

Original Research Article

Forced-Urbanization: The Alienation of Urbanization in China

Does it Continue or Not?

Abstract: Forced-urbanization that deviates from the intended purposes can lead to the alienation of some societies, especially those that had been forced to migrate to urban areas. This holds potential threats to the sustainable development of the urbanized communities. This mainly comes through the erosion of well being rights and lack of improvement of social welfare for migrated communities. Rooted in GDP-oriented mechanical paradigm, forced-urbanization damages the urban dynamic core. As a result cities become monsters. With the New-style urbanization strategy proposed by Chinese Government in 2011, which seeks to curb the forced-urbanization, there is some evidence that the New-style urbanization still has some risk of forced-urbanization. So it is necessary to avoid the unintended purposes of New-style urbanization by breaking the generation logic of forced urbanization. Some local governments have offered certain successful experiences. But there is still a long way to go because of some real constraints. However, the way out of forced-urbanization in China is still urbanization, but preferably through the New-style urbanization strategy that takes into consideration various possibilities.

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

1. Introduction

In a universal sense, urbanization entails rural population migrating to cities, with a corresponding adjustment in their life style, income structure and mind state. Due to its direct economic effects, urbanization promotion is generally seen as a way to improve wellbeing (Tang, 2013). A research on population migration and urbanization by the World Bank verifies that the most effective way for poverty alleviation and economic development is to move rural population into cities where the infrastructure is fully provided by the government (Saunders, 2012).

China's urbanization in true sense began in 1949 with the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC). It has witnessed huge achievements that include the rapid growth of urban population, national income, consumption and investment. China's urban population increased by 189,000,000 in 2011, the urbanization rate increased from 10.64% in 1949 to 53.7% in 2013. Compared with 2002, urban social retail sales of consumer goods grew by 4 trillion yuan to 15.9 trillion yuan in 2011 and there is also improvement of public service including medical treatment and social security. The China National Bureau of Statistics show that the New Rural Cooperative Medical Service System experimented in 2003 has initially accommodated about 800,000,000 rural populations into public services.

However, this kind of urbanization is also a process of wellbeing rights erosion (School of Government BNU, 2013), and cities become monsters at the expense of villagers. For example, there are 250,000,000 migrants that live in cities who do not enjoy equal rights as city dwellers because of household registration requirements. Thus the actual rate of urbanization in China is relatively lower (i.e. between 20-25%) than in most developed countries.

This abnormal urbanization phenomenon did not catch enough attention until 2002. Some Chinese scholars such as Lin et al. (2002) proposed a concept of Passive-Urbanization to describe it. This was the first time that the negative effect of government intervention in China' urbanization was given serious attention. From then on, land-lost farmers, non-agricultural employment and the transition of social structure of rural areas became the research themes of urbanization (Yang, 2005).

In the theoretical framework of passive-urbanization, land-lost farmers' urban adaptability (Zhang .B., Tong X., 2006), spatial perception(Cui B., 2010), life space remodeling (Wang M.Q., 2011), self-identity(Meng X.F., Hua X.C., 2008) and community governance participation(Lin W.K., Zhao K., 2006) had been discussed extensively. Nonetheless, the terminology of passive-urbanization could not describe really the features of dehumanization such as capital-oriented, government-led and controlled by interest groups which existed widely during urbanization in China and deviated from the intended purposes.

A new concept of Forced-Urbanization appeared in 2011 for this alienation of urbanization in China (Si L.B., Meng W.D., 2011) [this sentence is not clear]. Forced-urbanization means not only the forced attribute but also the unconscious and rejected characters. They could be observed in some areas like land-urbanization, industrial structure transition, rural culture and psychological change. All of these separated from population urbanization and were not mentioned in previous studies.

In order to curb the forced-urbanization, Chinese government led by Xi Jinping as president and Li Keqiang as premier established the New-style Urbanization strategy in 2012. According to the policy design, new-style urbanization should be people-centered, aiming to promote urban culture and public services, emphasizing wellbeing improvement.

There emerge two potential uncertainties. Firstly being that could-will the New-style Urbanization strategy eliminate the harm caused by forced-urbanization in China? Secondly, whether the New-style Urbanization could-will really curb the forced-urbanization in China? To address these uncertainties, it is important to elaborate the harm and generation logic of the forced-urbanization.

This research adopted social survey method supplemented by some official statistics. As one part of the project named New-style Urbanization and China Minsheng Development which was supported by National 985 Fund, this research did a random survey of 210 landless farmers in some provinces such as Jiangsu, Shandong, Sichuan and Fujian etc. in 2010 and 2011. The main contents aim of the survey are to understand some issues such as the identity and role confirmation, recognition of urban life and the emotional memory of the respondents.

The results of the survey show that most of the respondents were forced to lose their land and were converted to urban citizens. Though they admit that housing condition is has improved, they feel alone-alienated in emotion and uncomfortable with the neighborhoods' relationship in urban environment. Some respondents reflect-indicated that they did-do not enjoy same benefits as their urban citizens. [this paragraph should be transferred to results]

2. The Harm Caused by Forced-Urbanization in China

Chinese Urbanization process has gone through initiation, stagnation, exploration, redeveloping and bloom stages since 1949. From the perspective of national income and

consumption growth, urbanization in China did improve wellbeing, but it cannot be denied that there were some serious forced-urbanization problems that encroached on wellbeing rights. In short, the harm caused by forced-urbanization to farmers can be categorized into following:

a) Restriction on economic rights of farmers and land-lost farmers

There is a typical dualistic urban-rural structure based on household registration system in China, the economic rights of farmers and land-lost farmers are always restricted.

The strategy of industrialization had given priority to urban areas as from the 1950s to the 1990s. A typical manifestation [of what?] was the price scissors obtained unfairly from the agricultural sector. From the mid-1990s onwards, urbanization in China accelerated. The reality is that with current expropriation system, the land contract and management right of peasants is not recognized. Similarly, the current system does not recognize peasants home ownership rights as property rights. These give no protection to farmers' economic rights.

In the process of land requisition and relocation, the compensation regulated by government is not totally distributed to lost-land farmers. Based on random survey data conducted in some provinces such as Shandong, Sichuan and Jiangsu etc., one-off monetary compensation provided to farmers of by the government? offers a price of ¥50,000 per mu of land, one family usually get ¥200,000 or so as a return for a compensation for giving up the limited quantity of land they owned. If farmers who choose to exchange their land for pension, they get between ¥20,000 and ¥30,000 with a pension of ¥220 per month, which they can only get when they are at the access at retirement age.

Generally in real terms, a farmer who has lost his land will get compensation of no more than ¥70,000, assuming that farmers' average life-span is 70 years and retirement age is 55. Economic value added by changing land's usage is distributed to government at 60-70%, to village-level economic organization at 25-30%, and to farmers only 5-10%. [This sentence is not clear]. This finding was also confirmed by Zhu D.K. & Shi G.Q. (2004).

In the past, when farmers had land as means of production, they could do farming to sustain themselves during peak farming season and do part-time jobs to earn a living in cities during off-season. Though not rich, they had the rights of independent choice and transaction. The outstanding question is how the farmers could earn a living after they had been dispossessed of their land.

In most instances, the land-lost group, because of forced-urbanization has difficulties to adapt to the demands of urban occupation with low level of education and simple job skills. Most of them can only earn a simple living as dustmen, gardeners, builders, security guards, street vendors or driving unlicensed taxis. Their average wage is only about ¥1,500 yuan per month, which is equivalent to the local minimum wage.

In provinces like Fujian, Anhui, Guangxi, Hunan and Sichuan etc., the communities of land-lost farmers were almost arranged at the confined to fringe areas to sections of urban areas. It is These are far away from downtown but near to countryside. While where dwelling space and living conditions in these areas are acceptable, however job opportunities are limited. This illustrates that the financial situation and the quality of life of land-lost farmers decline once they are forced to adopt urban lifestyle through forced urbanization.

b) Violation of farmer's political rights

Farming is a profession, but also a political identity through which a farmer enjoys unique political right known as villagers autonomy. Villager autonomy fully entrenches 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 Village Committee Organization Law of the PRC, villagers would achieve self-management, self-education and self-service. They could 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 Communist Part of China (CPC) went a further step in asserting villager autonomy?. 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. These mechanisms ensured that peasants exercise autonomy independently.

Nevertheless, villagers' autonomy was affected because of restricted land trading rights. Villagers' willing aspirations are either exercised or manipulated by elite class or local government instead of villagers themselves (Yang S.H., Wang J.M, 2005). In some instances villagers representative is designated by superior officer.

~~Identity theory emphasizes identity of social role has some link with external societies in the first place (James, 1892; Cooley, 1999).~~ Land and villagers' autonomy are external anchors on which peasants use to identify their social role, role norms, rights and obligations. From this perspective, Land and villagers' autonomy are the fountainhead of Chinese peasants' self-determination acknowledgement. Once the land is requisitioned, peasant status and political rights related to it linked to it also disappear simultaneously.

In a random survey conducted in 2010 and 2011, data collected from land-lost farmers in Jiangsu and Sichuan provinces reflected that 65.7% person of farmers were falling into confusion confused about their identity and role in the urban space. They did not know whether they were farmers or urban citizens. In fact, this confusion is a resultant effect of removing external structure and internal identity mechanism for self-determination and identification identification identification (Burker, 2000; Sheldon, 2004).

Whether land-lost farmers could enjoy the same benefits as urban citizens such as hourly salary standard, retirement age, social insurance, health-care, community management, children right to education etc., is the external manifestation of identity. In any case, role conflict between farmer and urban citizen is likely to be a persistent challenge facing land-lost farmers for a long run term.

c) Deprivation of the cultural rights of migrants

Cultural rights are the premise and foundation for individuals or groups to take part in cultural activities and enjoy cultural achievement. China's vast geography and many ethnic groups have developed diverse cultural types fitting with local natural environment and humanistic features. However these different types of cultures are usually thought of as belonging to be of two categories i.e.: urban and rural.

Generally, Chinese rural culture is noisy, out-of-order and far away from the peaceful and beautiful rural image. It actually reflects the acquaintance-based interactive relationship among

167 peasants. Daily activities of farmers including dropping by, chatting, playing jokes with each other,
168 telling family gossip, going to fair together etc. constitute the cornerstone of rural culture.

169 Chinese rural culture manifests strong colorful spring festival pictures, high-tone folk songs and
170 fireworks. It also contains traditional superstition just like wizard and exorcism. Its presentation
171 form contains materials like ancestral hall, temple and opera stage. Immaterial such as Marriage
172 ceremony and funeral ceremony are also the presentation. Some intangible traditions like folklore
173 and village regulations are also included.

174 The random survey conducted among farmers in ~~sampling~~-sampled provinces showed that 68.3%
175 considered dropping round, the festival spring couplets or pictures, ancestor worship, fireworks
176 and folk operas to be the most memorable characters of their rural cultures.

177 Urban culture entails in cinema, theater, concert, exhibition and TV channels. Its keynote is
178 generally ordered and elegant, however what is hidden behind the character of politeness and
179 respectfulness is distance and loneliness.

180 By contrast, rural traditional culture is regarded as too vulgar to be endured, ignorant and
181 backward in modern society. In many rural areas, local theatre stages and ancestral halls are
182 demolished in the guidance of government. Without such artifact foundation, rural culture market
183 could not take off. The migrants have to withdraw, or they are forced to accept urban culture.

184 **d) Foundation of civil social supports is damaged**

185 In a typical urban-rural dual structure in China, peasants' rights to live and develop are seriously
186 suppressed. However, farmers had constructed a relatively stable, closer and more complicated
187 social support network. Its formation is directly related to genetic, geographical and ethical
188 relationship.

189 This kind social connection has both instrumental and emotional features. Farmers could gain
190 mutual financial assistance, neighborhood help and psychological support in this mixed
191 relationship, while developing an organized village-community. Village-community is always
192 regulated by traditional moral customs, habits or local rules but not official laws. It provides some
193 good social governance experiences beneficial to overcome government failure and market failure.

194 Unfortunately, more than 900,000 villages disappeared because of forced-urbanization between
195 2000 and 2010. That makes it particularly difficult for village-community to be continued. The
196 same thing happens to old urban communities where social supports collapsed due to urban
197 redesign and demolition.

198 The outsiders could hardly predict the damage caused by forced-urbanization to social support. In
199 a familiar community, residents at all levels support one another such as taking care of children,
200 informal lending, and mediating family dispute and so on. In our survey, about 50% of
201 respondents had experienced getting help from neighbors or help neighbors. It is not easy to walk
202 away from such closed social support network. These connections based on genetic, geographical
203 and ethical relationship would fizzle away with the forced urbanization.

204 **3. The Generation Logic of Forced-Urbanization in China**

205 Urbanization mechanism in China is different from the western developed countries and other
206 developing countries such as India and Brazil. Its most salient feature is government-led based on
207 the authority of administration and Chinese Communist, whose purpose was to promote

208 economic growth, and the value paradigm was GDP-oriented performance rather than wellbeing
209 rights and economic freedom.

210 a) The essence of urbanization and the urbanization mechanism

211 Urban is ~~generally~~ regarded as a place where congregates non-agriculture industries and
212 populations ~~[this sentence is unclear a better definition should be provided]. It is~~ This is the same
213 ~~as in other in the worldwide~~ famous metropolis of the world such as New York, Paris, London,
214 Beijing and , Mumbai, ~~and so on~~. Industrial production and the output value of tertiary industry
215 are the main sources of GDP in ~~urban areas each city~~.

216 ~~However, the~~ The existence value of urban has long gone beyond that ~~[what? The sentence sound~~
217 ~~incomplete]~~. Population migration and concentration is the apparent character of urbanization. The
218 essence of urbanization is the transformation of social and economic structure.

219 ~~Industrialization had ever been recognized as the urbanization mechanism in earlier period.~~ Since
220 1980s, government intervention, globalization (Keil, R., 1998; Douglass, M., 2000; Short,
221 J.R., 2004), FDI and multi-national corporation (Kentor, J., 1981; Sit, V.F.S., 2001; Kasarda, J.D.,
222 and Grenshaw, E.M., 1991) had been thought to be the more complex urbanization mechanism in
223 which economic freedom and integrity of wellbeing rights are the foundation.

224 Urban areas can make human beings rich. They may also make one's life more prosperous.
225 Because of these benefits, urbanization is considered to be one of the exciting and unforgettable
226 experiences (Glaeser E., 2012).

227 According to the theory of urban sociology, urban is not a collection of many single people, and it
228 is not a simple polymerization of many kind of city infrastructure and social organizations either
229 (Park, R. E., 1968). Collection of individuals or urban facilities is just the external manifestation
230 of urban. The soul of urban is the complicated tight emotional social network among citizens. And
231 there is enough commercial space for people to make a living.

232 Tilly (Chinese Version 2012) had ever divided the pattern of migration into three types, i.e.
233 circulation, occupation and linkage. He stressed in particular that only linkage migration could
234 provide a positive dynamic force for the urban sustainability. Because linkage migration
235 emphasizes specific social support framework in which experienced migrants provide assistance
236 for new migrants aiming at income growth and social status improvement.

237 The premise of linkage migration is economic freedom which means anyone has no authority to
238 deprive others of the freedom of migration, and anyone has no right to prevent others from
239 pursuing a happier life. The essence of linkage migration is the integrity of wellbeing rights.

240 b) Features of urbanization and urbanization mechanism in China

241 As Chinese population could not migrate freely between rural and urban areas because of the
242 household registration system, ~~all~~ residents are divided ~~into~~ into two parts, i.e. citizen and peasant.
243 Because of this system, they enjoy different rights. Before 2003, farmers did not enjoy any social
244 security. The reason ~~is~~ being that they have land management right.

245 During the era of comprehensive intervention of government i.e. before 1978, it was believed that
246 focusing on the use of limited resources would help to realize the industrialization strategy. ~~When~~
247 cities lacked enough food, allocation of educated urban youth to rural areas was necessary. ~~The~~
248 interests of peasants, villages and agriculture were ignored completely.

249 After 1980, China's urbanization sped up gradually due to globalization and FDI inflow (Fuchs, R.J.

et al.1987; Song S.F., Zhang K.H. 2002). It required lots of labor and land. Government allowed farmers to migrate to urban areas with integrant migrant worker certificate. State-owned land was sold by auction system in the name of urban-operation.

From then on, farmers were regarded as cheap labor for urban infrastructure construction. The land auction led to land finance of local government. All of these urbanization measures plundered the interests of peasants, villages and agriculture once again. The income gap became more and more wide. The data of the China National Bureau of Statistics show that the urban-rural income ratio was 2.90:1 in 2001, this ratio increased to 3.23:1 in 2010.

Obviously, China' urbanization has been led by the government in a large extent. Its purpose was to promote economic growth, and the value paradigm was GDP-oriented performance rather than wellbeing rights and economic freedom.

It was said that urban scale expansion could improve labor employment, especially help low-skilled labors get more benefit from the increasing of employment effect (Lu M. et al, 2012). However, urbanization was stereotyped by government as a magic panacea for GDP improvement in a long period. Potential negative effects of the land-enclosure movement related to government planning were ignored.

These potential negative effects mainly include three aspects. First, there is a huge pressure of wellbeing demand like housing, medical treatment and pension. Second, regional diversity related to rural culture would disappear with the villages fade. Third, traditional ethics morals decay, leading to discipline relaxation and some kind of social disorder.

c) Forced-urbanization is the logical result of erosion of wellbeing rights

Without total economic freedom, Government-dominant model and GDP-oriented value paradigm in urbanization process is inclined to erode wellbeing rights. Forced-urbanization is the logical result of this evolution.

For example, migrants made a great contribution to China' urbanization, but they could not enjoy the fruits of urban development. They didn't get any subsidy for urban housing, education, welfare for the aged or Medicare. Land-lost farmers near the suburban faced same challenge.

But this problem became less prominent when the urbanization in China was distorted to land-urbanization in 21st century. Driven by the local government to sell land to obtain financial funds, land urbanization has far outpaced population urbanization. Local governments attach greater importance to land-transfer fees rather than wellbeing rights.

For instance, according to Land Administration Law of the PRC article 47, compensation for expropriated cultivated land shall include compensation for land, resettlement subsidies, and compensation for attachments and young crops on the expropriated land. The specific amount shall be six to ten times the average annual output value of the expropriated land, calculated on the basis of three years before the expropriation.

The standard in each province varies, but the survey samples showed that one-off monetary compensation was ¥50,000 per mu, a 3-person household usually got ¥200,000 or so. While auction prices of land are much higher. The price of land for industrial use is about ¥150,000 per mu, for commercial housing is at least ¥600,000 per mu.

Obviously, people's economic freedom was suppressed in the process of land urbanization led by government, and the integrity of wellbeing rights was separated. Farmers were forced to transfer

the farmland; citizens had to give up the ownership of housing land under the threat of violence in forced demolitions.

The process of Chinese urbanization has witnessed industrial and agricultural product price scissors, allocation urban youth to countryside, household registration system, urban and rural talent scissors (School of Government BNU, 2013), and the deprivation of rural land, the demolition of buildings carrying history. All these have added up to destroy integrity of wellbeing rights. Therefore, the dynamic urbanization mechanism is damaged.

4. The future of forced-Urbanization in China

In order to curb the forced-urbanization, Chinese government led by Xi Jinping as president and Li Keqiang as premier established New-style Urbanization Strategy in 2012. In the strategic framework, the New-style urban will be focusing on intensive, happy, smart, green, low-carbon, and effective development.

a) Could New-style urbanization curb forced urbanization?

Accordingly, New-style urbanization is designed to be people-centered, aiming to promote urban culture and public services, emphasizing wellbeing improvement. The New-style Urbanization Strategy seeks to provide some possibility to curb the forced urbanization. It seeks to help China to accelerate the modernization, promote economic sustainability, and leap beyond middle-income trap that bothers China.

However, the new-style urbanization strategy might alienate to forced-urbanization for some real constraints. At present, residents have not enjoyed total freedom of migration. The biggest challenge is the path dependence on the GDP-oriented value paradigm which was the impulse of high-speed urbanization in China.

Some serious forced-demolitions have occurred against the spirit of New-style urbanization strategy. For example, On Oct.25th, 2013, Mrs. Tan, a primary school teacher, was removed from school to Headquarters of Relocation by District Education Bureau, and was required to persuade her mother-in-law to demolish.^① The similar incidence happened on October 29th 2013, the Country Committee's Organization Department in Min'hou district Fujian province asked a couple of teachers to persuade parents-in-law to demolish their houses themselves.^② In November 2013, it was reported that Yan'cheng country in Shandong province established a regulation that those whose relatives don't move out of the village in time, the cadre will be suspended from their duties.^③ On March 21st 2014, there were several villagers that were burned in Ping'du city Shandong province because they did not agree with the compensation for removal and the put up tend to stop the construction.^④

Obviously, the New-style urbanization strategy could not necessarily curb forced-urbanization if the generation logic of forced-urbanization is not eliminated. Only when it is wellbeing-oriented, government fulfills supervisory duties well, the New-style urbanization strategy could achieve its original intentions.

^① http://www.jyb.cn/opinion/mtzl/201310/t20131029_557293.html

^② <http://news.big5.enorth.com.cn/system/2013/10/29/011408890.shtml>

^③ http://heze.qlwb.com.cn/html/2013/xinwen_1120/1384.html

^④ http://legal.gmw.cn/2014-03/27/content_10811428.htm, China Youth Daily, 2014-03-27, <http://news.cntv.cn/2014/03/26/ARTI1395763297652309.shtml>

329 Reviewing the history of Chinese urbanization, wellbeing rights had been eroded for several times.
330 To avoid the New-style urbanization alienated to forced urbanization, it is necessary to establish a
331 value paradigm wellbeing-oriented.

332 For migrants, the primary issue is to find a stable job which is the fundamental of economic and
333 social status. Migrants would be familiar with the habits and mindset of local citizens step by step.
334 They will really convert to citizens after they are used to it. They also may develop some kind of
335 social support network in urban.

336 In the process, some proper protection from government is indispensable. Based on the
337 characteristics of urban-rural binary structure in China, first of all, government should provide
338 same public services for all people.

339 The purpose of wellbeing development is compatible with Rawls' theory of justice and the theory
340 of social justice represented by Amartya Sen, emphasizing social opportunities and economic
341 participation (Rawls J. B., 1988; Amartya Sen, 2002). Both assume the integrity of wellbeing
342 rights should not be violated for any reason.

343 Given that premise, it is possible for New-style urbanization to curb the forced-urbanization.
344 Resources, achievements and opportunities in urbanization could be reasonably distributed to all
345 groups. Everyone' identity and social role could achieve consistency between inner cognitive and
346 external validation (Guo T.H., 2013).

347 **b) The effect of government actions to curb forced urbanization**

348 New-style urbanization strategy has obvious intention to stop encroaching wellbeing rights.
349 Comprehensive Reform of Certain Major Issue Decision established by the Third Plenary Session
350 of 18th National Congress of CPC in 2012 stressed that New-style urbanization should establish an
351 impartial and sustainable social security system to benefit all people.

352 It stated specifically that farmers could participate equally in modernization process, and share the
353 gains of urbanization. It also stressed peasants would have more rights over property. Price
354 scissors should be narrowed in the future.

355 But the statement of intention at the central government level is not sufficient to curb forced
356 urbanization. It requires that the local government at all levels to take practical actions. Several
357 local governments have made some efforts to guarantee wellbeing rights.

358 For example, the government of De'zhou city in Shandong provided conveniences for land-lost
359 farmers to guarantee their own rights. Farmers could supervise community finance. They could
360 involve in community projects as long as they are happy to do that.^①

361 Another example is Jiangsu. The government introduced a series of practices to develop wellbeing.
362 A project named groundwork focuses on employment assistance and employment training.
363 Another project named elevation focuses on entrepreneurship supporting. There are two measures
364 especially for farmers named accumulation project and security project. The accumulation project
365 concentrates on long-term mechanism of property and financial income improvement. The
366 security project aims to ensure necessary security for land lost farmers.^②

367 Those innovations of local governments offered some successful experiences to curb
368 forced-urbanization, but there is still a long way to go, including but not limited to following.

^① <http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2011-07-23/084022862970.shtml>

^② http://www.jshrss.gov.cn/xwzx/gddt/201305/t20130502_122686.htm

369 Firstly, Migrants would merge into neighborhoods and businesses. They are not subject to
370 discrimination and exclusion in urban. Secondly, the offspring of migrants could enjoy same
371 education with the urban children. Thirdly, government should be watchful of the reproduction of
372 urban-rural dual structure in urban.

373 5. Conclusions

374 China has made great success in urbanization. But at the same time, wellbeing rights had been
375 severely eroded, especially for farmers. The characteristic of forced-urbanization in the process of
376 urbanization in China has ever been significant.

377 Forced-urbanization has caused serious harm to farmers, including restriction on economic rights,
378 violation of political rights, and deprivation of migrants' cultural rights. The foundation of civil
379 social supports is damaged too in the process.

380 The primary reason of forced-urbanization is that the value paradigm of urbanization in China was
381 GDP-oriented rather than wellbeing-oriented. In order to curb the forced-urbanization, Chinese
382 government established New-style Urbanization Strategy in 2012.

383 The intention at the central government level is not sufficient. It requires that the local government
384 at all levels to take practical actions. Some local governments have offered certain successful
385 experiences. But there is still a long way to go.

386 The way out of forced-urbanization in China is still urbanization, but preferably through the
387 New-style urbanization strategy that takes into consideration various possibilities.

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