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Bachelor thesis

The gendered risks of resettlement

A case study from the Upper Paunglaung dam in Myanmar



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Abstract

This research investigates if the resettlement in the Upper Paunglaung dam affected men and women differently. The purpose is to identify gendered risks and show how the processes of the resettlement are different according to gender. To understand the results and analysis it includes a background chapter of women in Myanmar society. There are five aspects this research implies are crucial for a successful resettlement project which are information, compensation, economic impacts, social impacts and remedy. These five aspects are part of the process of being relocated. This allowed the research to explore each aspect in a descriptive manner and from a gendered perspective. It uses two reports from the case and a socio-economic survey with responses from 2013 and 2016. This allowed the research to see if there are patterns between the years. The findings show that women are excluded from information meetings regarding the resettlement, losing the female perspective when discussing compensation. Economic stress impacted the households differently depending on gender and social roles were jeopardized, creating stress and unease. Women face both labor work and domestic work while their husbands worked elsewhere and sent remittances. Remedy was not met with failure of delivering compensation packages. However, households found that the housing standards and religious buildings had improved. The research call attention to the exclusion of women in the resettlement projects and what risks they are more exploited to and why.

Key words

Upper Paunglaung dam, Women, Gender, Resettlement, Relocation, Risks.

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1 Introduction

In UNHCR's report on forced displacement it states that in 2017, 68,5 million people were forced to resettle due to conflicts around the world (UNHCR, 2018).

The phenomenon of displacement and resettlement of households can be traced centuries back, but one rarely hears about internally displaced people, but rather about refugees fleeing from conflict or war (UNHCR 2018, IDCM, 2018). For the past century, the world has seen more demonstrations against WTO (World Trade Organization) and IMF (International Monetary Fund) projects planned. Some projects are converting homes into dam-created reservoirs, highways, industrial complexes, tourist resorts and more. This new approach of development is mainly investment driven with national or global interests taking over the development on local level. These actors have proven to have an idea that large-scale infrastructure projects lead to modernization and development in a country (Kirchherr, 2016). Even so, the demand for electricity is increasing and countries try to find sustainable solutions.

Hydropower is a term used to describe how to harness electricity through falling water to produce electricity (Twidell, 2015:204). Hydropower is seen as the most long lasting and widest used renewable energy source during the world's electricity generation and 16% of the world electricity is hydropower (Twidell, 2015:204-225). Even if hydropower plants have few environmental implications, the dams and reservoirs create problems for households, eco systems and fisheries. However, as countries try to reach new sustainable solutions to meet the increasing demands for electricity, hydropower is seen as a significant environmentally friendly way (Twidell, 2015:225).

In present Myanmar, 32% of the households have access to on grid electricity whereas the rest of the population have unreliable or no access to electricity at all (WWF 2017:11). The 68% of the population that lack access to energy face further disadvantages in their livelihoods. The increasing demand for electricity puts pressure on the government to bring new sustainable solutions for Myanmar. Trying to meet these new demands, the government in Myanmar have since their liberalization of some policies in 2011 begun to build hydro-power plants and in 2017 68% of the electricity in Myanmar came from large –scale hydro (WWF 2017).

In 2015 a hydro-power project was executed in Shan state, more specific in the Upper Paunglaung dam (UPL dam). This infrastructural development project is financed by foreign firms from China, Switzerland and Britain and implemented by the Myanmar government (PHR, 2015:10). This project forced 2,524 households and 9,755 people to resettle due to the rising reservoir (Spectrum, 2017).

International standards state that the developers should improve or restore the livelihoods and living standards for the resettled households that are being moved due to development infused projects (Cornish, 2018:55). The guiding principles address the needs internally displaced people have worldwide. They function as protection from forced displacements and identifies rights and guarantees assistance during the displacements (UNOCHA, 2004: 7). The standards and principles are rarely met, and developers give households cash compensation instead. Cash compensation put pressure on the families trying to rebuild their social and economic assets for their survival (Cornish, 2018:55).

Research have found that gender plays a role in how different risks may affect women and men after a resettlement (Tulsi, 2009:314). UN women in Myanmar has identified women's role in the society which shows the different amount of work males and females do in the household. This raised the questions of how the resettlement was carried through and if there is a gendered perspective in the implementation of the resettlement.

It is argued that men and women are affected differently by being displaced. If resettlement is affecting gender differently, international guidelines need to be informed about this issue and be aware of the effect's women face in the shadow of men.

1.1 Objective and research questions

The research is going to see if the resettlement in the Upper Paunglaung dam in Myanmar affected women and men differently. This will be done using data that contains answers both women and men from a socio-economic survey collected in 2013 and 2016, three years after being resettled. There will be a content analysis of two reports from the UPL dam. The data will be tested with Michael Cerneas Impoverishment Risk model (IRR Model) that propose eight risks with being resettled.

This research has the following questions to be answered;

Did the resettlement in Upper Paunglaung dam affect men and women community members differently?

and

What processes account for the gendered effects of resettlement?

1.2 Ethical consideration

The data that Spectrum shared to this research will not be published or shared further without Spectrums approval. The data contains names and they will only be used in a matter that the study can distinguish men from women in the dataset. No names of the ones answering the survey will be published in the research. There are many reasons for not publishing names e.g. the political instability in Myanmar and that this is a sensitive topic.

1.3 Limitations and delimitations

The first limitation in this study is that the researcher does not have the time or finances to travel and conduct interviews in Myanmar. The study therefore relies on the information of two reports that have been at the Upper Paunglaung dam and gathered useful information for the study. Development work in Myanmar at present is very restricted due to their longtime military rule. As a lone researcher, permission is hard to get access to. Reports that describe the situation in the Upper Paunglaung dam are therefore very rare and most important -crucial- for the household's acknowledgment as an internal displaced person.

Another limitation is the language barrier. The research will only use sources written in English. If the subject is active in media or online in Myanmar this research will miss their positions which could contribute to the study.

The delimitation of this research is to only focus on one development project. By doing so, the study can be very precise in its analysis for this case and bring further discussion about the effects of development induced projects and its effects on women.

2 Literature review and research gap

Vanclay wrote in a report from 2016 that the process of resettlement is a complex topic in many levels. There are many actors involved building and implementing the development projects which means that each resettlement projects is different and affects people in different ways. He argues that some might be better off by the projects, giving people work or entrepreneur opportunities. Whereas some need to start all over again in a new place (Vanclay, 2016:3). Furthermore, Vanclay implies that common resettlement practice is cash compensation for the lost land and housing and that this is made without overlooking the effects that emerge after being displaced (Vanclay, 2016).

The building of hydro-power dams in Myanmar is still limited, which also exclude the information on the relocated households in the regions where the damming's take place (Henning, 2016). The Internal displacement monitoring center (IDMC) writes about Myanmar's displacement situation as conflict and disaster driven with 100 000 people displaced in February 2018. Moreover, they acknowledge the fact that people are being displaced by development projects but does not go deeper into the discussion of women and resettlement (IDMC, n.d.).

A research that has been done in Vietnam reports on the impact of hydro-power dams under 2017. It emphasizes that earlier research focus on the perception of how households do after being resettled. This made the researchers look for contemporary conditions and future sustainable solutions in their case (Nguyen et.al 2017:2). Their findings showed improvements especially in personal income due to the resettlement. The new location was placed on acacia plantation which generated jobs and later gave the displaced some relief because they had more wage income than in their original location (Nguyen et al. 2017:13). Another mean to monitor the progress was to give the households support from local authorities and non-governmental organization (NGOs).

The local authorities made households claim and receive unused land which enhanced their agricultural profit (Nguyen et al. 2017:13). This report brings a positive light on resettlement plans but unfortunately fails to include women's perspective.

The second edition of the guiding principles of International displacement consist of 30 principles. Overall the principles state that the implementers of the development induced project are responsible to restore the livelihood of the resettled households (OCHA, 2001:4). G. Cornish and R. Ramsay wrote an article about gender and livelihoods in the UPL dam after the development project, and found that these principles are rarely met. They assessed that women face more barriers than men (Cornish et al, 2018:1). They had difficulties to restore the families living standards before the resettlement and they felt stressed and despair. There is a large population of people living in rural areas in Myanmar (Cornish et al. 2018:2). The productivity and main income come from agriculture and farming. After resettlement there is more likely that the households are a cash-based economy which is different from before (Cornish et al, 2018:2).

Women and children are at the highest risk when being displaced, according to Buscher and Markinson. 80% of the internally displaced people are women and children. Women have special health needs and are targets of violence (Buscher, 2006:1). Their vulnerable situation escalates if they are economic dependent on others and is, they require cash or commodities. Being internally displaced create few options to find dignified jobs which can spiral towards marginalization and economic isolation for the ones affected (Bucher, 2006:1). Moreover, Hennion researched on displacement and women in Afghanistan. The findings showed that when the socio-economic conditions are worsening the risks of violence towards women increase (Hennion, 2014:1). By not creating a familiar environment as post relocation, the community may feel anxious about economic degradation and take it out on women. Social roles are at stake which also create tensions among the relocated and the adjustment processes can be prolonged. Being forced to move also takes away safety mechanism which create new risks for the women in Afghanistan (Hennion, 2014:1). They can be forced to marriage or experience violence from outsiders or domestic violence. They do not have the same rights as men regarding help from police or officials if they were victimized (Hennion, 2014:1).

The gap in this specific subject is therefore that there is not enough information on how women are affected by development projects in Myanmar. The examples above show that women are affected, and this research will continue the investigation of what risks women face during the resettlement in the UPL dam. There has been little written on the UPL dam and its effects but this academic research will give a deeper understanding.

There is not enough research done on women whom are relocated in Myanmar, even though the knowledge of that women is at risk during relocation. With high demand for electricity, the government have to implement more plants which will relocate more families. This thesis therefore wants to bring light to women's role in resettlements in Myanmar for future development projects.

3 Analytical framework

The growing knowledge of the effects of development projects and the displacement of people was the start of Michael Cernea's years of studying resettlement policies and practices. The discussion on hydropower plants and its effects on households which are forced to move is a subject Cernea has written about in several reports and policies (Cernea, 2008:89-91). In one of his first books about resettlement, he acknowledges that people's economic assets are invested into their lives in the community, and that cash compensation is not enough to compensate their losses (Cernea, 1985:10). These losses are usual when developers build development induced projects. He often refers to both successful and failures in this sector of development with case studies from across the world (Cernea, 2008:89-91). His framework therefore plays a significant role when private and public actors want to build hydropower dams because the framework gives the actors insight in potential risks and how to avoid them by following recommendations.

Michael Cernea has been identifying risks and why resettlement fails since 1980. Projects financed by public or private sector is a common trigger for forced displacement. Cernea has taken interest in how these development-induced projects fail to create sustainable resettlement and instead cause impoverishment at the displaced families (Cernea, 2008:89). He further identifies that there are reasons for this misconception of how sustainable displacement are implemented and states believe that cash is a sufficient compensation for loss of income and livelihood. Cernea does not agree and want the policies to change so that additional financing is applied when displaced (Cernea: 2008:89)

Michael Cernea identified 8 common processes of displacement in 1990. He acknowledges that development projects will continue, but the risks remain (Cernea, 2004:8). He points out that when displaced, impoverishment is the risk and that the risks should be prevented if possible. He further explains that it may not be as easily predicted to prevent these risks, but to 'rehabilitate' the displaced into a functioning life as before (Cernea, 2004:8).

The components of the risks are; 1) *Landlessness* 2) *Joblessness* 3) *Homelessness* 4) *Marginalization* 5) *Food insecurity* 6) *Increased morbidity* 7) *Loss of access to common property resources* and 8) *Community disarticulation* (Cernea 2004:14). Cernea argues that the model functions as a diagnostics tool when evaluating displacement projects but can also be useful in advance of a resettlement (Cernea, 2004:16).

The risks vary depending on local conditions and are therefore different to each case and to each individual. However, each risk will be described as according to Cernea below:

1) Landlessness

To restore land, or families land basis is crucial. Land itself is considered as natural and man-made capital that one loose when being resettled. Losing one's land can destroy family's foundation to their productive systems and if it is not restored accordingly, with new income possibilities, families become impoverished (Cernea, 2004:18). The Kisan tribe in India is mentioned as landlessness set in which snowballed into other risks for the tribe (Cernea, 2004:18)

2) Joblessness

After some time, the resettlers will be exposed to the second risk. It usually takes some time before people are without employment because many has work during the resettlement and the project. However, the displacement will end and at this time people will be unemployed. There are three ways to be exposed to the risk: Unemployment in urban areas, loss of access to work on land owned by others and loss of assets under common property regimes (Cernea, 2004:19-20).

3) Homelessness

The insecurity of not having a steady home or worrying about the standard of the new home can create loss of the groups cultural space which can create alienation and status-deprivation (Cernea, 2004:20). When governments force people to resettle they create new villages that might not satisfy families which create a sense of placelessness. Families have attachments to their homes and leave memories and capital and it usually take time before they move in to their new home (Cernea, 2004:21)

4) Marginalization

Cernea argues that economic marginalization occurs when families lose economic power from being displaced and find their skills no longer of use in their new location (Cernea, 2004:21). Psychological marginalization has signs of anxiety and decline of self-esteem because of their deprivation of economic possibilities (Cernea, 2004: 22).

5) Food Insecurity

Predicting that during resettlement, food crops and income will decline which could potentially create food insecurity. Furthermore, rebuilding the food supply and production for families can take years, which lead to long insecurity (Cernea, 2004:22).

6) Increased Morbidity and Mortality

When a large amount of people is displaced, the risks of illness and psychological traumas increase. The most vulnerable among the displaced are children and elderly (Cernea, 2004:23). Outbreaks such as diseases from unsanitary water and malaria can occur and people are more prone to the risks after the resettlement than before. Examples from earlier displacement show different types of outbreaks that are a direct danger to resettlers. Other dangers include risks of drowning, especially when infrastructure-induced projects are being implemented and people are not aware of the new dams because of lack of information (Cernea, 2004:24).

7) Loss of Access to Common Property and Services

Common property refers to common land use such as forest, water bodies, burial grounds and school etc. For people with low income or families whom are landless, the loss of these common properties could inflict possibilities to a dignified life (Cernea,2004:24) The loss of these commons is rarely compensated for by the government when displaced. Families may get lower social standing and the life get though as families have new struggles (Cernea, 2004:25).

8) Social Disarticulation

Being forced to move tear communities apart and can destroy bounds between neighbors and social capital for individuals. Social patterns in the communities are notably changed and the stigma around resettlers might cause isolation (Cernea, 2004:25). A study on a dam project conducted by Behura and Nayak in 1993 showed that the loss of intimate bonds, alienation and loss of control for social patterns and behavior. Decreased participation in group activities such as feasts and pilgrims were a clear indication that alienation lowered the social status for the resettled people (Cernea, 2004: 26).

He acknowledges the discussion on cash compensation and argues that only cash as compensation will not be enough regarding to the other losses, they face with being replaced. Cernea argues that the flawed compensation packages are under-financed and developers that fail to pay compensation usually fail to restore the livelihoods of the relocated. Leaving the households with a financial gap mean that it will one of many unfilled financial promises (Cernea, 2008:3). Displacement research have also found out that the major outcome of research of displacement show that the households were impoverished by the resettlement. It has also found out that the political stance deliberately keeps the compensation low, confiscate land or violate their human rights (Cernea, 2008:04).

4 Methodological framework

This will be a qualitative desk study with an abductive approach. The method that will be used is text analysis using a case from the Upper Paunglaung dam in Myanmar. To consolidate the findings, quantitative data will be analyzed from 2.216 households whom were resettled from UPL dam project. By using quantitative data, the study can see a larger correlation between if the villager's life has been exposed to any of the risks that M. Cernea proposes.

This research will do content analysis of already existing literature, such as two written reports. By doing a content or text analysis with an abductive approach the researcher wants to see patterns and find a meaning within the texts that can explain a phenomenon (Bryman, 2016:285).

By seeing patterns within the texts, categories of impacts and conditions will emerge and the researcher will find understanding within the text (Bryman 2016:285). The research will be able to go in dept and understand more of how women are experiencing the relocation. Earlier research has done field research and found general conclusions on households, whereas the next step should be gender based in this research topic.

A further consideration about the texts that will be used is that it is secondary data. Meaning that the data have been processed before and that the researcher of this study have not been part of the collecting of it (Bryman, 2016:310). Therefore, the data presented is written according to Spectrum and PHRs interest, and this will be in mind as the findings appears. This however, gives this research more time to study good quality data and to work with the quantitative data in a more meticulous way (Bryman, 2016:311-312).

The secondary data might already be assessed and written in a manner of which the writer want the reader to find their opinion of the subject as correct, which might influence this thesis writing. Even if the texts are angled, this research will stay objective to the information and later on discuss its content in an impartial manner.

4.1 Review of the material

The two texts that will be used as the main sources for this analysis which is Spectrums 'Women and Resettlement' report and Physicians of human rights (PHR) research 'Forced Displacements and Destroyed Lives around Upper Paunglaung Dam in Shan State, Myanmar'. Both texts collected information through field studies that did semi-structured interviews from resettled households.

To answer the research questions, the findings will be divided into smaller specific chapter which are *Information, Compensation, Social impact, Economic impact* and *Remedy*. The information chapter will bring forward how information of the project was communicated to the villagers. The compensation chapter shows how the villagers were compensated for the relocation, regarding their losses. Losses in this chapter does not include personal income as a loss but this will be examined in the economic chapter. Losses refers to cultivation land and houses with market value and a direct loss of capital for the family. The economic chapter observes how the resettlement have affected men and women differently economically. Economic notice personal income before and after the resettlement. Workload in both labor and domestic work are included to understand how valuable time is. Social impacts are observed in a manner of family dynamics and how fulfilling the resettled are in their new environment. The remedy chapter looks at how the project have had development plans at the new villages or if there is an active plan for the households. All of these chapter will find gender specific results that explain how the resettlement has affected men and women.

4.1.1 Physicians for Human Rights

Physicians for Human Rights is an organization founded in 1987 and investigates violation of human rights simultaneously as giving voices to oppressed people around the whole world. The organization work with more than only human rights and jurisdictions, but also medicine, science and public health.

PHRs research used semi-structured interviews which included 358 people from 80 households. 51% were females and the ages of the participants were 1-82 years. Families moved under threat from the Shan-state governmental surveyors whom brought police with them as they informed the villagers of the resettlement, and the

consequences of eviction if they stayed at the present location. During the coming meetings the households were informed that the compensation for their houses would be cash compensation. Furthermore, they discovered that 75% of the households were not informed enough about the plans for the relocation, the compensation nor how to reduce risks after being relocated. The findings show that economic development projects have a negative effect on households in Myanmar that has to be relocated. Especially the economic devastation many household found themselves in after the resettlement were a huge complication that created further risks for households such as high rates of depression and suicide.

PHRs report was released two years after the resettlement had taken place. Their discussion is clearly angled towards the dissatisfaction of how the relocated comprehend their new lives.

4.1.2 Spectrum SDKN (Sustainable Development Knowledge Network)

Spectrum is a non-profit organization that worked together with multiple other organizations when writing the report. The recommendations made are for policy-makers, the department of Hydropower implementation and for future project implementors. The text takes a clear stand that the UPL dam project could have had other outcomes if the implementors knew the information presented in the report.

The text from Spectrum contains information about the economic and social impacts the resettlement has had on women and men, and evaluate how women are experiencing hardship with the new environment. The study gathered their data presented in the text in two ways, using data analysis and semi-structured interviews. The dataset with answers from socio-economic surveys is originally collected by the University of Mandalay in 2013 and 2016. The surveys got answers on 18 questions from 2,216 respondents from 23 relocated villages during the 2014 surveys. Two years later the University asked the same questions again, this time to 477 respondents from five relocated villages. This highlight the question why they only chose these five specific villages. There is no recollection of reason in the text why they chose the five villages they did. Moreover, the text lacks a description of women's role in the Myanmar society or household. The report is written of Myanmar-based organization and are clearly directed toward an audience who already know women's role in the Myanmar society.

4.1.3 Socio-Economic survey

The socio-economic surveys were conducted by Mandalay University in 2014. The data contains both male and female participants from 14 different villages around the Upper Paunglaung dam in Myanmar. The participants answered 18 socio-economic questions regarding their new location after the resettlement. The respondents were a total of 2,216 answers collected in 2014 from 23 relocated villages.

Spectrum together with Mandalay University conducted a field study and collected the 2016 answers for the survey. It was 477 respondents with 374 male respondents and 103 female respondents. Even if this is a large decline in respondents since the 2013 collection of the survey, there is a significant collection of responses which will be used in this research.

The questions asked in the survey are the following; 1) *Education* 2) *Health Care* 3) *Economic Growth* 4) *Personal income* 5) *Housing Standards* 6) *Access Roads* 7) *Religious Buildings* 8) *Water Supply* 9) *Sanitation* 10) *Community Development* 11) *Electricity Supply* 12) *Standard of Farmland* 13) *Job opportunities* 14) *Livelihood safeguards* 15) *Relocation standard* 16) *Standard of living* 17) *Environmental conservation* 18) *Equal compensation*.

4.1.3.1 The chosen questions

Each of these questions are of interest for the topic of post forced displacement and this research. However, not all are essential for this specific study, which focus on women. This study will therefore limit the questions into 1) Education, 2) Health Care, 3) Economic growth, 4) Personal income, 5) Housing standard, 6) Access to roads, 7) Religious building construction, 10) Community Development, 12) Standards of farmlands and Cultivation lands, 13) Job opportunities, 15) Relocation standard, 16) Standard of living. These are the most applicable to answer the research questions.

No questions in the survey answered if information was distributed different regarding community or gender, therefore no data could be applied in this chapter.

The compensation chapter includes questions number 12) Standard of farmlands and cultivation lands, 15) Relocation standard and 7) Religious building construction. Each of these questions serve as a contribution to the new life of a resettlement. By seeing the

data values of both male and females scores in these survey questions, the research might be able to answer the research questions.

The social impact chapter includes questions 10) Community Development, 1) Education, 2) Health care, 16) Standard of living. How a community develops after a resettlement gives understanding of how the new lifestyle is affecting households. Community development can imply many factors but this thesis focus on development for the better and in aspect of how the households in the community have done since. Education and health care are essential for an equal society for all groups. Children need education to receive jobs and other opportunities in life that could be lost without school. Health care is important because sick people could be outcasts or targeted as burdens. A person's social status could be lost if it would get injured. Families could be torn apart and dynamics inside the family could be jeopardized.

The economic chapter includes questions 3) Economic growth, 4) Personal income and 13) Job opportunities. These three questions values will show if economic prosperity has been improved or not. For a community to prosper, it should be jobs available so that personal income is stable and there is significant economic growth for the community.

The remedy chapter includes questions 6) Access to roads and 5) Housing standards. When being relocated from one's old community, families have expectations for what the new location might bring. It is very important to have functioning infrastructure and new houses that the relocated are content with, otherwise this can create grievance among the households.

This content will give enough findings to answer the research questions. The execution of the research will show patterns if women and men have experienced the resettlement differently. Combining both quantitative and qualitative data gives an overview and a depth to the different perspectives. The surveys give an overview of how the households experienced the relocation precisely when the plant was implemented. Being able to see the difference three years later give depth because this shows if there is a growing improvement of the community or if it has stayed the same, or are still worse than earlier.

5 Women in Myanmar society

In tradition and law, women in Myanmar are not discriminated based on gender. However, women do not have the same status in society as men do. Reasons for not being discriminated by law but cultural differences can be found in how women are viewed in religious context and their role in their family (Myat Mon,2000:247). As sources writes, women are subordinate to men in Myanmar. However, the women in Myanmar have social customs that they enjoy in the society. Women have their birth name through their whole life and the name is neither from their mother or father, it is completely individual, and they do not change name when married (Nwe, 2003:4). The traditional ring to declare the wedding is not a custom in Myanmar and women do not wear a wedding ring which other western countries do. The absent of a ring symbols the equality between the genders for the observer (Nwe, 2003:5)

Old notes from the colonial times back in 1963 evince how women both done the domestic work in the household and helped with her husband's business. Myanmar women work alongside their men and some play a leading role in the business, especially regarding agricultural business where the family produce and sell crops (Nwe, 2003:6).

Even if the literature identifies Myanmar women's strong position in the society, Myanmar's society is characterized by men having more influence. The societal norms are more a rule of behavior and women have certain duties as a woman (Nwe, 2003:7). During the colonialism of at that time called 'Burma', women was being empowered by many means. Fashion were used as a tool for young women to break the chain of the older generation by dressing more westernized (Ikeya, 2008:1281). Females begun to have a voice in British Burma using journals and magazines to express their thoughts regarding the gender climate (Ikeya, 2008:1290). Ma Lay is one of Myanmar's most known writer and has a background with her work since 1934. Together with her husband she published journals but when her husband died in 1945, she became the director of Gyanaygyaw, an unusual role for a woman in her thirties. Ma Lay also had a reputation of always being stylish dressed which gave her more influence by women at that time (Ikeya, 2008:1294).

An article titled *The Deteriorating State of Male Mentality* is an article with a feministic stand regarding women in Myanmar. The female writer is challenging the sexual sphere men create regarding the new fashion women wear. The traditional longyi is a skirt wrapped around the waist and the older generation wears it down to the ankles. Younger women have as of the millennium started to wear it shorter, showing more of their feet and legs. (Ikeya, 2008:1295) The clash of generations regarding the new women fashion is clearly upsetting women and Ma Lay argues that men create the problem by viewing women as a sexual object and lusting after females. She further argues that the climate should change directions and women should not to be ashamed for how they carry themselves, but rather how men cope with professional women who have jobs outside the home (Ikeya, 2008:1294). She further challenges men on their fear of working with independent women. She concludes by encouraging women to take the lead in guiding the country in another direction to stop how men create an uncomfortable environment for women (Ikeya, 2008:1295).

The women who studied under the 1920 in Myanmar later became the first females in many professions around the country. The development of women getting an education and working showed that modern women in Myanmar stretched as far as they could in getting equal rights as men. Working, getting higher education, being as influential as male writers, all done alongside men (Ikeya, 2008:1296).

Myanmar is a Buddhist society and to understand how women can have a strong identity in the society and at the same time become undermined in the society is grounded in the country's belief. One essential momentum in the Myanmar Buddhist society is the *Hpon*. Hpon in Buddhism give men stronger status because all males possess it but not all females. The spiritual advantages given to men is of great importance for them and losing the Hpon could result in great danger, according to their belief (Nwe, 2003:7). The statuses are regulated through traditions and norms brought to the society from the religious beliefs. The hierarchy is therefore based on the cultural upbringing of families and the roles can be seen in the homes of a Myanmar family (Nwe, 2003:7).

Both by tradition, and until present, women have the main responsibility for the home chores of cooking and sewing (Nwe, 2003:7). Women's longyis (traditional skirts) are

worn by both male and females but these garments have different rules inside a house. A woman's longyi should not be visible in the house when guests come over, neither on high selves or on the floor and should not be near a Buddhist altar. Men's longyis however, can be put anywhere without any consequence (Nwe, 2003:8) Women have rooms in the house for themselves that are excluded to men (Nwe, 2003: 8).

The lives of Buddhist families in Myanmar are in great mean driven by religion and families have adapted to this. It is part of their everyday life and women live according to the norm's society has on her (Nwe, 2003:10) Being born as woman in Myanmar limits your opportunities because of the social and cultural norms women face. Examples can be seen in the weak participation of women leaders and the male-government where women represent 30 of the 664 positions in the parliament in 2015 (Faxon et al., 2015:465).

Ownership of land is a discussed subject in regard to gender equality in Myanmar since agriculture is the main labor activity. Farming, livestock's, forestry and fishery is Myanmar's largest contribution to its economy and women have a great part in this sector (UN WOMEN, 2016:76). Approximately 25.7 million people in Myanmar depend on agricultural production and women constitutes 51% in the agricultural sector (UN WOMEN,2016:76).

The 18.1 million workers in this sector were 50% women and 50.1% men in 2010. Furthermore, 86.5% of the workers came from a male-headed household, meaning that the man is the decision maker (UN WOMEN, 2016:77).

Moreover, there is a significant inequality on men and women's rights to landownership. Access to land can be crucial for economic security and since the 2008 constitution women should have same rights as men to own land, but there is no guidance on how women can claim land after a divorce or the death of their husband (UN WOMEN, 2016:78). The legislation is confusing and does not explain enough to protect land rights which increase the land insecurity household have, and women experience this insecurity further because men are usually listed as the head in the household, placing women under men in legal rights (Faxon et al., 2016:470).

Myanmar have many different states, and each have their own cropping patterns in regards do labor in farming. However, regardless of state or region, women perform the majority of tasks which includes the following; planting, caring, weeding, harvesting, threshing, postharvest operations as well as marketing of the crops. Labor for women in Myanmar means more than farming. They are also the main caretaker in the household which is many hours spent each day for domestic and care work, such as cooking, caring for children and gathering firewood and water (UN WOMEN, 2016:78).

6 Findings

The findings from this research will be presented as described below.

A background chapter will present the case of the UPL dam project and describe how and why the project were implemented. Secondly, the content from the two texts will be objectively outlined with the results presented in each specific chapter. The chapters will be divided into five groups - information on the project, compensation for their losses, economic impacts, social impacts and the remedy. The content used in the findings chapter have been evaluated in the method chapter and will therefore not be addressed in that manner again in this chapter.

6.1 Upper Paunglaung dam project

The Paunglaung river is a tributary of the Sittaung, a major river stretching 420 km in east-central Myanmar. The location of the project is in the end of the south valley, which is the only place along the river with fertile ground. The reservoir of the dam is 61 square kilometer with a capacity of 140 MW. The main purpose of the dam is to electrify Myanmar's capital Nay Pyi Daw, which is located 50 km from the dam (KNGY, 2011:1-4). The dam was launched in 2014 when 23 villages had been resettled which was 2.524 households and 9.755 people (Spectrum, 2017:2).

The four companies involved are presented below;

AF-colenco is a Swiss engineering company which worked with the construction design. **Malcolm Dunstan and Associates** which is based in London worked with the construction and had worked at two other dams in Myanmar earlier. **Yunnan Machinery and Export Company (YMEC)** have a contract with Myanmar Department of hydroelectric power (DHP) in 2006. They provided machinery and equipment for the building for 80 million USD. **China Exim Bank** funded the building of the dam with over 120 USD. (KNGY, 2011:2)

6.2 Spectrums report

Spectrum concluded and published their results in 2017. The study was conducted with consultation of several other active and operating NGOs in Myanmar. The aim was to determine how women are affected by the relocation and give recommendations for future displacements. The report has a clear angle regarding gender and the study starts off by stating that gender plays a large role on how one is affected by being resettled.

6.2.1 Information

The government sent out engineers to inform the communities about the resettlement. They summoned the village leaders and instructed them to pass on the necessary information to the villagers. During these meetings with village leaders and engineers, there almost only men. Women were thereby excluded in the manner of not being invited to participate. The sharing of information was limited and Spectrum found evidence that if one raised concern or questions for the projects, their invitation for future meetings could be taken away (Spectrum, 2017:2).

The exclusion created an information gap in the villages and many households and individuals felt uneasy to be unaware of the process. The government did not create any grievance mechanism in the community, which would have helped to fill the gap to some extent according to the report. Especially women had difficulties accessing information of the resettlement process when they were the group in the village that needed it the most due to their lack of participation on the meetings. This resulted in the need to rely on their husbands and neighbors recall of the meetings (Spectrum, 2017:2). Misconceptions of the nature of what and how a dam looked like were a gap too for the villagers. Many did not understand how the dam could flood their lands or could not imagine how this dam could force them to relocate (Spectrum, 2017:2).

6.2.2 Compensation

As mentioned earlier, the villagers were farmers before the resettlement and their main income came from their crops, livestock's or fisheries (Spectrum, 2017:4) and when the resettlement took place, the households were being cash compensated for their house and land. The compensation package was promised which also included 8.000 acres of cultivated land, together with the cash for the lost land. However, the villagers told Spectrum during interviews that the full compensation packages were not met and that the land was never given to them (Spectrum, 2017: 2).

6.2.3 Economic impacts

The resettlement therefore left the households with a great concern, the economic future, and the loss of economic opportunities. As earlier farmers, the economic downfall has been the biggest concern. Households have been experiencing economic stress because of the new location, forcing people to change their lifestyles to go around

the issues they face. Finding income has been the major problem with adjusting to the settlement. For the households to maintain their land and house, the men in the households seek employment elsewhere, abroad or in larger cities. The women also said that they want to leave the UPL settlement and live with their husbands, but they waited for their children to grow older. Spectrum therefore saw that the women did not see a future in the settlement, especially without agricultural opportunities. Because of their previous knowledge in farming, the only option to continue is to move.

6.2.4 Social impacts

Another change that affects women greatly is the changes in household dynamics after the resettlement. Women suffer from stress because of the economic uncertainty and struggle to buy necessities, even if their husbands are sending remittances to cover expenses (Spectrum, 2017:3). Moreover, the failed economic opportunities for the households is reportedly the most dramatic change they encountered. This cause worry and distress among affected groups and especially women. Women has to find work that generates more income than the remittances their husbands send. The economic stress experienced by women (Spectrum, 2017:4). If women could have been a part of the information sharing, they would want job security, better compensation, guaranteed agricultural land and cultivation of the agricultural land before the relocation happened (Spectrum, 2017:4).

6.2.5 Remedy

The Myanmar government declared the resettlement and implementation of the UPL dam as a success. According to Myanmar's Development of Hydropower implementation (DHPI) this is the best compensated resettlement project in Myanmar so far. By constructing and implement 161 new public buildings in the villages the relocated got new buildings for religious buildings, education, health, administration and other social affairs. Compared to the old buildings which were 142 in the original villages, the villagers got 19 new buildings (Spectrum, 2017:4). The government reported that the new public housings and public buildings had high standard and that they offered general development projects such as, fish seeds in dams, livestock's, ferry boats, medical services and playgrounds (Spectrum, 2017:4). The government helped with the move by arrange transportation for households' goods and the families.

Villagers noted the improvements for infrastructure and public instances (agencies?) but during interviews, none of the villagers mentioned the development projects which was to assist the villagers after the resettlement with fish seeds in dams or livestock. Moreover, households were open about them worsen economic basis since the resettlement. In November 2016 Myanmar's DHPI did not have any active development project (Spectrum, 2017:4).

6.3 Physicians for Human Rights report

Physicians for Human Rights released this research in October 2015 after conducting interviews and collected surveys from the relocated households in the Upper Paunglaung dam region. The aim of the study was to evaluate how resettlement in Myanmar are affecting households, especially after the new liberalization in reforms in 2012 when many foreign investors gave Myanmar aid in development work. They used Guidelines and principles for internally displaced people (IDP) and Guidelines and principles for development-based evictions and displacements as a framework to evaluate how the resettlement impacted the household's lives.

6.3.1 Information

In 2013, villagers told PHR that they first learned of the relocation plans when governmental officials went around the villages placing markers on the ground. When the villagers asked the officials what the markers were for, the officials first said it was for roads but later admitted it was marks for where the reservoir water line would be (PHR, 2015:11). Officials from Shan state held meetings to discuss the project and they learnt that they would face eviction if they did not resettle. During these meetings, officials was accompanied by armed police officers (PHR, 2015:11). PHRs research also writes about instances where officials threatened to punch a participant at a meeting for opposing the compensation (PHR, 2015:12). The instructions given more than eviction was that they would get cash as compensation for their house, which was based on the type, bamboo, wood or brick and free electricity up to three years. Religious buildings and monasteries would also be moved to the new location (PHR, 2015:11).

6.3.2 Compensation

75% of the households said that they were not properly informed about the resettlement plan, compensation or how to reduce risks with being displaced and 65% said that they did not get sufficient information on why the government needed to confiscate the specific landmass (PHR, 2015:11). The government compensated the households for

their houses and they moved the religious buildings as promised. Moreover, new public buildings such as schools and medical clinics where nurses were working was brought up (PHR, 2015:11). However, 57% said that they were not satisfied with the cash compensation and many said that they agreed on the compensation out of fear of losing the whole compensation by refusing and demanding more (PHR, 2015:12).

6.3.3 Economic impacts

Households whom were displaced reported that jobs were hard to find, getting children to school were difficult and buying food was a problem. 93% of the households answering the survey said that the overall situation had been worsening since the relocation and 91% did not have enough money to buy the necessities for their families (PHR, 2015:13). The monthly household income before the resettlement were 235.000 Myanmar Kyats (MMK) and after the resettlement 45.000 MMK (PHR, 2015:18). Before the resettlement, 54% were rice-farmers, which was the household's main income. After the resettlement 4% of the earlier 54% were still rice farmers. During the same time span, unemployment increased from 1% before resettlement to 20% after resettlement. Further changes after the relocation was the transfer from farming to wage labor (PHR, 2015:13).

During PHRs survey, 99% said their income decreased with an income drop of 81% after resettlement. Key informant interviews acknowledged that daytime labor jobs were hard to find and that the pay had decreased (PHR, 2015:13).

6.3.4 Social impacts

Loosing land and earlier livelihoods have great impacts on the lives of the relocated. Findings of a higher suicide rate among the resettlers are results from Patient Healthcare Questionnaire which showed numbers of 81% as possibly depressed. Since 2013 in Htantabin village 10 people have tried to commit suicide by drinking toxic formula where 6 were hospitalized and 4 died. Villagers said during interviews that young, unmarried and earlier farmers where the risk groups for suicide (PHR, 2015:15). During group interviews participants said that they experienced a higher consumption of alcohol among the resettled (PHR, 2015:15).

6.3.5 Remedy

Villagers said during focus groups that they received the money promised by the government and that religious buildings were moved and reconstructed. As written earlier, the government also built schools and hospitals where nurses worked. Another promise was that when the settlement was registered as a township, it would receive governmental service (PHR, 2015:11)

6.4 Socio-Economic surveys

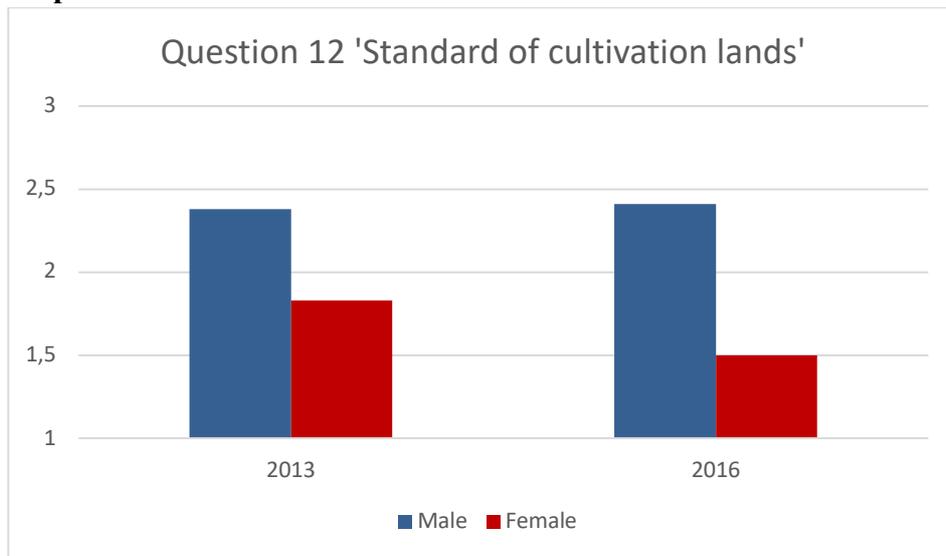
In order to use the surveys, the research needs to limit itself to some of the 18 questions from the survey. They also need to fit into the subjects of each chapter in this part when presenting the results. The questions used were 1) Education, 2) Health Care, 3) Economic growth, 4) Personal income, 5) Housing standard, 6) Access to roads, 7) Religious building construction, 10) Community Development, 12) Standards of farmlands and Cultivation lands, 13) Job opportunities, 15) Relocation standard, 16) Standard of living.

The participants answered the survey within a scale of 1-3. The data is divided into these values and the respondent answered either 1 - better, 2 - same or 3 - worse.

6.4.1 Information

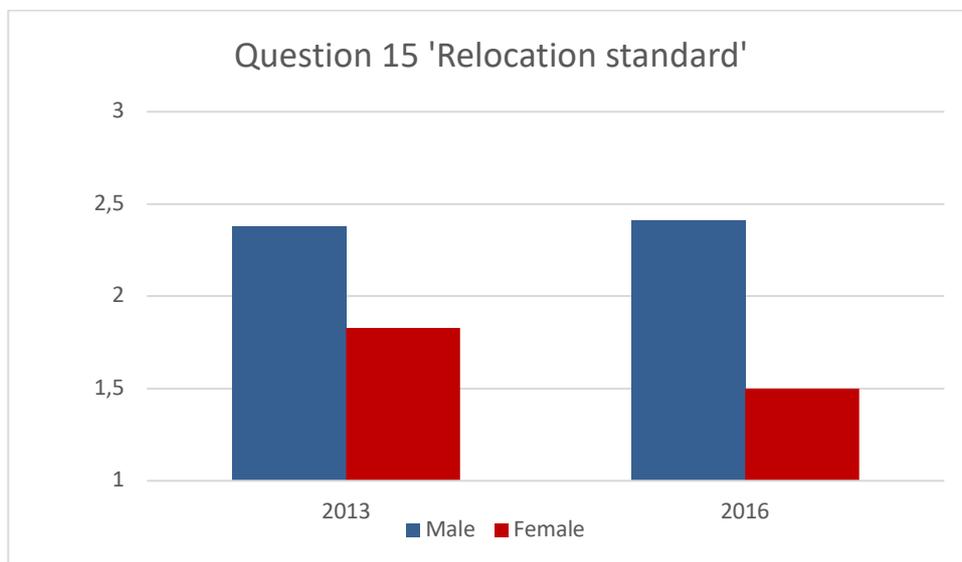
There is no question about how information was distributed among the villagers in the survey that could match this chapter.

6.4.2 Compensation



(See appendix A)

Question number twelve (12) Standard of farmlands and cultivation lands, shows a high values since the resettlement in the 2013 and 2016 data with an average of both male and females reply of 2,98. Between the years of 2013 and 2016 the difference showed a 0,10 decline, leaving the average on 2,88 in 2016. Women scored a 2,99 in 2013 and a 2,93 in 2016 leaving females with a difference with 0,05 between the years.



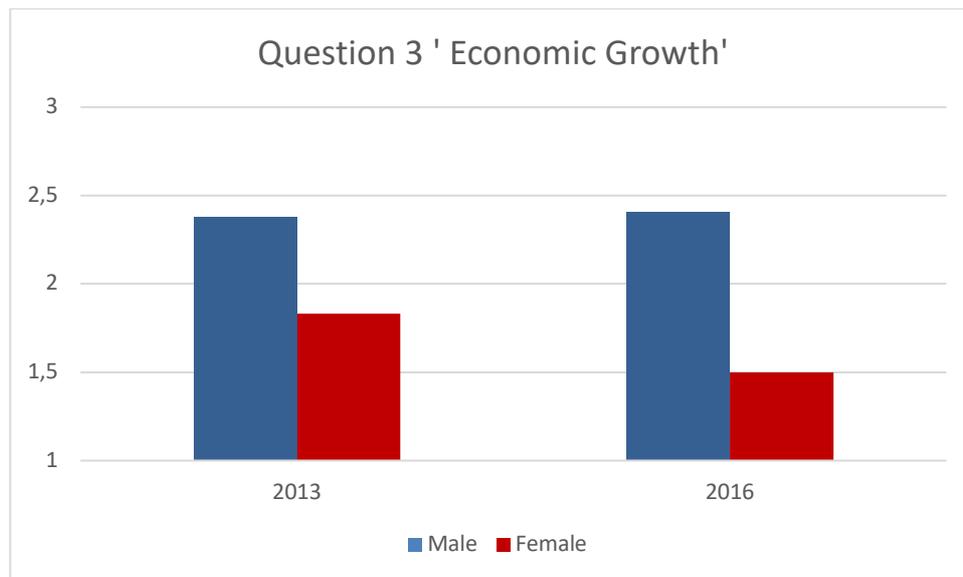
(See appendix A)

Question number fifteen (15), Relocation standard, show a somewhat higher value since the resettlement. The average for both male and females in 2013 were 2,46 and in 2016 2,17. The respondents between the years are improving with a 0,29 difference. In 2013 men scored 2,47 whereas women scored 2,39 showing a difference with 0,08 between

the sexes. In 2016 men scored 2,20 whereas women scored 2,08 showing a difference of 0,12.

Question number seven (7) Religious building construction, shows lower values on average for both sexes with a score of 1,56 in 2013 and 1,47 in 2016 which shows a lowering of the values with 0,09.

6.4.3 Economic impacts



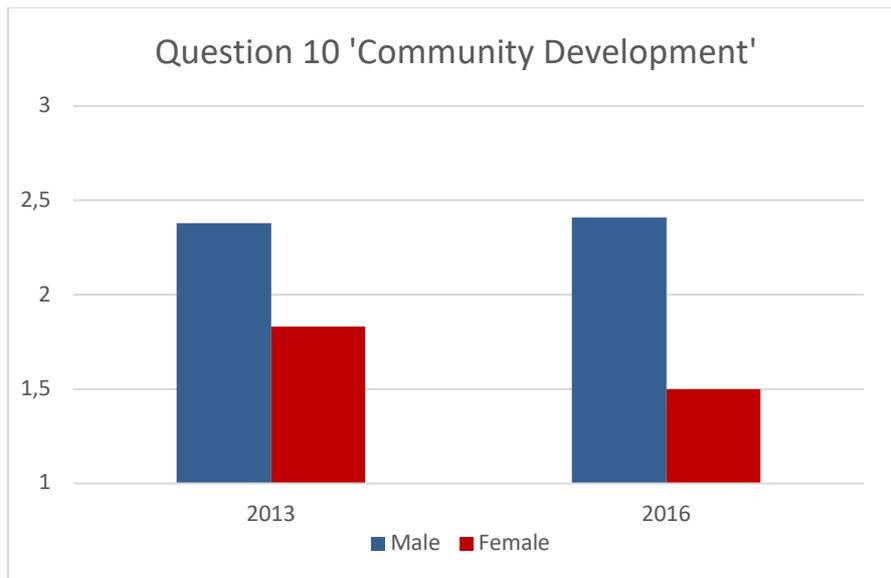
(See appendix A)

Question number three (3) Economic growth, shows higher values after the resettlement for both 2013 and 2016. The average for both male and females in 2013 was 2,96 and 2,88 in 2016. Men and females score very similar with a difference of 0,01 in 2013 and 0,02 in 2016. This notes that between 2013 and 2016 the overall average for both sexes were 0,09.

Question number four (4) Personal income, score high values after the resettlement. The average for both male and females in 2013 scores 2,97 and in 2016 2,90.

Question number thirteen (13) Job opportunities, scores high with a 2,98 on average for both males and females in 2013. In 2016 the average for both male and females scores lower with 2,91. This shows a lower value between the years with 0,07 for both sexes. In 2013 men and females scored the same with 2,98 and in 2016 men scored 2,98 whereas females scored 2,96.

6.4.4 Social impacts



(See appendix A)

Question number ten (10) Community Development, show a higher value for both male and females after the resettlement in 2013 with a score of 2,32. In 2016 the average for both male and females were 1,70, showing a 0,62 difference between 2013 and 2016. Females scored 2,27 in 2013 and 1,53 in 2016 giving a difference of 0,70 between the years.

Question number one (1) Education, shows a lower value in both 2013 and 2016. Between the years, there was a 0,30 difference going from 1,52 in 2013 to 1,22 in 2016 on average for both sexes.

Question number two (2) Health care, shows lower value after the resettlement for both sexes with an average of 1,91 in 2013. Males scored an average of 1,90 whereas women scored 2,01 leaving a difference of 0,11. In 2016 the average value for both sexes were 1,30 and males scored 1,30 whereas females scored 1,29. The differences between 2013 and 2016 showed a lower values with 0,61.



(See appendix A)

Question number sixteen (16) Standard of living, has a high average value of 2,39 for both sexes in 2013. In 2016 the average for both male and females declines to 1,76, giving a 0,60 lower value after three years post relocating.

6.4.5 Remedy

Question number six (6) Access to roads, shows a slightly lower value since the resettlement. The average for both male and females in 2013 scored a 1,82 and in 2016 1,31. This difference between the three years show a change of 0,51. In 2013 men and females responded very similar with a difference of 0,03 (men 1,82 and women 1,85). In 2016 men scored 1,35 and women 1,17 giving a difference with 0,18.

Question number five (5) Housing standard, show an average value of both sexes as 2,27 in 2013 and 1,99 in 2016. The decline of the value between the years is 0,28.

7 Analysis

The discussion chapter will review the findings with the research questions in mind. It will discuss the findings of the chosen will include the risks households are exposed to and present a discussion from the findings most valuable to answer the research questions.

The findings show that the government teamed up with foreign investors and engineers for the projects. When viewing who the investors are one can raise questions for what their purpose was with the implementation of the dam. This is a question for other researchers to explore but having this in mind while analyzing the results it might help understand the circumstances.

7.1 Information

The findings argue that the Myanmar Government sent out engineers and officials to inform the villagers of the project. However, the two sources differ because PHRs report states that villagers found out by asking and receiving a lie from the officials, before they told the truth about why they were putting out markers around the village. Even if this is an issue, it is no surprise that officials did not want to tell the villagers earlier. Villagers have the right to feel left out but there are multiple reasons why this might have happened. Perhaps, the officials were not informed enough themselves to deliver the information or were told by higher stands not to tell the villagers before it was decided to implement the dam. However, this shows how the Myanmar government is controlling this project by not including the villagers. The fact that they started the project without discussing the consequences of the dam with the villagers before, leaves the government with low credibility of trying to reach out to the villagers in time, while they in fact wanted to postpone the sharing of their plans to the villagers. If the officials had informed the villagers, they might have resisted against the implementation, making it more difficult for the government to proceed with the construction.

The Spectrum folder gave information that only village leaders were invited to the meetings to discuss the project. It stated that the meetings almost only consisted of men, excluding women. The exclusion would mean that women were dependent on their husband or neighboring households for information, making women more vulnerable for the change. Cernea clearly states that one risk of relocation is social disarticulation.

This risk starts before the resettlement has taken place in this case, by isolating women in the decision-making. The result gave us information that many households felt uneasy by the exclusion from information, providing stronger arguments for how the risk was created before the resettlement took place.

Attending the meetings also showed results of how the government created fear among the participant. Not only did police officers attend the meetings armed, the officials threatened to use violence against a participant for arguing against the cash compensation presented. Also, one scenario during a meeting when a participant raised concern about the project, that person would not get another invitation to further meetings. During the meetings they got informed about the consequences of not moving to the resettlement, which was eviction. This approach by the government to give information is offensive toward the participants. Threatening with violence and eviction does not make the households more at ease with their new situation they will face.

There were misunderstanding by the villagers of how a reservoir could flood the area their village were at. Not receiving enough information about the plan and especially for women to be excluded is not a sustainable relocation.

Knowing women's role in the Myanmar society, it is understandable that the men went to the meetings. The man is the legitimate owner of the house and this is therefore his concern. The role men and women have in families differ from each culture, and it is important to understand that in Myanmar women and men have different roles inside the household that westerners might find unequal. Women is the main caretakers and domestic workers in the family. Because of these roles they attain, it is more natural for the man to go whereas women stay home and do the domestic work. One might argue that the bond between the man and women in the household is strong and that the women know that the husband will re-tell the information to them. As is stated in the result, women talked to neighbors if they did not receive enough information. This mechanism gave women safety that even if their men did not explain thoroughly, they could ask others for support. Without this safety-net, women can suffer harder from the risk of being isolated. By leaving their home and getting new neighbors, houses and jobs the risk is becoming larger, especially for women if they are not included in decisions or given the right to the same information as men.

7.2 Compensation

Compensation were promised for the villagers as cash compensation for the loss of their house, land and religious buildings. There is no recollection of what sum the household got for their losses but depending on the material of the house, there were different compensated. Compensating households for their losses are never an easy task and grievance among the households will emerge if they are not content with the compensation. In PHRs report, 57% of the relocated households were not content with the cash compensation, but because of the fear of losing the whole compensation, they accepted.

The data provided the research with insight on how the relocation standards were. The relocation standard could be considered worse than before, but it is almost same as before. Women however scored worse than the average, meaning that women do not value the new location as much as men. Speculating why this might be leads to the fact that women are, according to the women in Myanmar society chapter, home more and care more for elderly and children. Being restricted and not being able to continue the life as before is an obstacle. Another thought is that the men and women are afraid of what would happen if they said that the compensation for the loss of the village is not enough, regarding the threats from the governmental officials.

The government promised to relocate and reconstruct religious buildings. According to the data from the survey, the villagers were satisfied with the religious buildings at the new location. Even with three years apart, they responded with an improvement of the buildings. This example of improvement show that the government kept its promise. However, the reason for it might be the strong religious belief the Myanmar culture has. The grievance would probably been stronger if there were no religious buildings at the new settlement.

Compensation for the loss of land is an important factor for the people that became relocated. Most of the villager's income came from farming and fishing. The data from the survey showed a great discontent toward the new farmlands and cultivating lands. Even though it dropped 0,10 during three years, women remained discontent with only an 0,05 change and valued the standard of the new farmlands and cultivation lands as worse than before. The government did not keep the promise of a compensation

package either, which might give the high values of the bad standards of the farm- and cultivation land.

Risks of the loss of land is landlessness by the IRR model. The villagers lose natural capital by having to leave one's home and land. The villagers have created this platform of safety and income that is taken away. If the household's ownership of land is not restored, the households can be impoverished. This case's household did not receive the right amount of compensation to be satisfied to continue their farming according to the results.

7.3 Economic impacts

Results show that the greatest loss has been the economic downfall, since the resettlement. The earlier farmers have faced economic stress due to this, which can be an effect of Cerneas joblessness. Without a steady income and by losing jobs and land, the resettled may feel losing control over the situation. With this new situation, remittances and jobs outside of the new community is common to ease the stress. The females in the community wanted to leave and live with their husbands, and their absence must be though because of the family dynamics.

The survey scored high values both 2013 and 2016, indicating that there has been a small or no change at all for the personal income. PHR reported that the salaries went from 235.000 MMK to 45.000 which is a big change for a family that create insecurities. Females said that they struggle to buy necessities to their families at some times. Just as Cernea explains, many on these risks of being resettled can snowball into each other. If the government would have made sure to create jobs and or give the community cultivation land, they might not have faced joblessness. By driving the men away, many women might experience more stress due to the change in the dynamics, as mentioned before. Economic marginalization definingly happened in the UPL resettlement. The reason for this argument is that families were forced from their safe lives, in the sense that safe meant economic stability and stable family dynamics. The re-start at the new community without work that evolve around their skills and farming, they lose power.

Without economic growth and a decline in personal income, it is not sustainable for families to stay there. Women are not expected to do any labor work, but still consider it due to the rising instability in their new location. This create more stress and these economic instabilities can cause the depression mentioned in the PHR report.

7.4 Social impacts

Moving on to the same risk with a different approach is the psychological marginalization that occur when social patterns are destroyed creating an instability in the resettled's need for a feeling of belonging. PHRs report state that suicidal rates have increased and that 81% of the resettled that filled out their questionnaire had signs of depression. This is a sign of a decline in self-esteem because their job opportunities were taken away. Men might feel more depressed because their wife's must help with labor work whereas before the men did most of the labor work.

Homelessness may not have happened in this relocation because the survey state that the values dropped 0.60 during three years when asked about their standard of living. Even though Cernea argues that losing their home can be traumatic because they lose cultural space and can get a feeling of placelessness. This feeling is combined with being forced away from one's home and starting over without similar labor work as before. When the resettled women's husbands leave for jobs elsewhere, they lose another reminder of their lives before the resettlement. His risks may be intertwined because many of the risks can be applied to single situations, such as explained by the risk homelessness.

A crucial part for a successful resettlement could arguably be community development. The values of the surveys show that in 2016, female and males scored the same, but women had the highest different between the years with a 0,72 lowers value. This question can be related to health care and education. Both of these questions from the resettlement show lower values, indicating that they have improved at the new location. For females that is the main caretaker for a family with its children and elderly, they must value that their children can go to school and that elderly get care if they get sick. Regarding health care as an improvement it has to be a greater safety for families to know that if someone would get ill, there is medical care to receive. Development can also be seen in the values of access to roads in the survey. There was a greater change between the years 2013 and 2016 probably because they did more infrastructural work

around the community. Development of roads puts the resettled households in the right direction to what their occupation were before, when they farmed and sold their crops or livestock's.

Spectrum also reported that if women would have been a part of the information sharing, they would have put forward the need for jobs, which can be understandable because women does not want to break the family dynamics. They would ask for better compensation with the motive explained earlier, that the compensation did not meet the promises or expectations. They would also had asked to be guaranteed the cultivation and farmland, because they had not yet received it.

7.5 Remedy

The government declared that the UPL development project was a success and that the compensation was the most generous than before. Without a transparent government, it is difficult to know if this is true. The findings did not confirm the government's claim that the compensation was handed to the households resettled. Knowing this, the other allegations of new buildings and teaching fishery farming created by the government, falls short.

However, the government did build roads and improved the housing standards, according to the result from the survey. Women scored lower on number 6) access to roads but same as men on question 5) housing standards. The lower score might be because the husbands do not experience or use the roads as much as women do. If the husband is working in a different city, they do not use the roads as much women who need it to buy groceries, if they have a business, they need to travel to sell their merchandise.

There are no easy solutions when creating a dam, but the main concern should be for the relocated families. As Cernea argues, the risks should be avoided as much as possible. Being relocated have so many effects on you as this research state, some bad and some good. The bad could have been avoided with promises being kept and great compensation would be paid. Creating jobs is very important and the survey showed that this is one of the main issue's families face. The husbands move away, and the

children will grow up, but they see no future in the resettlement because there are no jobs available.

Failing to include women in the information meetings creates more grievance among the households. Women have a strong status in the society as earlier stated, even if men possess the spiritual hpon. During interviews they had inputs on what they would bring up during the meetings. These inputs matter too, and probably more for the women than the men. The society in Myanmar is divided in the roles of man and woman and regarding their different roles, they want and need different items and infrastructural improvements.

Nevertheless, the government have not assessed the risks enough before the implementation of the UPL dam. The assessment from the government might have grounds in the high demand for electricity and the increasing demand they face each year. The lack of electricity in Myanmar is a problem according to the larger development organizations around the world because electricity could bring people out of poverty and make the quality of life better. Electricity can help families spare time, especially for women whom do the domestic work. Rice cookers and electric stoves bring clean air and is not as time consuming. Electricity can indeed give more quality to life, but this quality comes with a price. Millions of families are relocated due to this high demand of electricity each year, and the people around the UPL dam are some of them.

7.6 Impoverishment Risk Model

Cerneas risks will be evaluated according to the results and discussion above to evaluate if the households in the Upper Paunglaung dam were impoverished by the resettlement.

1) Landlessness

The resettlement in of UPL dam did not restore the ownerships of land as promised, results show. The ownership of land is a significant part of the resettled's identity. The relocated were farmers before being relocated and their land was their main source of income. The economic impacts showed that the economic growth became worse, together with their personal income and unemployment. This risk has a tendency of snowballing in to other risks, meaning that this can be the first trigger.

2) *Joblessness*

Unemployment in the new settlement is worse than before. Not receiving the compensation package which should have included land and education on how to use fisheries instead of only livestock's and cultivating land. This meant that their old professions were lost and the resettlement had no new jobs to apply for. Results show that the men in the households therefore needed to move to sustain an income for their family. Females also needed to work, in addition to the husband's remittances, to be able to buy necessities.

3) *Homelessness*

Each of the resettled households got a new house. And the survey showed that the living standards got improved at the new resettlement according to the women. As the 'women in Myanmar society' chapter told, women have a different connection to the home because they do their domestic work there. Before the resettlement, people had own made capital with their land and house as assets but after the resettlement they lost this stability in their life. Results also showed that depending on the house you possessed at the original village, you got different compensated depending on the type of exterior. Losing your capital and starting over created a sense of placelessness among the relocated. People suffered from depression because their expectations about jobs and cultivation land were not met. This is one reason why families, and especially women do not see a future in the new resettlement because they lost their status or felt ashamed of their new economic stand.

4) *Marginalization*

The households around the UPL dam lost their economic power when they got forced to leave their homes. As the results show, the economic growth and income is slowly improving in the area, but is still worse than before the resettlement. The relocated were mainly farmers and relocated with hopes to continue their old profession. Unfortunately, they did not get the cultivating lands promised which made it not possible to continue as farmers in the new location, which made them impoverished of the economic situation. They faced further marginalization such as psychological due to their loss of self-esteem which created depression when losing their previous identity as farmers and without jobs to create a stable economy.

5) Food Insecurity

The resettled households did not indicate that they suffer from food insecurity. However, the risk of having food insecurity is a reality for the households. Because of their new economic struggles, women said they needed to take on labor work as well as doing the domestic work, to be able to buy necessities to the family each month. So even if there is no starvation, the households are still struggling to maintain a stable life for the family.

6) Increased Morbidity and Mortality

The illness that struck the households were depression due to their new circumstances. There has not been an outbreak of diseases due to unsanitary water, but psychological harm faced the relocated.

7) Loss of Access to Common Property and Services

The government moved the location and built a new community for the resettled. Even if they lost common property such as forests and water bodies, the results showed an improvement on education and health care since the resettlement. The losses of forests and common water is an economic loss if they used it to gather fire to the home or water for the family. The government moved the pagodas which is important because as the 'women in Myanmar society' chapter state, the Buddhist belief is a strong part of the country's culture and by moving the pagodas, this cultural bond is upheld. Education and health care have a significant improvement. Reasons for this might be shorter transportation to school, new facilities or new teachers. The same accounts for the improvement in health care, shorter distance and modernized equipment.

8) Social Disarticulation

The relocated from the UPL dam project faced struggles with identity and the feel of belonging after the resettlement. Being forced to move and losing one's main source of income can change the status one had before. The change of social patterns, where women has to take on the role as labor workers in addition to the domestic work is not usual in Myanmar as the 'women in Myanmar society' chapter explains. This can create a stigma and isolation around the households that break the normative way of how roles in the household should be.

7.7 Answers to the research questions

Did the resettlement in Upper Paunglaung dam affect men and women community members differently?

The information chapter showed us that it affected men and women differently. The women were isolated and did not participate, leaving their opinions and remarks untouched. The compensation affected men and women differently. Even if the households obtained the compensation together, the women are economically bound to the men which impoverishes them. The compensation package did not include sufficient needs to continue the professions the households manage before the resettlement. This backlashed to women because they needed to do extra work to have enough income to buy necessities. This snowballed into the economic impacts because this also affected men and females differently. The job situation had become worse and the personal income had decreased. The men therefore needed to move away to find jobs and send remittances. This further forced the women to start working too, in addition to the social roles where women are the domestic workers and caretakers. By changing the economic conditions, the households' social sphere is changed. The traditional household work together with the man or not at all but focus on the domestic work, children and elderly. This clearly shows that there was a difference in how men and women were affected. However, the remedy for the new location is questionable because the government stated that this resettlement was the best compensated ever and that it was a success. Reports show that not all remedy was met but the households saw an improvement in housing standards and religious buildings. There is no significance if men and women were affected differently by the remedy. The remedy might have been different if women could participate in the information sharing before the relocation to add their needs for an improved remedy.

And

What processes account for the gendered effects of resettlement?

The resettlement project had many processes that accounted for the gendered effects. The government has responsibility to make sure that the relocated households are content with their new life according to the guiding principles. The government do not

have any active social development projects in the location, which earlier literature informed about the improved effects it had. Even so, the government need to ensure that information reach men and women, that the social bonds are not broken in the new community, that the personal income and economic growth is not decrease post resettlement and that the remedy is fully executed as promised. The government should take these categories in mind when they build their next development project that affect women, men, children and elderly.

This concludes that the processes that impoverished men and women differently is the isolation from information, excluding their requests for compensation, economic deprivation, change of social dynamics and depression, not receiving adequate compensation.

8 Conclusion

The resettlement in the UPL dam in Myanmar affected men and women differently. The mechanism accounted for the gendered effect were the exclusion for them to get the same information about the resettlement as men did. This meant a loss of power and isolation in the community. They did not get the same advantages as men to discuss compensation from a female perspective which made the compensation angled to what the men in the community demanded. Women are not the main wage earner in the household, but they still suffer from economic stress. They are forced to rely on the husband's remittances to be able to have enough income each month for necessities. If the income each month is not enough, the women might need to do labor work, alongside the other duties Myanmar women have, such as domestic work and caretakers for elderly and children. Suicides and depression have become more common after the resettlement. The mentioned above put pressure on women as an effect of the resettlement, creating stress and worry. However, women indicate that community development has become better. Children can go to school and there are health care centers nearby, creating a security for the household. The government declared the UPL dam project a success. The findings from this research do not classify this resettlement project as a success due to the many risks the resettled households faced and still face. They stated that the compensation given was the greatest in Myanmar history, but this research show that compensation did not reach all. Proving this claim is though because the government is not transparent enough.

This research finds it interesting to continue to observe the development of the resettlement of the UPL dams' households. Further investigation should be conducted to extract how these impoverishments have affected women in more deeper manners. Each of the parts from the result chapter could be done further research on and see how they affected households from a gendered perspective. When discussing compensation, women should be included for future resettlement projects because they know what would cause them stress and how to prevent this. The resettlement can improve over time, or the households move when their children are older, as they stated.

Development projects will continue, but the responsible for construction and implementations need to take responsibility for the families that lose more than economic assets, but their future.

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