

Gender, Conflict-induced Displacement and Livelihood

A Case Study of Lana Zupja Camp, Kachin State,
Myanmar

Ying Lwin



Consortium of Development Studies
in Southeast Asia (CDSSEA)



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The Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia has drawn on primary postgraduate research undertaken for theses from the master's programs of Asian Institute of Technology's Master of Science in Gender and Development Studies (MGDS), Chiang Mai University's Master of Arts in Social Science (Development Studies) (MASS); and the Chulalongkorn University Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS). Scholarships for the students of CDSSEA has been generously provided by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada. With a diversity of academic approaches (gender studies, political science, social sciences), the individual works of this collection have in common a focus on the increasing interconnection and regionalization of the five mainland Southeast Asian countries (Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam), and examine these exchanges and encounters within the context of the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS).

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Gender, Conflict-induced Displacement and Livelihoods:
A Case Study of Lana Zupja Camp, Kachin State, Myanmar

Ying Lwin



The Regional Center for Social Science
and Sustainable Development
Chiang Mai University

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Series Foreword

The Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD) at Chiang Mai University has extended its publication program to include Master's dissertations from The Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia (CDSSEA). The CDSSEA series covers mainland Southeast Asia: Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, and regionalization, development encounters and exchanges within the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS).

The CDSSEA program brings together resources and expertise from three of Thailand's leading institutions offering Master's degrees in development studies: Chiang Mai University's Master of Arts in Social Science (Development Studies) (MASS); Chulalongkorn University's Master of Arts in International Development Studies (MAIDS); and the Asian Institute of Technology's Master of Science in Gender and Development Studies (MGDS). Although the Consortium's program focuses on the relationship between development studies and social sciences, each of the programs has a different emphasis. The Chiang Mai degree focuses on social sciences and anthropological perspectives, with research interests in environmental and resource management, food security and local livelihoods, labour migration and trans-border issues, ethnicity and development, health, tourism, and agrarian transitions. Chulalongkorn's program concentrates on the political dimension of development, including democratization, human rights, conflict resolution, international and civil society development organizations, community development and globalization. The Asian Institute of Technology focuses on the relationships between gender and development—including women's rights, civil society, and gender dimensions of urbanization and industrialization.

The CDSSEA program has a practical dimension, building leadership capacity in mainland Southeast Asia's regional development, bringing together postgraduate students, encouraging debate, and promoting the rethinking of development alternatives in such areas as social equality, justice and participation, environmental and economic sustainability, and community development. In this regard, a major objective is to develop the knowledge and skills of development practitioners and to enhance the quality and effectiveness of policy-making and its implementation in the region.

The publications in this series—selected from the CDSSEA Master's program—are designed to express this diverse range of interests in development studies and regionalization, and to emphasize the relationships between empirical and theoretical research, policy-making and practice.

Victor T. King, Senior Editorial Adviser,
Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia series

Contents

	Series Forward	v
	List of Figures and Tables	viii
	Abbreviations	ix
	Glossary of Terms	xi
	Acknowledgments	xiii
Chapter 1:	Introduction	1
Chapter 2:	Literature Review	9
Chapter 3:	Research Methodology	31
Chapter 4:	General Information about the Study Area and the Internally Displaced Persons Camp	39
Chapter 5:	Gender and Human Security inside the Lana Zupja Camp	51
Chapter 6:	Changes in Livelihood and the Implications for Gender Relations	75
Chapter 7:	Impacts on Gender Relations, Women's Status and Leadership	85
Chapter 8:	Conclusion	105
	Bibliography	109
	Index	117

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 2.1	Conceptual framework of research	29
Figure 3.1	Maps of Lana Zupja Camp, and Mansi Township	32
Table 3.2	List of respondents	34
Table 3.3	Profile of key informants	36
Figure 4.1	Map of Lana Zupja Camp zones	42
Table 4.2	General information about Lana Zupja Camp	43
Table 4.3	Age distribution and marital status of respondents	47
Figure 4.4	Educational level of the respondents	48
Figure 4.5	Routes of displacement to the camp	49
Table 5.1	Aid supported items for IDPs during 2012-2014 and 2015	54
Table 5.2	Basic income of respondents	63
Table 5.3	Human security threats in Lana Zupja Camp	73
Figure 6.1	Employment status of IDP men, before and after displacement	81
Figure 6.2	Employment status of IDP Women, before and after displacement	82
Table 7.1	Gender segregation of ward leaders in Lana Zupja Camp	96

Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ARPN	Asian Research Publishing Network
ALTSEAN	Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma
BGF	Border Guard Force
BRIDGE	Bridging Rural Integrated Development and Grassroots Empowerment
BSPP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
CDSSEA	Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia
CERI	Centre for Educational Research and Innovation
CPB	Communist Party of Burma
DGA	Department of General Administration
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EAO	Ethnic Armed Organizations
EBO	Euro Burma Office
ESA	Agricultural Development Economics Division
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-based Violence
GCA	Government Controlled Areas
GDA	General Department Administration
GRJ	Garum Jinghkri
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus

ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDI	In-depth Interview
IDMC	The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IPHSU	Institute for Peace Science, Hiroshima University
IRRC	Internally Displaced Persons and Refugee Relief Committee
KIA	Kachin Independence Army
KIC	Kachin Independence Council
KII	Key Informant Interview
KIO	Kachin Independence Organization
KMSS	Karuna Myanmar Social Service
KRDC	Kachin Relief and Development Committee
KWAT	Kachin Women's Association Thailand
KWPN	Kachin Women Peace Network
MUAC	Mid-Upper Arm Circumference
NCA	Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement
NDAK	New Democratic Army - Kachin
NDF	National Defense Front
NGCA	Non-government Controlled Areas
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
RANIR	Relief Action Network for IDPs and Refugee
SAM	Severe Acute Malnutrition
SLORC	State Law Order and Restoration Council

SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
TBC	Thai-Burma Consortium
TBP	Temporary Border Pass
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	The United Nations Environment Programme
UNFPA	The United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office of Coordination for Humanitarian Aid
USD	United States Dollars
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WFP	World Food Programme
WPN	Wunpawng Ninghtoi
WRC	Women's Refugee Commission

Glossary of Terms

Garum Jinhkri (GRJ) Network for helping

makkalong Helping to do traditional healing methods

Ningmu Ginlen Sharing Knowledge

pyat-ley-pyat four cut policy

taungya Farm

Tatmadaw Myanmar Military

* 1 USD = 1300 Kyat 1 USD = 6 Yuan

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background of the Study

Myanmar is located in Southeast Asia and has a total land area of 676,578 square kilometers. Its neighboring countries are Bangladesh to the west; India to the northwest; Lao People's Democratic Republic to the east; the Kingdom of Thailand to the southeast; and the People's Republic of China to the northeast, with which it shares a border of about 2,129 kilometers (km) (CIA, 2015). Myanmar is home to more than one hundred ethno-linguistic groups and is also known for the longest running civil war in the world, as the ongoing armed conflict has existed between the Myanmar army and EAOs since the country obtained independence from the British Empire in 1948 (South, 2011). Since 1962, there have been several military governments that have held power in the country and who have undertaken policy reform to deal with Ethnic Armed Organizations (EAOs). The Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), led by General Ne Win, remained in power until 1988, when the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) took over after the popular student uprising through a coup d'état. The SLORC changed its name to the State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) in 1997. Myoe mentions that the Myanmar Armed Forces (also known as the Tatmadaw) doctrine had an explicit emphasis on targeting the civilian populations when there was fighting with ethnic armed groups (2009). The consequences of over six decades of armed conflict have generated a displacement crisis and there are now an estimated 640,747

internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 415,373 refugees seeking shelter in neighboring countries (Jolliffe, 2014).

The Kachin ethnic group is one of the EAOs, fighting for self-autonomy within their own state. The Kachin armed struggle began on 5th February 1961, with the establishment of the Kachin Independence Organization (KIO) and the armed wing of its organization, the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), in northern Shan State and led by Zau Seng (Lintner, 1994). Kachin people have experienced displacement throughout the period of the armed struggle and the mass relocation of the Kachin people can be identified in two different stages.

The first displacement happened after the KIO took arms against the government military in 1961, until the KIO signed a ceasefire agreement in 1994. During this period, there were several armed clashes between the Myanmar army and the KIO. A large number of civilians were affected and as a result, they moved along the Kachin State and the northern Shan State. The KIO set up its stronghold headquarter along the Chinese border areas, so many of displaced people took shelter in towns and the Myanmar-China border areas (Jolliffe, 2014). During this period, displaced populations faced many challenges because no humanitarian aid was provided to the IDPs. Most of the displaced people did not know about humanitarian assistance and instead helped each other to rebuild their lives. After the ceasefire agreement was signed in 1994, the displaced populations were able to set up their lives with the support of the KIO. There was no United Nations involvement in the resettlement process, either in Kachin State or Northern Shan State (ibid.).

Another displacement period happened after the ceasefire agreement was breached between the Myanmar army and the KIO on 9th June, 2011. It was right after the former military government handed power to the new civilian government by holding the first election in two decades. Because of the armed clash, there were over one hundred thousand people who fled to both the government controlled areas (GCAs) and the non-government controlled areas (NGCAs). According to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), there was a total of 119 camps established in both Kachin State and Northern Shan State after the armed conflict (2015). However, the majority of displaced populations have relocated to NGCAs because they feel safer in those areas and most of them had already experienced

moving under the administration of the KIO (Jolliffe, 2014). The Kachin people experienced the Myanmar army systematically bomb villages, so they did not dare to take shelter under the Myanmar government controlled areas (ibid.). Since the people have fled to the border, the local host community and the KIO have played essential roles in supporting the displaced people to meet their basic needs. Before makeshift camps were established, people temporarily stayed in community halls considered safe, such as schools, markets and church compounds. Most of these IDP camps were set up very close to the border, so the IDP can easily cross to the China side for sanctuary (ibid.). According to United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), people lived in tarpaulin shelters along the mountainous area (2013). Some displaced people took up to six months to arrive at the camps because they spent time hiding in the forest near by their villages to look after homes, livestock and their livelihoods.

The Human Rights Watch (HRW) estimated that 7000 - 10 000 people crossed the border to the Chinese territory of Yunnan province, to seek shelter in their relatives' places and built temporary shelters (2012). They could not even stay a whole year in the Chinese territory, because the Chinese government forced them to return in August 2012. Even though China is a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, it pushed back the refugees, and also violated international human rights law, such as humiliating and degrading treatment (Bacchin, 2012). When the armed conflict began, Kachin civil society organizations came together to provide assistance to highly vulnerable IDPs in the NGCA areas.¹ UN agencies provided some aid, however, South insists that “the amount of aid delivered has been very limited, and has done little to build trust and confidence on the part of conflict-affected communities or local agencies” (2014, p.54). Even the UN agencies that did provide aid to IDPs, have had their distribution in the NGCA restricted as the government decides which camps in GCAs receive aid and which do not. The difficulty in generating livelihoods in the IDP camps has pushed people to cross the border in order to engage in waged labor. Since the camps were established a stone's throw away from the border, it made it very easy to cross both legally

1 These organizations consisted of BRIDGE, Kachin Baptist Convention, Kachin Relief and Development Committee, Kachin Women Association, Kachin Development Group, Karuna Myanmar Social Services, Metta Development Foundation, Shalom Foundation, RANIR and Wunpawng Ninghtoi (WPN).

and illegally, and because of this some Kachin women have also been trafficked and sold into China (Kachin Women Association of Thailand [KWAT], 2013).

Statement of the Problem

Over several decades, the Kachin people have experienced armed conflicts in two different time periods. The war that resumed after the end of the 17-year long ceasefire agreement between the Myanmar army and the KIO on 9th June, 2011, drove over a hundred thousand people from nineteen townships of Kachin State and Northern Shan State to flee and leave their places of origin, including their land, properties, and livestock to seek shelter in temporary camps (Relief Action Network for IDPs and Refugee [RANIR], 2015). The effects and the impact of armed conflicts vary in different communities, but for those who live under NGCAs, there has been enormous destruction.

Lut found that it is very difficult to funnel humanitarian assistance into NGCA areas because the raining season damages roads from June until October every year (2013). Another reason for the vulnerable situation in NGCA areas is that the government blocked humanitarian aid to NGCA areas so that IDPs face shortages of basic necessities, like rice, oil, salt and peas, and warm clothes for winter time (Snaing and Nom, 2015).

Conflict-induced displacement produces different negative impacts on IDP men and women, their households and communities. The effects of armed conflict on women tend to be more on their personal security and related with their sexuality, for example, gang rape and murder. Since the conflict has occurred in Kachin State and Northern Shan State in June 2011, KWAT has collected several cases of human rights violations committed by the Myanmar army, including 18 incidents of rape in eleven townships, and at least fifteen women killed (KWAT, 2011). In contrast, negative impacts of the conflict on men are related to their physical security, because men face forced portering in order to carry army supplies such as bullets, bombs and rice. Moreover, they are also tortured and fed insufficient food and water (KWAT, 2012).

Since the IDPs fled in a state of emergency and lost their livelihoods because of the intense fighting near their villages, when they arrived in the camps, it is very difficult for them to earn a regular income or generate livelihood

opportunities, so they usually become unemployed. Because the new environment is located in remote areas along the China-Myanmar border, it makes it very difficult for them to rebuild their lives. Their new environment lacks security and presents few livelihood options for a large segment of displaced populations.

During armed conflict, human security was and is of great concern for IDPs as no one can guarantee their security. The concept of human security includes survival, livelihoods and dignity of individuals including the protection of fundamental freedoms, the respect and the protection of human rights to ensure access to education, healthcare and the ability to fulfill one's life. The foundations of human security can be found at both the international and state levels, in the legal provisions for the protection of humanitarian law and refugee law. However, it is very difficult to meet human security standards in the Kachin armed conflict. IDPs living in the NGCA face more challenges in order to meet their basic needs: the research of KWAT indicated that only four percent of the food need of around 60,000 IDPs in the NGCA is met by international agencies (KWAT, 2012).

According to Bacchin, IDPs do not feel safe during their stay in camps for two reasons (2012). One reason is there is no income or livelihood opportunities, and the other is that shelters provided by the camp committee are too small and there is a lack of privacy among family members. Moreover, IDPs have to share buildings with other families, so most women feel unsafe living in the camps. Even though their villages are not far from the camps, IDPs cannot return home because there are armies stationed near their villages. Some villages been burnt down; all houses and property were robbed and destroyed (Jolliffe, 2014). Therefore, IDPs have to rely on the rations that the UN agencies, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and camp authorities distribute. However, the distributed rations are seldom enough and not given regularly. The humanitarian organizations only provide for basic needs survival, so the IDPs need additional cash to buy non-food items and other family expenses.

Consequently, the IDPs need to find jobs in the host community or cross over the Myanmar-China border in order to obtain income for their survival. The jobs available are only seasonal jobs, such as working in sugarcane, coffee, watermelon, black pepper, banana and other plantation-related jobs. Due to

the mass relocation of IDPs in those areas, there are more people that need jobs than there is work, so the wages have been driven down (Kachin Women Peace Network [KWPN], 2012). During the armed conflict, IDPs lost all resources, so it is very difficult for IDP men to maintain the traditional gender role as breadwinner after they have been relocated to the IDP camps. Therefore, Kachin women have to take the income earning role within the family. This leads to changed gender roles among IDPs. As mentioned above, the productive labour that women do has resulted in gendered vulnerabilities within IDP camps. INGOs and local non-government organizations (NGOs) are providing support for women and men, such as breeding small-scale livestock, community gardening and small-scale income generation activities. Whether this support can be applied within a conflict situation and improve the lives of both men and women is questionable and women's decision making in the family and in the community still needs to be explored.

As these issues suggest, both men and women have different experiences living within conflict areas. The absences of traditional gender norms for men, and the extra responsibilities required of women, may change the relationship dynamic within the family and community. Therefore, this calls for a better understanding of these issues so that more sustainable programing can create gender-sensitive livelihood changes for IDPs.

Rationale of the Study

There have been many studies on the impacts of displacement among IDPs, and gender based violence, using child soldiers, human rights violations committed by both armed forces during the civil war and armed conflict (KWAT, 2012; CSI, 2015). However, few of these studies focus on how changes in insecurity among displaced populations and new livelihoods play a crucial role in changing gender relations in the household or in the community, particularly in the context of an armed conflict situation.

There are many published reports, journals, and articles about IDPs and GBV, and the humanitarian crisis that has arisen due to armed conflict in southern Myanmar. Studies of armed conflict-related issues have mostly been conducted along the Thai-Myanmar Border as it is easy to access information about several of the temporary shelters due to the many humanitarian organizations that provide assistance to Refugees and IDPs along this border.

However, no academic research has been carried out by researchers or scholars on the change in gender relations in the context of the struggling for new livelihoods among displaced populations. Since the Myanmar government has restricted people from conducting studies and many rules and regulations have been introduced in terms of printing and publication, many researchers dare not research sensitive issues related to the armed conflict. Furthermore, the Myanmar government still enforces the Unlawful Association Act which was enacted in 1908 under the colonial government, and since the KIO is under the list of unlawful organization many researchers dare not research sensitive issues related to the armed conflict.

The geographic location of the Kachin areas is also one of the main factors limiting academic research in the state. Due to the Kachin areas being located in the northern part of the country, it is difficult to reach as there are few options for transportation and communication in addition to security concerns. Therefore, most foreign researchers, and people from other parts of Myanmar, refrain from conducting research in KIO controlled areas. Furthermore, there is a lack of awareness of gender issues among Kachin people and there is little interest in conducting a study on the gender perspectives of these existing issues.

In Kachin society, changing gender relations is not the only issue neglected in studies among IDPs. There is still a dearth of academic research on the gender dimensions of education, health care services, drug-related issues and other social issues. Those issues are raised in the media; however, they have not yet reached academic circles. This study will fill the knowledge gap in the study of armed conflict issues, not only emphasizing the lives of women in the camps but also exploring the challenges that men. It will also look at how the new livelihood struggle may change gender relations among populations displaced because of armed conflict.

This study aims to reveal the impacts of the gender relations of IDPs in order to improve the services made available to them by community service providers. Moreover, the research will hopefully be valuable for post-conflict resettlement. It aims further to help with the formulation of gender-friendly policies to be designed for return, rehabilitation and resettlement plan as livelihood opportunities of both men and women can influence the safe return of IDPs to their places of origin.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter reviews some of the relevant literature on the gendered impacts of conflict-induced security concerns among IDPs, which lead to changed livelihoods, in addition to how the changes of livelihoods have affected gender roles and the relationship between men and women. The reviewed literature comprises a variety of sources to show what studies have already been conducted related to armed conflict.

2.1 War and Armed Conflict

Wallensteen and Sollenberg, noted that war and armed conflict, by definition, needs to be involve two armed forces and resulting in deaths by use of manufactured weapons, fire, sticks and water; the government controlling the capital and the opposition group who announces for their organization; and results in no less than 25 battle-related deaths per year, per conflict (2001).

War and armed conflict come in various forms and both have happened throughout history. When war occurs, it brings violence and destruction with it. War and armed conflict share certain attributes, which are essential to the accomplishment of military operations in the quest for political goals. The main objective is to politically control populations and territories by the use of armed force (Vite, 2009). According to international law, there are two types of armed conflict; the first one is international armed conflict, and the second is non-international armed conflict. International armed conflict includes fighting between two sovereign states, or among many states' armed forces. According

to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), non-international armed conflict includes armed conflict between government forces and non-government armed groups (ICRC, 2008). However, there is still contention regarding the terminology for war and armed conflict, for non-international armed conflict. Mrázek pointed out that in the Geneva Conventions Common² Article 3, there is no mention of non-international armed conflict (2010). Therefore, a non-international armed conflict is significantly harder to handle as a result of the lack of basic regulations on such clashes in Common Article 3.

Armed conflicts have occurred throughout history, and can take the form of fighting against colonial rulers, or against racist regimes for political self-determination. Conflict can also be inspired by an ethnic groups' movement for cultural and/or territorial autonomy, or the realization of universal human rights.

International and non-international armed conflict results in large-scale death tolls and injuries on all sides. It devastates not only people who are on the frontline but also the civilians that are killed, captured, harassed, tortured, imprisoned, disappeared, and abducted.

Gender and Armed Conflict

According to Shakya “armed conflict has had both physical and social impacts on society” (2011, p.558). For instance, during armed conflict between the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M) and the government of Nepal, in Nepal in 2001, both men and women were tortured and harassed, with many shot dead. The disappearance of the extra-judicial system resulted in the imprisonment of people based on their ethnic identities. Some castes - such as cobblers, tailors, and ironsmiths - were not allowed to work because they were assumed to support insurgency groups. In addition, some ethnic groups were not allowed to travel because of their presumed support of an insurgency group by state armed forces (ibid.).

2 The ICRC organized the Geneva Convention for the protection of people and treatment of wounded people. The convention was held in Geneva from April 21 to August 12, 1949 and comprises four treaties and three protocols which are mainly focused on the standards of international law for humanitarian treatment in war.

Another example was in the 1980s, during the Mozambique conflict, where homes, land, crops, and livestock were destroyed so that women faced difficulty in conducting their daily activities such as agriculture work, fetching water and collecting firewood. In addition, families and entire communities were targeted for abduction or murder (Sideris, 2003).

Armed conflict affects men and women differently. A United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report notes that men involved in armed conflict can be either or both victim (and/or) perpetrator whereas women are mostly seen as victims (2007). The evidence shows that more men own guns than women, and therefore most acts of violence, including gun-related violence, are committed by men and boys. Most victims of arms-related violence are also men and boys. Similarly, Sideris illustrates that war and armed conflict is a paradox for men because some men are perpetrators of armed conflict while at the same time, some men are being victimized by armed conflict (2003).

Furthermore, Linos showed that young boys face sexual violence as well as male-to-male violence during the armed conflict (2009). For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, young boys are subjected to sexual torture, including rape, full or partial castration, genital beatings and electroshock in order to damage their genitalia and reproductive capacities as a means of ethnic cleansing activities. Carpenter argues that this violence usually takes place in detention camps, where men are also often raped after being arrested (2006).

On the other hand, women's experiences differ from those of men, because during the armed conflict women have to take on both domestic and economic responsibilities (UNDP, 2007). For instance, in Southern Sudan, before the armed conflict, men and young boys took over all agriculture tasks such as sowing, cultivating and preparing soil, moreover they also worked for trading and selling goods in the market. However, after the conflict had occurred, women took on additional roles in the absence of men. There are also security concerns for women when they have to conduct their daily routines that are necessary for survival, such as collecting firewood and water, in conflict areas.

Rape and other forms of sexual violence are used as weapons of terror and intimidation. Women and girls and boys are raped in front of their family members, including their parents (Sideris, 2003). Women are seen as weapons of war and armed conflict. Moreover, the UNDP report also mentions that

“women and girls are subjected to various forms of violence, including sexual violence, at the hands of state security forces, armed rebel groups, armed criminal gangs, and also immediate family members and intimate partners” (2007, p.3). Furthermore, they are also vulnerable to being trafficked, and often suffer from mutilation whether at home or in camps. Several women from Sudan were also sold into the sex industry during the armed conflict (Sideris, 2003). Similarly, in Nepal, girls are sexually exploited by armed forces and forced to marry at an early age (Naujoks and Myrntinen, 2008). Cockburn explains that during armed conflict there is an increase in domestic violence because men do not have employment in the camps, and become violent after turning to alcohol to cope with their situation (1999).

Another outcome of war and armed conflict is women facing the double burden of extra responsibilities after the deaths of many men. This has a devastating impact on livelihoods and, the social composition of communities and gender demographics (ibid.). This has been seen in places such as Southern Sudan, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Algeria. For example, in Somalia, 40 percent of households are headed by women, a figure which increases dramatically to 75 percent in the IDP camps. Similarly, Shakya describes that in Nepal, young women are ready to take leading roles because they had a chance to interact with different groups of people and explore another geographical area that they did not have a chance to do before displacement (2011).

Internally Displaced Persons and Armed Conflict

Internally displaced person typologies frequently describe people who have fled from their homes to another area within their home state and who are in a more worried condition than refugees. They are sometime known as “internal refugees”. However, there is no legal definition of an ‘internally displaced person’ in international law. The circumstances behind people becoming internally displaced are complex and varied. Displacement due to new development projects, natural disaster and conflict are just a few reasons why large numbers of IDPs are formed. In the case of armed conflict, IDPs are persecuted or at-risk by their own government because of conflicts between government and ethnic armed resistance groups in their region. One of the major impacts of armed conflict is the creation of IDPs. Since the 1990s, there have been an increasing number of IDPs because of armed conflict, ethnic armed struggle and human right violations. According to a 2013 figure, there

were there were 33.3 million internally displaced persons in the world, the highest ever recorded number at that time (UNHCR, 2013). It is believed that there are twice as many IDPs than refugees in the world (Shultz, 2014).

IDPs are sometimes not welcomed by local residents and often find it difficult to cross international borders to seek refugee status in other countries. In Afghanistan, there were 2,000,000 IDPs during the armed conflict in 2001 and only 200,000 of those people were able cross into Pakistan as refugees during that period (UNHCR, 2006). In the Asia region, internal displacements are mainly caused by armed conflict between government forces and the ethnic movements. These conflicts are fought for political autonomy in territories rich in natural resources, and in resistance of the central government's assimilation policies. The struggle against government policies take place in countries such as Sri Lanka, Northeast India, the Mindanao region of the Philippines, Burma, Aceh and Papua in Indonesia, and Baluchistan in Pakistan (IDMC, 2007).

During armed conflict, it is very important to protect human life including distributing humanitarian assistance such as food deliveries, physical infrastructure, health services, water provisions and job opportunities. However, it is very difficult to obtain such kinds of support from the international community because there is no international agency mandated to provide assistance to IDPs. There is usually a lack of food, poor shelter and limited access to healthcare, especially in the Asia region (ibid). These IDPs cannot get protection from their own governments and are less likely to acquire security and wellbeing in their own countries. IDPs have had to leave all their belongings, livestock, land and livelihoods when fleeing their homes. Furthermore, displacement often results in separation from family members, causing emotional stress after being uprooted from familiar community and societal settings.

In addition, IDPs are often targeted by the government as part of counterinsurgency strategies. Many IDPs are suspected of supporting the ethnic armed resistance groups, and therefore are often targeted by the government's army. As a result, IDPs are restricted in their access to information, food and freedom of movement. Sadly, reports indicated that several people are being kidnapped and killed (Maja, 2014). During the armed conflict in Uganda, Acholi civilians had to live in incredibly rudimentary conditions where their

very basic needs for survival were not fulfilled, there was a crisis in humanitarian assistance, and the camp was overcrowded (Janmyr, 2014).

Human Security in Armed Conflict

There are two types of human security: people-centered and state-centered human (Tadjbakhsh, 2005). 1994's Human Development Report (HDR) states that "Human security is people-centered and it is about assuring priority freedoms so that people can exercise choices safely and freely" (1994, p.23). In addition, there are two main aspects which protect from such chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression, as well as protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in patterns of daily life - whether in homes, in jobs or in communities (ibid).

According to the UDNP definition of human security, the concept has seven dimensions; there is food security, health security, economic security, personal security, community security, environmental security and political security. Moreover, it also includes part of the concept of human rights, human needs and human development. It mainly focuses on the security of people, particularly for people who are vulnerable in their survival, livelihoods and dignity. The various components of human security are interrelated. Even though, human security is important for all societies, it is difficult to fulfill in armed conflict situations, so must be tailored to different country contexts. All seven dimensions of human security impact on by armed conflict will be discussed below.

Economic security ensures that all people have access to basic income from productive and remunerative work. However, only a quarter of the world's population has economic security, as it is closely related with political instability (UNPD, 1994).

Food security means that all people have both physical and economic access to sufficient food. It requires not only ready access to food, but also having a chance to develop themselves. Food security is interrelated to economic security. Teodosijević, argues that many people suffer food insecurity during armed conflict-induced because they have to leave all farmland and livestock; furthermore, agriculture farmland is often destroyed (2003).

Health security is closely linked to poor nutrition and unsafe environments, so it is essential to protect healthcare during armed conflicts. However, healthcare services are often neglected. Southall pointed out that many women and children are dead, not because of weaponry but because of a lack of healthcare during the armed conflicts (2011).

Personal security mainly focuses on physically violent acts, such as rape, battery, sexual harassment, child abuse and child labour. It is greatly concerned for the security for women during armed conflicts, because women suffer from systematic violence during displacement (Sarosi, 2007). Moreover, according to UNDP, the human security concept of drug use, is one of personal security (1994, pp. 25-33).

Environmental security should also be prioritized during times of armed conflict. When the environment is damaged – as it often is during armed conflicts - the consequences harm people’s health and livelihoods (United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP], 2009).

Community security aims to protect collective security for whole societies. It is more about ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’ of particular groups. Caballero-Anthony finds that the armed conflict threat to community security, leaves women and children particularly vulnerable in the community (2015).

Hassan clearly explain that political security was relevant for three areas such as “the prevention of government repression, the prevention of systematic violation of human rights and the removal of threats from militarization” (2015, p.86). However, many countries still practiced political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment and disappearance as violations of human rights perpetrated in times of political conflict.

Livelihoods of Internally Displaced Persons

According to UNHCR, there is no clear guidelines for providing assistance to IDPs in international law (2008). However, IDPs should have access to humanitarian assistance during non-international armed conflict, because this is implicit in the provisions of international human rights and humanitarian law. In some cases, reaching humanitarian assistance can be extremely difficult due to ongoing fighting and insecurity, remote locations, or

lack of information about available aid (ibid). Furthermore, IDPs usually cannot access adequate living standards or economic opportunities (ibid). Hines and Balletto point out that governments have the responsibility to provide for the needs of IDPs (such as food, shelter, and protection), however, these provisions are often limited because of the war and ethnic tensions which divide the country.

“Livelihoods and livelihood opportunities are among the first casualties when communities are forced to escape from violent conflict” (Cagoco-Guiam, 2013, p.6). A study by Upreti and Müller-Böker suggests that armed conflict destroys existing livelihoods, while constraining new livelihood opportunities (2010). On the other hand, farmland owners face uncertainty over their ability to access or regain control over their lands during the armed conflict. Cagoco-Guiam found these cases where common during the armed conflict in Mindanao, the Philippines (2013). Creating livelihood opportunities in order to have a more stable income situation for people who have been displaced is essential in the context of IDP camps (ibid).

According to a Women’s Refugee Commission report, “Livelihoods are the capabilities, assets and strategies people use to meet basic needs and in crises to survive” (2014, p.3). Livelihoods can enable affected individuals to respond to crises and manage their own recovery during the crisis time.

The report mentioned livelihood programs in emergency situations, including cash programming and unconditional/conditional cash grants (2014, p.3). Some programs include cash for work asset restoration (such as livestock, tools, and equipment), trainings and placement programs, agricultural interventions, market interventions, enterprise development, village savings and loans association and microfinance initiatives. To implement livelihood strategies, UNHCR works in close cooperation with governments, authorities, microfinance institutions, development agencies, national technical institutions, private companies and humanitarian INGOs. Moreover, UNCHR provides education-training opportunities for its partners and people who are in the camps in order to increase successful project outcomes (UNCHR, 2012).

Hines and Balletto find that when the World Food Programme (WFP) operates in Colombia, they approach both short and long-term issues, providing immediate food needs for IDPs, supporting livelihood opportunities and food security, which includes non-food resources and more stable operating

environments (2002). The livelihood strategies may differ among households, and depend largely on production, economic and consumption circumstances.

There are several studies that highlight the role of women's livelihoods in armed conflict. Santiallan argues that in conflict-affected communities, women's participation in different livelihood activities result in social, economic, and political reconstruction in Mindanao (2015). Women are responsible for the domestic tasks for their families, and in addition, during armed conflict, women also need to act as providers and caregivers. The situation under armed conflict makes it difficult and dangerous for women to take on these tasks, because there is lack of land and household goods. The absence of men, however allows women to have a stronger opportunity to engage in the labor force. Menon and Rodgers state that labor wages for women rose when the conflict started in Nepal (2011). Despite this, a study conducted by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) found that women continued to earn about one-third less than men in Nepal (2010).

Changing Gender Roles and Relations

According to Harvey, Garwood, and El-Masri, people leave their traditional gender and social roles during armed conflict, to take responsibility for new roles in the IDP camps (2013). Many men experience severe stress and feelings of powerlessness because they are not able to fulfill their traditional gender roles as breadwinners and protectors for the whole family. Stiftung found that in Uganda, changing gender roles means that men are more likely to be feeling disempowered, as they lose their land and livestock, which previously provided their livelihood, societal status and controlled power in their place of origin (2005). There are no job opportunities for men in the camps, and this loss of identity makes them feel useless both in the community and within the family. As a coping mechanism, men consume alcohol to relieve stress. The abuse of alcohol can lead some men to act aggressively by beating their wives. Therefore, instances of domestic violence increase in IDP camps (ibid).

El-Bushra argues that armed conflicts can give more responsibility to women, as they have greater opportunity to make decisions in their family and also to participate in political sphere (2003). Women become the main breadwinners in the family, which in turn gives them more decision-making

power. When changes take place within the household, they also expand into the community. However, there is still a limit to the scope of influence and action within the wider community. For example, in Somalia, many women have gained economic power within their households. They are seen, both by themselves and by the male population, as the breadwinners, whose decisions need to be respected (ibid). However, in the context of Angola, Uganda, Mali and Sudan, traditional gender roles have been reinforced. In some cases, women have to look after and provide food for both her family and her husband's family because men do not have jobs following conflict (ibid).

Sarosi describes that women's roles in armed conflict are as fighters, community leaders, social organizers, workers, farmers, welfare providers, household heads, teachers, and peacemakers (2007). The multiple activities of women, and the new experiences, provide spaces for women both in the community and in the family.

Another significant change in gender roles for women during armed conflict is the increased participation of women in political struggles. Women's role in the labor and service sector means that they are integral to political change in the community and society (Stasiulis, 1999). According to El Jack, changing the gender division of labor has created new opportunities for women, and they become heads of households (2013). On the other hand, women can obtain skills development in health and education, as well as for income-generating activities.

According to El-Bushra and Ibrahim, armed conflict also has an effect on marriage practices (2005). The study conducted in Uganda during the armed conflict found that traditional marriage gifts and offerings were rarely seen because of economic restraints. In addition, young people began to reject arranged marriages made by their parents. Formal marriage practices such as researching the wealth of the family backgrounds, and the exchange of gifts between the bride and groom's families have stopped being the norm. The changing perception of women in society has increased their freedom to make decisions relating to their married lives. In addition, Uganda women also have the right to own property legally. The autonomy of women's sexuality has also become an economic strategy the time of crisis. Women gain more economic opportunities in the camps so that separation and divorce are more frequent: women opt to be single because they can now support themselves and their children.

Armed Conflict in Myanmar

The study conducted by Smith pointed out that the British colonial regime defeated three wars, the so called Anglo-Burmese wars (1824–1826, 1852, and 1885) and ruled Burma for more than six decades (1994). The British applied ‘divide and rule’ policies during their ruling period in Burma. Britain divided Burma into two parts: the low land area, Burma Proper, was dominated by the Burman majority; whereas the hill land, or Frontier Areas, was mainly populated by hill tribes. Burma Proper was ruled as a province of India, but the hill tribe areas were allowed local traditional rulers and chiefs. There were many struggles against the British Empire from students, workers, monks and nationalists in the Burman region (ibid). The people from the hill tribe areas, however, were recruited into the colonial armed forces and an ethnic army was founded. Smith argues that “historic ethnic tensions between the different communities were dangerously inflamed by the ‘divide-and-rule’ separations of colonial government” (1994, p.22). Later, Burma’s National Liberation movement, which was founded by Aung San, fought against Britain and the Japanese, as well as ethnic armed group who were loyal to Britain.

Seeking independence was complicated. The Karen people discussed their own independence, while the leaders of the Burmese were having discussions with Britain (Nwe, 2008). Despite this, independence was granted on 4th January, 1948, due to the successfully signed Panglong Agreement which was negotiated by the Burmese leader, General Aung San, and leaders from Hill Periphery. The year of independence also marked the beginning of the armed conflict (ibid). The armed conflict started less than three months after independence, and was instigated by the Communist Party of Burma (CPB), which was excluded during the independence-talk process. In January 1949, the Karen armed rebellion rose against the Burmese government. Between the late 1940s and 1950s, there were various conflicts involving ethnic groups, including the Karenni, Mon, Pao, Rakhine and Muslim Mujahids (Smith, 1994).

According to Smith, there were a number of ceasefire agreements signed in 1958; however, the ethnic groups were not satisfied with the results (1999). Moreover, the tensions between the CPB and the Burmese Government remained. The ethnic leaders learned that a genuine federal system in Burma, which would grant equal rights and promote ethnic minority rights, was not able to be established even under the parliamentary government. On the other

hand, prime minister U Nu, who was elected as the first prime minister, could not rule the country due to the internal conflicts. He requested General Ne Win to control the country as a caretaker government, and he planned to restore power before the 1960 democratic election. However, the armed conflict spread to Kachin State and Shan States by the early 1960s, requiring the formation of armies in the region. Furthermore, U Nu's attempted at turning the country into a Buddhist state resulted in backlash from the majority Kachin Christians.

In 1962, the caretaker government, led by General Ne Win, announced the military coup, which, abolished the 1947 constitution and dissolved the parliament (Fearon and Laitin, 2006). Many ethnic leaders and politicians were detained and imprisoned without trial including U Nu and the first president of the country, Sao Shwe Thaik. The coup leader established a new Revolutionary Council and introduced a new system called "Burmese Way to Socialism". General Ne Win tried to establish a centralized, one-party system of government. It destroyed the federal structure which General Aung San and ethnic leaders initiated during the Panglong conference (ibid).

Ne Win postponed political discussions with ethnic armed groups and demanded they surrender instead of further political negotiations. Fearon and Laitin mentioned that Ne Win's way of dealing with ethnic affairs was to treat "insurgents as bandits and criminals" (2006, p.12). Moreover, he introduced the New System of Education in order to establish an assimilation policy and banned any teaching of ethnic minority languages. As a result, ethnic armed forces formed alliances with the National Democratic Front (NDF), which combined eleven ethnic armed groups that aimed to seek the creation of federal state in 1976 to overthrow Ne Win's army. In 1986, CPB and NDF signed a military cooperation pact but it was short-lived.

After the student-led democratic uprising in 1988 was crushed by the military, Ne Win's government was replaced by the new SLORC. In the 1990s, there were several ceasefire agreements with armed forces and both SLORC and SPDC. The New Democratic Army-Kachin (NDAK), made a ceasefire agreement in 1991 with the SLORC, and the KIO also signed an agreement in 1994. However, there were several armed groups which had not met or made ceasefire agreements with the government and continued to fight them to this day, for example Karenni National Progressive Party (KNPP) (ibid).

South found that the ceasefire agreements were not peace treaties but simply granted economic development demands of the ethnic nationalities (2011). However, some ethnic groups had the opportunity to set up civil administration of their own, ensuring their right to continue holding arms, and be granted de facto autonomy and control of some territories and natural resources. The military regime had continued to attack offensively those who did not sign ceasefire agreements such as the Karen and Shan armed groups.

Armed Conflict in Kachin

Kachin comprises six sub-ethnic groups, which are known as Jinghpaw, Lachid, Rawang, Zaiwa, Lisu, and Lhaovo. The Kachin area is located in the north-east region of Myanmar, bordering India to the west and China to the north east. The Kachin political goal is the realization of a federal or totally independent state. During the British colonial era, the Kachin area was used as Frontier Areas and ruled by Kachin traditional leaders (Smith, 1994). According to Fink, the Kachin State was created when drafting the constitution of 1947 (2001). The area of Kachin State is 34,379 square miles with an estimated population of 1,500,00. There are also over 100,00 additional Kachin people live in Northern Shan State (Smith, 1994).

During the period of seeking independence from British rule, the Burmese leader General Aung San made trips to the ethnic national areas and met with leaders to organize a multi-ethnic conference at the Shan town of Panglong, in Shan State. The Kachins were invited to attend, along with leaders from other ethnic nationalities such as Chin, Shan and Burman (Fink, 2001). The purpose of the conference was to discuss the peaceful union of the various ethnic groups within the state of Burma. However, as there was a rush for the constitution to be completed before the granting of independence by the British, the constitution was written by Burmese leaders, including General Aung San. After independence, the elected parliament failed to implement the Panglong Agreement, which resulted in neglect of ethnic minorities' rights, discrimination and ethnic inequality.

In early 1958, seven young Kachin university students secretly discussed the failure of the central government and planned to form a Kachin revolutionary movement. On 5th February, 1961, the KIO, and the armed wing of its organization, the KIA, was established in the northern Shan State. KIO was led by Zau Seng,

with members consisting of his brothers, university students in Yangon, intellectuals from Kachin State's capital, Myitkyina, and Kachin veterans of the Second World War (Lintner, 1994). According to the International Crisis Group, the KIO was one of the strongest ethnic armed forces in Myanmar for many years (2003). In 1970s the KIO leaders decided to change its national political aims in order to approach ethnic rights. Consequently, the KIO signed a ceasefire agreement with the SLORC in 1994, with the expectation that signing the agreement would lead to productive political dialogue and a peaceful solution.

Despite talks of ceasefires and peaceful political dialogue, the government pressured many ethnic groups and their corresponding organizations to bend to their will. Two small ethnic armed organizations in Shan State were forced to disarm in 2005 and 2006, and the government continued to pressure other remaining ethnic armed groups to do so (South, 2011). According to Sun, the SPDC tried to force the KIO to transform into the Border Guard Forces (BGF), which would have been under the command of the military (2013). Euro Burma Office (EBO), proffers that the government proposal for the establishment of the BGF was due to the limited number of officers and soldiers in border battalions (2010). The lack of soldiers was further exacerbated by the forced retirement of those older than 50 year of age. The KIO responded and proposed to transform into Kachin Regional Guard Force (KRGF) in July 2009. The government, however, rejected that proposal, which prompted KIO to make another proposal to transform itself into a 'Kachin Army Battalion of the Union Defense Force' in October 2009. This transformation was dependent on the condition that the national defense force should be re-structured based on the promises of the Panglong Agreement. The KIO agreed to disarm when peaceful solution was reached through political dialogue with Senior-General Than Shwe, the head of SPDC. There were several meetings to discuss the issue but an agreement never made (ibid).

The military government launched an offensive attack against the KIO on June 9, 2011, which broke the 17-year-long ceasefire agreement (Sun, 2013). The ceasefire broke down just after the military handed its power to the civilian government, led by President Thein Sein. The army continues to attack, and sends many troops to this day, even though the President announced to halt the offensive war.

Internally Displaced Persons in Myanmar

IDPs in Myanmar are often victims of armed conflict within their homeland. According to the Department of Population, Ministry of Labour Immigration and Population 2014 census data, there are more than 100 ethno-linguistic races that live in Myanmar, with a population of more than 51,000,000 people (2014).

According to South, there are different kinds of internally displaced persons in Myanmar (2007). The first type is livelihood vulnerability-induced displacement which is related to government policies and subsequent poor access to market and limited productive land. It leads to food insecurity and lack of education and health care access, resulting in people becoming economic migrants. Another type is related to military occupation and development-induced displacement: the government confiscates land, exploits natural resources and forces labor. The last type is armed conflict-induced displacement, which is directly connected with human security including food security and severe human rights abuse. In this section, armed conflict-induced displacement will be discussed.

Right after obtaining independence, several armed conflicts broke out among the Communist Party of Burma, various ethnic armed groups and the Myanmar armed forces (Tatmadaw). Since the 1970s, the Burma Socialist Programme Party government, led by General Ne Win, introduced a 'four cuts' (*pyat-ley-pyat*) policy, in order to deny insurgent groups access to civilian support such as food, finance, intelligence and recruits. This resulted in armed ethnic groups losing their liberated zones. As a consequence, many people were displaced and moved to government areas during the decades of conflict (South and Jolliffe, 2015). Another factor for relocation was the government initiated urban redevelopment program which aimed to cut the connection between the civilian population and the Ethnic Armed Organizations. The concept was similar to the four cuts policy, and it was continued under the SLORC regime (Smith, 1994). Displacement in Myanmar is mostly attributed to civil conflict, but military development projects also contributed to the forced relocation of people, both directly and indirectly (South and Jolliffe, 2015)

Smith found that from 1968 to 1975, some Karen communities were forcibly displaced from their original place because the government practiced the draconian counterinsurgency operation (1994). This operation aimed to

set up new settlements in place of existing ones, near military camps and towns. As a result, there were a huge number of people who moved from the EAG controlled areas in order to seek refuge in neighboring countries, while others remained as Myanmar IDPs (ibid).

According to The Border Consortium (TBC), there were an estimated 500,000 IDPs in Mon, Karen, Kayah and Tanintharyi states/regions in southeast Myanmar (2012). Prior to the government and some Ethnic Armed Organizations signing initial ceasefire agreements in 2012, there were 100,000 IDPs that lived in mountains and forests near their villages of origin because they still had to cultivate their lands. They built temporary shelters to live on their farmland, as Tatmadaw Soldiers patrolled their villages. These people would face severe human security threats, including food scarcity, lack of educational facilities, health issues and sometimes a lack of physical security. These IDPs were forced to move to many different places, often many times within only a few months. In the Karen areas, there were at least two IDPs camps, and five camps in the Shan region (South and Jolliffe, 2015).

Internally Displaced Persons in Kachin

Many Kachin people have been displaced as a consequence of armed conflict over five decades. However, there is a significant lack of research conducted on internal displacement in the Kachin region before 2011. Smith indicates that from 1988 to 1992, there have been 100,000 Kachin villagers forcibly relocated from their homes due to counter-insurgency operations perpetrated by the government (1994). From 1989 to 1990, more than 300 Kachin villages from the Kutkai region were relocated. During these years, the military targeted the Northern Shan State region in their counter-insurgency campaign, prompting the KIO to make a ceasefire agreement in January 1991. At the beginning of 1993, another 50,000 people had been displaced within the region and almost 11000 had escaped into China (ibid).

Jolliffe found that around 1982/1983 mass displacement occurred in Manje and Danai, however, there are few records of what happened to those displaced people and it was assumed that they were repositioned to nearby remote areas. In the 1980s, when the Myanmar army took over areas on the west of Myitkyina, several people were forced to move along the railroads where the government could control the Kachin civilians and restrict the connection

with the KIO. Moreover, up to 70,000 people had to move from KIO's controlled areas to the China border in 1987, and they were not able to return back to Kachin areas until years after the ceasefire agreement, additionally, there were 40 villages along the China-Kachin areas, as well as settlements on the road of Myitkyina-Bhamo, because the Myanmar army used bombing by air force jets and offensively attacked KIO stronghold areas. These were many displacements which were undocumented during the period of severe armed conflict (ibid).

According to Bacchin, approximately 100,000 civilians were displaced after the 17 year-long ceasefire agreement broke out between the Myanmar armed forces (the Tatmadaw) and the KIO (2012). However, RANIR found that there were approximately 190,000 people from 19 different townships relocated within both the government controlled areas, and the KIO controlled areas (2015). The displacement had identified several patterns; some people fled from the villages because of the conflict taking place within their villages, while others moved because of the threat of violence reaching their villages. The recorded number of IDPs vary because those who remained in their homes, or hid in the farms to look after their property and livestock. Some villages were a far enough distance from the conflict to be seen as a safe location to hide from the violence. Some IDPs sought refuge in the houses of relatives, so that they did not have to stay in the camps. Another reason was that the armed conflict escalated after the ceasefire broke, so the flow of IDPs was difficult to be verified (ibid).

After the armed conflict confrontation in Kachin and Northern Shan State, 119 temporary shelters were established (UNOCHA, 2015). According to UNDP, the internally displaced persons seeking shelter in KIO controlled territory might be the majority of displaced population (2015). Jolliffe argues that some Kachin people decided to relocate in KIO controlled areas and close to the international border because it was safe for them to move away from the Special Region border. Bacchin stated that the IDPs who took shelter in the KIO controlled areas, did not have freedom of movement because of the fighting and the level of militarization (2012). They could sometimes go back to their homes, however there are always threats of arrest and forced labor, usually as porters, as well as having to show identity cards (most of the IDPs lost their documents such as ID cards, land certificates and family list forms when they fled to the camps) (ibid).

Gender Roles and Relations in Kachin Society

Kachin society believes that if a girl is born, it is a misfortune for the family (Mya, 1961). Therefore, Kachin families exclude girls in the family, since they are born. According to Hanson, when a Kachin man is asked how many children he has, he counts only sons (1913). Mya furthers this by saying that Kachin families are given honours and favors, only when a son is born (1961). As a result, Kachin men are considered superior to women, and women become property of the family. Since Kachin girls are treated as secondary citizens, they need to help out with all household work, as soon as they can carry water and firewood. Furthermore, girls need to get up early in the morning and pound paddy. In the daytime, Kachin girls need to help on the farm and take care of their younger siblings, while Kachin boys are playing. Kachin boys have more chance to explore, and have freedom to do whatever they want. Hanson noted that Kachin women do not have the same freedom to choose their marriage partner that Kachin men have (1913). Therefore, in the Kachin tradition, women's roles are only as mother and wife, in addition, virginity and purity are important for Kachin women which made early marriage (UNFPA, 1997; Nang Tum, 1997 cited in Phyu, 2011).

Kachin women 'belong' to their parents before marriage, because Kachin society sees women as saleable property of their parents. The Kachin are patrilocal and patrilineal, so the groom's family needs to pay dowry to the bride's family prior to marriage. This then leads to women considered the property of the groom's family after marriage. Kachin women do not have authorization to make decisions in the family and always need to listen and take orders from their husbands. If a Kachin woman's husband dies, his younger brother can marry her. This is called "picking up a widow", and Kachin society has practiced it for many decades (Hanson, 1913).

These Kachin traditional practices lead to a strong patriarchal society. Therefore, men take leadership roles in all positions of politics, religious institutions, and in the community, such as village leaders. Women are merely service provider, both in the family and community (KWAT, 2005). In the community, women are mostly involved as volunteers for community matters, such as preparing food and cleaning.

On the other hand, decades of conflict in the Kachin areas has led to men's involvement in the revolutionary army, and absence from the traditional

gender roles, and in addition, the widespread drug use among Kachin men adds another burden onto the women in the family (Lwin, 2013).

The KIA set a rule that all Kachin families have a duty to supply either a son or a daughter for its nationalist army force. Some Kachin men who are not ready to participate in the army migrate to other areas in order to avoid the vulnerable situation. Since the Kachin areas are full of natural resources, most of the Kachin men migrate to work in the mining areas, despite mining work being full of uncertainty. Therefore, women cannot rely on the remittances from their husbands in this context. For this reason, women often work in the forest, in the agricultural zone, in order to fulfill their family's needs (Phyu, 2011).

Kachin traditional roles for women assign a strong sense of duty to support family members; thus, Kachin women will migrate in order to support their families (KWAT, 2005). Nowadays, most Kachin women work in neighboring countries such as China, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore in order to support their parents and siblings. This is an example of the burden of Kachin women as a result of the absence of men in the family during the armed conflict. Despite this role, women's roles in decision making in the family, community activities, religious matters and politics, are still limited.

Conceptual Framework

This study emphasizes on human security under the armed conflict, livelihood strategy of IDPs and how it leads to changed gender roles and gender relations among IDPs.

The concept of human security includes seven dimensions such as food, health, personal, community, and environmental, political and economic security (UNDP, 1994). However, this study will mainly focus on only four of the dimensions that are particularly vital for Kachin IDPs: food security, economic security, personal security and community security. These types of security are more relevant to livelihoods and without those securities, it is very difficult to manage livelihoods.

Based on this framework, this study will explore human security among IDPs, their concern with finding new strategies for livelihoods in the established camps. Moreover, how these insecurities affect livelihood strategies in the camp, and how they change gender roles and gender relations in the household and in the community.

The conceptual framework (Figure 2.1) shows the impacts of conflict among IDPs, such as increased insecurities and concerns regarding human security according to women and men's experiences and perspective, and their effect on their new livelihood strategies during crisis times. Conflict is a major threat to livelihoods, so people who live under conflict are lacking chances for developing livelihood strategies. Consequently, livelihood strategy change based on household access to assets, and in turn, also affect gender roles in the family.

Moreover, this research will focus on how livelihood strategies influence changing gender roles and relations, both in the household and in the community. Consequently, it may have positive and negative impacts on women's status and leadership in the family and in the community of IDP women. Some positive impacts may include an increase in women's decision making in the family and in the community, leadership roles in the community and women having more opportunity to engage in economics. Some negative impacts are that women may face GBV, both in the family and in the community, and the reinforcement of women's traditional gender roles in the family and in the community.

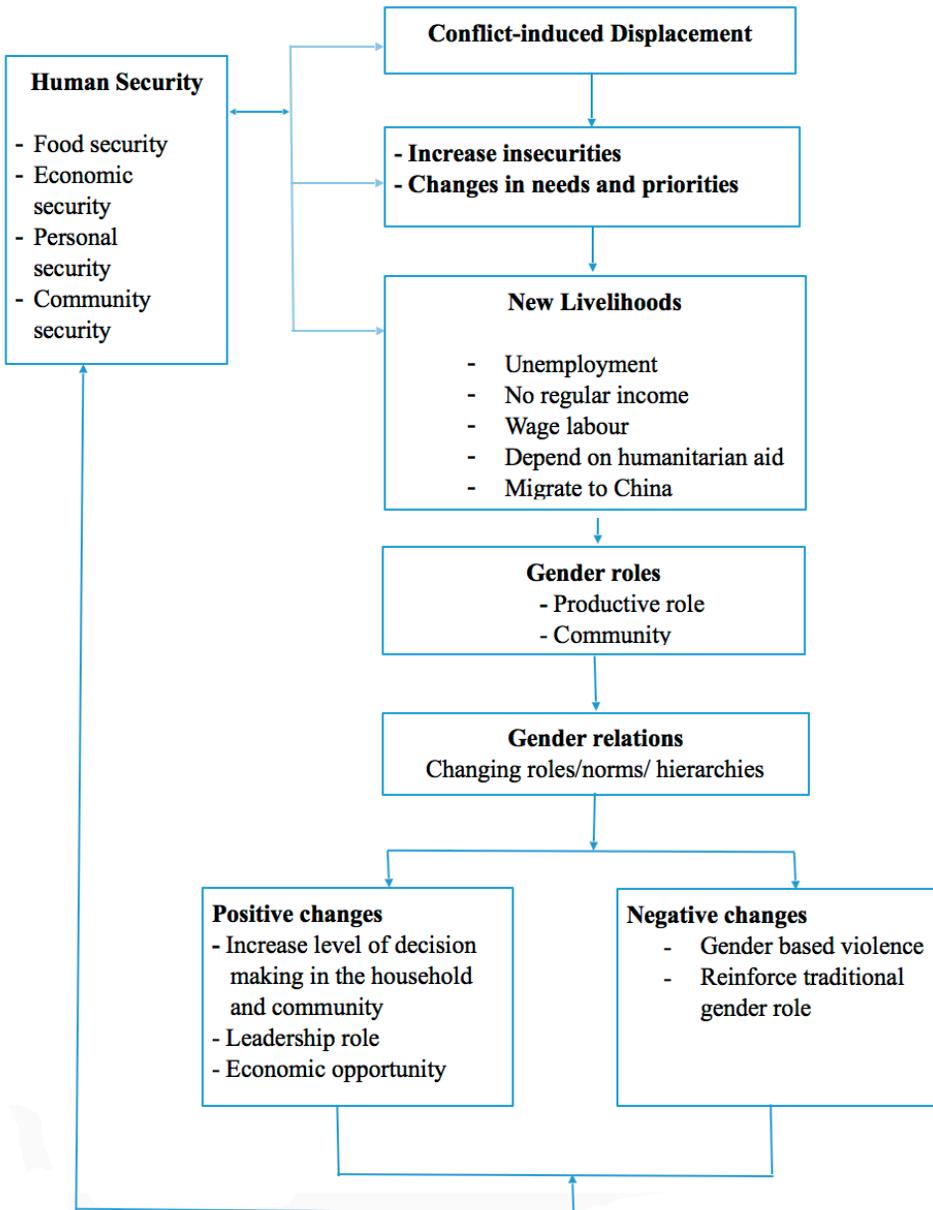


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework of Research

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

This chapter presents information regarding the research methodology, selection of the study area, selection of the respondents, field work, data collection method and data processing, as well as the data analyzing strategies used for this thesis. Moreover, this chapter discusses the challenges that the researcher faced during data collection at Lana Zupja IDPs camp on the China-Myanmar border.

The security concerns and changes in the livelihoods of internally displaced persons during the armed conflict-induced displacement and how they have led to changes in gender roles and relations in the household and community are the major emphases of this study.

Type of Research

This study utilized exploratory research to explore the security concerns of IDPs under the armed conflict and the changes to gender roles and gender relations because of these difficult circumstances. In the study, qualitative methods were used to collect data and analyze the key changes in gender relations among IDPs and their positive and negative impacts on the households and community. Moreover, it also identified the status of women in the family and in the community. Qualitative data was collected using primary tools such as key informant interviews (KII), focus group discussions (FGD), in-depth interviews (IDI) and field observations.

Selection of Study Area

The study area was located in an NGCA, meaning that it was KIO controlled. Jolliffe explains that under the KIO administration, there are five Brigades in both Kachin State and Northern Shan State (2015). The study area was in the 3rd Brigade and is almost 50 km away from the 3rd Brigade headquarters. It is an estimated 80.5 km from Mansi Town. There are four IDP camps in Mansi Township: two camps are situated in the GCA and two are in the NCGAs. These camps were established after the armed conflict broke out between the KIO and the Myanmar army in 2011. This research was conducted in one of the camps, Lana Zupja IDPs camp. Lana Zupja camp is in Nba Pa village and is close to China; approximately 500 meters from the China border. The nearest town is Lweje which is one of the border checkpoints between China and Myanmar.

The study area was selected because it is located in a remote area and so it is very difficult to fulfill the need for human security. Therefore, new livelihoods are the main struggle for IDPs, which introduce new roles for both men and women. People from 59 villages in four townships were forced to relocate into this camp after the armed conflict occurred in their villages. The reason that Lana Zupja was selected as a study site was because it was located in the isolated area along the China border it was very difficult for humanitarian aid to reach the IDPs.

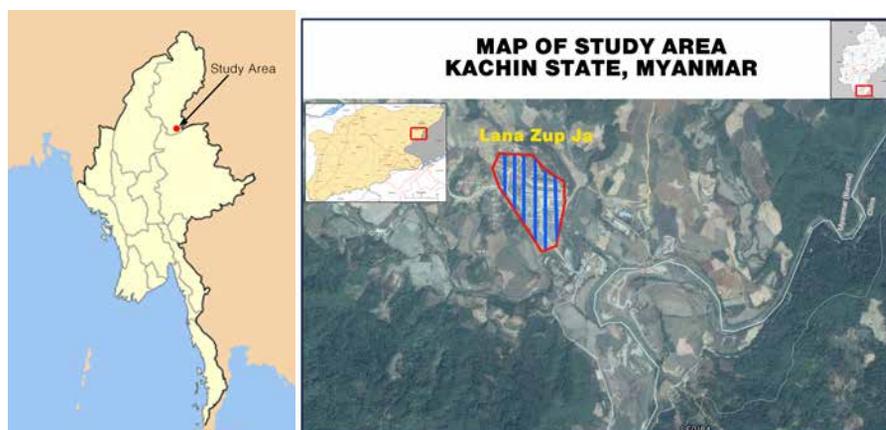


Figure 3.1: Map of Lana Zupja Camp, Mansi Township, Bhamo District, Kachin State, Myanmar

Field Work

The fieldwork was conducted between October and December, 2015. The researcher travelled from Yangon to Muse town, Northern Shan State, which is one of the border towns between Myanmar and China. In Muse, people who want to go China have to apply for Temporary Border Passes (TBP). Therefore, the researcher also applied for a TBP, in order to have permission to enter China. With the TBP, the researcher entered into a town called Mai Ja Yang, which is also controlled by the KIO. The researcher elected to enter the Kachin areas via China, as this was the safest way. The research area was fully authorized by the KIO, therefore, the researcher needed to get permission from the Internal Displaced Person and Refugee Relief Committee (IRRC) in Mai Ja Yang, Eastern Division office. In addition, the researcher had to understand the situation of the armed-clashes in Mansi Township, because the intensified fighting 24 km away from the camp, in late September, 2015 (Min, 2015). However, the situation stabilized in late October, 2015, and the IRRC granted permission to conduct research inside the camp. After getting permission from the IRRC, the researcher had to meet with camp leaders in order to freely collection data within the IDP camp. The researcher is Kachin, and used to work closely with several Kachin communities based organizations for many years, therefore, it was not difficult to receive this authorization from Camp leaders. Inside the KIO, a civilian body namely Kachin Independence Council (KIC) - which is separated from the political party - operates eleven civilian departments (Jolliffe, 2015). When the war resumed in 2011, IRRC was founded under the Department of General Administration (DGA) and the IRRC established an administration committee in every camp.

The decision to travel through Northern Shan State to China was made due to the unsafe nature of the road through Myitkyina-Bhamo, the second capital of Kachin State. In addition, there are many checkpoints operated by the Myanmar army where they check identification numbers, question the purpose of travel and investigate all travelers along the Bhamo road; so it is safer to travel through China.

The researcher hired a research assistant during the field study activities. The research assistant helped to contact camp leaders to get permission to conduct research in the camp, helped to select key informants, and arrange logistics for the FGDs. She also helped to take notes and made appointments with IDPs.

Data Collection Methods

The research approach was primarily based on qualitative data, which was gathered from different sources such as IDIs, KIIs, non-participant observation, FGDs and other suitable methods which can generate secondary data. Both primary and secondary data sets were explored. The background and condition of both women and men living in the IDPs camp, along with changing gender roles and relationships because of war and armed conflict were explored through the research.

Primary Data Collection

Primary data was collected from IDPs who were taking shelter at Lana Zupja Camp, Kachin State, Myanmar. IDIs and FGDs were carried out with the IDPs to learn their security concerns and experiences of managing livelihoods and income sources during the lives in the camp and how gender roles and relations have changed during the armed conflict. Table 3.2 provides brief information on all respondents in this study.

Tools	Number of Respondents	Selection
In-depth interview	40 (including 20 males and 20 female) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eight couples – (eight males and eight females) which includes three women headed households • 12 males • 12 females (6 women from female-headed households) 	Aged between 30-55
Key informant interviews	12 people Described in detail in Table 3.3: Profile of Key Informants	Camp leaders, Religious leaders, NGOs workers, Women leaders
Focus group discussion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • two discussions with 15 women • one discussion with 7 men • one mixed FGD (one KII, four men and four women) • (total 30 people) 	four discussions (two for women only, one for men, and another was mixed with both men and women)

Table 3.2 List of Respondents (Source: Field data, October – November 2015)

In-depth Interviews

The IDIs were conducted with forty IDPs, including 20 women and 20 men from the camp. From within the 40 respondents, the researcher selected eight households in order to further understand the relations between husband and wife.

In this study, the research participants had an age limitation because in Kachin society, people who are over 55 years old rarely manage household matters because their daughters, sons, daughters-in-law and so on, take over the leadership roles in the household and in the community. Therefore, the research decided to interview participants between the ages of 30 to 55 years old. Each participant was interviewed individually for approximately forty-five minutes. IDIs were informally conducted based on the general objectives of the study and the questions were left open to uphold the free flow of the conversation.

This study applied non-probability sampling with quota sampling because the camp is divided into three centers, so that they could select six women and seven men from each center in order to give them equal representation.

Key Informants Interviews

The study aimed to look for information concerning the history of the IDP camp, and detailed information related to the effects of conflict-induced displacement. Since the IDP camps were established, the Camp Management Committee members and civil society representatives have worked together to provide different kinds of assistance, so they are considered knowledgeable and experts on IDP issues in Kachin State.

The researcher conducted NGO interviews in Mai Ja Yang Town because the organizations do not have offices in Lana Zupja camp. There are some organizations who do not have their offices in NGCA, so the researcher was not able to interview people from these organizations. Some organizations previously provide support in the camp, and these organizations did not operate during the time of study but the researcher still conducted interviews with them in order to understand the decreasing aid available for IDPs.

The key informants were from various institutions such as Camp Management Committee members, Religious Sub-committee members in the camp and NGOs workers.

Name of organizations	Female	Male	Total
Clinic in charge (Overall responsibility of the clinic Patient care & managing staff) Kachin Women's Association Thailand (KWAT)	1	-	1
Coordinator: livelihood and Food Security Program Wunpawng Ninghtoi (WPN)	-	1	1
Coordinator: Community Garden Bridging Rural Integrate Development and Grassroots Empowerment (BRIDGE)	-	1	1
Area Coordinator: Kachin Relief and Development Committee (KRDC)	1	-	1
Leader: Women Sub-committee Leader	1	-	1
Vice Camp Leader: Camp Management Committee	-	1	1
Centre I Leader	-	1	1
Centre II Leader	-	1	1
Centre III Leader	-	1	1
Leader: Community Support group (Ningmu Ginlen)	1	-	1
Leader Community Support group (Garum Jinghkri [GRJ]) and Volunteer as Breastfeeding Counsellor (WPN)	1	-	1
Member of Sub- Religion Committee	-	1	1
Total	5	7	12

Table 3.3 Profile of Key Informants

(Source: Field data, October – November, 2015)

Focus Group Discussion

The focus group discussion sessions were aimed at finding out different points of view on the impact of conflict-induced among IDPs in a casual

environment, mainly focusing on community perceptions of livelihood strategies and gender relations before and after displacement. Moreover, they explored human security concerns among IDPs, such as the different needs of both men and women, and the priority concerns of men and women in the camp.

The FGDs provided deep insight and a wealth of detailed information. During the discussions, the participants were separated based on sex to allow women and men to share their experiences freely and without hesitation. The IDP women were grouped for two discussions because in the context of Kachin culture, women's perspectives are excluded in the family and in the community. Therefore, the researcher wanted to create a friendly space for women to have confidence to share their experiences freely and safely. The researcher assumed that by conducting FGDs with women, she would obtain enough information for this study. The approximate time for each FGD was 1-1.5 hours.

Non-participant Observation

The aim of using non-participant observation was to explore the real life-style of IDPs: their living conditions, daily household chores, community work and meetings in the camp, and camp administrative structure. It helped the researcher to understand situations where it was difficult to ask questions, to access much richer information from the ground and also to analyze the surroundings of the camp. Moreover, it was useful to evaluate the information obtain through the KIIs and IDIs.

Secondary Data Collection

The secondary data was collected from relevant literature, published and unpublished reports, books, professional and academic reports and journals, current reports of NGOs and UN agencies, and other useful internet websites.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data collected from the semi-structured interviews with key informants, focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews was analyzed by data reduction, as well as by thematic analysis. The analysis also included understanding garnered from non-participant observation during the field work.

Chapter 4

General Information about the Study Area, the Internally Displaced Persons Camp and the Respondents

This chapter provides the background contexts of the study area and overall information of IDP camps in Lana Zupja village, Nba Pa village, Mansi township, Bhamo district. Moreover, this chapter also describes the profile of respondents (age, ethnicity, marital status, duration of living in the camp and their previous and current occupations) and present living conditions in the temporary makeshift shelters.

Study Area Profile

Background History of Lana Zupja Camp

Lana Zupja is a small village within Nba Pa village. It is one of the eleven villages in Nba Pa village, Mansi township. This village is under the KIO administration and situated within the Eastern Division's administration. There are three KIO administrative divisions within the Eastern Division: Bhamo District Administration, Shwegu District Administration and U Lang Pa District Administration. Lana Zupja village is in Bhamo District Administration; therefore, it is directly managed by the KIO officers from Bhamo District Administration office. Since the KIO started the revolution against the Central

government, this area has been part of the battlegrounds. Therefore, people from this area have fled to live in the mountainous areas. After the KIO signed the ceasefire agreement with the SLORC in February 1994, Lana Zupja village was established by people who lived in mountainous areas around Nba Pa, who had moved back to live in the plain area and reestablished Lana Zupja village.

When the village was rebuilt, there were only twenty households who had relocated to live in the village. As of the writing of this research (2016), the number of households was forty-five, with an estimated population of 300 people. Most of the villagers in Lana Zupja village were carrying out farming livelihoods, such as growing sugarcane, paddy fields, corn (or) maize, pine trees and other plantations. Due to the small population, the village could set up market, so the villagers have to go to the market in China the or Nba Pa village market.

Lana Zupja is located on the Nba Hka riverbank, which is on the border between China and Kachin State. The village is on the highway road connecting Nong Doa and Ruili border towns in China, and Mansi Town and Bhamo in Myanmar. This is also one of the roads used to smuggle timber Kachin State to China. Moreover, Lana Zupja is connected to Mai Ja Yang town, which is also the headquarters of the KIO 3rd Brigade.

This village is politically and economically important for the KIO. Therefore, the KIO made an agreement with some Chinese business people to open a Casino in 2006. The KIO agreed to rent over seventy acres of land near the village for the casino, and the Chinese investors started building hotels, restaurants, staff houses and buildings for gambling in 2006, finishing in 2007. From this casino, the KIO earned tax from hiring out the land, and fees in the form of border entry from the Chinese gamblers. However, the casino was only open for two years because the Chinese government pressured the Myanmar government to close it down, which reopened the Myanmar land. The Myanmar government negotiated with the KIO leaders to shut down the casino in the KIO controlled area. The Chinese government also closely monitored who went into the casino on the Myanmar border. After the casino was shut down, most of the buildings were empty as the Kachin people did not make use of them, and some Chinese people still open stores, shops, hotels and restaurants in Lana Zupja village.

Camp as a Safe Place for IDPs

When the armed conflict resumed in Kachin State, the village and former casino become a safe place for people who escaped the brutal attacks by the Myanmar army. Therefore, the KIO officers decided to set up a temporary shelter in Lana Zupja and let all IDPs live in the old buildings. The camp was established in November 2011 with people from 448 households, and there were also some more refugees who came to resettle in the camp after the Chinese government forced them to return to Myanmar. Some people went back to live in Man Wing Gyi town, a GCA, while some took shelter in one of the IDP camps in in Mansi township, called Bum Tsit Pa camp. People from over 101 households relocated to Lana Zupja IDP camp. Therefore, the population (at the time of research) in Lana Zupja Camp is 2,622 people, from 59 villages.

IDPs faced hardship in establishing new lives in the old buildings. Firstly, they were not familiar with living in brick buildings, and some of them suffered health problems such as headaches, paralysis and runny noses because of it. The Chinese had built the casino with very low quality materials create, making it wet and cold all the time. Moreover, the buildings had become dilapidated, for example, there were broken door lockers, some walls were cracking, water pipes did not operate well and most of the toilets did not work. Therefore, camp leaders requested Karuna Myanmar Social Service (KMSS) to build shelters for the IDPs. However, the land space was only available for people who had arrived first in the camp, and IDPs who relocated from refugee camps in China side had to live in a three-story building at the time of the field study.



Figure 4.1: Lana Zupja Camp zones (*Image source: Authors own*)

The camp is divided into three parts: Centers One, Two and Three, divided based on location. Centre One is located on the right side of the main road and combines wards one through to six. Centre Two is comprised of wards seven through to twelve, and Centre three includes wards thirteen to fifteen. Centres One and Two are located next to the highway to China. The IDP shelter room is too small for those who have big families. It is only 16 feet wide by 8 feet in length. One building includes 16 rooms, divided by thin wood veneer. Table 4.2, provides the basic information about Lana Zupja Camp.

Date established	30th November 2011
Location of camp	Lana Zupja village
Area of the camp	Estimated 24 acres
No. of villages	59
Total Population	Total=2611 (Male, 1176; Female, 1435)
Number of Households	549
Church + community center	1
Child Friendly Center	1
Nursery school	1
School	1 middle school
Health Center	1 clinic
Vocational Training Center	1
Market	1
Toilet	68
Water tank and well	4 tanks and 3 wells
Major Livelihoods	Daily wage labour; Grocery shops; Selling vegetable at market.

Table 4.2 General Information about Lana Zupja Camp

(Source: Field data, 22nd October, 2015)

Use of Currency in Lana Zupja Village

The currency used in Lana Zupja is mostly the Chinese Yuan. The Myanmar Kyat can be exchanged in stores³. There is no bank, but the store has connections with people in China who can set up the money exchange. The exchange rate does not depend on denomination of the note, rather, it depends on the amount of money to be exchanged. The exchange rate is high for small

3 This book uses the following currency conversions throughout: 1 USD = 1300 Kyat; 1 USD = 6 Yuan.

amounts but low for high amounts. The Chinese Yuan has been used in this area ever since the Myanmar government demonetized several currency notes without warning in 1987.

Camp Structure and Management

Since the IDP camps are established in KIO control areas, the KIO has a responsibility to manage the camps. Accordingly, the KIO DGA founded the IRRC to handle IDP affairs. This department assigns officers who graduated from Leadership and Public Administration training to do management tasks and to communicate with KIO's administration. In Lana Zupja Camp, there are three officers from DGA: Camp Leader, Vice Camp Leader and Camp Secretary, all working closely for IDPs affairs. The Camp Leader and Vice Camp Leader perform their management roles in Bhamo Division office. However, the Camp Secretary lives in the camp and closely manages IDP affairs with the center leaders. These three KIO officers are in the main committee, which is the highest decision-making body in the camp.

There are several reasons not to give camp leadership positions to IDPs. Since IDPs are from different villages, and their villages are located in remote areas, they do not have experience leading and working with many diverse people. In some villages, there were only 20-25 households, and around 200 villagers. On the other hand, as this area is under KIO control, it is more appropriate to assign people who already know the KIO public administration structure. Therefore, IRRC decided to assign three leaders from KIO for camp management in Lana Zupja camp, but also included four IDPs in the main management committee to balance power between KIO staff and the IDPs.

Furthermore, after the IDPs took safe shelter in Lana Zupja village the former casino, there were many cases of quarrelling, stealing and other crimes. Officers who already had experience with public administration needed to take part in the management. In this context, the KIO Central Committee decided to form the IRRC when the war returned in the Kachin areas, and allocated officers from KIO to operate IDP camps.

The main committee included Camp Leader, Vice Camp Leader, Camp Secretary, three Center Leaders and one woman from the Women Sub-Committee. The woman member is included in the main committee to ensure

women's participation in the decision-making body. This Main Committee holds regular meetings and shares updated information regarding the local political situation. If necessary, the Main Committee informs the IDPs of the political situation. The Main Committee holds meeting with all IDPs once per month. The Main Committee sets up twelve sub-committees to easily manage all sectors of the camp and to give opportunity for other people to participate in management roles at decision-making level.

The twelve sub committees are Health, Education, Religion, Youth, Sport, Water, Electricity, Ration distribution, Women, Security, Cultural and Auditing. Each sub-committee consists of five to seven members.

Responsibilities of Sub-committees

- The responsibilities of the Health Sub-committee is to closely work with nurses in the clinic, refer patients to Mai Ja Yang Hospital, arrange transportation fees for patients and attend when officers from the KIO Central Health Department visit the camp.
- Members from the Education Sub-committee work with teachers and make sure all students attend school. The committee members have to report to the Main Committee, making lists of necessary materials needed for school and nursery school.
- In the Religion Sub-committee, pastors and reverends from both Baptist and Roman Catholic Churches work together on religious affairs. The activities include conducting bible trainings for youth, women and men.
- The Women Sub-committee raises awareness about the danger of human trafficking among IDPs. If someone from the camp plans to marry someone from China, the committee members make sure that woman is not trafficked into China and gives information about safe migration.
- The Youth Sub-committee distributes information among the youth regarding training opportunities and job availability. This group works closely with the Religion Sub-committee and also participates in the church activities.
- The Sports Sub-committee sets up competitions for IDPs in football, volleyball and other types of sport to promote health and relaxation while living in the camp.

- The Water Sub-committee fixes broken water pipes and reports to Main Committee members if there are pipes that need to be replaced. This committee organizes the building of water tanks when NGOs provide support and checks existing water tanks regularly.
- The Electricity Sub-committee checks that all rooms have access to electricity or not. The IDPs can only access electricity from 6pm–9pm so the committee members are responsible for switching it on and off. In addition, the Main Committee has decided to collect an electricity fee from 2014, so the sub-committee members collect this fee from every household.
- The Distribution Sub-committee helps to distribute goods when NGOs come to give rice, salt, oil and other materials, including checking population lists, counting materials and carrying the items.
- The WASH Sub-committee focuses on hygiene in the camp and closely works with NGOs, requesting them build and/or fix toilets. This committee also sprays mosquito repellent around the camp compound.
- Drug eradication is operated from within the KIO central committee, every IDP camp also has a sub-committee and collaborates on the (drug) eradication work.

Profile of Respondents

Sex, Age, Marital Status and Ethnicity

In Lana Zupja Camp, the majority of IDPs are Jinghpaw. Other Kachin tribes, such as Lisu, Lhovo, Lachid, Zaiwa, are also living in the camp. Moreover, other Ethnic people from Myanmar, such as Shan, Ta-ang, and Myanmar women, who are married to Kachin men also live in the camp.

A total of 40 IDPs, including 20 women and 20 men were interviewed for the IDIs, including one Ta-ang woman, as noted in Table 4.2 below. Among the total, 21 belong to the 30 to 40 year-old age group, followed by 17 belonging to the 41-50 age group. Only two men were above 51 years old. All respondents were married, however one woman and two male respondents were separated from their partners during displacement.

Table 4.3 below provides information about respondents, such as age group and marital status.

Age group	Age Distribution			Marital Status				Total
	Women	Men	Total	Married		Separated		
				Women	Men	Women	Men	
30-40	9	12	21	10	12	1	2	25
41-50	11	6	17	9	4			13
51-55		2	2		2			2
	20	20	40	19	18	1	2	40

Table 4.3 Age Distribution and Marital Status of Respondents

(Source: Field data, October–November, 2015)

Educational Level of Respondents

Education level is also divided into three categories: 13 male and eight female respondents had primary education; four males and nine females had secondary school education⁴. The respondents who had only finished primary education had attended KIO School for two to three years of their lives. The respondents who had been through secondary and high school had likely attended the KIO schools, and then had a chance to continue their education in the government schools during the ceasefire period. According to the results, the number of women respondents who finished secondary education was twice that of the male respondents, while the number of women and men who had obtained high school level was equal. Despite this, no women were elected to be Center Leaders in the camp, although some women were in the sub-committee or were Ward Leaders.

4 The primary school education is starting from Kindergarten to four standard and the secondary school education combine middle school (five to eight standard) and high school (nine and tenth standard).

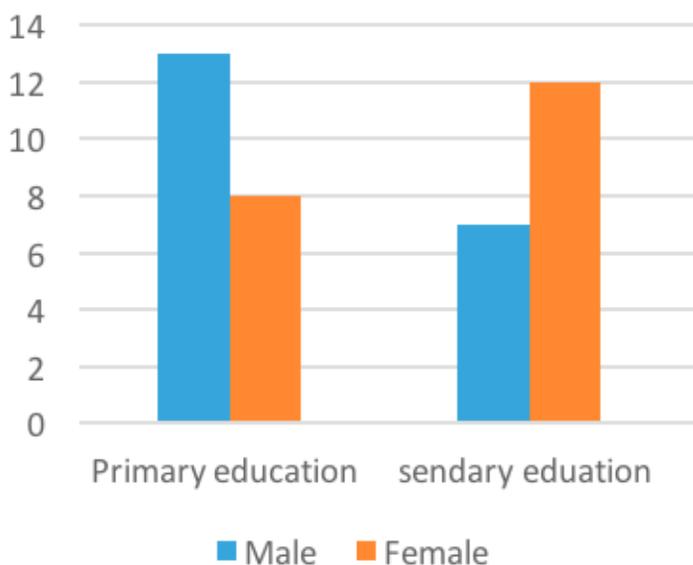


Figure 4.4: Educational levels of respondents

(Source: Field data, October – November 2015)

Duration of Living in the Camp

Seventeen out of 40 respondents fled to the refugees' camps in China, and lived there for up to one year before being forced to return to the KIO controlled area in August, 2012. At the time of this research, they had been living in the IDP camp for almost four years, inside the old three-story buildings because there was no space left to build makeshift shelters. However, the Camp Management Committee members and KMSS NGO planned to construct shelters in 2016.⁵⁴

Another twenty-three respondents fled to Lana Zupja Camp during the conflict and were the first people to arrive in the camp. A few days after their arrival, the KIO decided to establish the IDP camp in the village. They had been living in this camp for almost five years.

⁵ KMSS constructed some new shelters for IDP who lived in three-story buildings in early 2016.

Figure 4.5 shows the the IDPs routes to the camps after the armed conflict broke out in their villages.

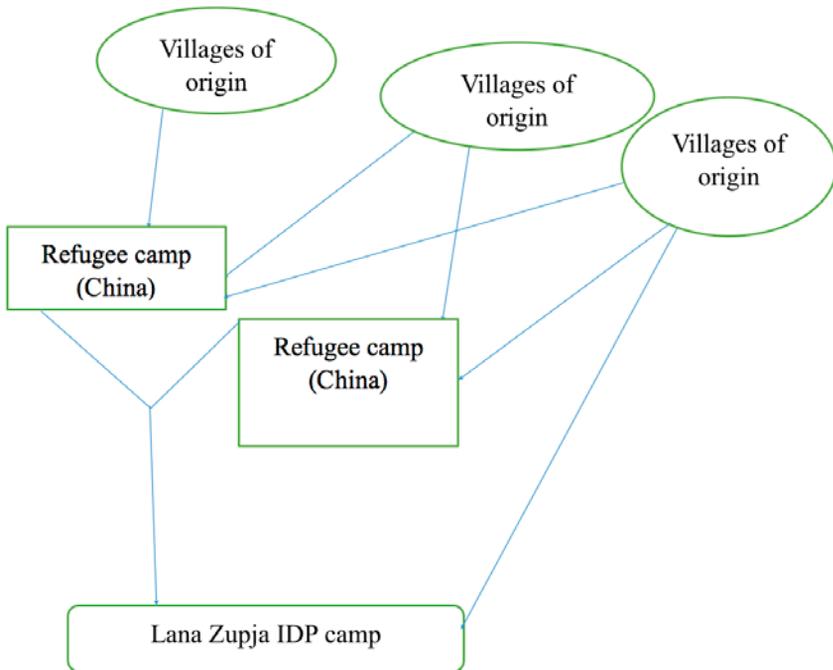


Figure: 4.5 Route of Displacement to the Camp

Chapter 5

Gender and Human Security inside Lana Zupja Camp

The following chapter is based on the empirical findings of the two-month field study in Lana Zupja camp on the Myanmar-China border. The analysis answers the first research question of the study; how conflict induced security concerns in the camp affect livelihoods among female and male IDPs. It will primarily present the human security situation in the camp and what access to basic assistance IDPs can call upon, related to four human security categories (food security, economic security, personal security, and community security) in the camp. In addition, any difference between women and men in terms of human security concerns in the camp will be explained.

Food Security

The conflict in the Kachin area has forced people to flee from their villages and leave behind all of their farmland. This research found that food security is important for displaced people after they arrive at the shelter. One of the key informants, who is a leader at Center (I), described:

When IDPs arrived in the camp, they could survive with what they brought from their homes for a couple of days. After they had finished all the food that they had, most of them started worrying. However, the villagers and church members from other areas came to provide support and assistance.

Additionally, at the beginning of 2012, all IDPs received humanitarian aid from aid organizations.

The above statement shows that the roles of humanitarian organizations and civil society organizations are essential support to have food security. The organizations provide food items for all IDPs who are taking shelter in various camps along the Myanmar-China border, so the IDPs from Lana Zupja camp also received humanitarian supported items during these times.

Access to Sufficient Food

Based on the findings of the field study, there are two Local NGOs who provide humanitarian aid for IDPs in Lana Zupja. These Local NGOs received a grant from UN agencies and INGOs working on providing humanitarian support in Myanmar. IDPs received several items of support from 2012 until 2014, but the organizations have reduced distributed items since then. This is because the organizations have faced budget limitations in distributing support items to IDPs, and thus, the IDPs face more hardship. The duration of IDPs living in the camp had reached almost five years by 2015, yet they still did not know when they could return back to their villages to resettle their lives. After reducing aid, IDPs faced more challenges to the management of their food consumption, especially women, who need to manage the daily food intake of the whole family.

According to the respondents, there were three organizations (WPN, KMSS and BRIDGE) who gave food support items in the camp between 2012 and 2014. During that time, they received several food and non-food items (as illustrated in Table 5.1). WPN provided other food items, including dried fish and meat, onion, garlic, eggs, noodles, potatoes, tomatoes and canned meat. However, this support stopped in 2014. In addition, BRIDGE introduced a community garden kitchen for IDPs in Lana Zupja camp in 2013. The organization rented two acres of land from locals and taught them how to grow seasonal vegetables. After harvesting the vegetables, all households could get an equal amount of the produce. Therefore, IDPs did not need to worry so much about their food consumption. However, they had to struggle and worry after the project had stopped at the end of 2014. There were two reasons for discontinuing the project in the camp: the first reason was that the organization faced funding limitations, and the second reason was that there were many

other camps along the border, so that organization moved to other camps. Discontinuing this project and reducing support materials fostered concern for IDPs living in the camp.

One of the local NGOs, KMSS, had provided rations for basic food for IDPs in Lanza Zupja camp on a monthly basis, since the camp was founded. They distributed items such as rice, oil, salt and beans. Every month, both men and women IDPs received 15 kilograms of rice and one liter of oil. The amounts of distributed material differed for children who were under 12 years old, who received 10 kilograms of rice.

The below table shows the quantity of support rations received by IDPs and the reduction of aid items from 2015.

Year	2012-2013	Quantity	2014-2015	Quantity
1. Food Items	Rice	15 kilograms (adult-monthly: per person) *10 Kilogram (Children under 12) monthly: per person	Rice	15 kilograms (adult-monthly: per person) *10 Kilogram (Children under 12) monthly: per person
	Oil	1 liter (monthly) per person	Oil	1 liter (monthly) per person
	Salt	500 grams (monthly) per person	Salt	500 grams (monthly) per person
	Bean	1.5 kilograms (once ever three months)	bean	1.5 kilograms (once every two months)
	Tomatoes, potato, onion	1 kilogram each, once every two months		
	Fish and meat can	A half kilogram pack for two people (once per month)		
	Dried fish, meat,	200 grams of canned meat or fish for two people (once every three months)		
2. Non-Food items	Soap bars, toothpaste, liquid detergent	2 packets of toothpaste (180 grams) per family, per month 2 liters of liquid detergent per person, every three months		
	Kitchen supplies	2 Pots, 4 spoons, 2 buckets, 2 mats, 2 knives, 4 plates, and 3 blankets		
3. Cash grant	7000 Kyat per month, per person	Estimated 5.5 USD (per month)		

Table 5.1 Aid Supported Items for IDPs during 2012-2014 and 2015

(Source: Field data, October - November, 2015)

According to Table 5.1, the IDPs in the camp received several humanitarian aid items for almost three years between 2012 to 2014. They received food items, non-food items and unconditional cash grants. Some items of food were not on a monthly basis and some items were only distributed occasionally but these were valuable for IDPs. However, after 2014, they only received basic food support and that led all IDPs in Lana Zupja camp to worry about their future survival in the camp. A woman who is leader of Ningmu Ginlen explained below:

It is good for IDPs to have support for several food items such as dried meat/fish, onion, garlic and other vegetables. The reducing of aid items effected their consumption because they did not have regular jobs in the camp.

Both male and women respondents said that they worried about their continued living in the camp. In March 2015, KMSS could not bring rations into the camp because of the difficulties in transportation so most of the IDP families experienced a food shortage at that time. The provided humanitarian food items were the only source of food for the IDPs. Consequently, just one month of discontinuing the food distribution had greatly affected many IDP families. The Camp Management Committee gave rations to families who ran out of food before distribution day. However, it was difficult for the committee to redistribute rations in the long term. One woman who was 34-years old, stated her concerns for the future:

Humanitarian aid is our lives. I worry that if NGOs do not provide rice, my family will not be able to buy rice from the market. When KMSS did not provide rations for a month, many families faced food shortages so the Camp Management Committee gave some rice. So we could survive. (IDI, F-020)

One of the male respondents, who was 53 years old, said that:

I am the only one who earns money for the family. I have four children and one grandchild who attends school. I work as a daily wage laborer, but I only can work 2 or 3 days per month. If aid is reduced or stopped, I don't know how I can support the family's food or my children's education. My wife has a disability so she cannot do income earning jobs. (IDI M-011)

The above quote demonstrates that jobs for IDPs in this area were not permanent and they could only earn minimal income to cover the family expenses. Therefore, men also worry about reduced or stopped aid during their stay in the camp. While this man has to take responsibility to earn for the whole family, the humanitarian aid was also essential for this family during their time in the camp.

Since humanitarian aid was reduced from 2015, IDPs had their food consumption effected because they then had to buy chili and other vegetables from the market. They worried that if the aid was totally cut off, they would go hungry because of the lack of jobs around the camp. A woman who has four children revealed that:

I always worry for my future because all of my family members rely on aid support items, but now the aid is decreasing. If the aid support is stopped, how can I raise my children under these circumstances? (IDI F-14)

During the field study, IDPs received information about the ongoing reductions in humanitarian support. The reducing support meant that all IDPs would only get 70percent of previous levels from 2016 onwards.⁶ Instead of material item support, IDPs were to get cash grants. According to the KIIs, this would be applied in both NGCAs and GCAs because the decision was made by UN agencies and INGOs. The distribution process involves the local NGOs receiving cash grants and material support from UN agencies and INGOs. If this is confirmed, both male and female IDPs would get 70% of the original support, which is 9000 Kyat (an estimated 7.5 USD) pre person, per month. There are exceptions for people with HIV/ AIDS, elderly people who do not have family members to support them and orphan children who will still receive 100percent of the support, which is 13000 Kyat (estimated 11 USD) per person, per month.

The majority of women respondents were concerned about the provision of cash grants for all IDPs families because if they received only cash grants, they would have more difficulties to manage household consumption. In addition, women worried that the men would keep for their quota, would not contribute to the family and would spend their cash on personal items. Another factor was that the Chinese Yuan had been used in this area for decades after

6 The IDP only received 70% previous levels of aid in 2016 and received 30% of aid in 2017.

the Myanmar government demonetized several currency notes without warning in 1987, and the Myanmar Kyat was devalued against the Chinese Yuan. If a person received 9000 Kyat, it was equivalent to only 45 Yuan, and a kilogram of poor-quality rice cost at least 12 Yuan. So that 45 Yuan can only buy less than four kilograms of rice. In addition, the village or camp market may not have enough to sell rice to over 2000 IDPs. One of the respondents mentioned her concerns:

If the organizations only give cash grants, women will surely face more difficulties in managing household consumption and expenses. If we have rice, we can eat with soya bean paste or salt. Moreover, men will surely take their money and drink alcohol. (IDI F-019)

If IDPs can only get support in the form of cash grants, women will face more challenges to manage the household expenditure because they still need to take responsibility for the whole family's consumption. Furthermore, women worried about men using the money for their personal use and not contributing to the family expenses.

Nutrition Support

NGOs and civil society organizations care enormously for the nutrition of small children, pregnant women and elderly people both males and females (those above 60) in the camp. Nutritional support is mainly focused on children, and pregnant women and postnatal women, but some elderly people, both men and women, who are above 60 years old also get support. Because some IDPs had to hide for weeks in the forest with hardly any food before being resettled in the camp, most children and pregnant women were malnourished after arriving in the camp. Bacchin, found that some Kachin IDPs had been hiding in the forest for up to six months (2012). The nutritional support items were distributed until a couple of years ago in the camp.

In addition, children between six months and fifty months were regularly measured for Mid-Upper Arm Circumference (MUAC), in order to determine if they met nutritional standards. When IDPs first arrived in the camp, there were many children with Severe Acute Malnutrition (SAM) who needed special care. WPN formed a group of women volunteers to conduct monthly group check ups. This group also provides training and cooking demonstrations to

women who have small kids and formed mother-to-mother social support groups. From this training, women can learn the importance of balancing nutritional food for children. One of the key informants who was volunteering as a Breastfeeding Counselor, explained that:

Since some of the IDPs had to hide in the jungle for many days, they did not have enough food. After arriving in the camp many children got sick. Some pregnant women also delivered premature babies, so organizations provided nutritional support such as cereal, and created programs for nutritional care in the camp. From 2015, WPN could not support the project but all the women volunteers continued to measure MUAC and report to WPN if children had SAM.

Even though the organization could not provide funding for other training activities, women who were involved in this project continued working as volunteers to measure children's arms, and did not need extra support for this program. Women volunteers contributed their time for measuring children in order to prevent severe malnutrition of the children in the camp.

The funding limitations not only affected the children's nutrition program, but also that of pregnant women and elderly people. They also did not get support for nutritional cereal items after 2015. This support was valuable to pregnant women and breastfeeding women because it was one of the only nutritional foods that they could get in the camp. In the village, breastfeeding or pregnant women had access to livestock or vegetables, but in the camp, they were not able to get these foods. One woman who has small children said:

It is good to have cereal and other nutrition support for children under two years old and for postnatal women, because in the village we can get fresh vegetables from the forest and our backyard garden. This is the only thing that we can have with good nutrition in the camp. (IDI F-007)

The statement reveals that pregnant women, breastfeeding women and small children had support of nutrition cereals after arriving in the camp and were happy to receive that support. Without that support, it is very difficult to meet the nutritional needs of these sub-groups in the camp.

Nutritional food is closely related to access to clean water, but it is very difficult for IDPs to access clean water in Lana Zupja camp. Most of the respondents reported that the water is always muddy and yellow, and needs to be filtered many times with a cloth filter. Moreover, there is not enough water for all the people in the camp because the camp was established along the China-Myanmar border which is an area that does not have good access to water (UNOCHA, 2012). Women are responsible for collecting water for the whole family, so they need to get up early in the morning to collect water from tanks and wash all clothes. Sometime they need to queue up for the water, even though they get up early in the morning. Sometimes they quarrel with each other because they try to collect the water first. Participants from the women's focus group discussion stated that:

There are only four water tanks in the camp so water usually runs out in the day time when many people are collecting water. Therefore, some people collected water in the early morning, and later all people followed them to collect water in the morning time. There are many women lining up and waiting to collect water. Sometimes, women get angry with each other because they try to collect water with too many buckets. (FGD Group 2)

One of the reasons for the limited access to clean water in Lana Zupja camp is that the camp is surrounded by sugarcane plantations, and these plantations use very high amounts of chemical fertilizer and pesticides, making water sources unclean. Especially in the rainy season, all the rain water from the sugarcane fields flows into the water tanks which were built for IDPs in Lana Zupja camp and that water becomes dirty. The lack of access to clean water is a serious issue and contributes to ill-health among the IDPs.

Economic Security

Employment Opportunity and Basic Income

Based on the concept of human security, every person who is of working age should have employment for their survival. However, employment opportunities for IDPs are very rare around the camp. Most of the local people

work in farming activities that do not need many laborers, and some local people do not need support at all in their farming activities. Therefore, only very few IDPs can get a job in the local farms. The jobs are only available during sugarcane harvesting time (December until January). It is only these two months of the year that the IDPs have an opportunity to earn money. For the rest of the months, the majority of IDPs do not have employment around Lana Zupja village, however they can still work on the Chinese side of the border.

Working in China is temporary and illegal because the Chinese Government requires IDPs to have a work permit if working inside China. The wage fee in China is 40-50 Yuan (approximately 8-9 USD) per day for cutting forests or cleaning bushes. There is no wage difference between men and women on the China side. Both women and men can get the same wage for the same tasks. However, IDPs who work on the China side may face exploitation if they do not have work permits, and are unlikely to have strong social networks in China because of the language barrier. The TBP only provides authorization to travel in China, meaning that IDPs cannot report to the Chinese police if they face labor exploitation (Lut, 2013). One male respondent explained his experience:

I went for cutting sugarcane in Yin Jiang with my sister-in-law after displacement from the village. I worked for a month but I just got money for food and room rent. I did not have travel money for returning back to the camp, so my wife sent some to me and only then could I come back to the camp. (IDI M-0013)

People who work in China need to have documents for their employment. If they do not have legal documents, they are more likely to face labor exploitation in China. If they have some documents, they can ask Kachin people who live in China to help them to get back. Even though IDPs often do not have TBPs, they often still go to work on the China side of the border.

This research found that 14 out of 20 male respondents work on the China side while only two out of 20 women worked in China. One of the twenty male respondents was arrested in China, after the Chinese authorities checked the Temporary Border Pass. No women mentioned that they were arrested in China. The male respondent said he was put in a jail for three days

and released after his relatives from China came to pay a fine to the Chinese authorities. The Chinese authorities can arrest people who do not have a TBP, unless the employers from China can act as guarantor for the person. If a person is arrested in China, that person needs to pay 500 Yuan (approximately 90 USD) as a fine and ordered to do 500 sits-ups as punishment. If a person cannot pay the fine, the authorities send that person to prison for a month in Ruili or Dehong Mangshi, China. One male respondent said that:

I have a TBP but most of IDPs do not. Because it can be only issued in Lweje town which is one of the official border gates between China and Myanmar. It takes two hours travel by motorbike from Lana Zupja Camp to Lweje and it costs 600 Yuan (approximately 100 USD) for the travel fee and 8000 Kyat (approximately 5 USD) for the TBP. This TBP can be used for one year but most of the IDP are unwilling to do it because they do not have money to cover all the costs related with this. (IDI M-010)

The quote mentioned that IDPs have to spend at least one hundred dollars to travel to another town to get a TBP, which they can use for a year. However, they do not know whether they can get regular jobs in China or not. In addition, they are in the conflict zone so no one can guarantee their safety during their travel. According to the male FGD, most IDPs do not have a TBP. They can only go and work in China when employers from China pick up the IDPs from the camp. If not, most of them do not dare to work on the China side. While working in China provides an equal wage between men and women, they need to be concerned for their safety in China. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 4, the Camp Management Committee does not allow IDPs to work in China.

Therefore, most IDPs try to find employment opportunities in the local area. FGD participants, both females and males, pointed out that local people give wages that are different for men and women. Women can only get 30 Yuan per day (approximately 5 USD) while men can get 50 Yuan (approximately 8-9 USD) for the same work. However, IDP women still have to work, even though the local people differentiate the wages between men and women.

Furthermore, working in the sugarcane fields is not based on daily wages; it is based on how many packs the person can cut in a day. Therefore, men can earn more money than women. During the sugarcane harvesting time, many people who are not IDPs from Myanmar come to work in China and on the Kachin side. Therefore, employers can afford to minimize the fee for sugar packs. There are ten sugar canes included in one pack. The regular price is one pack for one Yuan, however, the IDPs only get 0.5 Yuan per pack.

Since the available jobs are hard manual jobs, it is not possible for women with small children, women who cannot do labor intensive work, elderly people and people who are not in good health to get jobs. A woman aged 47, who has 3 children, stated:

I cannot do hard labor under the sun because I get migraines after working under the sun. I used to work in the sugarcane field during December 2011 when I arrived in this camp. Nonetheless, I did not know how to pack well for sugarcane. There are three steps. Firstly, you need to cut down, secondly clean cover and lastly packing. For one pack, the owner only gives 1 or 0.5 Yuan. I only could earn 10 Yuan a day. It was also really dangerous to work because the sugarcane leaves are sharp and it can injure you. (IDI F-011)

The IDPs have to work in jobs that they are not used to working in their village and it is difficult to learn new types of jobs in the new area.

The basic income for IDPs depends on what types of job they can work after displacement. According to the respondents, women can have regular jobs such as selling commodities (vegetables, dry food, cloth and in tea shops) in the market. In addition, some women become nursery school teachers in the camp, so they can get a stipend from the committee. Moreover, women can also get support from NGOs in order to have a regular income for their families. There is no project providing men with a regular income during their time in the camp, so they mostly earn their basic income working as daily wage laborers. The income for IDPs who work as daily wage laborers depends on how many days they can work in a month.

Table 5.2 shows basic income of IDPs. According to the data, women who have regular income jobs know how much they can earn in a day or a

month, but women and men who work as daily wage laborers do not know how much they can expect to earn in a month.

Types of jobs	Estimated amount of income
Nursery school teacher (women)	300 Yuan approximately (50 USD) monthly
Cloth shop (women)	350 Yuan approximately (310 USD) monthly
Selling vegetable (Women)	10 Yuan approximately (1.4 USD) daily
Tea shop (women)	13 Yuan approximately (2 USD) daily
Daily wage labor (China side)	50 Yuan approximately (8-9 USD) Daily
Daily wage labor (local)	40-50 Yuan approximately (7-9 USD) daily men 30-40 Yuan approximately (5-7 USD) daily women

Tales 5.2 Basic Income of Respondents

(Source: Field data, October–November 2015)

All of the respondents reported that NGOs support women to have a regular income. However, limitations in NGOs funding meant they could only provide this for a few women in the camp. WPN gathered a group of 19 women and provided three-day training for three women on how to mix tea, make Chinese dumplings and fried dough. Those three women can now teach other women in the camp.

When IDPs could get a cash grant, I could sell a lot and get a regular income for my family but after NGOs stopped providing money; my business hasn't been so good because now most of the IDPs cannot spend money on snacks. (IDI F-008)

This statement is explained by the fact that women received support to open a small tea shop in the camp so that they could have a small income for their families. However, these women faced limitations because most of the IDPs do not have money to buy and consume this kind of snack in the morning. After the cash grant was cut, most IDPs could not spend money on extra food. This is one example of the unsustainability of NGO support in the form of unconditional cash grants.

According to the respondents, from 2012, KMSS provided 7000 Kyat (estimated 5.5 USD) of cash per person, per month, in order to buy fresh vegetables and to cover other family expenses. During the time that IDPs received cash grants, they could spend money on their family, give donations and support their children's education. However, from 2015 onwards, IDPs only had basic food and could not receive cash grants anymore. A woman who is head of her household, with four children, explained:

After the NGOs stopped distributing cash grants, I did not even have one Yuan in my pocket, so I felt very insecure living in the camp. When I lived in the village, I could live without money because I still had livestock that I could convert to money. (IDI F -013)

The consequences of these reductions, especially for women headed households, has led to a financial crisis. Most people, when living in the rural village, normally do not need to spend money because the market is far and they have everything they need in the village. However, since the IDPs now live in the camp, they rely on aid and are required to spend money for daily basics that otherwise they would not have to purchase.

Shelter

According to the field observations, the shelters for IDPs in Lana Zupja camp can be divided into two groups. One-third of IDPs still live in the brick buildings built by the Chinese investors for the casino center, and the remaining two-thirds of the IDPs moved into makeshift shelters in January 2013. IDPs who live in the shelters built by NGOs have more space and fresh air, but people who live in the three-story buildings do not have good ventilation systems in the room and the building has a bad smell. Every room is attached with a toilet and bathroom, but the toilets and bath do not operate well from the buildings and water cannot be used on the second and third floors. In some rooms, dirty water from the toilet comes out into the bed room. One woman said:

The toilet from my room has not functioned well for a long time. I carried out dirty water which was very smelly and I reported this to the Center leader but he also could not help me. Therefore, I went to ask cement from Chinese construction

workers and carried with my head and I filled it inside the toilet. (IDI F-007)

Even though the rooms have a bad smell, the IDPs have to live in the building. Moreover, the Center leader was not able to repair the toilet because the camp management did not have money to fix or remove all the dirty water from the toilets.

Since the Camp Management Committee arranged a plot of land to build makeshift buildings, KMSS helped to support the new buildings. The KIO manage to borrow land from local people and were allowed to use 18 acres of land for building 50 shelters. However, IDPs who had shelter in the makeshift buildings also had problems.

In one building, there are 16 rooms: each room is nine foot in length and 16 feet wide. The space is big enough for a family who only have three or four family members, but it is not adequate for big families of more than five members. A big family has to make a temporary separate room with dividing curtains for female family members. One woman respondent explained that:

The room is quite small for my family. If the family has only female members or only male, it is ok for them to share in one room but I have sons and daughters who are young. Therefore, we made a division with a cloth curtain for all female members. (IDI F-019)

The room space is the same whether the family size is big or small, so those families who have many people do not have enough space. Family members with the same gender may not have shortages of beds because they can all sleep in the same place. However, families who have adolescent daughters and/or sons have more difficulties in managing the beds. Another problem related to housing is when people get married; the camp committee members cannot give new rooms for newlywed couples, yet it is not appropriate for new couples to live in a small room with their father and mother.

Since the building has to be shared by many families and the rooms are only split with plywood, the IDPs feel they have no privacy. When someone speaks, they can hear clearly. When children play or jump on the floor, the whole building is shaking so that elderly people feel dizzy and cannot sleep

well at night time. Married men and women feel uncomfortable being intimate with each other, and also feel that they do not have a place to discuss family matters freely.

Living in the IDP camp is not easy. Sometimes we quarrel with neighbors because they make noise. Most of the elderly people do not want to live in this camp and they said that they could not sleep at night. My father went back to the village and died in the village last year. (IDI M-003)

Two-thirds of respondents mentioned that when heavy rain comes, they cannot live inside the room because it is too noisy. In addition, rain can come inside the room and wet their blankets and other living supplies. Another concern is for the kitchen building structure: since the kitchen was built with only half walls, the kitchen space becomes wet when it rains heavily and sometimes, they cannot even cook rice in the kitchen.

Although the kitchens were built beside the building, the wall only covers half of the sides and does not have doors. IDPs cannot put their kitchen materials inside the kitchen because they are not confident to leave their kitchen supplies outside during the night. Therefore, they need to keep all their cooking materials and food in their sleeping quarters in the evening and bring these to the kitchen every morning.

I see all women put rice, oil, salt and other vegetables in their baskets and carry them back and forth every day. If not, we cannot find them in the next morning and we won't have food. We have to wait until the (next) distribution date. (IDI F-001)

Personal Security

This research found that personal security differs for males and females, and their concerns for personal security are divergent. The majority of women are concerned with their personal security during their stay in the camp while men are concerned with their personal security in terms of livelihood matters.

According to the majority of male respondents, personal security concerns are related to travelling to other areas to earn money. Some male

members take responsible as the financial earner, while women stay in the camp and take care of the elderly people and children. In this case, men always need to travel to other areas to earn money. The majority of male respondents stated that they are checked by the Myanmar army every time they pass the gate. The Myanmar soldiers suspect every Kachin male as belonging to the KIA, so they are stopped at the checkpoint for two–three hours and asked many questions. One man who had experienced this interrogation by the Myanmar army, described it as below:

The Myanmar army asked me where my group is heading to. I realized the word they used - “group” - and I replied immediately: “I am only one traveler and I do not have friends who accompany with me”. I had to wait while they reported to their Major and they let me go after they got the command from him. I could continue my journey but they took all of my money and cigarettes. (IDI M-010)

Another male respondent also pointed out:

I met the Myanmar troops on the road while I traveled to other areas with my wife and children. I was afraid and did not even dare to look at them because I heard that the Myanmar troops interrogated and arrested every Kachin male when they were in the front line. Besides, I cannot speak Myanmar language very well. Therefore, I stopped my motorbike and pretended to fix it. Luckily, they did not ask any questions, I think this is because I was with my family members. (IDI M-006)

Most of the Kachin men are under suspicion of being KIA soldiers. If the Kachin men do not understand or speak Myanmar language, the Myanmar army will be more likely to blame them for involvement with the KIA. Rule of law is not enforced during armed conflict time, so the Myanmar army can arrest or accuse any Kachin men when they travel.

The male respondents worry about the availability of drugs and alcohol in both the Kachin and China sides. After living in the camp, IDPs get to know each other, so men worry that they may not be able to refuse when their friends

ask them to use drugs. In addition, men often gather and drink alcohol in the camp. The respondents stated that there is a high consumption of drugs in the camp and this leads to GBV. Therefore, the Camp Management Committee set up a sub-committee to eliminate drug use in the camp. As discussed in the economic opportunity and basic income section, it is very difficult for IDPs to have employment in the camp and the jobs that IDPs can obtain in this area are not regular. So that most IDPs, especially those who do not have a regular income, often use drugs. Drug use by the men affects family relations and also spreads problems in the community. Although, the camp committee banned the selling of alcohol in the village, Chinese people still sell various kinds of alcohol on the Chinese side. Therefore, male IDPs have easy access to alcohol from China. One man who is thirty-five years old described the drug use in the camp:

There are many men who start drinking or using other drugs after living in the camp because alcohol is easily available in the shops or stores. Another reason is that men release their sorrow by drinking alcohol and there is no regular task for men so they drink alcohol in the camp. (IDI M-019)

Prior to resettlement in the camp, the home villages of the IDPs did not have regular markets or shops. Most of the villages in the rural Kachin areas have markets only once per week. Therefore, people in the village could only buy commodities and alcohol on the market days. However, there are many shops and stores around the camp areas so that men could suddenly buy alcohol. After displacement, IDPs do not have a regular source of livelihood. Furthermore, during the armed conflict, most IDPs lost all their belongings and left much behind in the villages. These kinds of experiences drive male IDPs to drink alcohol in the camp. The impact of using drugs is further discussed in the context of women's personal security in Chapter 7, under their experience of GBV, as well as domestic violence.

This study found that women worry about their personal security in the context of their daily activities and their lives in the camp. The shelter buildings are not properly established, so women feel unsafe when their husbands are away from the camp. Widowers or separated women always worry because the room is so closed in and it is only divided with plywood.

Sometimes, I do not dare to stay in the room, even in the day time because I worry that those drunken men may come and rape me. Around ten men from this center always drink alcohol and talk dirty words. The door locker for my room is not good; I replaced it a few months ago, but it is broken again. And then the door also became ruined. I do not have money to fix it. (IDI F-007)

The camp building structure is not safe for women. Moreover, the building is supposed to be only temporary, and the builders have used low quality materials so that doors and the locks do not work after only four years. In addition, men's consumption of alcohol also creates a feeling of insecurity for women living in the shared building. When men get drunk, they make noise and talk inappropriately, verbally assaulting wives and children so that the women feel insecure and often cannot even sleep because of the drunken men's noise.

Insecurity for women is created in part by the building structure of the camp, including insufficient toilets and no bathrooms exclusively for women. The door lock can be broken easily and doors cannot close properly. Women opt to take a shower in the outdoors, making them vulnerable, but without any other option. Furthermore, there is no space to dry clothes after they are washed, as it is difficult for IDPs to set up space. A 30-year old woman shared:

Taking a shower in public is not comfortable but this is the only place where we can take a shower in the camp. Even married women face difficulty when taking a shower; young girls are more shy than us. Since there is no space to build a bath room, I try to encourage myself for taking shower in the public. Most of the time, we take shower in the evening when it comes dark so no one can see us. (IDI F-017)

The lack of facilities in the camp makes women feel insecure. Some women may dare to take a shower in public but some women do not dare to take showers at all. On the other hand, personal security for men is more related to engaging in livelihood plans requiring travel.

Community Security

Since the camp was established in the middle of where a former casino center was built, there are many people, particularly Chinese people, who do business in this area still living in the village. IDPs worry about their safety during their stays in the camp. As discussed in an earlier section, the shelter buildings are built as temporary structures so doors are not well designed and the locks are not good. Since the area has so many different types of people living there, there are many cases of theft in the camp. According to the respondents, forty-eight motorbikes were stolen in four years. Although IDPs lock their motorbikes with many locks, the thieves can still steal them. Some people even tie them tightly with iron string. The motorbike is one of the only means of transportation for people who live in this area because there is no public transportation system in the camp. Thus, IDPs often purchase a motorbike for transportation. One of the Key informants, who is member of the religion sub-committee, explained the camp conditions:

Theft happens frequently in the camp but no one has been arrested yet even though there are many gates in the entrance of every center. So we think that some IDPs have been involve in these stealing incidents.

Although the Camp Management Committee assigns two IDPs to guard each entrance gate, the motorbike thefts continue. The study found another community security concern for IDPs is related to the host community. IDPs feel unhappy about the local people's behavior because they show their dislike of the IDPs living in their village. When they meet with IDPs on the road, they do not talk to them. Furthermore, they are angry at IDPs because the IDPs collect firewood from the local people's forest. From the IDPs side, this is the only option for for them. The local people complained to the Camp Management Committee to halt the IDPs collecting firewood in the local forest. The camp leaders sought permission from the village head for the IDPs to collect firework in the community forests. However, the community forest is very far from the camp and people who do not have motorbikes are not able to go and collect firewood there easily. Women who have small kids face more difficulty to collect the firewood. One of the key informants, the Center II leader, explained that:

The duration of IDPs living in the camp is unexpectedly almost five years but the local people do not want to have IDPs in their area at all. So the local people start complaining, especially about IDPs collecting firewood.

One of the women respondents shared her experience with collecting firewood:

When the owners of the forest saw we were collecting firewood, they scolded us. But we have to collect for cooking because the electricity is only provided from 6pm until 10pm at night.
(IDI F-13)

The IDPs have been relocated in the camp for over four years. The local community is resentful that IDPs are receiving humanitarian aid and also using their resources because that local community is also effected by armed conflict. This situation makes IDPs feel insecure living in the camp.

The Camp Management Committee tries to negotiate with the village head to stabilize the relations before IDPs can go back to their villages of origin. Some of the KIO leaders from the Eastern Division came to explain the current political situation and told them they needed to be patient during the armed conflict. At that stage, local people become more aware about IDPs and understood their situations better.

Brief Discussion of Health, and Political and Environmental Security

In order to ensure health security, there is one health care center in the camp which is run by the KIO health department and Kachin Women's Association Thailand. The KIO sends three female nurses: a nurse for laboratory work, a medic for general illness, and a nurse specifically working on obstetrics and gynecology (OG), and KWAT assigns two female nurses who have finished health training in Mae Tao Clinic, Thailand. The health care center can give assistance for general or seasonal illnesses, delivering babies and reproductive health related problems for women. In addition, the nurses provide training on family planning for men and women, reproductive health awareness and adolescent health training for IDPs who are above 12 years of age. It can be said that women IDPs can freely discuss issues related to their reproductive health with the female nurses.

Regarding political security, IDPs are neglected and stripped of their rights as citizens. According to one Key informant, who is the Vice Camp Leader, IDPs are denied their political rights after they are relocated in the camp. The IDPs in the NGCA were left out when the nationwide census took place in Myanmar in April 2014 (ALTSEAN, 2014). Moreover, the Kachin IDPs were not allowed to vote in the recent elections in November 2015.

Based on the field research findings, the environmental security for IDPs in Lana Zupja is related to the decades-long illegal logging business in Kachin State. Most of the logs were bought by Chinese business people and there are many illegal roads that reach China from Kachin areas. All of the harvested sugar canes are sold to sugar factories in China. On the other hand, a coal mine is next to Lana Zupja village, and close to Nba Hka River so the water from that river is always dirty. Water from the river is not suitable to use but IDPs have to use it anyway because they face water shortages most of the time. Running water is also unclean and does not come regularly.

Table 5.3 explains the threats to human security facing the IDPs in Lana Zupja camp.

Human Security Categories	Main Threats for IDPs in Lana Zupja Camp
Food security	Men and women get the same amount of basic food Reduced food supply from 2015 Uncertainty about material aid support in 2016
Economic security	Lack of employment opportunities The available jobs are hard labor so women find them difficult to get and do Shelter is too small for big families
Personal security	Women worry about living in the camp, whereas men worry about drug related problems and being suspects of the Myanmar army while they try to find livelihood opportunities
Community security	Tensions with local people Cases of stealing occur in the camp
Health security	Basic health care access but chronic or serious diseases need referral to outside hospitals
Political security	Neglected basic political rights (including both the National Census and the 2015 Election)
Environmental security	No fresh air No clean water because of coal mines and sugarcane fields

Table 5.3 Human Security Threats in Lana Zupja Camp

Chapter 6

Changes in Livelihoods and the Implications for Gender Relations

This chapter explores changes in livelihood strategies among female and male IDPs in Lana Zupja camp. The following section will discuss the changes in livelihoods has impacted gender roles and relations in the household and the community. In order to explain the matters affecting gender relations among the IDPs, it is vital to understand the support system provided by NGOs which create livelihoods options for displaced people and the roles of the host community in helping to accomplish livelihood outcomes.

Camp Rules and Regulations Concerning Livelihood Activities

Before presenting the livelihood strategies of IDPs in the camp, the camp rules and regulations will be discussed. The rules and regulations are related to IDPs livelihood activities. Since the IDPs are living in the camp and receiving regular humanitarian aid, they need to follow the rules and regulations which are set up by the Camp Management Committee. After the camp was set up, the Camp Management Committee was formed. The committee put together a population list, documented the IDPs villages, and went door-to-door to ensure that every household and their family members were documented, distributing booklets on receiving aid from organizations at the same time. All IDPs have to present this booklet when organizations come to provide assistance. The humanitarian aid support system is on a monthly basis and the aid is

received village-by-village. The members of the Ration Distribution Subcommittee check that population listed before distribution day and exclude IDPs who are not in the camp. The Vice Camp Leader explained the camp rules:

IDPs rely on distributed aid so the Camp Management Committee introduces rules which can meet the humanitarian organizations standards in order to have long-term humanitarian support and other rules related to security.

The NGOs which support humanitarian aid in the camp need to apply for grants from UN agencies and INGOs. Mackintosh identifies the international humanitarian principles which the organizations also need to follow: humanitarian, impartiality and neutrality (2000). Therefore, the camp has set up rules on receiving aid and other rules in order to ensure the organization staff's safety while they are in the camp. One rule on receiving aid is that those who have been absent from the camp for the past 15 days cannot get support for that month. Students who attend schools in other areas cannot get aid either, but they can add their names to the list after they return from school. Moreover, people who serve as KIA soldiers cannot be included in the humanitarian recipients list; they can come and see family members in the camp. However, the family members need to inform center leaders how long they will be in the camp. IDPs who want to engage with livelihood activities far from the camp have a responsibility to inform the center leaders or ward leaders, and they need to report back once they come back to the camp. The ward leaders can then add them on to the distribution booklet.

When the camp leaders hold regular general meetings, all IDPs have to participate in order to get updated information related to the political situation, humanitarian aid distribution and the training workshops provided by NGOs. From this meeting, IDPs know when the aid distribution days will occur so that they can avoid traveling or working outside of the camp on those days.

Another rule is for the political safety and personal security of the IDPs. The IDPs are restricted from going back to their villages unless the landmines have been removed. This rule has been endorsed because some IDPs returned back to their village in order to check on their houses and other properties but they inadvertently stepped on landmines and were injured or killed.

Camp rules and regulations are set in order to be eligible for long term humanitarian support from organizations. Furthermore, the rules and regulations aim to ensure the food security, political security and personal security of the IDPs while they are living in the camp.

Roles of NGOs in Supporting Livelihood Activities

There are several organizations that had been working in Lana Zupja camp after the camp was established, providing food items and non-food items, and conducting training on various issues. However, some organizations had stopped their projects and/or activities and had moved to other camps, while some organizations reduced their activities in the camp. At the time of this research, there were only four organizations supporting the livelihood projects aimed at providing the IDPs with health, food security and economic security.

As mentioned earlier, KWAT and KIO health department opened a health care center in the camp. Furthermore, KWAT provides training on adolescent health and basic health education for all IDPs.

KMSS takes responsibility for providing basic food items every month. The Vice Camp Leader said the following during their interview: “KMSS guarantees that they will continue to provide basic food for IDPs in Lana Zupja”.

WPN distributes seasonal vegetable seeds, farming tools, small bags of fertilizer, a kilogram of maize seed, teaches people how to make liquid detergent, provides training for running small tea shops (including how to make Chinese dumplings and other snacks). Budget limitations within WPN meant that they could only provide for around 170 households to be part of the maize farming project. Almost all of the IDP families want to do maize farming, however, WPN asked them to submit an application form and selected 170 families from those applicants. The selection criteria for this project was based on households who had already farmed maize and people who knew how to grow maize. Data shows that just over 31 percent of IDP households had support from WPN for corn farming. The WPN Coordinator of Livelihood and Food Security explained as below:

WPN used to distribute food items and non-food items, but from 2014 WPN decided to give support for income-generation projects and corn farming in order to facilitate

food security by practicing the (IDPs) traditional farming skills.

The Danish Refugee Council (DRC) provided support for running small businesses and livestock breeding projects. Under this project around 60 families could access cash grants for buying livestock and capital to open a shop. IDPs who received money for livestock breeding mainly raised pigs.

Roles of Host Community in IDPs Livelihood Activities

The host community roles are also important for the IDPs livelihood approaches, in addition to the humanitarian aid support. The IDPs gain support from NGOs for corn farming and pig raising but they do not have the space to grow the maize or raise the pigs. Therefore, the IDPs have to negotiate with local people in order to have the farmland to grow the maize. Local people wanted to develop pine tree plantations and so they made a compromise with the IDPs who wanted to do farming. The local owners let the IDPs use their land for one year, in return for them to clean the bush and trees. Even though the IDPs had to cut and clean wild forest to transform the land into cultivated farm, the owners allow only one year or two years for them to grow their crops. After the first year of maize harvesting, the owners grow pine trees and the IDPs need to grow in between the small pine trees. This practice reduced the productivity of corn, and most IDPs do not want to continue farming in the second year. A man who participated in the FGD explained the difficulties facing IDPs in terms of land:

The farmland that we can negotiate for from the local people is only so that we can grow for one year, so we need to find farmland for the next year. It was very difficult to get farmland in this area and not easy to get farmland to grow maize.

The camp is established within the village compound so that all the land has owners. Therefore, the IDPs need to ask permission from the owners to use their land. Even though the IDPs want to use land from the river banks, they need to have permission from the relevant owners. A woman who grows vegetables on the river bank said:

I grow vegetables such as cauliflower and cabbages on the river bank. I found the owner and requested to use the land. If IDPs do not ask permission, they are really angry at the IDPs. So I ask their permission, even to collect cow poop for organic fertilizer. (IDI F-014)

It is very difficult for IDPs who are poor and who do not have a strong social network with the local people to use farmland for growing maize.

I wanted to grow corn but I could not get land from the locals. I do not know anyone from the local village. We do not get much of a chance to get to know the local people because IDPs worship in their community center and the local people worship in the Church. We celebrate events like Christmas and Thanksgiving⁷ separately, so we do not have a connection with local people. (IDI F-010)

Livelihood Activities before and after Displacement

The background information of respondents shows that some men have owned and/or were engaged in farming or gardening as livelihood activities, while others were small merchants or pastors before the armed conflict. Most of the women respondents were housewives and provided assistance to the family farming work. Traditionally, Kachin women do all of the household chores and backyard gardening, helping out only at weeding and harvesting times in the farm or paddy fields. There was one woman respondent who used to be a UNDP project staff member while she was in her village and another two women ran small businesses. There was also two women who were primary school teachers even though their own education was only secondary level. It was found that most of the IDPs who were involved in this study were unskilled laborers, and very few earned income as skilled laborers in their villages.

Before displacement, men used to do farming, long term plantations, hunting and collecting flowers from the forest for their survival. Most IDPs owned some land in their villages, so they could grow paddy, corn and fruits

7 The Kachin were taught by the American missionaries, therefore, the Kachin celebrate Thanksgiving celebration in November each year.

for food consumption. And most of the families had livestock. The families who needed to support their children's education converted their livestock into money and paid for their education this way. In order to have a daily petty income, women would go and collect seasonal vegetables, while the men went hunting and then sold the products in the market. However, once they became displaced persons, their only job options around these areas were based on daily contract hire and were temporary. These kinds of temporary jobs create unstable income for the IDPs.

Employment Status of Men

The below chart illustrates the employment status of men before and after displacement. It can be seen that 85 percent of male respondents had owned farms and had previously worked in the agriculture sector. Such agriculture farming included paddy field, farming (Taungya), tea plantation, fruit planting and orchards. Only a small percentage of male respondents worked as pastors, village leaders or small merchants. Even though they did not work in their farm they still had farmlands. Therefore, all male respondents had farmlands. However, after displacement, 85 percent of IDP men become daily wage laborers. Only a small percentage could carry on with their livelihoods inside the camp, such as a pastor. This is because religious rules require pastors to work in that job for their entire life. Even though they own land in their villages, they cannot go back and work in the farm. It is not safe for them to go back to the villages during this critical political transition period and the KIO did not sign the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) which was signed by other ethnic armed organizations and the Myanmar government in October 2015.

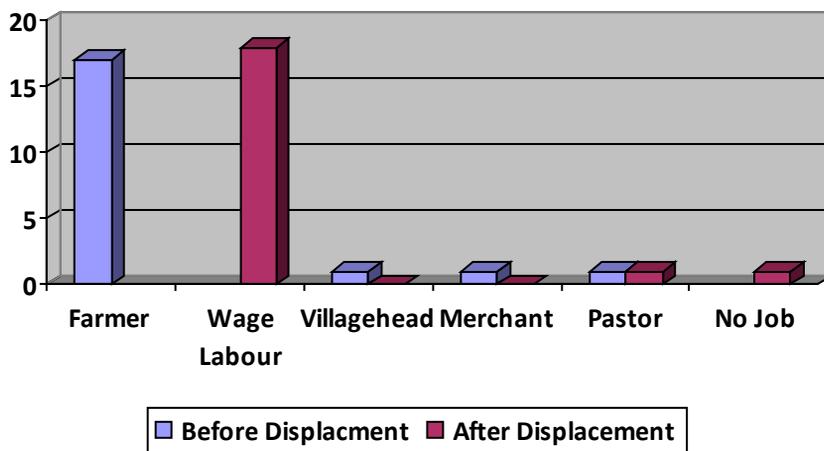


Figure 6.1 Employment Status of IDPs Men, before and after Displacement
 (Source: Field data, October- November 2015)

Employment status of Women

The graph below represents the employment status of IDP women when they lived in their villages, and after they fled to the displaced camp. It can be seen that three quarters of the women respondents were housewives and helped out with farming activities in their farms. The remaining other women engaged in small businesses such as selling groceries and fresh vegetables in the market. Other women worked as teachers or project staff with the UN. However, after they had been forced to flee from their villages, the women become landless in the resettlement camp and the chart below shows that almost half of the women respondents now had to do daily wage labor, with only 20 percent of women remaining as housewives. In addition, some women respondents had the chance to participate in community work, while twenty percent of women respondents also had their own business.

The percentage of women who worked in education and related areas decreased. Women who used to work as teachers could no longer carry out their livelihood activities because the KIO opened schools for every IDP camp in the NGCA. The education department of the KIO assigned trained teachers for schools. Nursery school teachers needed to attend training before they

become teachers and women who have small children could not give up the time to attend this training.

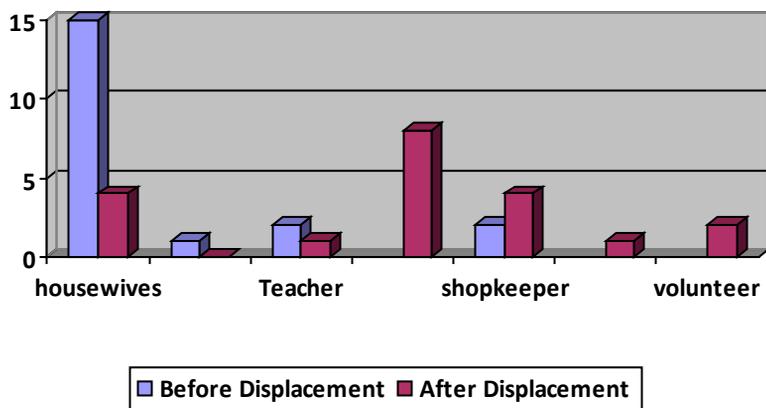


Figure 6.2 Employment Status of IDP Women, before and after Displacement (Source: Field data, October – November, 2015)

Challenges to Implementing Livelihood Activities inside the Camp

The nature of the armed clashes has driven people from their original areas and these people now have to rely on humanitarian aid. The IDPs can access various forms of humanitarian aids, such as food items and non-food items after they arrived in the camp. Moreover, they received unconditional cash grants for almost three years so that they could cover their family's needs. However, the aid had been reduced year by year, and (at the time of research) there was no guarantee for how long the humanitarian organizations could continue to deliver aid. The IDPs had tried to adopt various livelihood strategies around the camp (such as menial work, small businesses, and farming), supported by NGOs. The Vice Camp Leader opined that:

Kachin are also known as hill dwellers. Therefore, Kachin people largely depend on agriculture and forests. Traditionally, Kachin people owned farmlands and most men work in the paddy fields and farms to cultivate paddy and corn. The paddy is enough for family consumption, and some families can even sell paddy or rice. However, after people come and live in the

camp, they do not have land to cultivate paddy, maize or seasonal vegetables. In the displaced areas, the local residents also do not have extra farmland for hundreds of IDP families, but some IDP families have negotiated to use local people's land. Most IDPs have become daily wage laborers but the jobs opportunities are rare in this area. IDP women who have small children cannot work as daily wage laborers.

The Vice Camp Leader also pointed out that IDPs struggle to engage in livelihood plans in the displaced area because the local people cultivate several plantations on their farms already. Moreover, over 500 IDP families came to take shelter in this area so it was very difficult to provide farmland to all of them.

The KIO provides land for every household, but no family has conducted farming there yet because it is too far away from the camp. It is not easy to go and conduct farming activities in the area, particularly for people who do not have motorbikes. It takes three-four hours to reach the area provided, and women who have small children or widows cannot go alone. A woman who has four small children said that:

I am the only one to take care of my children, do all of the household work and earn money for the family while my husband is away from home. Therefore, I do not do farming on the land that the KIO gave the IDPs. It is far and I don't feel safe going to the area because this area is not familiar. (IDI F-013)

The above quote reveals that women face more burdens while their husbands are away from the family. They have to take responsibility for their children, as well as earn money for the family. The armed conflict results in women having to take on heavier responsibilities, while their male partners are absent from the family. These women cannot do farming work, even though the KIO had managed to provide farmland.

Before the displacement, IDPs were rich in natural assets, such as farmland, paddy fields, forest, and livestock, but it was not possible to bring these assets to the displacement areas. After being in the IDP camps, human

security became a big concern. As mentioned above, the respondents' livelihoods had changed after they were resettled in the camp. Even though the humanitarian organizations provided basic foods for family consumption, they still needed to earn money for buying fresh vegetables and for other household expenses. Since they had to leave all their farms and cultivated lands behind, they now had to buy all the vegetables needed for daily family consumption.

As discussed in the section under the economic security heading, the availability of livelihood activities in the camp was limited. Besides daily wage laboring, IDPs also had seasonal vegetable farms on their tiny plots of land, nearby the shelter. According to the respondents, all but five or six families had a small piece of land for growing vegetables. However, they could only grow two kinds of vegetables, such as mustard and chili.

If the family had support for growing maize from the NGOs, they could do farming activities for income generation. However, they could only grow maize based on the availability of corn seeds *and* farmland. Some households were selected by WPN to get seeds and fertilizers, but they could not negotiate farmland from local people. Therefore, they could not grow the corn and gave these to other households who had land. One man who could not do maize farming said:

It is very difficult to get land for maize farms because the local people also already grow many kinds of long term plantations. My family got support from WPN but we could not find land to grow them, so I shared them with my neighbor who could negotiate land from the local people. (IDI M- 014)

According to the respondents, even though NGOs supported certain livelihood activities, it was difficult to implement farming because the local people also already grew plantations on their farms. In addition, people did not dare to do farming in the deep forest during the armed conflict period. It was not safe for both local people or IDPs, yet the farmlands around the village areas were not enough for hundreds of IDP families. For those who could negotiate farmland from locals, they had to cut forest and transform the land into cultivated land, but this usually only allowed them to use the land for one year.

Chapter 7

Impacts on Gender Relations, Women's Status and Leadership

The armed conflict and the hardship of developing new livelihood strategies have impacted both men and women IDPs lives differently, and has led to changing gender roles and relations. The changes in gender roles and relations have positive and negative effects on women's status in the family and in the community. This chapter will discuss these changes among IDP women, while they are living in the camp. The positive changes include the level of decision making in the household and community, leadership roles in the camp and economic opportunities. In contrast, the experiences of GBV will be included as part of both women's and men's experiences in Lana Zupja Camp.

Changing Gender Relations after Displacement

Living in the resettlement zone and trying to find new livelihoods has significantly impacted the gender relations of the IDPs. When the armed conflict broke out, women, children and elderly people were the first group who fled from the villages. Bacchin found that most men were left in the villages, looking after their belongings and livestock (2012). Therefore, they could not come with the family and they had to live apart from each other. When the armed conflict started, traditional gender roles required men to enter the armed group in order to protect their land. Child Soldiers International, found that the Kachin People's Militia group was formed after the armed-conflict resumed in

the Kachin areas (2014). Some Kachin men joined the Kachin People's Militia group, and thus, they could not come with their family members to the established IDPs camp.

Living apart from their wives changed the marriage relationship between men and women. One out of twenty women respondents was separated from her husband after displacement. She explained:

My husband did not come with us because he took on the responsibility to protect our village with other men. After arriving in the camp, it was very difficult to get in contact with my husband. He could not come to see me and our children and we lost contact with each other for many months. Later, I got a message that he fell in love with another woman. Even though I tried to maintain our married life in many ways, he didn't want this and used violent ways to fight against me. So I decided to get a divorce. However, he would not come back and make an official divorce certificate using the traditional system. (IDI F-003)

The majority of Kachin are Christian, so separation or divorce is not accepted easily. It is considered a very shameful event for women in the community to get divorced. Therefore, Kachin women often maintain their married lives, even though their husbands do not want to continue.

According to one member of the religion sub-committee, it was mentioned that broken marriages among IDPs happens in many families. After IDPs live in the camp, both male and females try to earn money. Some IDP men and women go to China for work but they do not return back to the camp. They get married with people who they meet in China. If a Kachin woman leaves the family, men have to do the household work such as looking after children. And if men leave the family, women have to take on the breadwinner roles as well as doing all the household work.

I think, there are more than forty couples who have broken their marriage relations after the camp was established. One of my neighbors also left his wife when the infant was only twenty days. So the woman faces many difficulties and she needs to earn money, as well as taking care of the baby.

The research found that three out of twenty male respondents separated from their partners after they were resettled in the camp. However, one man who used to live in Layin camp and Pa Kahtawng camp, married his sister-in-law in Lana Zupja camp and now lives with his new wife. When IDPs live in the camp, both men and women have to contribute to the family income and they have to find new livelihood strategies. However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, the jobs are mostly available on the China side of the border. Therefore, some IDP women also go to earn money in China. While women are taking on the breadwinner role in the family, the marriage relations between men and women may also change when some women married people they met in China. One man who separated with his first wife, described his experience below:

When the conflict occurred around my village, the village leaders told us to find a safe place, so my family decided to go to China to take refuge because my wife's parents already lived in a refugee camp in Lai Ying, China. It is a small border town next to Lweje, Myanmar. We left from the village in December 2011. At that time, I had only one small child, so all together, the three of us headed to Nong Dao, China with our motorbike and continued to Lai Ying in a rented taxi. Our family lived for six months in Lai Ying camp before the Chinese government forced us to return. All Kachin people who took shelter in Lai Ying. So my family moved to Pa Kahtawng camp in July 2012. After a few months in Pa Kahtawng camp, my wife decided to go and work on the China side even though I did not want her to earn money. I tried to earn money for the family as much as I could but she thought that it was not enough for the family. I convinced her to take care of the kid and do the household work but she did not listen to me. After she left the camp, she did not return back to me. I heard that she got married with a Kachin man in China. I was waiting for her to come back for six months but she did not contact me and did not pick up on my phone call. (IDI M-010)

Another man was left by his wife and shared his experience:

My wife left me when my daughter was only a month old because she said she wanted to earn money for the family. I told her not to go but she decided herself and left me. Now, my daughter is five months already but she hasn't come back yet. I can't say whether she will come back or not. I raise my baby with milk and I mostly take care of her myself, but my mother also helped me to take care of her.

Broken marriages lead to changes in women's status and living relationships in the camp. The Kachin traditional culture does not accept divorce or separation between married women and men. Therefore, women who separate from their husbands are censured by the community. They are treated as useless because they cannot keep their married life together. A woman who is separated from her husband is verbally assaulted by men because of their separated status. One woman respondent shared how other men treated her:

[She cried as she shared her experience] I feel very sad because some men from this center always look down on me and they think that my behavior is not good so my husband left me. One day, I was helping to hand donation envelops from the church to all the rooms. I entered one room, and a man told me that I did not need to do any good things because my husband had already left me and I am useless even in the family, so I will not be useful for the community. If I ask some men for help to build a pig house, some others suspect that we have a relationship and gossip about us. (IDI F-003)

This separated woman shared how the other IDPs treated and looked down upon her after her husband left her; however, men respondents who separated from their female partners did not receive this treatment after they separated. Males are already superior in Kachin society, so their status remains the same even though their marriage relationship has changed.

The research found that women who lived apart from their husbands after the displacement needed to take responsibility for all livelihood activities, as well as having to engage in all household chores. And then they become breadwinners for the family. In this study, nine out of twenty female respondents were the main income earners for their families. Among the nine women, six

women become breadwinners for the family after the displacement, but the other three had already taken on the breadwinner role before displacement. Moreover, another five women also worked as daily wage laborers in order to earn money after they came to the displacement camp.

Among the fourteen women who earned income, four women had small children and their male partners were KIA soldiers, so they were faced with more challenges to enter the labor force or apply for small grants from NGOs. Two women's husbands were KIA soldiers before displacement and two women's partner's served in the Kachin People's Militia group. Among the four KIA soldiers' wives, one woman is doing vegetable farming on the river bank and trying to support her children's education while another woman applied for a small grant from NGOs and opened a grocery shop in the market. These women have to take on double roles; both reproductive and productive tasks within the family. They need to earn money and also have to take care of their children. They are not able to give time for their children during the time that they devote to fulfilling the financial needs of the family.

One woman who has four children said:

I am the only one who earns money and I do all household work. I have four children and they are still young and cannot help me. They need everything frequently so I cannot fulfill their needs. I worry that I am not able to support their education. I am thinking to send them to boarding school because I cannot teach them and guide them well, since I have to earn money and need to work hard. It is not easy for a mother to take on a breadwinner role. I miss my duty to take care and guide while I am trying to earn an income. I really want to thank the humanitarian organizations for supporting me until now, if not, I cannot imagine what will happen to my family. I really want them to be educated persons but I do not know how to support them for their education. (IDI F-007)

Men's Involvement in Reproductive Tasks

The research also found that male gender roles changed after displacement. Ninety percent of male respondents said that they help to do household work

in the camp. Since they do not have other forms of income generation, they started helping to take care of the children, prepare food for the family and cleaning. The majority of women respondents also stated that their male partners help to do household work. One man respondent said that:

I cook food for the whole family while my wife manages the pig food. After moving to the camp, I realized that all household work belongs to both men and women in the family. So I help to do cleaning and taking care of the small children. I saw some men also cook for their families but compared with women, I think women cook more than men do. (IDI M- 001)

Based on field observations in the morning and in the afternoon, most women do the household work, such as cooking, washing, cleaning and preparing pig food. Most men are sitting in the kitchen and watching what their wives are doing. It seems that males doing household chores are only helping.

Women Recognized as Family Heads

The study found that the conflict situation led to changed gender relations among IDPs. The reason was that women and children arrived first in the camp so that when the Camp Management Committee collected and gave humanitarian booklets, the women's names were in the record. The men's name was only included after they arrived in the camp, however some men regularly travel for their income generating activities so their names are taken out from the list for receiving aid. Therefore, women's names are recorded as heads of households for the purposes of receiving humanitarian aid. Women's names are not only recorded for receiving aid, but are also on the register of camp population names. Nevertheless, these kinds of changes in family records forces women to change their perceptions of their role in the family and community. One female respondent said that:

In my experience, women were not recognized as heads of households, especially not in the rural areas of Kachin. I thought that women could not become family head but after I arrived in the camp, I went on the list as family head. I feel

happy and my perception also changed, and I realize that women can become head of the family, head of the village and leaders of the country. (IDI F-001)

It can be said that women were now recognized as heads of households, which never happened in their home villages. However, whether this change can be sustained after they return to their villages was yet to be tested.

Changing Gender Relations of IDPs Children

The study found that a lack of livelihood options also affected young boy's behaviors, and relationships changed between children and parents. Eighty percent of respondents pointed out the changing relations between parents and children after displacement. Since the camp is very crowded and people live close to each other, they can clearly see what other families eat. Some people who can earn enough money give pocket money to their children to buy snacks. However, children who are poor and not capable of earning income did not have any extra money from their parents. Therefore, boys around 10 to 12 years old gather and, as a group, they steal from stores and shops. They mostly steal phones, money, beer cans and snacks. These boys do not listen to what their parents say to them. One of the key informants stated the situation of children in the camp:

Children do not listen to what their parents say, especially boys up to ten years old, and they follow what other friend's say. Some children have been arrested by shop owners when they have stolen goods from the shop and they are referred to the police station. There is no rehabilitation center for children so they were kept for a while before being released.

In the villages, children can play around the village and find fruits from the forests. On the other hand, there are no shops or stores in the village, so parents did not need to spend money on snacks.

As discussed in the literature review, the Kachins value the virginity of women, which leads to the practice of early marriage (UNFPA, 1997; Nang Tum, 1997 cited in Phyu, 2011). However, KWAT found that women feel intense responsibility for the whole family so they try to seek job opportunities to

support their parents and siblings (2005). In other words, Kachin women would not normally get married at an early age, except that it is an opportunity to support their family members. After living in the camp, young girls were getting married quite young. The study found that adolescent girls from the camp were getting married and delivering babies. The clinic charge nurse from the health care center pointed out:

There are many girls who come to deliver babies in the clinic. I think at least one or two young girls deliver babies every month.

According to the field observations, it was witnessed that young girls were delivering babies in the camp. During the month of October 2015, four adolescent girls delivered babies in Lana Zupja camp.

After displacement, girls commonly drop out of school and get married. Another key informant, the Women's Group Leader mentioned:

There are many girls getting married in their early age in this camp. Some girls are forced to get married by parents, and some girls have boyfriends and get pregnant.

The finding of the Kachin study mirrored the findings of Bunting: that the conflict in some African countries such as Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo forced young girls to get married at an early age (2012).

Women at the Decision Making Level

The Kachin traditional patriarchal structure has influenced decision making, both in the community and in the household. Traditionally, men seize the decision making roles, however, this changed after IDPs moved into the camp. The field study found that some women had the chance to participate in the decision-making roles of the community, as well as in the household after displacement.

Women's Decision-making Roles in the Community

The study looked at decision makers at the community level in Lana Zupja camp. As presented in Chapter 4, the main Camp Management Committee has decision-making power in the camp. The main committee is comprised of seven members, including one-woman representative from the Women Sub-committee. The committee gives one quota for a woman, in order to include women at the decision-making level. This main committee makes decisions regarding all the camp matters, such as negotiations with the host community and decisions on solving criminal cases, domestic violence cases, rape cases, human trafficking cases and other cases related to adultery. A woman who participated in the main committee explained how she was included:

Only the Women sub-committee Leader can be involved in the main committee because other sub-committee leaders are men. So the leaders wanted to include women in the main committee, so they decided to include one woman.

According to the list of sub-committee members, men took the majority of leadership roles. There are twelve sub-committees which have their own power dynamics and influential decision makers within them. However, there are two sub-committees which are dominated by women; the Women Sub-committee and the Aid Distribution Sub-committee. In other sub-committees, women only participate as members, though men still form the majority. Since many men are involved in the sub-committees, they become leaders and they are authorized to make decisions. For instance, leaders can make decisions on such things as building water tanks and inviting people for unpaid labor work to build the water tank. Based on above, the study found that women's decision making in the community level was still very low in Lana Zupja camp. However, according to both male and female respondents, women's decision making in the community level has increased when compared to the situation in the villages.

Women's Decision Making Roles in the Household

The study found that women as decision makers in the family had increased because most of the families started living as single parent families, after they started living in the camp. A woman described her experiences:

After I relocated to the camp, my family lived separately from my husband's parents, so I could take part in the family decision making. Moreover, I feel that my husband gave me more respect after moving into the camp. While we were with his parents, he did not listen to what I said. I could not talk about family matters and I just listened to what my parents-in-law ordered me to do and what my husband wanted me to do. Now I can make decisions on household matters, such as buying kitchen supplies, clothes for children and initiatives such as what livelihood activities should be conducted in the family. But I still have to let him know what I have done. (IDI F-005)

The changing family structure has upgraded women's status in the family. Women can be included in family decision making after displacement, something which they could not do before being resettled in the camp. Moreover, women were given respect from their male partners. In the Kachin context, after marriage, newly wedded couples have to live with their parents until other siblings get married. In addition, the Kachin marriage system is patriarchal (Leach, 1961). Therefore, women who have just married and started living with her husband's family, do not have decision making power in the household.

According to respondents, awareness on gender issues and other general knowledge helps to balance the decision-making power in the family. Although in the patriarchal society, decision making is considered the men's sphere, men's perceptions were changed after displacement. This change occurred in the camp because the NGOs raised awareness on gender equality and other issues related with women rights. In the camp, general meeting members of the Camp Management Committee always mentioned that women should be treated equally because a woman's role is more vital in the family, as some women also are involved in earning money and being elected as Ward leaders in the camp. One male respondent said:

If we need to decide one case, we both discuss together and make a decision. I realize that in a family, one person cannot decide for whole family. When we were in the village, we did not have a chance to know about gender and other issues.

After arriving in the camp many organizations give training and public lectures. So I decided to change. (IDI M-001)

Raising awareness in the community on gender awareness issues greatly helps to change men's perception of gender roles. They practice power sharing in the family so that women can take on part of the family's decisions.

Besides the changing gender roles and relations, some women who are wives of soldiers did not change their status after displacement. Some of these women pointed out that the roles are the same, particularly regarding making decisions in the family and taking family responsibility, because they have been managing and making decisions since their husbands became involved in the KIA. One woman explained her roles:

Since my husband serves as a soldier, I am the one who earns money and makes all of the family decisions. This situation did not change after I relocated in this camp. (IDI F-012)

Women's Leadership Roles in the Community

The majority of Kachin are Christian, so women have a chance to take part in leadership positions in the Church community. However, women's leadership in public administration is very low, and sometimes they are totally excluded altogether.

As described in the earlier sections, women's participation in the main committee is limited to only one woman, and all center leaders are men, but of the Ward leadership positions, many women take part. The Camp Management Committee assigns two leaders in each ward: Leader and Assistant. The camp is divided into fifteen wards and women are leaders in seven wards. The percentage is 41 percent of women's leadership in the total ward leaders. On the other hand, women's involvement in ward leadership positions is higher than men's involvement. There are 17 women out of 29 positions; meaning that women's participation was 58.6 percent of the total ward leadership. There are also some cases where women who can be both leader and vice leader. This occurred in four wards during the research period.

The ward leaders are responsible for inviting members to meetings and workshops, and they give reports on the water access, electricity and shelters

to the Center Leaders. The roles of Ward Leaders are mostly focused on organizing or implementation, but through their participation in these roles, women are proving themselves to be essential in the running of the camp.

Name of ward	Female	Male	Total	Remark
Ward 1	1	1	2	Male leader
Ward 2	1	1	2	Female leader
Ward 3	1	1	2	Male leader
Ward 4	2	-	2	Female leader
Ward 5	1	1	2	Male Leader
Ward 6	2	-	2	Female Leader
Ward 7	1	1	2	Male Leader
Ward 8	-	2	2	Male leader
Ward 9	1	1	2	Female leader
Ward 10	1	1	2	Male leader
Ward 11	2	-	2	Female leader
Ward 12	2	-	2	Female Leader
Ward 13	1	1	2	Male Leader
Ward 14	1	1	2	Female Leader
Ward 15		1	1	Male leader
Total	17	12	29	

Table 7.1 Gender Disaggregation of Ward Leaders in Lana Zupja Camp
(Source: Field data, October – November 2015)

In one of the camp meetings in which my husband participated, he was elected as ward leader. I also help him to operate the ward while he was away from the camp. Other people also accepted my involvement because we are husband and wife. (IDI F-001)

Some women who are the wives of Ward Leaders can also participate in community work while the Ward Leader is away from the camp, and this is accepted by the community because they are husband and wife.

The Kachin situation is similar to the case in Mindanao, the Philippines. A Dwyer and Cagoco-Guiam study found that the armed conflict shifted power relations between men and women, but that the shift also turned against women in the community (2012). Eighty percent of women, and half of the male respondents, said that some men from the camp do not want to listen to or

follow what women leaders say. They want to resist women in leadership roles. These men do not accept women's leadership because they think that women must be in the household and only do household work. However, they cannot refuse the camp management decision to assign women as Ward Leaders. Therefore, some women were verbally abused by male members in the camp.

Some men in the camp said that women must be under the leadership of men and women cannot be leaders in the villages. And then, they said that they will harm women leaders after returning back to the village. (IDI F- 012)

It seems that women in leadership positions may not be sustained after the IDPs go back to their villages of origin. In order to sustain women's leadership, IDPs must be deeply aware and understand gender equality.

Women Leaders in Community Support Group

Apart from Ward leadership roles, women can also be involved in the community support group, GRJ. This group was initiated by WPN in 2013. The aim of this group is to maintain traditional Kachin support systems during crisis times. All women who are involved in this group are volunteers and do not get any financial support. WPN provided training for women in the camp and assigned one leader for every twenty households. The leaders look after all members in their households, giving support if needed. For example, if a person within one of their households has to go to hospital in Mai Ja Yang, the leader helps to arrange transportation and coordinates loans from the camp leaders or other IDPs if the family does not have money.

Another scenario could be that the leader arranges for help if someone is not feeling well. For example, helping to do the traditional healing method called Makkalong, to provide relief from illness. GRJ is successfully operating in Lana Zupja camp, giving many IDPs a type of support which does not cost money. It gives IDPs a sense of oneness and unity during their time in the camp. Women who are now breadwinners - while their husbands serve in the armed group - can benefit from this support system, in particular. The women can ask for help if they faces shortages of firewood or need money for emergency cases, for example.

Women who take on leadership roles for this group also build their capacities in other ways. One-woman leader from GRJ explained her experience:

It is a great opportunity for me to be involved in this group because I have improved my social skills and counseling skills. I have to talk nicely to other people to help those who are in need. Moreover, I have a chance to get to know many people from the camp and learn how to work in the group.

All the leaders of GRJ are women because men are not always in the camp. Women come together and share information and try to help each other through Kachin traditional ways of helping. It is a great chance for these women to be leaders in the small groups.

Women's Economic Opportunities in the Camp

The research found that the times of hardship during the armed conflict had helped women to contribute to the economic development in the family. They were able to use their skills and knowledge in order to resist potential economic crises. Four out of twenty women respondents were involved in small-scale businesses in the camp market. One woman who runs a small tea shop in the morning market said:

I opened the shop after I resettled in this camp. At that time, no one supported me for income generation activity. I was thinking about what I could do for income earning in the camp and then had the idea to open a small tea shop in the morning. I sold four kilogram of rice in Nba Pa village market to be able to buy the materials for the tea shop. I bought a kilogram of flour, a small packet of sugar and other necessary materials and then started running the shop in the market.
(IDI F-004)

According to a woman leader of Ningmu Ginlen group, after NGOs started supporting income generation programs, women then had the chance to enter into the small business arena. This budget could be circulated among the women IDPs. In other words, after one woman builds her own business, she needs to give this capital to another woman who wants to start a business.

NGOs also give short-term training on how to do accounts and how to balance income and expenditure. One woman who received this support from NGOs, mentioned:

I received a small amount; 588 Yuan (*an estimated 99 USD*) from a NGO organization for running a small shop. I decided to sell dry rations such as snacks, onion and garlic. Since I do not have a motorbike, I have to carry these from the Chinese side. I had training on how to balance expenditures and income, and how to make accounts. This kind of support system is vital for me because I can do my own business and at the same time, I can take care of my small children. Before I had support from the NGOs, I worked as a daily wage laborer and it was very difficult. I did not have someone to take care of my children. So, I requested my mother to take care of my small kids and I went to work. When I got back I was able to share some money with my mother because she also needs money for her own expenses. (IDI F -007)

Experiences of Gender Based violence

During the armed conflict, traditional social protection mechanisms were destroyed so women and girls were left vulnerable to GBV. The report of Protection Concerns and Risk Analysis indicated that GBV issues occur across the country, however, the cases increase in the armed conflict areas. KWPN found the shelter setting in the camp was unsafe for women and girls, especially in the night time, with another conducive factor being alcohol abuse by male IDPs in the camp (2012). This study also found similar results for violence (such as quarrelling, arguing with each other and gender-based violence, with one of the main causes being consumption of alcohol by male IDPs after their arrival in the camp).

One woman respondent shared a sentiment that the majority of women respondents also had:

After men get drunk, they make noise and become aggressive towards their family members, so that some neighbors cannot sleep in the night. Furthermore, the camp leaders have had

to have an intervention for the domestic violence, and some men were arrested and kept overnight, in order to calm down the situation.

In addition, a woman who is the leader of community support group said:

A drugged man got angry with his wife because she did not speak nicely to him. So he took a knife and was planning to kill his wife. No one dared to make an intervention, so we just informed the camp committee members.

According to field observations, in the mornings around 10 am, there were approximately ten men gathering for drinking alcohol in the camp. They drank alcohol for the whole day and if they ran out, some men went to buy more and they continued drinking until it got dark. No one interrupted or seemed to care about their drinking, and it appeared like this situation was a normal case for the IDPs in Lana Zupja camp.

The research found that the Camp Management Committee was aware of alcohol and drug-related issues in the camp, so they collaborated with the KIO Drug Eradication Program to reduce the drug use among the IDPs. Another aim was to reduce social problems such as domestic violence and rape, which were often consequences of using drugs. The camp committee banned the selling of alcohol around the camp in 2014 however, this area is a so called former economic development zone so many Chinese people opened stores in the village and they continue to sell beer and wine. In addition, alcohol is still available on the Chinese side and since the Chinese side is only 50 kilometers away from the camp, men can easily go and buy alcohol from the other side. One of the center leaders explained the situation:

There were many domestic violence cases happening after the camp was founded. I think three to four cases per month, and we were busy solving and intervening in those cases all the time. However, after NGOs provided awareness raising on domestic violence, the number of cases has decreased.

In addition, the lack of economic security and jobs available in the camp is another factor which fosters domestic violence, because couples often get angry with each other when they run out of money. One woman shared her experiences, crying:

My husband and I get angry with each other sometimes. It is mostly after discussing our financial matters in the household. He has beaten me twice since living in the camp. (IDI F-010)

Some respondents mentioned during their interviews about one orphaned disabled girl. The girl was raped by a man over 60-years old in the camp. The man was drunk and went inside the room of the girl and raped her while her siblings were away from the room. The girl lived in the three-story building so no-one saw anything. After the girl spoke-out about the case, the Camp Management Committee issued punishment to the old man in the form of three years imprisonment and a fine of three hundred thousand Kyat (an estimated 270 USD). The man was still in the KIO prison during the time of this study.

In addition, there was another young disabled girl who was about to be raped by a man in the camp. The young girl's brother explained:

One of my sisters is disabled and she was about to be raped by a man. A drunken man from the camp took her and exchanged her for sex with a man who is not from this camp, but I found out about this case and reported it to the center leaders. So we could find her before anything happened. (IDI M -014)

It seems that young disabled young girls are particularly vulnerable in the camp, perhaps because the camp is so crowded and people can easily enter the rooms which are only built with plywood.

The study also found that one young man was raped by three women in the camp. One of the male respondents said:

Those three women got drunk after drinking alcohol and committed a rape case against a man, and the man got sick for a week afterwards. (IDI M-004)

The above mentioned case shows that men can also face GBV in the camp. However, the punishment for the perpetrators is different from when females are raped. In this case, the main committee members decided to issue a fine only: all of the women who were involved in the rape case had to pay 200 Yuan (an estimated 35 USD) for the man's medication.

The study also indicated that one of the cases of GBV occurring in the camp was human trafficking. People from the camp were trafficked while they tried to find livelihood strategies in China. Women and young girls were trafficked while they worked in China as waitresses. Sometimes they were persuaded to go deeper into China in order to earn a higher salary. A KWPN report showed that human trafficking cases occurred among IDPs while they went to earn an income in China (2012). One respondent said, "We heard about human trafficking frequently however nobody knows exactly how many women have been trafficked into China from the camp".

Reinforcing Traditional Gender Roles

The study found that gender norms are still strongly rooted among Kachin IDPs. The natural perception of Kachin people is that men are the leaders of the household and women have to do all of the household work. In the community, men take on leadership roles, while women's roles are mostly those of implementation or as care takers.

As discussed in an earlier section, women have the chance to be involved in small-scale businesses and as leaders in community work within the camp. On the other hand, traditional gender roles are reinforced while women contribute towards the community work. Women dominated two out of the twelve sub-committees in the camp; however, those sub-committees are the Women Sub-committee and the Aid Distribution Sub-committee. This clearly demonstrates that women are seen as care takers and/or have to support the community's needs by providing their service. Moreover, the community support group (Garum Jinghkri) which was initiated by WPN, is totally focused on care work. The members of this group have to help when people get sick or need other forms of support.

Based on the study, it can be concluded that women are reinforcing their traditional gender roles in the camp by being assigned work in the Women and

Aid Distribution sub-committees, and in their participation in the Community support group, because all of the related works are considered care work.

Negative Gender Impacts on Men

The research found that men could not maintain their traditional gender roles inside the camp, which effected the relationship between males and females in the family. One man shared his feelings about his wife:

After our family resettled in the camp, I did not know what income earning job I should engage with for my family. My family did not get livelihood support from NGOs. Since I am not healthy, it is difficult for me to find jobs in this area. If I were in the village, I could do some income earning for my family. My wife's earnings do not cover all family expenses. I feel that I am useless and doing only household work and taking care of the children.

On the other hand, my wife's behavior has changed after she uses a phone. I think she has another extra relationship. I reported this case to center leaders and Camp Management Committee members many times, but she still contacts someone on the phone. If I can earn money for the family, she may listen to my word and no longer need to go outside to earn income for the family. (IDI M-015)

The camp's new environment led to changes in the male IDP's gender roles. In the village, they knew what to do for their livelihood activities but after being relocated they were not able to find jobs. While women's gender roles change, men feel that they have failed in fulfilling their traditional gender roles. A similar case happened to one of the women respondents. After displacement, her husband did not help to earn an income, so she was the one to earn for the whole family. She shared her experiences:

When my family relocated in the camp, my husband was rarely engaged in income jobs. He drinks more alcohol because he has many friends who drink. I think that he does not want to take over any family responsibilities. He should know that we have to raise our children together.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Major Findings of the Study

This research focuses on the human security situation in the Lana Zupja camp, including how human security has affected livelihoods strategies among IDPs, and the positive and negative impacts of changing gender relations among Kachin IDPs in the camp. According to the reviewed literature and cases discussed in the findings sections, the study can be summarized as follows:

The objective of this research was to examine security concern in the camp and to elaborate on how these security concerns affect the livelihoods of female and male IDPs. The research found that IDPs in Lana Zupja camp face several threats to their human security in the camp. UN agencies, INGOs and NGOs cannot fulfill the needs of displaced people, nor can they guarantee human security protection in the camp. This book emphasizes four categories of human security: food security, economic security, personal security and community security.

The study found that human security influences the livelihood practices of the IDPs. The food security among Kachin IDPs in Lana Zupja camp was in a critical condition because aid organizations only supported basic food items after 2014. The research found that a lack of sustainability in NGOs support mechanisms produced more worries for both male and female IDPs. The information that the IDPs received from the 2016 humanitarian scheme, was that they would only be given some cash and there was the possibility to reduce

aid by 30percent overall. Women were more worried about this than the male IDPs, because they are the main person who manages family consumption.

Regarding economic security: there are very few employment opportunities around the camp. The lack of jobs in the local area forces IDPs to work in China, which is not safe for IDPs as it is illegal and they are more vulnerable to exploitation there. The research found that a small percentage of women IDPs can have regular employment in the camp, while most of the men work as daily wage laborers.

Personal security is different for male and female Kachin IDPs. Men's personal security concerns are mainly limited to when they engage in livelihood strategies. The interrogation and suspicion of being KIA soldiers by the Myanmar Army, hinder male IDPs from travelling to other areas to engage in livelihood work. At the same time, men also worry for their personal security when they are being tempted into drug abuse. The consumption of drugs (including alcohol) in the camp, leads to GBV, including domestic violence in the family. Personal security is also a concern inside the camp, as there is no electricity in the toilets, the toilet door locks do not work properly good and the camp does not have women-safe bathrooms, so the women are forced to take showers outside.

The research found that community security is also insecure for IDPs in this camp. At the time of the research, it was the fifth year of the IDPs living in the camp, and the local community openly showed their dislike of the IDPs especially in regards to the issue of collecting firewood. In addition, there were frequent cases of stealing in the camp compound, even though there were multiple security guards at every entrance.

The second objective of the research was to explore changes in livelihoods and their implications on gender roles. Before displacement, IDP men owned and worked on farmlands in their villages, and their main livelihood was traditional agriculture farming. When women were still in their villages, they were housewives and helped to work in the farming only after they had finished their household works. However, after displacement, most of the male IDPs become daily wage laborers and women had to earn money for family expenses, by working as daily wage laborers or by being involved in the community work.

The research found that it is very difficult for IDPs to engage in livelihood activities in displaced areas. The NGOs did provide help to support livelihood plans for IDPs, but the support system was limited and not all IDP families could get support. While some IDP households received support for corn farming activities in Lana Zupja camp, they did not have the farmland to cultivate their corn. Some IDPs had support for livestock breeding and small-scale business. Therefore, some Kachin women had the chance to participate in economic activities in the camp market. While the livelihoods statuses of female and male IDPs changed, their roles in the family and in the community also changed. The challenges of new livelihoods led to changing gender relations among Kachin IDPs.

The third objective of this research was to explore both positive and negative impacts of these changing gender roles. The research found that the changing of marriage relationships between wife and husband effected gender roles in the family: if men leave the family, women have to take on the responsibility to earn money and continue to do all household work at the same time. On the other hand, men who were separated by their female partners also had to take on the reproductive role in the family. The study found that over 40 families were divorced or separated in Lana Zupja Camp. Women who separated from their partner faced censure by the community, because the Kachin community is mostly Christian, and it does not accept separation after marriage.

After the IDP women were forced to leave their traditional gender roles and take on productive roles, their place in the family and in the community became essential. Because the IDPs started living as single-parent families once they arrived in the camp, women's roles in the family reached to decision-making level, and some men gained awareness of gender issues. Additionally, men also helped to do household chores when their female partners managed other family work, however men involved in the household work was still less than women. Kachin women's role in the community was recognized, which had not happened before displacement. More than 50 percent of Ward leadership positions were occupied by women in the camp, and one woman even held a higher administrative leadership role. However, some male IDPs were still not ready for the gender dynamics to change in terms of leadership and decision-making power.

The research found a negative gendered impact in the camp when some men could not sustain their roles as breadwinners in the family because of the challenges of the new livelihood setting. As a result, men were turning to drugs, and in some cases becoming drug addicted, which then led to GBV in the camp.

In addition, the relationship between children and their parents had changed in the camp. Since parents were in a hardship situation. Some girls were forced to get married by their parents and some delivered babies at an early age. Young boys gathered and formed as gang, sometimes stealing goods from stores in the camp.

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Index of Names and Terms

A

Aung San 19-21

B

Bridging Rural Integrated Development
and Grassroots Empowerment 3, 36, 52

Border Guard Force 22

Burma Socialist Programme Party 1, 23

C

Camp leader 36, 44, 76-77, 82-83

Ceasefire agreement 2, 4, 20, 22, 24-25, 40, 80

Communist Party of Burma 19, 20, 23

Community security 14-15, 27, 51, 69-70, 72,
105-106

Civil Society 3, 35, 52, 57

D

Department of General Administration 33

E

Ethnic Armed Organizations 1-2, 22-24, 80

Economic security 14, 27, 51, 59, 72, 77, 84,
101, 105-106

Environmental Security 14-15, 71-73

G

Garum Jinghkri 36, 97-98, 102

Gender-based Violence 6, 28, 68, 85, 99, 102, 106,
108

Gender relations 6, 7, 27, 31, 37, 75, 85, 87,
89-103, 105, 107

Gender roles 6, 9, 17-18, 26-27, 31, 35,
85, 89, 95, 102-103, 106-107

Government Controlled Areas 2, 3, 25, 32, 41

H	
Health security	14, 15, 71, 73
Household	6, 17-18, 26-28, 31, 35, 37, 46, 56-57, 64, 75, 79, 83-90, 92-94, 97, 101-103, 106-107
Host community	3, 5, 70, 75, 78, 93
Humanitarian Aid	2, 4, 32, 52, 55-56, 71, 75-76, 78, 82, 90
Human security	5, 14-15, 23-24, 27-28, 32, 37-84, 105
I	
Income generation	6, 84, 90, 98
IDP Camp	33, 35, 41, 46, 48, 66, 81
Internally Displaced Persons and Refugee Relief Committee	33, 44
K	
Kachin Independence Army	2, 21, 27, 67, 76, 89, 95, 106
Kachin Independence Organization	2-4, 7, 20, 21-22, 24-25, 32-33, 39-41, 44-48, 65, 71, 80, 81, 83, 100-101
Karuna Myanmar Social Service	3, 41, 48, 52-53, 55, 64-65, 77
Kachin Relief and Development Committee	3, 36
Kachin Women's Association Thailand	4-6, 26-27, 36, 71, 77, 91
Kachin Women Peace Network	6, 99, 102
L	
Lana Zupja	31-32, 34-35, 39-44, 46, 48, 51-53, 55, 57, 59-61, 63-65, 67, 69, 71-73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 92-93, 96-97, 100, 105, 107
Livestock	3-4, 6, 11, 13-14, 16-17, 25, 58, 64, 78, 80, 83, 85, 107
Lweje	32, 61, 87

M

- Makeshift camps 3
 Mai Ja Yang 33, 35, 40, 45, 97
 Mansi township 32, 33, 39, 41
 Myanmar-China Border 2, 5, 51-52

N

- Nationwide Cease-fire Agreement 80
 National Defense Front 20
 New Democratic Army- Kachin 20
 Ne Win 1, 20, 23
 Ningmu Ginlen 36, 55, 98
 Non-government Controlled Areas 2-5, 32, 35, 56, 72, 81
 Northern Shan State 2, 4, 21, 24-25, 32-33

P

- Personal security 4, 14-15, 27, 51, 66, 68-72, 76-77, 105-106
 Political security 14, 15, 71, 73, 77
 Places of origin 4, 7

R

- Relief Action Network for IDPs and Refugee 3-4, 25
 Rehabilitation and resettlement 7
 Refugee 2-3, 5-6, 12-13, 16, 41, 48, 87

S

- Sao Shwe Thaike 20
 Seasonal job 5
 Shelter 2-6, 13, 16, 24-25, 34, 39, 41-42, 44, 48, 51-52, 64-65, 68, 70, 72, 83, 84, 95, 99
 State Law Order and Restoration Council 1, 20, 22-23, 40
 State Peace and Development Council 1, 20, 22

T

Temporary Border Pass	33, 60-61
Tatmadaw (Burmese military)	1, 23-25
Thein Sein	22

U

U Nu	20
United Nations	2-3, 11, 15

W

Women's leadership	95, 97
Wunpawng Ninghtoi	3, 6, 36, 52, 57-58, 63, 77, 84, 97, 99, 102
Wage labour	43, 81

Y

Yangon	22, 33
Yunnan province	3

Z

Zau Seng	2, 21
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Gender, Conflict-induced Displacement and Livelihood

A Case Study of Lana Zupja Camp, Kachin State, Myanmar

Ying Lwin

The resumption of armed clashes between the Myanmar Army and the Kachin Independence Army (KIA) in June 2011 forced more than one hundred thousand Kachin civilians to flee their villages. They lost their farms, left all of their belongings and resettled their lives in established camps in both Government Controlled Areas and Non-Government Controlled Areas. This book explores the changing gender roles and relations among Kachin Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in one of the IDP camps along the China-Myanmar border: Lana Zupja Camp.

This research explored how the conflict has changed IDPs lives, forced to adopt new livelihood strategies after displacement. Human security was one of the major challenges among IDPs during their stay in the camp. The challenge of creating a new livelihood led to changes in gender roles and relations among camp residents. In some families, women became the main income earners in the absence of men.

Women gained new decision-making power within their family due to their newfound economic responsibilities. Moreover, women had the chance to participate in the community as public administrators, something that they had never done before displacement. Yet, despite positive changes, men still dominated the highest decision-making roles in the community, and there was evidence of gender-based violence in the camp.



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