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Master's Thesis of International Studies

**Evaluating the Status of Development-
led Internally Displaced People (IDP)
in China Under Human Rights-based
Approach**

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**Evaluating the Status of Development-led
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Abstract

Undoubtedly, climate change is one of the defining crises of our time. Hundreds of millions of people are being displaced due to the natural disaster, including the ones resulting from the climate change. According to the World Bank, if there are no early and concerted climate and development action implemented worldwide, there can be as many as 216 million people being moved within their own countries by 2050, due to slow-onset climate change impacts. Thousands of reports and analysis all points to the same conclusion: Climate change is irrevocable; millions of people are being displaced and more will be displaced in the future; relevant action is needed urgently to protect ourselves. In this context, this paper particularly focuses on the already internally displaced people due to the natural disasters and development-led disasters. They are so-called natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP. The paper will analyze on how the human rights o the IDPs caused by natural disasters and development-led disasters are being protected, and if not, why they are not being protected by whom. The paper uses Human Rights-based approach to evaluate whether the human rights of the IDPs are being protected by the government, based on 6 criteria. Two case studies will be provided, one for each for natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP. The region is constrained to the People's Republic of China. The paper analyze each case study and concludes that human rights are not protected by the Chinese government both for the natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP. Especially, human rights of the development-led IDP are severely violated by the Chinese government due to various reasons.

Keyword : Development-led IDP in China

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I. Introduction

Undoubtedly, climate change is one of the defining crises of our time. Among countless devastating disasters, floods and storms were the most frequent climate-related disasters that nearly doubled its number between 2000 and 2019.^① Such disasters greatly influence the most vulnerable people residing in the affected areas. According to the internal displacement monitoring centre (iDMC), more than 30.6 million displacements occurred in 2017. The figure combined both the displacement resulting from conflicts and from disasters. So far, displacement has been linked as a by-product of violent conflicts such as wars, coup d'état, or political insecurity. However, over the past 20 years, such assumptions have changed completely. Studies have shown that the number of displacements from natural disasters is much higher than the displacements from conflict. Disaster-related (In this paper, disaster refers to natural disasters and development-led disasters) displacements accounted for 18.8 million whereas conflict-related displacements accounted for 11.8 million.^② Although the number of disaster-related displacements skyrocketed in the past decades, very little attention is given to those people compared to the conflict-related displacements. This is because under the 1951 UN Refugee Convention, disaster-related displacements do not fall under the definition of a refugee, whereas conflict-related displacement do. The UN Refugee Convention states that “*A refugee, is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.*”^③ In this regard, since disasters (natural disasters and development-led disasters) are not directly included in the five reasons of persecution, climate change migrants or disaster migrants cannot receive international protection from the international community as refugees. In addition, if the migration is internal, both the

^① Refer to UNODA (2020) Human Cost of Disasters 2000-2019 Report - UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction for details.

^② GRID (2018). It states that most of the disaster-related displacements occurred in China and Philippines and most of the conflict-related displacements occurred in Syria and DRC.

^③ UN Refugee Convention (1951)

conflict-related and disaster-related migrants cannot receive the refugee status, since they did not cross the border and remain within the influence of their own government. Those people are referred to as Internally Displaced People, the IDP. The paper focus on the people who had to be displaced internally due to disasters based on the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement IDP definition:

“...Internally Displaced persons are persons or group of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effect of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.”^④

IDP receive support from humanitarian agencies and international organizations such as the UN Refugee Agency, UNHCR. For instance, UNHCR leads the Global Protection Cluster (GPC) that coordinates other UN agencies and governmental / non-governmental agencies worldwide for the protection of people who are suffering from humanitarian crises.^⑤ In addition, according to the UNHCR’s Initiative on Internal Displacement 2020-2021, UNHCR aims to be more decisive, predictable, and effective in situations of internal displacement.^⑥ However, most of the humanitarian support provided for IDP are for the conflict-related IDP, making the disaster-related IDP the most vulnerable within the vulnerable people. For instance, UNHCR’s IDP-Initiative Target Operations are implemented in Colombia, Sudan, Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Ukraine. The above eight countries were selected considering the five criteria written below in the footnote.^⑦ IDP in all the eight countries are resulting from the conflict, war, or civil war. In other words,

^④ UNHCR, ‘Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: UNHCR Memorandum’, 1998, 15.

^⑤ Refer to <https://www.globalprotectioncluster.org/> for more details.

^⑥ UNHCR, ‘UNHCR ’S INITIATIVE ON INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT Population Figures’, 2021, 21.

^⑦ (i) balanced representation among operations at various stages of the displacement cycle, from new or escalating emergencies to protracted and post-conflict (ii) magnitude of displacement (iii) nature of displacement (iv) the size, effectiveness and coherence of UNHCR’s operational and cluster-led response and (v) the capacity of operations to exhibit practices in specific thematic areas (UNHCR, 2021)

disaster-related IDP receive extremely less attention and protection from the international community, compared to conflict-related IDP.

Therefore, the paper is dealing with the most vulnerable within the vulnerable group- the disaster-related IDP. Within the disaster-related IDP, the paper divides it into two categories based on its characteristics. First is the natural disaster IDP and second is the development-led IDP. natural disaster IDP are the people who are suffering from the consequences of climate change or from the natural disasters, which includes the below six categories[®]:

Table 1. Classifying natural hazards by disaster type (Human Cost of Disasters 2000-2019 Report)

Geophysical	Earthquake, Mass Movement, Volcanic Activity
Hydrological	Flood, Landslide, Wave Action
Meteorological	Storm, Extreme Temperature, Fog
Climatological	Drought, Glacial Lake Outburst, Wildfire
Biological	Animal Accident, Epidemic, Insect Infestation
Extra-terrestrial	Impact, Space Weather

Although not mentioned in the list, rise of sea level can also be a part of the climatological category. The second group of disaster-related IDP is development-led IDP. They are the people who are barely recognized by the global society as well as by the scholarly community. It is IDP caused by industrialization, a state's forceful development plans, or public work projects. IDP due to development are less appreciated because unlike climate change affecting globally and is a global crisis to solve, development projects happen in a particular city or a region which makes its scope of influence

[®] Please refer to Human Cost of Disasters 2000-2019 Report - UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, page 8 for more details.

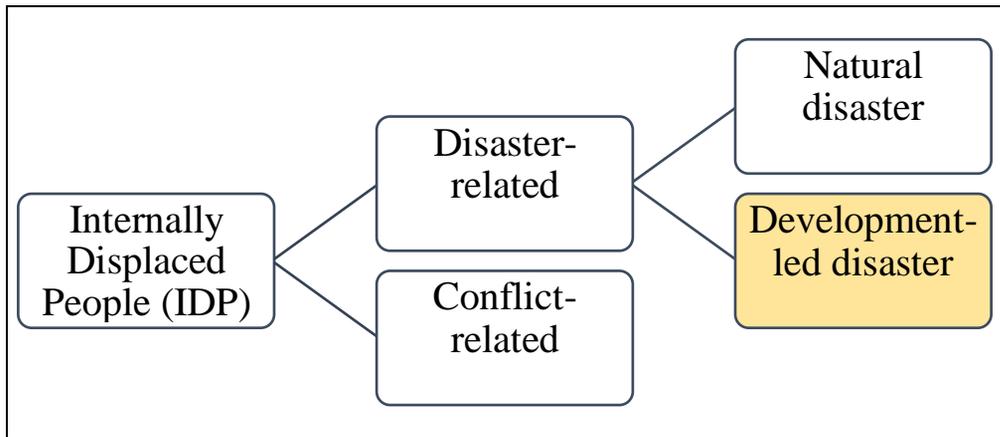
relatively small. Therefore, indifference from the outside makes them more vulnerable and marginalized.

To sum up, the paper will deal with the IDP, especially the disaster-led IDP. This is because conflict-related IDPs are relatively well revealed to the international society compared to the disaster-led IDP. For instance, provocative topics such as bloodshed, violence and war that are the causes of conflict-related IDP are easy to get on the news and catch international attention. **The paper will divide and define disaster-related IDP into two different sub-groups: Natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP.** Within the disaster-related IDP, the paper will focus on the development-led IDP since they receive less attention compared to the natural disaster IDP, despite its severity and massive violation of human rights. **After defining the two disaster-led IDP, the paper will provide case studies both for the natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP.** Lastly, **the paper will examine whether the human rights of disaster-led IDP in China are well protected by their own government, using the Human Rights-based Approach.**

II. Methodology

The below table helps to understand how the paper constructs the concept of the IDP, as mentioned in the introduction. The paper will focus more on the highlighted box, the development-led IDP.

Table 2. Category of IDPs



The research is using a Human Right-based Approach in dealing with the development-led IDP located in China. According to Social Protection-Human Rights^⑨, Human Rights-based Approach is a conceptual framework that bases on international human rights standards. It is directed to promote and protect human rights. The paper defines human rights based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. It is the equal and inalienable rights of all human beings providing the foundation for freedom, justice, and peace in the world (The United Nations, 1948, art. 21.3).^⑩ Not only that, but its main purpose is also to tackle the unjust practices that hinders human rights and to analyze obligations, vulnerabilities and inequalities occurring in the case study region (Introduction to a rights-based approach 2015). In this regard, the paper applies a Human Rights-based Approach to question

^⑨ Visit <https://socialprotection-humanrights.org> for more details about human-rights approach.

^⑩ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

whether the development-led IDP are sufficiently protected by their own government in terms of human rights perspective, and if not, analyze their vulnerabilities and inequalities. There are several criteria when evaluating based on a Human Rights-based Approach. For instance, UNFPA^① provided list of criteria in evaluating practices under a Human Rights-based Approach as follows when implementing a development cooperation and development programming by UN agencies:

Table 3: UNFPA list of criteria

Strategic partnerships are developed and sustained.	People are recognized as key actors in their own development, rather than passive recipients of commodities and services.	Participation is both a means and a goal.
Strategies are empowering, not disempowering.	Both outcomes and processes are monitored and evaluated.	Programmes focus on marginalized and excluded groups.
The development process is locally owned.	Programmes aim to reduce disparities and empower those left behind.	Situation analysis is used to identify immediate, underlying and root causes of development problems.
Analysis includes all stakeholders, including the capacities of the state as the main duty-bearer and the role of other non-state actors.	Human Rights standards guide the formulation of measurable goals, targets, and indicators in programming.	National accountability systems need to be strengthened with a view to ensure independent review of government performance and access to remedies for aggrieved individuals.

^① Presented by The Human Rights-based Approach to Development Cooperation

This paper bases its evaluation criteria for the Human Rights-based Approach from ‘The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation Towards a Common Understanding Among UN Agencies’, published by UNSDG. According to the article, when a programming and development cooperation implements a Human Rights-based Approach, the purpose of all activities should be the realization of one or multiple human rights and contribute directly. Human rights principles should intervene in all processes of programming, which includes assessment, analysis, programming planning, design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation.

The article states six human rights principles and explains as the following (p.2)^⑫:

1. **Universality and inalienability:** Human rights are universal and inalienable. All people everywhere in the world are entitled to them. The human person in whom they inhere cannot voluntarily give them up. Nor can others take them away from him or her. As stated in Article 1 of the UDHR “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”.
2. **Indivisibility:** Human rights are indivisible. Whether of a civil, cultural, economic, political or social nature, they are all inherent to the dignity of every human person. Consequently, they all have equal status as rights, and cannot be ranked, a priori, in a hierarchical order.
3. **Inter-dependence and inter-relatedness.** The realization of one right often depends, wholly or in part, upon the realization of others. For instance, realization of the right to health may depend, in certain circumstances, on realization of the right to education or of the right to information.
4. **Equality and Non-discrimination:** All individuals are equal as human beings and by virtue of the inherent dignity of each human person. All human beings are entitled to their human rights without discrimination of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, ethnicity, age, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, disability, property, birth or other status as explained by the human rights treaty bodies.
5. **Participation and inclusion:** Every person and all peoples are entitled to active, free and meaningful participation in, contribution to, and enjoyment of civil, economic, social,

^⑫ UNSDG ‘The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation Towards a Common Understanding Among UN Agencies’, Page 2.

cultural and political development in which human rights and fundamental freedoms can be realized.

6. Accountability and Rule of Law: States and other duty-bearers are answerable for the observance of human rights. In this regard, they have to comply with the legal norms and standards enshrined in human rights instruments. Where they fail to do so, aggrieved rights-holders are entitled to institute proceedings for appropriate redress before a competent court or other adjudicator in accordance with the rules and procedures provided by law.

The paper will first go through the case studies of each disaster-related IDP in various regions of China. Then, based on a Human Rights-based Approach, the paper will investigate whether the IDP in the case studies are properly protected and sufficiently compensated by their own government.

The scope of the case study of development-led disaster IDP is limited to China, or officially the People's Republic of China. The reason for choosing a country in Asia is that Asia is the fastest growing economic region and the largest continental economy both in terms of GDP nominal and PPP in the world. According to IMF, annual percent change of Real GDP Growth of the world is 6 percent, whereas Emerging and Developing Asia¹³ accounts for 8.6 percent. Since industrial development has been the key factor in the economic growth of countries like South Korea, China, India, Taiwan Province of China, there are deep correlation between economic growth and industrialization¹⁴. Not only that, China is the most populous country all around the world, which gives the possibility of massive destruction of livelihoods of residents in the region where the disaster occurred. Moreover, China is the most adequate country to

¹³ Emerging and Developing Asia countries include Bangladesh, Bhutan, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China, People's Republic of, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Kiribati, Lao P.D.R., Malaysia, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Fed. States of, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nauru, Nepal, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Vietnam
(https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDP_RPCH@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEOWORLD/DA)

¹⁴ Kniivilä, Matleena. (2007). Industrial development and economic growth: Implications for poverty reduction and income inequality.

conduct a study considering its sharp economic growth and rapid industrialization over the last few decades. China's economic growth and industrialization is noticeable within Asia, where China scores 8.4 percent, in the year 2021.¹⁵ The time period of the case studies will be limited between the 1970s and 2020. The reason why the starting year is set to the 1970s is that China's attempt for Chinese-style industrialization is said to be started from the year 1978 under the leader Deng Xiaoping, after Mao's death in 1976.

In this paper, 'the People's Republic of China' is also referred to as 'China'. The terminology 'Disaster' refers to natural disasters and development-led disasters in the paper. The paper has limitations in terms of the number of case studies. The paper provides one case study each for the natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP due to the time limitation. Also, due to the COVID-19 restriction, the author could not provide a field research data. Lastly, there was lack of resources translated in English or Korean regarding Chinese development construction and natural disaster rehabilitation plans. Many of the sources the paper referred to are from foreign media, non-Chinese scholarly papers, or very official Chinese government's announcements translated in English.

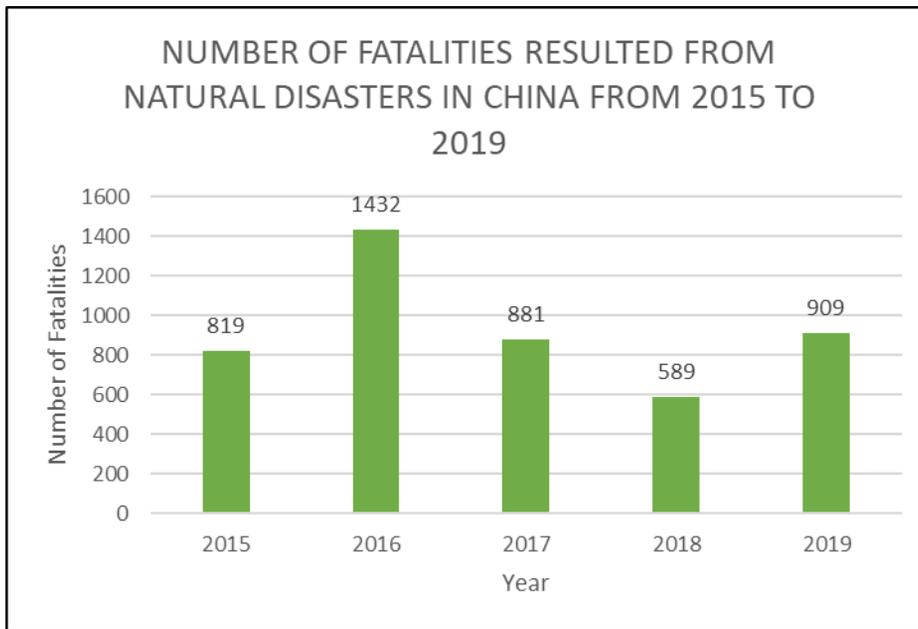
III. Disaster-related IDP in China: Natural disaster IDP

1. Natural disaster Case study: 2008 Sichuan Earthquake

A continent with a large territory, China has experienced countless natural disasters over the history. With its extensive territory, China is exposed to an array of natural disasters which include floods, earthquakes, desertification, typhoons, and forest fires. There were hundreds of fatalities resulting from natural disasters in China over the past decades, and the number skyrocketed when devastating natural disasters occurred in China.

¹⁵ IMF, Real GDP Growth

Figure 1. Natural disasters in China^{①⑥}



China’s one of the most frequently recalled natural disasters is the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake, also known as Wenchuan Earthquake. The 2008 Sichuan Earthquake resulted in 87,000 dead, 370,000 injured and 5 million homeless (Zheng et al., 2018). The UN Environment Programme (UNEP) reported that around 15 million people were evacuated and approximately 4.8 million people were forced to live in a temporary shelter.

As soon as the event occurred, the government of the Republic of China requested assistance from international organizations. UNEP engaged in a post-disaster recovery effort with its international experts and staff across organizations. With the UNEP being in the lead, UNEP and other organizations provided high-level expertise and management of the environmental impacts of the disaster. According to the ‘UNEP in China: Building Back Better’ publication, published by UNEP, UNEP focused on the

^{①⑥} The data is available at Statista, number of fatalities resulting from natural disasters in China from 2015 to 2019.

following areas for the fast and effective post-disaster recovery.

First is disaster waste management. UNEP worked together with China's Ministry of Environment Protection and developed a training package on disaster waste management. It educated workers by holding numerous workshops, guidance on the type of debris, its reusability, and the safety guidance when handling disaster waste. Second is handling asbestos. It is well-known that asbestos fibers can result in serious health impacts despite its wide range of usage all around the world. When natural disasters occur, asbestos can be damaged and broken. Broken asbestos can be regarded as a "hazardous waste" that requires cautious and professional handling. In the case of the Sichuan earthquake, UNEP conducted a "training of trainers" program of debris handling and educated hundreds of crushers who will be put into the site. Third is slope stabilization. UNEP deployed international experts for the post-disaster management in destroyed infrastructure and landscapes in Sichuan. Lastly, UNEP also focused on management of contaminated sites since Sichuan province is a place for China's one of the leading chemical industries. USEPA in collaboration with UNEP lead these efforts by implementing up-to-date methods to contaminated sites assessment and clean-up process.

With the Chinese government's quick action in the disaster, Sichuan earthquake's fast and professional post-recovery were made possible with acceptance of international communities' relief assistance and organizations with open attitude. The Chinese government actively engaged in arranging foreign expert's support and availed direct access to materials in need for disaster relief.

2. Chinese government's strong Center-controlled system in natural disaster relief

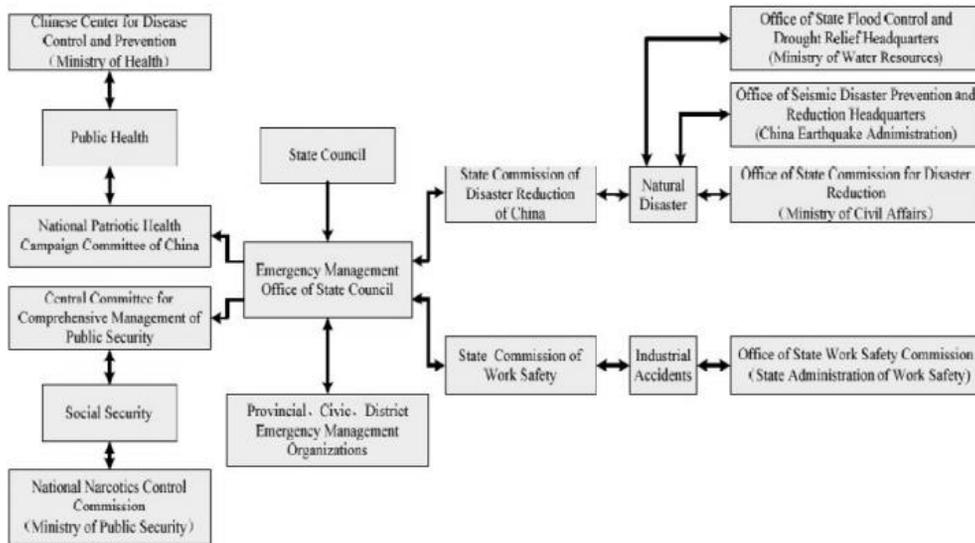
The Chinese government is actively putting efforts to advance its natural disaster control and disaster resistance systems. This is because natural disasters directly impact the social and economic development of China. According to Natural Disasters

and Disaster Relief Policy in China written by Y. Zeng and J. Mu,¹⁷ statistics show that there are on average 1000 deaths every year and economic loss of more than ten billion Chinese Yuan annually due to the natural disasters. The direct economic loss has reached 42 billion Chinese Yuan as of 2006.

China's strong central government structure is highly efficient in controlling the disaster relief pipelines and procedures. The leadership structure of China's disaster control is a very systematic and well-structured top-bottom approach. Governments at all levels lead the project, divisions under coordinate the procedures, the public actively participate, with the full use of armed forces. This center-controlled disaster control system was also shown during the Sichuan earthquake disaster relief activities. UNEP acknowledged the effectiveness and efficiency of Chinese centralized disaster management that were led by the State during the Sichuan recovery. This centralized method enabled adequate provisions to be professionally managed. Also, clear guidelines and innovative financial models developed by the government resulted in rapid pace reconstruction. With the lead of the national Emergency Management Office of the State Council, the disaster risk management in China work as follows:

¹⁷ Please refer to Zheng, Y. and J.Mu (2006), "Natural Disasters and Disaster Relief Policy in China", in OECD, Catastrophic Risks and Insurance, OECD Publishing, Paris. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264009950-21-en> for further details.

Figure 2. Disaster Risk Reduction Strategy of China (“One Office and Four Committees”) ¹⁸



Note. Disaster risk management in China is led by the Emergency Management Office of the State Council at the center and other subdivisions. From *Impacts of Natural Disasters and Disasters Risk Management in China: The Case of China’s Experience in the Wenchuan Earthquake* (Chapter 17, p.654), by Yi-Ming Wei et al., 2012.

Numerous international organizations such as UNEP, World Bank have praised the Chinese government’s speed and efficiency in mobilizing the government agencies, public sectors, private sectors, and the civil population at large. According to the World Bank that participated in the Sichuan reconstruction, around 41,130 projects were conducted with 99 percent of completion within two years for reconstruction and rehabilitation.¹⁹ The planning projects included urban layout optimization, reconstruction

¹⁸ Wei, Y.-M., J.-L. Jin and Q. Wang (2012), ‘Impacts of Natural Disasters and Disasters Risk Management in China: The Case of China’s Experience in Wenchuan Earthquake’, in Sawada, Y. and S. Oum (eds.), *Economic and Welfare Impacts of Disasters in East Asia and Policy Responses*. ERIA Research Project Report 2011-8, Jakarta: ERIA. pp.641-675.

¹⁹ Four years on: What China got right when rebuilding after the Sichuan earthquake. For more

of living facilities and rural production, establishment of health services for the injured people, provision of early warning systems, public facilities, and physiological support for the affected people. In addition, the Chinese government was not satisfied in returning the damaged region to its original stage but reconstructed it with modern equipment.

3. Evaluating natural disaster IDP of Sichuan Earthquake based on Human rights-based approach.

As mentioned in the methodology, the paper will use the six human rights principles stated in UNSDG ‘The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation Towards a Common Understanding Among UN Agencies’.

First criterion is ‘**Universality and Inalienability**’. To evaluate ‘Universality and Inalienability’, it is crucial to know whether IDP’s and suffering people’s human rights are secured. Their human rights should not be voluntarily given up nor forcefully taken away during the Sichuan earthquake reconstruction plans. The Chinese government effortlessly worked to protect the human rights of the IDP in Sichuan and tried to fulfill the basic human needs. For instance, the Chinese government recruited a massive amount of human power to reduce the suffering and inconvenience the victims faced. Such effort led to reduction in reconstruction and rehabilitation time. The Chinese government did not force the victims to give up their human rights for reconstruction. Instead, the Chinese government provided the necessities to sustain life from such an extreme disaster, such as food, clothing, shelter, medical service, etc. In a quick response, the central government mobilized over 130,000 PLA personnel and paramilitary police within 24 hours of the earthquake (Zhang et al. 2012). Also, seven mobile hospitals were built to temporarily host the wounded victims. Second criterion is ‘**Indivisibility**’. Victims were treated equally during the construction and rehabilitation process. Victims

details please see <https://blogs.worldbank.org>

were not taken care of in a hierarchical order when receiving the support. According to the Natural Disasters and Disasters Relief Policy in China²⁰, measures to be taken in the case of emergent natural disasters are strictly described in the Chinese government's protocol. For instance, the crucial measures to be taken by the Ministry of Civil Affairs include the followings (Y.Zheng, J.Mu, Natural disasters and disaster relief policy in China):

- *Gather, assess and understand the disaster situation in time, and provide the population with the necessary information on the disaster and relief works;*
- *Report to the corresponding agencies on the disaster situation as well as the progress of disaster relief works in time, and coordinate assistance measures to local areas to central government;*
- *dispatch special work groups in time to disaster areas to guide the relief works, supervise local authorities for better implementation of the public policy on disaster relief and to liaise between the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the afflicted local office;*
- *Distribute emergency relief fund and allocate relief supplies in time to support the local relief activities;*
- *Adequately organize public donation activities for disaster relief; if needed, mobilize the population to participate in relief works;*
- *Properly evacuate the victims and ensure their basic living, and guide local authorities to start reconstruction work in time*

As follows, Procedures and actions are strictly illustrated and indicated by the Chinese government, which makes little space for ranking one's human rights on top of the another. This also cover one of the six human rights principles, '**Equality and Non-discrimination**'. Since the disaster was caused naturally and unexpectedly, the relief actions did not possess discrimination against religion, race, politics, language, nationality, or other opinion. Next is '**Inter-dependence and Inter-relatedness**'. The

²⁰ Y.Zheng, J.Mu, *Natural disasters and disaster relief policy in China*

realization of one right often depends upon the realization of others. As mentioned, numerous international organizations participated in Sichuan Earthquake reconstruction projects and one of the participants UNICEF China published a report named SICHUAN EARTHQUAKE Two Year Report, in May 2010. The report clearly illustrates how the reconstruction projects encompassed various target areas, such as health, WES (Water, Environment, and Sanitation), PSY&CP (Psychosocial support and Child Protection), Education, HIV/AIDS, and shelter. Realization of health is inter-linked to HIV/AIDS, PSY&CP, WES, Education, vice versa. Since the projects/programmes held by international organizations were conducted under the approval of the Chinese government, it can be said that the Chinese government also acknowledged the inter-dependence and inter-relatedness of one's rights. Not only that, the Chinese government also simultaneously implemented various relief measures acknowledging the inter-relatedness of human rights. For instance, The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) deployed 215 medical personnel that includes epidemiologists and psychologists, which demonstrates that the Chinese government perceives the interconnectedness of right to life and right to health. Also, the Chinese government reconstructed schools as a priority to secure the right to education and the right to protection of children.

Figure 3. UNICEF Assistance in Sichuan Earthquake Zone: Target Areas²¹

UNICEF Assistance in Sichuan Earthquake Zone: Target Areas								
	PREFECTURE	COUNTY/CITY/DISTRICT	Health	WES	Psy & CP	Edu	HIV/AIDS	Shelter
Sichuan	Aba	Jiuzhaigou County (JZG)						
	Aba	Lixian County (LX)						
	Aba	Maoxian County (MX)						
	Aba	Wenchuan County (WC)						
	Aba	Xiaojin County (XJ)						
	Chengdu	Chongzhou City (CZ)						
	Chengdu	Dayi County (DY)						
	Chengdu	Dujiangyan City (DJY)						
	Chengdu	Pengzhou County (PZ)						
	Deyang	Mianzhu City (MZ)						
	Deyang	Shifang City (SF)						
	Guangyuan	Chaotian District (CT)						
	Guangyuan	Lizhou District (LZ)						
	Guangyuan	Qingchuan County (QC)						
	Guangyuan	Yuanba District (YB)						
	Liangshan	Huili County (HL)						
	Mianyang	Anxian County (AX)						
	Mianyang	Beichuan County (BC)						
	Mianyang	Jiangyou City (JY)						
	Mianyang	Pingwu County (PW)						
	Panzhihua	Panzhihua City District (PZH)						
	Panzhihua	Yanbian County (YB)						
	Ya'an	Lushan County (LS)						
	Ya'an	Tianquan County (TQ)						

²¹ (UNICEF China, *SICHUAN EARTHQUAKE TWO YEAR REPORT MAY 2010*)

Another principle is '**Participation and Inclusion**'. It is very difficult to guarantee every person's free and active participation under urgent situations. This is because preciseness and quickness are crucial elements in the relief work and reconstruction processes. Every individual's free and active participation may hinder this most crucial element of the relief and reconstruction process. Thus, considering the unique situation with urgency, active and free participation and inclusion can be limited and be partially controlled by the government or agencies. Finally, **Accountability and Rule of Law** is another significant principle. The principle states that the duty-bearers must comply with the legal norms and standards enshrined in human rights instruments. According to the Human Rights Watch, the Chinese government is doing poorly in compensating the surviving relatives during and after the Earthquake, opening to the public all information about earthquake-related casualties and damages, and putting extremely difficult conditions for unauthorized media who want to report the area. Number of parents who lost their children during the Earthquake have demanded an official list from the government of the victim's name and ages, completion of DNA testing, and investigation over the school buildings' shabby construction. However, no courts have accepted the cases. The parents who alleged for the investigation and tried to bring into the lawsuit were harassed, threatened, detained, or even physically punched by the security forces. There is no official reason why the Chinese government is not revealing the data and list of the victims of the children. However, many suspects that the Chinese government is afraid to reveal a disproportionate percentage among the students, and the rising need from the public for accountability. According to the Human Rights Watch, individuals who raised or tried to investigate the possible causes of school collapses were arrested or sentenced to serve in a labor camp. Those individuals were charged with "possessing state secrets", "disseminating rumors and disrupting social order", or "suspicion of subversion". Not only that, unlike the first couple of months when the Chinese government were relatively praised by allowing foreign media unrestricted access to the disaster zone, after a year many of the foreign media were facing extremely strict regulations to get access. On April 2, 2009, the Sichuan provincial government announced that a permission from local authorities is needed when accessing

and reporting the disaster zone. Also, interviewing with the victims was strictly observed and even disturbed by the officials.²²

4. Conclusion: “Good Advancement, But Long Way to Go”

It is undoubtful to say that the Chinese government accepted foreign aids and foreign press relatively unrestricted right after the devastating Sichuan Earthquake. This is certainly a big advancement for China in the respect of protecting the human rights of the victims. With international organizations and foreign aids’ involvement, many of the reconstruction and rehabilitation projects/programmes strived to protect the human rights of the victims, based on decades of know-how they piled up all around the globe. However, unlike the initial moves, it controlled foreign media as the time went and did not disclose information transparently. Victims who requested transparency of the information were violently punished, detained, and were sent to a labor camp. Many actions that do not comply with the human rights protection guidelines and ‘The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation Towards a Common Understanding Among UN Agencies’ began to appear in the Sichuan area. Of course, those violations were not reported in the domestic media, and it was also difficult for foreign media and organizations to grasp the status of such human rights violations, since the Chinese government began to strictly control foreign involvements. Considering the conflicting attitudes the Chinese government possessed, under the evaluation of human rights- based approach for the Sichuan Earthquake 2008, it can be described as a “good advancement, but a long way to go.”

²² (*China: End quake zone abuses* 2020). Please visit the website to see details of the people who were targeted by the state security forces under various charges. Many of them are intellectuals including a teacher, literary editor and environmentalist, a university professor, human rights activist, etc.

IV. Disaster-related IDPs in China: Development-led IDP.

1. Development-led IDP Case study: Three Gorges Dam construction (1994-2006) and the IDPs.

Construction of the Three Gorges Dam was a massive project that launched in 1994 and completed in 2006. It is also renowned as one of the world's biggest hydropower complex projects. The dam is located in Yangtze River, Hubei Province, China. According to Science.org, the dam is expected to generate 84.7 billion kilowatt-hours per year of electricity, which equals its amount to 50 million tons of coal burnt. The main justification for constructing this enormous dam is flood control, besides electricity generation. The dam is designed to prevent floods that have plagued the regions in the past. According to the Chinadaily, Three Gorges Dam has impressively prevented floods from Jingjiang River. In 2020, Chinadaily states that the Dam fulfilled its responsibility by restricting the water discharge at 19,000 cubic meters per second even though there was an inflow of 30,000 to 50,000 cubic meters per second in the reservoir.²³ In the article, it specifically states that China lags in the construction of reservoirs and dams when compared to other developing countries. It provided an example of US Hoover Dam, mentioning that Three Gorges Dam only handles 5 percent of the total volume of US Hoover Dam. The article also argues that China needs much more improvements in its flood control, and it is compelling to "weigh the option of sacrificing some parts to save the whole during floods" (孙晓宇, *Three gorges dam has great potential to control floods*). In fact, there was and is still an ongoing strong controversy over the construction of Three Gorges Dam. The most serious problem construction of Three Gorges Dam already yielded is creating displacement of some 1.3 million people who used to live in the area that are affected, damaged, vanished, or submerged by the Three Gorges Dam Project. Another significant problem is the potential of collapse of the dam, which will lead to countless casualties. Last but not

²³ (孙晓宇, *Three gorges dam has great potential to control floods*).
<https://global.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202008/12/WS5f332ae8a31083481725fb28.html>

least, many of the magnificent scenery and historical sites were destroyed and submerged due to the dam construction. Beijing Institute of Civil Engineering and Architecture has been involved in saving the historical sites and architectures, but only the most valued sites have been moved or rebuilt and others were dumped away. For instance, the ancient village of Dachang had been reconstructed in the uphill and created as a theme park, and residents no-longer reside in the village. Another famous Zhang Fei Temple was moved upstream to keep it from submerge, and Taoist Temple has been destroyed ahead of the rising rivers (Kuhn, Three Gorges history drowning in Rising reservoir 2008).

2. China's 'Development Resettlement' Policy on Three Gorges Dam construction.

As mentioned earlier, there said to be 1.3 million people, or even more some experts say, being relocated due to the construction of the Three Gorges Dam. "Maintaining social stability during economic development" has been guided by the central government as an overriding principle in China. To control social risks and maintain social stability, a top-down administrative hierarchical approach was implemented in many of the massive country-led constructions. In the case of the Three Gorges Dam construction, displacement procedures and policies were guided by China's 'Developmental Resettlement' policy. The main purpose of the policy is to maintain or enhance the quality of life of the resettled people. At the early stage when the Three Gorges Dam project was discussed, the resettlement policy was not so complex. The policy emphasized on opening non-village areas and resettling the people to upper land. However, as the project planning became more realistic and sophisticated, the government acknowledged the significant and pervasive impact it will affect in greater range. Deforestation to secure the construction site led to frequent flooding and affected the nearby villages. Deforestation issue and erosion/flooding issue resulted in massive revision on 'Developmental Resettlement' policy for the Three Gorges Dam project. Unlike the initial plan when the resettlement was mainly in a nearby area, the resettlement regions became more distant. In the end, the Chinese government required 11 provinces to receive displaced people from the Three Gorges region. While some residents remained near the Three Gorges Dam (also called "stayers"), a massive number

of people moved outside of their own county. Most well-known displacement regions among the 11 provinces are Shanghai and Guangdong. According to the Changjiang Water Resources Commission, the rural population represents 40 percent of the total resettlement population resulting from the Three Gorges Dam construction. However, it stated that those people receive less than 20 percent of the resettlement investment from the government.

The relocation, or resettlement, programmes are involved in three different ways- Settling people in nearby areas, in moving them far away, or in settling rural migrants in urban industrial enterprises (Heming, Li & Rees, Philip, 2000). Although the resettled place is different among the three groups, all of them are facing challenges. For the people who settled nearby in the upper region above the reservoir, they are facing a strong people/land relationship on higher ground. For those who moved far away, they found difficulties in rebuilding production systems and adapting to a new social setting outside of where they lived for their entire life. Rural migrants who moved into urban industrial enterprises also faced the challenge of increasing unemployment rate in urban China. According to surveys and interviews conducted by Li Heming and Philip Rees, it revealed that many of the relocatees faced the risk of impoverishment due to the lack of financial and economic support from the government and sources to replenish, environmental constraints on resettlement capacity, and lack of management of the operations.²⁴ The found difficulty in finding more data on the quality of life of the relocated people, but since matter is deemed sensitive by the Chinese government, most of the statistical data was not available, at least to foreigners. Thus, the limitation of the paper is that the paper only used already-published reports and journals, which may have been censored by the Chinese government.

3. Resettlement Support from the Chinese Government.

²⁴ Population Displacement in the Three Gorges Reservoir Area of the Yangtze River, Central China: Relocation Policies and Migrant Views, written by Li Heming and Philip Rees, School of Geography, University of Leeds.

What kind of support was given to the migrated people in each 11 provinces varies region-by-region, age-by-age, occupation-by-occupation. For instance, Chongming is one of the provinces that accepted hundreds of relocated people. Chongming is a small Northernmost district island of Shanghai. Florence Padovani conducted a research on ten villages where migrants from the Three Gorges Dam were resettled. According to his research²⁵, Chongming was promoted by the Chinese government as one of the most charming cities and a city with full potential since it is governed by Shanghai, the economic capital of China. For those resettled in Chongming, each holder of a Hukou²⁶ will benefit from a 1/5th of a hectare of land. Resettled population in Chongming will not be migrated more than three kilometres from a school or clinic. residence will be a uniformed, single-storey house with a size difference regarding the number of a household. The government also provided various supports for the younger generations, including the first two years free school tuition fee. Private cement roads were connected to each household, which were not common in their original county. Most importantly, displaced people from the Three Gorges Dam will benefit from free medical services up to 5,000 yuan, and retired people will gain the same pension as the original residents of Chongming. The article states that although the aid from the government does not cover all aspects of the hardship the displaced people are facing, this is at least a considerable improvement since in most of the countryside medical costs are a huge burden. However, the greater problem comes when the migrants are all resettled and initial financial support is all received. After the so-called “the file is closed, and the operation finished” period, the resettled population face a massive unemployment issue in China. Many of the experts conclude that the Chinese “resettlement with development” policy was implemented with good intentions, and this made international support such as the World Bank to appraise the policy to be a model for the developing countries in implementing development projects. Unlike any other development projects conducted by the Chinese government, “resettlement with development” policy that was implemented in the Three Gorges Dam made a good

²⁵ PADOVANI Florence, Displacement from the Three Gorges Dam- A discreet arrival in the economic capital of China

²⁶ Governmental household system. It means that only the adults will benefit the land.

balance between the infrastructural development and individual rights of the residents. According to Wilmsen's analysis on resettlers' livelihoods of the Three Gorges Dam, for the first five years the livelihoods of resettlers seemed to be unsatisfactory and decline in income was shown. Another study also indicates that according to several studies conducted between 1990s and early 2000s, many of the displaced people were found to have higher poverty levels than they were in their hometown²⁷. However, eight years on from the original survey, the study found that income inequality has declined, food security is more stable and wellbeing of the resettlers improved on 2003 levels²⁸. However, as the World Bank indicates that a good resettlement policy is to provide relocatees better off than they were before, making resettlers' life about the same level is not enough. Of course, material wealth should not be the only criteria to evaluate the livelihoods of the displaced people. Research²⁹ revealed that many of the resettlers felt isolation, loss of social networks, and linguistic barriers due to local dialects, and other negative psychological problems. The study compared displaced people's trauma to that of international refugees, as both are suffering loss of home, forceful adjustment to unfamiliar life, and therefore exposed to chronic stress. The study concludes that both considering the physiological and physical conditions taken into account, the Three Gorges Dam project imposed a negative impact on thousands of resettlers.

4. 2020 Three Gorges Dam crisis

In July 2020, Three Gorges Dam was on the verge of collapse due to the worst flood in China, as well as many other countries in Asia. The water level of the Three Gorges Dam was only eleven meters away from its highest water level capacity. Floods that began from June in Southern China have continued for more than a month, leading to the dangerous level of the dam's maximum water level. Concerns grew that the 1998 nightmare could happen again if the Three Gorges Dam collapses due to the continuous

²⁷ Chun Yin Anson Chang, Zhangyang Gao, Amanda Kaminsky, and Tony G.Reams. Michigan Sustainability Case: Revisiting the Three Gorges Dam: Should China Continue To Build Dams on the Yangtze River?

²⁸ Wilmsen, Brooke. After the Deluge: A longitudinal study of resettlement at the Three Gorges Dam, China.

²⁹ Same research as footnote 27.

heavy rain and floods. In 1998 near the Yangtze River there was a massive flood, resulting in 220,000,000 displaced people and 4000 casualties. Eleven outlets of the dam were opened due to the continuous heavy rain, aiming to discharge 49.2m liters of water per second. This is considered as the largest release since the Three Gorges Dam was first operated. Although Chinese government and officials continuously showed themselves in the media promising the security of the Three Gorges Dam and its safety, many residents living nearby the dam stayed up at night with fear of the collapse of the dam. In fact, paradoxical to what the officials insisted, officials in the city of Chongqing, which is in the upstream of the Three Gorges Dam, evacuated around 300,000 residents before severe flooding. In Chongqing, 260,000 people were affected by the flooding and 20,000 businesses were damaged, according to the officials.³⁰ Last year's incident clearly showed that the construction of the Three Gorges Dam was not effective in managing flood control, when such a record-breaking heavy rain continues over months. In fact, it showed potential extreme danger that when the rainfall exceeds the maximum capacity of the Three Gorge Dam and inundates, it will result in an irrevocable situation. There would have been thousands of millions of displaced people with massive casualties.

According to the Reuters, the Chinese government is relocating tens of thousands of people under the threat of landslides near the Three Gorges Dam (Wee,2012). What is worse is that many of those relocated people were already relocated a couple of years ago, when the Three Gorges Dam was under construction and when the government forced the nearby residents to move out. Around 120,000 people will be displaced due to geological risks of the regions, including the residents of Huangtupo. According to Wee, Ministry of Land and Resources officials stated in April 2012 that the “number of geological hazards had risen 70 percent since water levels in the reservoir reached a maximum of 175 meters”.³¹ The government built a new town called Shennongxi for the displaced people of Huangtupo. The residents of Huangtupo had no

³⁰ The Guardian, “Anxiety grows as China’s Three Gorges dam hits highest level”.

³¹ Although the officials did not receive further questions to elaborate what “geological hazards” he refers to, many expect it to be referring to landslides.

choice but to move, otherwise they would get no support nor care from the government.³² To sum, although they were already forcefully displaced under the snow job of the Chinese government, they are once again forced to be moved.

5. Evaluating Development-led IDP of Three Gorges Dam Construction on Human Rights-based Approach.

As it is done in natural disaster IDP, the paper will examine whether the human rights of the development-led IDP were protected by the government when implementing the development project. Adopting the same methodology, it will use the human rights-based approach with the six measuring criteria.

First is the **Universality and inalienability**. Unlike the IDP caused by natural disasters, IDP triggered by country-driven development is a forceful displacement from and by the government. In the case of natural disasters, the government may request or order residents to evacuate the place where natural disaster occurred. This is not considered as the government violating the human rights of the displaced people, since the government is requesting the evacuation while prioritizing the human rights of the residents. If a certain kind of forceful act is not conducted by the government, some residents will be left behind in the dangerous site. This can rather be considered as negligence of their people and human rights. Those people had no choice but to evacuate to protect their lives, to secure their human rights. On the other hand, in most of the cases development-led disaster refugees have no problem in their hometown. The problem arises when the government implements a development project, which significantly hampers the residents to continue their livelihood in the affected region. The priority for the government in implementing the project is not guaranteeing the quality of life of the displaced people. The government's priority is how well the project is completed, and thus how well the nation can make economic growth and profit from it. Thus, many

³² Shuai, one of the displaced persons and a resident of Huangtupo, was moved to new town Shennongxi under the government's request. She states that she was told by the government if you do not move, we will not care about you. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-threegorges-idUSBRE87L0ZW20120822>

times human rights of the displaced people are ignored, or even demand a sacrifice for the development of a country. The Three Gorges Dam project showed a very similar situation. Shuai Linxiang, a 57-year-old woman among one of the 2.1 million forcefully displaced people, was interviewed saying “If the government says you have to move, you move,” and added “we cannot oppose them”.³³ In addition, Three Gorges Dam officials defend the facility despite its existing and potential danger by saying that the dam brought development to an otherwise poor area. As mentioned earlier, some residents were threatened by the government that if they show hesitation to move, that they will get no support nor care from the government if they do not move to their hometown. If they reject the relocation, the resident will receive a warning from the government. In a Belgian documentary, the displaced people insisted that they will not move, but will eventually have to because they will be forced. To conclude, the criteria Universality and inalienability of human rights is not guaranteed in the case of displaced people resulting from development or development-led disasters.

Second criterion is **Indivisibility**. This criterion can be linked as an extension of the first criteria. As mentioned previously, the Chinese government did not prioritize human rights over civil, cultural, economic, political, or social nature. In fact, the Chinese government deprioritized the human rights of the residents living near the Three Gorges Dam by forcefully making them relocate, for the sake of economic development. However, the human rights principles clearly indicate that all humans cannot be ranked in a hierarchical order. The displaced people’s rights were ranked below the economic growth by the Chinese government. Displaced people’s sacrifices were demanded by the government under the name of patriotism. In fact, some experts who signed the final report for the Three Gorges Dam construction admitted that there were pressures from the authorities to approve the project. An expert recalled that he was told to “keep the overall interest of the country in mind and accept the organizational arrangements”.³⁴

³³ Reuters article, written by Sui-Lee Wee: Thousands being moved from China’s Three Gorges-again.

³⁴ Chun Yin Anson Chang, Zhangyang Gao, Amanda Kaminsky, and Tony G. Reames. Sustainability. Oct 2018. 204-215.

Third is the **Inter-dependence and Inter-relatedness**. The Chinese government superficially does seem to realize the rights of the displaced people. As mentioned previously, the Chinese government did provide compensations for the displaced, as well as provide free education for a certain amount of period for the children of the displaced people. Realization of the right to health allowed the Chinese government to provide support in health care for the displaced people. However, some displaced people think the measure is very limited and temporary, and they are concerned after the supporting period is finished. Moreover, realization of the right to information was not made in the case of Three Gorges Dam projects. Most of the displaced people were over their 50s and had very limited knowledge of the internet. Thus, they lack the opportunity to gain knowledge of the project that they will be directly affected by. Most of the information they receive are from the officials who visit the site, who will mostly likely promote the project positively and less advertise the negative side of the project. Human Rights Watch/Asia urged the Chinese government to provide full access to information about the resettlement program Chinese governments will implement, and let all parties to freely express their opinions by having multiple consultations and meetings.³⁵

Next is **Equality and Non-discrimination**. There is no reported cases or articles disclosing that there was a discrimination towards the people who are being displaced, due to their gender, religion, ethnicity, race, color, language, disability, property, etc. However, there was clearly a discrimination towards the people who refused to relocate and abandon their village. The officials told to-be-displaced people that if they do not relocate, they will receive a warning from the government, which makes them fear of not relocating. In other words, the officials stated that there will be a disadvantage towards those who refuse to move out of their village, which is a clear discrimination towards them.

Participation and Inclusion is also another important criterion in human

³⁵ Human Rights Watch. The Three Gorges Dam in China: Forced Resettlement, Suppression of Dissent and Labor Rights Concerns (1995)

rights-based approach. As revealed in multiple research and articles, participation and inclusion of the indigenous people near the Three Gorges Dam was barely done by the officials. In fact, the officials hindered the participation of the locals to accelerate the launch of the construction. According to ‘Public Participation in Infrastructure and Construction Projects in China: From an EIA-based to a Whole-cycle Process’ written by Terry H.Y.Li et.al, current level of participation and inclusion is extremely limited in regards to public infrastructure projects in China.³⁶ Public participation is a crucial process especially in the early stage of the project cycle, because it provides an active voice to the decision-makers and helps establish the most appropriate measure that satisfies the broad interest of the society. However, public participation in China is still in its infant stage and most of the public infrastructure and construction projects are implemented under the strict top-down manner. In addition, Chinese government is strictly restricting the international assistance in the Three Gorges Dam’s massive resettlement process. The Chongqing municipal government prohibited any ‘individual’ research to be conducted in the Three Gorges area.

Last but not least, is **Accountability and Rule of Law**. It is undeniable to say that Chinese officials are trying to strengthen the legal system gradually. In fact, new laws dealing with the resettlement are appearing constantly. Legal issues are particularly important in the Three Gorges Dam construction, since the scale is massive, extensive, and includes 1.2 million of displacements. Moreover, rule of law in other words refers to freedom of speech and the media. People should not fear to criticize the actions taken by the government, and to publicly confront the government if needed. “Rule by man than rule by law” is an often-invoked phrase referring to Chinese political discourse in the past and the present. Regarding the Three Gorges Dam construction, there are multiple cases where rule of man was predominated. For instance, many of the officials or scholars who criticized the construction and confronted the government were being passed over for promotion, pressure on early retirement, impacting their professional and

³⁶ Terry H.Y.Li et.al (2012). Public Participation in Infrastructure and Construction Projects in China: From an EIA-based to a Whole-cycle Process.

personal lives.³⁷ In terms of protest, since the Three Gorges Dam construction grabbed international attention boasting the Chinese engineering prowess, Chinese government is putting hard intervention and censoring when protests occur for the Three Gorges Dam project. It is very difficult to be visible for the foreign media, and very difficult to follow (Qing, 2011; Guo,2010). In 2001, Human Rights Watch reported that four farmers were being arrested by the officials for protesting the Three Gorges Dam resettlement.³⁸ In addition, according to Probe International, a Beijing resident Ren XingHui filed a formal request for special electricity charges and other sources of financing from three key government departments that oversee the Three Gorges Dam construction. The three departments include the Ministry of Finance, the Three Gorges Project Committee Executive under the State Council, and the China Three Gorges Corporation.³⁹ Mr. Ren's request for transparent information comes from Article one of the regulations, which came into force on May 1,2008. The article states that the purpose of the article is to “ensure that citizens, legal persons and other organizations obtain government information in accordance with the law, enhance transparency of the work of government, promote administration in accordance with the law, and bring into full play the role of government information in serving the people's production and livelihood and their economic and social activities”.⁴⁰ However, the Ministry of Finance rejected Ren's application saying that the revenue and the expenditure of the Fund in 2008 was already available on the website of the Ministry. However, this information disclosure made by the Ministry of Finance is extremely limited since it does not disclose other years except 2008. Also, the Beijing court rejected Three Gorges lawsuit filed by Ren Xinghui.

6. Conclusion: Need for Human Rights Protection for Development-led IDP.

³⁷ (Heggelund, *The Three Gorges Project Resettlement Policy Change: Implementation Challenges* 2017)

³⁸ Climate Diplomacy- Three Gorges Dam Conflict in China. <https://climate-diplomacy.org/case-studies/three-gorges-dam-conflict-china>

³⁹ Rule of law meets the Three Gorges dam by Other News Source. To see details please visit <https://journal.probeinternational.org/2010/01/27/rule-law-meets-three-gorges-dam/>

⁴⁰ For more information, visit Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Open Government Information, translated by the Yale Law School

To Conclude, it can be summarized that the displaced people due to the Three Gorges Dam constructions are far less protected and guaranteed their human rights from the government. According to the analysis, the IDP’s universality and inalienability, indivisibility, inter-dependence and inter-relatedness, equality and non-discrimination, participation and inclusion, and accountability and rule of law. It was extremely difficult to find interviews conducted from the foreign media due to severe surveillance from the Chinese government, and there were no filed lawsuit cases from the displaced people to the Chinese government, despite the sufferings 1.2 million of IDP had to face.

V. Development-led IDP are Under Blind Spot of Human Rights

The paper examined two case studies to evaluate the natural-disaster IDP and development-led IDP under human rights-based approach. A case study for natural-disaster IDP was the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. A case study for development-led IDP was the Three Gorges Dam construction. Evaluating the two case studies based on the six criteria of human rights principles, the results are as the following:

Table 4. Human Rights evaluation sheet for two types of IDP

Principle	Natural disaster IDP		Development-led IDP	
	Protected	Not Protected	Protected	Not Protected
Universality and inalienability	✓			✓
Indivisibility	✓			✓
Inter-dependence and inter-relatedness	✓			✓

Equality and Non-discrimination:	✓			✓
Participation and inclusion		✓		✓
Accountability and Rule of Law		✓		✓

Based on the research on the two case studies, it clearly showed that the natural disaster IDP's human rights are relatively well protected compared to the development-led IDP. This is because unlike the natural disasters where Chinese government allowed foreign intervention and support for disaster relief projects, Chinese government strictly controlled and put heavy pressure on foreign media and individual research on public construction projects. The main reason why the development IDP's human rights are less protected is because the country leads them to migrate. It is extremely difficult for international organizations to engage in to protect the human rights, since the project is led by the government and the government is reluctant to have foreign intervention. Although the Chinese government do provide a certain amount of compensation, the compensation is not continuous and satisfactory because the displacement has already been achieved on Chinese side.

The paper concludes that there needs significant increase in the protection of human rights for natural disaster IDP and development-led IDP in China. Especially for the development-led IDP, none of the criteria were met provided by UNSDG on 'The Human Rights Based Approach to Development Cooperation Towards a Common Understanding Among UN Agencies'.

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요약

의심할 여지 없이, 기후 변화는 우리 시대의 결정적인 위기 중 하나이다. 기후 변화로 인한 재난을 포함하여 수억 명의 사람들이 자연 재해로 인해 이주를 강요받는다. 세계은행에 의하면 만약 전 세계적으로 시행되는 조기적이고 일치된 기후 개발 조치가 없다면 기후 변화의 영향으로 2050년까지 2억 1천 6백만 명의 사람들이 이주 할 것이라고 예측한다. 수천 개의 보고서와 분석이 모두 동일한 결론을 내리고 있다. 기후 변화는 돌이킬 수 없으며; 수백만 명의 사람들이 이주당하고 있고 미래에 더 많은 사람들이 이주될 것이며; 우리 자신을 보호하기 위해 관련 조치가 시급하다. 이런 맥락에서 본 논문은 특히 자연재해와 개발 주도의 재해로 인해 내부적으로 실향민이 된 이들에 초점을 맞추고 있다. 이른바 자연재해 실향민, 개발 주도 실향민이다. 이 논문은 자연재해와 개발 주도의 재해로 인한 실향민들의 인권 보호 실태와, 그들의 인권이 보호 받지 못하는 이유에 대해 분석할 것이다. 이 논문은 6가지 기준에 기초하여 실향민의 인권이 정부에 의해 보호되고 있는지 여부를 평가하기 위해 인권 기반 접근법을 사용한다. 자연재해 실향민과 개발 주도의 실향민에 대해 각각 하나씩, 총 두 가지 사례 연구가 제공될 것이다. 사례 연구 지역은 중화인민공화국에 국한되어 있다. 이 논문은 각 사례를 분석해 자연재해 실향민과 개발 주도 실향민 모두 중국 정부의 인권 보호를 받지 못하고 있으며, 특히 개발주도의 실향민의 인권은 여러 가지 이유로 인해 중국 정부에 의해 심각

하게 침해되고 있다는 결론을 내리고 있다.