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The Group Differentiation of Farmers Whose Land is Expropriated and Community Integration

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Abstract This paper introduces the status of group differentiation of farmers whose land is expropriated and analyses the forcing of urban community factor and social workers' intervention on community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated. Since individual characteristics factors, external factors, social support and internal factors are different, the understandings of current farmer group whose land is expropriated on social work have great disparity. The obstacles existing in urbanization of farmers whose land is expropriated are concluded as follows. In terms of group constitution, there is a shortage of development-oriented of farmer groups whose land is expropriated, but impoverished groups overabound; in terms of cities, it lacks direct platforms and institutions that provide services for farmers whose land is expropriated. In terms of social work, the degree of social workers intervening in community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated is insufficient. From three aspects; the intervention of social work in integration of different types of communities of farmers whose land is expropriated, social work intervention at level of social policy, and social worker team carrying out the plan of helping others, this paper proposes path selection of intervention of social work in community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated.

Key words Farmers whose land is expropriated, Community integration, China

In the light of experience from abroad, the development of social work and active intervention is very effective in promoting social integration of individuals and groups and easing social conflicts. At present, the contradiction between soaring number of farmers whose land is expropriated in China and social accepting system, coupled with slow development of system, has become increasingly prominent. How to address the follow-up issues concerning this group after the land acquisition and what kind of measures should we choose from grass-roots social management level to help farmers whose land is expropriated integrate into the city from social and psychological levels, will be a major practical problem that needs to be addressed urgently in the process of coordinating urban-rural development. To answer this question, the research group in the period December 2007 – February 2008 selected Nan'an District, Yubei District, and Jiulongpo District and other places in Chongqing City for field survey. 500 questionnaires were handed out and 487 questionnaires were called back. There were 480 valid questionnaires, with effective response rate of 96.0%. In the effective sample, male accounts for 50.3% and female accounts for 49.7%; the age composition is generally 18–50, and people aged 31–45 account for 49.7%; the proportion of people with educational background of junior middle school is the highest, up to 51.3%; the annual household income per capita in the previous year is 3 000–10 000 yuan, and the occupation is mainly focused on construction, service, manufacturing, loose employment, privately or individually-owned business and other industries; the living conditions are difficult,

work and life are in the urban fringe.

Coordination of urban and rural development must face a large number of problems concerning community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated. The trace of community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated needs to go through a process of "receiving help to semi-self-help to self-help". In the process, the existence of a number of non-integration factors and uncertainties may exert great impact on the process of community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated. From group, community, and social workers, we probe into the factors influencing community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated and discuss the path of intervention of social work at different levels in community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated, on the basis of analysing different types of demands of community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated.

1 The forcing of group differentiation of farmers whose land is expropriated on community integration

The problems of farmers whose land is expropriated caused by urbanization process have different appearances in different economic development regions. As for the survey object, we choose the group moving from suburbs to Chongqing City, therefore, due to differences of their own employment ability, adaptability and other factors, the group differentiation is very clear, and there is great difference in group's sense of dependence and sense of belonging to community.

1.1 The status of group differentiation of farmers whose land is expropriated There is a great difference in living standard when farmers' land is expropriated, and the group differentiation can be defined by different standards. According to

the characteristics of wide distribution of occupation of survey objects and manifold interest demands, we choose "the household income per capita in the previous year" as group classification standard. The group differentiation of farmers whose land is expropriated can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1 The status of group differentiation of farmers whose land is expropriated

Income per capita of households in the previous year	Frequency	Percentage %
Above 15 000 yuan	25	5.2
10 000 – 15 000 yuan	54	11.3
6 000 – 10 000 yuan	134	27.9
3 000 – 6 000 yuan	218	45.4
Below 3 000 yuan	49	10.2
Total	480	100.0

According to *Chongqing Statistical Yearbook*, in 2007, the household income per capita of urban residents in Chongqing City was 13 800 yuan, and the household income per capita of urban poor households was 5 884 yuan. We define the farmers whose household income per capita in the previous year below 6 000 yuan as poor farmers whose land is expropriated, accounting for 55.6% of the total number; the farmers whose household income per capita in the previous year in 6 000 – 15 000 yuan as smooth farmers whose land is expropriated, accounting for 39.2% of the total number; the farmers whose household income per capita in the previous year above 15 000 yuan as affluent farmers whose land is expropriated, accounting for 5.2% of the total number. Further analysis finds that when affluent farmers whose land is expropriated lose land, they can seek new development opportunities in the city, have stable income in the city and the living standards rise as against that before land expropriation; the living standards of smooth farmers whose land is expropriated are stable, and the land expropriation has little impact on their family and life; when the poor farmers' land is expropriated, they find it difficult to look for development opportunities in the city, descending into difficult life^[1].

1.2 The forcing of urban community factor on community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated and the related analysis Through study, the western scholar Casada

holds that there is a close relationship between people's social relations and sense of belonging in community, and the more the colleagues, friends and relatives in community, the stronger the sense of belonging in group^[2]. In addition, after some scholars at home research the adaptability of farmers whose land is expropriated in city, they point out that the recognition of the urban group can make them more inclined to adapt to the city^[3]. The work and life of farmers whose land is expropriated will be inevitably impacted by macroeconomic policies, while the community is organization which conveys various national policies and also implements national policies. We conduct analysis on correlation between the landless farmers' evaluation of community and household income per capita in the previous year. The results show that the household income per capita of farmers whose land is expropriated is correlated with evaluation of community, and the correlation coefficient is 0.112, passing the significance test. This suggests that the positive or negative evaluation of community will influence community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated.

1.3 The forcing of social workers' intervention on community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated and the related analysis Clearly, the factors responsible for problems of farmers whose land is expropriated are complex, involving many aspects, but fundamentally, what needs to be solved urgently is the insufficient ability of farmers whose land is expropriated. In the mean time, we should provide a variety of environmental support for farmers whose land is expropriated. It thence appears that the active participation in community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated and timely bringing it into the professional perspective, is not only the sacred mission given by the history to the social work profession, but also the realistic choice of development of the social work profession. As social workers, they have frequent contacts with migrant workers, and have the most direct knowledge of the problems confronted by the migrant workers in the process of integrating into the city. The solution to these problems should not only rely on government policy guidance, but also need the active cooperation of community social work, to guide residents to participate in it, forming virtuous three-party interaction.

Table 2 The forcing of social workers' intervention on community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated and the related analysis

Variable		Whether to receive social workers' aid or not		Will of seeking social workers' aid	
		Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Individual characteristics	Income per capita of households	-0.071	0.080	-0.164 **	0
	Land expropriation time	-0.127 **	0.002	-0.060	0.128
	Family size	0.010	0.330	0.112 **	0.149
	Educational background	-0.013	0.819	0.122 **	0.002
External factors	Accepting community work	-0.028	0.493	0.110 *	0.017
	Time of receiving aid	-0.055	0.174	-0.075 *	0.023
	Reason of receiving aid	0.142 **	0	0.184 **	0.010
	Evaluation of receiving aid	0.171 **	0	0.078 *	0.035
Social support	Expectation of getting posts	0.236 **	0.010	0.471 **	0
	Seek support object	-0.156 **	0.012	-0.241 **	0
Internal factors	Expectation of work income	-0.176	0.061	-0.144 **	0
	Expectation of work conditions	0.155	0.122	0.152 **	0
	Self-evaluation	0.123	0.703	-0.115 **	0.012

Note: * and ** mean that it is significant at level of 1% and 5% respectively.

Table 2 shows that the understanding of current group of farmers whose land is expropriated on social work has a big difference.

1.3.1 Individual characteristics factors. The household income per capita, family size, the level of education, and accepting the intervention of social work, all reach significant level, with correlation coefficients of -0.164 , 0.112 and 0.122 respectively, while the land expropriation time does not reach significance level to social work intervention, which can be considered as no significant effect.

We believe that, from the people who receive help, the differences in the time of land expropriation do not affect the differences in households. It can be believed that the differences in the time of land expropriation to the will of social work intervention, is largely to play a role through affecting the household income and consumption quality of farmers whose land is expropriated. The group difference mainly hinges on household income per capita, family size and the level of education, which can result in differences in occupation and status, and differences in effect of social work intervention.

1.3.2 External factors. The data concerning "whether to receive social workers' aid or not" and "will of seeking social workers' aid" reach a significant level. And the correlation coefficients are 0.110 , -0.075 , 0.184 , 0.078 . The longer the farmers whose land is expropriated receive aid, the greater the recognition on social work, the better the aid effect of social work, the stronger the will of seeking community aid, and the stronger the will of accepting the community integration.

1.3.3 Social support. The "seek support object" and "will of social work intervention" of farmers whose land is expropriated, reach a significant level. The correlation coefficients are 0.471 , -0.241 , indicating that the intenser the wish of farmers whose land is expropriated to want community to offer more jobs, the more help the community offers, and the intenser the wish to want help from social workers.

1.3.4 Internal factors. "Internal factors" and "receive social workers' aid" both fail to reach a significant level, but "internal factors" and "will of seeking social workers' aid" reach a significant level, and the correlation coefficients are 0.144 , 0.152 , 0.115 . Data show that the higher the income the farmers whose land is expropriated expect, the stronger the will of working, the higher the self-evaluation, the stronger the will of seeking aid from social workers, the stronger the will of seeking self-help, the more willing to accept the help of social work.

2 The obstacles existing in urbanization of farmers whose land is expropriated

In the process of flow of farmers whose land is expropriated from villages to cities, farmers whose land is expropriated gradually adapt to, and are accustomed to city life and the environment. They want to integrate into urban society, and also strive in practice, but there are many kinds of obstacles to the real integration of them into cities.

2.1 In terms of group constitution, there is a shortage of development-oriented of farmer groups whose land is expropriated but impoverished groups overabound The gen-

eral structure of social stability is spindle-shaped, but this research shows that the group constitution of farmers whose land is expropriated as follows: there are few development-oriented groups and smoothness-based groups, and too many pyramid-style poor groups, which not only hampers the process of community integration, but also has formed burden to harmonious development of society, and posed a severe challenge to further development of urbanization.

2.2 In terms of cities, it lacks direct platforms and institutions that provide services for farmers whose land is expropriated

In recent years, in some areas which experiment with coordinating urban and rural development, since the social security lacks supporting reform, and perfect social security is facing enormous financial pressure, imperfect social policy makes the gap between landless farmers and urban residents look like an invisible network, isolating them from the city. The government departments at all levels in all regions have discussed and formulated a series of policies for maintaining the benefit of farmers whose land is expropriated, promoting the status of farmers whose land is expropriated, and also established a number of temporary agencies, but the relevant flawed legal system in the process of maintaining the rights of migrant workers, prominent ineffectiveness of government operation mechanism, and conspicuous dislocation between policy formulation and policy implementation, affects the recognition and belonging of farmers whose land is expropriated to city community. They want government to unblock the channels of participating in public affairs management, to protect their corresponding rights.

2.3 In terms of social work, the degree of social workers intervening in community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated is insufficient

From a comprehensive point of view, the social work focuses on the specific problems of groups themselves, help them to solve various practical problems and difficulties, to achieve the goal of enhancing the ability and confidence of object, gradually adapting to the society, and ultimately promoting all-round social progress and harmonious development^[4]. To some extent, this way of intervention is more conducive to solving the problems related to the vital interests of farmers whose land is expropriated. At present, although in terms of system, it has initially built the platform of social work intervention in farmers whose land is expropriated, but most of the social work for farmers whose land is expropriated is achieved by the administration system using administrative means, and most of the social work is administrative and non-specialized social work. According to statistics, the total of social workers engaging in maintaining labour rights of farmers whose land is expropriated in Chongqing City is quite short, unable to meet the service needs of hundreds of thousands of farmers whose land is expropriated. From viewpoint of professional quality, there are few social workers who have received systematic and professional education, so it is difficult to provide personalized, diversified, and systematic services, to give humane care to farmers, in difficult circumstances, whose land is expropriated, to ease their psychological pressure, and help

Table 3 The basic situation of the social workers

Item	Option	Number of people	Percentage // %
Frequency of taking part in professional training	1	53	11.0
	2	92	19.2
	More than 3	264	55.0
	None	71	14.8
	Total	480	100
Workers' educational background	Primary school and the below	31	6.5
	Junior high school	94	19.6
	Senior high school	290	60.4
	Junior college and the above	65	13.5
	Total	480	100

Note: Data is from *Welfare Dependence and Anti-Welfare Dependence Research under Social Transformation* of National Social Sciences Foundation-survey in Chongqing City and Chengdu City taken charge of by Pro. Zhou Changxiang in 2005 and we are involved in whole process of survey as members of research group.

them to get relevant relief under the existing social security system (Table 3).

3 The path selection of intervention of social work in community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated

In general, the process of community integration of farmers whose land is expropriated includes the following connotation. The first is the process of change of role and self-awareness, to let them at heart recognize that they have become urban residents. The second is the process of adjusting psychology of employment. Since the urban work is strange to them, their change in social psychology is more difficult, needing more help. The third is the process of adapting to urban life and culture, which is the essential characteristic of realizing change from farmers whose land is expropriated to urban residents. This adaptation process has many aspects, including lifestyle adaptation, consumption pattern adaptation, leisure style adaptation, communication method adaptation, ideas adaptation, organizing way adaptation, and so on. Social work is a profession, whose value basis is humanitarian and social justice, whose goal is to meet human needs, help individuals and organizations to solve social problems, whose mission is "alleviating poverty and supporting the weak", playing a important role in promoting the sound operation of society-promoting social stability and harmony, and promoting building of system and policy^[5]. In order to promote the farmers whose land is expropriated to better integrate into the city and adapt to the requirements of urbanization, we should pay attention to the following aspects.

3.1 The intervention of social work in integration of different types of communities of farmers whose land is expropriated For the development-based farmers whose land is expropriated, since departing from land, they enter the city from the countryside, and find better development opportunities in the city. No matter from income or from the standard of living, they have successfully achieved upgrading, and achieved the conversion from farmers to industrial workers, or other classes. However, it should also be noted that due to the existence of urban-rural dual split system, after departing from the land,

these people lose their original political rights, restricting their community integration, so we must take measures to make them get more political rights and create conditions for integration.

For stability-based farmers whose land is expropriated, since the change in the standard of living before and after departing from the land is little, so the impact on them is mainly in the way of life and psychology. As for the implementation of social work from the perspective of lifestyle, it should reduce their dependence on the land, enhance the psychological sense of security in the city, ease the psychological impact as quickly as possible and promote psychological community integration in the process of violent collision of traditional values and modern concepts.

For the poverty-based farmers whose land is expropriated, departing from the land means a challenge to them. In face of urban economy with rapid development and dramatic changes, being that they long engage in single planting, for want of survival skills in the city, so they often lose the job opportunities, even if they want to farm, there is no land, becoming the special group covered by the minimum urban living security system. The social workers can use their interactive network to establish information exchange platform, and give play to the advantages of investigation and participating in aid, to reflect the status quo and needs of migrant worker problem in the city. And through this platform, the social workers can obtain relief resources, to strive to resolve the problem, so as to realize the transformation from relief to all-around aid, and comprehensively enhance the level of relief and aid for China's urban poor groups. Social work intervention is mainly to promote and improve the social assistance system, to prevent the emergence of "polarization trend".

3.2 Social work intervention at level of social policy

Public policy has far-reaching impact on individuals and groups, therefore, from macro-policy environment, the social work is to study the social policy system that is conducive to resolving the employment, social security, and children's education of farmers whose land is expropriated in city. By referring to the solutions and measures in some cities, it is to summarize, generalize and promote them, to remove the irrational existing system, and better solve the problems of farmers whose land is expropriated in city.

3.2.1 Gradually establish new community management system which the farmer group whose land is expropriated actively participates in under the guidance of government. The group of farmers whose land is expropriated is a marginalized growing group in urban community. They enter the urban community to make a living, and they are bound to crowd together and help each other, to form a relatively stable "self-organization". This "self-organization" can ease or even eliminate the plight of farmers whose land is expropriated, and thus to a certain extent, "self-organization" is wholeheartedly endorsed by the people. But "self-organization" after all, is not standardized. Its strength is weak and function is simple, so if lacking proper guidance, it may develop into a Mafia organization with the characteristic of extreme egoism. In order to meet the needs of the market economy, the government must change functions and guide "self-organization" to play an active role. Thus, the government-led community management model that the group of farmers whose land is expropriated actively engages in, will be an effective model of the urban community managing farmers whose land is expropriated and carrying out community assistance. In this model, the government management departments take carrying out macro-policy guidance, and providing community building guidance and necessary financial support as main content; take fostering sense of ownership in community for the group of farmers whose land is expropriated as target; strive to establish new citizen system with the same identity, equal status, and equal rights, to promote the development of urban communities. By participation in community management, the group of farmers whose land is expropriated realizes self-education, self-discipline, self-service, integrating into urban community.

3.2.2 Maintain the legitimate rights of farmers whose land is expropriated through legal means. After the farmers depart from the land, their financial capacity is limited. In the process of integrating into the city, due to lack of corresponding knowledge of the law and sufficient ability to pay for the cost arising from relief need, therefore, the community, as grass-roots organization of government, should provide a variety of ways of legal aid for farmers whose land is expropriated, and provide channels for farmers whose land is expropriated to enjoy rights equally. Fundamentally improving people's cultural quality is a prerequisite for solving these problems. Social workers can publicize relevant laws and policies as well as the rules and regulations of local government for farmers whose land is expropriated, so that the landless farmers know how to defend their legitimate rights, enhance their awareness of the law, and pick up the legal weapons to protect themselves when their own rights are violated. Through the approach of improving the cultural quality, they can master more scientific and cultural knowledge, have a better understanding of government policies, broaden their horizons, and find an appropriate job from themselves from a wider range.

3.2.3 Intervene in implementation process of related systems concerning farmers whose land is expropriated and be as intercessor of government policy and policy object. Government and

policy object, is the provider and recipient of social policy, and there is information asymmetry between the two. When the government implements macroeconomic policy, it is difficult to know the details of beneficiaries of the policy, therefore, the social workers in community should pay attention to the work of policy publicity and interpretation, and strive for the understanding and support of the policy object to the policies, which is particularly important. On the one hand, we should sum up the corresponding countermeasures, related to the practical interests of the farmers, which can solve the problems of basic livelihood, re-employment, and social security of farmers whose land is expropriated; on the other hand, we should publicize the social security policy comprehensively to the beneficiaries, so that the farmers whose land is expropriated can actively participate in social security, and improve the ability of the family to bear social risks.

3.3 Social worker team carrying out the plan of helping others and aiding the landless farmers to gradually achieve community integration There is a need to carry out professional social work for the individuals or groups of farmers whose land is expropriated in the city. For the individuals or their households of farmers whose land is expropriated in the city, or the group of farmers whose land is expropriated in one city, the social workers can provide direct services that the landless farmers need. In practice, social work should be based on the actual situation, to use various methods to smoothly resolve the problem^[6]. According to the status quo of farmers whose land is expropriated in the city, the task center model in case social work and the treatment model in group social work, are more suitable for carrying out social work for farmers whose land is expropriated in the city.

As to the plight confronted by farmers whose land is expropriated, in addition to one objective reason of grim outside employment situation, the lack of their own skills is also a very important reason. The results of empirical findings also support this point. The farmers whose land is expropriated are inclined to ascribe difficulty of finding a job in the city to old age, low level of education, lack of technical expertise and other factors with personal characteristics, which is conducive to the implementation of social work action^[7]. Through a series of actions of helping people, and training of capacity promotion, the social work help them to move toward self-help. To essentially stimulate farmers whose land is expropriated to go out of the woods, and to achieve community integration in the social and psychological dimension, the social work must choose a more humane way. We can use specialized practice of social work-case social work, group social work, community social work and so on, to carry out targeted work. We can use the method of case work to provide "one-to-one" service for farmers whose land is expropriated with labour ability, provide material or emotional support for individuals and families, explore their potential and help them to integrate into urban community. Social workers can gather together the farmers whose land is expropriated with similar characteristics and the ability to work, to carry out purposeful group activities, so that they can share experience, and

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