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Land-losing Farmers' Citizenization in the Process of Urbanization

QU Xiao-juan *

Weinan Teachers University, Weinan 714000, China

Abstract Starting from the status of citizenization of land-losing farmers, problems in the citizenization are analyzed, such as the difficulty in land-losing farmers' economic life after turning into citizens, employment difficulties of land-losing farmers after living in the city, and the prominent problems in social security of land-losing farmers. Causations for the citizenization problems of land-losing farmers are analyzed. Firstly, institutionalized rejection is the root of the obstacle in citizenization of land-losing farmers. Secondly, exclusion from social security system is a fundamental reason. Thirdly, exclusion of land-losing farmers from both urban citizens and themselves is the subjective factor. Fourthly, exclusion of land-losing farmers from urban employment is the objective factor. Based on these, countermeasures are put forward: formulating a reasonable price of land transfer; establishing a reasonable land compensation and benefit-sharing mechanism; setting up a multi-level social security system for land-losing farmers; increasing the human capital investment in land-losing farmers to enhance their employment status; and improving the cultural quality of land-losing farmers to realize the change in lifestyle.

Key words Land-losing farmer, Citizenization, Social security, Urbanization, China

After the reform and opening up, more and more land requisition happens in China with the acceleration of urbanization process, causing a large group of land-losing farmers. They are forced to be separated from the traditional mode of agricultural production by the powerful social mechanism. Stripped from the familiar rural communities, land-losing farmers are brought into the strange city life without anything prepared^[1]. If they can not get non-agricultural jobs in cities, they will become vagrant, adversely affecting the stable social and economic development. The "Latin American Trap" is essentially a series of social problems causing by the rapid expansion of urban scale, such as the large amount of land-losing farmers, the lack of employment and social security system, and the widening gap between the rich and the poor^[2]. Therefore, how to make the land-losing farmers become real urban residents and integrate into urban life is a problem need to be solved. Starting from the status of citizenization of land-losing farmers, problems and causations are analyzed and countermeasures are also put forward.

1 Status of citizenization of land-losing farmers

1.1 Family financial difficulty of land-losing farmers after becoming urban residents After living in cities, the cost of living for land-losing farmers has been increased. In the year 2009, per capita disposable income of urban residents is 17 175 yuan in China and the per capita net income of rural residents is only 5 176 yuan. Thus, income of urban residents is

3.32 times of that of rural residents. Taking Xian City as an example, investigation on Changan District and Guodu District shows that family income of most of the land-losing farmers is between 500 and 1 200 yuan, accounting for about 60% of the people investigated (Table 1 and 2). And family expenditure is mainly between 300 and 800 yuan, occupying more than a half. According to the family income and expenditure of land-losing farmers, monthly cash saving of land-losing farmers is 100 – 200 and 300 – 400 yuan. Therefore, it can be concluded that after losing the land, farmers obtain a low income by working in cities. Compared with the life in rural areas before, cost of living is much higher, leading to the family financial difficulty of land-losing farmers.

Table 1 Investigation on monthly family cash income of land-losing farmers

Income // Yuan/month	Number of people	Proportion // %
< 100	3	0.8
100 – 300	42	11.5
300 – 500	64	17.5
500 – 800	66	18.0
800 – 1 000	54	14.8
1 000 – 1 200	54	14.8
1 200 – 1 500	42	11.5
1 500 – 2 000	31	8.5
> 2 000	10	2.7
Total	366	100.0

1.2 Employment difficulty of land-losing farmers after becoming urban residents Investigation shows that most of the land-losing farmers have relatively poor cultural quality and labor skills. They are at an inferior position in the fierce competition of non-agricultural jobs and can hardly find new job opportunities. Table 3 and 4 report that most of the land-losing farmers at the age of 31 – 40, 41 – 50, or 51 – 60 have obtained poor

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* Corresponding author. E-mail: 151442894@qq.com

education degree, poor skill structure, and no vocational skill, indicating that cultural quality of land-losing farmers can hardly adapt to the rapid changes of society and the fierce market competition. At present, there still exist dual labor markets in most cities of China. Most of the land-losing farmers have to find jobs in the subordinate labor market due to their own human capital, which determines their informal nature of employment. The basic characteristics of informal employment are the low wage, unstable job, and lack of social security^[3]. Therefore, after becoming urban residents, land-losing farmers have relatively low survival and competitiveness abilities and poor working condition and income level in urban labor markets due to their low cultural quality.

Table 2 Investigation on monthly family basic living expenses of land-losing farmers

Living expense Yuan/month	Number of people	Proportion//%
<100	8	2.2
100 –200	10	2.7
200 –300	53	14.5
300 –500	96	26.2
500 –800	82	22.4
800 –1 000	50	13.7
1 000 –1 200	26	7.1
1 200 –1 500	21	5.7
>1 500	20	5.5
Total	366	100.0

Table 3 Status of education degree of land-losing farmers

Education degree	Number of people	Proportion//%
Below elementary school	2	0.5
Elementary school	33	9.0
Junior middle school	214	58.5
Senior middle school	100	27.3
Secondary technical school	11	3.0
Above junior college	6	1.6
Total	366	100.0

Table 4 Skill structure of land-losing farmers %

Age	Obtaining skills certificate	Having certain skills	No vocational skill	Others
16 –30	15.49	41.02	36.30	6.19
31 –40	4.57	39.90	55.53	0
41 –50	0.39	29.41	70.20	0
51 –60	3.88	18.45	77.67	0

1.3 Prominent problems in the social security of land-losing farmers

Land is the means of production, the economic base, and the social security for farmers. At present, rural residents still maintain the old tradition of raising children to provide against old age. After land acquisition, the low compensation can not substitute for the old-age security function of land. Moreover, the current social security only covers the employees, not including the land-losing farmers who are under informal employment. China now is implementing an old-age insurance premium paid by the individuals with appropriate subsidies of

government, which needs a long accumulation period. Since farmers have not enough economic base, it is hard for them to participate in the old-age insurance, so that they are expelled from the old-age social security.

2 Causations for the problems in the citizenization of land-losing farmers

2.1 Institutionalized exclusion is the root hindering the citizenization of land-losing farmers

The root of institutionalized exclusion of the citizenization of land-losing farmers is the unreasonable land acquisition policy. Currently, land is compensated according to the annual output value of the original land use, ignoring that land is the means of livelihood and production, and the value-added part of land for non-public use. Therefore, land compensation can hardly maintain the current and future needs of land-losing farmers. Under the current land acquisition policy, governments make full use of their advantages in administrative power, and establish direct contact with other market subjects. In this relationship, farmers are the farthest away from government and it is the most difficult to protect the interests of farmers. In the aspect of the form of value, land value transfer under the current land acquisition policy damages the interests of farmers, causing poverty among land-losing farmers^[4]. At the same time, the compensation standard of land acquisition has not considered the identity change of land-losing farmers, as well as the marketization of employment and the more risks of land-losing farmers due to the urbanization of their basis of life. Analysis shows that the institutional root is that the present and future social securities are not taken into account under the current economic condition. And how can the land-losing farmers share the achievements of urbanization is also not considered.

2.2 Exclusion of social security system is the underlying reason hindering the citizenization of land-losing farmers

The current social security system has basically covers the urban residents; but social security system for land-losing farmers has not yet established. At the superficial level, land-losing farmers have already become urban residents. But this change in household register has not turned the land-losing farmers into real urban residents. After living in cities, they are facing the same market risks as the urban residents. They should share the same social security system as urban residents after losing their means of production and livelihood. However, in fact, land-losing farmers have not really get the same social security benefits after losing land. This institutionalized exclusion has hindered the land-losing farmers' acknowledgement of cities, causing exceptional difficulties in the process of the citizenization of land-losing farmers.

2.3 Urban residents' rejection to land-losing farmers and the rejection of land-losing farmers themselves are the subjective factors hindering the citizenization of land-losing farmers

The style of rural life for land-losing farmers reflects the function and cultural orientation of rural society. And the small farmer consciousness has made land-losing farmers hard to adapt to the city life. At the same time, under this dual social structure, urban residents has generated social discrimi-

nation against land-losing farmers due to various reasons, hindering the land-losing farmers' acknowledgement of cities. After becoming urban residents, land-losing farmers have great gap with urban residents in value, consumption concept, and purpose of life. Thus, there is a collision between the two different consumption patterns and consumption concepts. The transaction costs of urban social life is very high for land-losing farmers, making them hate the life in the city and miss the old life in rural areas. Therefore, land-losing farmers are at a loss in the heterogeneous urban culture, generate an inferiority complex, and even have the tendency of anti-citizenization^[5].

2.4 Urban employment exclusion of land-losing farmers is the objective factor hindering the citizenization of land-losing farmers The transformation process from farmers into urban residents has close positive relationship with the speed and scale of economic development. In general, urban economic development with faster speed and larger scale needs greater labor forces. Thus, the transformation process from farmers into urban residents is faster. In recent years, urban economic development of Xi'an City has obtained great achievements. However, there are still not enough jobs for the land-losing farmers under the current status of urban economic development. Moreover, China now is at the special period of the transition of both economic system and economic growth. Economic growth turns from extensive mode to intensive mode, and management, science and technology, and structure adjustment plays an important role in promoting the growth of economy, which produces the phenomenon of substituting capital and technology for labor force. Thus, the demand for labor shows a decreasing trend.

3 Countermeasures for the citizenization of land-losing farmers

3.1 Making reasonable price for land transfer; establishing reasonable land compensation and benefit-sharing mechanism When making the land price, government should consider that land is still the main source of income for land-losing farmers. Land circulation price should not only reflect the social values of employment, but also the life insurance and social welfare. Land circulation price should be made according to the different land uses for land owners and land users. Except that the land for national non-profit public welfare is state-owned, other land types should allow the transfer into collective non-agricultural construction land under the premise of maintaining the nature of collective land ownership^[6]. As is well known, land-losing farmers transfer the land they live on to the state for the public interest. Therefore, farmers should be allowed to participate in the differential land benefit during benefit sharing, so that they can enjoy the profits after the appreciation of land value. The living standard of land-losing farmers will not be reduced and the process of citizenization of land-losing farmers will be accelerated.

3.2 Constructing multi-level social security system for land-losing farmers Establishment of social security system is the premise for land-losing farmers living in the cities. A perfect rural social security system can solve the farmers' worries

about citizenization and reduce the expected risk into the minimum degree. Some scholars argue that social security should be made according to the economic and social development in different regions and the farmers' dependence degree on land. Social security system should cover the old age insurance for land-losing farmers, as well as the medical insurance for major diseases, which is the basis of land-losing farmers integrating into society. At the same time, disposable income of land-losing farmers should also be increased^[7].

3.3 Increasing the human capital investment in land-losing farmers; improving the employment rate Investigation shows that the human capital of land-losing farmers has significant positive correlation with their citizenization willingness^[8]. Moreover, human capital has positive correlation with the employment, entrepreneurship and occupational selection of land-losing farmers in cities^[5]. Under the condition of market economy, the method of resettlement is no longer feasible for land-losing farmers. And helping them to get jobs is the only way. Therefore, jobs should be created during the process of urbanization and industrialization, so that land-losing farmers can get non-agricultural jobs in cities. Vocational education and technical training are the professional ways to develop the rural human resources, the commonly used forms during the development of rural human resources, and the effective methods to increase employment opportunities for land-losing farmers^[9]. At the same time, government should speed up the establishment of employment information network across the cities, make employment information known to farmers as soon as possible, develop intermediaries for labor market, set up a socialized employment service system including counseling, employment information, and job training, and regulate the employment agencies so as to provide high-quality services for the farmers working in cities.

3.4 Improving the cultural quality of land-losing farmers; achieving the changes in lifestyle The key to citizenization of land-losing farmers is to integrate into cities. And the greatest difficulty for land-losing farmers integrating into cities is to realize the transformation from farmers into urban residents. There are various problems during the transformation, the root of which is the poor quality and the low skills of land-losing farmers themselves. Therefore, improving the quality of land-losing farmers is an effective way to solve the problems in the role transition of land-losing farmers. Through the promotion, interpretation and training of urban cultural life, land-losing farmers will psychologically accept the urban culture and urban lifestyle. Through improving the quality, land-losing farmers will renew the concepts, change the bad habits, learn to observe all rules and regulations of the city, cultivate community and public awareness, change their original criteria of civilized life, realize the transformation from farmers into urban residents, and become real citizens.

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of possession resources, we should increase migrant workers' material capital for their citizenship. The accumulation of migrant workers' material capital is from increase of migrant workers' wage and non-wage income. In order to eliminate the life predicament of migrant workers' citizenship caused by shortage of material capital, we must establish unified, open, competitive, and orderly labor forces market system; optimize allocation of labor forces resources; build and perfect system arrangement, such as migrant workers' wage payment system, wage payment monitoring system, wage payment security system, labor guarantee and honest system of enterprise, minimum wage guarantee system and wage collective consulting system; exert function of "remuneration system tool"; eliminate the phenomenon of the migrant workers having same jobs with urban workers but different wage. Secondly, we should increase migrant workers' human capital by education and training. We should put compensational education as content and adult education as form, elevate farmers' level of record of formal schooling comprehensively by vocational technological education and adult education, promote migrant workers' knowledge and moral quality, strengthen record of formal schooling and professional skills and reinforce the competitiveness of employment in market; meanwhile, we should construct migrant workers' education model focusing on in-service education. By all-around education, such as comprehensive cultural education, production skills cultivation, fostering of legal concept and social moral consciousness, civilization and politeness, we should promote their city life ability and reinforce migrant workers' training degree. By increased training input, perfection of training system, establishment of training mechanism and innovation of training model, we should elevate migrant workers' employment ability, vocational transfer ability and entrepreneurship ability; establish human capital elevation mechanism regarding responsibilities of government, enterprise and migrant workers; guide migrant workers change from physical force to intellectual force so as to make them step out of technological predicament. Finally, on the basis of reconstructing social relations and forming organization network, we should motivate multiplex organizations, promote migrant workers' organizing degree and foster migrant workers' social capital.

3.3 Restoration of ability We should actively and steadily propel the urbanization process, and strengthen urbanization pull of migrant workers' citizenship. If we regard the migrant

workers as poor group, in terms of income, ability and social relations, and formulate the poverty standard measuring migrant workers' poverty, we will find that we should not only propel the urbanization process but also avoid the mushrooming urban poor people, or else this kind of urbanization is unhealthy and inharmonious, and even follows the same old disastrous road of "excessive urbanization" and "urban malady" of some developing countries. In the light of this perspective, we should propel the urbanization process; avoid the mushrooming urban poor people; fully consider regional difference, economic level difference and cultural difference; adjust measures according to local conditions so as to propel urbanization; make the newly added urban population realize employment, have guarantee of income and certain income, have social support network and identify with city.

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