to infrastructure project implementation but also aims to promote public accountability in project management and future maintenance of public services. Local contribution comes under the form of cash or in-kind labor. The number of households making contribution to infrastructure projects increases significantly by 14.2 percent over the period 2007 – 2010. One big concern of community contribution in poor communes is that this strategy might pose direct taxation to households' limited income or reduce their time availability for other income-generating activities. This concern does appear to be a problem according to our finding as the contribution rate of the poor is relatively higher than that of the non-poor for both 2007 and 2010.

- ***Household participation in supervision of P135-II infrastructure projects*** In order to promote community involvement and to improve community capacity in project management, People Supervisory Board is formed by local community members. People Supervisory Board plays a critical role throughout the project implementation process. Supervisory Board has the responsibility to monitor the project implementation.

Literature review

Although CDD has been employed by many governments and international organizations as key strategy in implementing development projects. Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper Source Book (World Bank) figured the benefits of CDD as sustainability, responsiveness to local priorities, empowerment to local communities and self-governance of their own development programme.

Empirical result of the impact of CDD projects on development programs is mixed.

Masuri (2004) conducted an intensive literature review for CDD project conducted by the World Bank. He shed a light into four big questions in CDD: (i) Can community involvement improve targeting?; (ii) Does community involvement improve public service delivery? (iii) Is there any economic and social heterogeneity and the risk of capture by elites? (iv) What is the role of external agents and the State? The evidence, though thin, suggests poor preference targeting—the preferences of the poor have not been adequately considered in project selection. Finally, political economy considerations and perverse incentives created by project performance requirements also constrain targeting, although evidence suggests that decentralized targeting can be made more effective by monitoring projects to improve performance incentives. Another important question is the extent to which participatory development initiatives improve project quality and performance. Here, there is some evidence that participatory projects create effective community infrastructure and improve welfare outcomes, but the evidence does not establish that it is the participatory elements that are responsible for improving project

outcomes. Few studies compare community-based projects with centralized mechanisms of service delivery, so it is difficult to tell whether alternate project designs would have produced better outcomes.

Evidence on the impact of economic and social heterogeneity on project outcomes, and on collective action capacity more broadly, suggests that the relationship is complex. Although theoretical work by economists has shown that economic inequality need not constrain collective action, empirical work has shown mixed results. The targeting of poor communities and poor households within communities is markedly worse in more unequal communities, particularly when the distribution of power is concentrated within elites. A number of studies find a U-shaped relationship between inequality and project outcomes. The role of social heterogeneity is more complex to measure. However, most econometric studies that have attempted to devise measures of social fractionalization have shown that fractionalization tends to inhibit collective activity, but there is also qualitative evidence in the opposite direction.

Even in the most egalitarian societies, however, community involvement in choosing, constructing, and managing a public good will almost always be dominated by elites, who tend to be better educated, have fewer opportunity costs on their time, and therefore have the greatest net benefit from participation. It is not clear, however, that this always represents “capture,” in the sense of elites appropriating all the benefits from the public good. It may be useful to distinguish between extreme forms of capture, such as outright theft and corruption, and what might be called benevolent capture. However, when local cultures and systems of social organization result in tight control of community decisions by elites, malevolent forms of capture become likely. It is important therefore to understand what types of checks and balances are most effective in reducing capture and the systematic exclusion of the poor and of discriminated-against minorities. The problem in assessing elite capture is that there are no studies that look at an appropriate counterfactual.

The level of community cohesion, or social capital, is also expected to improve the quality and sustainability of projects. Some studies have shown an association between the level of some index of participation and project effectiveness, but the direction of causality is unclear. Though community-based development seems likely to be more effective in more cohesive and better managed communities, evidence also indicates that better-networked or better-educated groups within a community may be better able to organize and thus benefit most from projects. There is virtually no reliable evidence on community participation projects actually increasing a community’s capacity for collective action. This is clearly an area for further research.

Several qualitative studies indicate that the sustainability of community-based initiatives depends crucially on an enabling institutional environment. Line ministries need to be responsive to the needs of communities, and national governments need to be committed to transparent, accountable, and democratic governance, through upward commitment. To avoid “supply-driven demand-driven development,” it is important that community leaders also be downwardly accountable, answerable primarily to beneficiaries rather than to political and bureaucratic superiors. Qualitative evidence also suggests the importance of external agents, such as project facilitators, to project success.

Projects often work with young, inexperienced facilitators whose incentives may not be aligned with the best interests of the community. Knowledge of their impact on the success of projects is limited and requires more investigation. This lack of evidence also relates to the question of how rapidly participatory projects can be scaled up, because rapid scaling up may rely on especially inexperienced facilitators.

Ke Fang (2016) utilized the Kecamatan Development Program (KDP) and the Urban Poverty Programme (UPP) in Indonesia as the outstanding examples of applying the CDD approach into practice. The KDP and UPP were designed by Government of Indonesia to address severe social and economic problem after the Asian financial crisis in 1997. Both programme shared the same circle of activity: information dissemination, socialization, community planning, proposal preparation, feasibility verification, funding decisions, implementation and follow-up subprojects. Community groups submit proposals for an “Open Menu” of infrastructure, social and economic activities. Through CBO called Kecamatan Forum, community groups allocated the fund for project activities. The different approach in KDP and UPP is that: both projects used the new ideas of: (i) concept of community and decision making process. In CDD project, the term “community” is the key actor. But in practice, questions remain as how to differentiate the “community” among the village groups or their representative can control over development fund. In KDP, the project divided community into 6 layers: Kabupaten/Kota (district/city government); Sub-district (Kecamatan), village (Desa or Kelurahan) ; sub-village (dusun), group (RW) and subgroup (RT). All village (Desa) submit one or two proposals which were selected by Kecamatan Forum consisting of all representative of all villages. For UPP, it defined each participating urban neighbor as an unit and encouraged the residents to establish democratically –elected formal CBO.

The decision making process for each project. For KDP, each village was allowed to prepare one or two proposals which the direct involvement of community KDP village is allowed to prepare and submit one or two funding proposals, while the direct involvement of community groups within the village is limited. As a result, investment in community-wide infrastructure usually becomes each village's top priority, while the interests of individuals or small groups might be neglected. In UPP, the BKM directly manages the project funds and individuals or small groups can submit proposals and participate in the decisions determining the allocation of the funds. While empowering community groups, such an arrangement is less effective when it comes to investment in public works.

Jean Louis Arcand and Natascha Wagner (2016) analyzed the impact of a decentralized agricultural development program in Senegal - the Programme de Services Agricoles et Organisations de Producteurs (PSAOP)- on membership and assortative matching in community-based organizations (CBOs). Since CBOs in Senegal has appeared since the pre-independence period before 1960, their roles limited in economic and social activities and extended social network of peasant beyond their families. The Senegalese Programme de Services Agricoles et Organisations de Producteurs (PSAOP) takes advantage of these structures to reach the rural poor. The PSAOP was a 10-year program resting on two implementation phases with the long-term program targets being sustainable development and increased productivity and revenues for small farmers including food security. The PSAOP program was rolled out in two phases. Phase I ran from 2000 to 2005. The first phase concentrated on institutional reform, and therefore did

not provide any concrete services to the CBOs in the treatment areas. The second phase, implemented during 2006–10, and basing itself on the institutional reforms completed during Phase I, focused on the access of local producers to agricultural services and innovations. The concrete activities of the second phase of the PSAOP were grouped under three major components: (i) agricultural research, (ii) agricultural extension services, and (iii) CBO activities. By using panel data for 177 village across Senegal, the authors have shown that the membership of CBOs is altered when CDD programs are channeled through them, with important implications for group structure. On the one hand, the Senegalese PSAOP had an overall negative impact on participation in village groups. Underlying this result is a transformation of group structure: those who did not benefit from the new situation induced by the PSAOP dropped out of the CBOs to which they hitherto belonged. Concomitantly, the program attracted new members who had chosen not to participate in its absence. On the other hand, the PSAOP intervention led, *ceteris paribus*, to more heterogeneous CBOs. Therefore, channeling development aid through CBOs makes these organizations more inclusive in the sense that a number of tradition-bound assortative matching patterns are modified. Households with different ethnic backgrounds start teaming-up with each other and wealth in terms of landownership becomes a less important determinant of membership. As such, the PSAOP was successful in stimulating the local development process. Our results support the idea that decentralized development is an iterative, contested and ongoing process that constantly changes local conditions, inducing domination by some social groups and acts of resistance by others. The results have uncovered significant gender differences concerning participation in CBOs due to the PSAOP intervention. Male membership was reinforced by the PSAOP while female participation went down. This implies that the program disproportionately penalized women, who are the main guarantors of food security in rural Senegal. Thus, in terms of female empowerment, the program may have been counterproductive.

Niamboue Bado (2012) supported the view that CDD approach can be a work-horse for Burkina Faso in poverty alleviation by empowering the local community. Since 2004, Burkina Faso government has proposed decentralization process to transfer power to local authorities and kept them accountable for their own development. There are four key components must be addressed in poverty reduction program in Burkina Faso.

First of all, there is a need for the government to provide a legal framework for the implementation of CDD. In that framework, the five principles of CDD and the rights and responsibilities of the central and local government should be defined. Also, the guidelines and criteria for eligibility as a local official must be laid down. The government of Burkina Faso must make sure that local officials such as the mayors and presidents of Village Development Committees are local residents who know the realities of the village or town that they serve. As long as local elected officials continue to be non-residents who have never lived in the community they are serving, development will always be stagnant and poverty will keep increasing. Unless one lives with the populations and shares their joy and sadness, their hope and fear, it is hard to know what they need.

Second, the role of the traditional village chiefs in the development of the village must be redefined in order to avoid conflicts between village chiefs, presidents of Village Development Committees and mayors. The village chief should be a cultural

representative rather than the person who coordinates development programs. Without any clear redefinition of the roles and responsibilities of traditional chiefs, development projects are bound to encounter resistance.

Third, there is a need for empowerment of local governments and rural communities. There must be a partnership between the central and local governments in order to raise the financial resources needed for investment in local development. The central government should transfer their share of financial resources to the local government in a transparent manner, and the local government should complement their budget by raising local taxes. The ultimate goal is for the local government to be financially independent. The financial contribution of local governments is critical to the success of CDD and poverty alleviation programs.

Fourth, central and local government should invest in the training and capacity building of rural communities. However, such transfer can only produce negative effects on local development. First of all, most central government employees do not want to serve in rural areas because of the hard living conditions. Deprived of electricity and running water, many of them will be frequently absent from their jobs. Also, even if the civil servants agree to work in rural areas, their salaries are beyond the reach of the local government. Therefore, there is a reason to argue in favor of training and capacity building for local communities so that they can take control of their own destiny. As part of their capacity building, rural communities should be provided with universal primary education and trained in areas such as agriculture, health, public works, and natural resource management.

Kate Baldwin et al (2016) employed a randomized evaluation of a nongovernmental-organization-led CBD program in Ghana to examine whether community-based development results in citizens' empowerment to improve their socioeconomic well-being through these mechanisms. The results revealed that the leadership training and experiences associated with community-based development translate into higher perceived quality of village leaders, but they simultaneously decreased contributions to collective projects outside the context of the community-based development program. In addition, although the process encourages more people to run for district-level office and results in more professional political representation, it did not increase aggregate levels of government investment in communities. Ultimately, although the program led to changes in village-level and district-level leadership, it did not increase investment in public goods and did not improve socio-economic outcomes.

Maren Mallo Daniel (2014) examined Local and Community Driven Development (LCDD) approach in the provision of physical and social infrastructure in Nigeria. The LCDD is a process of harnessing synergy for improved coordination, efficiency, and responsiveness in local development processes. The LCDD approach is adopted in Nigeria as a response strategy for tackling infrastructural deficiency in slum settlements. The findings suggested that: the decentralization of administrative roles from central to local level impacted positively on the implementation of projects; the partnership between government and International Development Agencies promoted success in the funding of projects; and it is the political endorsement of the partnerships that gives the LCDD approach some legitimacy in jobs. However, the local bureaucratic system in Jos is side-

lined in favour of newly created autonomous implementation agencies and the indigenous financial institutions are not involved. These flaws appeared to create redundancy in the existing bureaucratic system and also threatened the sustainability of the LCDD.

Aniruddha Dasgupta and Victoria A. Beard (2007) utilized the first phase of Urban Poverty Project (UPP) to examine the three proposition lying behind CDD approach: Decentralization, Democratization and Collective action. As the scope of UPP was so wide, the author conducted the case study for Kore, Tirta Kencana, Skar Kamulyan and Kisma Wasana. In the first community – Kelor- the project was controlled by local elites, yet resources were targeted to deserving beneficiaries. The planning and development process was neither participatory nor democratic; however, it was accountable to the needs of the community, in particular the poor. In Tirta Kencana, the second community, there was broader community participation, but project leadership and decision making continued to be controlled by elites. Yet, again, elites were accountable to the community. In the third case - Sekar Kamulyan — the community had a history of domination by corrupt, predatory political actors and UPP presented a new political and institutional opportunity to break out of a pattern of elite capture. In Kisma Wasana power was the most evenly distributed; however, the community decided to limit resource allocation to its poorest members. These findings do not support the often assumed relationship between a community's capacity for collective action and elite capture. Not all elites who had power were corrupt, a finding that highlights the important distinction between elite *control* and elite *capture*. Local elites were willing and able to contribute the time and know-how needed to facilitate community-level projects and governance. At the same time, democratic community governance did not result in resources being allocated to those with the greatest need. The distinctive advantage of broad-based participation and democratic governance was that it created opportunities and the political space necessary to redress elite capture and other problems common to community driven development when they occurred. In communities where projects were dominated by elites, it is unclear what avenues were available to local residents to redress problems.

1.4.The empirical result from CDD in Vietnam

1.4.1. The findings from qualitative approach:

The data source is the Vietnam Household Living Standard Survey (VHLSS) of 2014 and 2018. The VHLSS was conducted by Vietnam General Statistics Office (GSO) with technical assistance from the World Bank. Each VHLSS covers approximately 45,000 households. The VHLSS is representative at the provincial level. Data on households and individuals include basic demography, employment and labor force participation, education, health, income, housing, fixed assets and durable goods, and participation of households in poverty alleviation programs. For a sub-sample of the VHLSS participants, data on consumption expenditure are available. However, this sub-sample covers approximately 9,400 households, and is not representative at the provincial level.

The report on using data from VHLSS 2014 and 2018 is due to the Prime Minister's Decision No. 204/QĐ-TTg approving the list of communes in special difficulty, communes near border and in the safe zone which are invested by Program 135, was

issued on February 1, 2016. According to this Decision, there are 2,275 communes of 48 provinces are invested by Program 135 during period of 2016 – 2020. VHLSS 2014 surveyed income and expenditure on 9,354 households and VHLSS 2018 surveyed income and expenditure on 9,371 households. In addition, the poverty line of Vietnam began to apply the multidimensional poverty based on the method of Alkire and Foster since 2016. Accordingly, the multidimensional poverty is calculated in terms of health and education and the quality of life. The report applies the calculation method of Alkire and Foster to calculate the multidimensional poverty rate in Vietnam for 2014 and 2018 based on the VHLSS data set.

Based on the VHLSS data set and according to Decision 204/QĐ-TTg, the report selected from VHLSS 2014 was participated by 1,208 communes in the Program 135 as a treated group, and 8,146 households were not in the Program 135 as a control group. From VHLSS 2018, the report selected 1,235 households as a treated group and 8,136 households as the comparison group. Among 1,208 households in treated group in 2014, 462 households were multidimensionally poor and 746 were not multidimensionally poor, and among 8,146 households in the control group, there were 464 multidimensionally poor households and 7,682 non-poor households. In 2018, in 1,235 households in the treated group, there were 394 multidimensionally poor households and 841 non-poor households, 376 multidimensionally poor households and 7,760 non-poor households in 8,136 households in the control group.

Because the sampling method of VHLSS was randomly selected, the sampling requirements of the DID method was strictly met. In order to make good estimates, the important assumption of the DID method must be ensured that the two groups must have similar characteristics by 2014. By performing t-test statistical tests on the average difference between the two groups of households, the results have been shown in the following table:

Table 3. Characteristics of two household groups in 2014

Number of observations (baseline): 9,354 households Control: 8,146 households and Treated: 1,208 households				
Variable(s)	Mean Control	Mean Treated	 t 	Pr(T > t)
Multidimensionally poverty (MP)	0.057	0.382	37.97	0.0000***
Income	0.118	0.057	19.09	0.0000***
Gender	0.729	0.853	9.21	0.0000***
Household size (hhsz)	3.766	4.343	12.00	0.0000***
Red River Delta (region1)	0.242	0.015	18.34	0.0000***
Northern midland and mountain areas (region 2)	0.124	0.517	35.82	0.0000***
North Central area and Central coastal areas (region 3)	0.223	0.201	1.71	0.0866*
Central of highlands (region 4)	0.061	0.124	8.19	0.0000***
South East (region 5)	0.134	0.022	11.26	0.0000***
Urban	0.342	0.002	24.83	0.0000***
Head aged between 30 and 59 (Headage2)	0.698	0.754	4.01	0.0001***

Head above 59 (Headage3)	0.273	0.133	10.47	0.0000***
Children under 5-year old's (child)	0.337	0.508	9.06	0.0000***
Highest degree of head of household (hdegree)	0.454	0.156	9.25	0.0000***

Note: Assumption: $H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_0$; $H_1: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_0$; The two groups have similar characteristics (assuming H_0 is not rejected at the statistical significance of 5% or 10%).

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Source: Authors' calculation

The above results show that, in 2014, most of the characteristics of these two groups of households were the same, thus ensuring the balance assumption of the DID model.

Table 4. Characteristics of poor households in two groups in 2014

Number of observations (baseline): 926 households Control: 464 households and Treated: 462 households				
Variable(s)	Mean Control	Mean Treated	t	Pr(T > t)
Income	0.023	0.022	3.04	0.0024***
Gender	0.675	0.885	7.99	0.0000***
Household size (hhsz)	3.761	4.911	9.45	0.0000***
Red River Delta (region1)	0.134	0.015	7.04	0.0000***
Northern midland and mountain areas (region 2)	0.248	0.617	12.2	0.0000***
North Central area and Central coastal areas (region 3)	0.237	0.190	1.73	0.0840*
Central of highlands (region 4)	0.123	0.136	0.61	0.5408
South East (region 5)	0.056	0.009	4.10	0.0000***
Urban	0.172	0.000	9.80	0.0000***
Head aged between 30 and 59 (Headage2)	0.543	0.712	5.40	0.0000***
Head above 59 (Headage3)	0.392	0.113	10.33	0.0000***
Children under 5-year old's (child)	0.390	0.738	6.83	0.0000***
Highest degree of head of household (hdegree)	0.011	0.041	1.86	0.0637*

Note: Assumption: $H_0: \text{Mean}_1 = \text{Mean}_0$; $H_1: \text{Mean}_1 \neq \text{Mean}_0$; The two groups have similar characteristics (assuming H_0 is not rejected at the statistical significance of 5% or 10%).

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Source: Authors' calculation

The results show that most of the characteristics of poor households of two groups households were the same, that ensure balance assumption of DID model.

1.4.2. Result of model

First, the report conducted a regression relationship between per capita income and the Program 135, time, and interaction variable between Program 135 and time. The estimated results of model are shown in following table.

Table 5. Impact of Program 135 on per capita income of households

Independent variables	Estimation Results	
	Estimation 1 Coefficient (Std.Err)	Estimation 2 Coefficient (Std.Err)
Constant	0.1179*** (0.0014)	0.1245*** (0.0055)
Treated	-0.06137*** (0.004)	-0.0124** (0.0039)
Time	0.0641*** (0.002)	0.0616*** (0.0019)
Treated*Time (DID)	-0.034*** (0.0056)	-0.034*** (0.0051)
Gender		2.00e-06 (0.002)
Household Size		-0.0084*** (0.0006)
Red River Delta (region1)		0.0093** (0.0027)
Northern midland and mountain areas (region 2)		-0.0288*** (0.0029)
North Central area and Central coastal areas (region 3)		-0.0231*** (0.0026)
Central of highlands (region 4)		-0.0189*** (0.0038)
South East (region 5)		0.0418*** (0.0032)
Urban		0.051*** (0.002)
Head aged between 30 and 59 (Headage2)		0.0056 (0.0048)
Head above 59 (Headage3)		-0.0159** (0.005)
Children under 5-year old's		-0.0102*** (0.0016)
Highest degree of head of household		0.0296*** (0.0008)
Adj R-squared	0.087	0.2434

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

2. Source: Authors' calculation

The result of estimation 1 in the table above show that Program 135 has not had a positive impact to improve the income of households in the communes benefiting from the Program. However, in addition to the direct impact of the Program 135, there are many other factors that also affect household income, so it is not reasonable to ignore other control variables. When applying other control variables into the model, the estimation 2 results are similar to that of estimation 1, which is Program 135 has not improved the income of households. Specific calculation of DID is shown in the following table:

Table 6. Difference-In-Differences Estimation Results

Number of observations in the DIFF-IN-DIFF:	18725
---	-------

	Before	After		
Control:	8,146	8,136		
Treated:	1,208	1,235		
Total :	9,354	9371		
Outcome var.	Income	S. Err	P> t 	
Before				
Control	0.124			
Treated	0.112			
Diff (T-C)	-0.012	0.004	0.001***	
After				
Control	0.186			
Treated	0.140			
Diff (T-C)	-0.046	0.004	0.000***	
Diff-in-Diff	-0.034	0.005	0.000***	

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Source: Authors' calculation

The results of the table above show that, although the Program 135 is not really beneficial for the households in treated communes, the income of the households in the Program 135 has improved, increasing from 0.112\$ (approximately 2,551 thousand VND/per capita/per year) in 2014 to 0.14\$ in 2018 (3,189 thousand VND/per capita/per year). However, per capita income of households in the communes in the control group showed a faster increase in income in the same period from 2014 to 2018. This is explained by two reasons: first, the Program 135 includes many project components, including many projects aimed at improving the quality of life, improving health and education system in communes in program and may not produce specific results in a short time. Second, households in the communes in the control group have more opportunities to access and benefit from economic growth. This result is also evidenced by the results of Gini coefficient which are increasing between household groups and regions across the country.

Realizing that the Program 135 has a relatively broad impact on other aspects than income, such as to improve the quality of life, improve education and health system in the communes of the program, which are related to multidimensional poverty. Therefore, report conducted a regression relationship between the probability of multidimensional poverty and Program 135, time and interaction variable between program 135 and time. Estimated results of model are shown in the following table:

Table 7. The impact of Program 135 on the probability of household falling into multidimensional poverty

Independent Variables	Estimation Result Coefficient (Std.Err)
Constant	-1.239*** (0.081)
Treated	0.8591*** (0.049)
Time	-0.107** (0.035)

Treated*Time (DID)	-0.0658 (0.065)
Gender	-0.137*** (0.0367)
Household Size (hhsiz)	0.0633*** (0.01)
Red River Delta (region1)	-0.2284*** (0.056)
Northern midland and mountain areas (region 2)	0.5436*** (0.0463)
North Central area and Central coastal areas (region 3)	0.1606*** (0.045)
Central of highlands (region 4)	0.5593*** (0.057)
South East (region 5)	-0.4039*** (0.076)
Urban	-0.3537*** (0.044)
Head aged between 30 and 59 (Headage2)	-0.57*** (0.065)
Head above 59 (Headage3)	-0.2665*** (0.0693)
Children under 5-year old's (child)	0.1029*** (0.0256)
Highest degree of head of household (hdegree)	-0.5101*** (0.046)
AIC	8722.839
Log likelihood	-4345.4197

*** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$

Source: Authors' calculation

The table above shows that household characteristics variables clearly influence the household's probability of falling into multidimensional poverty. The DID variable, although not statistically significant, shows a negative sign, suggesting that Program 135 reduces the probability of a household being multidimensional poor. Specifically, the report analyzed the margin impact, the results show that, when the Program 135 is implemented, the probability of falling into multidimensional poverty of households in the treated group decreases by 0.043 (4.3 percent) higher than households in the control group (decrease by 0.012, about 1.2 percent). Thus, the overall impact of Program 135 is relatively positive to reduce the probability of households falling into multidimensional poverty. As analyzed above, although Program 135 has not directly helped to improve household's income, the Program 135 has had a positive impact on other aspects related to quality of life, education and health care for households in communes in the treated group.

2.1.1. The findings from quantitative approach:

2.1.2. *Summary of In-depth Interview*

Interview guideline

The final interview guideline is the outcome of a series of revisions based on the regular research members' meetings and consultation with the experienced practitioners¹ who get involved in a number of development projects in Northern Vietnam. Not mention to the first part of this interview guideline which exploits the demographic information and plays the role as the break-the-ice, lied at the heart of the interview guideline is a variety of the core questions designed to delve into the local community's perception towards the CDD project(s) as well as the impacts of CDD project(s) on local livelihood. The detailed interview guideline is presented as in Appendix 5

Main phases of analysis process

Before getting started with analysis process, all the data collected through recorded interview was transcribed by the interviewer to make sure the transcript will exactly represent the audio recording.

Next, the interviewer spend time reading through all of 12 transcripts to find out any transcribing issues, if any.

We apply the basic analysis coding of qualitative interview data introduced by Auerbach and Silverstein (2003).

First of all, we begin with re-stating the research concerns and theoretical framework.

This qualitative research is to provide the insights into the ways in which CDD projects impacts local community and barriers local citizens face in the implementation of these projects. In other words, this qualitative research aims to provide further explanation for quantitative research through a case study research design.

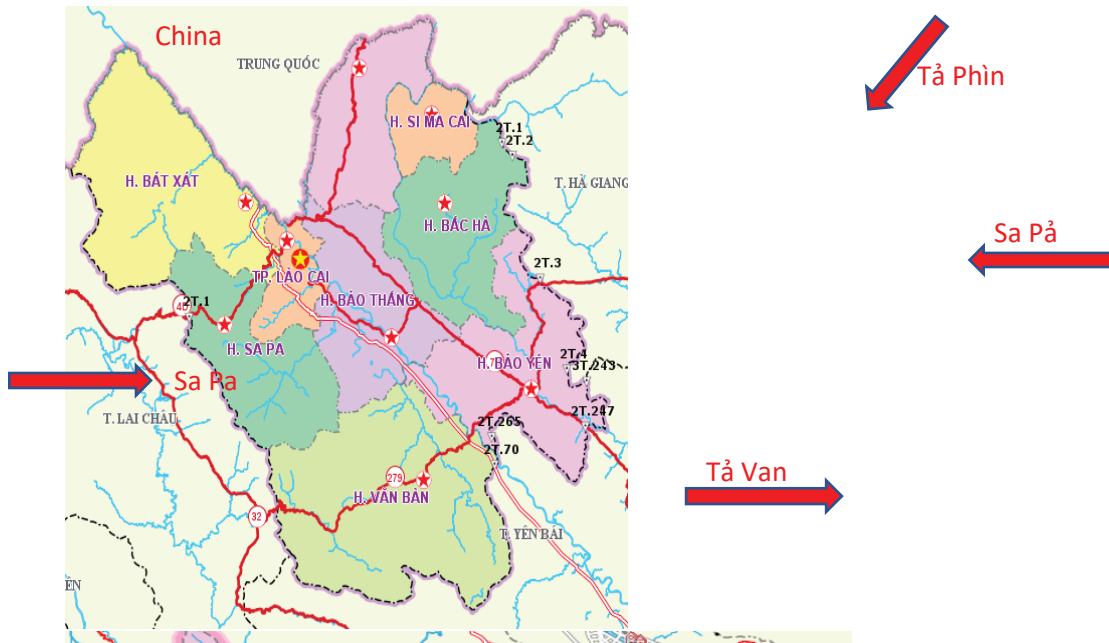
In the phase 2, we continue to shorten the transcripts. Only texts that are strongly relevant to the research concerns are included in the shortened lists. We use cross-checking process among researchers to make sure no important details are missed.

The phase 3 includes finding the repeating ideas from the transcripts. The coding process will end with grouping the repeating/similar ideas to create themes.

Following the coding process is our thematic analysis with which we use constructed themes and excerpts from the shortened transcript to narrate the experiences of local people with CDD projects.

Field Work

¹ We contacted with Mrs. Huyen who works as a coordinator at ISEE (The Institute for Studies of Society, Economy and Environment) in Hanoi. Thanks to her support, we were provided with the expected issues we might have in our field work such as the issues of language, terrain and ethnicity.



Sa Pa, Lao Cai, Vietnam



Three selected communes for our field work in Sa Pa

Source: (Atlas Lào Cai, 2020)

The length of our field work was 4 days in Sa Pa, a district in Northern province of Vietnam. Prior to this field work, several weekly research meetings were done to prepare for the qualitative research in terms of research site, qualitative technique, research sample, guidelines and a detailed plan for the research activities in the research site. As mentioned earlier, Sa Pa is home for multiple ethnic minority groups and 3 communes that are carefully selected as our research sites are no exception. Due to the narrow and steep mountain roads in Sa Pa and the foreseen problem of language, we planned to seek the support from a local man who served as a motorbike taxi driver and a translator who helped smooth our interview with the local respondents.

The data collection was conducted in three communes of Tả Phìn, Tả Van and Sa Pả where almost of local civilians are ethnic minorities. Tả Phìn and Tả Van are mainly well-known as a tourist attraction while Sa Pả and Tả Phìn have been witnessing a growing volume of farming cultivation. More specifically, the tourism-led development in Tả Phìn and Tả Van entails a lot of pre-conditions as a means to ensure the sustainable livelihood for local citizens. One of the most influential and typical CDD projects carried out in these two research sites is the result of the mutual cooperation between the Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Lao Cai Province and Sapa O'Chau, a travel social enterprise. This project aims to provide necessary condition for the development of home-stay tourism run by the natives (H'mong people). For instance, ethnic people who provided free access to a series of training sessions were trained English and communication skills as well as equipped with the background knowledge of management and marketing. Further, this CDD project has facilitated the trainees to stay well-connected with other stakeholders even after the project ended. Meanwhile, there has been major shift in rural development in Sa Pả with a growing number of farming activities of artichoke and cabbage plantation of which the former results from the contract-based cooperation between Traphaco, a leading pharmaceutical company in Vietnam, and Sa Pả's agricultural cooperative.

A total of 12 interviews were done by Mr. Dai Nguyen Van within 3 out of 4 days in Sa Pa. In addition to 12 official interviews, Dai took the field notes and had informal talks with 12 respondents and their family members. All of this fruitful source of information was also used in the analysis.

Further, thanks to support of the Mr. Anh Nguyen Tuan, Dai conducted an informal interview with a project coordinator ² working in the Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Lao Cai Province. Such informal interview yielded valuable reflective viewpoint for our qualitative analysis.

Research field work planning (February 2020)

Tasks	21 st	22 nd	23 rd	24 th	25 th	26 th	27 th	28 th	29 th	Further support if necessary
Revise the interview guideline										All team members
Contact for further information related to research field										Mr. Tuan Anh

² Mr Trung Ha Quoc, a project coordinator who is responsible for the development projects targeting the vulnerable groups including ethnic minority groups (particularly ethnic women), the poor as well as the groups who need the support for their livelihood development in tourism in Northern Vietnam, especially in Sapa and other districts in the province of Lao Cai.

Prepare accommodation/travel for										
Interview										Mr. Dai
Transcribe										

1. Demographic Summary of Research Sample

N o. N o.	Full name	Sex	Age	Ethnic group	Place of living	Education	Job	Other notes
1	Lan Sùng Thị	Female	36	H'mong	Tả Van	Secondary school	Entrepreneur (Brocade artisan)	Young entrepreneur since 2016
2	Sung Thào Thị	Female	40	H'mong	Tả Phìn	Short training course (3 months)	Entrepreneur (Brocade artisan; Homestay)	The leader of the Brocade Club No. 1
3	Giàng Thào A	Male	34	H'mong	Sa Pả	Secondary school	Entrepreneur/Farmer (Homestay; Vegetable)	Young entrepreneur since 2019
4	Kia Giàng A	Male	49	H'mong	Tả Phìn	Grade 1	Farmer/entrepreneur (Rice; Homestay)	Run homestay since 2018
5	Chia Sùng A	Male	36	H'mong	Tả Phìn	Secondary school	Small family business (Orchid)	
6	Di Thào Thị	Female	53	H'mong	Tả Phìn	No schooling	Small family business (Brocade artisan)	
7	Cay Giàng A	Male	31	H'mong	Sa Pả	Secondary school	Farmer (Cabbage; Artichoke)	
8	Nủ Giàng A	Male	51	H'mong	Tả Phìn	No schooling	Farmer (Rice; Orchid; Artichoke)	
9	Cợ Mã A	Male	33	H'mong	Tả Phìn	Primary school	Farmer (Cabbage; Artichoke)	

10	Câu Má A	Male	35	H'mong	Sa Pả	Secondary school	Farmer (Cabbage; Artichoke)	
11	Thái Thảo A	Male	30	H'mong	Sa Pả	Primary school	Farmer (Cabbage; Artichoke)	
12	Từ Thảo A	Male	39	H'mong	Sa Pả	Primary school	Farmer (Cabbage; Artichoke)	

In our research sample of 12 interviewees, almost of them are H'mong group who dominates in all our three research sites. Only 3 out of 12 respondents hold the high school certificate of completion while others finish secondary and primary school. Many of research respondents have learned Vietnamese since their childhood. However, some of them stopped Vietnamese learning process a few months or years of learning and then they communicate in Vietnamese only with the Kinh people for purchasing activities. That is the reason why most of the research participants are quite fluent in Vietnamese communication, except the case No. 6 and No. 8 who sometimes need help to communicate with our researcher during the interview.

Moreover, 10 out of 12 participants grow vegetables and herbs (cabbage and artichoke). They use both ways to sell their agricultural products via the contract with agricultural cooperative and the purchasing activities in the local market. Meanwhile, artichoke production is the result of the contract-based relationship with the pharmaceutical company (Traphaco) with the support of the local authority through the CDD-based development project. Noticeably, the first four respondents in the list above (No. 1,2,3,4) start a small business providing homestay services or hand-made brocade products for tourists. As the small business owners, in addition to the other projects implemented in local community, they further engaged in the training sessions of language (English), marketing, business and management skills provided by the CDD projects (ERST and GREAT that were launched in 2012 and 2019, respectively).

Main findings

a. Impacts of CDD Projects on Local Community

1.1. Opportunities for Sustainable Employment and Income Generation

CDD projects created the strong foundation for ethnic entrepreneurship that resulted in a large number of secondary employments for local ethnic groups. CDD projects bring about many job opportunities to local ethnic groups in the three selected areas despite the fact that these job opportunities are diverse among different types of business. The cases No. 1 and 2 reported that their entrepreneurial activities greatly benefit from the networking and training of language, management and marketing skills provided by the projects they get involved in. Sung, a young female entrepreneur running homestay and brocade club, revealed that she received frequent support in 'training of sales and marketing' (tập huấn bán hàng) while Lan, another female brocade entrepreneur who received regular significant training from project experts, feel thankful for the chances to connect with international and local organizations through projects. Lan said that she learned skills and gain knowledge not only through 'learning by doing' (cầm tay

chỉ việc), but also ‘field trips to successful businesses’ (tham quan các mô hình thành công) under the supervision by the project experts.

Despite being young ethnic entrepreneurs, the interviewees No. 3 and 4 share the similar stories in which they are equipped with management skills from the CDD project. They feel happy with the increased earnings due to the growing volume of customers partly resulting from the improved infrastructure and their management skills.

All of the research respondents agreed that the infrastructure projects helped them better connect with markets and customers. They found it very difficult to transport their products to the market where is not far away from their place but takes them hours to travel back and forth. In the case of Chia, the sale of orchid rocketed only one year after the road was built. Chia reported his case:

“... for example in 2011 when we only had dirt roads, I only sold 50-60 orchid pots. But now, you see, we have new concrete roads and I can sell 500 orchid pots per year even if the decreased transportation cost...”. Meanwhile, the farmers whose staples are cabbage and artichoke are also the beneficiaries of CDD projects. The better roads produce the secondary development of new contracts between Traphaco (a pharmaceutical company) and the villagers.

Similarly, over the past few years Lao Cai, particularly Sa Pa witnessed the increasing trend of CDD projects which applied a holistic approach in poverty reduction and rural development. On the one hand, such CDD projects focus on creation of strong basis for local community’s life through the provision of basic goods and services. On the other hand, they are expected to help generate and strengthen ‘internal ability’ (nội lực) of local minority groups. As indicated by Trung, an official of Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Lao Cai Province, the projects, namely GREAT project *“did not directly make changes but empower local groups to participate in the value chains and create opportunities for community and local people to lead the change in order to ensure the sustainability of the projects”*.

1.2. Better Access to Basic Infrastructure

Basic goods including water, infrastructure are the critical elements of many projects in Sa Pa where ethnic groups still live in poverty. Such supply is the result of the consensus of local community. New infrastructure with new and improved roads is considered the most important among basic services in local community. Not mention to increased travel, better and newly built roads provide villagers in three selected communes with more convenient transportation of goods and services. Road building witnessed a strong trust-based sharing and cooperation in terms of funding between the project financing and local community’s fund. Project’s fund supplies construction materials (sand, cement, machine...) while local people contribute either manpower, money or even land if necessary. More specifically, local people who are the beneficiaries will play the role as the construction workers in building the road near their houses or they need to pay amount of money for those who replace them. For the Câu’s case, he said *“when the road project was implemented, local people also contribute their manpower. My wife and I were literally responsible for 30-meter road construction”*.

Further, clean water supply is important for local community in Sa Pa. Low-cost clean water not only boosts living standard of the poor, but also enables them to go beyond the existing constraints. In Cáu's story, he revealed that his family had better access to clean water that was far from their reach before. He said *"... now my family has a cleaner water source and it is far better than the water we used before. You know, we used to use water wheel to carry water from upstream water source and this water-carrying system is not stable (often broken) and easily polluted by buffalo's steps and people..."*

1.3. Negative Impacts

First, overlaps among projects cause unwanted impacts on local life. That comes from the fact that the latter projects did not anticipate and take the outcome of previous projects into consideration. For instance, in Nu's case road construction has damaged the water pipes many times for months. That caused Nu's family and other people nearby to construct large concrete water tanks to reserve water for later use. He said *"on the one hand, the water supply does not meet the increasing demand of local people. Sometimes, we have to wait 4-5 days to take water from the pipe. On the other hand, grenades that were often used to clear the site prior the construction period in the projects damaged the water pipes over and over again. That is why I built a large concrete water tank to reserve water"*. In other words, a new project may reduce the positive impacts of the previous projects.

Also, there is ample evidence about the financial burden on households that are beneficiaries of CDD projects. An averaged cost-sharing mechanism is applied for all of the households. They will have to contribute money to the road construction if any of their household members who are in the labor force cannot get involved in the road-building project as the non-paying construction workers. In spite of the valuable benefits, local people consider it as the financial burden that their family have to manage. Nũ reported on the case: *"When road project was introduced, almost all our local people have to contribute our money or manpower while a few of us need to sacrifice their land of up to 1,000 m²"*.

2. Barriers for the Local Community's Participation

Language becomes one of the critical challenges for ethnic groups to strongly involve in development activities. Ethnic minority groups accounts for more than 90% of Sa Pa's population while they absolutely dominate our research sample with 100% belonging to H'mong group. Early drop-out of school prevents our research informants from being excellent in Vietnamese, in particular reading and writing skills. That is because they were born in ethnic families that are in the extremely difficult circumstances in remote and mountainous areas. The parents of Nũ and Kia who were poor, uneducated and even addicted did not allow them to have chances to join formal schooling. In his own story, Kia revealed that he started attending grade 1 when he was 10 years old and *"my parents were so poor. My dad is addicted while my mom is a farmworker. My family has a lot of work and I had to stop my schooling"*.

Although they can quite fluently with our researcher, almost all 12 respondents admitted that they cannot understand the written documents. Furthermore, despite the fact that ethnic people were either invited to attend or expected to voice in the project meetings

at the grassroot level, their limited literacy hindered them from fully engage in development projects. As a result, they usually have their village head translate Vietnamese-written documents in the village's meetings in the ethnic language of H'mong people and they feel shy to voice their need and expectation.

APPENDIX 1: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS FOR VHLSS 2014 AND 2018

Descriptive statistics for the variables used in the model are shown in the following tables:

VHLSS 2014					
Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
gender	9354	.745	.436	0	1
Mp	9354	.099	.299	0	1
region1	9354	.213	.409	0	1
region2	9354	.175	.38	0	1
region3	9354	.22	.414	0	1
region4	9354	.069	.253	0	1
region5	9354	.12	.325	0	1
region6	9354	.203	.403	0	1
Urban	9354	.298	.457	0	1
Headage2	9354	.705	.456	0	1
Headage3	9354	.255	.436	0	1
hdegree	9354	.416	1.047	0	4
treated	9354	.129	.335	0	1
Time	9354	0	0	0	0

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
income	9354	.11	.106	.004	3.671
hhsz	9354	3.84	1.572	1	13
Chile	9354	.359	.615	0	4

VHLSS 2018					
Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
gender	9371	.747	.435	0	1
Mp	9371	.082	.275	0	1
region1	9371	.212	.409	0	1
region2	9371	.176	.381	0	1
region3	9371	.22	.414	0	1
region4	9371	.068	.252	0	1
region5	9371	.12	.325	0	1
region6	9371	.203	.402	0	1
Urban	9371	.301	.459	0	1
Headage2	9371	.687	.464	0	1
Headage3	9371	.278	.448	0	1
hdegree	9371	.473	1.121	0	4
treated	9371	.132	.338	0	1
Time	9371	1	0	1	1

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
income	9371	.169	.155	.009	2.779
hhsz	9371	3.735	1.603	1	15
Chile	9371	.356	.624	0	4

APPENDIX 2: ALKIRE-FOSTER METHOD

OPHI's method for multidimensional measurement

The Alkire-Foster (AF) method is a way of measuring multidimensional poverty developed by OPHI's Sabina Alkire and James Foster. Building on the Foster-Greer-Thorbecke poverty measures, it involves counting the different types of deprivation that individuals experience at the same time, such as a lack of education or employment, or poor health or living standards. These deprivation profiles are analyzed to identify who is poor, and then used to construct a multidimensional index of poverty (MPI). For free online video guides on how to use the AF methodology, see OPHI's online training portal.

Identifying who is poor

To identify the poor, the AF method counts the overlapping or simultaneous deprivations that a person or household experiences in different indicators of poverty. The indicators may be equally weighted or take different weights. People are identified as multidimensionally poor if the weighted sum of their deprivations is greater than or equal to a poverty cut off – such as 20%, 30% or 50% of all deprivations.

It is a flexible approach which can be tailored to a variety of situations by selecting different dimensions (e.g. education), indicators of poverty within each dimension (e.g. how many years schooling a person has) and poverty cut offs (e.g. a person with fewer than five years of education is considered deprived).

Constructing poverty measures

The most common way of measuring poverty is to calculate the percentage of the population who are poor, known as the headcount ratio (H). Having identified who is poor, the AF methodology generates a unique class of poverty measures ($M\alpha$) that goes beyond the simple headcount ratio. Three measures in this class are of high importance:

Adjusted headcount ratio ($M0$), otherwise known as the MPI: This measure reflects both the incidence of poverty (the percentage of the population who are poor) and the intensity of poverty (the percentage of deprivations suffered by each person or household on average). $M0$ is calculated by multiplying the incidence (H) by the intensity (A). $M0 = H \times A$.

Adjusted Poverty Gap ($M1$): This measure reflects the incidence, intensity and depth of poverty. The depth of poverty is the average 'gap' (G) between the level of deprivation poor people experience and the poverty cut-off line. $M1 = H \times A \times G$.

Adjusted Squared Poverty Gap ($M2$): This measure reflects the incidence, intensity, and depth of poverty, as well as inequality among the poor (captured by the squared gap, S). $M2 = H \times A \times S$.

$M0$ can be calculated with ordinal as well as cardinal data, which is why it is most often used. Cardinal data are required to calculate $M1$ and $M2$.

The AF Method is unique in that by measuring intensity it can distinguish between, for example, a group of poor people who suffer two deprivations on average and a group of poor people who suffer five deprivations on average at the same time.

APPENDIX 3: THE RESULT OF ESTIMATES

```
. diff mp if year!=2016, t(treated) p(time) cov( income gender hhsize region1-region5
urban Headage2 Headage3 child hdegree) test
```

TWO-SAMPLE T TEST

Number of observations (baseline): 9354

	Before	After	
Control:	8146	-	8146
Treated:	1208	-	1208
	9354	-	

t-test at period = 0:

Variable(s)	Mean Control	Mean Treated	Diff.	t	Pr(T > t)
mp	0.057	0.382	0.325	37.97	0.0000***
income	0.118	0.057	-0.061	19.09	0.0000***
gender	0.729	0.853	0.123	9.21	0.0000***
hhsize	3.766	4.343	0.577	12.00	0.0000***
region1	0.242	0.015	-0.227	18.34	0.0000***
region2	0.124	0.517	0.393	35.82	0.0000***
region3	0.223	0.201	-0.022	1.71	0.0866*
region4	0.061	0.124	0.064	8.19	0.0000***
region5	0.134	0.022	-0.112	11.26	0.0000***
urban	0.342	0.002	-0.339	24.83	0.0000***
Headage2	0.698	0.754	0.056	4.01	0.0001***
Headage3	0.273	0.133	-0.140	10.47	0.0000***
child	0.337	0.508	0.171	9.06	0.0000***
hdegree	0.454	0.156	-0.298	9.25	0.0000***

*** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

```
. diff income if year!=2016, t(treated) p(time) cov( gender hhsize region1-region5 urban
Headage2 Headage3 child hdegree) test
```

TWO-SAMPLE T TEST

Number of observations (baseline): 9354

	Before	After	
Control:	8146	-	8146
Treated:	1208	-	1208
	9354	-	

t-test at period = 0:

Variable(s)	Mean Control	Mean Treated	Diff.	t	Pr(T > t)
income	0.118	0.057	-0.061	19.09	0.0000***
gender	0.729	0.853	0.123	9.21	0.0000***
hhsize	3.766	4.343	0.577	12.00	0.0000***
region1	0.242	0.015	-0.227	18.34	0.0000***
region2	0.124	0.517	0.393	35.82	0.0000***

region3	0.223	0.201	-0.022	1.71	0.0866*
region4	0.061	0.124	0.064	8.19	0.0000***
region5	0.134	0.022	-0.112	11.26	0.0000***
urban	0.342	0.002	-0.339	24.83	0.0000***
Headage2	0.698	0.754	0.056	4.01	0.0001***
Headage3	0.273	0.133	-0.140	10.47	0.0000***
child	0.337	0.508	0.171	9.06	0.0000***
hdegree	0.454	0.156	-0.298	9.25	0.0000***

*** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

. reg income treated time did if year!=2016

Source		SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	18,725
-----+-----					F(3, 18721)	=	595.88
Model		30.2763641	3	10.0921214	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual		317.066016	18,721	.016936382	R-squared	=	0.0872
-----+-----					Adj R-squared	=	0.0870
Total		347.34238	18,724	.01855065	Root MSE	=	.13014

income		Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----						
treated		-.0613763	.0040124	-15.30	0.000	-.0692409 -.0535116
time		.0641061	.0020398	31.43	0.000	.0601079 .0681043
did		-.0340579	.0056475	-6.03	0.000	-.0451276 -.0229883
_cons		.1179363	.0014419	81.79	0.000	.11511 .1207626

. reg income treated time did gender hhsize region1-region5 urban Headage2-Headage3 child hdegree if year!=2016

Source		SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	18,725
-----+-----					F(15, 18709)	=	402.58
Model		84.7546524	15	5.65031016	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual		262.587727	18,709	.014035369	R-squared	=	0.2440
-----+-----					Adj R-squared	=	0.2434
Total		347.34238	18,724	.01855065	Root MSE	=	.11847

income		Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----						
treated		-.0124019	.0038942	-3.18	0.001	-.0200349 -.0047688
time		.0616427	.0018591	33.16	0.000	.0579987 .0652868
did		-.0336498	.0051421	-6.54	0.000	-.0437288 -.0235708
gender		2.00e-06	.0020907	0.00	0.999	-.004096 .0041
hhsize		-.0083842	.0006481	-12.94	0.000	-.0096545 -.0071138
region1		.0093258	.0027098	3.44	0.001	.0040143 .0146372
region2		-.0288292	.0029772	-9.68	0.000	-.0346648 -.0229937
region3		-.0231272	.0026718	-8.66	0.000	-.0283641 -.0178902
region4		-.0189955	.0038703	-4.91	0.000	-.0265816 -.0114093

```

    region5 |   .0418057   .0032061   13.04   0.000   .0355214   .04809
      urban |   .0510219   .0020759   24.58   0.000   .046953   .0550908
  Headage2 |   .0056658   .0047795    1.19   0.236  -.0037024   .0150341
  Headage3 |  -.0159728   .0049873   -3.20   0.001  -.0257484  -.0061972
     child |  -.0101709   .0016402   -6.20   0.000  -.0133859  -.006956
    hdegree |   .0295645   .0008401   35.19   0.000   .0279177   .0312112
      _cons |   .1244969   .0055447   22.45   0.000   .1136289   .135365
-----
. diff income if year!=2016, t(treated) p(time) cov( gender hsize region1-region5 urban
Headage2 Headage3 child hdegree)
DIFFERENCE-IN-DIFFERENCES WITH COVARIATES
DIFFERENCE-IN-DIFFERENCES ESTIMATION RESULTS
Number of observations in the DIFF-IN-DIFF: 18725

      Before      After
Control: 8146      8136      16282
Treated: 1208      1235      2443
      9354      9371
-----
Outcome var.   | income   | S. Err.   |   |t|   |   P>|t|
-----+-----+-----+-----+-----
Before         |         |          |   |   |   |
Control        | 0.124   |          |   |   |   |
Treated        | 0.112   |          |   |   |   |
Diff (T-C)     | -0.012  | 0.004    | -3.18 | 0.001***
After          |         |          |   |   |   |
Control        | 0.186   |          |   |   |   |
Treated        | 0.140   |          |   |   |   |
Diff (T-C)     | -0.046  | 0.004    | 11.94 | 0.000***
              |         |          |   |   |   |
Diff-in-Diff   | -0.034  | 0.005    | 6.54  | 0.000***
-----
R-square:      0.24
* Means and Standard Errors are estimated by linear regression
**Inference: *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1
. probit mp i.treated##i.time gender hsize region1-region5 urban Headage2-Headage3 child
hdegree if year!=2016
Iteration 0:    log likelihood = -5689.8547
Iteration 1:    log likelihood = -4468.9854
Iteration 2:    log likelihood = -4356.3478
Iteration 3:    log likelihood = -4345.6134
Iteration 4:    log likelihood = -4345.4197
Iteration 5:    log likelihood = -4345.4197
Probit regression                                Number of obs      =       18,725
                                                LR chi2(15)         =       2688.87
                                                Prob > chi2         =       0.0000
Log likelihood = -4345.4197                    Pseudo R2          =       0.2363
-----

```


APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDELINE

Interviewee No.:

Research site:

Place of interview:

Interview time:

Interviewer:

Part I. Break-the-ice session between the interviewer and the interviewee

- Short introduction of interviewer
- The reason for the interview
- The purpose of the interview

Part II. Demographic interview

- Full name
- Age
- Sex
- Ethnic group
- Job
- Educational attainment
- Household head

Part III. Core questions

- Are you aware that the project A exists near your community?
- How does it impacted your livelihood?
- What are your feelings about it? Overall, is it a good or bad?
- How have you involved in the project? And in what role?
- Are you happy to be involved in (the project)? Why and how?
- Have you ever been sensitized about it and by whom?
- What do you think are the benefits of the project?
- Do you equally collaborate with the Government authorities and NGOs in the project? And in what areas do you collaborate with them?
- What is the reason for your collaboration?

- In what capacity would you like to be engaged in the development of the project in the area?
- What are your major challenges for you to involve in the project?
- What are your expectations and concerns about the project?
- What do you think can be done to encourage your participation?
- How services provided meet your demand? Are they exactly the items you want them to be? How?
- Are you happy with services provided?
- How well do you think you manage/run it?
- Do you think gender is important in the project? What is your experience?

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