

Gender and Forced Resettlement of an Ethnic Minority Group

The Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project (SB4HP)
in Quang Nam Province, Vietnam

Phan Thi Ngoc Thuy





Consortium of Development Studies in Southeast Asia (CDSSEA)

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About the series

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).

The publication series engages with physical and social mobility, boundary crossing, and the construction of ethnic identities. Within these concerns, the series also addresses issues of social, cultural and environmental sustainability, and the ways in which livelihoods are sustained and transformed in the mainland Southeast Asian sub-region. The series seeks to strike a balance between the experiences of urban and rural life and examine the rich variety of responses and adaptations to regionalization and globalization.

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Phan Thi Ngoc Thuy



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

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BPFA	Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CODE	Center of Development and Consultation
CPHCSC	Steering Committee for Central Census of Population and Housing
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CSRD	Centre for Social Research and Development
DFID	Department for International Development, UK
EIA	Environment Impacts Assessment
EVN	Vietnam Electricity Group
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
IHAHP	Hydropower Plant
IEA	International Energy Agency
IHA	International Hydropower Association
LTSF	Long- Term Strategic Framework
MCST	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
MDBs	Multinational Development Banks
MOF	Ministry of Finance
MOIT	Ministry of Industry and Trade
MOLISA	Ministry of Labor, Invalid and Social Affair
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations

SB4HP	Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project
SB4HPMB	Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Management Board
SIA	Social Impacts Assessment
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
VRDG	Village Resettlement Development Group
VRN	Vietnam Rivers Network
VWU	Vietnam Women's Union
WB	World Bank
WWF	World Wild Fund for Nature

Glossary of Terms

CSRD	Centre for Social Research and Development. Justice for vulnerable communities.
Fatherland Front	an umbrella group of mass movements in Vietnam aligned with the Communist Party
GreenID	Green Innovation and Development Centre (GreenID)
Guol House	<i>Cu To</i> communal longhouse
Malva nut	tree native to mainland Southeast Asia. Its seed is used in traditional Chinese medicine as a “coolant”, for gastrointestinal disorders, and for soothing the throat. A major non-timber forest product. In Laos second export crop after coffee.
Non-timber forest products	plants, mushrooms, herbs, honey, animals etc.
PanNature	seeking nature-friendly solutions to environmental problems and sustainable development issues.
Program 135	A government poverty reduction program for specific targeted poor household groups and regions, to increase the opportunities for poor households to benefit from economic growth.
VICA	sociological consultant group
VRN	Vietnam Rivers Network; an open forum of NGO representatives, researchers, academics, government officials, local communities and individuals concerned with river protection and sustainable development in Vietnam. Since 2012, WARECOD has been the coordinator in the North.
WARECOD	Center for Water Resources Conservation and Development. Sustainable use of water resources. Gender equality.

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Phan Thi Ngoc Thuy

Chapter 1

Introduction

Background of Study

Today, globalisation, urbanisation and industrialisation powerfully shape global economic growth. These factors create a significant demand for infrastructure such as power stations, electricity grids, water supply and treatment plants, roads, railways, airports, bridges, telecommunications networks, schools, hospitals, and more (Aldred, 2012: 36). Large-scale infrastructure projects have been developing rapidly worldwide, especially in Asia and Africa (Iimi, 2005).

There is no denying that large-scale infrastructure projects in general, and hydropower projects in particular, have positive effects. One of the upsides of infrastructure construction projects is their essential role in economic growth by enhancing factor productivity, and promoting convergence in income distribution and living standards (Genco et al. 2013: 3; Prud' Homme, 2005; and Eberts, 1990: 63). In this way, directly and indirectly, large-scale infrastructure projects contribute to poverty alleviation (Tortajada, 2014).

But large-scale infrastructure projects, including hydropower projects, also have their downsides. Annually, it is estimated that around 10-15 million people globally are affected by forced displacement due to development programs, including hydropower projects (Michael, 2007 cited in Singer & Watanabe, 2014). Hayes (2014) sharply criticises uncontrolled impacts on the environment, especially on the landscape, caused by infrastructure construction.

These projects also risk generating corruption because of their large investment budgets and inadequate accountability (Esteche, 2005).

Regarding gender issues, there are many examples where this kind of construction increases the burdens on both women and men when it comes to seeking new income sources (Butt, 2007; Phyu, 2011). This has raised some concerns about the linkage between poverty and gender inequality. A gender approach suggests that poverty always limits opportunities to reach gender equality, and, in turn, that it is impossible to build sustainable poverty alleviation strategies based on gender inequality. ‘Gender equality to end poverty’ has been one of the primary goals of the High-Level Panel on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (UN High-Level Panel on Post 2015, 2013). For this reason, the connection between poverty and gender inequality has been a concern of development practitioners, policymakers and researchers for over 30 years (Seitz & Adato, 2012).

Vietnam considers hydropower energy as facilitating the aim of becoming an industrial economy. This country is thus the location of numerous hydropower dams. Roughly 260 hydropower plants are operating, 211 projects are under construction, and 266 future projects are awaiting approval (Ministry of Industry and Trade, 2013, cited in Pham, 2015: 27). Vietnam has been pursuing a growth model largely depending on an increasing number of major infrastructure projects, especially hydropower plants, to meet its energy demands.

Since Vietnam’s public debt is now very high, people are worried about government investment in hydropower projects. According to the World Bank (2015), until the end of 2014, Vietnam’s public debt was USD 110 billion. In quarter I, 2016, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) indicated that Vietnam’s public debt was 1.5 to 2 times higher than that of other Asian countries. It is also noteworthy that Vietnam was the greatest recipient of development funds from the ADB (USD 2.26 billion in 2009). The ADB regards Vietnam as a key member for regional economic integration in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) (Roul, 2010). Vietnam has just reached the level of a middle-income country, but loans from the multilateral development banks (MDBs) are the primary source of large-scale infrastructure projects, including hydropower projects. This has sparked strong concerns about public debt, given the Vietnamese government’s weak civil assets and poor financial management.

Because of the rapid increase in the number of hydropower plants, numerous environmental experts and social activists have serious criticisms of the government's hydropower development strategy. As in other low-income Asian countries, the Environment Impact Assessments (EIAs) of hydropower projects are described as having “inadequate quality, with poor scoping, poor impact prediction, and limited public participation” (Briffett, 1999, cited by Jennifer, 2008). Moreover, a Social Impact Assessment (SIA) is not required in the government approval process for any infrastructure project (CSR, 2014). Hundreds of thousands of people living in poor conditions in resettlement areas of hydropower projects are live witnesses to the negative social impacts they can have (Doan, 2013).

Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project (SB4HP)

The Song Bung 4 hydropower project (SB4HP) is a large hydropower project¹ (156MW) located in the Vu Gia–Thu Bon river basin in Nam Giang District, Quang Nam Province in central Vietnam. The project triggered three safeguard requirements under ADB's institutional policy: environment; involuntary resettlement; and indigenous people. The project was recorded as

- Category A for Environmental Impact (projects that have significant adverse environmental impacts that are irreversible, diverse, or unprecedented. EIA required.);
- Category B for Involuntary Resettlement (involuntary resettlement impacts not significant);
- Category B for Indigenous People (likely to have limited impacts on indigenous peoples; assessment of social impacts required).

SB4HP is the first project in Vietnam funded primarily by a multilateral financial institution. The total invested capital is USD 267.3 million, comprising USD 196 million as a loan from ADB's ordinary capital resources (OCR); USD 22.3 million from the Vietnam Development Bank (VDB); and a USD 49.0 million contribution from Vietnam Electricity (EVN), financed through internal

1 According to Decision 45/QĐ-ĐTĐL issued on July 1, 2015 by the Department of Electricity Regulation, Ministry of Industry and Trade, all hydropower projects having equivalent or higher than 30 MW of capacity are classified as big hydropower plants. According to the International Electricity Agency (IEA), in the Hydropower Implementing Agreement 2010 large hydropower plants have the equivalent of more than 300 MW of capacity.

cash generation (ADB, 2008). ADB provided a technical assistance fund of USD 225,000 to be used for a feasibility study. Another grant of USD 2 million from the Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction was provided for the Livelihood Improvement Program (ADB, 2010).

Numerous hydropower projects are the subject of severe criticism from environmental experts and social activists around the globe especially in South East Asia. In Vietnam, many anti-dam struggles are concerned with the social impacts, including gender ones, of hydropower projects (Pham, 2015). The ADB planned for SB4HPP to be “a leading example for future hydropower and other large infrastructure projects in Vietnam and the wider region in situations where resettlement is unavoidable” (ADB, 2014: 1).

Statement of the Research Problem

Many citizens living in the planned SB4HP project area were obliged to resettle and had to adapt to new livelihood models. In total 224 households (approximately 1,200 people, mainly Co Tu ethnic minority), were relocated (ADB, 2014). The Co Tu are in the top-ten list of vulnerable ethnic groups in Vietnam. The Co Tu strictly follow patriarchy where men are the decision makers. Illiteracy is very high. Most households are male-headed. Other Co Tu people living along 14D Highway interact with Kinh people (the ethnic majority group) and in the process are adopting mainstream Kinh cultural practices. Before resettlement, the Co Tu people lived in remote mountain areas. They had a “strong ethnic identity and unity, built on family ties” (SWECO, 2007: II-15). Co Tu women had little to no family decision making power. They did, however, carry all the child rearing responsibilities in addition to being the primary source of labor on the farm and being responsible for managing household income.

Co Tu women rarely made contact with outsiders. Their life-cycle ran around their village, farm and forest. Except for young girls, most women, especially old women, could not speak Vietnamese fluently (SWECO, 2007: II-16).

Co Tu gender relations have been challenged as a result of involuntary resettlement and changes in the ecology and social structure.

The basic livelihood of the Co Tu people has had to shift from multi-plot slash and burn agriculture to a single-plot sedentary farming system with less land (CSR, 2012). Since long-practiced livelihood patterns have changed, the gender division of labor needs to change also, to adapt to the new livelihoods. However, traditional gender roles, within the patriarchal regime of the Co Tu people, persist. Men are defined as the “backbone” of the family and women as men’s subordinates. Gender stereotypes are behind the gender inequality (Monika, 2007: 37). Gender stereotypes always create considerable inertia, and it is not easy to change them quickly. Since the SB4HP project applied ADB’s standard for a gender-inclusive resettlement, it might be worth examining the impact of the project on gender equality. This raises the question of how Co Tu women and men cope with the new ecological and social environment, and how their gender relations have subsequently changed in the climate of gender-inclusive resettlement.

Although there has been no specific academic research on the SB4HP project, some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have published reports. Reports from Vietnamese civil society organizations (CSOs) and the ADB are not consistent in their findings. Since 2010, members of the Vietnam Rivers Network (VRN), a network of CSOs, independently monitored the implementation of the ADB Safeguard Policies. Another small research project from this network (Lam, 2010) is concerned with the SB4HP Gender Action Plan (GAP). Research confirmed that there were many gaps in the SB4HP involuntary resettlement process as well as in the Gender Action Plan’s implementation. Despite this, the ADB (2014) called the SB4HP project a gender inclusive resettlement.

Rationale of the Study

Worldwide, social justice and gender equality are gradually being facilitated, under the ethos of fundamental human rights, to protect every person irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender or religion. So any research that contributes to advocacy for human rights, indigenous people’s rights and women’s rights should receive public attention. Besides the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted in 2007. The UNDRIP declaration emphasises self-determination and rights to land or territories. The

aim is to protect indigenous people and to avoid vulnerable situations caused by majority groups (Article 3; 10; 26). Regarding gender equality, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA) in 1995, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2005, as well as the Post-2015 Development Goals in 2016, all work towards establishing gender equality worldwide.

Vietnam does not have many studies on the gender dimension of hydropower projects, even though it is highly recognized for its efforts in gender development. Vietnam has signed many international declarations on human rights and women's rights, and the country also has many legal frameworks to protect citizen's rights, including those of ethnic minorities and women. Vietnam adopted CEDAW in 1980, the BPFA in 1995, the MDGs in 2005, and the Post-2015 Development Goals in 2016. Moreover, the Vietnam Constitution of 1992 stipulates that everyone has equal rights; there is to be no discrimination on race, ethnicity or gender. The Gender Equality Law (2006) and the Law on Preventing Domestic Violence (2007) have given more opportunities for improving the status of women in Vietnamese society. On June 24, 2014, Vietnam approved Resolution No. 76/NQ-QH 13 on the sustainable poverty alleviation program, for the period 2016 – 2020. This document concerns the poverty status of ethnic minority groups in the remote mountains and highland areas of Vietnam, where hundreds of hydropower plants have been located. Although various recent international studies discuss gender issues in development-induced displacement and resettlement, to date there is no academic research carried out in Vietnam regarding involuntary resettlement impacts on gender relations. This study will investigate the actual experiences of women and men in an ethnic minority group (Co Tu people). It will also examine changes in livelihood and gender relations caused by involuntary resettlement resulting from an international aid project, SB4HP. It will also contribute to measuring the efficiency of the Vietnamese legal frameworks regarding indigenous peoples' and women's development.

For large scale infrastructure projects funded by the ADB, there is a lack of independent research or academic studies, as opposed to in-house evaluations, to assess the actual efficacy of its Gender and Development Policy

(1998)² in practice. This research will seek to fill this gap. This research, the first of its kind in Vietnam as far as we know, will draw a detailed analysis of the gender impacts of hydropower construction. In addition, it will contribute empirically to the ongoing discourse on hydropower development in the Greater Mekong Sub-region. Eventually, this research can be viewed not only as a reference for further academic studies on gender analysis, but also as a supplementary document to advance governance and justice by demanding full Social Impacts Assessments (SIAs) for large infrastructure projects - not presently a requirement under Vietnamese law.

Research Questions

1. How has the principle of gender inclusiveness been implemented in SB4HP's resettlement areas?
2. How has the involuntary resettlement process impacted the livelihood of the Co Tu ethnic minority in the SB4HP resettlement areas?
3. To what extent have socio-economic, ecological and cultural changes influenced Co Tu people's gender relations in the SB4HP resettlement areas?

Research Objectives

General Objective

The objective of this research is to analyze how gender inclusive was the involuntary resettlement process for the ethnic minority communities in SB4HP, Quang Nam Province, Vietnam.

Specific Objectives

To achieve this general objective, specific objectives have been developed:

- To explore how gender sensitive programs have been followed by the ADB and Vietnamese government in its policies.

2 This policy was revised in 1998, based on the ADB policy on Women in Development in 1992.

- To examine the community participation level of men and women throughout the planning and implementation process of the SB4HP.
- To assess the impacts of the involuntary resettlement process on Co Tu people's sustainable livelihoods in the SB4HP resettlement areas.
- To analyze the influence of socio-economic, ecological and cultural changes on Co Tu gender relations in the SB4HP resettlement areas.

Scope and Limitation

Scope of Study

The target groups are people who are now living in SB4HP resettlement areas. Other affected people, who are engaged only in cultivating land either upstream or downstream of the rivers will also be covered. There are many dams on the Vu Gia – Thu Bon River basin, and it will be important to determine which downstream communities are affected by SB4HP.

Significantly, this study examines the social-economic impacts of SB4HP on gender relations within the selected target groups; ecological impacts are relevant to explain the linkage with livelihood changes.

Limitation of Study

This study faced some limitations caused by limited budget and research time. Owing to these limitations, an ethnographic approach to data collection regarding the Co Tu could not be used. This research also does not apply much quantitative methodology since villagers were unwilling to share much information about their income status. The NVIVO software was used to arrange primary data and secondary data systematically. It was not used to do any analysis based on qualitative data in this research.

Ethics of Study

The research was carried out incorporating the principals of honesty, objectivity, integrity, carefulness and respect for people and intellectual property. The researcher worked diligently with all people, including indigenous people, to obtain accurate information. The research methods aimed to be respectful

of the cultural and social aspects of the Co Tu ethnic minority community. All data used for this research was recorded and analysed based on the results of surveys, interviews, and observation in the field as well as other sources of secondary data. All quotes are provided with clear sources. The target study groups for this research were indigenous people who were extremely sensitive to any information recorded or published about them. The findings were confidential, and real names of villagers were not used in any documents produced from this research.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Concepts and Definitions

Involuntary Resettlement

For MDBs, the term “involuntary resettlement” is defined clearly. The WB and ADB have a specific policy - “Involuntary Resettlement Safeguard Policy” – which they have to apply to their investment projects.

The WB were first to use the term, which they defined as referring to two distinct but related processes: displacement - a process by which development projects cause people to lose land or other assets, or access to resources, which may result in physical dislocation, loss of income, or other adverse impacts; and resettlement or rehabilitation - a process by which those adversely affected are assisted in their efforts to improve, or at least to restore, their incomes and living standards (WB, 2015). The ADB’s “Involuntary Resettlement Safeguard Policy” (1995) is based on the WB definitions.

Ethnic Minorities

In most international institutions, the official definition of indigenous people is as tribal people, aboriginal people or ethnic minority people. The definition is clear in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The United Nations, the International Labor Organization (ILO), the WB and the ADB use the term indigenous people in their official

documents. The UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues defines the concept as based on the following characteristics:

- Self- identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member;
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies;
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources;
- Distinct social, economic or political systems;
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs;
- Form non-dominant groups of society; and
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

In the Indigenous People Safeguard Policy in 1998, the ADB defined Indigenous peoples “as those with a social or cultural identity distinct from the dominant or mainstream society, which makes them vulnerable to being disadvantaged in the processes of development” (ADB, 1998: II.12).

In Vietnam, according to Decree No. 05/NĐ-CP on Ethnic Affairs, issued on January 14, 2011, an ethnic minority is any ethnic group having fewer numbers of persons than the ethnic majority in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The ethnic majority is the ethnic group accounting for over 50 % of national population, based on the national population census. In Vietnam, there are 54 ethnic groups. Kinh is the ethnic majority; accounting for 85.7% (73,594 million persons) according to the 2009 census, with the other 53 ethnic groups accounting for 14.3% (12,253 million persons) (CPHCSC, 2010).

Vulnerabilities of Ethnic Minority Groups

Indigenous people have small populations in comparison to ethnic majority groups, but wherever they live they always account for a major proportion of the poor and vulnerable. The UN estimates that there are at least 300 million indigenous people worldwide. They belong to 5,000 indigenous groups in more than 70 countries (UN, 2002, cited in Eversole et al 2005). They account for around 4.5% of the global population, but at least 10% of the poor (WB, 2015). They often live far from urban areas, and lack of access to education

and healthcare puts them at risk of disease, maternal health problems and hunger. Being forced to accept the majority group's culture, indigenous people are faced with lost self-determination and/or loss of their cultural identity. A rights-based approach to governance is concerned with indigenous people's participation in the policy making process as well as their experience of discrimination. It is strongly believed that indigenous people do not have the resources to defend their own rights. Because of racism, in Latin America, Asia and Africa, indigenous people are "non-dominant" and "are not in a powerful position vis-à-vis other groups" (Eversole et al 2005). It seems likely that indigenous people are many times poorer than their non-indigenous compatriots.

Many studies show that indigenous people are easily disrupted as a result of external shocks. In the era of climate change, it is widely perceived that indigenous people are increasingly vulnerable. Under a gender lens, Dankelman & Jansen (2010) called climate change a factor of creating "Gender-differentiated impacts" on men and women. Regarding dam development, Howitt (2001) notes that indigenous people were struggling to protect their habitat from dam proposal sites in the late 1960s in Canada and Europe. The research informs us that even though both Norway and Canada were famous for justice and democracy, indigenous people's struggle on the Alta Dam and the La Grande project failed because of unequal power.

Worldwide, several studies insist that 'spatial mobility' is a common phenomenon of indigenous people. In the larger context of Australia, population size and service demands facilitate intra-regional mobility of thousands of aboriginal people (Memmott et al. 2005). From empirical case studies in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, India, Nepal, and Bangladesh, Erni (2015) asserted that there has been an overall remarkable shift away from land cultivation by indigenous people; yet agriculture still plays an important role in providing livelihood and food security for many indigenous populations in Asia.

The research indicated that around 70 percent of the workload on farms was done by women. For these indigenous communities, shifting cultivation is tied to their cultural identity. In any resettlement in which indigenous people are prevented from following this traditional livelihood model, much traditional knowledge is being lost. Bartling & Fischbacher (2011) found that many forms of shifting cultivation are not deleterious. If the land is not constantly cultivated,

soil fertility will regenerate. Some other research (Reid, 2012) assumed that under ecological system changes caused by climate change or by policies to protect forests (Erni, 2015), indigenous people cannot have sustainable livelihoods because of lack of suitable alternatives.

There are significant poverty gaps between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority in Vietnam. A notable achievement of Doi Moi³ reform policies was that in 2009 Vietnam reached the status of a “lower-middle-income” developing country (World Bank, 2011). Vietnam has also achieved the first of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by halving poverty over the period 1990-2015 (Global Exchange 2015). But the ADB (2014) described Vietnam as still struggling to deal with socio-economic gaps, and inequality of poverty alleviation, particularly among ethnic minority groups. Badiani et al. (2012) mentioned that while Vietnam’s poverty headcount decreased from approximately 60% to 20.7 % between the early 1990s and 2010, the ethnic minorities increased their share of poverty from 10% of the population in 1993 to 65% in 2008 (WB 2012, cited in Nguyen et al. 2013).

In 2012, over 50% of minorities lived below the poverty line, of whom 30% were food impoverished. The per capita income of ethnic minority households is equivalent to one-sixth of the country’s average (Chu, 2013). Ethnic minority groups living in remote areas in Vietnam are several times poorer than Kinh people.

In Vietnam, diverse explanations have shown varied internal and external factors pushing ethnic minorities into vulnerable contexts. Except for the Hoa people (a Chinese group) who share urban locations, accessible lowlands and coastal areas with the Kinh, the remaining 52 smaller groups live in mountains or isolated highland areas (General Statistics Office of Vietnam, 2010). Owing to geographical disadvantages, ethnic minority groups have lower living standards with less access to fresh water, education and health care services. This leads to problems of discrimination in recruitment: employers prefer to select Kinh people rather than other ethnic groups (Druppers, 2013).

Since 1993 the Vietnamese government has provided for poverty alleviation with improved infrastructure, healthcare, education and livelihood

3 *Đổi Mới* is the name given to the economic reforms initiated in *Vietnam* in 1986 with the goal of creating a “socialist-oriented market economy”.

for ethnic minority groups, but is still challenged to improve the status of the ethnic minorities (Druppers, 2013). Mr. Ngo Truong Thi, Department Head, National Office on Poverty Alleviation Vietnam (Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs - MOLISA) explains: “It was not easy to achieve sustainable poverty reduction. After one natural disaster or other kind of accident, some poor households, who had just moved up to a higher level, fell down again into poverty” (MOLISA, 2015). For several reasons, the improvement process for ethnic minority groups to catch up socio-economically with the Kinh group is a difficult task for the Vietnamese government.

Co Tu Ethnic Minority Group in Vietnam

Co Tu or Katu is an ethnic minority group located in Lao PDR and Vietnam. In Vietnam, Co Tu people live in Thua Thien Hue Province and Quang Nam Province. According to the 2009 Vietnam Census, Co Tu is the largest ethnic minority in Central Vietnam with a population of 61,588. The Co Tu group is one of 21 ethnic minority groups belonging to the Mon Khmer language group in Vietnam (Dang et al. 2000: 2, cited in Iizuka, 2012).

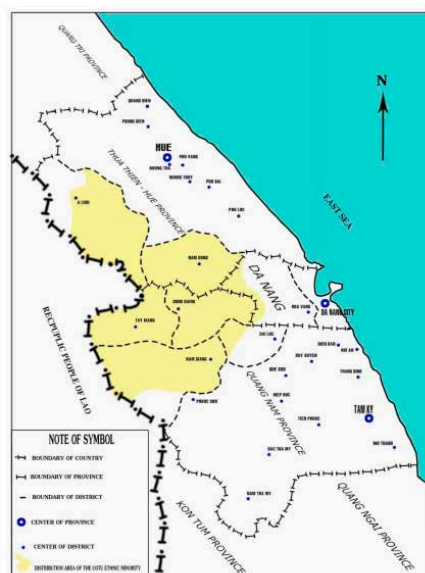


Figure 2.1 Geographic Distribution of the Co Tu in Vietnam

Source: ADB (2010)

The Co Tu are one of the rare ethnic minority groups to still maintain a strong cultural identity in a context of acculturation. For Co Tu people, “Ché” (name of a traditional jar) and “Gưol” (name of a traditional community house) are symbols of their culture. The number and quality of “Ché” show the social class of each family and individual (Tran, 2015). “Gưol” is “the social and spiritual life” of a village (Iizuka, 2012), and is also viewed as an “architectural and artistic product of the whole village” (Luu, 2007: 51, cited in Iizuka, 2012). The Co Tu live in remote mountains, and their traditional livelihood is based on forest resources. Customarily they hunt, collect non-timber and maintain upland agriculture. The Co Tu maintain traditional paddy rice. They grow rice on hills and do not use buffaloes for farming activities. Their dry-rice farms rely on natural rain (Costello, 2006).

The Co Tu are a patriarchal society where men are the decision makers. Thus, women are subordinated in all areas of society. For the Co Tu, “Già làng” or the spiritual leader is an older man. All problems or events in the village are approved by “Già làng”. Each village also has a village headman who is responsible to manage the village under Vietnamese government support. In the Co Tu community, the patriarchy system puts men in a dominant position. Men often have greater access to education, and women are expected to handle cultivation of the land. Young girls are taught traditional weaving including clothes and blankets as dowry to bring to a groom’s family.

It is generally acknowledged that gender relations of the Co Tu are influenced by ecological or social changes. Climate change threatens natural resources, livelihood models and the gender division of labor in the Co Tu community. In terms of gender relations “long-practiced patterns” are changing and men have more leisure time and earn less money than in the past, while women are over-worked on the farm and at home. Since women have contributed so much in household income and farming practices, their gender status is gradually rising.

Global Context of Hydropower Development

Hydropower is assumed as a determining factor in worldwide power generation. It is probably the oldest renewable energy resource and one of the first sources of mechanical power in the world. Hydropower is low carbon and relatively economical compared to other energy resources, and has huge

potential in countries with big river basins (Kaygusuz 2004). According to the 2010 World Energy Council (WEC) survey, at the end of 2008, Asia made up 35% of total global hydropower installed capacity by region, and became the highest region of hydropower production (WEC, 2015). The International Energy Agency (IEA) announced that in 2008 hydropower supplied 16% of global electricity production, around 3,228 Terawatt-hours (TWh). It is estimated that worldwide hydropower has the potential to provide more than 16,400 TWh per year. In 2000, the International Hydropower Association (IHA) estimated hydropower exploitation to be about 23% of theoretical hydropower potential capacity (cited in Pham, 2015). The global demand for electricity capacity is expected to almost double from 5.2 terawatt (TW) in 2010 to 9.3 TW in 2035 (IHA, 2011).

In the context of climate change, the sustainability of global hydropower is being questioned. A study in 2011 (Blackshear et al. 2011) pointed out that owing to fluctuation of timing, frequency and volume of rain, water supply will vary. Flooding and drought will happen more often due to fluctuations in the rainy and dry seasons, respectively. Rivers may decline, with direct impacts on downstream communities' livelihoods. Climate change occurs globally, and hydropower vulnerability needs to be assessed carefully (Alcamo et al. 2007; Schaeffer et al. 2012; and Li et al. 2012).

In the last two decades, a brisk mega-dams building boom in developing countries has attracted criticism. According to UN-Water (2015), worldwide there are 276 transboundary river basins of which 64 are in Africa, 60 in Asia, 68 in Europe, 46 in North America and 38 in South America⁴. By the end of the 20th century, around 50,000 large dams were blocking half of the total number of rivers on Earth (IR, 2015). Risen (2011), described the typical concerns about the true cost benefits of mega-dams and/or large hydropower construction while doing an analysis in 2011 in the Amazon. While nobody rejects large dams' theoretical contribution to create a high volume of electricity, a large number of studies have reported uneasiness about their impacts: listed in Ansar et al. (2014) they include -

- substantial financial costs (Moore, D. et al 2010),

4 <http://www.unwater.org/water-cooperation-2013/water-cooperation/facts-and-figures/en/>
Last update: 07 Oct 2014

- profound environmental impacts (Stone, 2011)
- ecological impacts (Ziv et al. 2012)
- social impacts” (Sovacool & Bulan, 2011).

Although the social and environmental impacts of hydropower construction are there for all to see, hydropower still stands in the long-term national energy strategies of many developing countries. It attracts little interest in Western Europe and North America, but continues to get large investment in developing countries, especially in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East (Blackshear et al. 2014: 69). Ansar et al. (2014) posited that the cost benefit formula for hydropower projects is “systematically biased below actual costs” in several ways e.g. by excluding inflation, substantial debt servicing costs, and environmental and social costs. All in all, it is incorrect to say that hydropower is an inexpensive source of energy. However, for developing countries, there are many obstacles to developing other sources: nuclear, solar and wind power require high technology, specialist human resources to operate, and enormous capital expenditure to construct. Consequently, the development of hydropower is still part of the long-term investment plan in many regions of the world.

Hydropower Development in the GMS

The density of hydropower projects in the GMS is a controversial topic. The GMS consists of Lao PDR, Cambodia, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar, and two regions of China (Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province). Bui & Schreinemachers (2011) reported that there were 43 commissioned dams in the Mekong River Basin, and another 116 planned for construction in 2012 (cited in Sayatham & Suhardiman, 2015: 7). Large-scale hydropower projects on the Mekong River bring not only pros and cons at national level, but also spill over beyond national territories. The Mekong is 3,050 miles (4,909 km) long, the 10th longest river of the world and Asia’s 7th longest river (World Atlas, 2015).



Figure 2.2 Hydropower Development on Mekong River (updated 12/2015)

Source: PanNature (2016)

The potential hydroelectric capacity of the Mekong River is approximately 60,000 MW of which 28,930 MW comes from the upper Mekong River Basin in China, with around 30,000 MW in the lower Mekong River Basin which is divided among five countries: Lao PDR, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar and Vietnam. Since the 1970s, China has had master plans for 14 hydropower projects on the upper Mekong River. Currently 6 projects are operating. In the lower Mekong River Basin, 11 main-stem and numerous tributary hydropower projects were designed as run-of-river power stations by private sector developers; 10 of these dams are in Lao PDR, and two are planned for Cambodia (MRC, 2009a; ICEM, 2010a cited in Pearse-Smith, 2012).

There is a huge concern about governance and regional cooperation among the GMS countries. There is concern that during this century GMS will become an area of conflict between upstream and downstream countries. The impact of mega trans-boundary projects is a politically charged debate in Southeast Asia. For example, ignoring all concerns about the quality of the

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) conducted for the Xayaburi Dam (Baran, et al. 2011 cited in Ho, 2014), Lao PDR has continued construction as planned. Sneddon & Fox (2007) give evidence from other studies: (Bao, et al. 2001; Hill and Hill 1994; Jensen 2002) to illustrate that the Mekong region countries are clearly aware that damaging wild capture fisheries and other deleterious socio-ecological impacts are impossible to avoid with mega-dam development. It seems likely that the Mekong Region Commission (World Atlas, 2015) who manage the Mekong River will not be able to maintain enough power for public demand. Sneddon & Fox (2007) wondered whether the “development imagery” of the Mekong River was dominated by a relatively small group of international consultants (primarily engineers, economists, and other development specialists) and their official Thai, Lao, Cambodian, and Vietnamese counterparts working in the UNDP-sponsored Mekong Secretariat.

In the coming years, it is strongly predicted that the MDBs will dominate infrastructure projects in Asia, particularly in the GMS. The ADB⁵ is the second biggest MDB in Asia, and plays a dominant role in the GMS. Energy is the second largest sector in the GMS after transport. Since the 1990s the ADB has been involved in many regional meetings and has promoted an alliance among GMS countries with a view to signing the Inter-Government Agreement on Regional Power Trade in the GMS (IGA 2002) (Middleton & Dore, 2015). In June 2014, the 16th IGA meeting was organized with representatives from the WB, ADB and others with international observers from Australia and France. In 2013, China created a new MDB called the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). It was established on December 25, 2015 and has been operating since January 16, 2016. AIIB's capital is USD 100 billion, equivalent to two thirds of ADB and half the World Bank. The AIIB will focus on the development of infrastructure and other productive sectors. As an upstream country on the Mekong River, China's hydropower plants are dominating the Mekong River, and with the addition of the AIIB China may have more influence in the GMS in the future.

5 The ADB was established in 1966 and comprises 67 country members (48 from the Asia-Pacific region and 19 from outside). It is the second largest source of development finance/funds in Asia-Pacific, after the WB. ADB's main tools to assist developing member countries are policy dialogue, lending, equity investments, guarantees, grants and technical assistance (TA).

Hydropower is a contentious issue in the GMS. China currently plays a dominant role as an upstream country on the Mekong, and because of its financial strength. The appearance of MDBs with plans for hydropower development in the GMS is raising a lot of public concern due to negative impacts and contested waterscapes among upstream and downstream Mekong countries.

Hydropower Development in Vietnam

Hydropower is one of the main sources of energy with a long development history in Vietnam. In 1863 Nguyen Dynasty officials were the first Vietnamese people to see electricity when they traveled to France. In 1892, the French constructed a small electricity generating plant in Hanoi “to serve 523 streetlights”. And in 1943, the first hydroelectric dam was built in Lam Dong Province, in Central Highland Vietnam. There are two main reasons for hydropower development in Vietnam: first, the country has the potential to build up hundreds of dams due to its mountainous topography and numerous fast flowing rivers, and secondly because of economic growth and its aim to become an industrial country by 2020. Vietnam has to exploit its natural resources to produce enough electricity to meet increasing energy demand (Long, 2000).

With numerous large-scale dams, hydropower in Vietnam makes a large contribution to energy security and economic growth nationally and internationally. By 2011 Vietnam has the capacity to generate 2 gigawatts of power, equivalent to 8% of worldwide electricity production, becoming the second leading country in the region after China (Pham, 2015: 25). On a national level, according to the Vietnam Electricity Group, hydropower was the second ranking source of electricity after fossil fuel, accounting for 40% of output in 2010 (CODE, 2010). The rural electrification program, for example, is pushing the rural countryside to higher levels of development.

Vietnam is faced with serious sustainability impacts as a result of hydropower. From 1995-2009, 22 hydro-power plants and irrigation systems have been created nationwide (WWF, 2006) requiring 81.622 hectares of land and the resettlement of 50,000 households. In terms of economic impact the dams have caused “double flooding” in Central, and Central Highland Vietnam since 2000. A typical case concerns the downstream communities of the Vu Gia-Thu Bon River Basin, in Quang Nam Province. This province has an area

of 10,438.4 km². In 2012 (CSRD, 2013) it had 42 hydropower plants operating, under construction or awaiting approval. In 2009, the overflow of A Vuong plant in Vu Gia swept away farming assets and valuable property of downstream communities in Dai Hong Commune, Dai Loc District (Doan, 2013). The environmental impact of hydropower plants is a matter of public concern in Vietnam. By blocking river flow, dams damage river diversity. Environmental Impact Assessments as part of the hydropower approval process are not comprehensive. CSRD (2012) and (2014) illustrated that dams cause various aquatic species to decrease in numbers or disappear completely. GreenID (2013) describes a serious situation in the construction of the Song Tranh 2 dam which required 23.01 km² of reservoir area causing 1046 households to be involuntarily resettled. Since its operation in 2012, many of the resettled households have lost their homes to earthquakes.

It is expected that hydropower development in Vietnam will continue to expand, with an increasing number of dams. By 2013, it was estimated that Vietnam had exploited approximately 70% of its potential hydropower capacity (56.94TWh). Despite limitations of theoretical hydroelectric potential, Vietnam plans to exploit the remaining potential. In terms of power strategy up until 2030, Vietnam plans to focus on building small dams. “Presently, 179 small projects (2360MW) are under construction, 249 projects (2327MW) are in the approval process, and there are another 155 potential locations for further development.” (Ty, 2015: 29). But numerous failures of small hydroelectric plants such as Đăk rông 3 in 2012, Đăk Mek 3 in 2012, and Krel 2 in 2013, have raised public concern about the energy strategy.

Vietnam has an anti-dam movement led by local NGOs. Since the Vietnamese government has a legal framework⁶ which allows civil society organizations (CSOs) to play an active role in consultancy, critique and social

6 Decree No. 71/1998 / ND-CP was issued on 8th September, 1998 by the Vietnamese government on adopting democracy in all activities of agencies; Ordinance No. 34/2007 / PL-UBTVQH11 was issued on 20th April, 2007 by the National Assembly Standing Committees on adopting democracy in communes, wards and towns. Decision No. 22/2002 / QĐ-TTg was issued on 30th January, 2002 by the Prime Minister of Vietnam on functions of the Association of Science and Technology of Vietnam about consultancy, critique and social monitoring. Decision No. 14.2014 / QĐ-TTg was issued on 14th February, 2014, by the Prime Minister of Vietnam on functions of the Association of Science and Technology of Vietnam about consultancy, critique and social monitoring.

monitoring on any societal aspect, several Vietnamese NGOs are involved in “resisting dam-forced displacement”. GreenID, CSRD, WARECOD, Vietnam Rivers Network and Pan Nature have joined many “transnational groups of regional and international NGOs” (Singer et al. 2014: 97) to protest construction plans of the Xayaburi dam, the Don Sahong dam in Laos and others planned by China on the Mekong River Basin. Currently, GreenID and CSRD have raised the gender dimension issue of hydropower development in Vietnam. In 2013, GreenID initiated many workshops and projects on this issue. Meanwhile, CSRD is the first NGO working on independent monitoring of the Gender Development Policy for the ADB.

Gender Relations and Gender Inclusiveness in the Context of Hydropower-Induced Involuntary Resettlement

Definition of Gender Relations

Gender relations mainly describe interactions between men and women. Gender relations are a culturally, socially and historically structured concept as social relations vary based on “social, economic, cultural, linguistic and religious systems” (Harders, 2011: 137). Cook (2007: 1) reveals that gender relations have created gender divisions of “labor, health, education, family, work, popular culture, and the media”. Agarwal (1997: 1) suggested that gender relations have “complexity and historic variability”; therefore, their scope has to be in “intra- and extra-household dynamics”. And beyond gender division of labor, gender relations are also in “ideas and representations – the ascribing to women and men of different abilities, attitudes, desires, personality traits, behavior patterns, and so on.”

Gender equality, masculinity (patriarchy), and femininity (matriarchy) are terms which categorize gender relations. In other words, in order to measure gender equality in a society, people use indicators of gender relations to set a standard. Gender role, gender status and gender relations have an interactional relationship - they define each other. Traditionally, male -dominated gender relations have been created by the practice of strong patriarchy. Nevertheless, in many circumstances, due to changing gender roles, gender relations have been changed in societies. For example, many men, having lost their jobs, have had to accept the reality of staying at home and taking care of their children

as well as allowing their wives to go out to work. In those situations, many women find themselves able to raise their voices more strongly in the family decision-making process. Tripp (2004: 15) confirmed this in his research "... the women's movement is articulating a vision of land tenure and gender relations that challenge the fantasy that customary arrangements can adequately protect the welfare of women in the way that they are once said to have done." Bock & Shortall (2008) gave the example of the Republic of Ireland, where women's increased role in livelihood diversification under livelihood program reforms has led gender relations to change.

Gender Relations in Hydropower-induced Involuntary Resettlement

It is generally acknowledged that the gender impacts of hydropower projects are more serious because of being combined with the ethnic factor. Kocze (2009: 21), strongly argued that the combination of gender and ethnicity is "double discrimination, double marginalization, multiple disadvantages or multiple discrimination". Most of the hydropower projects have been built in remote areas which are locations of ethnic minority groups. In the context of indigenous people, gender relations are more complex due to internal and external barriers. Empirical researches acknowledged that policy makers often implement involuntary resettlement processes in gender blindness, even though traditional culture and gender ideologies create various challenges for women (Phyu, 2011; Butt, 2007; Lin, 2001).

Tilt, et al (2008: 6) noted that China's Manwan Dam project on the Mekong affected individuals differently according to gender. Two ethnic minority groups, namely Yi and Dai, lost their traditional cultural and ecological environment because of the Dam. Because of traditional custom on ownership, most of the compensation was provided for men as household heads. Having lost their traditional livelihoods, men left their village to work in "construction, tourism and related industries". Owing to child bearing and child-rearing duties, women stayed in the village, worked on farms and relied on their husbands' remittances. The drop in household income meant that families could no longer afford to send their daughters to school, although their sons were able to continue their studies.

Regarding internationally aided hydropower projects in the GMS, some of them have their own project reports on gender and resettlement, prepared

by the lenders. So far, there is no academic research on gender impacts of hydropower projects funded by MDBs so it is difficult to assess to what extent international standards for gender issues in involuntary resettlement are followed. And there are no documented examples of good practice for national investment projects to use.

Gender Inclusiveness in Hydropower-Induced Involuntary Resettlement

The literature does not provide any concrete definition of the term “gender inclusiveness.” However, the ADB have recently produced a project report for SB4HP focusing on gender. Gender sensibility was regarded as the key factor to bring gender equality for women and men in affected villages. To measure gender-inclusive resettlement, it is necessary to analyze the implementation of gender-sensitive programs in the project, and the way gender mainstreaming has been applied in the affected communities. As this research has been done on an ADB-assisted project, the author follows the use of the term “gender inclusiveness” adopted in the ADB report.

ADB Policies on Gender and Resettlement and the Practice in ADB-loaned Hydropower Projects

The ADB has many documents to guide a strict resettlement process in which livelihood, indigenous people, and gender are key issues of concern. In 2009, the ADB issued their Safeguard Policy Statement which includes the main key points of three previous policies - Involuntary Resettlement (1995); Indigenous Peoples (1998); and the Environment (2002). The bank has indicated clearly in relevant documents that their aim is to make displaced people “at least as well-off as they would have been in the absence of the project” (ADB 1995, paragraph 33). The ADB also paid “particular attention” to vulnerable groups such as “poorest affected persons” “female-headed households” and “indigenous peoples” (ADB 1995, paragraph 34 (vii)). The Safeguard Policy Statement stresses that the resettlement process has “to enhance, or at least restore” the livelihood of affected people and improve “the standards of living of the displaced poor and other vulnerable groups” (ADB 2009a: 17).

Since 1999, the ADB has also applied its Policy on Gender and Development. In 2001, they classified the importance of gender issues in projects

under four category headings⁷ for better operationalization of the mainstreaming envisaged under the Policy. In 2008, the ADB advanced its gender strategy in its Long-Term Strategic Framework (LTSF) for 2008– 2020, with a gender mainstreaming target: 45% of projects by 2016.

Because of the ADB's major role in the GMS, there has been much research into ADB policies and practice; but there has been no specific academic research on practice of the Gender and Development Policy in hydropower projects. Middleton et al. (2009: 45) explained that although the ADB talks a lot about its commitment to “strong environmental and social policies” and “public participation”, in fact, they have not done enough “to mitigate the risks of large dams”.

Human Rights, Women Rights and Indigenous People Rights in Hydropower -induced Involuntary Resettlement

Women Rights via Participation by Gender and Indigenous People Rights

Participation is related to public or community involvement in the decision making process of policies or development programs. Sneddon & Fox (2007) describe “Participation” as either a key component of development planning or as a transformative process inducing changes in political-economic structures, and always “a work in progress”. Cornwall, A. (2006) described participation as a “development orthodoxy”, in which the poor have a space to raise their voice. In this context, they also have a chance to choose alternatives to minimize any impacts. Corbridge et al. (2005) and Mosse (2003) (cited in Sneddon & Fox, 2007) asserted that public participation is a pathway where government agencies share the power of decision-making with social groups. Van (2012) found that “geographic and topographic conditions, capacity of local authorities and varying level of demand for participation at different levels of implementation” are barriers to effective participation.

7 Category I: gender equity as a thematic classification includes gender analysis during project preparation, gender action plans, and loan covenants to support its implementation;
 Category II: effective gender mainstreaming has several design features to facilitate women's access to program/project benefits;
 Category III: has some gender benefits and considers gender issues as part of the social analysis during project preparation;
 Category IV: has no gender element.

Participation is a crucial indicator of democracy in practice. Regarding dam issues, participation may be measured by the engagement of CSOs in anti-dam movements. In many countries, local NGOs play important roles in “resisting dam-forced displacement” (Singer et al. 2014: 97). Due to having political freedom and space for CSOs, it can be said that Thai people are the most active in comparison to the Lao, Cambodians and Vietnamese (Käkönen & Philip, 2009). In the specific situation of Vietnam, public participation in hydropower development is very poor. Affected people have little scope to raise their voices during the approval process or in decision making on resettlement (CSRSD, 2013).

Many studies suggest that participation in large-scale development projects often takes no account of gender. For example, in Pakistan, Butt (2007) found that the planning and implementation process in the development of hydropower dams is often gender-blind since women have very limited participation in the process. CSRSD (2016) describes a case in Vietnam where there was no requirement of a gender-based participation ratio. No development-induced resettlements in Vietnam apply gender impact assessments or gender equality monitoring or indeed any gender action plan, except for ADB projects. Most Vietnamese investment projects lack a consultation program.

According to Article no. 8 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)*, *all indigenous people have the right to “participate in decision-making processes which would affect their rights”*. The World Commission on Dams (2000: 246) stated that “participation is particularly critical in regard to indigenous and tribal people” and key decisions affecting these groups should be based on their “free, prior and informed consent”. Ethnic communities in Vietnam cannot negotiate effectively to uphold their rights since they lack fluency in the Vietnamese language. Most contractors, project management unions and project staff are Kinh, and cannot understand ethnic minority languages. They do not arrange interpreters for the process. Indigenous villagers support each other to understand relevant documents, but somehow this is not enough (CSRSD, 2013).

Human Rights-based Approach to Analysis Culture Identity and Livelihood Access

Much literature reveals human rights abuses due to the impact of hydropower projects. Eight main risks of impoverishment in resettlement have been cited: landlessness; joblessness; homelessness; marginalization; increased morbidity and mortality; food insecurity; less access to common property; and social disarticulation. The indicator of sustainable livelihood in the migration context is not only poverty, but also inequality (McDowell & De Haan, 1997). Resettlement brings affected people to a new environmental and socio-economic situation, with negative impacts on “livelihood asset substitution with livelihood outcomes” (Sayatham & Suhardiman, 2015). On the whole, land acquisition limits agriculture practice, and affected people need enough new land for their “process of livelihood reconstruction and the shaping of livelihood outcomes” (Sayatham, & Suhardiman, 2015). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights indicates clearly in Articles 23 and 25 that all people have the right to work and choose employment freely for themselves, as well as the right to live with food, housing, medical care and other social services and the right to security.

Nam Thuen 2 in Lao used both WB's and ADB's loans and standards, but it could not provide any hope of livelihood restoration. At first, Nam Thuen 2 was planned to be a model of good practice for other hydropower projects in the region. It was expected to overcome the Lao reputation for “low capacity, poor public financial management and weak governance” (Lawrence, 2009). Both WB and ADB expected that their practice in Nam Thuen 2 would help Laos to improve their technical status via learning by doing. However, Nam Thuen 2 has the same problems as other domestic investment projects. It has been failed on its livelihood program like other projects. Affected people are pleased with “better houses, improved water supply and sanitation, electricity and roads, yet they feel bad because of less and poor quality land, and an unsuccessful livelihood program”.

Since cultural identities of indigenous people are embedded in their agriculture practice, involuntary resettlement pushes them away from their traditional culture. Under a human rights-based approach, culture rights are important rights of indigenous people, and indigenous people have “the right to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs” (*UNDRIP, Article no.11*). There is a common understanding that most of the hydropower

projects using Vietnamese investment had low compensation, slow resettlement process, inefficient livelihood programs and a negative influence on the traditional culture of the ethnic minority (Dao, 2010; Hai et al. 2013). Most of the hydropower projects in Vietnam are constructed in mountain provinces in the Central, Central Highland and Northern Regions - the locations of ethnic minorities with their own cultures and long-standing traditions. Nguyen et al. (2011) and Singer & Watanabe (2014) confirmed that building modern houses and designing resettlement resident zones in urban style have destroyed the customs and traditional culture of ethnic minority groups. In one case where the elderly people were not familiar with this kind of house, as well as being concerned about the low quality of construction, one couple collected wood and other material from the old houses and built a cottage house near the project house (Singer & Watanabe, 2014).

A case study in Son La HP (Nguyen et al. 2011) has drawn a picture of hydropower-induced resettlement in which traditional village structure and former livelihoods are changed negatively. People in resettlement areas have easy access to clean water, electricity, schools and health care centers; however, the housing is much too dense: the resettlement location was designed for “100 households, with an average plot of 300 to 500m²” whereas in former villages local people settled 30 to 50 households in 1.750 to 3.000 m². All the resettlement houses were designed side by side in the same style as Kinh houses, although most of the affected people are Dao and H'Mong. There is no provision for toilet, bathroom, or animal husbandry. People also have to change their livelihoods, and complain of “low soil quality, not enough land, lack of water for irrigation and household use, difficulty in accessing natural resources (illegal to access forest in new location), and poor housing stock”.

Conceptual Framework

Since the research examines the change in gender relations before and after involuntary resettlement, I use the Livelihoods conceptual framework⁸.

8 See <https://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol19/iss2/art44/>

This is a flexible framework developed by Andrew Dorward⁹ which is based on the sustainable livelihood approach (SLA) of the Department for International Development (DFID). The SLA focuses on “current livelihood strategies, social environment and ability to adapt” (Ashley and Diana, 1999: 7). To avoid having just a snapshot on livelihood, Livelihoods is more dynamic, since it takes an overall look at the longitudinal history of its target groups (Dorward, 2014: 1).

Figure 1.3 illustrates the approach, in which Livelihoods transitions and assets-properties-attributes have a two-way interaction (asset functions and asset-attribute changes) under the influence of structure transformations, transformation processes and external systems.

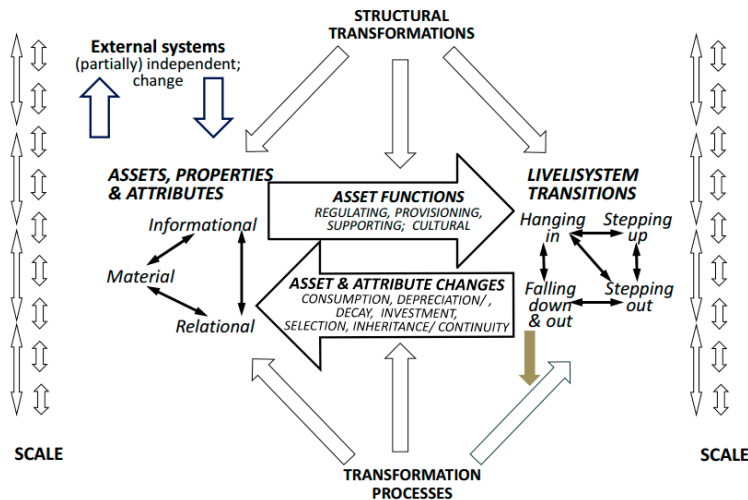


Figure 2.3 Livelihoods Framework Source: Dorward (2014: 7)

Theoretically, asset function, asset attribute change and the Livelihoods transition process have an interacting process within them. The asset function indicates “essential and potential features” of properties, while the asset attribute focuses on “the expression of assets in a particular social – ecological context”. The term of asset functions mentions the way local people measure value of

9 Andrew Dorward is Professor of Development Economics at the School of Oriental African Studies (SOAS), University of London, where he leads the Centre for Development, Environment and Policy (CeDEP). He has long time experience working on sustainable livelihood issues for DFID as a consultant expert and has developed a new approach called “Livelihoods” since 2012.

available properties. It is strongly believed that the value of properties depends on how they are used in practice. Asset functions are categorized in different ways - “supporting”, “provisioning”, “cultural”, “regulating”, and so on. Then asset attributes are asset services. They are also divided into different groups including “Inheritance”, “Selection”, “Continuity” “Consumption” and “Depletion and degeneration¹⁰”. Asset services are defined based on the value of assets in society.

“Hanging in” is to maintain “the status quo”. “Stepping up” is an uptrend movement. “Stepping out” is to move out of the original status to get a new one. “Falling down and out” would be to decrease quality or quantity of assets or a downtrend in status. This research uses these four levels to explain the changes of gender relations in the circumstance of involuntary resettlement, in which the shifting of assets attributes, asset functions, and asset and attribute change directly and indirectly change gender relations.

Between 2010 and 2012 SB4HP forcibly moved 244 Co Tu ethnic minority households far from their former villages. The involuntary resettlement has made biodiversity changes and structure changes. Affected people have to adapt to a new ecosystem at their destination. The resettlement process also created many social, economic, and cultural changes on material, informational and relational resources of Co Tu people. In like manner, the assets functions of those resources have been changed. To adapt to the new context, many transformation processes have occurred in awareness, attitude, and behavior, and certainly within the gender division of labor.

10 In Dorward's paper, the author uses “Depreciation” to explain the decrease of assets attributes. In current circumstance of livelihood assets in Co Tu community the term “depletion and degeneration” is more suitable.

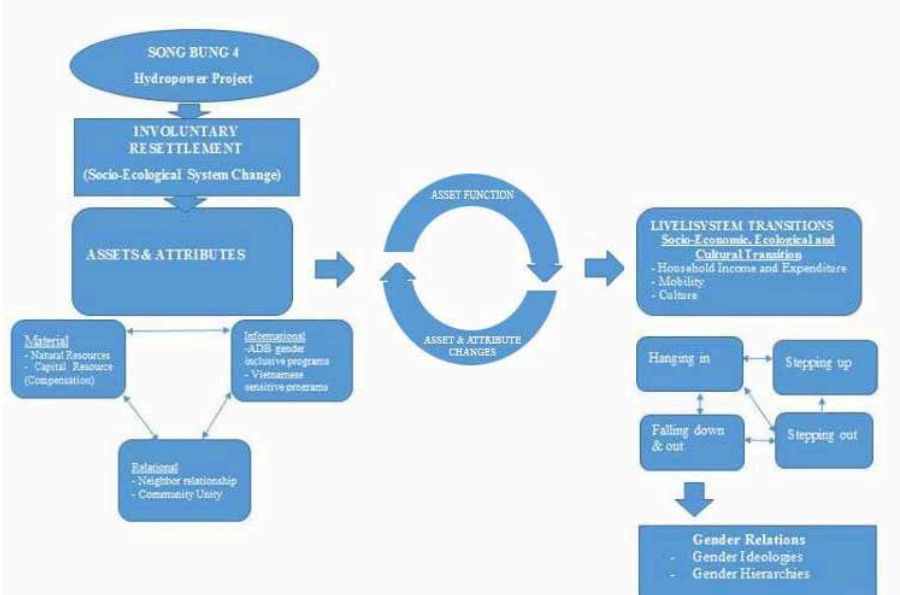


Figure 2.4 Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3

Methodology

Type of Research, Research Approach and Research Design

Previous research into the relationship between involuntary resettlement caused by hydropower construction and gender relations was done in countries where hydropower developed a long time ago, in contexts quite different from the context of contemporary Vietnam. Beyond its basic research scope, this study aims to influence policy makers, the ADB and hydropower project contractors, as a contribution to the advocacy process for a better life for affected people and careful consideration of hydropower projects' SIAs in the approval process. Based on data sources, this research is a combination of primary and secondary research, because it uses both primary and secondary data sources. It can be called longitudinal research because it uses data going back 10 years to compare before and after resettlement.

The study has applied a mixed approach in which both qualitative and quantitative methods are used. The qualitative approach is a powerful way to explain: (i) how gender inclusiveness has been applied in resettlement areas; (ii) how women and men are affected by the resettlement process; and (iii) how gender relations have been changed due to livelihood changes. The quantitative approach provides: (i) the level of satisfaction of affected people about their participation in the planning and implementation process; (ii) the level of satisfaction of affected people about livelihood alternatives; and (iii) household income changes after resettlement.

Criteria for Area Selection

The SB4HP directly inundated a huge area of land, including four villages with 224 mainly Co Tu ethnic minority households (approximately 1,200 people) who were forcibly moved up to 10 km away from their former villages. Thon 2 Village was resettled in 2010 in Tapo Commune, Nam Giang District, Quang Nam Province. Three remaining villages, namely Pa Dhi, Pa Rum A, and Pa Rum B were resettled in 2012 in ZuoiH Commune, also in Nam Giang District. Based on different locations and timing of resettlement, two villages were selected for this research: Thon 2 Village in Tapo Commune and Parum B Village in ZuoiH Commune. The villages are described in chapter 4, section 4 “Study Site Profile”.

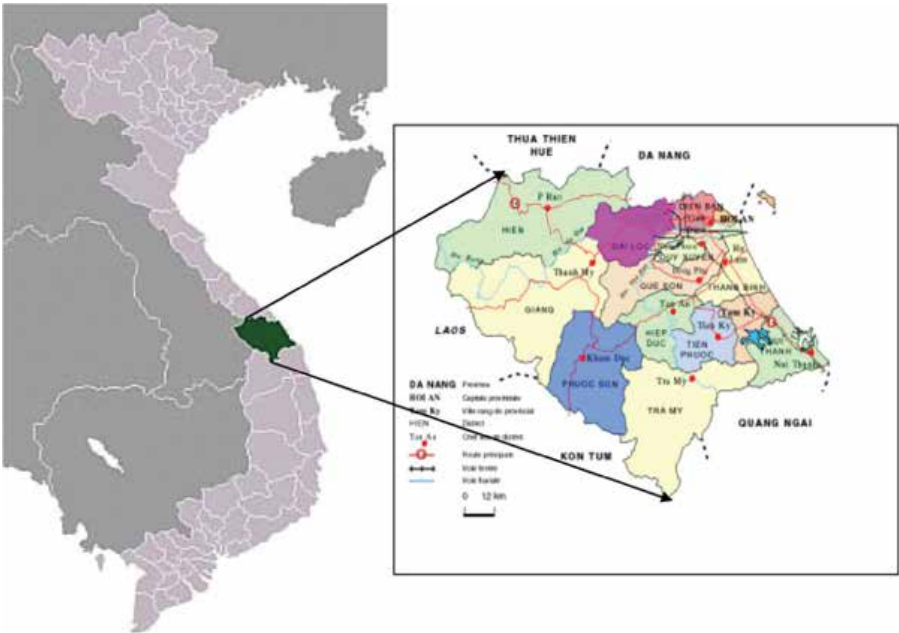


Figure 3.1 Map of Study Area Source: Global Health Action (2015)

Target Group

Before resettlement there were 53 households in Thon 2 Village, and 64 households in Parum B Village. This research focuses on households included in the list of involuntary resettlement households prepared by the ADB. The

research aimed to target women and men in these two villages. Focus group discussions were held. The questionnaire tool was for both husbands and wives while other data collection methods were implemented individually with respondents.

Data Source and Data Collection Method

The study uses both primary and secondary data. Each source uses different techniques to collect data. To get multiple dimensions for research results, interviews took place with affected people, local authorities, policy makers, contractors, social experts, practitioners and ADB consultants.

Of 117 forcibly displaced households, 91 were selected for the survey, with the remaining households contributing their information in focus group discussions. Individuals for in-depth interviews were chosen from the survey. Few individuals had more than one opportunity to provide information for the researcher.

Non-probability sampling technique was conducted for qualitative data; probability sampling technique was applied for quantitative data. This is “an improvement over haphazard sampling”, and helps the researcher “to ensure that some differences are in the sample” (Lawrence, N. W., 1997).

Methodologies	Sampling sizes	Sampling Techniques	Tools
Toolkit reconnaissance	15 sets	Quota sampling	All tools
Household survey	65 households (130)	Systematic sampling	Questionnaire
Focus group discussion	24 respondents (3 FGDs/village)	Purposive sampling	Checklist
In-depth Interview	12 respondents	Purposive sampling	Checklist
Key informant	10 respondents	Snow sampling	Checklist
Non-participant and semi-structured observation	4 times		Guideline

Table 3.1 Description of sampling size and sampling technique of each methodology

Secondary data

Secondary data was gathered from various sources. Firstly, official reports from the ADB and from the Vietnamese government at provincial, district, and commune level. Secondly, independent studies by local NGOs. Internet based news, academic articles, books and previous researches on specific issues in other countries were collected. Secondary data was used mostly during the literature review process to help the researcher develop a rich knowledge of the research problem. The desk study was extremely useful to select, review and analyze all secondary data.

Primary data

While secondary data was background and a main source for this research, primary data was an empirical, updated source of research results. Primary data was gathered by household survey, individual in-depth interview, non-participant and structured observation, focus group discussion and key informant methodologies.

Toolkit Reconnaissance

Pre-test was conducted before the formal data collection process in order to test the toolkit. Based on results from pre-test, the questionnaire form, checklist, and guideline were adjusted to make them more useful. Suitability and time length were considered carefully during pre-test process. In this way, the researcher could make sure that all the questions in the toolkit were useful.

Household Survey

Questionnaires were designed for both husband and wife, separately and at different times. Because of the limited education level of the respondents, questionnaires were designed with very simple and short questions.

Sample Size

This is a longitudinal research, and the aim of survey was to compare household issues and husband-wife relations before and after resettlement. All questionnaires were answered by originally resettled couples who were in the ADB resettlement program lists. This research focused on the Co Tu ethnic group, so Kinh households were not selected. Some couples were getting old and were excluded owing to absent-mindedness. Households without husband or wife such as widow-headed households, widower-headed households, single

parent households, and single households were also excluded. As were households that were not located in the resettlement village.

No.	Main Criteria	Number of Household
Thon 2 Village		
(1)	Total of resettled household in 2010	53
(2)	Kinh households	3
(3)	Single-headed households	11
(4)	Unqualified households ¹	3
(5)	Non-located households	1
I.	Valid households in Thon 2 Village = (1) – ((2)+(3)+(4)+(5))	35
Parum B Village		
(1)	Total of resettled household in 2012	64
(2)	Kinh households	2
(3)	Single-headed households	14
(4)	Unqualified households	6
(5)	Non-located households	-
II.	Valid households in Parum B Village = (1) – ((2)+(3)+(4)+(5))	42
	Total of valid households in Thon 2 and Parum B Villages which is used as household population (I) + (II)	77

Table 3.2 Criteria of household survey selection

The population size of research is 77 households. The confidence level is 95%, so it means that the error tolerance is 5%. Because of limited time and budget, it was difficult to expand sample size. The sampling size for household survey is chosen based on the formula below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N \cdot e^2}$$

Where,

n: The required sample size

N: Population size; and

e: Error tolerance

(Source: Slovin, 1960 cited in Do, T.D., 2014)

Then,

$$n = \frac{77}{1 + 77 \times 0.05^2} = 65$$

Reserve Samples

The total number of valid households is small. However, it was impossible to meet all the couples during the field trip. Therefore, selecting households with this formula is a suitable approach. The remaining households were put on a reserve list as respondents for other data collection tools.

Focus Group Discussions

The purposes were:

- To clarify the contributions of men and women to household income before and after resettlement.
- To clarify power structure changes in decision making before and after resettlement.
- To identify the root causes of changes in gender relations after resettlement.
- To find solutions to deal with and distribute benefits fairly.

Sample Size

Village Name	Male group (respondents)	Female group (respondents)	Mix group (2 husband and wife couples)
Thon 2	4	4	4
Pa Rum B	4	4	4
Total (Persons)	8	8	8
	24 respondents		

Table 3.3 Sampling Size of Focus Group

Sampling Technique

There were 6 focus groups in 2 villages with 34 respondents (16 males and 15 females). To make sure that participants had not participated before, purposive sampling was applied. People who had not answered for other tools

were invited to discuss together on a prepared checklist. Age level was one of the main criteria for selection; in each group, researchers tried to make sure that there were representatives of both young and old members of the community. Some old people could not speak Vietnamese well, and needed support from fellow villagers and our interpreter.

Individual In-depth Interviews (IDIs)

Individual in-depth interviews were planned to gather specific evidence from the general information of the household survey and the focus groups to bring out clearly the involuntary resettlement process and its social consequences, including changed gender relations.

Sample Size

Because of the small population, the number of respondents in this tool was just 12. There were 6 respondents (3 males and 3 females) per village interviewed, so in total this research had 12 people for 2 villages.

Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling was applied to select people from the various groups, including those excluded from the household survey and focus groups such as widow-headed households etc. Some people were selected from the household survey since the interviewer realized that those particular respondents had much interesting information. Other people who had a good understanding of the local context, such as leaders of village unions and village heads, were interviewed along with members of the Village Resettlement Development Group (a task-force group established by the ADB).

Non-participant Observation and Semi-Structured Observation

A combination of 2 techniques - non-participant observation and structured observation - was applied in the resettlement villages. While non-participant observation reminded the researcher of her position as an outside observer, semi-structured observation pointed up what needed to be observed during the field trip.

This observation methodology provided actual images of the current context. Villagers did not know what the researcher was looking for. Everything occurred naturally and objectively.

For each village and each issue, photographs were taken as visible evidence. In addition, at least 2 minutes' worth of notes were carefully recorded during the observation process based on guidelines prepared in advance.

Non-participant and structured observations were focused on:

- Livelihood models and the efficiency of livelihood training with the support of SB4HP.
- Mobility of women and men.
- Behaviors of women and men towards each other.
- Any current vulnerabilities which may impact on gender relations in future.

Key Informants

This research covered governance management, livelihood support efficiency, and gender approach. Thus, particular expertise was needed to create in-depth analysis from the interviews.

Key informants included provincial, district and commune level authorities, ADB staff, ADB consultants, university researchers and practitioners. The purposes of this methodology were:

- To understand the general picture of dam-induced resettlement in Vietnam.
- To understand ADB policies on gender and resettlement, and their practice.
- To establish the ADB view on hydropower strategies in Vietnam and in the GMS.

Local authorities, national experts, international experts and SB4HP's manager were interviewed as key informants. In all, there were 16 key respondents, of whom 14 were male and 2 were female. The author tried to contact ADB staff via the ADB website but there was no response. The researcher was also unable to contact the gender expert of the ADB NGO Forum.

SB4HP managers and consultants were considered important sources. In addition, local authorities were key persons to correct and confirm various kinds of information from local people.

The project successfully involved many Vietnamese experts and regional and international experts. They could not only comment on current Vietnam hydropower development, but also share crucial information on hydropower practices of the WB in Laos as well as ADB power strategy in the GMS. These opinions are summarized in the recommendations in chapter 9.

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

Based on working experience and social networks, a list of key informants was prepared. To make sure that we collected all necessary information on the multiple research problems, key informants were selected from different positions and functions. Snowball sampling was used to avoid missing important experts or other stakeholders. (Snowball sampling is a sampling technique in which the researcher can ask interviewed informants to introduce other informants having crucially relevant information.)

Name	Number of interviewees
Local, Vietnamese NGOs	2
National and international environment experts in hydropower development	2
National and international experts in resettlement	2
Anthropologist	1
Local authorities	5
Vietnam Electricity Group	1
SB4HP board member	1
ADB consultants on livelihood program	1
ADB consultants on Social Monitoring (VICA Consultation Company)	1
ADB staff	1
ADB NGO Forum	1
Total	18

Table 3.4 List of Key Informants

Data Processing, Data Interpretation and Data Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative data were processed and analyzed by typical techniques.

Qualitative Data

NVIVO was applied to help the researcher arrange and manage information systematically. It was not used to do any qualitative analysis. That is a limitation of this research.

Quantitative Data

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software recorded the frequency, percentage, average, means, median and cross-tabulation of questionnaires. Bar, line, and pie graphs were also drawn to illustrate the results of calculations by the SPSS.

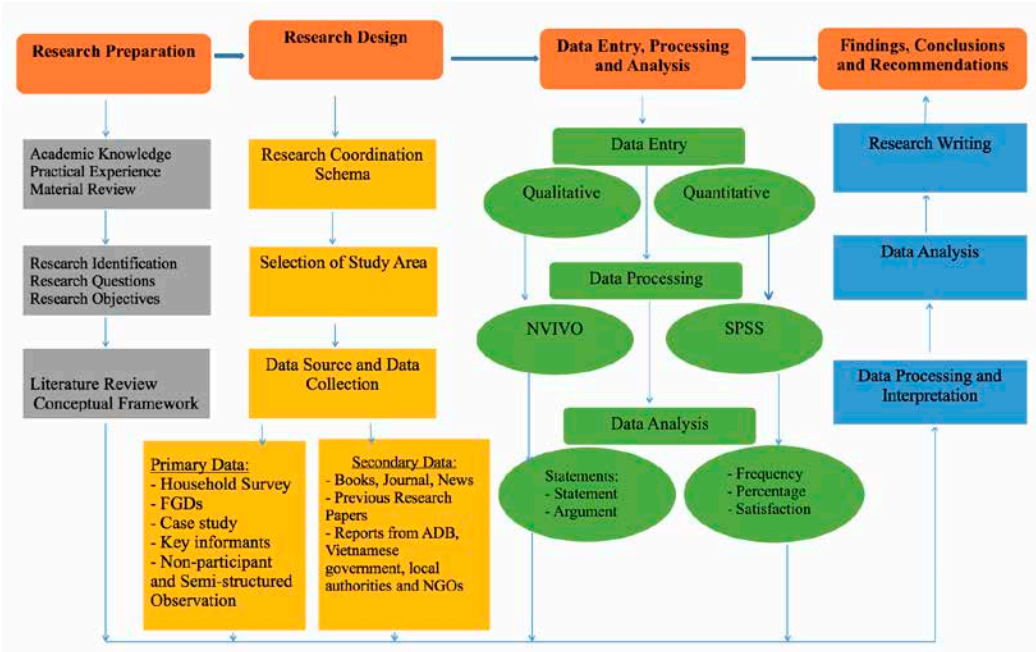


Figure 3.2 Research Design

Chapter 4

Profile of Study Site and Respondents

This chapter draws brief pictures of hydropower development in Quang Nam Province and the geography and socio–economy of Nam Giang District, selected communes, villages and respondents.

Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project (SB4HP)

Technical information

SB4HP was built on the Bung 4 River which is a tributary of the Vu Gia River, Nam Giang District, Quang Nam Province. The project is located in the biological conservation corridor agreed by the Greater Mekong Sub-region Governmental Summit in 2005¹¹ (ADB, 2007). The construction was designed on the ladder plan. Its installed capacity is 156MW with 2 turbines (78MWx2) (ASB4, 2016), and is expected to deliver 586.25 million Kwh annual average.

11 TA 6213–REG: Greater Mekong Subregion Biodiversity Conservation Corridors Initiative, approved on 17 December 2004 in the amount of USD 400,000. The intended outcome was that by 2015, GMS countries would endeavor to maintain and improve the cover, condition, and biodiversity of forestlands and associated ecosystems in priority biodiversity conservation landscapes intersecting ADB supported GMS economic corridors. The GMS governments, with support from ADB and nongovernmental organization (NGO) partners, have identified the most important biodiversity conservation landscapes in the subregion that are vulnerable to increased development pressures and environmental degradation.

SB4HP was designed primarily for electricity generation; connected with the national grid its energy is for “daily consumption and socio-economic activities” (ASB4, 2016). Other tasks such as water supply, flood control, and so on were viewed as sub-contributions of the project (ASB4, 2016).

Main Project Milestones	Time
Commencement	3/9/2010
Resettlement program accomplished in Tapo Commune	12/2010
Resettlement program accomplished in ZuoiH Commune	3/2013
River closure	16/1/2012
Impoundment	1/8/2014
Commissioning unit 1	26/9/2014
Commissioning unit 2	17/10/2014
Project completion	3/2015

Table 4.1 Project Timeline *Source: SB4HPMB report, December 2015*

During the data collection field trip, the researcher recorded that in January 2016, the extra compensation from the project budget for Parum B villagers was paid by the Land Fund Development Centre (LFDC).

The main parameters of the project:

- Normal rising water level: 222.5m
- Dead water: 195.0m
- Full capacity: 493.3 million m³
- Useful capacity: 320.7 million m³
- Surface area of the lake: 15.82 km²
- The largest flow through the plant: 171.76m³/s
- Calculate water column: 105.5m
- Installed capacity: 156MW
- Capacity guarantee: 38.68MW
- Average annual electricity output: 623.8 million kWh



Figure 4.1 Song Bung 4 Hydropower Dam *Source: Field observation, 2015*

In summary, the project has no special technique in its construction and purpose. The project is a domestic construction designed for a national purpose. In contrast with many dams worldwide which consider water regulation as the dam's first function, the SB4HP was built primarily for electricity generation, as are most Vietnamese dams.

ADB Policies in SB4HP, and Vietnamese Policies

SB4HP triggered three ADB safeguard policies: Environment; Involuntary Resettlement; and Indigenous People. Since 2009, these safeguards are included in a general ADB document called the Safeguard Policy Statement. The text below explains the Involuntary Resettlement and Indigenous Peoples Safeguards (Environment Policy is not included as it is outside the scope of this research).

Objectives of Involuntary Resettlement Safeguard: To avoid involuntary resettlement wherever possible; to minimize involuntary resettlement by exploring project and design alternatives; to enhance, or at least restore, the livelihoods of all displaced persons in real terms relative to pre-project levels;

and to improve the standards of living of the displaced poor and other vulnerable groups. (ADB, 2009:17)

Objectives of Indigenous Peoples Safeguards: To design and implement projects in a way that fosters full respect for Indigenous Peoples' identity, dignity, human rights, livelihood systems and cultural uniqueness, as defined by the Indigenous Peoples themselves so that they (i) receive culturally appropriate social and economic benefits, (ii) do not suffer adverse impacts as a result of projects, and (iii) can participate actively in projects that affect them. (ADB, 2009:18)

The ADB decided to develop a resettlement and ethnic minority development plan (REMDP) as a first step.

The critical elements of REMDP implementation consisted of:

- Establishment of Participatory Process of Updating the Village Resettlement Site Development Plan
- Participatory Monitoring of Resettlement Site Construction
- Capacity Building, Social Mobilization and Awareness Activities
- Gender Inclusiveness

To produce a gender inclusive REMDP, a gender action plan (GAP) was developed based on ADB's Gender and Development Policy and their Gender and Resettlement Checklist. As with other ADB projects, SB4HP was required to apply the Public Communications Policy (PCP) and the Accountability Mechanism (AM) during the project timeline.

Objectives of Public Communications Policy (Disclosure and Exchange of Information): to enhance stakeholders' trust in and ability to engage with ADB. To ensure ADB's operations have greater development impact, the Policy promotes: awareness and understanding of ADB activities, policies, strategies, objectives, and results; sharing and exchange of development knowledge and lessons learned, so as to provide fresh and innovative perspectives on development issues; greater two-way flow of information between ADB and its

stakeholders, including project affected people, in order to promote participatory development; and transparency and accountability of ADB operations. (ADB, 2005: ii)

Accountability Mechanism: the “last resort” for dealing with problems and non-compliance that were not prevented or solved at the project and operational levels.(ADB, 2012:vii)

Since the agreement was between the Vietnamese government and the ADB, SB4HP was subject not only to ADB safeguards policies, but also to prevailing government regulations (ASB4, 2016). In line with other hydropower projects in Vietnam, SB4HP had to follow the existing Vietnamese government legal framework. However, at the time of SB4HP’s project approval in 2008, policies on ethnic minorities did not include any specific provision for women and did not direct specific attention to gender concerns, except for a requirement to include job creation, especially for women, in restoration programs. Until Land Law 2013, concern for gender equality was limited to a requirement that, when land is owned jointly by husband and wife, both names have to appear in the land title document.

Key Stakeholders in SB4HP

Since this project was approved, tens of ADB project documents were updated on the ADB website, in Vietnamese and English. Those reports were prepared by SWECO International, a leading architectural and engineering consultancy in Europe. Project documents include the Technical Assistance Consultant’s Report (phase I, 2005), the Environment Assessment Impacts Report (phase II, 2007), the Gender Action Plan (2010), the Resettlement and Ethnic Minority Development Plan (REMDP) (2010, 2011, 2012), the Environment Monitoring Report, and the Social Monitoring Report (12 reports).

SB4HP required cooperation between the lender, the contractor, the central government, local authorities and the affected people. The SB4HP Management Board (SB4HPMB) was set up with 47 employees, including resettlement specialists and social development experts. The REMDP was

undertaken by the Canadian Co-operative Housing Federation.¹² The compensation process for affected people was decided by the Quang Nam Province People's Committee (Quang Nam PCP, 2014). The resettlement program was carried out by the Nam Giang District People's Committee with the District Resettlement Committee responsible for the details. The Resettlement Management Implementation Units were built up under the Resettlement Committee. The Land Fund Development Centre, a district department, dealt directly with compensation based on land measurement. Each village had a village resettlement development group (VRDG) established under a grant from the project (from the Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction), to monitor construction in the residential zones. To make sure of the quality of these two important programs, the ADB nominated an international social consultancy and an international gender expert, based in the residential zone. VICA Consultants International Ltd, a Vietnamese NGO, carried out the social monitoring for all social activities implemented under the project. VICA monitored progress every 6 months from 2009 till the end of 2015. Vietnam Electricity (EVN) was responsible for following up and monitoring the environmental impacts, and making quarterly reports to the Quang Nam Department of Natural Resources and Environment in accordance with government regulations.

12 CHF is a Canadian NGO with over 40 years' experience in sustainable livelihood development worldwide and 10 years' experience in Vietnam in particular.

Influence relationship

Monitoring relationship

Cooperative linkage

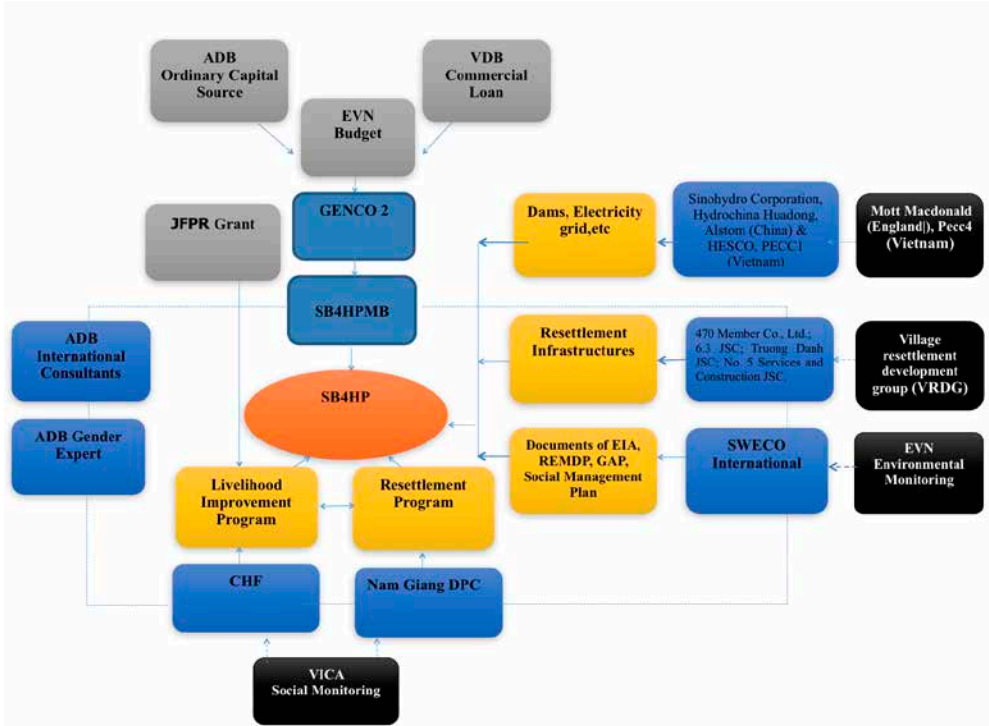


Figure 4.2 Stakeholders diagram of Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project

Note: GENCO 2 (Power Generation Corporation 2), part of EVN group, produces and supplies electricity

Scope and Impacts of SB4H

Upstream, the project impacted on three communes in Nam Giang District, namely Tapo, Cha Val and ZuoiH. In total four villages - Thon 2, Padhy, Parum A and Parum B - were moved due to reservoir inundation. Roughly 232 households, with 965 people, had to be relocated. They were all Co Tu ethnic minority households, except for five Kinh households. One host village, Papang, had five households affected due to land acquisition to prepare the resettlement site for Thon 2 Village. There were three villages - Vinh, Cong Don and Taul - which were affected by land acquisition for the project.

Affected village	Total population	Women	Men	No. hhs headed by women	No. of girls < 18 years old	No. of boys < 18 years old
Padhy	274	149	125	6	72	49
Papang	137	72	65	3	39	38
Parum A	205	104	101	3	54	37
Parum B	281	151	130	6	62	47
Thon 2	247	119	128	9	48	64
Total	1,144	595	549	27	275	235

Table 4.2 Number of People Affected by Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project

Source: ADB (2015)

Downstream SB4HP plus several other dams added to the depletion of water resources in the Vu River system, causing water shortages in the summer and unusual flooding in the rainy season, most seriously in the communities of Nam Giang, Dai Loc, and Dien Ban Districts of Quang Nam Province, and some other districts of Danang City. However, there is no ADB policy for downstream impacts, so downstream communities have received no compensation from the ADB. This should be considered as a gap in ADB policies.

No.	Items	Acreage (ha)	Percentage (%)
1	Reservoir	1,582.14	70.24
2	Dam and weir	43.51	1.93
3	Hydropower plants and electricity distribution stations	24.62	1.09
4	Power grids and Transportation	17.24	0.77
5	Other	585.04	25.97
	Summary	2, 252.43	100.00

Table 4.3 Land areas affected by Song Bung 4 Hydropower Plant

Source: SB4HPMB (2013)

As with other domestic hydropower projects, SB4HP occupies a lot of land. The total area of land lost in this project is 2, 252.43 ha, with the reservoir accounting for 1,582.14 ha, or 70.24 percent. The government required the forest areas lost to the dam to be replaced by forest plantation. According to the former director of SB4HP, Mr. Truong Thiet Hung, this was done.

Quang Nam Province and Hydropower Development

General information

Quang Nam is a coastal province in the Central Region of Vietnam. It is adjacent to Danang and Thua Thien Hue Provinces in the North, Quang Ngai and Kon Tum Provinces in the South, to Lao PDR in the West, and to the Eastern Sea in the East.



Figure 4.3 Quang Nam Province Map

Quang Nam Province has a varied terrain. It ranks 6th largest among the 63 provinces of Vietnam, with an area of 10,438.4 km². The terrain slopes from the West to the East and forms three ecological regions - highland, midland and coastal plains. Mountainous areas account for more than 70% of the land. The average rainfall is quite high, roughly 2,000-2,500 mm/year. Quang Nam Province has a dense river system in which the Vu Gia – Thu Bon River Basin is the largest, followed by the Tam Ky River: total river basin areas are approximately 9,000 km² and 800 km² respectively. There are also several smaller rivers, namely the Cu De, Tuy Loan, Li Li and so on. Quang Nam Province is eminently suited to hydropower development (CSRD, 2013).

Quang Nam is ethnically diverse. At the end of 2012, the total population was 1,435,629, and population density averaged 139 people/ km². The four permanent ethnic minority groups are the Co Tu, the Co, the Gie Trieng, and the Xe Dang. 81.4% of the population live in rural areas - higher than the national average.

Dam Density in Quang Nam Province

Quang Nam is a province of hydropower dams. On September 25th 2012, Quang Nam People's Committee announced the Master Plan of Investment Implementation for Hydropower Projects No. 148/BC-UBND, in which 41 projects had been approved up to the third quarter of 2013. Tens of hydropower plants are under pre-feasibility study. The total capacity of these projects is 1,587.1 MW and the average yearly electricity generation is 6.282 million KWh/year (see more at appendix 2).

The Vu Gia – Thu Bon river basin is the biggest in the province and is where SB4HP and many other hydropower plants are operating or are under construction or awaiting approval. The dams all have electricity as their first function, so other tasks related to water supply and flood control have not been included in the designs. Complaints from downstream communities are getting much attention from journalists and social and environmental experts.



Figure 4.4 Master plan of cascade hydropower on Vu Gia-Thu Bon River Basin
 Basin Source: ICEM (2008), cited in CSRD (2014)

Hydropower development in Quang Nam Province, especially in the Vu Gia River Basin, is very controversial. Since a serious flood in Quang Nam Province caused by its dams, including the A Vuong HP in 2000, and earthquake

damage of Song Tranh 2 HP, the dams are a great worry to people living in downstream communities. Several researches, workshops and meetings were held by the Vietnam Rivers Network (VRN) from 2012. The VRN was worried that “local communities are suffering from complex resettlement issues leading to an unstable quality of life” (CSRD, 2013: 42). The VRN are continuing their research.

We realize that there is no good resettlement in which affected people have a better life and a sustainable livelihood. The adaptive capacity of indigenous people is very weak. The process of resettlement as well as livelihood programs are very poor in quality. Our advocacy aim is to minimize the number of hydropower plants in Quang Nam Province, especially in the Vu Gia – Thu Bon River Basin. Many dams now in place are already beyond the endurance of the inhabitants around this river basin. (Ms. Lam Thi Thu Suu, VRN coordinator in Central Vietnam)

In short, Quang Nam is well-known for its potential for hydropower development, and is much criticized by social and environmental experts. Even though the Quang Nam People’s Committee has rejected 3 hydropower project proposals, the number of dams in this province is still very high.

Nam Giang District

Geography

Nam Giang is a mountainous border district of Quang Nam Province. It is 70 km from Da Nang City to the southwest and 20 km from Tam Ky Town to the west. It is adjacent to Dong Giang and Tay Giang Districts in the north, Dai Loc, Nong Son and Que Son Districts in the East, Phuoc Son District and Kon Tom Province in the South, and to Lao PDR in the West, with a border crossing point at Dac Oc. Highways are in good condition for socio-economic development, including Ho Chi Minh Highway, Truong Son East Highway, and 14B and 14 D Highways.

The district has 1 town and 11 communes. Thanh My Central Town, Ca Dy Commune, TaBinh Commune, Tapo Commune are in the lowland areas,

while Chà Vål Commune, ZuoiH Commune, Dac Pre Commune, Dac Pring Commune, La Dee Commune, Dac Toi Commune, La EE Commune, Cho Chun Commune are in the highlands.

Weather

Located in the western mountainous area of Quang Nam Province, the climate in Nam Giang District is influenced by East Truong Son's climate. There are two seasons: the rainy season starting in September until January, and the dry season from February to August. Average annual temperature is around 22.5° C (highest 38° C and lowest 8° C). Average annual rainfall is 2.230 mm and on average it rains 189 days/year, mainly in the rainy season. Average yearly humidity is approximately 80 - 85% (the highest percentage is 97 and the lowest is 50). During the rainy season, the weather is often foggy, and sometimes frost is threatened. Monsoon prevails in two dimensions: the Northeast monsoon from September to February usually causes rain and storms; the Southwest monsoon from March to September often brings hot winds and dry weather in May, June and July. Upstream there are large streams, and flash floods often occur.

Population

As Nam Giang is a mountainous district, population and population density are low. According to the Statistical Yearbook 2012, total population was 23,179 comprising 5,016 households of which 1,217 were Kinh, 2,700 Co Tu, 1,009 Gie Trieng and 90 of other ethnic groups. The highest population density belonged to Thanh My Town, the center of the district, with a population of 7,061 and 33.60 person/km². In border communes including La Ee Commune, Dac Pring Commune, Cho Chun Commune and Dac Toi Commune, people were sparse. The total population in those communes was less than 1,000 each.

No.	Name	Population (Person)	Population density (Person/Km2)	Labor (Person)	Villages
	All districts	23,179	12.60	12,664	63
1	Thanh My Town	7,061	33.60	3,857	10
2	Dy Commune	2,995	14.90	1,637	8
3	Ta Binh Com- mune	1,996	14.80	1,090	7
4	Cha Val Com- mune	2,541	19.70	1,388	6
5	La Dee Com- mune	1,412	12.40	771	6
6	La Ee Commune	889	6.70	486	3
7	Dac Pree Com- mune	1,228	12.40	671	4
8	Dac Pring Commune	990	3.20	541	4
9	ZuoiH Commune	1,192	7.40	652	4
10	Cho Chun Commune	951	8.70	520	3
11	Dac Toi Com- mune	833	12.10	455	4
12	Tapo Commune	1,091	6.20	596	4

Table 4.3 Information on population and labor force in Nam Giang District in 2012 *Source: Nam Giang Statistical Yearbook (2012)*

Socio-Economic Status

The socio-economy of Nam Giang District has changed in recent years, with handicrafts, commerce and tourism added to agro-forestry.

Quang Nam Province receives support from government programs. Total investment of public funds in Nam Giang over the years 2010-2015 was over 153 billion VND, of which 31 billion was for basic infrastructure. Other

capital investment from government bonds and enterprises has also contributed to upgrade infrastructure and promote economic and social development.

Most of the communes have roads to the town center, and some roads have been concreted. Irrigation systems are being rebuilt and upgraded to make sure the canals can supply enough water for over 66% of the rice; over 80% of households use water from the rural water programs and projects for mountainous areas; and a dozen or so towns and communes have office buildings. The district hospital and three commune health stations are being upgraded to meet basic health care needs.

Land Loss due to SB4HP

As is usual with hydroelectric dams, SB4HP took a lot of land. This affected people whose livelihoods relied on land and natural resources. Agricultural land and natural forest land were the worst hit. Figures for Tapo Commune and ZuoiH Commune are given below.

Tapo Commune and ZuoiH Commune Profile

General Information

Tapo Commune and ZuoiH Commune are two remote communes in Nam Giang District. They are difficult of access being located in highland areas. Thanks to SB4HP, the roads were upgraded, but they are still poor. According to the Agriculture and Rural Development Department of Nam Giang District, 8.99 km out of 21.84 km of road have been downgraded by poor construction and bad weather.

Tapo and ZuoiH Communes have 7160.8 ha of total land area of which ZuoiH accounts for 3115.9 ha and Tapo Commune 4044.9. The area can be divided specifically by each type of land as follows:

- Farmland: 476.2 ha;
- Forestland: 4962.4 ha;
- Non-agricultural land: 417.5 ha;
- Resident land: 7.4 ha;
- Unused land: 1298.4 ha.

TaPo and ZuoiH are poor communes, and as such have received much support from national programs, including the *National Rural Clean Water Supply and Sanitation Strategy*, the National Target Program on Sustainable Poverty Reduction; the National Target Program-New Rural Development, and so on. The 135 Program¹³ provided 137,700 acacia varieties, 7 breeding cows, 6 breeding pigs and 2 rice cutting machines. Another program distributed 659 poultry. In accordance with government regulations, most of those programs were implemented by local authorities.

Tapo Commune

Tapo Commune is some 22km from the district center. It is adjacent to Tay Giang District in the North, Dac Pring Commune in the South, ZuoiH Commune in the West and Ta Bhing Commune in the East.

No.	Land use purpose	Before Song Bung 4 Construction (ha)	After Song Bung 4 Construction (ha)	Up (+) Down (-)
	Natural land	17,563.91	17,563.91	
1	Agriculture land	15,727.13	15,137.56	- 589.57
1.1	Cultivation land	434.38	335.30	- 99.08
1.2	Annual crop land	341.26	259.99	- 81.27
1.3	Perennial crop land	93.12	75.31	-17.81
2	Forest land	15,291.15	14,800.66	- 490.49
2.1	Productive forest land	1,547.30	1,260.81	- 286.49
2.2	Protective forest land	9,313.85	9,313.85	- 76.54
2.3	Specialized use forest land	4,353.46	4,226.00	- 127.46
3	Aquaculture land	0.15	00	- 0.15
4	Other agricultural land	1.60	1.60	00

Table 4.4 Land areas in Tapo Commune before and after Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Construction *Source: Tapo CPC, 2013*

13 A government poverty reduction program for specific targeted poor household groups and regions, to increase the opportunities for poor households to benefit from economic growth.

As the table above shows, 99.08 ha of cultivation land, accounting for 22.61% of the total, was lost to the project. 490 ha of forest land was lost. These losses raise concerns about the livelihoods of people who relied on those resources.

ZuoiH Commune

ZuoiH is located 58km from the district centre, in the far Northwest. It is near to Tay Giang District in the North, to ChaVal Town in the South, La Ee Commune in the West and Tapo Commune in the East.

No.	Land use purpose	Before Song Bung 4	Land use purpose	Before Song Bung 4
	Natural land	16,012.15	16,012.15	00
1	Agriculture land	14,893.00	13,827.14	-1,065.86
1.1	Cultivation land	682.90	350.20	- 332.70
1.2	Annual crop land	480.09	287.75	- 192.34
1.3	Perennial crop land	202.81	62.45	-140.36
2	Forest land	14,204.72	13,473.58	- 731.14
2.1	Productive forest land	2,398.29	1,827.58	- 570.71
2.2	Protective forest land	11,806.43	11,646.00	- 160.43
2.3	Specialized use forest land	00	00	- 0.00
3	Aquaculture land	4.18	2.16	- 2.02
4	Other agriculture land	1.20	1.20	00

Table 4.5 Land areas in ZuoiH Commune before and after Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Construction *Source: ZuoiH CPC, 2013*

Huge amounts of agricultural and forest land were lost to SB4HP. Roughly 332.70 ha of cultivation land, accounting for 48.72 % of the total, was converted to reservoir. This was a main livelihood source for local people. The loss of 731.14 ha of forest land affected underground and surface water conservation, and hence the ecological environment.

Thon 2 Village and Parum B Village Profile

The strategy was to minimize the disturbance of resettlement. New locations were as near as possible to old locations, in the hope that old relationships among affected villagers would be preserved.

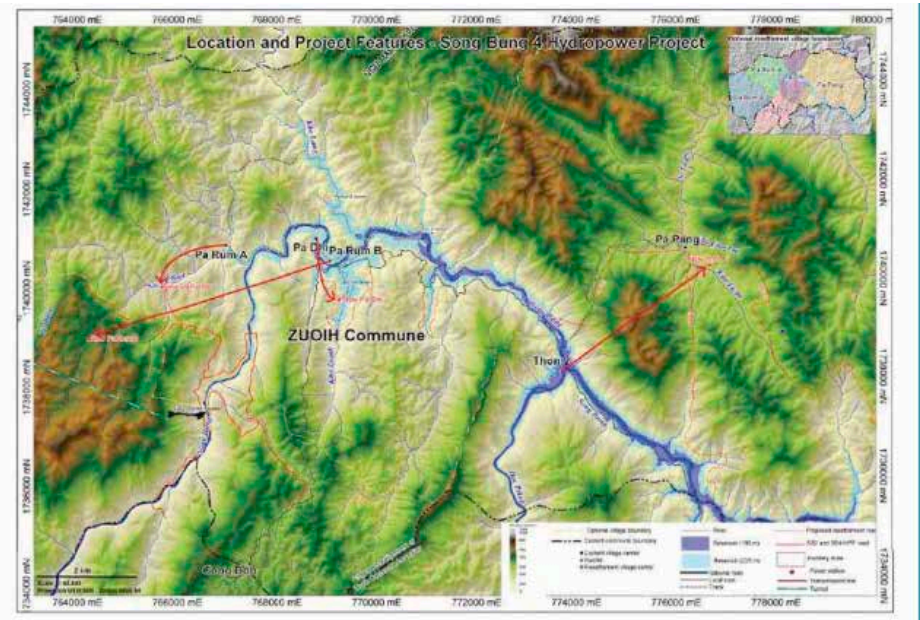


Figure 4.5 Map of Project Areas *Source: ADB, 2010*

Thon 2 Village

Thon 2 village was merged from two host villages named Pa Ghi and Pa Zo in ZuoiH Commune in 1991. According to the elderly, those two villages had changed their location at least seven times since the 1970s - the people just moved around Bung River and its tributaries to find a good place for their farming, and for other reasons related to their traditional beliefs. Before displacement, Thon 2 Village added more households to its administration, consisting of seven households in Khe Buar Hamlet, five households in Ra Rong Hamlet and two households living along the road from Thon 2 Village to the center of ZuoiH Commune.

Due to SB4HP, Thon 2 Village was forcibly displaced into Papang mountain village and is now in Tapo Commune. Thon 2 Village moved 7 km away from its former village. Before resettlement the number of households in Thon 2 Village was 53, with 247 people. At the research time, the numbers were 66 and 255 respectively.

Parum B Village

Parum B Village also changed its location at least nine times between 1954 and 1982. In the past, Parum B was located near Parum A, next to the Bung River, and was accessible by river crossing from Padhy Village. Now it is 14 km away from its former site, and roughly 14 km away from the new commune centre. Before resettlement the number of households in Parum B Village was 64, with 281 people. At the research time, the numbers were 73 and 295 respectively.

Respondents profile

189 respondents were interviewed in this research, and provided different levels of information according to their background and the functions of each data collection tool. The author tried to balance the gender ratio of respondents. Most of the tools have equal number of males and females, except the key informant tool which was designed for interviewing people with specific knowledge related to research objectives, where precedence could not be given to gender balance.

Data Collection Tool	Male	Female	Total
Household survey	65	65	130
In-depth inter-views	6	6	12
Focus groups	16	15	31
Key informants	13	3	16
Total	100	89	189

Table 4.6 Number of respondents by gender-disaggregated data

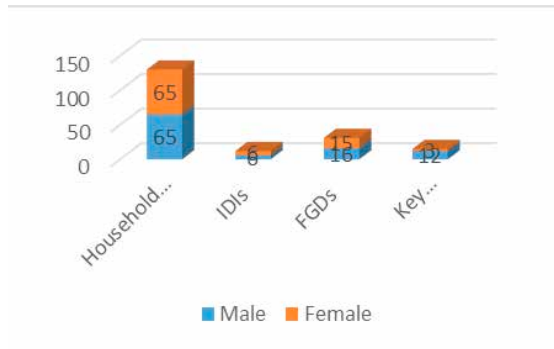


Figure 4.6 Number of respondents by gender-disaggregated data

Household Survey

As noted earlier, households were carefully selected by purposive sampling, first to choose resettled households in the ADB compensation list, and then to choose couples who were capable of answering questions accurately. Systematic sampling was then applied to select the sampling for this tool. In total, 65 couples were interviewed. The youngest person was 23 years old, and the oldest 72 years old. Some of them were illiterate, and got translation help from other local people during the interviews. They were divided into 5 age groups:

	Number	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 18-30	31	23.8	23.8	23.8
31-40	45	34.6	34.6	58.5
41-50	29	22.3	22.3	80.8
51-60	21	16.2	16.2	96.9
>60	4	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	130	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.7 Age of Survey Respondents

Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130 husbands and wives)

According to Marriage and Family Law, marriage age for women is 18 and over, and for men 22 and over. Before and during the resettlement process, some young couples who had just got married decided to separate from their extended families. By doing so, they got housing land from the project. Some old couples were not selected because they were too old and had some mental

problems. Average life expectancy in Co Tu communities is low, at around 60 years old. Many women become grandmothers before they are 40. Most of the women got married at 13; as a result, they look much older than Kinh people of the same age.

Regarding education levels, even though there were not many old people in the sample, the level of illiteracy was high. 28 out of the 130 people were illiterate, mostly old women. A few people had vocational or college/university certificates, mostly among the young groups, plus some middle-aged people who got college certificates after pursuing part-time study. Most of the men underwent this type of education downtown after getting married. Few women could follow suit because of their child-bearing and -rearing duties. Paradoxically, more young women than men had reached high school. This reflects a new trend among young people in ethnic minorities – over the last 10 years economic growth in Vietnam has risen rapidly, and a lot of awareness raising activities on gender equality have been carried out in order to make rural and mountain people aware that there is no discrimination of education opportunity as between boys and girls.

			Marital Relationship		Total
			Husband	Wife	
Education	Illiteracy	Count	15	13	28
		% within Marital Relationship	23.1%	20.0%	21.5%
	Literacy	Count	12	19	31
		% within Marital Relationship	18.5%	29.2%	23.8%
	Primary School	Count	16	12	28
		% within Marital Relationship	24.6%	18.5%	21.5%
	Secondary School	Count	15	12	27
		% within Marital Relationship	23.1%	18.5%	20.8%
	High School	Count	1	8	9
		% within Marital Relationship	1.5%	12.3%	6.9%
	Vocational School	Count	4	0	4
		% within Marital Relationship	6.2%	0.0%	3.1%
	College/ University	Count	2	1	3
		% within Marital Relationship	3.1%	1.5%	2.3%
Total		Count	65	65	130
		% within Marital Relationship	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 4.8 Education Level of Survey Respondents by Gender

Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130 husbands and wives)

It is easy to see the awareness change when people look at the education level of current generations, who are children of resettled couples. There are three college students in Parum B Village, all of them girls. In Thon 2 Village two college students and one university student are girls. (They are not in the sample selection).

In-depth Interviews and Focus Groups

Since the villagers in Parum B and Thon 2 Villages have low education, respondents in the in-depth interviews and focus groups have the same level. Most of the respondents with low education now work in their villages as farmers. Some of them are leaders of village unions. Some young respondents have higher education, but have no permanent job outside their village. Other respondents with bachelor degrees are working in the commune office.

Data collection tool	Illiteracy	Literacy	Primary	Secondary school	High school	Under-graduate Education	Total
IDIs	2	3	3	1	1	2	12
FGDs	7	8	10	5	2	2	34
Total	9	11	15	6	3	4	46

Table 4.9 Education levels of In-depth Interview and Focus Group respondents *Source: IDIs and FGDs, 2015*

Key Informants

It was planned to interview 18 key informants including at least one ADB staff member and one gender expert from the NGO Forum on ADB¹⁴. The 16 key informants whom we were able to interview are summarized in Fig. 1.13 below, and listed in appendix 1.

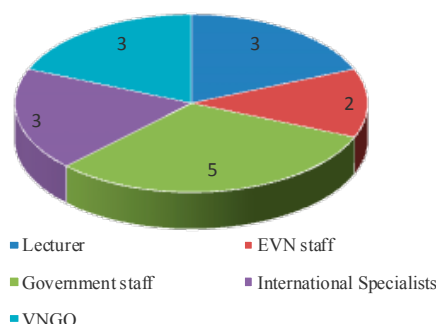


Figure 4.7 Occupation category of key informants

Source: Key informants, 2015

¹⁴ The *NGO Forum on ADB* call themselves “an Asian-led network of civil society organizations (CSOs), based in Asia and the Pacific region”. The head office is in Quezon City, Philippines

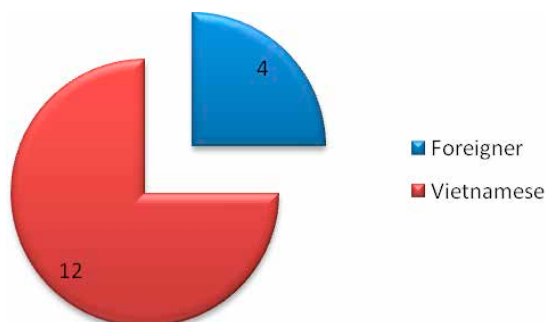


Figure 4.8 Nationality of key informants *Source: Key informants, 2015*

The education level of key informants is high. Five government staff including chairman of Tapo Commune, chairman of ZuoiH Commune, staff of DOLISA in Nam Giang, staff of DONRE in Nam Giang, and a vice deputy of A Luoi DPC had bachelor degrees. Other respondents from NGOs, Universities, EVN, or working as international specialists, have post-graduate degrees.

In short, the study achieved its objective in gender-aggregated data, but faced some obstacles because of the imbalance in education level of the respondents. Apart from the key informants, the respondents had a very low level of education. This led to many difficulties in the data collection process. The main researcher got support from one local interpreter (Vietnamese to Co Tu). Another research assistant who graduated in sociology also worked in this research in the field, doing interviews and supporting focus group discussions. Because of the low education level of respondents, after the pre-test stage, many questions in the household survey questionnaire were skipped. Many people could not remember or provided some incorrect numbers or information. To avoid low quality answers, the toolkit was used very flexibly.

Chapter 5

Gender-inclusive Programs in Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Area

This chapter describes all the gender-inclusive programs in the SB4HP project, under Vietnamese government and ADB policies, to see how the programs were carried out in resettlement areas. Are they effective or not? How do they impact on women and men?

Gender and Community Participation in Meetings

Gender studies often show that women do not have the chance to participate in community meetings. However, this study reflects a contrary situation, where many women do participate but feel their roles in community meetings to be a burden. This may suggest a new approach for gender study in community participation.

SB4HP was expected to be a leading example of gender-inclusivity, particularly in resettlement for locals who lost land to hydropower projects in Vietnam, as well as for other infrastructure development projects in the GMS generally. The ADB required both husband and wife to take part in the meetings that they held in villages. Most of the meetings involved issues of resettlement, compensation and livelihood training. The requirement that both husband and wife attend was aimed at minimizing gender imbalance in the meetings.

Gender imbalance in village meetings happens in almost every village in Vietnam. There are several reasons. First of all, gender balance is never in the mindset of the villagers. It doesn't matter whether husband or wife represents the family; information will be shared with the other spouse after the meeting. Secondly, almost all villagers are manual workers, with many jobs to do in the house and on the farm, so each family will send one member to a meeting. Thirdly, it is obvious that the meetings are time consuming, but participants do not get any allowance for their participation. So the villagers prefer to stay at home working. The ADB consider that gender imbalance leads to gender inequality because opportunities to access information are unequal. To avoid this in Vietnam, the ADB decided to invite both husband and wife to join their meetings and training sessions, providing VND 100,000 (USD 4.74) per person per day as an allowance. ADB's rule was that every meeting must have at least 30 per cent women participants.

Several respondents confirmed this, saying that in most ADB meetings numbers of male and female participants were quite balanced. There were two reasons for this: first, affected people wanted to join the meetings because they were aware of their importance, being related to compensation, resettlement process and livelihood alternatives. (And the villagers were also attracted by the meeting allowance, which they rarely gained from meetings held by local governments.)

During that time, we were willing to join ADB meetings because we were available. We had stopped farming activities on our land and waited for resettlement. We were much concentrated on the project meetings because of our benefits. We were much concerned about the compensation rate that would be provided. Thus we needed to join the meetings. In addition, at that time, we had not yet received our compensation, so the meeting allowance helped us a lot (In-depth interview, married woman, 31 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

However, gender balance at meetings happened only during the project period. Currently, with encouragement from village leaders, few couples join a meeting at the same time. Most villagers return to their old way where husband and wife take turns to join the meetings. To the question "Who usually goes to village (not ADB) meetings before and after resettlement?" the answers of

130 respondents can be divided into four groups: “Husband”; “Wife”; “both husband and wife”; and “Other family members”. In terms of joining meetings before resettlement, 56 people said their wives were the representative in village meetings, 55 said both husband and wife, and 11 that it was the husband. Eight people said another family member. In response to the same question but for the time after resettlement, 60 people answered “Both husband and wife,” 48 answered “Wife”, 12 said “Husband” and 10 said “Others”.

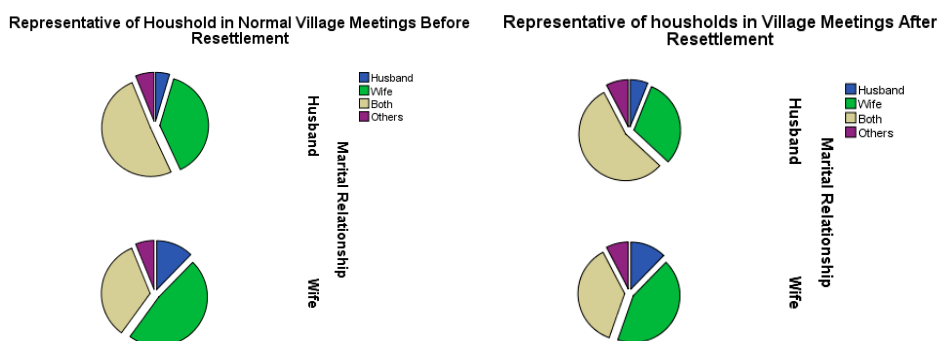


Figure 5.1 Sex-disaggregated Data on Participation in Community Meetings Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130 husbands and wives)

By using sex-segregated data, it is easy to recognize a clear difference between answers given by husbands and wives. Most women said that they went to most meetings while men said that both husband and wife shared this public obligation equally.

In informal discussion, when women and men were asked “*What is gender equality?*” most of them could describe it generally by giving examples. Even though many villagers are illiterate, they are familiar with the term. Nevertheless, local people behaved according to traditional Co Tu gender culture. Their perception was that women were obliged to take part in village meetings. Village meetings add to women’s burdens. Surprisingly, men did not like to join meetings such as livelihood training or about village elections.

Sometimes, I feel tired of meetings. My husband is free to drink alcohol the whole day. He pushes me to the village meetings. After a day of hard work on the farm, I have to cook food for the family. With the meetings, I have to do things in

a rush to get there on time. (In-depth interview, married woman, 38 years old, Thon 2 village, 2015).

Paradoxically, although the women had to join the meetings they did not have the right to make decisions, apart from decisions at meetings of the Women's Union or the Farmers' Union. (Most members of the Farmers' Union are female.)

Women participate in meetings more often than men. Normally, men are not interested in meetings. However, if it is an important meeting, men will join instead of their spouse. Despite women participating in meetings, they are not allowed to make important decisions. But men make their own decisions in meetings without consulting their wives. (In-depth interview, married man, 44 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

It seems that some women were happy with the ADB's requirement that both husband and wife come to meetings. Women thought that if both husband and wife attended they could understand relevant issues more easily. They did not really need their husbands' explanations. Some men did not really want to share what they learnt from the meetings. If a meeting was important, and the family was busy at the time, the husbands would leave the wives to get on with the work while they went to the meeting. The wives felt uncomfortable about being left behind.

It depended on his mood after the meeting whether or not he would share the meeting's content with me. He might shout at me "Why do I have to tell you about that?" if he got drunk or he was unhappy after the meeting. I wanted to take part in meetings related to loans, but my husband often wouldn't let me. One day, he said that he was the right person to go to finance meetings because he knew what should be decided, about bank loans, for instance. (Married woman, 27 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).



Figure 5.2 Men standing in front of Guol House (village common house) after a finance meeting, Thon 2 Village Source: *Field trip observation, 2015*

However, this is not to say that no couples joined village meetings after ADB finished their project. Some women said they would join the meeting if they were free and wanted to go. These women – who were not very many - had a strong voice in their families. Often they could join in decision making if their husbands were open-minded. Those women also said that the ADB training had a positive effect on their husband's perceptions.

Men were eager to join meetings which included partying and drinking. They often pushed their wives to join instead if the meetings were to provide information or announcements. That is no good. But we should look at it in a positive way. Even if women were pushed to join and they felt tired of the meetings, they at least had the chance to improve their awareness. It is much better than if the men kept them at home all the time. ADB's requirement of using a quota system for meetings is a good way to change community perceptions and provides an equal opportunity for women and men. (Key informant, Vietnamese Social Consultant for Social Monitoring Program in SB4HP, 2015).

In summary, SB4HPP was the first hydropower project in Vietnam that paid great attention to gender balance in community participation, with a quota setting of 30 per cent of women taking part in meetings and training. This did contribute to raising awareness of gender equality in the community; and, at least, it gave women the chance to access the same information as the men. However, the project duration was short, and its impact was not sufficient to totally change men's and women's behavior on participation by gender.

Gender and Community Participation in Monitoring

To comply with Vietnamese rules and ADB safeguard policies, a taskforce group was established in each resettled village to monitor local infrastructure. According to the Vietnamese Ordinance No. 34/2007/PL-UBTVQH11 on Grassroots Democracy, issued in 2007, villagers have the right to monitor all construction projects in their residential areas, and constructors have to respect villagers' opinions. There is no specific mention of gender equality, but the Vietnamese Government Gender Equality Law was in force.

ADB documents on the other hand showed awareness of gender sensibilities. Requirements in the ADB Policy on Gender and Development, the application of a Gender Action Plan (GAP) and a Resettlement and Ethnic Minority Development Plan (REMDP) were adopted. Gender mainstreaming was applied in the design, implementation and monitoring of the project. There were four local taskforce groups, formed under the name of Village Resettlement Development Group (VRDG), in the four resettled villages

The VRDG includes both men and women from affected villages with at least 44% women. Under the Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction (JFPR) project, VRDG members have been trained in basic knowledge of construction issues, leadership skills, and monitoring skills. The VRDG is the focal point to plan and implement activities. The VRDG has monitored construction work in resettlement sites and provided feedback to the SB4 engineers and construction contractors. Weekly monitoring visits and meetings have been set up and the teams, including VRDG, SB4 engineers, constructors, ADB, and JFPR Community Facilitators, conducted monitoring and addressed issues identified during monitoring visits. Men and women

were selected to participate in choosing resettlement sites, upland, wet rice land and forestry land, and the implementation of all resettlement activities. (Key informant, SB4HP's director, male, 2015).

Contractors did not always take heed of villagers' concerns:

When we saw the design of the bridge, we told the contractors we did not agree with it. However, they did not change and as a result, we suffer from it today. That type of bridge has a short life. Handrails are short and sparse; hence children can easily fall in the river. It is narrow as well and fit for only one-lane traffic. Two motorbikes at once is impossible. Many motorcyclists fell off because of slippery and sloping roads at the ends of the bridge. We worry for the safety of our children. (In-depth interview, married man, 43 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).



Figure 5.3 Children playing dangerously on bridge in Parum B Village
(picture was taken in dry season) Source: Field trip observation, 2015

During the project period, all members of VRDG felt proud of their work because of their contribution to the resettlement process in the villages. Monitoring is a long-term process, from pre-resettlement to post-resettlement.

When the project is completed, there is no mechanism to keep these groups running. Their operation depends on the self-motivation of group members. Some have it, others don't.

In one case there were several members who could not continue for personal reasons, but no plan to replace them.

I got married and lived with my husband's family for some years. They belong to another ethnic minority group, and they have a different lifestyle. I could not adapt. When my husband went to study downtown I came back to this village to be with my parents. Some people in the VRDG are busy or moved to other places. We did not maintain the group as well as when the project was on-going. (In-depth interview, married women, VRDG member, 27 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

In Thon 2 Village, the VRDG has worked very well, and some members were trained to become village plumbers for the fresh water system. Unfortunately, the contractors did not cooperate, and this caused some serious practical problems.

Constructors installed water pipes but did not tell us where they were. The water pipes now get clogged with garbage and we cannot fix them. The constructors are not here and commune staff cannot trace the pipe connection. No one knows where the pipe is so we cannot deal with problems. The water tank in the Guol house is our only source of water for year-round use. (In-depth interview, female village leader, VRDG member, 34 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

Thus a minor mistake can lead to a big problem. Ethnic minority groups in Vietnam have long been considered as vulnerable people or low class. Others look down on them so their opinions were not taken seriously. At the time this research was going on, a village head said that ADB and a group of people came to check the fresh water system. However, a few days later, the problems occurred again. Many households did not have fresh water during the *Tet* holiday¹⁵.

15 Vietnamese Lunar New Year

It seems that poor practical implementation is common in most infrastructure projects, even if international standards were applied.

Almost all infrastructure projects funded by MDBs have used international standards to minimize negative impacts on indigenous people. However, in reality, the application of these standards was not quite suitable to local rules and regulations or to the individual expectations of indigenous people. (Key informant, Mr. Le Anh Tuan, Environment Expert, Can Tho University, 2015).

Even though the Vietnamese Government has a valid policy on grassroots democracy in project monitoring, the number of government staff adhering to the policy is very low. SB4HP did well by establishing focal point groups based on resettlement residents, and there is no doubt that project management was more efficient thanks to the support from local people. Likewise, the indigenous people themselves felt happy because they were respected by others. Local people know the issues and indigenous knowledge is the best solution for any problem. Project stakeholders should change their perception of indigenous people. A full set of safeguard policies on desks is important, but practical implementation is what really counts.

Equal Entitlement on Land Certificates and Bank Accounts

Equal entitlement on land certificates and bank accounts were outstanding points in favor of SB4HP. Women's rights of access to and control of important household properties were recognized. Following ADB safeguard policies and complying with the Vietnamese legal framework, ADB cooperated well with the Department of Natural Resources and Environment of Nam Giang District (DONRE) and the Agriculture and Rural Development Bank.

The livelihoods of the Co Tu people depend on land, which is therefore of the utmost importance to them, especially as they have less land in resettlement areas. Traditionally, Co Tu women, especially old women, have low status in family and society. Their key role is in farm and housework. As with other ethnic minority groups, men are household heads and sons the preferred inheritors of land. A new Vietnamese Land Law issued in 2013 is regarded as a significant achievement of gender equality. Under this law, all

land owned by husband and wife has to be registered in both husband and wife's names. Based on this legal framework, the ADB facilitated Nam Giang District DONRE to provide land certificates in husband's and wife's names for affected households. (Many hydropower projects carry out this task slowly, and have not finished providing new land certificates by the time the project is complete.)

The main goal of the equal land ownership policy is to ensure that affected people in resettlement areas have sustainable livelihoods based on gender equality and social justice. By getting women involved in community meetings and other awareness-raising activities on gender equality, SB4HP has raised the awareness of affected people on women's rights and other legal frameworks. Well-built infrastructure and awareness change traditional gender relations and give women more chance to access and control resources, and to set up their own political networks.

Women are happy to be named on land certificates. Drunken husbands used to shout "go away from my house". But now women can shout back "my name is on this land too". (In-depth interview, married woman, 63 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

Unlike other hydropower projects in Vietnam, SB4HP brought in a local Vietnamese bank to deliver compensation efficiently. In the light of resettlement experience elsewhere, ADB suggested that bank staff should offer financial advice to recipients, who had no prior cash management experience. On the day of cash compensation payment, bank staff were available to create savings accounts for affected people.

Monetary entitlements were divided between husbands and wives and deposited in joint and/or separate bank accounts, depending on the type of allowance and the expressed preference of both parties involved. (ADB, 2015)

There is as yet no Vietnamese formal rule about equal entitlement to compensation for women and men. This is a big gap in the legal framework, enabling serious abuse of women's rights in resettlement areas. Normally, compensation is awarded to household heads, most of whom are men.

Based on the demands of husband and wife after getting recommendations from bank staff, joint bank books were provided for each party. Following recommendations from bank staff and project officers, many men accepted that women should receive a higher amount, since women are better managers of household income. It is important to note that some new couples also created their bank accounts after getting a share of their parent's compensation.

Village	Joint Accounts		
	Total Joint Account Books	Total Money (VND)	USD Equivalent
Parum B	62	691,000,000	32,772.1
Thon 2	98	10,689,000,000	506,948.1

Table 5.1 Joint Bank Accounts for Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Affected People *Source: Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Management Board (cited in ADB, 2014)*

Village	Accounts in Women's Names			Accounts in Men's Names		
	Total Account Books	Total Money (VND)	USD Equivalent	Total Account Books	Total Money (VND)	USD Equivalent
Parum B	120	38,165,000,000	1,810,054.6	10	1,556,000,000	73,796.6
Thon 2	72	2,416,000,000	114,583.9	50	25,086,000,000	1,189,755.8

Table 5.2 Separate Bank Accounts for Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Affected People *Source: Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project Management Board (cited in ADB, 2014)*

It should be noted here that separate bank accounts were an unplanned idea of the ADB. The process of dividing bank accounts was based on negotiations between husbands, wives, project officers and bank staff. In Parum B village, husbands and wives were convinced that the big amount of compensation should be managed by wives, although the right to decisions belonged jointly. Accordingly, in Parum B village, there is more money in women's accounts than men's. In contrast, in Thon 2 Village, the men's accounts have by far the largest sums.

Protection of women's entitlement was also strengthened during implementation through a "learning by doing" approach. For example, joint bank accounts were initially opened for affected persons in Pa Pang, the first village to receive compensation. For Thon 2, the second village to receive compensation, monies were paid in four installments and joint accounts were opened initially. However, upon discovering that some men in Thon 2 were withdrawing money from their joint accounts without their wives' knowledge or agreement, this was immediately rectified by amending project rules to require separate accounts for later installments of compensation monies. Therefore, for the third and fourth installments, payments were made into separate bank accounts for husbands and wives. (ADB, 2014)

To avoid the situation where women would be pushed by men to go to the bank and withdraw money, a strong connection between bank staff and project officers was established. By personal observation, if bank account owners did not give suitable reasons for a withdrawal, the bank staff would call project officers to verify. Many villagers complained that they were asked many questions when they wanted to withdraw a big amount. Some owners had to go back without money as closing time approached.

Because of this SB4HP got some complaints from project-affected people. Since the cost of building a house was very high, villagers wanted to withdraw big amounts to pay the constructors. Some others said that the round trip to the bank and back was difficult, and they did not want to keep having to do it. But many others were pleased with the arrangements, and there was a lot of positive feedback too.

I do not have any opinion on measurement of land or anything like that. I want to say that it was really good for affected people to put their money in the bank as invited by the ADB. By doing so, affected people did not waste much money. At least, most of the affected households still have some money in the bank. (In-depth interview, husband of a female village leader, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

In summary, equal entitlement on land certificates and bank accounts are considered as the biggest pros of SB4HP. A sound approach and quick implementation complied with women's rights and safeguarded women's finances.

Disclosure of Information and Transparency

The language barrier is an invisible obstacle to training. According to ADB Public Communication Policy, resettlement plans and indigenous people's development plans "...can be made available as brochures, leaflets, or booklets in local languages. For non-literate people, other communication methods will be appropriate." (ADB, 2005:14-15). But there is no specific paragraph on local language for livelihood programs.

SB4HP had a project officer who could speak the Co Tu language, and he became an interpreter. However, the interpreter just translated whenever local people said that they could not understand. Furthermore, trainers came from all over Vietnam, and SB4HP changed their staff many times. As illiterate people, the locals found it difficult to follow training in various accents in Kinh language.

All project documents were distributed in Vietnamese, not in the Co Tu language, and there was no summary of the hundreds of printed pages. As the women were mostly illiterate, most of them did not understand the project information, or the compensation and resettlement process (WARECOD, 2010; Lam, 2010; and VRN, 2012).

The project gave us many thick handouts in Vietnamese about the resettlement process, compensation rates and alternative livelihoods. Most of us cannot read and write, so we could not understand all the information. Some families kept their documents carefully, some others just left them for the children to draw pictures on or make paper stuff (In-depth interview, married woman, 56 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

In many livelihood training programs, project officers used displays with some figures and pictures to explain. But later on, when people had forgotten all this, they had no way of refreshing their memories. And again, as the main workers on the farm, women did not benefit much from the livelihood training.

The ADB had a specific policy on transparency, called the Accountability Mechanism, and in the Safeguard Policy Statement they indicated clearly that ADB's borrowers/clients had to set up a convenient grievance mechanism. But in fact, the grievance mechanism in SB4HP was complicated. There were six steps through many functional agencies from commune level to national level. Only at the last step could complainants access ADB's Office of Special Project Facilitator. But most Co Tu people have low education - how could they follow such a complex process? A process which contrasted with ADB statements about a grievance mechanism that was "easily accessible", "easily understood", and "adapted to local culture". The ADB asserted that the grievance mechanism had to follow Vietnamese Complaint Law. Complainants would reach the appropriate ADB level only after being rejected by all the functional agencies of the Vietnamese complaint process.

After almost 6 years of resettlement, affected people still complain about compensation.

Some households here killed pigs and chickens to invite official staff before the staff went to measure their land for compensation. But in our case, we were old and we did not know how to lobby the staff. We showed our own land and asked the staff to measure it, but they did not accept. They would give us more land if we gave them money. Hence, we just got less compensation. (Focus group discussion, married man, 75 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

The implementation process of the Public Communication Policy and the Accountability Mechanism did not fully respect indigenous people's rights. This damaged both women's and men's benefits. It was partly a result of an overlap between Vietnamese Law and ADB policies.

Chapter Summary

SB4HP provided ADB safeguards; for most projects in Vietnam people do not have similar safeguard policies - host country safeguards are weaker than those of the MDBs. It is not easy for Vietnam and other countries in the GMS to apply gender inclusive resettlement policies in infrastructure projects, for want of transparency and accountability mechanisms.

Chapter 6

Livelihood Assets: Attributes, Asset Functions, and Asset - Attribute Changes

This chapter describes the assets of Co Tu people before and after involuntary resettlement. By a gender analysis, the chapter also shows how the effects of involuntary resettlement changed their asset functions and asset attributes.

Livelihood Assets and Attributes

Material Resources

Ecological System and Natural Resources

Before dam-induced resettlement, generations of Co Tu people set up Thon 2 and Parum B Villages near big rivers. They were self-sufficient. They planted upland rice by “slash and burn” agriculture, caught fish from rivers, hunted wild animals, and collected non-timber material from the forest for their daily food.

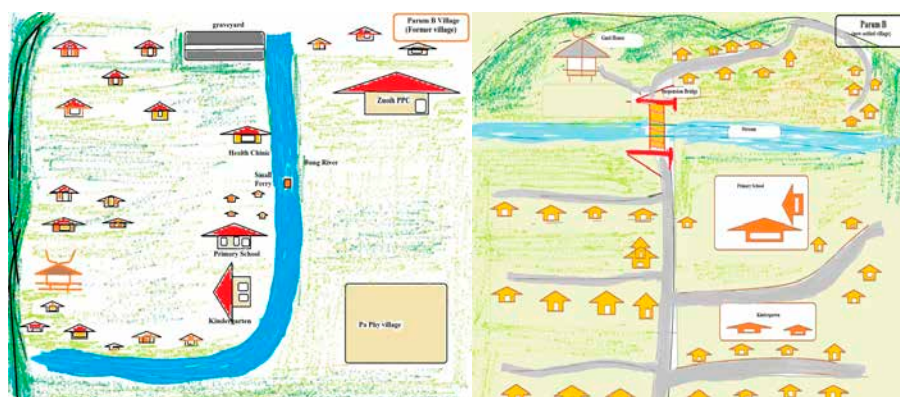
After dam-induced resettlement with a change of ecological system, the villages are now located in narrow areas with an urban design style, and people cannot maintain a self-sufficient life as before. As mentioned earlier, both

villages had changed their locations several times before their forced displacement by SB4HP. Thus, people were not shocked about moving *per se*, but they were shocked by the lack of necessary natural resources in their new ecological system.



**Figure 6.1 Thon 2 Village (Hai Village) – at the old location;
Figure 6.2 Thon 2 Village (Hai Village) – at the new resident Zone**

Source: FGDs results in Thon 2 Village, 2015



**Figure 6.3 Parum B Village– at the Old Location;
Figure 6.4 Parum B Village– at the New Resident Zone**

Source: FGDs results in Parum B Village, 2015

Currently, both Thon 2 Village and Parum B Village have been resettled far from the big river, 7 km and 14 km away respectively. The main problem is that since the Song Bung 4 Dam blocked the river, the flow has changed. Thon 2 is not very far from the Bung River, and a few villagers with their own small

boats can fish. For Parum B people, the distance from their new location to the nearest river, Bung River is too far, and they have to spend a few days if they want to get fresh fish from that river.

In the past, the affected people had a lot of land. How much depended on the size of the labor force and the period of time during which they cultivated it. Some new couples had just separated from their extended family, so they did not have much land. Other households, especially middle-aged and old-aged couples, had a lot of land as they had been cultivating for a long time. Because of “slash and burn” agriculture, their land increased year by year.

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Average	Std. Deviation
Garden Land Area (Ha)	65	.00	1.50	.1870	.31189
Low Land Paddy Area (Ha)	65	.00	.50	.0555	.11830
Forest Land Area (Ha)	65	.50	35.00	8.5631	6.20415
House Land Area (Ha)	65	.04	.10	.0720	.01796
Valid N (listwise)	65				

Table 6.1 Land Area before Resettlement

Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130 husbands and wives)

Generally, the land area of affected people in the former village was many times greater than the land area in new village. Normally, Co Tu people did not have much garden land because they lived close to each other based on blood ties. There was no visible fence or border among houses and the space was used to raise grazing pigs. The maximum amount of garden land was 1.5ha. The average was 0.18 ha. Thon 2 and Parum B Villages were located in a remote area, and the area of lowland paddy field was limited. No household in former Thon 2 Village had any lowland paddy field, and just a few households in former Parum B Village. The maximum of lowland paddy field was small, roughly 0.5 ha and the average was 0.05 ha. In terms of house land, the fluctuation is from 0.04 ha to 0.1 ha, with an average of 0.72 ha. The area of forest land is quite high. The minimum is 0.5 ha, and the maximum is 35 ha. Roughly 8.6 ha is the average for this type of land.

As land in Vietnam is limited, SB4HP could just fulfill the minimum land requirements under Vietnamese regulations. Currently, each household is allotted 400 m² of house land, 600 m² of garden land and 1.5 ha of forest land. Some new couples, who had just separated from their extended households because of the SB4HP project, do not have forest land.

In the past, we had around 15 *angs*/year (1.5 ha/year)¹⁶, so one household could have tens of ha. But here we just have totally 1.5 ha for farming activities for our lifetime. My family are exploiting around 5-6 ang more. We think that we cannot get more land, because rangers do not allow us to. (In-depth interview, female village leader, Parum B Village).

Having a livelihood model relying on land, all the households in Thon 2 and Parum B are suffering, having to adapt to new challenges caused by lack of land for cultivation. In the past, animals could graze freely in the forest around the old villages. Nowadays, with less land, they cannot maintain this method of feeding. The number of buffaloes in the resettled villages has decreased sharply.

Land areas are very small. The land is not enough for us to do cultivation. In the former village, we could raise many buffaloes, but here we have no land to raise them. (In-depth interview, female village leader, Parum B Village).

In the new resettled area, due to a lack of job opportunities and land for cultivation, the men have to go to the forest for illegal tree cutting and hunting. Those activities are strictly illegal in Vietnam today, but some men still keep going to earn money and daily food for their family. Wild animals are few, so it takes a lot of time to go hunting in distant forests. Because of lack of money, people prefer to sell hunted animals, and just eat what no one buys. Many men lack confidence because their “backbone role” in earning income is now weak. Some men take up illegal hunting to deal with that, but feel bad because of penalties from rangers.

Men worry too much. The price of wild animals is expensive. If we can sell them, we will have a lot of money. Facing rangers is unlucky. Rangers just allow for small and normal wild animals such as squirrel, mouse, etc. We will be arrested if they find we have protected animals. We want to earn money, so we have to hide these activities. Men keep hunting products

16 10 *angs* (local unit) is equivalent to 1 ha

in the box under their motorbike seats. (Focus group discussion, single man, 45 years old, Parum B Village).

Because of responsibility for the family's food security, women are under pressure. Young women feel worried for their babies' health, while old women ask their children's help for family food. Nowadays, daily food for affected people relies on mobile vendors and a few vegetables from the farm. Rivers are far off, so they cannot get fresh fish every day. Wild animals are rare and villagers try to sell them when they catch one. They cannot rely much on non-timber because the forest nearby is poor and occupied by other villages. Fortunately, after a few years in the new location, people can collect vegetables from their farm.

We can sell hunted animals when they are still alive or have just died. If they died some days ago and are smelly, we cannot sell them. In such cases, we keep them for food. (Focus group discussion, single man, 45 years old, Parum B Village).

When we were children, our parents provided us with fresh fish from the rivers, and fresh meat from the forest. Now, we cannot do that for our children. Food from mobile street vendors is expensive and not fresh anymore. We are worried about our children's health. (In-depth interview, female VRDG member, Parum B Village, 2015)

The market in Thanh My Town is approximately 50km away. There is no local market here... We do not have many regular income sources. We just buy some necessary food from mobile street vendors... Old women cannot collect much non-timber as in our former village, so they have to rely on their children's support. (In-depth interview, female village leader, Thon 2 Village, 2015)



Figure 6.5 Affected People Buying Food from Mobile Vendor, Thon 2 Village. *Source: Field trip Observation, 2015*

Due to lack of natural resources, both women and men are facing stress related to household income and food security. Whereas women are worried about finding safe food due to their duty in child-rearing and taking care of other family members, men are losing their self-confidence owing to their shrinking breadwinner role.

Capital Resource

Since the resettled villages got compensation from ADB, they have been considered as “billion villages” (in Vietnamese Currency, VND). That is not incorrect, because the average amount of compensation in this project -VND 1.7 billion (USD 80,626)¹⁷ - was higher than in any previous project in Vietnam. For various reasons, some affected people did not reveal exact amounts of compensation; the numbers disclosed were lower than in reality, but still very high. Of the 65 households interviewed, 55 provided answers related to compensation. The lowest amount was VND 200 million (USD 948) and the highest VND 5 billion (USD237,135). It should be noted here that single

17 USD 1 = VND 21,085 (as in ADB's 2014 report).

households or single parent households, who often got less compensation based on land area and assets, were not included in the sample for this research.

Items	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Compensation Amount (VND Million)	55	200.0	5000.0	774.545	697.6384
Spent Percentage (%)	63	50	100	76.97	15.123
Valid N (listwise)	54				

**Table 6.2 Compensation Amounts of Survey Respondents
in Thon 2 Village and Parum B Village**

Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130 husbands and wives)

To explain why people affected by SB4HP received very much higher compensation compared with other hydropower projects, the director explained that:

The cost norm provided by the Quang Nam Peoples' Committee applied equally for all hydropower projects in the province. SB4HP had to follow ADB's safeguard policies, consequently affected people were able to get maximum compensation. In contrast, in other domestic hydropower projects, because of lower investment, affected people were forced to accept lower amounts. (Key informant, Truong Thiet Hung, former Director, SB4HP)

Ms. Lam Thi Thu Suu, from a local NGO, which is a pioneer in independent monitoring of ADB projects in Vietnam, adds that:

This project had a huge loan from the ADB, and in general local government staff were not aware that public debt partly comes from this type of loan. Hence, the implementation process of compensation was applied flexibly. In other projects, the contractors' representatives always negotiate with local government staff to apply the process strictly with minimum amounts of compensation.

Having no experience of managing large amounts of cash, villagers spent money like millionaires in the first months after getting compensation. It is

evident that after getting their billions or millions, project-affected people stopped farming and going to the forest—they just stayed home and drank beer. Some men went to Danang City, asked for ten motorbikes and then washed the motorbikes in beer (VN Express, 2016).



Figure 6.6 Beer Bottles Everywhere in Resettled Villages

Source: Field trip observation, Parum B Village, 2015

Every day, people drank beer and sang Karaoke (although some people could not read, they could follow the melody). Women and men celebrated together, but men drank more and got very drunk. Men kept up that habit for a few months after getting compensation. (In-depth interview, married women, 27 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

Domestic violence occurred due to conflicts between husband and wife about money. Women were concerned about the waste of money, but the men did not want to stop spending.

Capital resources in Thon 2 and Parum B Village are reducing. Most of the villagers are farmers and their incomes have come from farming and forest resources. As noted earlier, due to the changed ecology, it is not easy to earn a living after resettlement.

Categories	Before Resettlement	After Resettlement	Status
Gold mining	VND 500,000 – 3,000,000/day (USD 23.71-142/ day)		Unavailable
Fishing	VND 10,000,000/year (USD 474/year)	Daily food	Very rare, open to only a few families
Upland rice	Daily food	Daily food	Reduced - less land
Bean	VND 500,000 – 20,000,000/year (USD 23.71-948.54/ year)	VND 500,000 – 5,000,000/year (USD 23.71- 237/year)	Reduced - less land
Corn	Human food, poultry food	Human food, poultry food	Reduced - less land
Cassava	Human food, poultry food	Human food, poultry food	Reduced - less land
Banana	Human food, poultry food	Human food, poultry food	Reduced - less land
Sugar cane, pineapple, jackfruit, bonbon fruit	Human food	Human food	Reduced - less land
Rattan	VND 3,000,000/year (USD 142/ year)	VND 1,000,000/year (USD 47.4/ year)	Reduced - exhausted forest
Dot Tree (Thysanolaenna)	VND 500,000 – 2,000,000/ year (USD 23.71 – 94.85/ year)	VND 500,000 – 5,000,000/ year (USD 23.71- 237/year)	Up-dense, nearby
Malva nut (every 4 years)	VND 10,000,000 – 100,000,000 (USD 474 – 4,742/ year)	VND 5,000,000 – 30,000,000 (USD 237 – 1,420/year)	Down - destroyed

Categories	Before Resettlement	After Resettlement	Status
Hunting	VND 30,000,000 – 100,000,000 (USD 1,420 – 4,742/year)	VND 3,000,000 – 30,000,000 (USD 142 – 1,420/year)	Down - destroyed
Animal Husbandry	VND 10,000,000 – 30,000,000/year (USD 474 – 1,422)	VND 3,000,000 – 10,000,000/year (USD 142 – 474)	Smaller fields

Table 6.3 Decrease in Capital Resources in Thon 2 Village, Before and After Resettlement *Source: FGDs, 2015*

In Thon 2 Village, cash income sources have reduced significantly. In the new location there is no gold mine to exploit. In addition, living far from the Bung River which used to provide 30-45 kg of fish, Thon 2 villagers lost a very big source of household income. With less land, villagers cannot raise as many buffaloes as they would like. Hunting is controlled legally. Some men try to hunt but cannot earn as much as before due to the disappearance of wild animals. In the past, indigenous people were owners of primeval forests; nowadays, hundreds of Kinh people with modern machines have destroyed thousands of ha of forest - the way they collect natural resources always leads to destruction.

Duoi Uoi seeds (Malva seeds) are harvested every 4 years. Some families could earn millions, some others tens of millions. However, Kinh people came here and cut down many *Duoi Uoi* trees. Rangers will arrest any person cutting *Duoi Uoi* trees. But those wicked people cut the trees at midnight. We are worried that in a few years we may not have any *Duoi Uoi* trees, which are a valuable source of our household income. (Focus group discussion, married woman, 60 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015)

Once again, financial issues cause domestic violence because of a lack of regular income. After long days celebrating the huge compensation, people now realize that their money has run out. Husbands and wives are upset and annoyed with each other.

If a family is in good condition, the husband will rarely beat his wife. If a family is poor, there will be some fighting between husband and wife. Unhappy marriage results from money deficiency. (In-depth interview, single mother, 26 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

The SB4HPMB said that they provided at least two training courses on household income management for affected people in each village. However, it seems villagers did not apply very well what they learnt from the trainers:

Villagers said the money belonged to them, and they had a right to decide how to use it. They do not want to follow the project office guidance. (In-depth interview, village headman, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

The project officers trained affected people at least twice. They asked us to prepare a notebook and write down all household income and expenditures. The first time was just after getting compensation. The second time has just finished, but we do not have much money any more. Villagers said the training was not needed any more. (In-depth interview, married man, 35 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

This situation can occur in many resettlement sites, where people are not aware of the value of money. Affected people have lived at subsistence level for a long time. Many indigenous people believe that the Vietnamese government will always arrange subsistence for them: obviously because they were project-affected people, the contractors and government have to have responsibility for taking care of them. This is the biggest challenge of poverty alleviation for ethnic minority groups in Vietnam in general today, and in dam-induced resettlement in particular.

To sum up, as a lowly educated group, Co Tu people could not manage big amounts of money, which they had never had before. Having had to leave their former self-sufficient life, money becomes important in the new life in a society with a market economy. Because of this, capital is the main concern of each family, and lack of it leads to other family problems including domestic abuse.

Basic Infrastructures

In former villages, living standards were low. Villagers used mini turbines to create electricity for their families. The capacity of the mini turbines was low. Some electric equipment could be run such as light bulbs, radio and simple TV. Children studied in temporary schools. If villagers wanted to contact people outside by mobile phone, they had to find accessible places.

I feel happy because life here (resettled village) is more convenient. We can access the health center, and children can go to school. There is electricity and a mobile phone network. (In-depth interview, married man, 65 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).



Figure 6.7 Primary School in Parum B Before (left) and after (right) Resettlement *Source: Field trip observation, 2012*

Before 2010, most hydropower-induced resettlement provided houses to affected people, called “turnkey” or “Chia khoa trao tay” in Vietnamese. Several studies pointed out that corruption and gaps in monitoring resulted in very bad quality houses. The houses built by contractors were small and poor quality and in “modern”- i.e. non-traditional, style.



Figure 6.8 “Bird Aviary” houses in A Vuong Hydropower Project (completed in 2005) and poor quality house in Dak Mi 4 Hydropower Project (completed in 2006) Sources: VRN cited *baomoi.com*; CSRD, 2014

To avoid the disadvantages of resettlement experience elsewhere, SB4HP allowed affected people to build their own traditional houses.



Figure 6.9 The Best House Before Resettlement; The Best House After Resettlement Sources: CSRD, 2012; *Field Trip Observation*, 2015

The basic infrastructure in the resettled villages was finished, but is now deteriorating sharply. The most seriously affected constructions are the freshwater system in Thon 2 Village, and inter-village roads. As mentioned in chapter 5, the freshwater system has stopped running in half of Thon 2 Village from 2012 until now, while inter-village roads are being ruined day by day for various reasons.

Those roads were designed for 1.5 ton trucks and the width of the roads is 3m. Every day, several 5-7ton trucks use the roads, so they are broken. Furthermore, the quality of the roads is not good. They were built on new and very soft land. The process of building did not follow the design plan strictly, and some stages were skipped. (In-depth interview, military engineer, 45 years old, Thon 2 Village)



**Figure 6.10 A good quality village road in Thon 2 Village;
Ruined Inter-Village Roads**

Source: Field trip observation, 2015; Field trip observation, 2015

It is true that project-affected people benefit from full basic infrastructure, and women have more freedom. In Thon 2 Village, there is a sound well-furnished health center, with easy access for pregnant and elderly women. Boarding kindergarten and primary schools reduce women's child-rearing burdens. Living in big houses, women and men do not need to worry about the safety of children and old people. In the past, most villagers lived in broken cottages. In new resettled villages, many grocery shops are developed by young women as an acceptable livelihood alternative. In Parum B Village, the number of groceries in the new resettled village is four times the number in the former village, nine groceries as against two. In Thon 2 Village, the number has gone up from one to four.

While resettlement provides full basic infrastructure, this does not mean that every resettlement has good public construction. Case studies in A Vuong (Singer & Watanabe, 2014), in Dak Mi 4 (CSR, 2014), and in A Luoi HP (CSR, 2016) affirm a cheerless image of bad infrastructure where families lack water supply, irrigation, and a market; and house quality is poor.

We have worked with affected people in hydropower projects since 2010. What we observe from our working experience is that livelihood is really challenged. Local people, especially indigenous people, have low capacity to adapt to a new environment. Many domestic investment projects do not even have specific livelihood improvement programs to support affected people. They get low compensation and are living in poor quality houses built by contractors. (Lam Thi Thu Suu, CSR director, VRN board member).

Even though basic infrastructure is provided, some buildings cannot be used because of institutional issues. In Thon 2 Village, for example, the secondary school is available, but the number of pupils is not enough for it to run. In Can Ton resettlement area of A Luoi Hydropower Project in Thua Thien Hue Province, a health center was built for A Den and A Sap Villages, but legally health centers cannot operate below commune level.

We also feel sorry to see many constructions in the resettlement zone which are not used. It seems likely we waste money. Actually, we were not responsible for building them. But it was our failure partly. We were questioned by the contractor, but we could not measure all things. We did not realize that it was impossible for a health center to operate in the village, or that the number of pupils in the two villages was not enough for a school. At that time, we just thought that it would be nice to build enough infrastructure for affected people, so they could have a good life. (Key informant, Mr. Nguyen Quoc Cuong, Deputy Director, A Luoi DPC, Thua Thien Hue Province).

Apart from some deficiencies that need to be resolved as soon as possible, the basic resettlement infrastructure in Parum B Village and Thon 2 Village

matched the fundamental needs of the affected people. Good infrastructure indirectly reduces the domestic responsibilities of women. However, it is necessary to take account of institutional conditions to make sure that all that is built can be used.

Informational Resource

As mentioned earlier, residential zones for the affected people in this project reflect a very good landscape with adequate public buildings and large dwelling houses. But behind this there is a sad story of low awareness and thoughtless public information processes. Cutting big trees for timber for house-building was made illegal in Vietnam tens of years ago. Since a large forest area was going to be flooded by the reservoir, that was clearly where affected people should have gone to find wood for their houses. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the ADB and the People's Committee of Quang Nam Province was signed but included no clear information about quantity and quality of timber, and no-one was made responsible for ensuring that all the timber would be collected from the flood area rather than from protected forest. Consequently, hundreds of m³ of precious timber were destroyed by local people for house building.

At that time, there were several news broadcasts about what was happening. Then the Quang Nam Province Forest Protection Department arrested some householders when they took timber from the forest. Affected people in Thon 2 Village brought the MOU to the Forest Protection Department and some cases were solved, and affected people got their timber back. But many families could not. It was a pity that the MOU did not show clearly the amount and quality of timber. Quang Nam People's Committee just signed the MOU, but did not ask any responsible department to take care of those details. That was a gap in the approval process of the MOU. (Key informant, Chairman, Tapo Commune, 2015).

The information process is really important in the context of indigenous people, otherwise there can be serious problems. Before resettlement, the Co Tu people lived far from the commune center and rarely communicated with outsiders. They had no awareness of legal principles, and could easily be misled.

SB4HP did well with many steps of the public information process. But some project officers made mistakes with their informal announcements due to lack of understanding of local culture and local people.

In our former village, we had the right to make decisions about houses. In the new resettled village, the project representatives said that we had to build big houses. They said that if we built houses similar to those provided by the government's 135 program, they would not pay the remaining compensation. (In-depth interview, married woman, 27 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

After the big houses were built, villagers realized that they had been misinformed. By then it was too late; some families had even spent VND 1 billion (USD 47,427) for their house (VN Express, 2016). Perhaps building unsuitable houses was not totally down to project staff, but they unintentionally contributed to the problem.

Project officers wanted all affected people to set up their new life in time, with no delay in the process timeline. They were also afraid that affected people might build very small houses and waste money on other things. (Focus Group, married man, 65 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

In livelihood development, information resources are crucial because they include important technical information. Most of the Co Tu people in this project are illiterate, and the information transfer process needed to take this into account. In SB4HP there was a lot of livelihood training and support, but it does not seem to have worked very well.

		Strongly Satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Strongly Dissatisfied	Total
Diversity of Livelihood Training	Husband	0	41.0%	24.6%	31.1%	3.3%	100.0%
	Wife	0	24.6%	26.2%	44.3%	4.9%	100.0%
Suitability With Natural Conditions	Husband	0	10.0%	26.7%	53.3%	10.0%	100.0%
	Wife	0	9.8%	21.3%	65.6%	3.3%	100.0%
Suitability With Traditional Farming Habits	Husband	0	8.5%	23.7%	55.9%	11.9%	100.0%
	Wife	0	3.3%	19.7%	65.6%	11.5%	100.0%
Simplicity of Technical Knowledge to Apply	Husband	0	13.6%	27.1%	52.5%	6.8%	100.0%
	Wife	0	8.2%	18.0%	68.9%	4.9%	100.0%
Availability of Materials to Apply	Husband	0	5.1%	18.6%	62.7%	13.6%	100.0%
	Wife	0	4.9%	13.1%	72.1%	9.8%	100.0%

Table 6.5 Satisfaction of Husbands and Wives on ADB Livelihood Training*Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130 husbands and wives)*

In general, project-affected people were not satisfied with the livelihood training provided by the ADB. There are gender-based differences in the answers. Only “Diversity of Livelihood Training” gets positive feedback from trainees with 41.0% of men and 24.6% of women. People were happy with various training topics such as planting vegetables, raising livestock and poultry, raising fish, and so on, which gave them many options. Most people said that they were dissatisfied with other aspects. Women tended to be more dissatisfied than men. Women are the main labor force on the farm, but they had lower education than men. Moreover, due to the limited number of practical

demonstrations, trainees forgot the technical information after a few months. Some women affirmed that they could understand most of the new technical skills during the training courses, but that later on they forgot and could not apply the knowledge on their farm.

Badly-organized resettlement processes put more burdens on people and lead to inefficiency of livelihood programs. During the move, men moved to the new site to build the houses, while wives and children were left in the old village. Women had to organize household contents for the move, while taking care of the children. It was difficult for people to arrange time for livelihood meetings, and even if they took part they could not concentrate because of worry about the movement process.

During movement time, we asked my mother to go to the meetings. She was illiterate and old, so she could not understand much of the training content. However, at that time, I was in the old village to take care of some livestock and our property which had not moved to the new village, whilst my husband was busy with building the house. (In-depth interview, married women, 27 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

Additionally, there were many gaps in ADB livelihood support because of lack of assessment of the value chain for local products and lack of any deep understanding of the traditional livelihood patterns of Co Tu people. For example Co Tu people are used to free grazing of buffaloes, chickens, and pigs. Making animal houses and building fences were outside their knowledge. SB4HP distributed chemical fertilizers and demonstrated how to use them on the farm, but affected people said that they did not like to use chemical fertilizers, because they are not good for health. The livelihood supports were not suited to natural conditions in the resettlement areas; seeds, poultry and livestock breeding provided could not adapt. There was also concern that local people were afraid to invest in poultry or livestock due to lack of a local market for their products.

ADB provided chickens and ducks, but they all died. Poultry in low land areas received many kinds of vaccines, but in our village local people have never provided vaccines for their poultry. Most of the poultry given by the ADB died. Some people bought

breeding chickens from neighboring villages, and those chickens survived normally....Local people say if they raise livestock, they are afraid that no one will buy it. As a consequence, they just raise enough for food. (Face group discussion, married woman, 26 years old, Parum B village, 2015).

Seeing that husbandry was one of the sustainable livelihood models for affected people, the ADB provided technical training and encouraged local people to build a byre/cow-house and a fence. Some households are applying this new knowledge and getting good results, while other families refused. During project implementation, some people argued that as they owned the money, they had the right to invest it however they wanted. Thus, many people did not join in training or joined only because it was a requirement.



**Figure 6.10 Buffaloes Inside Fences;
A Cow House Near Villager's Houses**

Source: Field trip observation, 2015

Thon 2 Village and Parum B Village have both got support from national programs, just as other poor villages¹⁸, but it has been of doubtful efficacy. Besides national support on seeds and animal husbandry, the government has suggested many vocational programs, but the affected people have shown no interest. For instance, the representative of the district department of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MOLISA) assumed that there would be many calls on the Labor Export Program. However, the young people did not apply; they did not want to work far from their hometown, and were concerned

18 There is a list of poor communes issued by government which are able to get specific support from national programs.

that their limited Vietnamese would lead them into danger. In addition, most of the young laborers are unskilled. They are not familiar with industrial style work, so factory jobs may not be of much interest to them.

The failure of livelihoods in resettlement areas is common in most domestic and international hydropower projects. Several hydropower projects in Vietnam and Laos have the same situation even with separate budgets for livelihood improvement. Livelihood failure is usual in any involuntary resettlement of indigenous people because of their low adaptive capacity and their loss of long-practiced livelihood patterns.

Loss of access to means of livelihood, especially natural resources. This is not a unique issue to indigenous communities but is probably felt more seriously by them as their ties with the land are very strong and inextricable. (Key informant, Mr. Toshiyuki Doi, Mekong Watch, 2015).

In general, it is commonly believed that not only in Vietnam, but in most resettlement sites, there is no way of bringing a better life for affected people. Clearly, as a group who have “double discrimination of gender and ethnic dimension” (Kocze, 2009: 21), women suffer even more.

I have visited many resettlement sites, but have never seen one in which the community members felt that their life was better than before. Conditions after resettlement are usually worse, leading to social disintegration and urban migration, which is particularly hard on women. Forced relocation should be avoided whenever possible. (Sabrina Kathleen, Training Coordinator, EarthRights School Mekong)

Besides common reasons for livelihood programs’ failure in hydro-induced resettlement, root causes in Vietnam include institutional issues. Weak formulation and poor implementation of public policies are main obstacles. There is no livelihood impact assessment required by the Vietnam government in the approval process for large infrastructure projects, including dam construction projects.

There are many challenges to sustainable livelihoods for indigenous people affected by hydropower projects, especially

in Vietnam. Almost all the projects lack a livelihood assessment of the “areas of influence” – beyond the immediate project area - and the cumulative impacts, e.g. the impacts combined with downstream dams. Many factors involved in livelihood such as the cultivated area, yield and cultivation conditions (water, soil, cropping calendars, weather impacts) as well as agricultural product marketing, are not properly taken into account. (Key informant, Mr. Le Anh Tuan, Environment Expert, Can Tho University, 2015).

In general, people affected by SB4HP did not have high quality informational resources to help their recovery in the resettlement areas. Co Tu people were confused by an ill-organized resettlement process and livelihood program - women and men alike, though because of lower education women got less benefit from the information.

Relational Resources

Money becomes an important indicator in the new society and is a root cause of various conflicts in resettled villages, related to compensation, land exploitation, and so on. In depth interviews recorded many cases where neighbors fell out because of conflicts related to compensation. Some conflicts came from land exploitation activity. Lack of regular household income leads people to take any opportunity to earn money to support their family, with no thought for others.

In our old village, if any villager hunted a wild animal, he would bring it to the Guol House and share it with all the villagers. We did not need to pay money. Nowadays, if a villager does something like that, they will keep it for their family or sell it to Kinh people. (In-depth interview, male villager, 60 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

Co Tu people used to respect their blood ties, yet the current resettlement structure may damage their relationships. In days gone by, they built houses in close relationship groups. Children often built their houses near their parents' house. The new, random, arrangement was fair but it separated relatives from one another. Furthermore, old Parum B was located near to old Parum A, and

many marriage relationships were established. The distance between the two new villages is much greater. SB4HP had the good intention of putting the villages close to each other with a shortcut road between the two, but it was not built. It is around 4km from Parum B to Parum A by the main cemented road, so the elderly have to rely on their children for visits.

We requested the SB4HPBM to make a road from Parum A and Parum B but they did not do it. The direct distance between the two villages is very short, but the main road route is too long. As you know, in the past, we lived close to each other. Parum B and Parum A have strong family relationships and living far from each other makes us sad. (In-depth interview, village leader, Parum B Village, 2015).

More space and greater distances make men feel stressed with regard to their kinship duties. In a patriarchal society, men play key roles in connecting relatives. Men are the decision makers and even decide how their wives should treat their families. Moreover, in middle-aged and elderly groups women cannot drive motorbikes, so men have to take the lead in any visit to relatives. Real distance is the main barrier to women - they need men's help to meet their relatives.

Another gender issue which is common in most of these projects is pregnancy without marriage. In an urban society, women may plan to become single mothers. But among indigenous people this is shameful. At least three children in Thon 2 Village and two children in Parum B Village were born to unmarried young girls. Some of them were in love relationships with construction workers.

There are three cases of children without fathers in my village. In one case the father is the carpenter who built the house for that family. Most of these men abandoned the girls and their babies. At first, no one realized that we needed to warn young women. Then, when that situation happened, we did not know how to deal with it. People considered it as a matter for personal decision. (In-depth interview, village leader, Parum B Village, 2015).

Assets Functions and Assets - Attributes Changes

After resettlement, in the new ecological system, many assets have been converted or have had their functions and attributes transformed. The table below lists some main assets in Parum B Village and Thon 2 Village which are viewed as valid properties. Asset functions are divided based on how assets are used in practice by villagers. Asset and attribute changes are categorized based on their development trend before and after resettlement. The indicators to measure these changes are quantity and quality of assets and attributes. The changes of asset functions or asset and attribute changes may be good for this group of people, but may be harmful for other groups. Therefore, an analysis on asset functions or asset and attribute changes may help to predict who wins and who loses from these changes.

Asset Classifies	Asset functions	Asset and Attribute Changes
A. Material capital		
Land	Provisioning	From inheritance to consumption
Money	Provisioning	From inheritance to consumption
Non-timber	Supporting	Depletion and degeneration
Wild animal	Supporting	From consumption to depletion and degeneration
Guol House	Cultural	Continuity
Fish	Supporting	From consumption to depletion and degeneration
Basic infrastructure	Supporting	From continuity to depletion and degeneration
B. Relational capital		
Household relations	Regulating	From continuity to depletion and degeneration
Community relations	Regulating	From continuity to depletion and degeneration
C. Informational capital		
ADB program	Provisioning	From selection to continuity
Vietnamese programs	Provisioning	From selection to continuity

Table 6.5 Interacting Processes of Asset Function, Asset - Attribute Change and Livelihoods Transition Process in Parum B Village and Thon 2

Village Source: Research Results, 2015

Currently, land and money are valuable to affected people, so these livelihood assets are “provisioning”. Having a land-based livelihood, Co Tu cannot separate their lives from the land. In old locations, land is just inheritance property, which parents often share for their children. In new locations, land becomes a consumption asset, which people fight each other to get. They are willing to buy land with their compensation because otherwise they don’t have enough. Since people lack regular income sources, household finances depend on compensation. In the old days, people used money just for spices, health care or education fees; now they need it to buy food, and to pay for electricity, petrol and other things. These assets are not only monetary, but also gender-embedded. Traditionally, land and other valuable properties would be passed on to a son as inheritance. Nowadays, being influenced by Kinh practice, parents care rather more for their daughters. Nowadays, girls are going to get higher education than boys, and will benefit much more from their parents’ education investment.

Natural forest resources such as non-timber or wild animals today just play “supporting” roles, because they are going to “deplete and degenerate”. Even though currently wild animals are a consumption source, these natural resources are at risk of extinction owing to over-use. Fish is a “supporting” resource of affected people, because people right now cannot go fishing as before. It is not easy to access natural resources now, so men dominate in access and control of forest and river resources.

Thanks to the strategy of the ADB in saving the culture symbol of the Co Tu, the Guol House, it still maintains its culture function. Nowadays, the Vietnamese government has many programs to save indigenous festivals and new festivals will be organized. Thus, the Co Tu Guol House has the chance to be used regularly. However, wedding ceremonies no longer occur there very often, since Co Tu prefer to follow Kinh practice and hold wedding parties in restaurants.

Basic infrastructure is a matter of pride for SB4HP, and is a supporting factor for social development. It is evident that basic infrastructure buildings will deteriorate; therefore, they tend to move from continuity to depletion and degeneration. Good basic infrastructure brings more convenience to everyone in the Co Tu community. It helps women and men to access social services and manage their responsibilities for child bearing, child rearing and taking care

of old people. Because of women's important roles in reproductive work, they seem to benefit more than men.

Regarding relational capital, household relations and community relations have "regulating" functions. Household relations may be more complex. Since ecological system change and natural resource loss, nowadays women have to be household income seekers. This means increased burdens for women in the days ahead. However, thanks to many awareness-raising activities of the Women's Union and ADB programs, people may keep an open mind on gender equality. For community relations, it is a pity that this kind of relational capital is decreasing because a monetary society is establishing itself. However, a competitive society may also bring more chances for gender development. Since each family wants to be more powerful, they have to allow all their family members, including women, to be empowered and for their capacity to be developed.

Knowledge and information provided by ADB and government programs have a "provisioning" function, and it is to be hoped that they will be in "continuity" status after a selection process. Currently, people do not care much for these programs, but later on, when they realize their meaning, they may use them effectively. After project completion, knowledge on livelihood is the only thing they still have as an information resource. However, it is interesting that, in some cases, women will get more benefit from their hard work in family and farm. In the new ecological system, women are the main laborers in livelihood activities, so they may gain higher status because of their higher contribution to family and community. Even though they have forgotten much technical knowledge, at least they will use what they remember.

In conclusion, in the context of involuntary resettlement where social structure and ecology systems change, assets functions and assets attributes are going to be transformed. Those processes may harm both women and men, but somehow they also create opportunities for women's development. In some specific aspects, women receive more benefit from those transformations.

Chapter Summary

In the Vietnamese Land Law 2003¹⁹, article 42.3 on Compensation and Resettlement for affected people asserted that “Resettlement has to provide equal or better conditions than the former location”. However, there is no resettlement model in Vietnam that satisfies that statement, not even in a regional aid project such as SB4HP.

In comparison with former locations, livelihood resources of project-affected people have changed markedly. Those modifications again modify women’s and men’s status in both negative and positive ways. In one way, women and men are under pressure from loss of household income. Compensation was huge, but now they are out of pocket. Inexperienced cash management caused clashes between husbands and wives. Inefficient livelihood support quickly pulls indigenous people back into poverty. As the main labor on the farm, women are extremely disappointed with livelihood recovery activities. Geographic distance and social space push men to go through hardship in kinship responsibilities, and limit women from traveling to visit their relatives.

19 Currently, the Land Law 2003 was replaced by the Land Law 2013 with some revised articles and adjustment to make it suitable with updating contexts.

Chapter 7

Transformation Processes and Livelihood System Transitions under Dam-Induced Resettlement

The most important difference between the Livelihood Systems framework and other livelihood approaches is that this framework is not limited to analysis of livelihood resources.

Transformation Processes

Awareness, Social Values and Behavior

These days in resettlement sites, gender discrimination in access to education decreases significantly. It is actually an effect of long term propaganda by the local Women's Union. In the past, only boys could pursue higher education and girls were not allowed to study much. People strongly believed that it was a waste of money to invest in girls, who were expected to grow up and bestow the benefits of their education on their in-laws. With new technology, indigenous people can access mass media and gradually change their way of thinking and their social norms about the status of sons and daughters.

After resettlement, parents had money for their children, and they tried to match their children's expectations. It is normal for people to want what they or past generations have not had. Boys choose to enjoy life with motorbikes

and day trips downtown, so there are no boys under 20 years old studying at college or university. In contrast, girls think about a new higher standard of life with a partner from outside the village. They want to experience higher education – an experience their mothers never had.

There is no discrimination in education opportunities to boys or girls. They have equal rights to education. However, boys often fight and drop out of school. Boys' education often stops at secondary school. Girls do not like to drink, and they do not fight due to jealousy in love like boys. Hence, girls are focused on their studies. (In-depth interview, village leader, Thon 2 Village).

In recent decades, in Vietnam, students cannot find a suitable job after graduation. This is of great concern to parents and the children.

Some neighbors told our parents that they should not spend much money on our education, but our parents are very open-minded people. They always try their best to earn money for our education, if we want to go to school. (In-depth interview, married woman, 27 years old, Parum B Village, 2015)

After getting compensation, parents bought expensive motorbikes and gave a lot of money to their children. Young boys did not do anything in the first few months after getting compensation. They drove their motorbikes around all day and drank and enjoyed themselves. Now, households have already spent a lot of their money. They no longer have much money in the bank, and they cannot provide money for their children as before. Their young people somehow understand the current situation. Attitudes have changed. However, some young people in the village are really lazy.

Young people often drink beer and wine. When they are drunk, they drive motorbikes noisily. In the old village we did not have many motorbikes, so they could not do that. (Focus Group Discussion, married woman, 26 years old, Parum B Village, 2015)

Child marriage is common in indigenous communities. In Parum B and Thon 2 Village, most of the middle-aged and elderly women got married when they were 13-14 years old. It was their parents who decided to marry them off. This culture is still alive, but less so than before. For example, in Thon 2 Village at present, there are five cases of early marriage with brides around 17 years old. They live with their husbands after the wedding party, and wait for their 18th birthday when they will go to get marriage certificates. One girl is the daughter of the village party leader. Other brides are daughters-in-law, i.e. not daughters of villagers.

People are changing their points of view and beliefs. Since food security is less certain after resettlement, people think much more about ways to save food.

Around 10 years ago, on Tet holiday, parents often brought cooked rice, cooked chicken and other cooked food to their in-laws. Cooked food is impossible to keep for very long. Therefore, I suggested they should take fresh food, which can be kept for a long time. (In-depth interview, village leader, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

There is no denying that the perceptions and lifestyle of affected people have been changed remarkably: discrimination in education is discarded; early marriages are still maintained but child marriage patterns are shifting. In the past, child marriages were arranged by parents for very young girls around 13-14 years old. Now we have early marriages rather than child marriages. Under-18-year-old girls decide marriage for themselves and they get acceptance from the family.

Gender Division of Labor

Following resettlement, affected people have to adapt to a new ecological system where their former natural resources-dependent livelihoods have to change. Consequently, the division of labor between women and men has also changed, and indeed is still changing. The result of focus group discussions in Thon 2 Village and Parum B Village shows the work time of local people reducing sharply.

Before, both women and men were busy with livelihood tasks, but now people have much more leisure time. In the old location women worked longer

than men. While men were busy enjoying their time hunting and fishing, women went mining and took care of most of the activities on the farm. Men normally supported women in cutting and burning big trees, but women were responsible for sowing, maintenance, harvesting and transferring products to the house. In the forest, both men and women joined to gather Malva nut²⁰, men were in charge of collecting honey, and women gathered bamboo shoots, mushrooms and other accessible products. Men often collected Tavac wine to drink.

20 The Malva nut tree in the genus *Sterculia* is native to mainland Southeast Asia. Its seed is used in traditional Chinese medicine as a “coolant”, for gastrointestinal disorders, and for soothing the throat. As a result, it is collected as a major non-timber forest product. In Laos it is the country’s second export crop after coffee.

Activity	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Gold mining	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Highland paddy field			H	W	W	W		W		W	W	W
Bean	W	W	W									W
Corn	W	W	W		W			W				W
Cassava	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Banana	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Sugar cane, pineapple	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Plant and Havest Jackfruit, Lansium domesticum, grub, etc (Perennial crops)				W	W				W	W	W	
Collect non-timber (Honey, Tovac wine)				H	H	H	H					
Thysanolaenna, Bamboo Shoot (Non-timber)	W									W	W	W
Collect Malva nut (Non-timber)					B	B						
Fishing	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Hunting	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

Table 7.1 Combination of Crop Calendar and Gender Division of Labor in Thon 2 Village Before Resettlement
(B: Both husband and wife; H: Husband; W: Wife)

Source: FGDs results in Thon 2 Village, 2015

Activity	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Gold mining	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Paddy farm			H	W	W	W		W		W	W	W
Bean	W	W	W									W
Corn	W	W	W		W			W				W
Cassava	W	W	W	W	W	W	w	W	W	W	W	W
Banana	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Sugar cane, pineapple	W	W	W	w	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Plant and Harvest Jackfruit, Lansium domesticum, grub, etc (Perennial crops)				W	W				W	W	W	
Collect non-timber (Honey, Tava wine)				H	H	H	H					
Thysa- nolaenna, Bamboo Shoot (Non-timber)	W									W	W	W
Collect Malva nut (Non-timber)					B	B						
Fishing	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Hunting	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

**Table 7.2 Combination of Crop Calendar and
Gender Division of Labor in Parum B Village Before Resettlement**
(B: Both husband and wife; H: Husband; W: Wife)

Source: Focus Group Discussion results in Parum B Village, 2015

Today, with less land, people save the land area for highland paddy and planting acacia as a perennial crop. On illegally expanded land, Co Tu grow many kinds of bean with seeds provided by the national program and SB4HP. On forest land, there are not many big trees that need support from men for cutting, so women mostly do this by themselves. The resettlement process brought affected people nearer the commune center, and far from the old wild forest. Natural resources in the new locations are fewer. Nowadays, hunting is strictly illegal. The flow of the Bung River is interrupted by a dam, and most of the men have stopped fishing.

Activity	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Paddy farm			W	W	W	W		W		W	W	W
Bean	W	W	W									W
Corn	W	W	W		W			W				W
Plant Acacia (Perennial crops)				W	W				W	W	W	
Thysanolaenna, Bamboo Shoot (Non-timber)	W											
Collect Malva nut (Non-timber)					B	B						
Fishing (Rarely)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Hunting (Rarely)	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

**Table 7.3 Combination of Crop Calendar and
Gender Division of Labor in Thon 2 Village After Resettlement**
(B: Both husband and wife; H: Husband; W: Wife)

Source: Focus Group Discussion results in Thon 2 Village, 2015

Activity	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Paddy farm			W	W	W	W		W		W	W	W
Bean	W	W	W									W
Corn	W	W	W		W			W				W
Plant Acacia (Perennial crops)				W	W				W	W	W	
Thysanolaenna, Bamboo Shoot (Non-timber)	W											
Collect Malva nut (Non-timber)					B	B						
Hunting (Rarely)	H	H	H	HH	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H

**Table 7.4 Combination of Crop Calendar and
Gender Division of Labor in Parum B Village After Resettlement
(B: Both husband and wife; H: Husband; W: Wife)**

Source: Focus Group Discussion results in Parum B Village, 2015

Men have less work to do and even if they work hard the benefits are small. Hunting nowadays is a leisure activity rather than an income source.

Men just lead dogs to go hunting in the forest near our former village, roughly 30km far from home. Some men go to help their wives on the farm. The elderly often stay at home and take care of their grandchildren. (In-depth interview, married man, 60 years old, Thon 2 Village).

A few men try to do whatever they can to support their wives: the young ones act as motorbike drivers to transfer rice from farm to home; the older ones try to help their wives with household chores such as washing clothes, cooking rice, moving garbage or looking after grandchildren. But unfortunately most men still keep to old gender ideologies and do not want to change the gender division of labor.



**Figure 7.1 Taking Rice from Highland Paddy Field to Home;
Caring for a Grandchild** *Source: Field Trip Observation, 2015*

Many men just enjoy their time drinking and hunting. Old men cannot go far to hunt big animals, so they just go around the resettlement zone to trap small ones.

My husband has never done any household chores. He has never even swept the house for me. Men in our village are lazy. They say that household chores are women's responsibility. (Focus group discussion, married woman, 65 years old, Thon 2 Village).

In summary, there is a slight change in gender division of labor when some men are willing to share household duties with their wives, but a lot of men still keep to the old ways.

Livelihoods Transitions

Household Income and Household Daily Expenditure

In the new ecology after resettlement, affected people cannot earn as much household income as in their former village. In answer to the question "how is your household income after resettlement?" no household said that it was increasing. Approximately 96.9 % of households asserted that their income had decreased significantly, and just 3.1% that there was no change.

Valid		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Increase	0	0	0	0
	Decrease	63	96.9	96.9	96.9
	Same	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
	Total	65	100.0	100.0	

Table 7.5 Household Income in Comparison Between Before and After Resettlement *Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=65 households)*

Living here or living in our former village are both fine for me. However, in our former village we had a lot of fish, we could catch fish whenever we wanted. Chin (a kind of fish) were plentiful. We got meat from the forest. If a hunter from the village caught an animal, he would share it with all the villagers. We did not need to pay. Nowadays, if they have something like that, they will keep it for their family or sell to Kinh people. In our new resettled village, if we want to eat meat or fish, we have to buy it from Kinh mobile street vendors. I also go to the forest and hunt, but I can only get small animals such as squirrels. (In-depth interview, married man, 60 years old, Thon 2 Village).

Affected people indicated that household expenditure is increasing rapidly. 55 households out of 65 said that their daily expenditure was increasing because of food and petrol prices. In resettlement areas, affected people in Parum B Village cannot access the Bung River to catch fish. There is a small stream in their location, but no fish in it. In Thon 2 Village, because of a dam, the Bung River is now too deep and it is not easy to fish without a boat. Forest areas in the new location are poor in resources and hunting is strictly illegal. Consequently, it is impossible to have meat from the forest. Motorbikes are the main means of transport and households spend a lot of money on them.

Many households said that because of lack of household income, they have to minimize their daily expenditure.

Formerly, my family could buy most necessities. If we wanted to eat some special food, we could afford it. We spent money

comfortably. But now almost all our compensation was spent for the house and we cannot earn much from work here. We need to save as much money as possible. We cannot live the way we used to. (Household Survey, married man, 27 years old, Parum B).

Content	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Increase	55	84.6	84.6	84.6
Valid Decrease	8	12.3	12.3	96.9
Same	2	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	65	100.0	100.0	

Table 7.6 Household Daily Expenditure: Before and After Resettlement

Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=65 households)

Indigenous people in Vietnam have subsidies for their education, and the Vietnamese government also provides free medical cards for poor households. It is complicated to measure fees such as for education or health services. Therefore, this research decided to measure daily expenditure with variables such as food, petrol, electricity, gas, and so on.

Content	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Annual Savings Before Resettlement (VND Million)	65	3.0	70.0	17.246	13.7512
Annual Savings After Resettlement (VND Million)	65	.0	15.0	1.977	2.8565

Table 7.7 Annual Savings Before and After Resettlement

Source: Household survey, 2015(n=65 households)

In the former village, the lowest annual saving was VND 3 million (USD 142) and the highest was VND 70 million (USD 3,319). The numbers in the new villages are very low. Many households confirmed that their only savings were the compensation money in their bank accounts. The highest annual household saving in resettled villages was VND 15 million (USD 711).

This research cannot provide a full list of amounts of compensation paid to resettled households, but the amounts reported from the household survey were surprising. The lowest amount of compensation was VND 200 million (USD 9,485) and the highest VND 5 billion (USD 237,135).

Content	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Compensation Amount (VND Million)	55	200.0	5000.0	774.545	697.6384
Spent Percentage (%)	63	50	100	76.97	15.123
Valid N (listwise)	54				

Table 7.8 Compensation Amount and Spent Percentage

Source: Household survey, 2015(n=65 households)

For various reasons, the research could not get a full picture of compensation received and spent. Some household heads did not remember their exact amounts, and some others did not want to disclose this information. 55 households revealed the amounts of their compensation, and 66 households revealed the percentage spent.

The figures indicated that on average around 77% of the compensation was spent. Many households said that they had to withdraw money from the compensation bank account for small expenses such as education or health fees. According to the household survey, at least seven households out of the 65 confirmed that they had spent all the compensation.

Single households were at the bottom of the compensation list. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions confirmed that most single households got around VND 250 million (USD 11,856). As a vulnerable group, single households and single mother households received extra support. Those amounts, roughly VND 5 million (USD 237), were included in the compensation they were paid. However, many single households and single mother households said “No support” when they were asked the question “What kind of priority did you get from SB4HP because of your material status?” Language barriers and low education might lead to poor understanding of ADB policies and project support. This raises concerns about people’s capacity to demand human rights, women’s rights and rights of indigenous people, especially in the case of indigenous single mother and single households.

Due to failures on the part of project staff and local authorities, local people had to pay big amounts for their houses. Affected people were trapped by private construction groups into paying very expensive prices.

Constructors told me that they could not build a house for VND 150 million (USD 7,114) as I suggested. In total I received around VND 250 million (USD 11,856), and had to pay VND 200 million (USD 9,485) for a small house. The rest I gave to my son. He needed a motorbike. He is poor. So are we, so until now he has not got married. (In-depth interview, single mother, 58 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

We located here in 2012 and I still have not finished my house. I have prepared some material - mostly wood from the old village. I asked my cousins and nephews to help me move it here. Since constructors asked a high price for building a house, I put the materials by. I still cannot afford to have a house. I am living in my shelter and sometimes move to my relatives' houses. (In-depth interview, single man, 60 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

In summary, it is sad to say that the household finances of people affected by SB4HP will be challenging in coming years. Increasing household expenditure and decreasing household income are the reason for lower annual savings. High amounts in bank accounts are affected people's main finance resource, but they are dwindling by the year.

Mobility Pattern

Mobility of affected people improved. As with other hydropower projects, SB4HP has built roads for various purposes. They need safe roads to bring in construction materials to build the dam, electricity plant, grid system for power delivery and basic infrastructure for resettlement residents. In compliance with Vietnamese regulations, roads are also considered as an essential factor to fulfill the needs of the population in resettlement areas. Thanks to compensation from the SB4HP, many households have money to buy motorbikes - even expensive ones. Despite the distance from their villages to the commune center, the mobility of affected people nowadays is easier than in the old location. The

convenience of roads and the variety of means of transport brings new mobility patterns for women, although their ability to enjoy these facilities depends on their age.

The SB4HP environmental impact assessment, carried out by SWECO International, indicated clearly that, before resettlement, Co Tu women's mobility was very low. They were rarely able to move out of their village. In the past, if local people wanted to go downtown, they had to cross the Bung and Ta Bhing Rivers. Women mostly depended on their men for any journey outside the village. Their travelling was mostly on foot from home to farm and back.



Figure 7.2 Crossing The Bung River to Visit Parum B Village at the Old Location - Dry Season 2012 *Source: CSRD, 2012*

In the new location, every household bought a motorbike with their compensation. Consequently, women have the chance to learn how to ride a motorbike. However, only young women can manage it. Few middle-aged women can ride motorbikes, and in the elderly group no-one can. Young women can now move independently. They can also help elderly or single women if they need to travel.

Young people can drive but old people, both men and women, cannot. Many 40-year old women can't drive a motorbike. When women moved to the resettled village, they started to drive because they had money to buy motorbikes. Almost all the men could drive in the old village.

In the past, women were always carried by family members or motorbike drivers. They paid VND 300-400 thousand due to the long distance. Now, they can drive motorbikes themselves. Women often go together either to travel for pleasure or to purchase clothes for their husband and children. (In-depth interview, married man, 44 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

Since young women know how to use motorbikes, their life is better, except for a worry about driving licenses. Like many other indigenous people, most of the young women, excluding the educated, have driven motorbikes without a driving license. This raises concerns about women's safety when traveling. The Road Traffic Law in Vietnam requires all drivers to have a valid license, but an illiterate person cannot pass the driving license examination. This is one of several serious challenges for most indigenous people in Vietnam.



Figure 7.3 Going Back from Farm by Motorbike

Source: Field Trip Observation, 2015

All in all, there is no denying the fact that increased mobility in resettlement areas helps women become less dependent on men and more able to access outside services. But there is concern about driving licenses and basic knowledge of road traffic laws.

Culture Change

In resettlement, compensation for culture values is controversial. Whilst a cost norm may be prepared for visible injury, there is no tool that can measure invisible culture loss. To indigenous people in general and to Co Tu people in Vietnam in particular, traditional culture plays an important role in their spiritual life.

Some communities lost their visible and invisible culture when they moved from their former village to a new resettlement area. Some lost more when they lived near Kinh people in their resettlement area.

Ms. Lam Thi Thu Suu, CSRD director, VRN board member, 2015.

Visible culture symbols were seriously considered in the SB4HP resettlement process. The Guol House (community house) is a public place for community meetings and festivals. To preserve that symbol, SB4HP provided VND 80 million (USD3,794) per Guol House to re-build them in the new locations. Traditionally, a Guol House is built with timber. Big trees in areas to be flooded were collected for the construction. Local people had rights to design the model and suitable motifs for the house. By doing so, in the new resettled village, affected people use the Guol House just as they did in their former village.

Respect for the dead is one of the traditional beliefs of Co Tu people. Movement of a cemetery is a source of fear. Generation to generation, Co Tu people bury their dead in tombs nearby their villages. They had never re-buried. But as part of the resettlement process, all the cemeteries were dug up and moved. Because of the shortage of land in the new sites, graveyards were relocated at some distance away.

Since moving to their new village, villagers in Parum B believe that the new location is not good for their life. They are worried that digging up the tombs will make their dead angry. Because moving the cemetery was undertaken by project workers, many local villagers complained about superficial implementation. From 2012 to 2013, nine villagers died, mostly men. Some people said that the different weather in the new village might make people weaker so that they died. It is commonly believed that there are supernatural

and invisible actors causing misfortunes. In addition, some people assert that the current location of Parum B is not safe.

In the past, our forefathers exploited this area by way of shifting cultivation. Later on, they left because livestock and poultry could not survive. We are scared to go into the forest around here because there are many old tombs. We did not agree when SB4HP suggested this area, but we had no option. (In-depth interview, married man, 70 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

The resettlement process is setting up a new modern life in the resettled village, which gradually erodes the traditional cultural identities of the Co Tu. Wedding ceremonies are a specific custom of ethnic minority groups, but are very different from in the original village.

Our wedding custom is now quite different. In the past, wedding parties were held in the Guol House. The groom's family prepared a buffalo which villagers killed as an offering of the groom's family to the bride's family. The groom's family also brought Chieng and Che (jars) to the bride's family. The bride's family contributed chicken for the party. If the groom's family was poor, they would give pigs instead of buffalo. Co Tu people wore sarong and danced the whole day. It was fun. Nowadays, people organize weddings followed Kinh habits. They hire someone to cook all the food and customers bring money as gifts for the new couple. I prefer Kinh practice because it is less expensive. Traditional wedding parties were very expensive because people spent a night and a day drinking. Besides, buffalo is too expensive now: almost VND 20 million each. (In-depth interview, married man, 44 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

There is no denying that traditional culture is easily influenced by internal and external factors. Even though there was no requirement for a social impact assessment (SIA) during the SB4HP approval process, the project did show concern for culture loss, although not everyone was satisfied with the

implementation. The new life, living beside Kinh people, is likely to result in more changes in cultural identity.

Livelihood System Dynamics in Involuntary Resettlement in SB4HP

Transformation processes govern the progress of human beings in adapting to a new living environment. Things may improve, stay much the same, or get worse. The Co Tu ethnic minority group used to live far from the commune center. In their new zones, they feel curious about everything. The adaptation process always has risks - some people will fail while others, who have good awareness and know how to take full advantage of new opportunities, will be successful.

Livelihood systems transitions

“Hanging in” has occurred in households in which livelihood is gradually maintained. These households are often led by aware couples and young couples who can manage their compensation and have some small regular income sources. This group includes households having new livelihood models such as groceries or having salaries as commune staff.

The “Stepping up” category includes active households with a good plan to use their compensation and develop a stable livelihood model for household improvement. Only a few of the households come within this category. Most of these families got VND billions in compensation. They are intelligent people with a good awareness on household economy strategy. Most of the people with very high compensation are working as commune staff.

“Stepping out” is when affected households move to another place after resettlement. In Parum B Village and Thon 2 Village, this type of transition is rare. Just one household in Thon 2 Village moved elsewhere when they found a better location for their life in another village. This practice is not uncommon in other domestic investment hydropower projects in Vietnam. Many households, especially old couples, cannot adapt to new urban design locations.

“Falling down and out” households are those who fail to find a livelihood and who lack adaptive capacity. These households are going to be poor again, as they were before resettlement. In Thon 2 Village and Parum B Village this group is quite large. Many of them are single households, unmarried mother

households, low education households and elderly households. Mostly they received little compensation and they have no other regular household income sources. They are living witnesses to a worse life after resettlement.

Chapter Summary

It is clear that household incomes of affected people are decreasing and household expenditure is increasing. This puts burdens on both women and men. New locations are more accessible, and a modern life style is operating in project-affected communities. Social values, beliefs and behaviors are changing along with Co Tu culture. Women now are more independent and mobile, but have more responsibilities for earning and managing household income. Some men are willing to support wives in their household work; but others have difficulty coming to terms with the loss of their former “breadwinner” role.

Chapter 8

Gender Relations Changes

The Livelihoods framework is a very flexible conceptual framework, in which each factor may influence others in various ways. This research focuses on how changed livelihood systems and structural changes caused by involuntary resettlement impact on gender relations. To measure how much gender relations transform, gender ideology and gender hierarchy are independent variables.

Gender Ideologies Modification and Gender Relations Changes

Regarding intra-household gender relations, patriarchal gender ideologies put both women and men under stress. For example when, a few years after resettlement, people realized that they no longer had a sustainable income.

Since Co Tu people still consider women as household income keepers, women are more stressed in expenditure management. They try to save money by spending less for daily food. Normally, they just buy cooking oil, fish sauce and condiments. But sometimes they buy fish or meat from mobile vendors when their family has guests - or when they cannot stand another meal of vegetables from the farm.

Men are stressed by loss of confidence because their “backbone role” as breadwinners is now weak. To deal with that, some men make efforts with

illegal hunting as their only option. Then again they feel bad because of the penalties imposed by the rangers.

Men are very worried. The price of wild animals is expensive. By selling them, local people will have much money. It is unlucky if they meet rangers. If local people trap small and normal wild animals such as squirrels, mice, etc, rangers may allow those. However, if local people hunt protected animals they will be arrested by the rangers. If local people want to earn money, they have to hide their activities. Men keep hunting tools in the boxes under their motorbike seats. (Focus group discussion, single man, 45 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

When men are under pressure, domestic violence is a consequence in some families. Thanks to training on gender equality and worries about getting into trouble with the authorities, husbands do not beat their wives very much. But physical domestic violence is converted into mental domestic violence.

My husband does not have much work to do, so he often hangs out with other young boys in the village. One day, we came back from hospital, and he knew that because of a problem of his, we could not have a baby normally. He said to me “I am strong, that is your problem”. I know he is very sad. Since then he is usually angry with me. He cut many of my beautiful clothes. He shouts at me all the time. It would be good if he had work to do, and no time to be angry. (In-depth interview, married women, 27 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

However, some men have a positive attitude to women’s community work.

I am proud of her. What she wants, I support her. She has good capacity to be a village leader. Many villagers trusted her, so they voted for her. I do whatever I can. I sweep house, wash my clothes and get rid of the garbage for my wife. I also can cook rice for her. (In-depth interview, husband of a female village leader, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

Some other men support their wives' contribution to community work because of family benefits. Neighborhood and community unity are in decline. Since gender relations are culturally and socially structured concepts (Harders, 2011), they impact on social relations. A monetary society not only destroys social relations, but also innovates modern gender ideologies regarding women's leadership. After the compensation process, men realized that when a person - whether husband or wife - has power, their family has a chance to benefit. People need to support their spouses to be village leaders because of the benefit for their family.

My wife cannot be a village leader, because she is illiterate. However, if she is voted to be a leader, I will be very happy and support her. If she is a village leader, we can have many chances to earn money. (In-depth interview, married man, 52 years old, Parum B Village, 2015).

In inter-household gender relations, social changes have clashed with some social norms and Co Tu traditional customs. This has led to some negative behavior in gender relations at community level. As mentioned before, being an unmarried mother is difficult. Having babies without marriage with construction workers is regarded as shameful. Villagers do not respect unmarried mothers. They think that if these women fell in love with Co Tu men, or men of another ethnic minority group, their life would be better.

Young girls tend to like Kinh people, but few Kinh people can adapt to our lifestyle. I am not happy with the way young women approach Kinh construction workers. Maybe because there are some Kinh-Co Tu couples in our village, these girls thought that they also can have a similar marriage. It is not easy to realize who good Kinh people are. Therefore, it would be better to find a Co Tu man. (In-depth interview, female village leader, 37 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

People often think that men are never happy when they are led by a woman. However, in the Co Tu community, many villagers tend to support strong women. Certainly, some men appreciate these women's ability and accept their roles in the community.

I was a leader of the Women's Union since 1992, a village headwoman in 2006, a vice village headwoman in 2007-2008, and have been a president of Father Front Union of Thon 2 Village.

It depends on people's personality. Some men accept, but others do not. However, this is not down to our sex, women or men. Local people consider village leaders' capacity and whether women can take on the responsibility well or not. Women work hard, they can do their house work and community work well. Men are lazy, and they do not want to do community work. They like to drink, and after drinking, they forget their duty or cannot concentrate to finish any task. (In-depth interview, female village leader, 37 years old, Thon 2 Village, 2015).

In short, under livelihood change, gender relations are strained because of finance issues. This is one of the reasons why husbands accept wives' working at community level. From a Co Tu culture aspect, social norms and traditional customs still affect women's marriage status and decisions.

Gender Hierarchies Transform and Gender Relation Changes

Women have their own bank accounts for compensation money. Thus, men need to ask if they need to get money from a woman's bank account. Without the woman's permission, the men cannot withdraw the money. However, old gender ideologies run deep; hence they seem to change only slightly.

Contents		Husband	Wife	Total average of husband and wife's answers
Decision Maker Before Resettlement	Husband	52.3%	76.9%	64.6%
	Wife	3.1%	1.5%	2.3%
	Both	40.0%	16.9%	28.5%
	Others	4.6%	4.6%	4.6%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Decision Maker After Resettlement	Husband	47.7%	69.2%	58.5%
	Wife	6.2%	6.2%	6.2%
	Both	40.0%	18.5%	29.2%
	Others	6.2%	6.2%	6.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.1 Main Decision Maker Before and After Resettlement

Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130, husband and wife)

64.6% of husbands were decision makers before resettlement, and 58.5% afterwards. Interestingly, men's answers tried to show that there was gender equality in decision making, with 40% of men saying "both husband and wife". In contrast, wives assumed that husbands had power with 76.9% saying "husband" before resettlement and 69.2% afterwards.

Gender relations in Co Tu community were governed by patriarchy; this is quite different from the practice of the Kinh majority. To Co Tu people, men are decision makers, but women have most rights on the farm. The reason is that women have been the main laborers on the farm for several decades. In some communities, men may interfere with women's third role, community participation, but in this Co Tu community, leader of the Farmer's Union is a position which no man wants to share.

In our village, Village Farmers' Union leaders are usually female. Generally, women are responsible for farming activities, effectively they have much more experience than men. (In-depth interview, female village leader, Parum B Village, 2015).

		Husband	Wife
Income Keeper Before Resettlement	Husband	9.20%	12.30%
	Wife	75.40%	76.90%
	Both	13.80%	9.20%
	Others	1.50%	1.50%
Total		100.00%	100.00%
Income Keeper After Resettlement	Husband	7.7%	10.8%
	Wife	75.4%	73.8%
	Both	13.8%	12.3%
	Others	3.1%	3.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%

Table 8.2 Household Income Keeper Before and After Resettlement *Source: Household survey, 2015 (n=130, husband and wife)*

The above table confirms that wives are the household income keepers in the family, with no significant change before and after resettlement. 76.2% said that wives were household income keepers before resettlement, and 74.6% after resettlement. In a patriarchal regime, women have not been main decision makers. Paradoxically, keeping household income is not evidence of power anymore. Women are responsible to their husbands for how much money is spent. If there is any problem, that is down to the woman. Some men get angry with their wives and say that women do not have the capacity to manage expenditures. If men did the managing, would women dare to criticize?

At community level, women keep doing well in the hierarchy. The root cause may come from agriculture: because of women's experience, leaders of the Farmers' Union in both villages are female. By practically demonstrating their personal capacity, women obtain men's respect in the community power structure. A few women experience other positions such as village party leaders, village heads or leader of the Father Front Union.

In short, the family is a cell of society and a social institution. Hence, gender relations in the family are influenced by inter-household social relations. In existing society which is going towards capitalism, the traditional communism of Co Tu people is being destroyed. Villagers recognize that leadership in society will bring benefits for their own family. Hence, husband and wife support each other in seizing the opportunities. By doing so, the relations between them are strengthened. Even men's objectives are conditioned by financial issues. The

competition among families for private benefits pushes capable women into higher status.

To summarize, it is clear that ecosystem and structural changes influence social space and livelihoods. Household finance is a big factor damaging gender relations. Moreover, mobility also creates some pros and cons for gender relations. Experience in other domestic hydropower projects and other international standard projects also shows that, in resettlement areas, gender relations change sharply.

The Dynamics of Gender Relation Changes in Involuntary Resettlement

It is easier to see levels of gender relation changes based on households' Livelihoods transitions in resettlement sites through the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) of and to men and women in the changed socio-economic, ecological and cultural environments in the new residential areas.

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting training on gender equality. • Women named on land certificates, bank accounts. • Young girls want to pursue higher education. • No gender discrimination in access to education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unskilled labor of both women and men • Middle-aged and old women have much lower education than men. • Middle-aged and old women cannot drive motorbikes. • Young boys do not pursue high education. • Habit of alcohol drinking in men's group • Men do not share household chores. • Unmarried mothers are not respected by villagers. • Widow-headed households
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Young women and men change awareness and accept to seek jobs in factories in downtown and other provinces. • More men support domestic work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domestic violence caused by spent compensation and lack of income • Social vices when people seek jobs outside villages. Men may be at risk more than women because of their frequent traveling.

Table 8.3 Result of SWOT tool in Parum B and Thon 2 Villages

Source: Focus group discussions, 2015

There is a strong linkage between livelihood assets, Livelihood systems transitions and transformation processes and gender relations. Changes can lead either to poverty or to well-being. Asset and attribute changes, in this context mobility and culture, create different conditions for men and women's development. To adapt to these changes, transformation processes occur as women and men try to cope.

Women are often more calm than men. The competitive characteristics of Co Tu women are different from men. They do not fight because of drunkenness. They cannot drive motorbikes well, and they are not very interested in spending money on entertainment downtown, like men. Some capable women consider the new life as a new chance for their development, and they seize the opportunity. Most of them are young educated women.

For single households and single parent households, the transformation process has occurred very slowly. One reason is that their available livelihood resources are less compared with couples' households – e.g. a lack of labor to work the land or plant trees. For this reason, they probably get less compensation. It is not easy to get regular income in new resettlement areas, so that their livelihood outcomes tend to be poor. As a result, single households and single parent households are likely to come out badly from forced movement. It should be mentioned here that in resettlement areas, there are few cases of single households and that most household heads are male. Most young single parent households are headed by women. Some of them have never married, and some are young widows. Marriage customs require big dowries, so they have no chance of marriage. Most widowers seek to remarry, but widows do not. There is no barrier on re-marriage in Co Tu custom, but the women just want to spend their remaining life with their children.

In elderly couples' households it is not easy to measure the influence of new Livelihood systems on gender relations after resettlement. At inter-household level, most decisions are taken by their children. The children also usually replace them in community work and meetings.

Gender equality families are mostly young couples, village leader families or educated families. In those families, men have open minds and support the women with house chores, and encourage them to develop leadership qualities.

In gender inequality households, gender relations are strained. Root causes are mostly from income crises. Because of lack of household income and clashes over cash management, men and women are always under stress. Domestic violence may transfer from physical to mental. Women are normally the victims.

Chapter Summary

SB4HP shows a strong linkage between ecological and social changes caused by involuntary resettlement, and socio-economic status and gender relations. *Gender is a “social structure”, therefore it is “embedded in the individual, interactional, and institutional dimensions” of society* (Risman, 2004). The involuntary resettlement process makes a huge change in the socio-ecological system and then creates a new socio-economic status of women and men. The new socio-economic status forms some positive and some negative changes in the way men and women treat each other. The changes vary in each family and have a slightly positive change at community level. However, the number of women working as village leaders is few. Heads of village and village party leaders are usually men. Women mostly just get positions which men are not interested in such as leaders of the Farmers’ Union, Village Fatherland Front, or the Women’s Union.

In resettlement sites, single households and single parent households fare worse than other types of household. With a lack of land and less compensation they are under stress in seeking household income. Because of less compensation, some people have to rely on relatives for accommodation, which puts them low down in the hierarchy.

Chapter 9

Conclusions, Discussion, and Recommendations

This chapter summarizes the main findings of this research, looks at whether its objectives have been achieved, makes suggestions for further studies on gender dimensions and hydropower development in Vietnam, and puts forward some recommendations for stakeholders in ADB-funded projects.

Conclusions

Implementation of gender-inclusive resettlement – the good points

- SB4HP to be commended for their efforts to achieve a full gender-inclusive resettlement, despite being not entirely successful.
- SB4HP employed a combination of various ADB policies - indigenous people, gender and transparency. Good policies, but implementation was not always completely successful.
- SB4HP has good examples of gender mainstreaming which are not easy to find in other hydropower projects in Vietnam:
 - Gender and Development Policy
 - Gender Action Plan
 - Gender and Resettlement Checklist

- All have contributed to the improvement of women's status inter- and intra-household in the resettlement villages.
- Setting up a quota of 30% women in meetings was a positive idea that can be useful where meetings normally have few women. But with reservations; (see second bullet point in following list of "not so good points.")
- The land certification process was quick and efficient. Important that affected households were given land certificates under both husbands' and wives' names to ensure equal land ownership.
- Separate bank accounts for compensation money, for husbands and wives respectively, recognized women's rights and the importance of financial security.
- Bank advice to compensation recipients unused to handling large sums of money a good move, even though much of the advice fell on deaf ears.
- Village Resettlement Development Groups (VRDGs), with 45% women members, to monitor the construction work, provided good opportunities for practicing grassroots democracy in accordance with the Vietnamese legal framework.
- The Indigenous People Development Policy (IPDP) was applied to make sure that the Co Tu, who constituted the majority of the affected people, were respected and supported to achieve their human rights.
- The project had a project officer who could speak English, Co Tu and Vietnamese.
- With better roads, and compensation money to buy motorbikes, women have become more mobile, and less dependent on husbands for family visits. With full basic infrastructure and available means of transport, women are gradually reducing their dependence on men. The ADB provided a health care center in Thon 2 Village so women no longer need to ask men's support for travel. Young women support each other to go to the market or other agencies downtown.
- Kindergartens and primary schools are now available in the villages, so women have less of a child caring burden.

Implementation of gender-inclusive resettlement – the not so good points

- The opinions of VRDG monitors were sometimes ignored. This gives the impression that the monitoring was just for appearance - to fulfill project indicators.
- The project period was limited, and setting a quota of 30% of women in village meetings was not enough to guarantee gender equality. Although women came to meetings, they could not always make the decisions: e.g. they were expected to ask their husbands if a decision related to investment on the farm, even though husbands made little contribution there. The quota did not change gender roles and there was no significant change in community participation by gender. Currently most meetings have mainly women attendees, men only coming to “important” meetings.
- Most project staff and ADB specialists had limited knowledge of Co Tu culture. The social monitoring program was undertaken without a gender expert. Lack of knowledge of traditional gender ideologies limited project efficiency, including the implementation of gender-sensitive activities.
- As with all ADB projects, SB4HP applied the Public Communication Policy (PCP) to ensure that affected people were properly informed. But they weren't. Information was provided in a plethora of documents, but they were in Vietnamese which not all villagers speak. Also many villagers, especially women, are illiterate. Most middle aged and older women cannot remember the main project information and technical knowledge provided in livelihood training, because documents run to hundreds of pages and a few posters in the Guol House and are in Vietnamese.
- All in all, the gender quota system, disclosure of information and transparency did not work efficiently. The application in practice of the various ADB policies did not bring gender empowerment or gender equality to the affected people.
- Several young girls became pregnant as a result of liaisons with construction workers, who abandoned them when they returned home. The project should have warned the girls about the risks, and provided contraception.

Impacts of Involuntary Resettlement on Livelihood

In their former villages, the affected people had sustainable livelihoods from slash and burn agriculture, fishing, hunting in the forest, and gathering timber and forest products. Even gold mining. After resettlement they had less land, no gold mine, hunting was illegal, there was little scope for fishing and the local forest offered fewer products sought by more people, and subject to government controls.

In the new circumstances a sustainable livelihood is hard to find. Some educated villagers have taken jobs with the local commune, and are getting by. Others have opened grocery shops in their villages. Others plan to develop new crops including fruit and trees, although these take time. But others are reduced to drawing on dwindling compensation money.

Influences of Socio-economic, Ecological and Cultural Changes on Co Tu People's Gender Relations

Involuntary resettlement causes important changes in the socio-ecological system and in the process creates a new socio-economic status for women and men. These socio-economic changes in status have both positive and negative impacts on the way men and women treat each other.

Gender relations are under strain because of financial crisis. Affected households face a lack of regular household income. Women's cultivation of the limited land provided by the project does not generate much cash income. They cannot rely on natural and forest resources as before. They cannot go in for gold mining, hunting, collecting timber and non-timber resources, and fishing as before: the new villages are far from their original forest, and hunting and the exploitation of forest resources are strictly controlled by the government. Because of the lack of natural resources, they have to spend more money on daily household expenditures, especially food. A less traditional life also requires more money for petrol, electricity, and new goods for children. Lack of household income and pressure on finances is a recurrent cause of domestic violence.

The strong regime of patriarchy, long a cultural trait of the Co Tu people, has been shaken by external factors, which makes gender relations more fragile. Patriarchy has been maintained for a long time in the Co Tu community, with traditional gender ideology tending towards inequality in gender roles. Women

have been assigned tasks related to farming and household duties, while men have been given the responsibility of seeking household income outside the family. However, fewer natural resources, combined with the fact that Co Tu men are mostly unskilled, means that men cannot maintain their breadwinner role. In turn, men become distressed, because they think that they lose respect from other family members. And for Co Tu women, the decrease in household income and increase in household expenditure put more burdens on them in their role of household income earner.

Within households there are some slight changes in gender division of labor whereby some men do household work to support women. Men are also sometimes more flexible in allowing women to be leaders, although this is partly because they think that by being a leader, their wife may bring more profit to the family.

The Co Tu community is gradually becoming a monetary society. Affected people begin to care a lot about money and this damages community relations. Some assets that used to be for inheritance, now are consumed. Moreover, the re-structuring of complete villages destroys close family and neighbor relationships. These altered social spaces have undermined social relations including gender relations.

It is evident that younger couples adapt to the changes better than older couples. They enjoy the upgraded infrastructure and use motorbikes as a new and convenient means of transport to access modern services. Some young couples have embarked on new livelihoods such as opening grocery shops or truck driving. However, older couples need the support of their children to get the benefit of the new upgraded infrastructure since they cannot travel by themselves. In terms of marital status, it can be seen that families which are coordinated by both husband and wife can deal with ecological and social changes better than single households or single-parent households. Young girls have more constructive plans to use their parents' compensation than young boys. In the past, sons got priority to access higher education, and girls gave up school because of travel difficulties as well as parents' decision. But these days, without gender discrimination in education and having better roads, young girls pursue higher education for a better new life in the future. In contrast, young boys tend to spend money on drinking alcohol and driving motorbikes

This project once again suggests that while MDBs have formulated a thick set of policies, they are not very effective during the implementation process (Jusi, 2006).

In the larger context of involuntary resettlement in hydropower projects, the research sought to investigate the most important aspects of ecological system change for the sustainable livelihoods of indigenous people. The transformation from shifting agriculture to stable agriculture is the biggest challenge and normally leads to an unsustainable livelihood for ethnic minority populations. Even without involuntary resettlement, indigenous people have difficulty coping with ecological and environmental change (Phuong et al. 2015; Reid 2012).

The findings of this study suggest that under involuntary resettlement, the breakdown of livelihoods and the shifting away from traditional culture put pressure on the gender relations of ethnic minority populations such as the Co Tu. The research reinforces the argument that hydropower projects create not only severe physical impacts but also bring massive social, cultural and agricultural changes (Jusi, 2006).

This book contributes to the literature on the linkage of gender, minorities and mega-projects. To date there has been no explicit focus on how these large dam developments affect gender, especially in the context of indigenous populations where the impacts are more serious because of culture identities. Involuntary resettlement usually brings affected people from remote areas closer to accessible areas. Forced movement often erases some culture symbols which tie indigenous people in specific gender relations. For this reason, culture clashes occur between the traditional culture of the indigenous groups and other cultures, and they affect gender in very contradictory ways. On the one hand, gender relations may be better if rigid gender ideologies are excised by culture modification. On the other hand, gender relations may become more strained due to culture barriers.

In resettlement sites, gender relations are complex. In some households, the relationship is adjusting gradually, in others relations have been strained. Women have shouldered both household work and productive work on the farm. The forced movement far from the original forest and with reduced amounts of land push affected people into unsustainable livelihoods. Affected people who have low education are not able to manage cash compensation well.

This is the main reason for their being impoverished even though they have received large amounts of compensation. Because of lack of fishery and forest resources, men are losing their breadwinner roles, and women become the livelihood pillars on the farm. Women are income keepers, and are expected to manage cash efficiently. However, men still keep to a traditional gender ideology based on a patriarchal regime that assigns them as decision-makers on income use, even though they are no longer main income earners. Problems among husbands and wives regarding income generation affect the state of household gender relations. However, these changes also have some positive sides. Gender inclusive resettlement and modern lifestyle reduce strict gender ideologies regarding women. Marriage customs are converting into Kinh practice which tends to be cheaper and where contributions for the wedding party are from both the groom's and bride's family. It becomes increasingly clear that women's agricultural work is the main source of household income, and as a result they are gradually getting a stronger voice in decision making within the family, and taking leadership roles in the community.

This trend may significantly alter the strict patriarchal regime of the Co Tu ethnic minority group in the future. To some extent, men do not have positive new livelihood roles, so their status inside and outside the family is undermined. However, in future, the situation may improve thanks to accessible location, rising awareness on gender equality, and new work opportunities for both women and men.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Further Study

As noted in the literature review, the number of academic studies on the gender dimensions of dam-induced resettlement is limited. There are no studies on gender impact in the downstream communities of ADB-funded dam projects. ADB has very little responsibility for downstream communities, and there is no compensation designed for them. Therefore, gender analyses in downstream communities perhaps would be very interesting.

Despite many arguments regarding the different adaptive capacity of ethnic minority groups and the majority group, the literature has not provided

any gender analysis to distinguish the gender impacts between these groups. This is also a promising new research area.

Recommendations for Stakeholders

ADB

While small-scale and environmentally friendly energy options certainly exist, they are often neglected in favor of large-scale environmentally destructive projects such as coal-fired power plants and hydropower dams, because of the political clout of big corporations. ADB should take the lead in committing to small-scale, community-initiated, and environmentally friendly projects in the energy sector.

Hydropower projects give rise to serious concerns about human rights abuse of indigenous people, so ADB should be careful to comply with their Public Communications Policy, with Water for All, and with the Safeguard Policy Statement (Indigenous People). It is strongly believed that due to illiteracy, indigenous people's access to project information is very low. Free and prior informed consent is most important, and project information must be presented in indigenous languages by a neutral party in a true public forum, in which community members do not face threats to their security should they express concern about a project. Leaflets and brochures with important information and illustrated graphs or pictures should be distributed for project-affected people. If those people maintain their own language, it should be used in the leaflets, brochures and other important documents. Community members should have the right to learn about alternatives to potentially destructive energy projects, and should have the right to peaceful protest when they disagree with a project.

Livelihood programs should be started before resettlement and then be maintained for at least 6 months to one year after project completion. No livelihood training should be undertaken during the busy time of movement; affected people must be able to concentrate on managing their removal and re-establishment. Awareness programs should be undertaken regularly and efficiently to change the passive role of affected people - they should be able to take initiatives; their lives are at stake.

Gender-inclusive resettlement should be applied to all ADB projects. It needs to be supported by specific training for all project staff and relevant stakeholders who are involved as project partners (a) on the traditional culture of project-affected people; and (b) on gender mainstreaming. Gender inequalities in indigenous communities are various, hence a gender quota for meetings of 30% women is not a good formulation to apply for every ethnic minority group. In Vietnam some ethnic minority groups maintain patriarchy, some others are matriarchal. In many circumstances, a gender balance ratio does not mean gender equality. It is also necessary to review what happens after meetings and what is behind sex-aggregated data. Single households or single parent households should receive more attention from project officers than just getting an added amount in their compensation; they need careful attention because their livelihood capacity is weaker than that of couple households.

There is no ADB policy for downstream impacts, so downstream communities have received no compensation from the ADB. This should be considered as a gap in ADB policies.

Vietnamese Government

There should be a formal rule about equal entitlement to compensation for women and men. This is a gap in the legal framework enabling serious abuse of women's rights in resettlement areas – compensation is awarded to household heads, who are mostly men.

Since 2012, the ADB has applied the Initial Poverty and Social Assessment (IPSA) for all its projects which have any relevant impacts. But full Social Impact Assessments (SIA) have yet to be included in any project's approval process in Vietnam. At present, the SIA is just a small part of the Environmental Impacts Assessment (EIA) coordinated by the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. This research suggests that there should be a separate and participatory SIA, coordinated by the Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs (MOLISA), which is in charge of social issues in Vietnam. Formally, the SIA has to be requested as part of the project's impact assessments, which also include socio-economic, side, and cultural impacts, impacts on indigenous residents, and impacts on gender equality. It is necessary to ensure a transparent relationship between contractors and consultants engaged to undertake the SIA.

The SIA should be funded by the government, not by the contractors, in order to avoid in-house lobbying in preparing the SIA report. As a project proposal put to the government by the contractors, the Ministry of Industry and Trade normally has to consider the significance of the project to Vietnam and request proof of financial capacity from the contractors. In practice, MOLISA should be involved in a coordinator group for the SIA process, to help the process get established. For more transparency a management board (MB) should be established with representatives from other functional agencies, including from the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST), the Ministry of Finance (MOF), and the Vietnam Women's Union (VWU). The bidding process should be done in fair competition with consultants and specialist groups. Another independent evaluation is also necessary. After all, the MB will give advice on the approval of the project proposal. For large-sized dams, the process must be done at national level, and for smaller dams at provincial level. In Vietnam at present, MDB loans are sought for large-sized dams only.

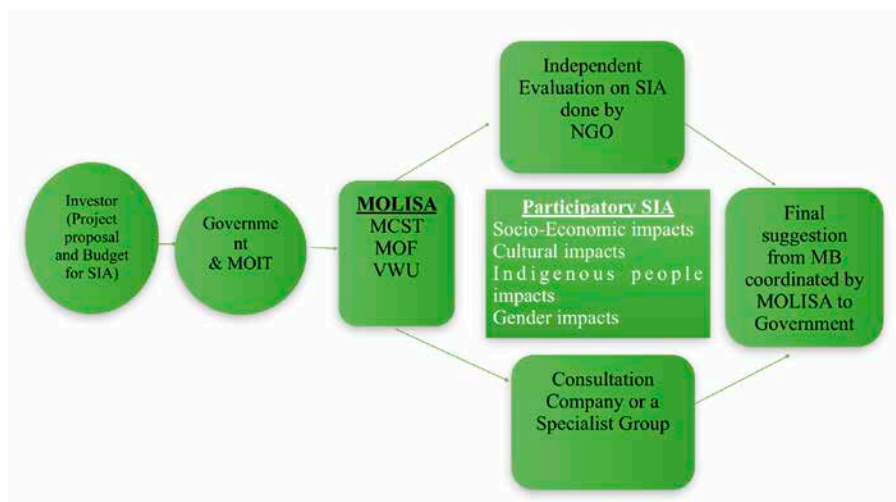


Figure 9.1 Suggested SIA Approval Process *Source: Research Results, 2015*

Implementation of the SIA should follow the International Principles for Social Impact Assessment published in 2015 by the International Association for Impact Assessment (this is an international guideline and researchers may have to apply it flexibly in the Vietnam context). The SIA should be very useful as it should cover many aspects of human rights, livelihoods and culture. A

participatory SIA is required for the active participation of affected people, local authorities and key informants. Participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methods which include many participatory and largely visual techniques should be one of main methodologies for data collection.

Local Authorities

Local authorities should get involved in all stages of projects as they will have to address post project downsides, consequences, and problems. That way, development will proceed in partnership, rather than being imposed on communities.

To improve the efficiency of livelihood programs, government officials should engage in discussions with indigenous communities to learn what kinds of livelihoods the community members' value, and what they hope for the future. Normally, local authorities understand the local context and the traditional culture and habits of project-affected people better than outsiders such as project officers, ADB specialists, and ADB consultants. For this reason, local authorities should have a greater contribution in awareness raising and capacity building, especially regarding income generating activities and compensation management. Training on these matters may not be effective if affected people themselves do not want to handle these issues.

Local authorities also should play a monitoring role in cooperation with the project officer to deal with any unsuitable activities such as corruption or unnecessary bureaucracy. Local authorities also have the right to report any impropriety of stakeholders during project stages.

Local authorities should be a grassroots channel implementing awareness raising activities on gender issues or other social issues in the new locations. Young girls and young women should be informed about risks of sex before marriage and provided with contraceptive methods to avoid unwanted pregnancies.

See note below under "Affected People."

Affected People

Affected people have to be aware that compensation from dam project contractors and the Vietnamese government is limited. They themselves have to adapt to a new life and overcome any shock caused by socio-economic,

ecological and cultural problems. Affected people should have specific plans for income management and livelihood development for the long-term - at least 5 years after resettlement - to deal with unusual conditions. Furthermore, affected people should try to access as much project information as possible in advance to minimize impacts and facilitate timely engagement in stakeholder discussions. In case they face any barriers from project staff regarding complaint processes, they should inform local NGOs. In Vietnam nowadays, many NGOs are working on indigenous people issues and hydropower resettlement: Vietnam Rivers Networks, GreendID, Warecode, CSRD, and so on.

ADB policies indicate clearly that affected people have the right to ask project staff to train them on necessary skills such as household income management, livelihood models and complaint process.

Note: An intermediary is required to make affected people aware of these recommendations. The local authority would appear best placed.

NGOs

Vietnamese NGOs should engage in ADB projects because of their functions, obligations and benefits. ADB's policies indicate that they have a long term goal to work with NGOs to improve project quality. The ADB welcomes Vietnamese NGOs getting involved in their projects. Moreover, since 1998, the Vietnamese government provides a specific legal framework for Vietnamese NGOs to undertake consultation, critique and social monitoring. The Vietnamese NGOs have rights to engage in projects funded by government capital or from loans from international financial institutions, which impinge on Vietnam public debt. Vietnam having reached middle income status, several NGOs now have less money. However, global institutions such as Oxfam, NGO forum on ADB, and other donors are willing to raise funds for independent monitoring or evaluation of MDB projects. Vietnamese NGOs can collaborate with other international NGOs to address the financial constraints of engaging independently in MDB projects.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Key Informants of the Research

No.	Name	Gender	Position and Institution
1	Carl Middleton	Male	Ph.D Lecturer Faculty of Political Sciences, Chulalongkorn University. Mekong Program Director, from 2006 – 2011.
2	Sabrina Kathleen	Female	ERI's Mekong School Program Coordinator
3	Toshiyuki Doi	Male	Mekong Watch's Senior Advisor
4	Shane Tarr	Male	PhD Freelance Development Consultant ADB's Social Consultant/ Expert on Social Program in SB4HP
5	Duong Duc Chien	Male	Social Consultant on Social Monitoring in SB4HP
6	Le Anh Tuan	Male	Senior Lecturer, College of Environment and Natural Resources and the Research Institute for Climate Change – Can Tho University, Vietnam
7	Lam Thi Thu Suu	Female	Director, Center for Social Research and Development (CSR-D) Board member, Vietnam Rivers Network (VRN)
8	Nguyen Thi Hong Van	Female	Vice director, Center for Water Resources Conservation and Development (WARE-COD) Coordinator, Vietnam Rivers Network (VRN)
9	Pham Phuoc Toan	Male	Permanent Staff, Quang Nam Department of Natural Resource and Environment (DONRE)
10	Cao Xuan Sinh	Male	Permanent Staff, Department of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs in Nam Giang District, Quang Nam Province.

No.	Name	Gender	Position and Institution
11	Nguyen Quoc Cuong	Male	Vice Chairman, A Luoi DPC, Thua Thien Hue Province
12	Le Quy Anh Tuan	Male	Deputy Director, A luoi Hydropower Plant, Thua Thien Hue Province
13	Truong Thiet Hung	Male	Deputy Director, Song Bung 4 Hydro-power Plant, Quang Nam Province
14	TNgon Kieu	Male	Chairman, People's Committee of Tapo Commune, Nam Giang District, Quang Nam Province.
15	Blong Dieu	Male	Chairman, People's Committee of ZuoiH Commune, Nam Giang District, Quang Nam Province.
16	Nguyen Viet Hong	Male	Lecturer, ethnologist, Hue College of Sciences

Appendix 2: List of Hydropower Plant Projects in Quang Nam Province

No.	Name	Design Capacity (MW)	Statement	Location
1	A Vuong	210	Completed and operational	Dong Giang and Tay Giang
2	Song Con 2	66	Completed and operational	Dong Giang and Tay Giang
3	Song Tranh 2	190	Completed and operational	Tra Doc, Tra Tan, and Bac Tra My
4	Dak Mi 4	190	Completed and operational	Phuoc Hiep, Phuoc Chanh, Phuoc Kim, Phuoc Xuan, Phuoc Nang, Kim Duc Town and Phuoc Son
5	Song Bung 4	156	Completed and operational	Nam Giang
6	Song Bung 2	100	Under construction	Dong Giang
7	Song Bung 5	57	Under construction	Dong Giang, Nam Giang and Thanh My Town
8	Dak Mi 2	98	Under construction	Nam Giang
9	Dak Mi 3	54	Under construction	Phuoc Loc, Phuoc Son
10	Song Bung 6	29	Completed and operational	Dong Giang, Nam Giang and Thanh My Town
11	Song Cung	1.3	Completed and operational	Dai Lanh and Dai Loc
12	Dai Dong	0.6	Completed and operational	Dai Dong and Dai Loc
13	Khe Dien	9	Completed and operational	Phuoc Ninh and Nong Son
14	Za Hung	30	Completed and operational	Dong Giang
15	Tra Linh	7.2	Completed and operational	Nam Tra My
16	An Dien 2	15.6	Completed and operational	Dong Giang, Dai Loc
17	Ta Vi	3	Completed and operational	Tra Giac, Bac Tra My

No.	Name	Design Capacity (MW)	Statement	Location
18	Dak Mi 4C	18	Under construction	Phuoc Son
19	Song Bung 4A	49	Under construction	Dong Giang, Nam Giang, Thanh My Town
20	Tr'Hy	30	Under construction	Tay Giang
21	Song Tranh 3	62	Under construction	Tien Phuoc, Hiep Duc
22	Song Tranh 4	48	Under construction	Hiep Duc
23	Dak Pring	7.5	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Giang
24	Chà Vål	4.5	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Giang
25	Dak Di 1	20	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Tra My
26	Dak Di 2	12	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Tra My
27	Dak Di 4	19.2	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Tra My
28	A Vuong 3	4.8	Waiting for commencement construction	Tay Giang
29	Song Bung 3	7.5	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Giang
30	Song Bung 3A	30	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Giang
31	Nuoc Bieu	5	Waiting for commencement construction	Nam Tra My
32	Nuoc Che	15	Waiting for commencement construction	Phuoc Son
33	Dak Sa	1.96	Undertaking further research and planning	PhuocSon

No.	Name	Design Capacity (MW)	Statement	Location
35	A Vuong 4		Undertaking further research and planning	
36	A Vuong 5		Undertaking further research and planning	
37	Nuoc Buou		Undertaking further research and planning	
38	TraLinh 2		Undertaking further research and planning	
39	Nuoc Xa		Undertaking further research and planning	
40	Ha Ra		Undertaking further research and planning	
41	Dak Pring 2		Undertaking further research and planning	
42	Tam Phuc		Undertaking further research and planning	
43	A Banh		Being refused permission to proceed	
44	Bong Mieu		Being refused permission to proceed	
45	Ag Rong		Being refused permission to proceed	

Source: Quang Nam People's Committee, 2014

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

Date: Questionnaire code:

Place: Interviewer:

Asian Institute of Technology

School of Environment, Resource and Development

Department of Gender and Development Studies

Thailand

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

“Gender and Involuntary Resettlement in the Context of an Ethnic Minority Group: A Case Study in Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project in Quang Nam Province, Vietnam.”

PART A: For both husband and wife or one of them

Respondents information

Contents	Husband	Wife
Name of husband and wife		
Ageyears oldyears old
Who is named as the household head?		
Education level 1. Illiteracy; 2. Literacy; 3. Primary; 4. Secondary; 5. High school; 6. Vocational training; and 7. College/university)		

What areas of land did your family have before and after resettlement?

Contents	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Time		
Garden land		
Farming land		
Wet paddy land		
House land		
Total land		

How much has your household income and household expenditure changed before and after resettlement?

	Status (1. Increase; 2. Decrease)	Reason?
Household income		
Household expenditure		

How much is your household saving annually before and after resettlement?

Time	Before	After
VND		

How much compensation did your family get from the SB4HP?

What % of compensation was expended in your family?
.....

PART B: For wife

How satisfied are you with livelihood training provided from ADB’s resettlement program?

Satisfaction Indicators	Strongly satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatis- fied	Strongly dissatis- fied
Various of livelihood alternatives					
Suitable with the geo- graphic conditions (soil quality, weather, water)					
Matched with traditional farming skills					
Simple techniques for ease application process					

Available materials to apply the training knowledge in practice					
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What do you think about ADB support of livelihood in general to the present?

	Status (1. Efficient; 2. Inefficient)	Reason?
Livelihood program		

How is your feeling on future life?

Feeling	1. Strongly happy	2. Happy	3. Neutral	4. Worried	5. Very worried
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What is gender role in for your family before and after resettlement?

Gender roles	Who does? (1= Husband; 2=Wife; 3=Both; and 4=Others)	
	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Decision maker		
Household Income keeper		
Participant in village meetings in general		

Do you want your spouse to work in the village committee?

	Answer	Reasons
1	Yes	
2	No	

PART C: For husband

How satisfied are you with livelihood training provided from ADB's resettlement program?

Satisfaction Indicators	Strongly satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Strongly dissatisfied
Various of livelihood alternatives					
Suitable with the geographic conditions (soil quality, weather, water)					
Matched with traditional farming skills					
Simple techniques for ease application process					
Available materials to apply the training knowledge in practice					

What do you think about ADB support on livelihood in general up to now?

	Status (1. Efficient; 2. Inefficient)	Reason?
Livelihood program		

How is your feeling on future life?

Feeling	1. Strongly happy	2. Happy	3. Neutral	4. Worried	5. Very worried
---------	-------------------	----------	------------	------------	-----------------

What is gender role in for your family before and after resettlement?

Gender roles	Who does? (1= Husband; 2=Wife; 3=Both; and 4=Others)	
	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Decision maker		
Household Income keeper		
Participant in village meetings in general		

Do you want your spouse to work in the village committee?

	Answer	Reasons
1	Yes	
2	No	

PART B: For wife

How satisfied are you with livelihood training provided from ADB's resettlement program?

Satisfaction Indicators	Strongly satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Strongly dissatisfied
Various of livelihood alternatives					
Suitable with the geographic conditions (soil quality, weather, water)					
Matched with traditional farming skills					
Simple techniques for ease application process					
Available materials to apply the training knowledge in practice					

What do you think about ADB support of livelihood in general up to now?

	Status (1. Efficient; 2. Inefficient)	Reason?
Livelihood program		

How is your feeling on future life?

Feeling	1. Strongly happy	2. Happy	3. Neutral	4. Worried	5. Very worried
---------	-------------------	----------	------------	------------	-----------------

What is gender role in for your family before and after resettlement?

Gender roles	Who does? (1= Husband; 2=Wife; 3=Both; and 4=Others)	
	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Decision maker		
Household Income keeper		
Participant in village meetings in general		

Do you want your spouse to work in the village committee?

	Answer	Reasons
1	Yes	
2	No	

*Appendix 4: Checklist for key informants**CHECKLIST FOR KEY INFORMANTS*

Name of informant: Gender: Age: Position: Working seniority: Institution:
For local authorities, district and provincial officers

<p>How does involuntary resettlement influence social and economic activities of affected people?</p> <p>Based on your observation on dam-induced resettlement, what are pros and cons of resettlement programs of SB4HP?</p> <p>How was your department involved in resettlement process of SB4HP?</p> <p>Is there any kind of current support for affected people post –resettlement process?</p> <p>How is land certificate providing process going in resettlement areas of SB4HP?</p> <p>What do you think about efficiency of livelihood support for affected people of SB4HP?</p> <p>What should be done to maintain traditional livelihood of Co Tu people in resettlement areas of SB4HP?</p> <p>What do you think about adaptive capacity of Co Tu people towards new challenges in resettlement areas of SB4HP?</p> <p>Have Co Tu people ever complained or resisted about their new status or any coercion from local authorities?</p> <p>Are there any differences of gender relations among Co Tu people in SB4HP's resettlement areas with other host people?</p> <p>What do you think about confidence of Co Tu women in SB4HP's resettlement areas in comparison with other women in host villages?</p> <p>How has women empowerment been carried out SB4HP's resettlement areas?</p> <p>What are the reasons for changes in gender relations (relationship between women and men) of Co Tu people in SB4HP's resettlement areas?</p> <p>What is still needed to enhance social and economic status of affected people in SB4HP?</p> <p>What should be done to serve traditional culture identities for Co Tu people under livelihood and gender approach?</p> <p>What are your suggestions for next development-induced resettlement?</p>
<p>For nationally social experts on hydropower and resettlement working in universities and NGOs</p>

<p>What do you think about the increase of large infrastructure projects in GMS and Vietnam in recent decades?</p> <p>What do you think about resettlement process of hydropower projects in Vietnam?</p> <p>What are differences between resettlement policies of MDBs and Vietnam?</p> <p>How do you evaluate livelihood models provided by SB4HP for affected people in their current resettled villages?</p> <p>What do you think about adaptive capacity of Kinh people and ethnic minority, especially Co Tu people in resettlement areas?</p> <p>How do employment, household income, influence gender equality in resettlement areas? Why?</p> <p>What do you think about potential changes of gender relations in resettlement areas?</p> <p>How do you evaluate gender-responsive policies of ADB applied in SB4HP?</p> <p>What are key factors to decide the success of gender-inclusive resettlement?</p> <p>Do you think that Vietnamese government also can apply gender-inclusive resettlement as ADB did in SB4HP or not? Why? What are barriers?</p> <p>What do you think about SIA of hydropower projects in Vietnam currently?</p> <p>What should be done to improve quality of resettlement process in Vietnam?</p> <p>What should be good alternatives for hydropower energy in Vietnam in the future to avoid downsides of hydropower projects?</p> <p>What is still needed to enhance social and economic status of affected people in SB4HP?</p> <p>What should be done to preserve traditional culture identities for Co Tu people under livelihood and gender approach?</p> <p>What are your suggestions for next development-induced resettlement?</p>
For Internationally Social Experts

<p>What do you think about the development partnership of the WB, ADB with host countries on infrastructure projects in the GMS? Are the IFIs adding value to the development in GMS especially in energy sector?</p> <p>Have infrastructure projects funded by IFIs used international standards to minimize negative impacts to indigenous people by the projects? If you consider they have not, what are the major challenges?</p> <p>Under livelihood and gender approach, as ADB very much highlighted in its Safeguard Policy, what should be done to better preserve traditional culture identities for indigenous people affected by hydro-power project?</p> <p>What do you think about ADB's practice and WB's practice in their hydropower resettlement areas?</p> <p>In your opinion, what are the challenges for sustainable livelihood for indigenous people affected by hydropower projects especially in Vietnam?</p> <p>Do other host countries have better safeguard policies?</p> <p>Has it been easy for Vietnam or Mekong countries to apply gender-inclusive resettlement towards infrastructure projects in general and hydropower projects in particular? If not, Why?</p>
For ADB's staff and ADB's consultants

What are ADB's strategies for partnership in the GMS?

What do you think about the cooperation between ADB and host countries to carry out resettlement processes?

Are there any inconsistencies between ADB policies and host countries' policies on involuntary resettlement? In the case of Vietnam, what is their significance?

What are the difficulties in mainstreaming gender in resettlement process of hydropower projects?

What do you think about sustainable livelihood and livelihood supports for affected people provided by ADB in SB4HP?

What should be done to preserve traditional culture identities for Co Tu's people under livelihood and gender approach?

What do you think about ADB's plan to make SB4HP a example of good resettlement process and practice?

Is it easy for Vietnam to apply gender-inclusive resettlement for infrastructure projects in general and hydropower projects in particular or not? Why? What should be done to remove all potential barriers?

What are your suggestions for next development-induced resettlement?

Appendix 5: Checklist for FGDs***CHECKLIST FOR FGDs*****PART 1: PRA tools**

Please draw resource map of your former village and new resettled village

How is division- based gender of labor carried out before and after resettlement?

No.	Type of activities	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Before resettlement													
After resettlement													

What do you think about ADB support on livelihood?

No.	Livelihood supports	Efficiency	Not efficiency	Why
Agriculture support				
1.	Fertilizer			
2.	Seed			
...				
Non-agriculture support				
1.	Buffalo			
2.	Chicken			
3.	Duck			
....				

Who does reproductive work in your family?

Reproductive work	Who does? (1= Husband; 2=Wife; 3=Both; and 4=Others)	
	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Family planning		
Education		
Taking care other dependents		
Cooking		
Washing and Cleaning		
Fetching water		
Building and Repairing house		

Who does decision making in your family?

Household expenditure	Who decides? (1= Husband; 2=Wife; 3=Both; and 4=Others)	
	Before resettlement	After resettlement
Food items		
Clothes		
Education		
Expensive property		
Investment for farming		
Children's marriage		

SWOT

Strengths:	Weaknesses:
-	-
-	-
Opportunities:	Threatens:
	-
	-

Gender needs assessment

Gender	Gender needs	
Women	Women's practical gender needs strategies	Women's strategic gender needs
	- -	- -
Men	Men's practical gender needs strategies	Men's strategic gender needs
	- -	- -

Appendix 6: Checklist for In-depth Interview

CHECKLIST FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW

Name:.....
Address:.....
Gender:.....
Age:.....
Number of household member:

- What are differences on land area, soil quality and other condition for cultivation and animal husbandry in your former village and your current village?
- What kinds of support have you got from ADB, government and other organization since you were resettled here? What do you think about these supports? Are they suitable for local conditions (soil, water, weather) and traditional cultivation habit or not? Are these supports efficient or not? Are these support are maintained or not? Why?
- What current activities are your family members doing for livelihood? Are there any challenges? If not, why? If so, what are challenges? Why?
- What are main sources of household income in your family?
- What percentage of compensation has been spent? For what?
- What are differences of employment options of men and women before and after resettlement?
- Does your family maintain handicraft or any kind of traditional livelihood activities?
- Are your family members satisfied with new life in resettlement or not? Why?
- Since affected people resettled in new village, has your family had less problem or more challenges to seek money? Daily expenditure in a farmer family is always higher or lower than daily household income? Why?
- Is it easy for your family to adapt to new residence or not? Why?

- Does your family have any plan for new livelihood strategy in future?
- What kinds of livelihood support have been provided by ADB? Are they efficient or not? Are they maintained or not? Why?
- How do women and men participate in planning and implementation of resettlement process?
- How do women and men express their opinions to stakeholders?
- What do women and men do to serve traditional culture identities?
- What are your barriers/challenges to adapting to new life in resettlement areas?
- Who adapts best? Women or men?
- What do you understand about gender equality?
- Based on your experience, do you recognize any changes in relations between women and men? Do men have less or more respect for women in comparison with former village? Does domestic violence decrease or increase? What are main reasons?
- How do traditional gender ideologies influence gender relations before and after resettlement?
- What do you think about women empowerment and women leadership before and after resettlement?
- Are there any relationships between employment, household income and the way of treatment of women by men and vice versa? Why?
- Do women travel outside village more frequently than in the former village or not? Why?
- Do women become more confident after getting ADB training? Are women powerful enough to raise their voices in family and community meetings or not? Why?

Appendix 7: Guideline for non-participation observation

GUIDELINE FOR OBSERVATION

(Non-participant Observation and Semi-structured Observation)

Place:	
Time:	Date:
Questions	Notes
How are basic infrastructures designed in local residential areas?	
Are there any risks or potential risks for women, men, children or the elderly?	
How are culture symbols designed and used?	
Who often moves outside village?	
Who often goes to the forest for non-timber collection?	
Who often goes to the farming land?	
How do men usually treat women and vice versa?	
How are community meetings conducted?	
How do women express their opinions in family and in community?	

Appendix 8: Photos from Field trip

	
Mix-group discussion in Thon 2 Village	Female group discussion in Parum B Village
	
Key Informant Interview, Chairman of ZuoiH Commune People's Committee	In-depth Interview in Parum B Village



In-depth Interview in Parum B Village



Checking the results of FGDs with Thon 2 village head



Researcher and Assistant on Field trip



Children in new Kindergarten

Gender and Forced Resettlement of an Ethnic Minority Group

The Song Bung 4 Hydropower Project (SB4HP)
in Quang Nam Province, Vietnam

Phan Thi Ngoc Thuy

Aiming to become a fully-fledged industrial nation by 2020, Vietnam has pursued a number of economic models fueled by huge hydropower plants which severely impact the environment and society. Hydropower dam construction has displaced hundreds of thousands of ethnic minority people, often living in remote mountainous areas. The Song Bung 4 hydropower project (SB4HP) is the first hydropower project funded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in Vietnam, which the ADB is cautiously promoting as “a leading example for future hydropower projects.”

This study analyzes the gender dimension of involuntary resettlement for an ethnic minority community in the SB4HP area. This research provides a detailed analysis of the gender impact of hydropower plant construction, and hopes to contribute empirically to the ongoing discourse on hydropower development in the Greater Mekong region. Through the “Livelihoods” approach of Andrew Dorward, this research attempts to understand the processes of change in socio-ecological systems brought by resettlement of the Co Tu ethnic minority group. Displaced people are under tremendous stress due to loss of traditional livelihood, lack of acceptable livelihood alternatives, and inexperienced cash compensation management. Resettled near majority ethnic *Kinh* Vietnamese, the Co Tu people have converted their traditional culture gradually into *Kinh* practice. This sparks the question of the linkage between unsustainable livelihood, cultural transformation and gender relations.



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