

Nam Theun 2 Dam Site Visit Report (December 13th -14th, 2008)

March, 2009
Mekong Watch

In December 2008, Mekong Watch (MW) visited three villages (i.e., Pha Nang, Mahaxay Tai and Keng Savanh) along the Xe Bang Fai River as well as three relocation villages including Sop Phene, Nakai Neua and Done villages, all of which would be affected by Nam Theun 2 Dam, in order to interview residents living in affected areas.

1. Report of Survey

1-1. Areas along the Xe Bang Fai River

Pha Nang village, Mahaxay District

- Village overview
 - Pha Nang Village is composed of 54 households with a population of 260 people.
 - Their major livelihoods are rice paddies, vegetable farming and swidden cultivation.
 - Nearly 20–30 households of the entire village have riverside vegetable farms.



The view of the Xe Bang Fai River from Pha Nang Village. Riverside zones are used for vegetable farms and livestock pasturing. Once water is discharged by the Dam, the riverside agriculture and livestock pasturing will be affected.

few years. In 2005, it got hit by a continuous flood having lasted more than 10 days, which caused severe damage. In 2008, it was visited by a five-six days flood, which in fact caused no damage on rice cropping. The village had been able to gain sufficient harvest from 2006 to 2008 because of no severe flood damages. Bank erosion is still taken place to some extent at some part of the zones, which does not raise a great problem.

- One of male village authorities we interviewed was not informed of the timing when the dam begins to discharge water. The village people were concerned about the possibility that the Dam may worsen flood damages or may force them to relocate from the riverside areas, even without any account by Nam Theun 2 Power Company, or NTPC, about flood damage estimates.
- A villager told MW, “Fishery will be affected in addition to less convenient traffic facilities than what they are today.” They said that roadways, being available during a dry season only even today, would become unavailable since the water level is estimated to become higher with additional five meters and one meter in dry and rainy seasons, respectively, once the Dam begins to discharge water.

- Flood damage
 - The village was hit by heavy floods once in a

- NTPC had explained MW that it would build a bank in front of houses and temples in close locations to the river. Yet, according to the villager, he/she saw no village with on-going or completed bank construction or anti-bank erosion-measures around there.
 - They said that there was no action taken in advance despite explanation that compensation would be provided for damages to houses and/or riverside vegetable farms in the case of soil erosion in areas within 25 meters from the waterside. Instead, actions would be taken for incurred damages. In other words, villagers would not receive compensation until they are actually affected. One of the villagers said to us, “We intend to keep observing so that we will be able move to another places being far from the waterside once any impact is detected. But the thing is, we are not sure if NTPC will literally help us move at that moment.”
 - On the other hand, we heard that NTPC had given explanation to the villagers that, it would close the water gate not to allow water to be discharged further, so that they would be affected nothing or only little in case of imminent disaster of flood. The villagers expressed their concern saying, “NTPC may not give compensation for us by attributing a flood to rain.”
- Effect on fishery
- Nearly all households in Pha Nang Village do fish in the Xe Bang Fai River, more specifically, at rapids (i.e., *kaeng*) in the river from November and at subsidiary streams in a rainy season.
 - They are able to catch fishes of some 0.5-10.0 kilograms at a time. Their annual income earned from fishing is approximately 3,000,000-4,000,000 kip per household. It should be noted that households with small or no rice paddies depend far heavily upon fishery than those with greater paddies.
- One of villagers talked about his anxiety claiming, “We may not be able to catch fishes once the Dam begins discharging of water. We may not be able to use nets on the occasion of swelling of a river.” Also, “We have to do fishing at subsidiary streams or gather Non-timber Forest Products (NTFP) in stead of fishery when we are no longer able to catch fishes in the Xe Bang Fai River,” they added.
 - He criticized, “NTPC promised to compensate us for damages on fishery by making farms and a fishpond, but it should be a verbal promise.”
 - Villagers expect NTPC’s backup to construct an irrigation facilities for vegetable farming, which had been ignored by saying, “That’s government job.”
 - It is difficult to make a fishpond since the geology of the area is not good to impound water. They had proposed NTPC to impound a steam for fish breeding, which had not been answered yet. Besides, no site had been determined in terms of compensation for farms.
- Domestic non-commercial water
- Water of the Xe Bang Fai River, having been drinking water of the villagers at that time, would not be good to drink after the onset of power generation.
 - According to villagers, they were unsatisfied with NTPC by saying, “NTPC originally told us that it would build water supply facilities to carry water from mountains, yet it keeps silence now leaving the promise unfulfilled in the end.” The plan to build water supply facilities was changed into another one to construct wells at four locations in the village. However, the villagers are eager for not wells but water supply facilities since clean water is not available from wells in the area due to

muddy water caused by sinking a well.

- NTPC had told them that it was possible to build water supply facilities when it visited the village for survey in 2007, which turned out to be impossible through the second survey conducted in November 2008.
 - The villagers said, “NTPC had explained us that it would repair the wells in case of breakdown until the year 2014, but we can’t believe it.” Villagers then proposed that they would be able to build water supply facilities by their own effort if the company provides the construction cost of four wells, which was estimated to be 20,000,000 kip for each. However, the proposal was rejected by the company saying that it had different business policy. They said, “We want NTPC to put water supply facilities above a school supposed to be constructed by the company, if it doesn’t have enough money for both. In that case, we will construct a school by ourselves.”
- Other compensation plans
- Forty-three out of 54 households were equipped with bathrooms with assistance from NTPC. It should be noted that there was a household equipped with no bathroom as he/she was not be able to pay the self-pay burden of 50,000 kip.
 - Village people have asked NTPC and the District to repair roadways, which was not fulfilled so far. NTPC told them that it was not be able to go along with the request as necessary equipment for road construction had been withdrawn already, they said. A villager remarked, “They are liars.”
 - Revolving fund assisted by NTPC was altered from the initial plan of 2,500,000 kip per household for two years into 2,000,000 kip per household. The fund bears 380,000 kip in interest charges in two years. Twenty-one households have received the fund having

started in February 2008, some of which worried whether or not he/she would be able to pay the interest.

- With the village’s Saving Fund system constructed, each household saved 5,000 kip or more every month. MW asked some questions to villagers and found out that they didn’t understand the details of the system, for instance, whether or not the money they deposited bears interest.
- Complaint handling
- They said that they told NTPC staff about all of their complaint every when the staff visit them. Yet, the staff used to visit them often at the earlier stage, which turned out to be scarce visits these days.
 - There was a bottom-up system to convey complaint from a village to a district, and then to a province. One villager said however, “Everything stops when a district failed to resolve it. It’s nonsense to convey a complaint to a province if a district failed to revolve it.”

Mahaxay Tai Village, , Mahaxay District

- Floods
- The village suffers from floods every year, yet the year 2008 was not too bad as floodwater took only a week or so to recede. They tend to have many floods in August and September every year. There was nearly a month-long flood in 1991. The year 2005 should be marked as well because floodwater reached 15 meters high.
- Fishery
- They are able to catch fishes from July or August. The monthly catch peaks particularly in October and November, with the daily catch of five or six kilograms in average.
- Effects of Dam
- A villager we interviewed (female, 48 years

old) said, "I have no idea how the Dam may effect on us. The company will deal with any damage once it occurred, I think."

- Compensation Plans
 - Women have borrowed 2,000,000 kip from a village fund instituted with NTPC's assistance in order to purchase agrichemicals for farming. The monthly interest rate was one percent.
 - One of the women has joined a textile project supported by NTPC. She purchases cotton delivered by NTPC from Vientiane in terms of raw materials. Finished products are collected in the village, and then bought by NTPC. Sometimes NTPC takes her to events, so that she can sell products. Twelve households have joined the project from this year. She said, "I want to sell the products to tourists here when NTPC 's support is over," which is still unclear if it become profitable in Mahaxay with not many tourists, though.

Keng Savanh Village, Mahaxay District

- Village overview
 - Number of households : 32 households
 - The village was inaugurated in 1989. There used to be stationary troops during a civil conflict, some soldiers of which stayed even after the withdrawal of the troops and inaugurated the village.
 - The village was well developed and arranged. According to the village chief, there are village rules originated from the inauguration, which must be followed even by new-comer households.
 - The village is closely located to a village, in which the former president, Nouhak, had stayed during Revolution, leading to promote the development of the neighboring areas after Revolution. In fact, neighboring villages have been supplied with electric power since 1994, 1995 or so.
 - The village seem to be well-organized, for

instance, the villagers work together to pay electricity expense as well as to pipe water into a pond for vegetable farming.

- Concerns over flood damage
 - They had heavy floods caused by storms in 1991 and 2004. Although lands close to a stream tended to suffer from floods every year, which may simply cause water to flow too much, floods do not cause rice to be dried out except for the two years.
 - According to the village chief who responded to our interview, what he heard was that once the Dam completed, the water levels will be four meters higher from Monday through Friday and 6 meters higher even during a dry season than what it was at that time. Besides, the levels were said to become some two meters higher in weekends when no power is generated, he added.
 - NTPC had conducted a survey in terms of areas within 25 meters from the shore, the result and consequent actions of which have not been explained yet. The village chief also said that he had heard nothing about compensation so far.
 - The same village chief added, "I think that the Dam, which would raise the water levels, will cause negative impacts for sure as riverside erosion is going on even now. Riverside vegetable farms would be damaged as well."
 - Village people worried that it might be necessary for them to remove to another place as more than 10 households are located closed to waterfront. The village chief said that, in that case, it would not be only the 10 households but all in the village to remove since the village needs to be united.
- Concerns about declining quality of water
 - The village chief was concerned about declining quality of water as he/she had heard that the Dam would cause water to become

muddy for first two years from the completion.

- There is also a concern about inability to raise fishes in a fishpond taking water from the river once the quality of water was deteriorated.
 - Currently, the water of the Xe Bang Fai River has been used for bathing and (boiled) drinking water, yet it would not be good for drink after the Dam construction.
 - They said that, the construction work had caused a chemical substance to be mixed into water resulting in the death of cattle in Sangkao Village of Gnommalath District at the downstream of the Nam Theun River, which is located around a tunnel. The villagers worried about the similar damages on themselves or other species.
 - The construction work had already caused water to become muddy sometimes in 2007 and the following year.
- Other actions taken by NTPC
- Twenty-five households have been supported via Village Saving Fund having begun in 2006 for raising livestock and/or making fishponds. The remaining seven households are to be financed soon.
 - Two out of three wells built by NTPC in the beginning of 2008 ended up with muddy water.
 - All households were equipped with bathrooms.

1-2. Nakai Plateau

Sop Phene Village, Nakai District

- Village overview
- Population : 57 households
 - Ethnic group : Bor
- Agriculture
- Swidden cultivation has been employed for farms provided as compensation. According to village chief, this year's rice harvest was 20 *pao* per household in average. More

specifically, it was 28 *pao* and 15 *pao* on flatland and steep sloping land, respectively. It should be noted that one *pao* equals to 800 kilograms.

- To select compensation farms, there was no chance for villagers to visit the actual site in advance. Instead, they had to select one of the block numbers of compensation farms based on map data only, in order to avoid disputes among themselves. However, quite many villagers had no idea how to read a map, which in fact allowed those with knowledge about it to select favorable farms.
 - There were plans to plant rice next year as well.
 - NTPC has promoted to cultivate *Jatropha*, which will bear fruit in three or four years and be used as biofuel.
 - The village people made farms along a water reservoir into public and planted vegetables after harvesting rice.
- Fishery
- The best take was 15 kilograms, which was once in a while.
 - Twenty out of 57 households live without livestock and make their living based upon fishery. Other households do catch fishes as well, yet for personal consumption only.
 - The village chief was explained that the fish catches would become smaller than what it was at the time. According to the village chief, the amount would decline from the second year, which would turn to growth trend again in the fifth year. No explanation had been provided yet in terms of support available for villagers during the period with declined fish catches.
 - The households were provided with boats: two households shared one boat.
- NTFP collection
- They take boats to collect *Kisi* resin. There

were some people who have gained 2,000,000 kip in four days by collecting it five times. They sell *Kisi* to earn money for rice. All except 10 households who have to stay the village (as village officers, etc.) take boats to go to collect *Kisi* resin.

- Forestry/Village Forest Association
 - There was two full-time staff, each of which received 750,000 kip every month.
 - Dividends of 1,500,000 kip were distributed to each household for two years (i.e., 2007 and 2008).
- Food Aid
 - Rice aid was closed out at the end of October.
- Others
 - One unit of gasoline-fueled power generator provided by NTPC for the village made electricity available for villagers for three hours from 18 to 21 o'clock.

Nakai Neua Village, Naka District

- Village overview
 - 94 households
 - The village was incorporated with Nakai Tai Village into a single village for administrative purposes.
 - The village was removed in March 2008.



Former Nakai Neua Village submerged in the lake created by the Dam

- Agriculture
 - According to the village chief we interviewed, this year's rice harvest was good with the figure of 35 *pao* of rice from 0.66 and 0.8 hectares of farmland, the latter of which was brought into cultivation by him/herself and including some hectares turned out to be submerged and no use for cultivation. However, it is not enough for a family of nine as 35 *pao* will be gone in some three months. They said that they would earn money for rice by collecting *Kisi* resin and/or fishing in addition to selling farm animals.
 - Some villagers have planted rice not only in 0.66 hectares of compensation farmland but also in additional land around a water reservoir brought into cultivation by them. The additional farmland was four hectares for 18 households, some of which turned out to be submerged as they had no knowledge of possible water levels. It should be noted that MW has not confirmed two points: whether or not NTPC has allowed them to reclaim the land around the water storage pond and how the title of the land is treated.
 - A household with the smallest harvest gathered only 5 *pao* of rice since there were large trees and rocks having prevented the company from developing the farmland as scheduled, which caused late rice planting for the household.
 - Compensation farms require much labor power due to high degree of soil acidity.
 - Some specialists had given technical guidance to them as well as conducting soil tests. Farmlands with poor soil were provided with two packets of fertilizer while damaged farms were with 14 packets.
 - NTPC told them it would offer orchard tree seedlings in 2009. The village chief's family planed to plant rice and orchard trees in the 0.3 hectares and the remaining hectares of

their farmland respectively, while planting green-leafy vegetables and onions at the waterfront.

- NTPC is supposed to build irrigation wells. Four households were to share one well based upon the current plan, which had been under trial in Bua Ma Village at that time.
- The village chief said, “I think I will plant rice in the same land next year as well because there is no other land available. Specialists dispatched by NTPC have given guidance to us not to employ slash-and-burn method, which I really don’t get it.” As a natural consequence of it, the village chief’s family will keep the method of cultivation despite the technical guidance.
- The village chief planted pasture as well in his/her compensation farmland. NTPC distributed two kinds of pasture for free during a rainy season, which was used by six households in more than 40 hectares of farmlands in total. It is still unconfirmed if the 40 hectares of land is included in the aforementioned 0.66 hectares.
- One of villagers we interviewed said, “We used to have enough to live on. I miss my old village, but what I can find there now is only water.”
- A 46 year-old woman, who lived with her son, her daughter, her daughter’s husband and her grandchildren after her husband’s death, had planted rice in her compensation farmland, which resulted in the half of 0.66 hectares submerged in the end. It was only three *pao* of rice that she was able to harvest. She then asked Complaint Handling unit, “My compensation farmland become submerged in water. I wonder if you could give me alternative farmland. In addition, could I receive rice aid?” However, she had heard no answer yet. It seemed to be necessary for her to ask the higher level of decision making, which was beyond her knowledge in terms of

the way to take action.



Compensation farmland of a villager of Nakai Neua Village, some of which was submerged.

- Livestock raising
 - There were approximately 400-500 buffaloes in the entire village before relocation, which was declined to 298 at that time. The village chief said, “We used to put our buffaloes out to pasture in the forest and bring in some of them to sell only when necessary. But today, it is a problem to find a pastureland.”
 - Owing to NTPC’s support, there were 14 cows and oxen in total in the entire village at that time.
 - The village chief complained, “Cattle and buffaloes are so thin without enough pasture grass, meaning that they may not obtain high prices even if they are put on the market now. They used to stay fat and obtained 5,000,000 kip on the market, which turned out to be at half price now.”
 - The village chief sold five buffaloes when he resettled, including three oxen and two cows with the unit price of 5,000,000 kip and 3,500,000 kip, respectively. He/she purchased rice, a bike and a TV set with a satellite unit using the money from the buffaloes. Three households who had had many buffaloes bought pickup trucks.
 - Many villagers obtained cash earnings by

selling livestock animals, so that they were able to purchase vehicles, electrical products and others. Our question asking, "What if you have sold out of all buffaloes you have? How do you buy rice?" was replied with these words: "I have no idea what to do then." If temporary cash earnings from selling buffaloes was counted as a villager's income and led to explanation by the World Bank or the Government of Laos such as, "Relocated inhabitants have already cleared the poverty rate of Laos," it should raise a great problem.

- A 26 year-old woman who had planted rice and pasture grass in 0.66 hectares of compensation farmland while running a store said, "The pasture grass ended up in failure due to a flood. Three of my buffaloes died last month because there was no pasture available." In fact, the lack of pasture had become a serious concern at that time. She also added, "Buffaloes had lost much weight after relocation, resulting in the death of 20-30 buffaloes in the entire village. Yes, NTPC provides vaccination, but it never provides support for pastures."
- Another man mentioned as well, "There had been many pastures available until relocation. Now we don't have enough food for our livestock animals, causing the death of buffaloes." He said that 10 of his buffaloes had died after relocation, while selling another five or six buffaloes.

○ Fishery

- According to villagers, the monthly fish catch was large last month (November 2008). There were even some days with the daily catch of 20-30 kilograms by a single boat, they said.
- Safety Unit visited the village and distributed three life vests per boat in September, which seemed to be a reaction to a report written by MW for the World Bank (WB) and Asian

Development Bank (ADB) about a boat accident. Villagers need to wear it without question in this windy area.

- A 26 year-old woman who lived with her husband and two children told MW that she was not in trouble to buy rice so far as her husband did fishing and caught more than 10 kilograms of fishes a day.
- According to the same woman, he caught many *Pa Ning* and *Pa Nai*, yet she had no idea where the fishes came from. The two kinds of fishes were released into the river by NTPC.
- MW interviewed a man who was cleaning a fish in the village and learned there were large fishes weighing four or five kilograms to the maximum, which would be sold at a price of 8,000 kip per kilogram. Small fishes, which were treated at a price of some 5,000 kip per kilogram, were source of income as well.
- A 46 year-old woman we interviewed, who was separated from her husband by death, said that she could hardly purchase a boat engine due to poverty. It was villagers' charge to purchase engines, which might widen the gap between rich and poor among those who could buy engines and those who couldn't.



NTPC had provided a boat for 2 households as a part of livelihood recovery programs. Yet the gap between households with and without engines had caused difference in fish catches and opportunities to collect NTFP.

○ Forestry and NTFP Collection

- Our question asking, “We have heard there is 20,800 hectares of forest. Do you make good use of it?” was followed by an answer from the village chief saying, “We still can’t use the forest.” In addition, dividends had never distributed for them from Village Forest Association (VFA) in past five years. According to the village chief, they expected to receive the dividends in 2009, which was 205 dollars per household.
- The aforementioned woman without a boat engine talked, “I can’t go to collect *Kisi* resin. Everybody takes a boat to go to the forest to collect *Kisi* resin, but it’s too far without a motorized boat.”

○ Food aid

- Food aid was closed out at the end of October.
- According to the village chief, rice aid was closed out at the same time for 15 villages in spite of different timing of their relocation.
- A 26 year-old woman who ran a store said that rice aid stopped last month. Rice aid had

been available from May through October 2008, providing 300 kilograms of rice for each household. Currently, the rice aid still continued somehow by limiting in the scope of target to senior citizens having no relatives and/or with disabilities.

- A 46 year-old woman who was separated from her husband by death said that rice aid had been closed out at the end of October despite her urgent demand for it to live on since her family consume some 110 kilograms of rice in a month.

○ Boat Accident

- There was a boat accident that caused one death in August. A boat, which carried two villagers of Nakai Tai Village, was capsized by the waves caused by NTPC’s two boats at the place of some 100 meters from shore. The older person was able to swim, but 20 year-old young person wasn’t and therefore drowned in the river.
- MW heard that 65,000,000 kip of compensation was offered in October, most of which was paid personally by drivers who had been driving NTPC’s boats then. They said that NTPC’s drivers had taken the boats for private purpose and they were even drinking.

○ Others

- Seventy-four out of 94 households bought TV sets, the unit price of which was 1,500,000 kip including a satellite antenna that costs 700,000 kip.
- Eight persons worked for NTPC on contract then: six at a wood yard, one at Grievance Unit of Resettlement Office and one as a NTPC’s boat driver.
- A Chinese herbal medicines factory was constructed around a submerged village with the capital of Laos. We heard that Japanese companies were also involved. Villagers collected materials from islands in the water

reservoir, which were then purchased by the factory at the price rate of 300 kip per kilogram. Relation of right related to collecting materials remained unconfirmed.

Done Village, Nakai District

- Village overview
 - Ethnic group : Makong

- Agriculture
 - MW interviewed a man, who had offered us a chance to visit his swidden farmland in April 2008, and found out that he had reaped 20 *pao* in his compensation farmland this year, which allows a family of ten to live on for about five months.
 - His family told us that they would plant rice in the same farms next year as well, using six packets of fertilizers.
 - They replied to our question about what they would plant in a dry season, “We are waiting for instruction from NTPC.”
 - The village is not under irrigation.



Compensation farmland of a Done Village resident. He/she had plans for repeated cultivation of dry rice in 2009, which might raise concern about soil deterioration.

and *Pa Nai* (a member of the carp family), which were not used to be caught in the Nam Theun River, were increasing in number.

- It was villagers' charge to purchase boat engines. A man we interviewed said that he had paid 4,600,000 kip together with another household to buy an engine. He mentioned that fishing would be difficult without engines in such a wavy river, which was proven by a fact that two-third of all households in the village had engines.
- He said that there was a good fishing place at a distance of some 12 kilometers from shore. It took an hour to go there and “My boat had been capsized many times, but I was able to survive thanks to branches,” he added. Life vests had been distributed so that he was able to equip his boat with three life vests, but still it was not enough as a boat might carry four or five persons sometimes.

- Forestry
 - They said that no dividend had been distributed from VFA.
 - According to a man we interviewed, three persons were employed by the village and working at a wood yard. Yet, he knew nothing about their monthly wages.

- Rice aid
 - Rice aid was closed out at the end of October.

- Others
 - They had no idea when registration certificates of their houses and farms would be issued. They have not received any certificates so far though they had registered their houses already.

- Fishery
 - They said that daily fish catches were about 50-40 kilograms. Fishes like *Pa Ning* (tilapia)

2. Conclusions and proposals

(1) Lack of accountability concerning environmental and social impacts at the downstream of the Xe Bang Fai River

Inhabitants, who lived in areas along the Xe Bang Fai River we conducted an interview survey this time, complained anxieties about impacts from the Dam without a sufficient explanation, for instance, timing to discharge water by the Dam, possible environmental and social impacts related to the Dam project and others. NTPC should fulfill accountability about the Dam project, its possible impacts and compensation plans so as to eliminate their anxieties.

(2) Failure of livelihood recovery programs at the downstream area of the Xe Bang Fai River

People of Pha Nang Village claimed that projects for vegetable farms, fishponds and water supply facilities, which NTPC had promised at first as livelihood recovery programs, have not implemented yet. NTPC and its supporters such as WB and ADB should investigate how the projects have been developed so far and then take appropriate actions if the promise of compensation was violated.

(3) Closure of food aid for removed residents

According to removed residents in Nakai

Plateau we interviewed, rice aid was closed out at the end of October, 2008 except for some households. However, it is impossible for removed residents to harvest sufficient rice to live on for a whole year from compensation farmlands. Besides, they are lack of safety net since most part of forest, in which they used to collect Non-timber Forest Products (NTFP) in the case of rice shortage before relocation, had been submerged in

water. No household was in lack of rice at the point of MW's survey, simply because it was right after the harvest season of rice. Therefore, monitoring should be carried out to see whether or not additional rice is available for them through livelihood recovery programs even after they consumed all the rice harvested. Food aid should be resumed if there is any household that is not able to obtain enough volume of rice.

(4) Deadlocked agriculture support actions for removed residents

Many of the households MW interviewed this time had plans to plant dry rice in their compensation farmlands again in 2009. However, it may inevitably cause deteriorated soil through repeated cultivation of dry rice in 0.66 hectares of compensation farmlands based upon slash-and-burn method. NTPC should enhance the livelihood recovery programs including improved and enlarged compensation farmlands as well as secured market for commercial crops at the earliest possible time.

(5) Enlarged gap between rich and poor among relocated inhabitants

The findings of MW interview survey were that, concerning fishing in water reservoir that was one of the livelihood recovery programs, there was a great difference between households with a capability to purchase boat engines by themselves and those without it in terms of fish catches and the amount of *Kisi* resin collected, which may have enlarged the gap between rich and poor among removed inhabitants. In addition, those employed and paid by NTPC were limited to some villagers. Companies involved as well as WB and ADB supporting the project should monitor any changes in social conditions of the villages in order to deal with actual situations

while paying attention not to make vulnerable groups even weaker through the livelihood recovery programs.

(6) Malfunction of complaint filing unit

Villagers, who had filed problems of the livelihood recovery programs to Compliant Handling Unit, claimed that no appropriate actions were taken in Pha Nang Village at the downstream area of the Xe Bang Fai River

as well as Nakai Neua Village in Nakai Plateau that was one of relocation villages. Compliant Handling Unit does not seem to function well. It is necessary to reform the current system to reflect views of affected residents.

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