

Flygtningenævnets baggrundsmateriale

Bilagsnr.:	734
Land:	Kina
Kilde:	Congressional-Executive Commission on China
Titel:	CECC. Ongoing Challenges Faced by Persons with Disabilities in the People's Republic of China
Udgivet:	3. december 2023
Optaget på baggrundsmaterialet:	28. februar 2024



CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

STAFF RESEARCH REPORT
DECEMBER 2023

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CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ON CHINA

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Ongoing Challenges Faced by Persons with Disabilities in the People's Republic of China

In observance of the International Day of Persons with Disabilities, this report examines the People's Republic of China's compliance with the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, focusing on the government's capacity to provide public services and on institutional obstacles that contribute to disparities in access to healthcare and assistance.

I. U.N. Treaty Body Review

In August 2022, the United Nations (U.N.) Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities reviewed the compliance of state party People's Republic of China (PRC) with the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD).¹ Ahead of the review, the Committee received submissions from nine nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).² Except for two that were affiliated with the Chinese government,³ these organizations called attention to a pattern of rights violations against persons with disabilities and a lack of effective measures addressing them, covering a range of issues including gender-based violence,⁴ shackling and trafficking of persons with psychosocial disorders,⁵ inadequate access to healthcare and justice,⁶ targeting of rights defenders,⁷ and increasing restrictions on civil society groups that provide services and engage in advocacy.⁸ In October 2022, the Committee issued its Concluding Observations, echoing concerns raised by these independent civil society groups.⁹ The discussion below supplements and contextualizes the Concluding Observations and NGO submissions in selected issue areas relating to challenges faced by persons with disabilities in China.

II. Government Assistance Programs and Their Limitations

The PRC government's disability policies are focused on poverty alleviation and social welfare assistance for persons with disabilities contingent on obtaining certification of disability. This approach, however, does not "necessarily address the first of the general principles of the CRPD, which is about the right to autonomy."¹⁰

The Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights highlighted the lack of a consistent “human rights model of disability” across policy and legislation in China.¹¹ In addition, reports indicate that dereliction of duty and corrupt practices by officials undermine the effectiveness of public assistance programs.¹² These factors, along with the PRC’s top-down, authoritarian style of governance have contributed to the persistence of poverty¹³ and violations of the rights of people with disabilities, despite the existence of several cash transfer programs.

According to official statistical data, the Chinese government estimated there to be 85 million persons with disabilities in China;¹⁴ however, only 37.8 million of them had registered with the official system maintained by the China Disabled Persons’ Federation (CDPF) and the National Health Commission (NHC).¹⁵ Successful registration results in the issuance of a disability certificate stating that a person falls into one of seven categories of disability—visual, hearing, speech, physical, intellectual, mental, and multiple disabilities—each divided into four levels of severity (mild, moderate, severe, and most severe).¹⁶

Since the disability certificate is a condition for receiving public assistance,¹⁷ the high percentage of people not registered, standing at over 44 percent of China’s disabled population, may correspond to the number of people who do not have access to assistance.¹⁸ Moreover, the actual extent of the problem may be larger, given that the 85 million figure puts the number of people with disabilities at around 6 percent of China’s total population, which likely is an underestimation,¹⁹ when compared to the 16 percent global average estimated by the World Health Organization in 2022.²⁰

This low rate of registration may be attributed to a number of factors, including the cost of obtaining an evaluation by an officially designated facility,²¹ inaccessibility of evaluation facilities,²² concerns about stigma and discrimination, poor understanding of government policies, and the obstacles that people with limited physical mobility face during the registration process.²³ Officials at some localities reported improvements in the registration rate through efforts such as

visiting people's homes to raise awareness of relevant policies and to process registration,²⁴ but the low rate of registration persisted as of 2021.²⁵

Disability certificates, at least in theory, entitle their holders to various discounts and accommodation at educational and entertainment venues, healthcare facilities, and for services such as transportation.²⁶ Other financial assistance programs include the following:

- **Minimum Living Standard Guarantee**

Unemployed persons assessed as having a severe to most severe level of disability are eligible for the minimum living standard guarantee program (*zuidi shenghuo baozhang*, or *dibao*),²⁷ which is a cash transfer program that started in urban areas in the 1990s and expanded to cover rural areas beginning in 2007.²⁸ This program, however, amplifies benefit disparities because an increasing number of programs use *dibao* as the default basis of eligibility, other forms of assistance are automatically inaccessible to those ineligible for *dibao*, thereby disregarding people's individual needs.²⁹

While *dibao* offers a degree of stability, recipients live on amounts far lower than the median income level. A key component of the *dibao* program is the income reference benchmark, an amount that varies based on locality separately set by local governments.³⁰ Specifically, a person's income must be below the *dibao* benchmark to be eligible, and the amount of assistance provided is the difference between the person's income and the reference benchmark.³¹ Based on data released by the Ministry of Civil Affairs for the first quarter of 2022, the median *dibao* benchmark was 674 yuan (approximately US\$100) per month per urban resident and 488 yuan (approximately US\$70) per rural resident.³² As a reference, the National Bureau of Statistics reported that the median monthly income of an urban resident during the same period was 3,907 yuan (approximately US\$575) and that of a rural resident was 1,536 yuan (approximately US\$225).³³ Based on these figures, *dibao* payment may be insufficient for subsistence as it is capped at 17

percent of the median disposable income for urban residents and 32 percent for rural residents.³⁴

- **“Two Allowances” for Sustenance and Nursing**

In September 2015, the PRC government established a program to provide allowances to 1) indigent persons with disabilities and 2) persons with severe disabilities for their nursing costs (*liangxiang butie*, or “two allowances”).³⁵ Like *dibao*, the amount of the “two allowances” also varies by locality.³⁶ According to a January 2023 article, the monthly amount in 11 province-level jurisdictions ranged from 75 yuan (approximately US\$11) to 188 yuan (approximately US\$27) for indigent subsidies, and from 75 yuan to 252 yuan (approximately US\$37) for nursing subsidies for persons with severe disabilities.³⁷ Receipt of “two allowances” does not disqualify a person from receiving *dibao*.³⁸

- **“Tekun” Support for Particularly Difficult Situations**

In October 2016, the Ministry of Civil Affairs established a program to provide financial support to persons in particularly difficult situations, including persons with severe or most severe level of intellectual, mental, and physical disabilities (*tekun renyuan jiuzhu gongyang*, or *tekun*).³⁹ The Ministry expanded the program in 2021 to include persons with most severe level of visual disability.⁴⁰ Like *dibao*, this program is limited by the financial resources of local governments.⁴¹ Allowances may be granted for care received at home or at an institution such as a mental health facility.⁴² Recipients of *tekun* support are ineligible for *dibao* and “two allowances,”⁴³ but they may receive subsidies for health insurance, as do *dibao* recipients.⁴⁴

- **Development-Oriented Support**

In addition to giving cash allowances, the PRC government has instituted programs that encourage independent living.⁴⁵ These programs include requiring and incentivizing employers to train and hire persons with disabilities,⁴⁶ and administrative and tax benefits for self-employment and entrepreneurship.⁴⁷ Unlike cash allowances, an inexhaustive review shows that this type of program is not limited to persons with severe disability.⁴⁸

A recent study showed that although “[p]ersons with disabilities aged 16–59 who are not incapacitated and in need of employment services are mainly provided with employment services,” improvement in their income is comparatively limited, which may be attributed to the traditional mindset that “it is acceptable for persons with disabilities to be relegated to lower-paying [and] less-valued jobs”; moreover, the government “provides minimal direction in ensuring that the disabled and their families have a decent income.”⁴⁹ The study further revealed that the quality of life of people with psychiatric or multiple disabilities did not significantly improve as a result of employment services, leading the authors to recommend that the PRC government adjust employment service measures for people in these categories.⁵⁰

III. Lack of Participation and Civil Society Support

The space for the provision of services is dominated by a government-controlled organization, and public participation by persons with disabilities is limited. This institutional arrangement amplifies the detrimental effect of the top-down style of governance in part because it restricts the flow of information relevant to policymaking, creating gaps in service provision.⁵¹ The China Disabled Person’s Federation (CDPF) is a government-controlled organization responsible for duties including facilitating communication between the government and persons with disabilities, helping formulate laws and policies related to this field, reducing stigma and discrimination, and “providing guidance” to civil society groups.⁵² The CDPF in turn “receives guidance” and funding from the government and serves as a

conduit of policy directives from the Chinese Communist Party.⁵³ Five specialized associations operate under the CDPF, each representing a category of disability.⁵⁴ As of 2021, the CDPF and its subordinate associations maintained a total of over 538,000 branches at the township level and above, constituting the most prevalent type of organizations in the field.⁵⁵ Other types of organizations include registered nonprofit organizations and voluntary groups that are generally not registered.⁵⁶

In addition to being under the “guidance” of the CDPF, civil society groups are facing increasing political control and legal restrictions. Central authorities have promulgated or amended policies and laws that may negatively impact the operations of civil society groups. These include the following:

- The PRC National Security Law, which defines “national security” broadly, and thereby subject civil society groups to additional scrutiny and potentially expose them to penalties;
- The PRC Law on the Management of Overseas Nongovernmental Organizations’ Activities in Mainland China, which generally requires these organizations to register with public security bureaus, an onerous process that may have contributed to the increase in the number of foreign NGOs opting to deregister after 2017 when the law took effect;
- The PRC Charity Law, which imposes heavy fines on fundraising activities by non-registered or nonprofit groups that seek donations online; and
- Ministry of Civil Affairs directives that require civil society groups to establish Party branches and acknowledge the total leadership of the Party, potentially subordinating charity and service provision work to political directives.⁵⁷

In its submission to the CRPD Committee, the international NGO Chinese Human Rights Defenders highlighted individuals who were detained because of their advocacy for disability rights and groups that had shut down as a result of official actions.⁵⁸ For example, Yirenping, an anti-discrimination advocacy organization, shut down in 2015, after which “[m]any former employees and

volunteers of Yirenping were detained, harassed or intimidated,” with two of them being detained for about a month on the charge of “illegal business activity.”⁵⁹ Another advocacy organization called Changsha Funeng likewise shut down in 2019, and three of its members were charged with “subversion” and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from two to five years.⁶⁰ [See Civil Society chapters in the Commission’s past annual reports and its Political Prisoner Database for more information on persecution of civil society workers.]

Despite instances of suppression, local CDPF officials have awarded contracts to some nonprofit organizations for delivering social services to persons with disabilities.⁶¹ These organizations, however, lack access to alternative sources of funding, due to restrictions on fundraising, which affected service stability and fostered competition rather than cooperation among them.⁶² One scholarly article further noted that “there seems to be little, if any, involvement of disabled people in the design, delivery and evaluation of the services for them outside the officially approved channel.”⁶³

IV. Inequality in Access to Healthcare

Access to healthcare is one aspect of the universal right to life, according to the treaty monitoring body for the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.⁶⁴ The PRC’s social control policies, however, hinder people with disabilities from realizing this right. Persons with disabilities in China face multidimensional obstacles to accessing healthcare, making them vulnerable to other health conditions, such as chronic illnesses.⁶⁵ Rural residents are confronted with an additional layer of difficulty, as they have a significantly higher rate of poverty and have access to fewer healthcare resources and less robust infrastructures, as compared with urban residents.⁶⁶ These gaps are exacerbated by the mandatory household registration (*hukou*) system, which designates a place of registration as either urban or rural and ties access to resources (such as medical care, health insurance, and social welfare) to a person’s place of registration.⁶⁷ According to a

2021 study, “rural *hukou* was associated with an important 13–40% increase in unmet health-care needs for people with disabilities in China.”⁶⁸ The implication of this is significant because over 79 percent of persons with disabilities are rural residents.⁶⁹

Besides the urban-rural divide, the *hukou* system excludes access to resources by the “floating population,” a term used by authorities to primarily refer to rural residents who have moved to urban areas for work but lack a “local hukou at their de facto place of residence”⁷⁰ While central authorities in 2014 abolished the urban-rural distinction for household registration purposes,⁷¹ the change did not achieve equal access to healthcare because only a small number of internal migrants were eligible to move their *hukou* to a city, and facilities in rural areas continued to lag behind.⁷² As of 2021, the government did not have a national policy specifically focused on providing protection and services to persons with disabilities who are part of the floating population.⁷³

In addition, the scope of the healthcare needs of persons with disabilities within the floating population is poorly understood by Chinese authorities, according to a 2021 editorial in the CPPCC Daily authored by a district-level people’s political consultative conference from Chongqing municipality.⁷⁴ The floating population is estimated to have reached 376 million in 2020,⁷⁵ but the number of people with disabilities among the migrant population is not known.⁷⁶ The CPPCC Daily editorial recommended that the central government conduct a census to determine the number of people with disabilities in the floating population; assess the scope of the population’s health, rehabilitation, and social integration needs; and develop national policy and implementation mechanisms specific to persons with disabilities.⁷⁷

V. Mishandling of Emergency Response during the COVID-19 Pandemic

The death of a teenager with cerebral palsy in January 2020, six days after his father and sole caregiver was quarantined on suspicion of COVID infection, exposed inadequacies and lack of sensitivity in China's emergency response during the COVID-19 outbreak.⁷⁸ During this time, the teenager was only fed twice and multiple emergency calls made by his father and volunteers did not yield medical assistance.⁷⁹ A paper pointed out that the PRC Law on Prevention and Treatment of Infectious Diseases "did not incorporate considerations for the needs of people with disabilities in situations of risk and humanitarian emergencies," falling short of the requirements under Article 11 of the CRPD.⁸⁰ In addition to the shortcomings in the legal framework, the implementation of the government's COVID measures "[paralyzed] transportation, businesses, logistical circulation and many more services," causing disruption to the provision of "supplies and services including the assistive devices, timely medication [and] caretaking services" needed by persons with disabilities.⁸¹

VI. Vulnerability of Women with Psychosocial Disorders to Trafficking and Domestic Violence

While the Chinese legislature has enacted laws to prohibit offenses against persons with disabilities,⁸² legal provisions that specifically protect women with psychosocial disabilities from abuses such as domestic violence and human trafficking are still lacking. For example, the October 2022 amendment to the PRC Law on the Protection of Women's Rights and Interests does not substantially strengthen protections for women with psychosocial disabilities.⁸³

Moreover, according to a civil society report entitled "Leaving No Sister with Disabilities Behind," existing legal provisions create a conflict that makes it "difficult to file a case when the victim's right is infringed by the guardian, including one's spouse."⁸⁴ The report states that "[t]he right to life of women with

intellectual or psychosocial disabilities is oftentimes threatened rather than protected when entering marriage,” and “[s]ometimes the public security and civil affairs departments both shirked responsibility and did not act properly”⁸⁵ In one example, a family of three tortured and caused the death of a new bride who was reported as having an intellectual disability.⁸⁶ Before her death, local police declined to intervene, treating the matter as “a domestic affair between a legitimate husband and wife”⁸⁷

Additional datapoints illustrate the extent of the problem:

An analysis of 616 judicial case files involving trafficking in women from 2017 to 2020 shows that 20% of the 1,252 women trafficked in China had disabilities And more than 60% of the women with intellectual or psychosocial disabilities were abducted by strangers passing by in outdoor locations such as roadsides, stations, and fields. Another study of 1,038 first-instance judgments involving the crime of trafficking in women and children from January 2000 to July 2017 shows that 26.7% of the victims suffered from varying degrees of mental illness.⁸⁸

In one widely publicized case, a woman reported to be mentally impaired was shown in a video chained in a shed in Jiangsu province.⁸⁹ The woman, originally from Yunnan province, reportedly was sold several times before being sold to her current husband, surnamed Dong, with whom she had eight children.⁹⁰ Public criticism drew attention to the local government’s apparent disregard for human trafficking,⁹¹ the violation of the national birth limit policy, and the woman’s abusive living conditions,⁹² the inconsistencies in the official investigative reports about her background,⁹³ and lax criminal penalties for “buyers” of trafficked persons.⁹⁴ In April 2023, a court sentenced Dong to nine years in prison for “abuse” (*nuedai*) and “illegal imprisonment” (*feifa jujin*) of the woman, noting the deterioration of her mental illness during multiple pregnancies.⁹⁵ The court sentenced five of the traffickers to terms of imprisonment ranging from 8 to 13 years.⁹⁶

Human Rights Watch used the case to illustrate the wider problem of bride trafficking, pointing out that China’s previous population control policy, which permitted couples to have only one child and caused a sex imbalance due to male

child preference, along with the availability of sex-selective abortion, drove the internal and cross-border trafficking of women.⁹⁷ Many victims come from vulnerable communities, and it is difficult for international organizations to monitor the abuse due to heavy government censorship.⁹⁸

VII. Conclusion

While the PRC has taken steps to assist persons with disabilities, the various safety nets devised by the government have been shown to be insufficient in terms of amount and access. This may be attributed to institutional and political factors, including the exclusion of civic groups and the intended beneficiaries from the design and implementation of these assistance programs due to the government's continuing authoritarian control over the distribution of resources. Additionally, social control policies such as the household registration system and the lack of effective counter-human trafficking measures render certain subsets of the disabled population particularly vulnerable. The PRC government, therefore, should not only increase the amount and types of assistance, but it should also undergo meaningful policy and structural reforms to accommodate greater adherence to the international standards as laid out in the CRPD.

¹ U.N. Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Concluding Observations on the Combined Second and Third Periodic Reports of China, adopted by the Committee at its 610th Meeting on September 1, 2022, CRPD/C/CHN/CO/2-3, October 10, 2022, <https://perma.cc/ZCY3-VMWU>.

² "Ratification, Reporting & Documentation for China," U.N. Treaty Body Database (webpage), accessed January 3, 2023, <https://perma.cc/R3AL-ZV9P>.

³ China Association for Persons with Physical Disabilities, "CAPPD Submission to the Committee for Consideration on the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in China," July 29, 2022, <https://perma.cc/TWS9-HPFT>; "中国肢残人协会章程" [Charter of China Association of Persons with Physical Disabilities], passed September 15, 2018, arts. 1, 5, <https://perma.cc/YN2X-QUA2>; Caring Home Special Education Rehabilitation Training Centre for Children, "Opinions for the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities on the Implementation of the Convention in China," July 25, 2022, 1, 8, <https://perma.cc/AT8V-4PFZ>.

⁴ Canyu, "Parallel Report for Constructive Dialogue on the Combined Second and Third Reports of the People's Republic of China and Responses to the List of Issues and the State Party's Reply—Focusing on Women with Disabilities and Gender-based Violence," July 22, 2022, 5–6, <https://perma.cc/ZZ6Z-DZ4B>; "Leaving No Sister with Disabilities Behind"—Regarding the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in China," July 2022, 6–7, <https://perma.cc/3UCM-ZKJP>.

⁵ Human Rights Watch, “Human Rights Watch Submission on China to the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities 27th Session,” July 2022, 1, 2, <https://perma.cc/46EU-KBVY>; “‘Leaving No Sister with Disabilities Behind’—Regarding the Implementation of the Convention on the

Rights of Persons with Disabilities in China,” July 2022, 4, 7, <https://perma.cc/3UCM-ZKJP>.

⁶ “‘Leaving No Sister with Disabilities Behind’—Regarding the Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in China,” July 2022, 2, 3, 8, 9, <https://perma.cc/3UCM-ZKJP>; Canyu, “Parallel Report for Constructive Dialogue on the Combined Second and Third Reports of the People’s Republic of China and Responses to the List of Issues and the State Party’s Reply—Focusing on Women with Disabilities and Gender-based Violence,” July 22, 2022, 6, <https://perma.cc/ZZ6Z-DZ4B>.

⁷ Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “Civil Society Report Submitted to the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities for its Review at the 27th Session of the Combined Second and Third Periodic Report of the People’s Republic of China (CRPD/C/CHN2-3),” June 7, 2022, paras. 14–17, <https://perma.cc/ZCZ8-39SB>.

⁸ Canyu, “Parallel Report for Constructive Dialogue on the Combined Second and Third Reports of the People’s Republic of China and Responses to the List of Issues and the State Party’s Reply—Focusing on Women with Disabilities and Gender-based Violence,” July 22, 2022, 2, <https://perma.cc/ZZ6Z-DZ4B>; International Service for Human Rights, “Information for the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities on the occasion of the adoption of a List of Issues for the review of the People’s Republic of China, 13th Pre-Sessional Working Group, 30 March–3 April 2020,” February 6, 2020, 2, <https://perma.cc/7Y9G-T8AM>; Chinese Human Rights Defenders, “Civil Society Report Submitted to the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities for its Review at the 27th Session of the Combined Second and Third Periodic Report of the People’s Republic of China (CRPD/C/CHN2-3),” June 7, 2022, para. 13, <https://perma.cc/ZCZ8-39SB>.

⁹ U.N. Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, Concluding Observations on the Combined Second and Third Periodic Reports of China, adopted by the Committee at its 610th Meeting on September 1, 2022, CRPD/C/CHN/CO/2-3, October 10, 2022, paras. 16, 18, 24, 26, 32, 34, 36, 44, 56, <https://perma.cc/ZCY3-VMWU>.

¹⁰ Xintong Zhao and Chao Zhang, “From Isolated Fence to Inclusive Society: The Transformational Disability Policy in China,” *Disability & Society* 33, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 133, <https://perma.cc/T6FZ-URCJ>.

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¹² See, e.g., “社区低保专干贪污 170 余万元，他们用身边鲜活的案例敲警钟查漏洞” [Grafting by community-level official specialized in *dibao* involved amounts exceeding 1.7 million yuan; [event participants] use an actual example to sound the alarm for the need to examine loopholes], *Changjiang Net*, April 2, 2021, <https://perma.cc/76HF-HLXM>; “低保监管执行形同虚设 贪腐黑手频伸向百姓救命钱” [*Dibao* supervision is practically nonexistent; corrupt hands habitually grab people’s life-saving money], *Economic Information Daily*, reprinted in *Finance.China.com.cn*, November 24, 2015, <https://perma.cc/UT8A-DZ6C>.

¹³ Human Rights Council, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights on His Mission to China, A/HRC/35/26/Add.2, March 28, 2017, para. 34, <https://perma.cc/868Y-ZGJ2>.

¹⁴ U.N. Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, “Combined Second and Third Periodic Reports Submitted by China under Article 35 of the Convention, Due in 2018,” June 19, 2019, para. 1, <https://perma.cc/FX6L-D8UU>.

¹⁵ National Bureau of Statistics of China, *中国残疾人事业统计年鉴—2021* [China Statistical Yearbook on the Work for Persons with Disabilities—2021] (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2021), 28, <https://perma.cc/NE5G-F7KB>; Guangdong Disabled Persons’ Federation, *中华人民共和国残疾人证管理办法* [Measures of the People’s Republic of China for the Administration of Disability Certificates], effective January 1, 2018, arts. 4, 6, <https://perma.cc/6D43-D5DZ>.

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¹⁷ See, e.g., “16 万残疾人仅 5.7 万人办残疾证 办的人为何这么少？” [Why are Only 57,000 out of 160,000 Persons with Disabilities Applying for Disability Certificates?], *Zhejiang Xinwen*, April 20, 2016, <https://perma.cc/9M6U-NB25>; Ministry of Civil Affairs, “民政部 财政部 中国残联关于加强残疾人两项补贴精准管理的意见” [Views of the Ministry of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and China Disabled Person’s Federation on Strengthening the Accurate Management of the Two Subsidies for the Disabled], October 18, 2022, <https://perma.cc/J3HV-CRNV>; “平等、参与、共享：新中国残疾人权益保障 70 年” [Equality, Participation, and Sharing: 70 Years of Safeguarding of the Rights and Interests of the Disabled in New China], *Xinhuanet*, July 25, 2019, <https://perma.cc/HMF4-6L9W>.

¹⁸ “16 万残疾人仅 5.7 万人办残疾证 办的人为何这么少？” [Why are Only 57,000 out of 160,000 Persons with Disabilities Applying for Disability Certificates?], *Zhejiang Xinwen*, April 20, 2016, <https://perma.cc/9M6U-NB25>; U.N. Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, “Combined Second and Third Periodic Reports Submitted by China under Article 35 of the Convention, Due in 2018,” June 19, 2019, par. 1, <https://perma.cc/FX6L-D8UU>; National Bureau of Statistics of China, *中国残疾人事业统计年鉴—2021* [China Statistical Yearbook on the Work for Persons with Disabilities—2021] (Beijing: China Statistics Press, 2021), 28, <https://perma.cc/NE5G-F7KB>.

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²⁰ World Health Organization, “Disability,” December 2, 2022, <https://perma.cc/4PE4-5AL4>.

²¹ Guangdong Disabled Persons’ Federation, *中华人民共和国残疾人证管理办法* [Measures of the People’s Republic of China for the Administration of Disability Certificates], effective January 1, 2018, art. 17, <https://perma.cc/6D43-D5DZ>.

²² Guangdong Disabled Persons’ Federation, “残联职能转变背景下的广东农村残疾人服务保障体系构建” [The Construction of the Guangdong Rural Disabled Service Guarantee System under the Background of the Functional Transformation of Disabled Persons’ Federation], January 3, 2020, <https://perma.cc/EEP5-DZ6Z>.

²³ “16 万残疾人仅 5.7 万人办残疾证 办的人为何这么少？” [Why are Only 57,000 out of 160,000 Persons with Disabilities Applying for Disability Certificates?], *Zhejiang Xinwen*, April 20, 2016, <https://perma.cc/9M6U-NB25>.

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