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Jiang, Y. (2015). Study on identification of city life and adaptive learning of new residents whose land was expropriated in China. Proceedings of the 8th Asian Diaspora Adult Education Pre-conference, Manhattan, Kansas.

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**Proceedings of the 8th Asian Diaspora Adult Education
Pre-conference, Manhattan, Kansas
Editors: Bo Chang & Mitsunori Misawa**

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Study on Identification of City Life and Adaptive Learning of New Residents Whose Land Was Expropriated in China

Yilu Jiang¹

Abstract: With the acceleration of urbanization in China, more rural land are taken for cities' use. More peasants who are called landless new residents, accordingly, have to accept an unfamiliar city life, leaving the land they used to rely on. Do they adapt themselves to the new environment? How is their life going in the city? And is it different from the previous rural life? How do they perceive their current life? What kind of learning situation will appear in their life? ...The answers to these questions could be found in this study, which did interviews with thirty landless new residents who came from Nanhu District of Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province and were involved in the land acquisition. Nineteen out of the thirty samples were taken for content analysis. Their identification of city life and learning to adapt were identified to approach the questions. The relationship between these two aspects was explored to find out the common factors that affected both and develop learning to help landless new residents adapt their city life.

Introduction

In China, city and rural area are quite different. City has decent infrastructure, which brings economic benefits and provide many conveniences. Nonetheless, city also has many disadvantages, such as crowded living space, pollution, noise and heavy traffic. Rural area, by contrast, has more nature resources, clean air, and spacious living space. But poor infrastructure in rural areas leads to the monotonous life, and the lack of guarantee of life. Before, because the lower social status, income and welfare of farmers compared with citizens in city, coupled with poor infrastructure in rural area, peasants wanted to move to live in city to get the benefits as citizens in city. Nevertheless, with the development of rural area and deterioration of city environment, more and more peasants want to keep their rural life, rather than move to live in city.

However, urbanization is the inevitable product and strong dynamic of social and economic development. The continually developing world economy triggers the acceleration of urbanization worldwide. Since the Reform and Opening up Policy in 1978, especially in the twenty-first century, China's city construction has entered a period of rapid expansion. Statistics showed that China's urbanization rate was 17.92

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percent in 1978, but rushed to 46.59 percent in 2009, only taking 30 years catching up the urbanization process which spent 200 years by the west (Gao, 2011). According to the correlation between international urbanization and GDP per capita, "*China Development Report in 2010*" forecasted the rate of China's urbanization would reach 65 percent in 2030 (China Development Research Foundation, 2010).

The process of urbanization not only makes the rural land into city land, but also turns more peasants into city citizens, whose workplace also move to the city. Since the 1990s, vast agricultural land has been changed into non-agricultural land, and the number of "new citizen" who moved from rural area increased at least 3 million each year. So far, it is estimated that their population has reached to a number between forty and fifty million. More than 20 percent of these people completely lost their land and are unemployed. In this study, the peasants whose land was expropriated by the local government moved to the city are identified as "landless new residents". Leaving the land they lived on before, some of them are often faced with the dilemma of farming without land, employed without registration, living without guarantee. These problems apparently affect social solidarity and make urbanization an extremely complex and disputable pursuit of political, economic, and legal interests. Urbanization is not only about the transformation of land, but also of human mind, which is no less crucial and complicated than the former.

After moving to the city, the landless new residents experience changes of the pattern of production and life style. They leave their familiar lands and go to work in factories, enterprises and other organizations in city contexts. In addition, their daily activities out of working time and interpersonal relationship are also reshaped by the changed living situation. Although they reside in cities and can enjoy some of citizens' benefits, there are many differences between city and rural life. As a result, they have to cope with an emerging and unavoidable psychological gap, which further hinders their adaptation to city life. The geographical dislocation interests with psychological dilemma create multi-layer difficulties for the landless new citizens to truly identify themselves as citizens. The intermingling of original and new citizens, coupled with an underdeveloped understanding and consensus of citizenship in China, make social cohesion a utopia that is hard to envision.

In the era of knowledge economy, the goal of knowledge production is closely attached to growth of economic competitiveness of state. Faced with the new mode of living and production in the city, the landless new residents find their knowledge from rural experience becomes less useful. Consequently, they need new knowledge to help them adapt to city life. In "*Educational Psychology*", Edward Lee Thorndike regarded learning as a process of individual adaptation to the environment (Thorndike, 1903). In the case of landless new residents in China, new vocational skills and gaining more comprehensive understanding of city environment will help them integrate in city life better and faster. On government and community's side, it becomes urgent to provide these people sufficient professional training and

psychological counseling. Apart from top-down efforts to make a difference to these people's lives, I argue that it is premise that researchers go to the field to explore and interpret how the landless new residents see and cope with the new geographical and psychological challenges.

Xu (2004) found that the landless new residents' living standards decline and difficult employment issues in the process of their identity conversion caused by the long-term urban-rural dual division system and the attached to the personnel management, coupled with the lack of their consciousness of crisis and development. The influencing factors of landless new residents' identification of city life can be divided into internal factors (traditional ideas, cultural quality, knowledge and technology, and labor skills) and external factors (system of land security, land property rights and management) (Wang, Shen, & Ju, 2007). Many studies mentioned this aspect, and regarded the internal factors was the main factor (Wei, 2006; Xu, 2007). Such studies were often from the perspective of political, economic, city sciences, psychology. Through the perspective of education, Wang (2007) found when landless new residents came to live in city, they were urgent to learn something about vocational skills, the ways to adapt city life, and how to form new value concepts and behavior ways in city (Wang, 2007). These learning contents can be summed up as professional skills and basic skills that related to knowledge and skills associated with daily life and paid more attention to their psychological adaptation (Xu & Bao, 2010). Li (2007) focused on landless new residents' learning motivation and found that they attended learning activities mainly in the purpose of obtaining professional certificates or raising wages which were in the material level. While Tang (2009) regarded one of the learning motivations was landless new residents' requirement of continuing socialization. There were few studies in China paid attention to learning method that suited to landless new residents and their learning outcomes, which were taken into account in this study.

The "adaptation" in this study means landless new residents' psychological adaptation to their city life, which is reflected on their "identification of city life". Tajfel (1978) defined social identification as the individual recognized that he (or she) belonged to a particular social group, and was also recognized the value as a member of this group. Landless new residents' identification of city life is one kind of social identification, which is also based on comparisons between groups. It is an important psychological mechanism, making individuals consider what social category and organization they belong to and make sure their social identity. Besides, "learning" in this study has boarder meaning, which emphasizes that landless new residents get knowledge and skills to confront with changes on all aspects of their city life and adapt to the new living environment. Learning could be divided into three categories: formal learning, non-formal learning and informal learning (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974). Both formal learning and non-formal learning are organized: the former is intentional and structured which is guided by a formal curriculum or program; the latter may or may not be intentional and can't be granted formal credits after completing learning.

Different from these two kinds of learning, informal learning has broader meaning that is never organized. It can occur at any time and any place, so it's often experiential and spontaneous. Most adult learning activities belong to non-formal or informal, and have some characteristics (such as social, experience, utilitarian, autonomy) distinguishing between other kinds of learning.

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the learning experience of landless new residents and their identification of city life (which reflects the situation of their adaptation to city life). Based on this, as educational researches, we could think about how to improve the identification through learning in order to make them live better in the city, and more profoundly, contribute to social cohesion. The research questions include the following. What is landless new residents' identification of city life? What is the situation of their learning to adapt to live in city? Is there any relationship between these two aspects? Last but not least, based on the common factors that affect both, how do we help them adapt to city life through learning process?

Methodology

This is a qualitative research study. Different from quantitative research, the essential features of qualitative are the correct choice of appropriate methods and theories; the recognition and analysis of different perspectives; the researchers' reflections on their research as part of the process of knowledge production; and the variety of appropriate and method (Flick, 2009). Semi-structured interview was used in this study to collect data. The method starts with the assumption that flexibility is needed in order that participants' are not restricted by standardized questions and closed-ended structured answering formats.

Participants Selection

Participants were chosen from the landless new residents who lived in Jiaying, Zhejiang Province. At present, China has 34 provincial-level administrative regions, Zhejiang province is one of them which located in China's southeastern coastal areas. Affiliated with 11 cities in Zhejiang, Jiaying is one of them, which is in the north of Zhejiang province and joined to south Shanghai. The advantageous geographical position and rich natural resources are the superiority of its rapid economic development.

I chose participants in Jiaying for the following reasons. First, urbanization began early in Jiaying that resulted in that the city became host of many landless new residents. Second, my personal history was closely attached to this city and its demography, language, customs and rituals, which would help me conduct interviews and analysis. The depth of knowledge of the local environment is very important to the data collecting process through interviews. On the one hand, it is the environment

that the studied population is immersed in that shapes their activities and thoughts. On the other hand, using a familiar language to communicate may help them articulate themselves better.

The participants should have these characteristics: (a) They were forced to move to live in the city because of the government-initiated urbanization; (b) Their land in rural area was expropriated by local government, which was the reason they were no longer engaged in agricultural production; (c) They are faced with many changes brought by their relocation in city contexts, such as values, habits, behavior, communication style etc.; and (d) There is a striking gap between the original and new city citizens.

To collect data, I used a purposeful sampling technique designed to gain maximum variation, and then added to their sample through a snowballing process, in which one participant leads to another (Bertaux, 1981). There were two criteria that made this study consider the number of participants was enough. The first one was sufficiency to reflect the range of participants. The other one was saturation of information. If the interviewer begins to hear the same information reported, he or she is no longer learning anything new (Seidman, Irving, 2006).

Interview Preparation

Having identified the study purpose and questions, I conducted a pre-study such as conceptual clarification and literature review, which helped me focus on research content. At the same time, I also did some pilot interviews, in order to verify the feasibility of the study and lay the foundation for carrying out interview. Based on these, and together considering the characteristics of landless new residents and features of city, “identification of city life” is decoded as landless new residents’ identification of their “daily life”, “occupational life” and “interpersonal life”. These include basic necessities of living, entertainment, work and interpersonal communication, etc. The concept of “learning” include “learning contents,” “learning methods,” and “learning outcomes”. Then I prepared an interview outline listing some questions that would adjust according to the reaction and expression of the participants. Brief, open and flexible were the three principles to make the interview outline, which contents were mainly relied on the themes and sub-themes.

Data Collection

This study contacted the participants through three ways: Close acquaintances or friends; introduced by close acquaintances, friends or participants; random encounter (Because the landless new residents in city lived in the house which arranged by the government and their house located in concentrated area in city, so I could go their living area to encounter them randomly). The interview took place at the location of their choice, such as their home, park or activity center, where the environment was familiar to them and would make them more relaxed and comfortable. Each interview spent 1~2 hours for each time. According to requirements of the study, I did interview for second time with the same participant

after obtaining the consent of him/her. The conversation between researcher and participants were audiotaped which also prior got the consent of participants. Later, these audio materials were transcribed to text materials to coding. Finally, removing duplicate content, I chose nineteen samples of the total participants to be taken for analysis.

Data Analysis

Thirty-one participants were interviewed by this study, with different from ages (including the elderly, the middle-aged and the young) and gender (including male and female). Finally, nineteen samples were selected to analysis.

Coding is the first step in analysis. A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a proportion of language-based or visual data (Saldaña, 2012). Codes can in the forms of abbreviation or symbol applied to a segment of words, or paragraph in order to classify it, which can help to choose and flag themes in order to clump relevant strips from different materials.

High-frequency words are the participants' frequently used words in the process of interview, which are often used to express their ways of thinking. I tried to search the high-frequency words in the text materials and use them as codes. For example, many participants said: "*I can't get along with the original citizens*", so I used "*can't get along with*" as a code. Based on this, I tried to establish coding system for this study, combing all codes together.

According to the coding system, I made some classification. First, I put different codes into different themes. Second, I further put codes which in the same theme into different sub-themes. Last, according to actual situation of interviews, the sub-themes and specific contents contained were revised to determine the final analysis framework.

Findings

Identification and Learning of Daily Life

Landless new residents evaluated their daily life rationally. On one hand, they gave positive evaluation, such as "*good medical conditions*", "*a secure life*", "*pay more attention to education*", "*many kinds of food*", "*comfortable living*", "*convenient transportation*", "*abundant entertainment*"; on the other hand, they also gave the negative evaluation, such as "*the environment is not good*", "*dress too fashionable*", "*lack of healthy security for food*", "*living space is small*", "*traffic jam*". Their description in this topic mainly addresses to five aspects: dressing, diet, living, traffic, entertainment. As to "dressing", they thought it was fashionable and had bright color, but their acceptance of this dressing style was not consistent. As to "diet", they

thought the eating habit in city was healthy, which they should learn from. Meanwhile they were worried about food safety in the city, because they considered the food they ate before in rural area that they planted and bred themselves were safe. As to “living”, compared to their living condition before in rural area, they thought their living space in city was narrow, which let them feel uncomfortable. As to “traffic”, they thought they had more transportation options in the city, such as car, bus, metro, bicycle, plane, etc. But they were worried about security risks and were unhappy about the traffic in the city. As to “entertainment”, they believed that the entertainment activities in city were abundant and various, but different individual in different ages had different acceptance degree.

Their learning contents included skills, knowledge, customs and concepts of daily life in city. The skills contained the using of home appliances, vehicles and something else that were fundamental to their life. They were generally interested in legal, political and economic knowledge, and thought their life would become more secure with this knowledge. One participant explained, “*It is good to have more knowledge.*” After coming to live in the city, many of their habits in daily life must be changed in order to adapt to the new living environment, such as the way to talk. They often spoke very loudly before in rural area, and they should learn to speak more quietly in city that is the custom to citizens. They tried to learn such things, but they felt difficult. As one participant said “*Habits is easy to form, but difficult to change.*” Living concepts are closely related to the local culture. When the collision between rural and city life concept happened to them, it would make them feel uncomfortable. They recognized the limitation on this aspect, and wanted to learn more to have some changes, what they mentioned most were money management and health maintenance. The participants’ attention to this part of learning contents was decreased with increasing of age, and the elderly were most interested in such learning contents.

The learning methods could be divided into two categories: Contacting with other people and mass media. Margaret Mead proposed that there are three cultural states: Postfigurative, cfigurative, and prefigurative (Mead, 1970). Simply, postfigurative refers to the young learn from the elderly; cfigurative refers learning between peers; prefigurative refers the elderly learn from the young, which could be summed as “contacting with other people”. This method most mentioned in the middle-aged and the elderly participants, they thought they could learn from the young, peers, and even from original citizens. One of them said: “*After coming to live in city, I came across many high-tech thing, such as computer. My son taught me how to use computer. Now I can use it to access the Internet.*” In the process of learning from other people, some were through face-to-face communication, and some were from their own observation. The mass media that helped them get information about daily life included newspapers, books, radio, television and Internet, which had different preferences at different ages. The young preferred to get information from newspapers, books and Internet, especially the Internet, which had large information capacity and fast update speed. The middle-aged and the elderly

more liked to learn from newspaper, radio and television, especially the latter two. The reason for this was some of them were illiteracy and they didn't have the ability to read and write.

Many participants said they had made a lot of progress in daily life after coming to live in the city, which is also a manifestation of the learning outcome. They cited many progress, for example, *"I know more living rules in city, which made me better adapt to my current daily life and understand some phenomena happened in city"*; *"I am talkative than before"*; *"At first, I was not used to live separately with my children because the limitation of living space. After communicating with the original citizens, I found this was their habit family model. I began to accept this model. Maybe it's not a bad thing to me."*...These learning outcomes linked closely with the learning content mentioned above, which could be summarized as two aspect: The one was acquisition of daily living knowledge and skills, the other one was changings in customs and concepts of daily life.

Identification and learning of occupational life

The participants' occupational life in city was different among the elderly, the middle-aged and the young. The elderly held an optimistic and relaxed attitude, although most of them had ended their occupation career, they still wanted to get a job based on their healthy conditions; the middle-aged' attitude was pessimistic and helpless, most of them thought they didn't have enough ability to compete with others in the workplace. *"I am not qualified to work in addition to farming."* To opposite, the young were positive, and they thought city could give them more job opportunities. What they said in the interview mainly involved three aspects: Intention of occupation, plan for career and satisfaction with occupation. As to "intention of occupation", the young participants showed a broad mind on the choice of occupation, and they also considered the previous experience of living in rural area became their wealth which could help them get more job opportunities; limited by age, skills, education level and many other factors, the middle-aged and the elderly participants often chosen security, cleaning, domestic workers, sales staff and other service industry jobs. As to "plan for career", most young participants said they had such plan which could be divided into short-term and long-term; middle-aged participants focused on the plan which could complete recently; because most of the elderly participants was retired, and they didn't mention much in the interview about this aspect. As to "satisfaction with occupation", the participants had their own standard, including the intensity of work, working environment, salary and occupation development.

Due to the age of retirement (60 years old in China), mainly the young and the middle-aged participants mentioned learning in this aspect in the interview. Few elderly participants still had a job, and they rarely mentioned this. Compared to middle-age participants, the young were keen on the relevant learning contents, which contained professional knowledge and skills and techniques to deal with things in their occupational life. As we know, before entering workplace, job seekers need to have certain professional knowledge, in order to successful get a job; after entering

workplace, they need to constantly update their professional knowledge, in order to cope with society vary from minute to minute. The middle-aged participants was interested in the professional knowledge which stayed in basic level and tended to practice, who just wanted use this knowledge to get or keep a job and didn't consider too much on their career development. On the contrary, this aspect was more concerned by the young participants. The techniques to deal with things happened in workplace, such as dealing an emergency, communication between leaders and colleagues or other units, mainly mentioned by the young participants. Most importantly, they thought such contents had deep city cultural roots which were they didn't familiar with.

Different from the learning methods in daily life, apart from learning through other people and mass media, the participants were also learning through the learning activities that were organized by enterprises, open universities, social training agencies and department of network in universities. Learning provided by enterprises and social training agencies both welcomed by the middle-aged and the young participants. While they had different purposes of learning, the former just wanted to get a job without thinking about vocational development, which was the main purpose of the young participants. Besides, the young participants also liked to attend the learning activities or courses organized by open universities and department of network in universities. With the improving of their cultural level, they became more competitive in workplace.

The learning outcomes they described in this topic could mainly be concluded into three aspects: Getting a job, promotion and salary increasing, professional ability improving. Many middle-aged participants told me they got a job after learning. One of them said: *"When I came to city, because of the low educational level and lacking of vocational skills, I couldn't get any job in city. So I decided to learn some vocational skills. After that, I spent one year to learn sewing. Now I am working in a clothing factory."* In the interview, the young participants expressed great interesting in the promotion and salary increasing, so this learning outcome frequently mentioned by them. After their leaning, they could get vocational qualification certificate or diploma which were basic condition for their promotion and salary increasing. Professional abilities not only referred to professional skills in certain post, but also included any other abilities needed in the workplace, such as overall planning. One said: *"My work is not chaotic as before, and I will have a lot of plans. For example, in the implementation of a case, if plan A fails, I still have plan B."* Such abilities acquisition was mostly from the workplace, which may learn from experience taught of others, or from experience reflection of their own.

Identification and Learning of Interpersonal Life

After moving to live in the city, there are many changes in landless new residents' interpersonal life. Some relationships are continuing from rural to city, and some relationships are newly set up in city. In the interview, some participants

considered the original citizens were indifferent, who were difficult to get along with. So they were more willing to make friends with other landless new residents, or with their old friends which relationship was set up when they lived in rural area. Interpersonal life came with kinship, geographic relationship, occupational relationship and friendship. As to “kinship”, participants mainly referred to the relationship of parents-children, grandparents-grandchildren and husband-wife, and some other relationships derived from these relationships. Most of the participants were satisfy with kinship in city, which they thought were harmonious. As to “geographic relationship”, “occupational relationship” and “friendship”, they respectively mentioned the neighborhood, relationship between leader and colleagues and friendship in city. In their opinion, all of these three relationships were distant and indifferent.

The participants were interested in the learning content about how to get alone with family members, neighbors, leaders, colleagues, and friends. As to family members, they mainly paid attention to learn to get along with new family members who were original citizens in city. For example, one elderly participant told me his son married with a city girl. He believed the relationship between them was alienated, which caused by difference between city and rural living habits. In order to make family relationship more harmonious, he thought he should learn to accept and adapt the living habits in city. Different form citizens, the neighborhoods were very important to landless new residents, who felt their neighbors were very cold in city. However, they didn't want to change this phenomenon, and just wanted to learn how to get along with neighbors. Same phenomenon also happened in workplace in city, the participants thought if they wanted to get along with their leaders of colleagues, they must learn how to communication with them which based on city cultural. As to the friendship, participants said they had gain some knowledge in mode of thinking, speech patterns and habits in city, which they thought could help them get along with friends in city. One said: *“At the beginning of making friends with original citizens, I felt we has much different habits. For example, they (original citizens) like to finish meeting late, but I want to go back home early...but I think I should make some changes in this aspect, which can make me get more friends in city.”*

The learning methods used in interpersonal life were almost same as in daily life. However, whether through other people or mass media, many participants particularly mentioned they got some knowledge and skills for getting along with others by others' stories which may displayed in news, chat show or even the TV play. Such method was welcomed by the middle-aged and the elderly participants. One of them said: *“I usually watch Shanghai TV Station's chat show which displays every night at 7 o'clock. This show invites family members who have conflict between them. The host in this show is a mediator and helps them resolve their conflict. Although this show displays others stories, such conflict may also happens in my life, I can learn how to resolve it through this show.”*

After such learning, many participants mentioned many learning outcomes which could come down to changing in attitude that could help them have a more harmonious interpersonal life in city. These attitudes included tolerance, transposition thinking, optimistic and so on. For example, one of them said: *“After watching the chat show for a long time, I sum up all family conflicts because he/she only cares about himself/herself, and not transport to think in other’s position. So I think transposition thinking is very important to get along with others.”*

In conclusion, some findings deserve us to concern from this study. As far as the identification of city life is concerned by the participants. First, they neither regarded them as citizens nor as peasants, which let them fall into an embarrassing situation in city. Second, their identification of city life was rational, because they listed good and bad aspects in their city life. Third, their identification of each kind of city life was different from ages. The young participants were more positive than the other two age groups; the middle-age participants were most negative, especially to their vocational life in city. Last, almost all participants mentioned more of less negative identification on friendship in interpersonal life in the interviews. I think this is a breakthrough to help them better adapt to city life. As to participants’ learning in city life, many participants didn’t think they had learned in their daily life, because they considered leaning just happened in school. As before said, learning can help people adapt to environment. In the process of adapting to city life, learning may not be recognized by themselves but actually happened in their life. Besides, as to each kind of city life, the learning contents, methods and outcomes were also different form ages.

Conclusion

During the interview, I noticed that a lot of participants used these words, such as “we”, “they”, “citizen”, “your city”, “their city”, “our rural area”, etc., which more or less reflected they considered themselves different from the original citizens who grew up and have been living in the city. This phenomenon indicates that their views are based on their comparison between themselves and the original citizens, and usually, the new comers are made “the other” and kept in the margin of city life. This reflected most of them also in the process of adaption to city life. They neither regard them as citizens nor as peasants, which let them fall into an embarrassing situation in between. On the one hand, many policies set by government tried to help them get out of this situation; on the other hand, they also had willingness to change through learning or any other ways. As is said before, their identification of city life is rational. However, what is landless new residents’ identification of city life? This is an inquiry of great complexity. What I have tried to do in this study is to show their different identifications of their city life, which can help educators design learning activities to help them adapt to city life.

Learning can help people adapt to environment. In the process of adapting to

city life, we thought that learning may not be recognized by themselves but actually happened in their life. It found that most of their leaning was informal learning, especially to the middle-aged and the elderly, although the young had attended some formal learning or non-formal learning activities, which were mainly happened in their occupational life in city. Besides, because this study mainly focused on the adults in landless new residents, the characteristics of adult learning that were social, experience, utilitarian, autonomy also could be found in their learning process.

On one hand, the positive identification of city life motivated their learning; on the other hand, the negative identification of city life hindered their learning. Besides, the study showed that learning can help landless new residents adapt to city life, which would form or increase their positive identification, and eliminate or avoid their negative identification. So landless new residents' identification of city life that indicates the situation about their adaptation of city life leads and dominates their learning. At the same time, learning reflects and affects their identification. The relationship between landless new residents' "identification of city life" and "learning" is explored to find out the common factors that affect both. Gender, age, educational level, land loss period and personality have an influence on both of them.

Developing learning to help landless new residents adapt to city life is the final purpose of this study. Then how can we develop such learning? Our society should collect more and more power from government, social departments and individuals to support this learning. I try to stand on the perspective of adults learning and education to make some suggestions to government, society, enterprise, education department, original residents and the landless themselves. Government should make some education policy for landless new residents, and provide policy and funding to guarantee their learning. Especially, the education department in government should devote itself to implementing the policy as manager and coordinator. Our society should be jointly concerned with this group, and collect more social force to support their learning, including stakeholders, resources and anything else. The enterprise should take into account the current situation of employees who is landless new residents in vocational training, and design appropriate learning content and methods for them. Especially, they should pay more attention to the middle-aged in this group. Participants mentioned many aspects they had not adapt to in the interview. I think the root for these is their unfamiliar with city life. Education institutions that are responsible to take care of the landless new residents should open some courses relating to city culture, for example the local language. When designing the education method, they should also take into account the characteristics of their situation. For example, online learning may fit the younger generation, who are more familiar with computer and technology; face-to-face teaching may benefit the middle-aged and the elderly, who have more leisure time but are not familiar with learning with computer. Original residents' participation in the learning is necessary and important to help the new comers to integrate in the city setting. In this process, original and new residents could get closer to each other, which could help the latter adapt to city life. Besides,

landless new residents should strengthen their own learning consciousness, and give more enthusiasm on learning.

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