

Original Research Article

Forced-Urbanization: an Alienation of Urbanization in China

Abstract: *Forced-urbanization* deviating from the intention of urbanization is an alienation of urbanization and a potential threat to the sustainable development of society. It is not only difficult to improve social welfare, but also erode wellbeing rights. Rooted in GDP-oriented mechanical paradigm, *Forced-urbanization* damages the urban dynamic core. As a result, cities become monsters. With no effective restriction on government's power, local governments show obvious path dependence on traditional GDP-oriented performance value. Thus the *New-style urbanization* still has some risk of forced-urbanization. It is necessary to avoid *new-style urbanization* alienated once again by breaking the generation logic of forced-urbanization effectively. Most important is to ensure wellbeing improvement rather than the GDP-oriented value as the value paradigm of *New-style urbanization*.

Key words : Forced-Urbanization, New-style Urbanization, Wellbeing Rights, Wellbeing Improvement

1. Introduction

In a universal sense, urbanization means rural population migrating to cities, with a corresponding adjustment in their life style, income structure and mind state. Because of its direct economic effects, promoting urbanization is usually generally seen as a way of improving wellbeing.^[1] A research on population's migration and urbanization from the World Bank verifies that the most effective way to alleviate poverty and promote economic development is to move rural population into cities under the precondition that the government provide infrastructure.^[2]

The Great Urbanization since New China was found in 1949 has witnessed huge achievements. However it is also a process of wellbeing rights erosion.^[3]

Considering the route of urbanization and the extent of government intervention, in 2002 earlier, Chinese scholars such as Lin et al. proposed a concept of *passive urbanization*^[4] which began the research on non-agricultural employment of land-lost farmers and the transition of occupational structure of rural areas. Later Yang (2005) conducted a prospective study about the distribution of village power and its effect in the process of passive urbanization.^[5] Thereafter, important topics such as feature, motivation and measurement of passive urbanization, urban adaptability, spatial perception, life space remodeling, self-identity and community governance participation of land-lost farmers etc. gradually became the research focuses.

The terminology of *forced-urbanization* in the formal literature appeared later than the concept of passive-urbanization. Forced-urbanization means not only the forced attribute but also the unconscious and rejected characters of the subject which could be observed in many areas such as land-urbanization faster than population-urbanization, the upgrading of industrial structure separated from population urbanization, rural culture and psychological change unconformable to urban life etc. All of these have not been mentioned in the previous studies.

New-style Urbanization bearing the dual goal of both developing economy and improving wellbeing is an important path to realize Chinese Dreams. However, there is a risk for the new-style urbanization alienated to forced-urbanization due to the path dependence on the

41 traditional political performance GDP-oriented. As a result, it is vitally important to discuss the
42 harm, generation logic and countermeasures of the forced-urbanization.

43 **2. The Harm of Forced-Urbanization in China**

44 Urbanization is an inevitable way to modernize for almost all countries. Chinese
45 Urbanization process has gone through initiation, stagnation, exploration, redeveloping and
46 bloom stages since 1949. While urbanization does improve wellbeing gradually and
47 effectively, there were some serious forced-urbanization problems which mean
48 encroachment on wellbeing rights in the name of price scissors obtained unfairly from the
49 agricultural sector.

50 **2.1 Forced-Urbanization restricts land-lost farmer's economic rights**

51 Urban sprawl is bound to occupy farmland. But current rural land expropriation system doesn't
52 fully recognize peasants land contract and management right and homestead ownership right as
53 property rights in nature. This fact makes farmers' rights have no protection. In the process of land
54 requisition and relocation, the compensation for requisition of land regulated by government is not
55 totally distributed to lost-land farmers because of the collective-peasant two levels compensation
56 system, finally farmers could get settlement allowance only.

57 Generally speaking, one-off monetary compensation offers a price of ¥50 000 per mu of land, one
58 family usually get ¥200 000 or so as a return for giving up the limited quantity of land they owned.
59 If farmers choose to exchange their land for pension, they will only get ¥20 000-30 000 with a
60 pension of ¥220 per month only given when they are at the retirement age. In that case, a lost-land
61 farmer will get compensation no more than ¥70 000 assuming that farmers' average life-span is 70
62 years and retirement age is 55. Economic value added by changing land's usage is distributed to
63 government at 60-70%, to village-level economic organization at 25-30%, and to farmers only
64 5-10%. ^[6]This is how local governments encroach on farmers' rights to fair trade of land property
65 by means of state power.

66 In the past, when farmers had land as means of production, they could do farming to keep
67 self-sufficiency in busy farming season and work to earn a living in cities when slack. Though not
68 rich, they had the rights of independent choice and transaction. How could the land-lost group earn
69 a living after forced urbanization?

70 Compared with the employment problem of college graduates and laid-off workers, lost-land
71 farmers' employment problem has not come into the perspective of local governments. The group
72 of forced-urbanization has difficulties to accommodate the demand of urban occupation with low
73 level of education, simple job skill as well. Most of land-lost farmers are working as cleaners,
74 gardeners, builders or security guards. Some of them choose to be self-employment usually related
75 with street vendors or driving unlicensed taxies.

76 In some provinces, such as Fujian, Anhui, Guangxi, Hunan and Sichuan etc., land-lost farmers
77 were arranged in the integration of urban and rural areas far away from downtown but near to
78 countryside where dwelling space and living conditions are acceptable, however opportunities of
79 jobs or making money from rental housing are rare.

80 So, there is a possibility that lost-land farmers' financial situation and living quality will worsen
81 due to forced-urbanization.

Since the year of 2008, the percentage of rural per capita net income occupied by income from household business operation related to agriculture has been going down, but the percentages occupied by wages income and property income including land requisition compensation, housing rental income and interest on deposit has been growing constantly. That is the main cause for polarization between the rich and the poor inside the urban (Chart 1).

Chart 1 2008-2012 structure and its changes of rural per capita net income (%)

Year	Wages Income	Household Business Income	Transfer Income/ Property Income
2008	41.26	52.79	5.95
2009	39.996	49.04	10.96
2010	38.94	51.17	9.89
2011	42.47	36.12	11.35
2012	43.51	34.92	11.81

Note: Calculated by data relevant to rural per capita net income from China Statistical Yearbook 2009-2013.

2.2 Forced-urbanization violates farmer's political rights

Farmer is a profession, but also a political identity enjoying the unique political right known as villager's autonomy. Villager Autonomy System fully demonstrated farmers' principal position in politics. This System has improved peasants' political apathy, political participation awareness and ability since its full implementation in 1987. Pursuant to The People's Republic of China Law of Villager Committee Organization, villagers would achieve self-management, self-education and self-service; implement democratic election, democratic decision, democratic management and democratic supervision with the help of village committee. "Decision on important issues of promoting rural reform and development" published in the 3rd plenary session of the 17th National Congress of CPC went a further step with specifying villagers autonomy range, perfecting villagers autonomy mechanism. As it claimed, peasants supervise village affairs and finance through democratic decision mechanism such as Villagers Conference, Villagers Representative Conference, Villagers Procedure and Masses Comments which exercise autonomy but not be substituted or be forced.

Nevertheless, villagers' autonomy was seriously damaged due to restricted land trading rights. Villagers' willing is either exercised or manipulated by elite class or local government ^[5] in instead of villagers themselves. Identity theory emphasizes identity of social role has some link with external societies in the first place ^{[7]-[8]}, Land and villagers' autonomy are external anchors on which peasants use to identify their social role, role norms, rights and obligations. And from this perspective, Land and villagers' autonomy are the fountainhead of peasants' self-acknowledgement. Once the land is requisitioned, peasant status and political rights related to it also disappear at the same time.

The question of "who am I without land" is a result of removing external structure and internal identity mechanism for peasants' self-identification simultaneously. ^{[9][10]} It shows peasants falling into confusion about identity and role in urban space. Rights issues about hour salary standard, retirement age, social insurance, health-care, community management, children right to education and so on arise and trouble these new citizens. Role conflict, discontinuity and failure will be problems they have to face for the long run.

2.3 Forced-urbanization deprives citizens' cultural rights

Cultural rights are the premise and foundation for individuals or groups to take part in cultural activities, engage in cultural creation and enjoy of cultural achievement. In areas of no matter

123 urban or countryside, ethnic majority or ethnic minority, foreland or hinterland, there had been
124 developed specific cultural types fitting with the local natural environment and humanistic
125 features.

126 Rural culture manifests strong-colorful spring festival pictures, high-tone folk songs. The keynote
127 of it is both elegant and popular. It also contains traditional culture like superstition. Its
128 presentation form contains not only materials like ancestral hall, temple and opera stage, but
129 immaterial like marriage, funeral ceremony, and even intangible tradition like folklore and village
130 regulations. Generally, rural culture is noisy, out-of-order and far away from the peaceful and
131 beautiful rural image. However it actually reflects the acquaintance-based interactive relationship
132 and lifestyle originated in rural recreational activities like dropping by, chatting with and playing
133 jokes with each other, telling family gossip, going to fair and seeing variety shows.

134 However urban culture mainly lies in cinema, theater, concert, exhibition and TV channels, its
135 manifestation is usually modern lifestyle and values, and its keynote is generally ordered and
136 elegant. But what hidden in polite and respectful manners is distance and indifference. Engels
137 described it like this: "They walks hurriedly from the sidelines ... As if they have nothing to do
138 with each other ... The more people are gathered together in a small space, the more embarrassed it
139 is when everyone show dreadful indifference and impersonal solitary in the pursuit of private
140 interests.... As we all know, such solitary and myopic self-interest are basic and common
141 principles in our modern society, but those features here, if not in any other place, are most blatant
142 and shameless which are consciously used by people. " ^[11]

143 Yet, the fact is that rural traditional culture is regarded as too vulgar to be endured, ignorant and
144 backward in modern society. In many rural areas, local theatre stages and ancestral halls are
145 demolished. Without such artifact foundation, rural culture market could not take off. More and
146 more, rural culture loses its successor when young farmers find other ways to earn life. The groups
147 of forced-urbanization have to withdraw in a culturally enclosed space bearing alone, or they are
148 forced to accept and admitted to urban culture.

149 **2.4 Forced-urbanization hurts foundation of civil social supports**

150 Social right is for human's social value to be positive acknowledged and fully developed. All
151 members of society can enjoy rights of education chances for promoting personal dignity or
152 developing personality freely, and all members enjoy rights of redistribution and compensation for
153 this education.

154 In a typical urban-rural dual structure in China, peasants' rights to live and develop are seriously
155 suppressed. But farmers had constructed a relatively stable, closer and more complicated network
156 of social connections by virtue of genetic, geographical and ethical relationship. This kind of
157 group interactions accordingly has both instrumental and emotional characteristics. Farmers have
158 obtained mutual financial assistance, neighborhood help and psychological support in such a
159 mixed relationship, and have developed an organized *village-community* which is regulated by
160 traditional moral customs, habits and local rules. During 2000 to 2010, there were also 900 000
161 villages disappeared, and it is difficult for village-community to be continued. The same thing
162 happens to old communities in cities where social supports were collapsed due to urban redesign
163 and demolition.

164 The outsiders could hardly predict precisely the damage caused by forced-urbanization to social
165 support. On one hand, social connections and supports dominated with emotion, tradition and

common bond dribbled away, on the other hand, groups of forced-urbanization fall into some kind of island of urban because they could not be integrated into subordinate groups or formal organizations of cities in time.

3. The Generation Logic of Forced-Urbanization in China

3.1 The integrity of wellbeing rights is the core of the dynamic mechanism of urbanization

Urban is generally regarded as a place where congregates non-agriculture industries and populations, but its existence value has long gone beyond that category. Urban makes human beings be richer, cleverer and makes the life be more green, healthy, happy and convenient. Because of the utility of economic growth and effect of wellbeing improvement, urban development and urbanization of the world are considered to be one of the most exciting unforgettable facts during the modern period.^[12]

Nonetheless, Chicagoans argued that city is not a collection of many singles, neither a simple polymerization of many kind of city infrastructure ... or social organizations.^[13] This viewpoint took much more attention to the biological properties of human beings, but it highlighted an undeniable fact, i.e. Collection of individuals or city facilities is just the external manifestation of urban; the soul of city is the complicated tight emotional connections network among residents and the commercial space for residents to achieve economic self-reliance.

One famous scholar Tilly had ever divided the pattern of migration from countryside to cities into three types including circulation, occupation and linkage, and stressed in particular that only linkage migration could provide a positive dynamic force for the urban development. Because he believed that linkage migration pattern particularly emphasizes specific suits of social framework in which residents in migration destination provide assistance, facilities information and encourage for new immigrants and stimulates groups of related individuals or families to migrate from one place to another place aiming at increasing income and improving social status.^[14]

The pattern of linkage migration reflects precisely the integrity of wellbeing rights which is the core of the dynamic mechanism of urbanization. This means no organization, institution or individual has right to prevent others from pursuing a happier life and deprive others of selecting place to work and live. Linkage migration pattern reveals the source of rich, healthy and happy in urban where all people regardless of identity have same development rights and opportunities.

3.2 GDP-oriented value paradigm is the fundamental reason of forced-urbanization

However, 60 years urbanization process in China since 1949 did not provide equal rights and opportunities for all residents who are divided into *citizen* and *countryman*. In omnipotent government era before 1980, under the condition of resource limited, it was believed that concentration resources all over the country to a prior development of industry and allocation of educated urban youth to rural areas were the necessary measures to pursue efficiency which sacrificed the interests of peasants, rural areas and agriculture. After 1980, farmers always have been regarded as cheap labor for urban infrastructure construction due to the constraint of *Household Registration System*, state-owned land were sold by auction system in the name of urban-operation for profit-oriented land finance of local government. All of these urbanization measures reflected GDP-oriented performance value which still sacrificed interests of peasants, rural areas and agriculture.

207 Under the powerful intervention and conscious promotion of government, Chinese urbanization
208 rate reached 51.3% with an unprecedented speed since 1978. However if we take employment and
209 public service into account, the actual urbanization rate is only 35% which is significantly lower
210 than that of 80% in developed countries and 60% in developing countries.

211 This is a natural result of ignoring development of people and improvement of wellbeing which
212 are the most important dynamic resources.

213 Although it was said in some studies that urban scale expansion could improve labor employment
214 probability, especially help low-skilled labors get more benefit from the increasing of employment
215 effect.^[15] Potential negative effects of the rapid urbanization and land-enclosure movement related
216 to government planning were ignored.

217 First is that there are serious wellbeing problems like housing, medical treatment and pension
218 arising from population scale. Second is that regional differences and historical cultural customs
219 would disappear due to the transformation movement from rural landscape to urban landscape.
220 Third, the phenomenon of rural hollowing arises and traditional ethics morals decay as the result
221 of urban culture, value and lifestyle spreading to countryside.

222 Urbanization government-guided in China has been generally thought as a magic panacea for GDP
223 improvement. In fact, urbanization has other functions such as wellbeing improvement, solution of
224 polarization between the rich and the poor, etc. which have long been neglected, and this is the
225 fundamental reason of the alienation of Chinese urbanization.

226 **3.3 Forced-urbanization is the logical result of erosion of wellbeing rights**

227 Government-dominant model and efficiency-oriented value in urbanization process would
228 naturally be inclined to erode wellbeing rights. Forced-urbanization is just the logical result of this
229 evolution, which challenges new-style urbanization strategy on achieving the goal of creating a
230 happier and more effective city.

231 From the phenomenon of rural surplus labor not enjoying the urban housing, education, welfare
232 for the aged and Medicare just as cheap labor for urbanization, to the same problems of
233 land-expropriated farmers near the suburban, then to the similar issues of transition and
234 undertaking of public services related to the relocation of citizens due to city renewal etc. are
235 manifestations of erosion of wellbeing rights caused by forced-urbanization.

236 But all of above problems were slow to catch up the extent and intensity of encroachment on
237 wellbeing rights when urbanization distorted to a kind of land-urbanization or real estate in 21st
238 century. Land-urbanization or land-finance points to a fact that the integrity of wellbeing rights
239 was separated by interests chain composed of performance-oriented local government and profit-
240 oriented capital. Farmers and citizens were forced to transfer the farmland and give up the
241 ownership of housing land under the threat of violence in forced demolitions.

242 Compared to the encroachment on rural wellbeing because of price scissors, educated urban youth
243 allocated to countryside and talent scissors^[3], the deprivation of rural land and the demolition
244 of buildings carrying historical information had radically destroyed the foundation of the
245 integrity of wellbeing rights and damaged the core of dynamic mechanism of urbanization.

246 **4. Deal with Forced-Urbanization in China**

Urban and village are the two forms of human civilization. They are interdependent though they respectively have different ethics, operation rules and value. It is dangerous not to consider the prospect of peasants, rural areas and agriculture. Once villages cannot breathe, cities will stifle, which had been testified in Latin American and South Asian urbanization experiences.

According to the intensive, smart, green and low-carbon blueprint, New-style urbanization strategy is a rational choice for China to accelerate the modernization and become an economic power. It will help to leap beyond middle-income-trap, promote national economy development sustainability and resolve some problems of traditional urbanization.

However, some serious forced-demolitions have occurred against the spirit of the 18th CPC National Congress and the central economic work conference which emphasized the necessary to promote urbanization actively and steadily. For example, On Oct.25th, 2013, Mrs. Tan, a primary school teacher, was removed from school to Headquarters of Relocation by District Education Bureau to persuade her mother-in-law to move out. The similar thing happened on Oct. 29th, 2013, the Country Committee's Organization Department in Minhou district Fujian province asked a couple of teachers to persuade parents-in-law to knock down their houses themselves. In November, 2013, it was reported that Yancheng country in Shandong province established a regulation that if whose relatives don't move out in time, the cadre will be suspended. And on March 21st, there were several villagers burned in Pingdu city Shandong province because they did not agree with the compensation for removal.

The above facts illustrate the risk of forced-urbanization still exists in the implementation process of new-style urbanization strategy, and explain the obvious path-dependence on GDP-oriented performance notion of local governments without effective constraint to the government power. It is essential to get rid of the generation logic of forced-urbanization to ensure the New-style urbanization. It is critical to ensure the wellbeing development as the value paradigm of New-style urbanization strategy.

4.1 Establish Well-beings development as the strategic priority of the New-style urbanization

The traditional pattern of urbanization in China had deprived and eroded well-beings for several times, and the fundamentals of well-beings had been destroyed too. The initial and ultimate goals of urbanization are well-beings improvement. Its essence is the rights of people to survive and develop in the world, and the protection from government is needed.

For migrants from rural areas, the primary issue of living in cities is to find relatively stable jobs which can provide economic incomes and social status, the lifestyle similar to the local way followed. Eventually, farmers convert to citizens after they are accustomed to the new lifestyle and social contact. Whether to protect the urban and rural residents to enjoy the same public services and infrastructure or to ensure people have the right to choose independently the way of life and work are the external form of well-beings and its integrity guaranteed.

The purpose of well-beings development is compatible with Rawls' theory of justice and the theory of social justice represented by Amartya Sen on social opportunities, economic participation which helps to create personal wealth and public resources for social facilities.^{[16]-[17]}

The premise of well-beings development is the integrity of wellbeing rights which does not allow some people to erode another part of people's well-beings rights. Only by so doing, could resources and interests in urbanization process be reasonably arranged and distributed among

290 various social groups, resident identity and social role could achieve consistency between inner
291 cognitive and external validation.^[18]

292 **4.2 Government Actions to Avoid New-style Urbanization Dissimilated to** 293 **Forced-Urbanization**

294 As an important composition of Likonomics, New-style urbanization strategy in which people is
295 the subject of cities has obvious intention to stop encroaching wellbeing rights. However if
296 wellbeing rights and its integrity could not be guaranteed fundamentally and the unique value of
297 rural compared with urban were not recognized, the new-style urbanization thesis is easily
298 distorted to forced-urbanization due to the dependence on GDP-oriented performance paradigm.

299 Chinese government has made some actions clearly to forestall this possibility. In some most
300 important documents such as Comprehensive Reform of Certain Major Issue Decision established
301 by the Third Plenary Session of 18th CPC National Congress, to bring the benefit of development
302 to all people, to establish more impartial and sustainable social security system, to make farmers
303 participate equally in modernization process and share the gains of modernization, to promote
304 urban and rural factors of production exchanged equally and give peasants more rights over
305 property, to allocate public resources balanced, to improve urbanization mechanism more healthy,
306 etc. were all emphasized. All of these actions are the efforts of government to guarantee wellbeing
307 rights and its integrity and avoid new-style urbanization strategy alienated to forced-urbanization.

308 But all of these are not sufficient, it is necessary for local government at various levels to provide
309 actually object conditions for rural population to integrate into urban, help them and their
310 offspring merge into neighborhoods, businesses and schools, followed vigilance against
311 reproduction or transplantation of urban-rural dual structure inside cities. A certain local
312 governments had practiced some innovation of urbanization powered by wellbeing development.

313 The government of Dezhou city in Shandong province innovate the method of social management
314 such as disclosure system of finance and autonomous principles of community affairs to stand for
315 the wellbeing rights of the land-lost peasants. Jiangsu province government introduced a serious of
316 wellbeing practices including a basic project, a promotion project, a cumulative engineering and a
317 guaranteed project, the first of two focuses on employment assistance, employment training and
318 entrepreneurship supporting, the latter two concentrates on the long-term mechanism of property
319 and financial income improvement and the mechanism to ensure necessary security. Those
320 innovations on urbanization offered some successful experience of how to apply new-style
321 urbanization strategy as a new engine for wellbeing development and economic improvement.

322 **5. Conclusions**

323 Forced-urbanization has being encroached on wellbeing rights. This alienation of urbanization in
324 China is the result of traditional GDP-oriented performance value, which is also the logical
325 consequence of the state-directed efficiency paradigm.

326 However we should not disappointed with the urbanization, the hope to resolve urban-rural
327 problems accumulated in urbanization process since 1949 is also coming from urban and a better
328 route of urbanization which is also the logical beginning and one of the goals of the new-style
329 urbanization strategy. It is an essential approach for new-style urbanization to establish the
330 wellbeing development as the strategic priority and break the logic of forced-urbanization.
331 Because urban is not a stocking of individual and buildings, but a larger, higher density everlasting

332 settlement consisted of various individuals who need identity confirmation and some kind of
333 emotional relationship.

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