POLICY OPTIONS FOR THE RESOLUTION OF INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENTS INDUCED BY HYDROELECTRICITY PROJECTS IN THE CONTEXT OF URBANIZATION IN CHINA—A CASE FROM LONGTAN RESERVOIR¹⁾

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Abstract: Involuntary resettlements induced by hydroelectricity projects (IRHP) are deeply affected by rapid urbanization in China. Therefore, the issue should be analyzed, resolved in the context of urbanization. The metropolitan area of east China should be one of the major bases for resettlements. There is possibility to displace these people out, no matter whether it is because of the ecological condition and social-economic development in emmigration areas ("push" side), or it is because of the demand for labors in the metropolitan area of east China ("pull" side). Through the case of Longtan Reservoir, a package of welfare policies and a fiscal budget in the extreme condition (permanent urban resettlement for all agricultural resettlers) are provided to show that permanent resettlement in the context of urbanization is also sufficient. The package of welfare is made of social security, 9-year financial aid for child's education, and low renting housing system. Based on the analysis, some issues are further discussed: the way of non-agricultural resettlement for agricultural resettlers, threshold for admission to obtain urban identification (Hukou) and welfare package, professional and employment training for resettlers, and shifts from two different resettlement ways (non-agricultural and agricultural).

Keywords: urbanization, resettlements hydroelcetricity projects, Longtan Reservoir, welfare policies

I. INTRODUCTION

In China, the strong trend of urbanization will promote the rapid development of hydro-projects in the coming decades, from which new displaced people result. Therefore, the IRHP should be identified, analyzed, and resolved in the context of urbanization. The pattern of urbanization is deeply influenced by globalization. Population shift, to the large extent, depends on the development patterns of urban and non-agricultural sectors. Usually, the cost of labor shifts from central and west China to the east is relatively lower than that of infrastructural improvement for investment in the inland and capital shift from the adverse direction. Therefore, it is unavoidable that space reorganization of cities, industries, and labors shows the trend of convergence in the coast and metropolitan areas, which will cause a large scale of population migration. Following this trend, the coastal and metropolitan areas should be treated as one of major bases for resettling the displaced people induced by hydroelectricity projects according to the pattern of urbanization because these displaced people are mainly induced in central and west China.

The success of the resettlement strategy depends on two sides. One is the pull side—whether resettlement sites are able to provide enough opportunities for displaced people. The other is the push side-whether the displaced can obtain enough compensation and supports to move to and live in sites which they want to. This paper, firstly, summarizes the research on resettlement of and compensation for displaced population induced by hydroelectricity projects, then, tries to link two sides through providing a welfare policy package, and gives a fiscal budget in the extreme condition (permanent urban resettlement for all agricultural resettlers) for the full resolution in the context of urbanization through Longtan Reservoir in south-central China. The final part is the further discussion for some relevant issues such as resettlement for agricultural non-agricultural

resettlers, threshold for admission to obtain urban identification (Hukou) and low renting housing system, professional and employment training for resettlers, and shifts from two different resettlement ways (non-agricultural and agricultural). The main point of this paper is that non-agricultural resettlement should be considered as an important way to relocate agricultural resettlers, the coastal and metropolitan areas should be treated as one of major bases for resettlement, and finance is not a barrier of this way.

II. RESETTLEMENT OF AND COMPENSATION FOR THE DISPLACED POPULATION INDUCED BY HYDROELECTRICITY PROJECTS IN CHINA

Among involuntary resettlement in hydro-projects in China, resettlement for agricultural resettelers is most difficult and complicated. For example, displaced agricultural population accounts for more than 40% of the total in the Three Gorges Dam Project. It is difficult to settle all these displaced people nearby the reservior only relying on the local land resources because the natural environment underlying the cultivated land is fragile in the area. Therefore, the Chinese government adopts various resettlement ways. These ways include local reintegration (local-up resettlement nearby reservoirs), moving-out organized by governments or living with their own and self-employment, relatives friends. non-agricultural resettlements, and social welfare safeguard. The government encourages and guides displaced population to settle in appropriate areas far away from the Three Gorges area. These resettlement arrangements mean some forces to "push" these displaced people out. Even the local reintegrated people and indigenous people affected by these settlers, though they can develop ecological agriculture and circular economy, should have rights and opportunities to move out because the population pressure on land is over capacity.

From resettlement experience in hydro-projects, most labors out for employment among these displaced population choose to go back to hometown in their final intention. In the field survey of Longtan Reservoir, for example, two thirds of those people want to go back hometown, 28 percent stay in county cities and small towns, only less than 5 percent reside in large and medium cities. These results show that the real or expected incomes of only 33 percent displaced peasants out for employment have achieved the income level at which they can permanently live in cities. The rest go out just for increasing incomes to build new houses in their hometowns, pay tuition for their children, and improve their livelihood. The survey further shows that lack of enough money to buy apartments is the paramount factor affecting these people living in cities on the pull side. Almost half choose this option. Too high relevant cost such as moving and charges from different agencies is the second one. The third is unemployment. Difficulties in child's education and obtaining city identification (Hukou) have influences to some extent. On the push side, the survey shows that, as for the way dealing with contracted field, 77 percent choose self-cultivation or cultivated by relatives and friends, 8 percent desert land, and only 13 percent choose to lease their land to others.

The explanation to the above is that cities are unable to provide basic social welfare system for the floating population to reside, work, and educate. Therefore, a positive cycle mechanism cannot be established for the migrants gradually, then eventually permanent away from the rural to cities. It is because this "permanent migration mechanism" is unable to be triggered that agricutural migrants working in cities cannot fully give up their contracted field to avoid unemployment risks in the future, even though they never want to return to the countryside for farming (Zhang, 2008). The key to solve the problem is to establish an effective financing platform in cities. The platform is able to provide basic social safeguard and appropriate services for migrants in livelihood and child's education. Therefore, migrants can voluntarily give up their land and permanently stay in cities. moving, Asset compensation, resettlement, restoration in livelihood and production, partnership supporting programs and assistance of post-projects for displaced population induced by hydro-projects are able to provide possibilities to solve financing problems in urban resettlement for agricultural resettlers.

Different from other developing countries, China established a legal framework and a variety of regulations to support involuntary resettlement some decades ago. According to the previous research, developmental resettlement means that displaced population should treat their resettlement as development opportunities to improve their livelihood and production condition. The basic framework of developmental resettlement policies is made of the following aspects: 1) the core is the improvement of production conditions and incomes restoration for the displaced; 2) the economic foundation is relocation compensation; 3) the main content is the planning of population resettlement and its implementation for linking resettlement and economic development in reservoir area; 4) the social foundation is relocatee's participation; 5) reorganization foundation is the sound management system to implement developmental resettlement policies; 6) supporting system is the construction funding, post-project assistant measurements, preferential and coordinated cooperation policies; 7) the final aim is the improvement of living standard

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for relocatee, social coordination, and environment protection (Duan, 2005).

Because the resettlement compensation is the economic foundation for the developmental resettlement policy, the just and reasonable compensation mechanism is the pivotal to the policy. Unfortunately, what the current mechanism embodies is the governmental coercive power of expropriation of land. The cost of expropriation of land is compensatory, rather than equally negotiated between the government and lost land peasants, and the benfits of the latter are not protected enough. Compensatory scope only covers direct economic loss without considering indirect and other non-economic loss. Indigenous people in resettlement areas and people affected by other projects have not fallen into the consideration. Compensation standard doesn't represent the market price, which leads to a big gap between compensation and investment needed in the real production. This gap certainly reduce the effectiveness of the developmental resettlement policy.

There is a necessity to broaden the concept of developmental resettlement. Firstly, developmental resettlement policies and measurements need forward looking. They should fully consider the background of rapid urbanization and embrace the opportunities in developed areas and metropolitans in east China where benefit mainly from these hydro-projects to make up for a deficiency of compensation and reduce population pressure on natural environment in project sites. Secondly, developmental resettlement policies should provide more than one chance for resettlers to help them to make their own arrangements and raise their ability to deal with various risks in the future. This needs to establish the corresponding social safeguard system. Therefore, it is very necessary to build this mechanism which takes the background of urbanization, industrialization, and condition around these involuntary resettlers into consideration.

In addition, hydro-project resettlements are of their own characteristics. Firstly, it is the fixed time framework of displacement (A time-bound action plan with budget setting out resettlement strategy, objectives, entitlement, actions, responsibilities, monitoring and evaluation). The Three Gorges Project, for example, was launched in 1994, dammed the Yangtze River in 1997, filled water from 135m in 2003 to 156m above the sea level in 2006, and is finished in 2009. The regular filled water level is 175m. Local people living in different attitudes must be displaced before the river water rises to corresponding levels. This nature shows that the earlier the local people move out, the more benefits the projects can obtain. Secondly, the amount of displaced population is fixed because it is determined

by the scale of projects. After the time framework and filling water levels are set, the scope of the displacement and the amount of the displaced population are correspondingly set. This nature means that the displacement can be launched from the first day of the project. The earlier, the better.

These two natures make the displacement different for the involuntary resettlement in east developed areas and major metropolitans. Firstly, the fixed amount of displaced population make it possible for those who are willing and have the ability to move to cities, thus changing them from involuntarily to voluntarily. Secondly, those agricultural resettlers who might change their minds and want to resettle in cities should be given the second chance to bring them into the urban resettlements through support fund of post-projects, ecological compensation, partnership assistant projects, and contracted land given up²⁾.

III. URBAN WELFARE PACKAGE

According to the above analysis, a package of welfare is suggested to the resolution for the permenent urban resettlement of agricultural resettlers induced by hydroelectricity projects

Firstly, an integrated organization for all kinds of involuntary resettlement should be established jointly by the minister of national social safeguard and various authorities dealing with involuntary resettlement. The function of this organization is to manage social safeguard for involuntary resettlements, and link the urban and the rural social safeguard for agricultural resettlers. Based on this foundation, local resettlement authorities, together with local social safeguard departments, deal with the social safeguards of local resettlers (Yang, 2003).

Secondly, the compensation standard for the displaced population induced by hydro-projects should be raised greatly. At present, a common point has been reached on the reform orientation of compensation policy for involuntary agricultural resettlers: 1) The measure of the compensation in the governmental policy and regulation should be diversified. 2) During the transition period when full compensation cannot be implemented, the measure of the compensation should be linked to land use. The standard should be raised up when the land is used for the public and pro-compensation should be linked to post support. If land use is for the commercial use, market pricing mechanism should be introduced. A practical and feasible method is to change the current single governmental pricing mechanism into the joint one in which lost land peasants participate. 3) From long term view, current partly compensation must be replaced by full compensation and indirect loss of involuntary resettlements should be considered (Zhu and Duan, 2006).

Thirdly, urban welfare package should include social safeguards, child's education and housing system for hydro-migrants who are resettled in cities. The first part is the minimum social safeguard. Compared with urban residents, the new city resettlers have relatively low income. Therefore, the social safeguard currently set for them should be based on the condition when they once lose their ability to earn income. The second is the low-rent housing system. There are disputes about whether to encourage urban families to buy their own houses or to rent houses through low-rent housing system to realize housing protection. The current measure which promotes economically affordable housing projects in many cities represents the former idea. But the previous practice shows that economically affordable housing projects would lead to serious developers' rent-seeking and its target wouldn't all aim at low income groups. The present situation is that the increase in commodity apartment price has greatly exceeded the one in the average income. It is obvious that new immigrant households with low income are unable to purchase commodity apartments. Based on the experiences in China and abroad, the target and cost effectiveness of subsistance directly distributed to low income households is much better than the way that the government directly builds and distributes low-rent houses for immigrants.

Equitable education rights for resettlers' children in cities are an important part of welfare package. At least, nine-year compulsory education in city council schools should be guaranteed. Considering the remarkable interprovincial differences in present enrollment system of college entrance examination, it should be prudent in policies whether or not directly to give the high school immigrant students urban identification and allow them to attend college entrance examinations. At present, resettlers' children who are born in cities or do not reach school age can naturally obtain the welfare package (urban identification) after their parents resettle in cities, which can cause the interprovincial differences of college entry scores to convergence.

Based on voluntary foundation, resettlers can apply for the urban identification and above urban welfare package if they give up social safeguards for involuntary resettlment and their distributed land³⁾.

IV. A FISCAL BUDGET BASED ON POLICY PACKAGE—A CASE FROM LONGTAN RESERVOIR

In order to give an explanation, we take Longtan Reservoir as an example. Considering an extreme condition, it is supposed that the above policy package to be implemented in 2009 and all displaced peasants resettled to metropolitans in east China in one year. It is the most difficult and impossible to implement the above supposition in practice, but it is of the most elucidation in theory. Thus, the fiscal budget for the policy package can be devided into two parts: the gross input and output. The former is mainly to refer to the compensation for submersed loss of the reservoir. According to the document from National Commission of Development and Reform in 2006, static investment budgetary estimation to compensate for land-levying resettlement induced by Longtan Reservoir construction is about 9.598 billion yuan (see Table 1).

The output mainly refers to minimum social safeguard and low rent housing. Given minimum social safeguard subsidy per person/per month is 400 yuan, this output is 333.672 million yuan/year according to 375m Longtan Reservoir project which relates to 69515 displaced peasants. It will be paid within 10 years. Therefore, the gross output of minimum social safeguard subsistence is 3.33672 billion yuan. This output will be replaced by regular urban social safeguard 10 years later. According to the Yichang City standard of 200 yuan/per month of urban social safeguard subsidy for each person, the output is 166.836 million yuan/year. It will be paid within another 10 years and the total output will amount to 1.66836 billion yuan.

The total output for minimum social safeguard of 5.00508 billion yuan in theory can be obtained by adding two parts of above outputs. Given 50% displaced population is labor force, one third can find jobs and achieve average urban income without any training according to the above field survey. Given another one third labor force may find jobs through professional training and organized labor services, they can also achieve the urban average income level⁴⁾. Also given marriage rate among this two parts of population (occupying two thirds of the total labor force) is 50 percent and one family has one child, there are 40551 persons who do not need minimun social safeguard subsidy if these three parts are added. Therefore, reduction of output in the first 10 years is 1.946448 billion yuan and 973.224 million yuan in the second 10 years, and the real gross output of minimun social safeguard subsidy is 2.085408 billion yuan.

Low renting subsistence depends on the way of allowances: allowances through low renting houses built by the government or direct grants through low renting subsistance distributed by the government. Since the direct low renting subsistance has more efficient aims, it is accepted in this paper. The subsistence area is $20m^2/\text{per ca}$ and the standard is 10 yuan/month for each square meter, and all people should be subsisted. Therefore, each person needs 2,400 yuan/year. The gross output of low rent

housing is 3.33672 billion yuan if it is paid within 20 years. Thus, the gross output of minimum social safeguard subsidy and output of low rent housing is 5.42218 billion yuan.

The reduction between gross input and real gross output is 4.175892 billion yuan. This means that all the displaced peasants induced by Longtan Reservoir can be resettled in cities in a one-time within one year. Of course, this is just an example in extreme condition and rarely happens in reality. What we want to say is that fiscal budget might be a problem, but not the most important one in urban resettlement. It is quite possible to solve the urban resettlement for displaced agricultural population based on the current compensation and post-project subsistence though the real situation might be more complicated.

Table 1: Input-output of urban resettlements for displaced agricultural population induced by Longtan Reservoir construction (1 US dollar =6.6-6.7 yuan)

Gross input	Investment to displaced population's compensation and resettlement	959800
Gross output for the social safeguard of displaced peasants	Migrants minimum social safeguard subsidy	333672
	Output of regular urban social safeguard in the second 10 years	166836
	Gross output for minimum social safeguard	500508
Output reduction from employed displaced population	Reduction of minimum social safeguard from employed displaced population	194644.8
I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	Reduction of urban social safeguard from employed displaced population	97322.4
	Subtotal	291967.2
	Real gross output of social safeguard subsidy	208540.8
Output of low rent housing		333672
Real gross output		542212.8
Reduction between gross input and output		417587.2

Firstly, the low rent housing system might not be accepted by the resettlers induced by hydroelectricity. Chinese saying represents the Chinese traditional idea: live and work in peace and contentment or house to residents. They lack security if they live in the house that they do not own. Secondly, the standard of low renting house might be low⁵). In the resettlement plan of Three Gorges Project, moving-out displaced peasants are supported according to the economically affordable housing standard in immigration cities if they give up their contracted land and homestead. Although Longtan Reservoir can follow this principle, most of middle and small reservoirs are unable to meet this

compensation standard and policy. Thirdly, urban infrastructure construction should be reduced in the gross input for resettlement compensation. The investment is directly transferred to the immigration cities, not to the accounts of displaced peasants. Fourthly, we do not consider the migration cost in moving process such as transportation, shipment, temporary residence, and social adjustment. Fifthly, the compensation for emmigration area hasn't been considered. Sixthly, the compensation for displaced nonagricultural population might be included in the gross input.

There are some advantages, however. Firstly,

displacement and resettlement are not finished in a one-time within one year, but in groups step by step according the planning schedule. Secondly, not all people need and want to move out. Usually, those young and educated people with ambitions are more likely to move to and live in urban areas. They can also easily find jobs, which can reduce the gross input in social safeguard subsidy.

We do not discuss the displaced agricultural population who still work in agricultural sector after displacement and local people who are in resettlement area where the land is adjusted and distributed to resettlers. If they want to move to urban areas, the procedure is the same as the above, but the source and amount of capital are of some differences (such as post-project subsistence, land turnover, and ecological compensation).

V. FURTHER DISCUSSIONS

a) Non-agricultural resettlement for displaced agricultural population has been a disputable topic. In previous experiences, land for land resettlement is considered as a better way to settle displaced peasants, which has been approved by many cases⁶. A survey about resettlements induced by Three Gorges Project, however, shows that the highest satisfaction degree falls into the displaced peasants who are resettled to the east coastal developed area (80%), the second to other inland provincial areas (59%), and the third to local-up nearby the reservoir (41%). The last part of people even think that their situation could not be improved in the near future (Pi, 2004). Although these resettlements are land for land peasants, their sense of the regional differences seems to show the influences on regional urbanization differences, and provide a context of analyzing the nonagricultural resettlement agricultural for resettlers.

Specifically as for Longtan Reservoir resettlements, the requirements for non-agicultural displacement are as follows: a) Population-land tension highlights on the serious overloading of population capacity and food shortage. b) Infrastructure and living condition around the reservoir is severe. A large part of local-up resettlements are still difficult in drinking, transportation, electric power, child's education, and housing. c) The resettlement area nearby the reservoir is prone to natural hazards and coping capacity is very weak. These hazards are land slide triggered by frequently fluctuated water levels, land subversion caused by over reservoir impoundment in flooding periods. d) In resettlement areas nearby the reservoir, soil erosion is serious and natural environment is impoverished. Because of long-term over-use of limited natural resources, soil packing, sandinization, and decrease in forest covers deeply affect sustainable development and long-term profits in

resettlement areas.

Although the requirement of non-agricultural resettlement for displaced agricultural population is recognized, it is disputable about the way of resettlement. Some scholars consider that displaced population should be settled in local township enterprises. The advantages of this way are the low cost because it doesn't need large scale infrastructure and solve a series of issues such as social safeguard, medical insurance, child's education. However, there are big limitations in this way of leaving one's farmland but not leaving one's hometown. Township industry in different areas shows strong convergent trend in structure. Those enterprises lack innovative capacity and have ill performance in economic benefit. At the same time, small scale township industry cannot be integrated into the network of urban industry and form a mutual development pattern. Therefore, the development of small towns and cities based on township industry provides few and unsustainable opportunities for displaced population. It can relocate the small amount of and scattered peasants, but large scale of nonagricultural resettlements for peasants must be based upon coastal developed areas and metropolitans though the cost is much higher⁷.

b) Because of pro-heavy and chemical industry development policy in the period of planning economy, a lot of surplus-labors has deposited in rural areas. Even the floating population increases greatly in recent years, there is still a large number of labors in uneremployment. Under the huge pressure of surplus-labors and unemployment, limited capacity of urban employment, infrastructure and public service mean that the reform of identification (hukou) and land tenure system cannot be finished easily. Current agrarianism, to some extent, reduces the "push force" to emigration on one hand; different urban and rural identification system reduces "pull force" to immigration on the other. Although this rudimental system arrangement has irrational aspects, it prevents China from various issues occurring in the context of urbanization in Latin Amercia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia, such as a high rate of unemployment, urban slums, and broken peasants. These issues are unable to be solved in short term. Setting the threshold of urban entry means that urbanization in China should be finished step by step. Those people who make direct sacrifice for China's urbanization should have priority to obtain "urban identification".

c) Employment opportunity is directly connected with education, skill, and total quality of displaced population. Therefore, training should be strengthened to improve the quality. Firstly, professional training should be tightly connected with

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market demand. A complete sequence from enterprise recruitment, professional training, certification training, and post assessment and monitoring should be established. Secondly, enthusiasm and resources of aggie, technical schools, and non-governmental sectors should be stimulated to form various ways, sources, levels, and long term with short term training regimes. Thirdly, occupational training and professional qualification appraisal should be integrated into the carrying out admittance (entry) system. Related government departments should shorten the procedures and provide flexible and convenient services for relocated labors in qualification appraisal, the title of a professional post evaluation, issuing national uniform job qualification certificate, certificates for technical proficiency, work license, and special type of work license. Fourthly, exploring 9+2 compulsory education model for resettlements-after 9 years's compulsory education and general examination of junior middle school, take advantages of 2 months summer holiday to training these graduating students with 1 or 2 professional skills to improve their ability to adapt to the changes in social demand.

d) Resettlers can choose to work in cities without giving up their contracted land, but they cannot obtain the urban welfare pacakge; or they choose to give up contracted land but keep their own house and homestead without urban welfares if they live nearby cities, which can reduce the output pressure of urban welfare. They can give up urban welfare package at midway and return to their original resettlement sites to enjoy their social safeguard and medical insurance in rural areas, but they have to deduct the cost spent already in urban welfare in their social safeguard and medical insurance in rural areas. They have to face another risk: the resettled farmland redistributed is usually not fertile.

NOTES:

1) Longtan Reservoir is the third largest hydroelectricity project under construction in China. The dam is located at Tian'e County, Guangxi Zhuang Minority Autonomous Region in south-central China.

2) In fact, land for adjustment in resettlement area is getting fewer as a result of extension of agricultural production responsibility system. The stipulation in the ongoing Three Gorges ecological protective area is: If those residents scattered in the ecological protective area are willing to move to cities and towns, regardless of whether they are resettlers induced by the Three Gorges Project or not, so long as they give up the contracted land and homestead, they can move out to and live in the cities and towns. 3) According to the newest stipulation of Shanghai in 2009, a person who has "Shanghai Resident certificate" for full 7 years, participates in the city social safeguard during this period, and conforms to other 4 conditions is able to obtain the Shanghai identification. This new stipulation basically deprives rural labors of the possibility of obtaining Shanghai identification because the vast majority of rural labors cannot achieve this standard.

4) In this way, the resettlers'unemployment rate can be estimated to account for 33.3%,, which goes up far above the present average unemployment rate.

About the low-rent housing policy, the 5) regional application qualifications and subsidy standard are entirely different. The new application standard in 2008 of Xuhui District in Shanghai is that the average month income per person is lower than 800 Yuan, and the per-capita housing area is smaller than 7 square meters. If the application is approved, the applicant is provided with an apartment by the housing safeguard institution and charged the rent according to the certain proportion based on the market price, usually 5% of monthly family total income, and the rest rent is mostly covered by the government subsidy, and given to the renter directly. The 2004 standard of subsidy for low rent housing of East City, West City, Chongwen and Xuanwu District in Beijing is 30 Yuan/month each square meter; Chaoyang, Haidian, Fengtai and Shijing Hill is 27 Yuan. 2007 standard of Yiling District in Yichang City is that the minimun housing safeguard area is 10 square meters per-capita, and the rent subsidy for each month each square meter is 3 Yuan.

6) The World Bank resettlement plan action encourages not to change the resettlers'original production and livelihood habits to avoid risk as far as possible in the future.

7) According to our survey, some sewage treatment plants in the resettlement cities and towns nearby Three Gorges Reservoir have completed according to the plan, but it is hard for all these plants to run without subsidy because the operation cost is too high. The government must provide the operation subsidy to the sewage treatment plant. From this point, the cost of large-scale infrastructural facilities in small cities and towns might be higher than that in large cities.

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