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RESETTLEMENT, DEVELOPMENT AND GENDER: A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter seeks to briefly review a theoretical model to analyse resettlement experiences, insofar as it pertains to marginalised communities such as indigenous peoples in the context of dams. In an attempt to see how this model has addressed the issue, empirical evidence on international and national experiences by dam projects are given. The question of gender as particularly relevant in the debate surrounding dams and their resettlement implications as a consequence of a 'development project' is also discussed. Finally, the chapter concludes with a schematic diagram showing the framework of the study.

The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model

The 'risk-model' is propounded by Michael M. Cernea, based on his research findings on resettlement experiences around the world.[1] It is one of the most commonly used approaches to displacement-related problems. The main assumption in the model is that displacement with no or poorly-handled resettlement results in eight main risks of impoverishment, which can be avoided if 'anticipated and purposively counteracted' (Dwivedi 1999:45). Following Mahapatra (1999: 194-195), the eight main risks of impoverishment are as follows:

1) Landlessness (expropriation of land assets);

2) Joblessness (even when the project ostensibly creates some temporary jobs);

[1] Michael Cernea was at one time heading the World Bank's Special Task Force created to carry out a major study (1993-94) of the experience accumulated in all 1986-93 Bank-financed projects entailing resettlement. The conceptual framework here is drawn from his earlier works on population and the World Bank's study report entitled 'Resettlement and Development' (April 1994, Washington DC).

3) Homelessness (loss of not merely the physical house, but of the family home and cultural space, with resulting alienation and "placelessness");
4) Marginalisation ("downward mobility" – socially, psychologically, and economically);
5) Increased morbidity and mortality (especially among the weakest segments of the population);
6) Food insecurity (low daily calorie intake, malnourishment);
7) Loss of access to common property (such as forests, bodies of water, and wastelands, which substantially supplement the food and income of lower-income groups); and
8) Social disarticulation (loss of social, economic, and moral support among kinsmen and members of community networks, leading to social anomie).

Indian researchers have adopted the model in the analysis of resettlement experiences in India because 'the model seems eminently suitable for understanding the forces, factors, and processes at work in the displacement-rehabilitation-development dynamics in India' (Mahapatra 1999: 194). Others like Dwivedi (1999) use the model as a starting point in the analysis of the major displacement risks to the people in the Sardar Saravor Project and perspective on resistance to displacement.

In examining the literature on resettlement and displacement in Asia, it is worth noting India, which has one of the highest numbers of dams in the region and whose recorded history of major dams dates back to as early as the 1700s when the Jaismand Tank near Udaipur in Rajasthan State was built (Thukral 1992: 8). However, it was not until the early 1930s that large dams emerged in India, by and

large as symbols of technological advancement and development. By the late 1980s, India had more than 1,500 large dams. With the increase in dams, pressure on acquiring lands and displacing people increased. Concurrently, there were growing agitations and opposition to large dams as those who suffered from displacement began to become more aware of the disparity between themselves and those who would benefit from the dams who were often those with a stake in the project.

There are numerous examples in India of studies that looked at the experiences of those who had been affected by displacement due to the acquisition of land for dam construction. The Multiple Action Research Group (MARG) studies on the Sardar Sarovar oustees of Madhya Pradesh, undertaken between 1986 and 1989, are an example of systematic research that concentrated upon displacement caused by dams.[2] The studies emphasised the impact of involuntary project-related displacement on the affected persons, which among other things, included the breakdown of traditional social relations and community networks, economic disruption, and increased social ills veiled in alcoholism, gambling, prostitution, and increased morbidity (Thukral 1992: 13).

The MARG studies reveal the need for adequate official information on displacement concerning the displaced persons and not just details of the project. The studies on the Hirakud and Nagarjunasagar projects, which are more than 30 years old, reveal that it was difficult to trace the relevant documents as most of the officials who had been involved in the projects were either retired, had been

[2] These studies are published in a book entitled, *Big Dams, Displaced People: Rivers of Sorrow Rivers of Change*, edited by Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1992.

transferred, or had died. Similarly, the surviving oustees had grown too old to recall the events of the past.

The studies also reveal the need to take into account the very large section of the population that was not directly affected by land acquisition but was affected by the changes in land use as a consequence of the project, which resulted in the loss of sources of livelihood or access to the resources on which it depended. Finally, the studies recognised the need to take into account all social, environmental and economic costs of the project in order that resettlement be understood in a much wider context than the physical dislocation. As already mentioned, the majority of the displaced population belongs to the poorer and marginalised sections of society.

Cernea's 'risks' in the model are also demonstrated in the following examples on dams and resettlement:[3]

The US-funded Kaptai Hydropower Dam, or also known as Kanafuli, after the name of the river it impounds, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Southeast Bangladesh displaced over 100,000 people from the Chakma ethnic minority (one-sixth of the total Chakma population) and flooded almost two-fifths of their cultivable land. Native Americans suffered similar blows when the Garrison Dam flooded a quarter of the North Dakota reservation of the Three Affiliated Tribes (the Mandans, Hidatsas and Arikaas) and almost all of their productive land, resulting in the displacement of over eighty per cent of the reservation's population. The High

[3] See, for example, Michael M. Cernea, "Public Policy Responses to Development-Induced Population Displacements", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 15, 1996; Roli Asthana, "Involuntary Resettlement: Survey of International Experiences", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 15, 1996; and Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1996, from which these examples are largely drawn.

Aswan Dam in the Nile had adversely affected the delta, which is home to almost all of Egypt's people and two-third of Egypt's cropland. The dam reduced the amount of sediment reaching the delta and, deprived of sediments, the land subsided and tore away from its bank. The picture today is that the Nile delta is disappearing into the Mediterranean each year.

Land expropriation and the accompanying resettlement of people to make way for development projects happen especially amongst indigenous and tribal peoples. This has been going on for centuries, greatest during the European and American colonisation. Because of their strong spiritual ties to their land, which also define many of their social and cultural practices, any form of invasion is often a cultural obliteration of indigenous and tribal peoples. Land expropriation also disrupts the foundation of social and economic production systems of many farmers, and according to the World Bank, unless that foundation is reconstructed elsewhere, or replaced by other forms of employment, many displaced farmers will slide towards landlessness, or be left with smaller, marginal holdings, and the affected families will be impoverished. The development of the Kiambere reservoir area in Kenya, for instance, had reduced the resettlers' average landholding size from 13 to 6 hectares; their livestock was reduced by more than a third; yields per hectare decreased by 68 per cent for maize and 75 per cent for beans. Similarly in Nigeria, after the Kainji Dam was completed in 1968, it was found that floodplain yam production fell by 100,000 tonnes and downstream fishes fell by 60-70 per cent. More often than not, the land designated for resettlement was unsuitable for agriculture.

Evidence also shows that actual payments made to displaced people are generally lower than the amount promised before the resettlement, and if compensation is paid

at all, it is often insufficient to purchase new land. Numerous cases in point: the Itaipu dam resettlement and the Tucurui dam resettlement in Brazil, the Kulekhani dam resettlement in Nepal, the Foum-Gleita irrigation project in Mauritania, and the James Bay project in eastern Canada. Many indigenous and tribal farmers were not compensated because they had only customary but not formal legal title to land. At the Tucurui reservoir, it was reported that only 20.8 per cent of the 4,334 properties surveyed had property titles, while in the Sobradinho resettlement (Brazil) two thirds of the farmers were apparently denied compensation entitlements because they lacked titled ownership.

Loss of access to communal land, forests and water property, which are the livelihood sources of many rural people is similarly overlooked and rarely compensated. Dam proponents, planners and implementing agencies frequently fail to recognise that the forest and other natural resources are the sustenance for local communities – as from these come firewood, fodder, fuel, herbs, medicines, and fish. The Bombay-based Tata Institute of Social Sciences confirmed that thousands of Sardar Sarovar oustees who moved to resettlement sites between 1986 and 1993 could no longer have fish and meat in their diet, and at the same time, some resettlement colonies are short of pulses and vegetables. Thus resettlement, according to the Tata findings, "has meant a decline in the variety, quantity and quality of food consumed by the oustees" (S. Parasuram 1994, cited in McCully 1996: 79).

The other major displacement effect is on health and sanitation. Forced relocation exposes people to a higher degree of illnesses and diseases because of poor hygiene and sanitation, such as diarrhea and dysentery, outbreaks of parasitic and vector-

borne diseases such as malaria and schistosomiasis, and new types and strains of diseases. There is also greater drowning death among people living near a dam site especially among children because their small boats are unsafe on the exposed water of a reservoir. Furthermore, people living on the fringes of a reservoir are often not warned of fluctuations in the water level due to dam operation. For example, in the case of Indonesia, 106 people drowned in Saguling reservoir during the first 14 months after the dam was completed in 1984. Another 10 persons drowned in 1987 within 10 months of the impoundment of Cirata reservoir. Further, six lives were lost in the Kedung Ombo dam six months after its closure in January 1989.

As mentioned earlier, indigenous peoples have strong spiritual, socio-cultural and economic ties with their land. Thus, the loss of their land and communal property has far-reaching consequences for indigenous and tribal communities. The pain and hardships of displacement are usually experienced even before the process of transfer starts. When the first rumours begin to circulate that a dam is proposed in a potential area and land is wanted for the dam and reservoir, the inhabitants 'in the way of the project' often do not see the actual documents before construction starts. They suffer from the stress and uncertainty of not knowing whether or not the project will actually be implemented, how many acres of the land in the area will be flooded, who will be eligible for compensation, and how much compensation they will receive.

With regard to the value of Cernea's model in the Indian resettlement context, Mahapatra (1999: 195) puts this clearly:

> The model is convincing and practical precisely because it offers a conceptual framework designed not only to explain but also to trigger reconstructive processes and policies.

Indeed, Cernea's risk model and the empirical evidence show how resettlement projects can cause impoverishment to the thousands of people undergoing losses, hardships, and suffering; in varying intensities due to local conditions and nature of the project. Despite its well-documented evidence, my observations during fieldwork in Kampung Tampasak shows that the resettled families do not necessarily counter all eight risks identified in the model. For one, the affected families do not become homeless because they were compensated with houses. Two, the morbidity and mortality statistics were not going up.

In addition, my review of the model shows it has several limitations: (a) that it has not differentiated the impoverishment risks faced or perceived by different people, based on gender, class and ethnicity, which Dwivedi (1999: 46) has also highlighted. He notes that 'a few variables can be added to the risk model in order to develop it as a conceptual framework, taking cognizance of the fact that different people (men, women, rich farmers, landless, indigenous people and oppressed castes) may perceive their risks differently'; (b) that the model does not explore the arenas within which the impoverishment takes place – at the household/family, community, or societal level; and (c) that political factors and the role of international and national agencies, both government and non-government, have a role to play in either maintaining or minimizing the risks, or generating opportunities for people who risk resettlement, which Dwivedi (1999: 46) notes as 'incorporating the role of mediating agencies who define and politicize conditions of uncertainties and risks'. Other factors such as patterns of internal differentiation within communities, a multi-faceted relationship to the immediate environment and to the state, availability of local and non-local allies and the quality of the resettlement, as Oliver-Smith points

out, are crucial to understanding how people perceive risks and why they resist displacement (Oliver-Smith 1991, cited in Dwivedi 1999: 47).

Interestingly, Mahapatra (1999: 195) defends Cernea's model aptly, as follows:

> Cernea's model is seminal, too, in that it is not a closed or finite framework. Appropriately, it offers scope for further thinking and conceptual development. Cernea correctly notes that the "eight impoverishment hazards are not the only ones that result in processes of economic and social deprivation, but rather the most important ones". The model can accommodate and include other risk variables, for instance, to which I add: *education loss* among displaced children.

Nevertheless, if there are lessons to be learned for involuntary resettlement based on Cernea's model, it is that the authorities and dam proponents are reluctant to accept the multiple levels of stress and risks faced by affected people. As conceived by most resettlement planners, the resettlement site is an improvement in living conditions compared to the old site. Indeed, conventional notions of development consider zinc-roofed houses, electricity, monetised livelihoods, roads, and provision of health services as improvements in welfare for 'backward' and indigenous subsistence-oriented communities (Thukral 1992; King and Jawan 1992; Nicholas and Singh 1996; Yong 1997).

The discussion below further establishes that development projects such as dams are a major cause of displacement worldwide.

International and National Experiences of Displacement by Dam Projects

Dams are among the most expensive infrastructure projects, for example, the construction of China's 18,200 megawatts Three Gorges Dam costs between US$30 to US$50 billion as of August 1996 and the Itaipu on the Brazilian-Paraguayan

border costs some US$20 billion (McCully 1996: 20). However, dam proponents argue that dams are essential to economic development, especially in countries with urbanisation and industrialisation drives because hydropower dams provide electricity, which is the energy source for cities and industries, and serve other purposes such as flood control and irrigation. Thus governments, predominantly in the developing nations, are proposing and building dams, with backing from foreign financiers, 'dam experts', industrialists involved in electricity-intensive industries, politicians, the military and members of the corporate elite.

Worldwide, the number of large dams is estimated as 40,000.[4] The leading builder of major dams is the US, followed by the ex-USSR (CIS), Canada, Brazil and Japan. Whereas the country with the most large dams is China (with 18,820 dams as of 1986), followed by the US (5,459 large dams), CIS (3,000) and Japan (2,228) (McCully 1996: 3-6).

The world's largest hydroelectric dam is the Three Gorges dam on the Yangtze River. There are some 10 large-scale hydroelectric power stations on the Yangtze tributaries under construction or under feasibility study, besides medium- and small-scale hydroelectric power stations (Dai Qing 1989: 60). Critical publications on dams in China, particularly the Three Gorges Dam, are mainly produced outside the country. This is despite the fact that both Chinese and foreign academic bodies and journalists have participated in detailed studies of all aspects of the mega project and published views on the dam. In addition, ordinary Chinese citizens have raised

[4] This is according to estimates by the International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD), the leading dam-industry association. A 'large dam' is defined by ICOLD as one measuring 15 metres or more from foundation to crest, i.e. taller than a four-storey building.

questions or strongly opposed the Three Gorges project. Any debates or opposition to the dam have been suppressed by the Chinese government, while those favouring the project could speak freely (Dai Qing 1989: 2-3, 65). However, a collection of Chinese documents debating the Three Gorges project was published in 1989 under the title *Yangtze! Yangtze!* which became the basis for firsthand information on the dam. In 1990, *Damming the Three Gorges: What Dam Builders Don't Want You To Know* was published (Barber and Ryder 1990). The study contained views of experts in various fields including hydrology, environmental journalism, engineering, evaluation of development project, and dam building – all questioning the feasibility study that recommends construction of the Three Gorges Dam which would not only forcibly relocate one million people but also the destruction of the Three Gorges – one of the cradles of Chinese civilization.

A distinct pattern emerges across other parts of Asia. Vast bodies of water like the Mekong that runs through Cambodia and Laos, Mahaweli Ganga in Sri Lanka, Arun in Nepal, among others, are systematically dammed up and involve resettlement of the affected communities. Hence it is not surprising to note that dams remain a major cause of displacement worldwide.[5] A study by Cernea in 1986 found that all new dams for irrigation and hydropower projects approved by the World Bank between 1979-85 displaced approximately 750,000 persons. Subsequent revisions bring this number up to about 900,000 (Asthana 1996: 1469). Data gathered by McCully

[5] See especially E. Goldsmith and N. Hildyard (eds.), *The Social and Environmental Impacts of Large Dams, Vol.2; Case Studies*, Wadebridge Ecological Centre, Cornwall 1984; P. McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams*, Zed Books, London and New Jersey, 1996; and *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Issue on "Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation" Vol. XXXI No. 24, June 15, 1996, Mumbai, India. For discussion on selected dam projects see also Dai Qing (edited by P. Adams and J. Thibodeau), *Yangtze! Yangtze!* Probe International, Toronto and Earthscan, London, 1994, numerous writings on the Indian Narmada Sagar Dam in Madhya Pradesh; Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat; Tucurui project in Para, Brazil; and Bakun HEP in Balui, Sarawak.

(1996) give a total of 5,425,655 displaced by 176 completed dams in countries for which information is available, with another 1,690,365 displaced by 18 dams under construction and 739,875 by 37 dams planned.[6]

According to Cernea (1996: 1517) "involuntary relocation by major projects is particularly dramatic in densely-populated Asian countries that are engaged in powerful industrialisation and electrification drives." He cited the International Commission on Large Dams (ICOLD) and World Bank (WB) data which estimated that each year about four million people are to be displaced by some 300 large dams in construction in the developing world, and primarily in Asia.[7]

There is now a considerable amount of literature on dams and resettlement, ranging from interest in the problem of displaced persons and the nature of change displacement induces, to broader ethnographic coverage and comparative studies. Anthropologists and sociologists have studied populations uprooted by the construction of large hydroelectric dams and those forced to move because their homes and lands were to be submerged. The reasons for resettlement, the populations affected by resettlement, the process of actual transfer and its impact, the relative success or failure of the resettlers in adapting to the new setting, the suffering associated with uprooting and resettlement, and the various kinds of stress faced by those resettled – all these are examples of the themes studied. Implicit in their discussions is the power of a government to coerce a defenseless people into

[6] Compiled from McCully 1996, Appendix 3, pp. 321-334.

[7] It is also estimated that the urban development and transportation programmes displace some six million people each year. Thus, while dams are a major cause of displacement worldwide they are not necessarily the only source of displacement and destruction of habitat. Other major sources include mines, superthermal and nuclear plants, military installations, expansion and gazettement of reserved forest areas, sanctuaries and parks, and industrial complexes.

being uprooted and moved from one area to another (Palacio 1996: 122). More recently, questions of socio-cultural, political and legal policies are considered equally as important as economic reasoning, including the conventional cost/benefit approach. From time to time, we also come across symposiums and forums on involuntary resettlement within which interested parties from all levels and sectors of government, non-government, community, academe and private sectors, in collaboration or otherwise, reflect and debate on the issue.

To date, however, there is still a wide range of concerns that remain to be examined relating to resettled and displaced communities, including a comparison before and after resettlement to gauge the impact of development on the affected communities, the relationship between changing patterns of resources and gender relations, and the long-term mental health effects of resettlement on displaced communities.

For the purpose of this study, only resettlement due particularly to developmental projects such as dams as they pertain to indigenous peoples will be discussed, in line with the focus of this study.

Targets of dams and resettlement

Generally, the poor and politically powerless are the targets of eviction by dams. Research has been carried out since the 1950, which revealed that benefits of development projects accrue to a few while the costs are borne by the majority, many of whom are rural and indigenous peoples. Anthropologist Elizabeth Colson's study on the compulsory relocation of about 57,000 Gwembe Tonga people in Zambia and Zimbabwe when the Kariba Dam was built in 1958 is a classic example. Colson's findings revealed that those who resisted relocation, as many Gwembe

leaders did, were jailed on a charge of fomenting revolt (Colson 1971, cited in Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982: 270). A similar study by Scudder (1990) on the Gwembe Tonga in Zambia revealed that the process of moving people from the area to be flooded is frequently accompanied by violence and intimidation. As an example, he cited the incident where eight villagers were shot dead and over thirty were wounded by police (of what was then the British colony of Northern Rhodesia) in a confrontation during the 'poorly conceived and trauma-ridden crash programme' to clear the lands that were to become Kariba Reservoir (McCully 1996: 73).

The Gwembe Tonga case was not an isolated case. McCully recounted in his book, *Silenced Rivers*, numerous examples where indigenous peoples were victimised by development. This included the case where employees from the Papaloapan River Commission set fire to the homes of some of the 21,000 Mazatec Indians displaced by Mexico's Miguel Aleman Dam in the late 1950s when they refused to move. They also sent in the army several times to quell the resulting unrest in Indian communities. In another case, some 378 Maya Achi Indians of Rio Negro in the submergence zone of Guatemala's Chixoy Dam were murdered by the military dictatorship in 1976. The official version of the story was that they 'blocked the progress of the Chixoy Project', but it was widely believed that the massacre was part of the regime's counter-insurgency campaign that left 72,000 Guatemalans dead or missing between 1980 and 1984 alone. Foreign companies and donors had contributed to designing, building and funding the dam[8] (McCully 1996: 75).

[8] Loans for Chixoy came from the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the Italian government, while the dam was planned by LAMI Consortium, a group of engineering consultants comprising Lahmeyer International of Germany, Motor Columbus of Switzerland and International Engineering Company of the US. All denied knowledge of the massacres.

It is important to clarify here, however, that not all cases of forced displacement were visible in direct action, where physical force or might are used. The ruling elites of the poor/developing countries, as well as the governments, banks, corporations and other investors in the First and Third Worlds alike, have non-violent methods of alienating indigenous peoples from their lands, villages and territories to bolster development through large-scale projects. They are often as effective as the use of the army or repressive laws. These methods include the giving of bribes or a bigger cut of the cash compensation to community leaders in exchange for the community's land; hoodwinking illiterate farmers who have little experience of dealing with official paperwork; or offering promises such as free infrastructural facilities, jobs and high-earning incomes opportunities.[9]

Resettlement is closely linked to development schemes, as shown in the 1952-55 study by Reining among the Azande in the Zande District in Sudan on the related impact of development policy on a rural community. According to the study, in 1946, the government opened a development scheme in Zande District as the site for an experiment in social and economic development. The Zande District was chosen due to its remoteness and lack of natural resources. In this scheme, 15,000 families were to be resettled and at the same time introduced to the cultivation of cotton as a cash crop. The new settlement pattern – resettlement, forced cotton cultivation, and eventual poor returns for the cotton – had its effects on the Azande who were traditionally agriculturists with no clearly defined residential organisation. They had

[9] An example is the Batang Ai Resettlement Scheme in Sarawak, Second Division, where Tan Pek Leng (1997) pointed out that 10 years after resettlement, the native Ibans summed up their as experiences as "mainly of broken promises, dislocation and maladjustment". The more than 3,000 Ibans affected were promised free longhouses, free electricity, free water supply, sufficient land for cultivation and cash compensation by the state government if they made way for the construction of the Batang Ai Dam.

difficulties in getting enough food and were forced to substitute the grain with cassava, which was not particularly popular. This was because a large amount of time and energy was used to work for the government, including moving for resettlement and cotton cultivation, roads and public works (Reining cited in Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982: 201-224).

Fieldwork by Partridge, Brown and Nugent in 1977-78 on the Mazatec Indians living in the Papaloapan River basin displaced by the Aleman Dam twenty-five years later, gives some insights into the long-range human ecological and health impact upon resettled populations. The studies found that resettlement had not so much created conditions of increasing income and health equality as much as intensified the inequality of income and health that already existed between the indigenous Mazatec Indian (mainly the landless and usufruct rights landowners), the mestizos (mixed-blood peoples) and the several wealthy Mazatec. Accordingly, the rich and the poor responded differently to relocation and those with choices over where, when and how to relocate (self-relocation) had greater capacities to exert control over the new physical and social environments as well as the opportunities for upward mobility that resettlement conditions brought.

The Adivasis peoples of India, for example, who represent less than 6 per cent of the Indian population, account for 40 per cent of all those who have been displaced by dams. In the Philippines, large dams are often sited on the land of the country's 4.7 million indigenous peoples. Similarly, the 58,000 evicted to make way for Vietnam's Hoa Binh dam came largely from the ethnic minority groups. Another 112,000 members of ethnic minorities face a similar fate if the Ta Bu Dam, to be the biggest dam in Vietnam, takes off further downstream (McCully 1996:70). In Bangladesh,

some 100,000 Chakma peoples in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were removed from their lands to make way for the Karnafuli reservoir. In Brazil, the Tucurui and Itaipu dams have forced over 66,000 forest dwellers from the land (Burger 1990: 96).

Resettlement of indigenous peoples in Malaysia

Resettlement is not a new phenomenon in Malaysia. In fact, it is one of the rural development strategies that have been employed by colonial and present governments for various reasons. Some of the early resettlement programmes in Peninsular Malaysia were carried out by the British Colonial Government who, suspecting that Orang Asli were providing food, labour and intelligence to the communist insurgents from 1948 to 1960, moved them into hastily-built resettlement camps (Nicholas 1996: 162).

Later on, the Orang Asli communities were moved to what were called 'patterned settlements', which were later called 'regroupment schemes'. These schemes were noted for their wooden stilt-houses with modern facilities such as schools, clinics and shops and the rows of cash crops such as rubber or oil palm that settlers were required to grow, for they indicated that the government had provided the settlers with opportunities for cash incomes (Nicholas 1990, Gomes 1990). Many ethnic Chinese settlements scattered in the jungle or fringe of the jungle were also relocated to New Villages, especially that during the 1948-1960 Communist 'Emergency'. The relocation programme was carried out for security purposes.

The early resettlement schemes in Sarawak were carried out during the 'Confrontation' with Indonesia between 1964-1966. The aim was to shield the indigenous Ibans living near the Sarawak borders from the infiltration of the

Indonesian military. Here, the schemes were referred to as Rubber Planting Scheme B, such as the Skrang and Melugu schemes which began in 1964. These schemes were modeled on the FELDA land settlement schemes in Peninsular Malaysia and promoted rubber cultivation. In 1972 they came under the Sarawak Land Development Board. The early 1970s also saw the Rajang Security Command (RASCOM) organising the resettlement of various Iban communities in the Kanowit and Sibu areas in order to cut the links between the villagers and communist insurgents there, besides the attempt to 'win over' the locals to the government's side (King and Jawan 1992: 145).

The Batang Ai Resettlement Scheme in Sarawak is a good example of resettlement due to a dam project. The construction of the Batang Ai dam in 1981 at Wong Irup on the Batang Ai River, 18 kilometres upstream from Lubok Antu and 274 kilometres from the state capital of Kuching, flooded 21,000 acres of land and all the Iban communities affected were resettled at a land development scheme. A study undertaken by the Sarawak Museum prior to resettlement (Sarawak Museum 1979) found that 52.3 per cent of those interviewed viewed resettlement unfavourably; 32.3 per cent agreed to be resettled, of which 16 per cent agreed conditionally if the terms were favourable; while 14.7 per cent were uncertain.

Like the Peninsular and Sarawak, Sabah is also not left behind in resettlement exercises. In the early 1960s, for instance, the state launched major settlement schemes. These schemes involved the landless, the shifting cultivators and those with uneconomic holdings. They were resettled on large blocks of newly cleared land and the settler families were required to grow commercial crops such as oil palm, rubber and coconut. These settlement schemes were administered by the

Department of Agriculture (DoA) but were later on taken over by the Sabah Land Development Board when the DoA was constrained by resources (Sullivan and Leong 1981: 260-1).

The mid-1960s saw the emergence of the resettlement of communities who had lost their lands 'in the interest of state or national development'. A large proportion of these development projects were dams to provide electricity and water to meet growing industrial and domestic demands, or for irrigation purposes. Between 1965 and 1970, the Muda Irrigation Scheme located in Kedah and Perlis involved the construction of the Pedu Dam and the Muda Dam both financed by World Bank loans. In 1981, the construction of the Batang Ai dam in Sarawak led to the resettlement of more than 3,000 Iban people from 26 longhouses in the Batang Ai region of the Second Division from 1983 to 1984 (Ng 1999: 81). The Temenggor dam in Perak caused 1,500 Orang Asli to lose their lands and livelihoods. Other dams that displaced Orang Asli include the Linggiu Dam in Johor, the Kenyir Dam in Trengganu, and the Nenggiri Dam in Kelantan. In September 1998 the Sarawak government started to resettle the 9,400 indigenous peoples evicted to make way for the Bakun dam in Balui, Sarawak, even though the dam project had been suspended. There are 16 villages in the Upper Rejang affected by the mammoth Bakun dam project, of which only four villages have agreed to be moved to the new settlement.[10]

According to Hanson and Oliver-Smith (1982), resettlement because of the construction of dams is a planned change, which, rather than being voluntary, is

[10] According to Gara Jalong and Bawai Along, two representatives from Kampung Long Gang in Sungei Linau, Belaga, many families are reluctant to move into the Sungei Asap resettlement site due to the inadequate and poor housing facilities and deprivation of livelihood sources. Besides, each unit costs RM52,000 which the resettled families have to pay themselves (Borneo Post, 22.11.1998).

forced on communities by governments. In the context of resettlement in Sarawak, King and Jawan (1992: 146) remarked that:

> What is significant about all these schemes is that they involve an element of compulsion. The desire to move has not come initially from the Iban people themselves but direction has come from above, from the government.

King and Jawan further remarked that there was local resistance to the state agencies involved in the projects, and in some cases there were misunderstandings about the government's intentions (1992: 146).

Today, the 56 dams in Malaysia are mainly for the purposes of irrigation, flood control, silt retention, supplying water for domestic use and generation of hydroelectric power. It has been estimated that 260 'suitable' dam sites have been identified, which means many more dams could be constructed. The Minister of Works has remarked that another 47 dams are needed in Peninsular Malaysia by the year 2010 (Tan Pek Leng 1997: 226-227). The construction of these dams could further endanger indigenous and rural communities living on ancestral lands and near river ecosystems or forests.

Though it seems that indigenous communities are often the targets of development, they could also be seen as the 'victims' of development. Why is this so? An answer to this question is attempted in pursuing the approaches to development, particularly as they contribute to the process of impoverishment and the increasing destruction of sustainable livelihoods of rural indigenous communities in general and indigenous women in particular.

Development Approaches and Rural and Indigenous Communities

In the aftermath of World War II, the mainstream Anglo-American development models were premised on the belief that economic growth – the solution for world poverty and inequality would 'trickle down' in the form of improved living standards to the poorer sections of the population, within nations and between nations. Thus the richest, most powerful, and most militaristic nations, namely the First World post-colonial powers like the United States and Europe, will provide aid and technology to governments of Third World countries with poor, underdeveloped or undeveloped traditional economies to help hasten their pace of economic growth.

However, as Wee and Heyzer (1995: 49) observed, economic growth does not always 'trickle down' for three reasons: (i) the global financial market is controlled by transnational processes which can destabilise national economies; (ii) wealth generated seldom reaches the poor because the rich who shape the development direction tend to search for ways to increase human labour and natural resources at the lowest cost to generate more wealth for themselves; and (iii) re-distribution of wealth is unlikely to happen without considering factors that stratified society such as gender, ethnicity, religion, class and caste.

Furthermore, this strategy does not question how the rich accumulate wealth in the first place. Yet we know that throughout colonial rule, the imposition of new rules and land legislation made possible the extensive alienation of indigenous peoples' land. The extraction of natural resources by those in a more dominant political and social position than indigenous peoples resulted in the further alienation of land. After independence, the resources of indigenous peoples and rural communities continue to be exploited in many countries, particularly land and forest resources.

Although most native communities have their own indigenous systems of land administration and control over land uses, the written laws of the State have, however, undermined native customary rights in many countries. The government of the day often tightened control of land and forest resources in the hands of the elites including native elites.

The variations in development strategies from the 1970s to the present, such as the 'Basic Needs' theory of the 1970s, the 'Structural Adjustment Policies' of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of the 1980s, and the 'Sustainable Development'[11] process of the 1990s have failed to redress the economic crisis of especially the Third World countries. Schuurman (1993) interpreted this as "a crisis, an impasse in development theories." An example is the sustainable development process. When the over-exploitation of natural resources led to an increased environmental awareness in the late 1980s, the strategy for redressing turned to 'Sustainable Development'. The basic idea is that sustainable livelihoods and human development cannot be achieved without considering the resource bases, including forests, coastlines, rivers, flora and fauna that are necessary for sustaining such livelihoods (Schuurman 1993: 21-22; Wee and Heyzer 1995: 62).

In reality, however, what is not measured in monetary terms is not recognised, for example, the natural environment and the resource-based modes of livelihoods of local communities. The sustainable development strategy needs to take into account the importance of land, water, habitable settlement, and other vital resources because

[11] 'Sustainable Development' was popularised by the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) chaired by Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland. The official report is known as *Our Common Future*, or also as the Brundtland Report. The WCED defines 'sustainable development' as a strategy 'that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987).

of the interconnections between the eco-system and the human social system. These interconnections can be found in the world of indigenous peoples where the social, cultural, religious, political, economic, linguistic, and spiritual systems are imbued in the environment and land.

Failures of Development Approaches in Understanding Rural and Indigenous Communities

Development is intended to benefit the majority, but in many cases benefits are for the few at the expense of the many. Burger (1990: 75-78) clearly points out the threat facing indigenous peoples, or First Peoples,[12] as follows:

> Nothing has been so destructive to indigenous peoples as what we call progress.... First Peoples are sitting on resources the rest of the world wants, and wants at the lowest possible cost. Banks, corporations, speculators, governments, development agencies, and foreign powers intervening by proxy are 'today's colonialists' who make decisions in the boardrooms of big cities like New York, London or Tokyo.

When national governments in developing countries adopt the western development and industrialization strategies, they do so with the belief that all development processes lead to economic growth, which in turn contribute to the well being of the nation and its peoples. Thus the scramble to emulate the industrialised countries, as economic growth is seen as synonymous with transforming traditional economies into industrial sectors. In the words of Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, on the government's decision to resurrect the Sarawak Bakun Dam in early 1994: "Malaysia has progressed and progressed well and we find we are short

[12] 'First Peoples' is now also used to describe indigenous peoples, see, for example, Julian Burger, *The Gaia Atlas of First Peoples: A Future for the Indigenous World*, Robertson McCarta Limited, London, 1990.

of electricity. Bakun will not only provide the cheapest source of energy but will also serve as a catalyst to the country's industrialisation programme" (Insan 1996: 19).

Furthermore, governments and development agencies often view rural and indigenous communities with a paternalistic eye, that they are backward and in need of help. The policy is therefore to bring development to them. Sarawak Chief Minister Taib Mahmud concurs with this argument as he echoes the need for the Bakun dam, even with the resettlement of 9,400 indigenous people (Insan 1996: 76):

> "We believe the Bakun project is the best opportunity to help the Orang Ulu of Belaga. We want to bring the people of Belaga into the progress that will culminate with Vision 2020. The children of the Orang Ulu will be able to have modern facilities including piped water and roads and communication with the outside world. They will be at par with all Malaysians and will be proud to be Anak Sarawak."[13]

With this backdrop, the focus of many national development strategies is on opening up new lands for industrial purposes and cultivation of cash crops for exports, providing incentives to foreign investors and exploitation of resources. Such development projects are often large-scale, dependent on high technology and costly. Urbanisation and industrialisation, seen as the twin symbols of modernization, have stimulated vast programmes of energy production in developing countries including the construction of over 100 superdams (Burger 1990: 78).

However, it is well documented that countries pursuing such policies have witnessed the destruction of both the natural environment and the livelihoods of local

[13] Orang Ulu refers to the indigenous communities in the interior areas of Sarawak, such as the Kenyah, Kayan, Ukit, Punan, Penan and Lahanan, while Anak Sarawak means a native of Sarawak. Vision 2020 is Prime Minister Mahathir's vision that Malaysia will be a fully developed industrialised country by the year 2020. I often cite the Bakun Dam as an example for Malaysia because of the displacement of the largest number of indigenous people by a single project, that is, 9,400 persons.

communities.[14] A case in point is the World Bank's 1993-94 study on the Bank-financed projects entailing resettlement in 1986-93. The study analysed the socioeconomic nature of resettlement processes in various countries, their causes and scale, the public policies and legal frameworks for regulating such processes, their planning patterns and financing, and the actual resettlement implementation processes (Cernea 1996: 1517).

Consequently, the World Bank acknowledged that:

> When people are forcibly moved, production systems may be dismantled, long-established residential settlements are disorganised, and kinship groupings are scattered. Many jobs and assets are lost. Informal social networks that are a part of daily sustenance systems – providing mutual help in childcare, food security, revenue transfers, labour exchange and other basic sources of socioeconomic support – collapse because of territorial dispersion. Health care tends to deteriorate. Links between producers and consumers are often severed, and local labour markets are disrupted. Local organisations and formal and informal associations disappear because of the sudden departure of their members, often in different directions. Traditional authority and management systems can lose leaders. Symbolic markers, such as ancestral shrines and graves, are abandoned, breaking links with the past and with peoples' cultural identity. Not always visible or quantifiable, these processes are nonetheless real. The cumulative effect is that the social fabric and economy are torn apart. (World Bank 1994, cited in Kothari 1996: 1482).

But as experiences show, the World Bank is today the biggest foreign financier of large dams. In fact, the Bank has helped pay for more than 600 dams in 93 countries, including many of the world's largest and most controversial projects, costing some US$58 billion in 1993 (McCully 1996: 19). Other multilateral development banks,

[14] See, for example, C. Nicholas and Raajen S.(eds.), *Indigenous Peoples of Asia: Many Peoples, One Struggle*, Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact, Bangkok, Thailand, 1996; Lim Teck Ghee and A.G. Gomes (eds.), *Tribal Peoples and Development in Southeast Asia*, Special Issue of the Journal 'Manusia dan Masyarakat', Department of Anthropology and Sociology, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1990; B. Agarwal, *Women, Land and Ideology in India*, in H. Ajshar and B. Agarwal (eds.), "Women, Poverty and Ideology in Asia", London, Macmillan, 1989; N. Heyzer, *Gender, Population and Environment in the Context of Deforestation: A Malaysian Case Study*, APDC, Kuala Lumpur and UNRISD, Geneva, 1996.

especially the Inter-American and Asian Development Banks, and the specialised agencies of the United Nations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) have also played a major role in promoting large dams and irrigation schemes in developing countries. Bilateral 'aid' agencies like the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the British Department For International Development (DFID)[15] are other important funders and planners of dams, often in partnership with the World Bank and the UN agencies (McCully 1996: 20).

Taking away lands for development projects removes not only the economic base but also the identity, spirituality and knowledge of indigenous peoples. This is because imbued in the land is the system of beliefs and social relations that constitute the basis of indigenous ways of life. The situation of indigenous women is even worse. Women gather food and medicines from the forests, which demands an elaborate knowledge of the nutritional and medicinal properties of these plants, roots and trees. Women also acquire knowledge about nature in their everyday contact with and dependence on natural resources (Wee and Heyzer 1995; Yong 1999b). Women are custodians of rituals associated with farming and healing, for example among the women priestess, or *bobolian/babalian* of Sabah and the Ifugao women of the Cordillera, Philippines (SAWO 1992; Lasimbang 1996: 178; Bennagen and Lucas-Fernan 1996).

If indigenous peoples lose their territories and lands, women's knowledge and skills on rituals and medicines associated with land and forest become meaningless. Not

[15] Previously called the British Overseas Development Administration (ODA).

only would this represent a loss of agriculture, which is the domain of many indigenous women, but also the specific social and physical environment upon which to sustain the worldview and to nurture the culture of indigenous women (Nicholas 1996; NST 16.5.1999; Yong 1999b). Women and especially indigenous women, therefore, belong to a group of disadvantaged people within an already disadvantaged population.

Consequences of Failed Development Approaches

For indigenous peoples the land is the source of life. Although they vary widely in their customs, culture, religion, language, worldview, all indigenous peoples have a special relationship with their land. Land for them is more than a habitat or political boundary; it is the core of their knowledge, cultural and social life, and the origin of their identity as indigenous peoples (Nicholas 1996: 1). It is imbued with a spirituality and sacredness which connects them with their past (abode of their ancestors), with the present (provider of their daily needs), and with the future (legacy they hold in trust for the future generations). That the land can be owned by private individuals, corporate investors, or the state and can be disposed of at the will of the owner is an alien concept to indigenous peoples. For one, indigenous peoples do not consider land as merely an economic resource. More importantly, for indigenous peoples land is held collectively for the community and they have a collective responsibility to preserve it. Although competition between communities and tribes, and with outsiders, for rights of use have happened in the past that led to conflicts, indigenous peoples have their own customary law and political systems to settle disputes and conflicts.

The great majority of indigenous peoples who are sedentary and semi-nomadic are subsistence farmers engaged in swiddening (hill rice cultivation) and some hunting, gathering and fishing. Their main source of protein comes from the fish and other aquatic creatures from rivers and streams, apart from hunted game from the forests. Indeed, the forest is a vital part of life for indigenous peoples in the Tropics especially the nomadic ones – here they do their hunting and gathering of food for consumption, materials for making house, boat and other wooden items, fuel, food for animals, and plants for medicine, among others.

Today, development has induced changes on indigenous peoples with such intensity that any resistance has been relatively ineffective. All forms of induced-development threaten and continue to threaten the original way of life of indigenous peoples, their ancestral land and their identity. Mines, dams, plantation schemes, cattle ranches, highways and other expressions of 'development' have forced indigenous peoples from lands they have preserved, managed and utilised for centuries. These lands are seized with little or no compensation, and even where new land is given it is rarely adequate or fertile enough to sustain livelihoods (see, for example, Thukral 1992: 24; Viegas 1992: 38-40; Mankodi 1992: 92). However, proclaimed as being in the national interest, such development projects or strategies are often justified, but can the economic gains outweigh the human and environmental costs?

Development and the Understanding of Gender

This section seeks to examine the issue of gender, which is generally ignored in mainstream development policies and programmes. This is due largely to an inadequate and partial understanding of the roles and responsibilities of women, the differential impact of development on women, and the existence of gender inequality

in society. Hence it is useful to consider some of the different development policy approaches to Third World women in particular.

Welfare Approach

One of the earliest approaches to bring women into development, after World War II, is the residual model of social welfare for dependent and vulnerable groups under colonial administration, also called the welfare approach. During 1950-70, when this approach was most popular, mothering was seen as a woman's most important role in development. Consequently, women were perceived as passive beneficiaries of development which focus on their reproductive role, relating particularly to food aid, malnutrition, nutritional training, maternal and child health and family planning (see, for example, Townsend 1994: 170-171; Kabeer 1994: 4-5).

Much of the economic aid in development planning in the Third World was almost exclusively for men and devoid of any specific reference to women. Policymakers and implementers simply did not 'see' women, and if they did, they perceived women as passive and as part of 'programmes for vulnerable groups' (Townsend 1994: 170). As the overriding objective of development was economic growth, these welfare programmes for women were, as Kabeer (1994: 6) puts it "very much of a residual nature, offered only when the requirements of mainstream planning had been met and dispensed with in times of economic austerity." In short, women were not recognised as a category in mainstream development policy. Ferradas (1997) also found that women were not consulted by development experts and social planners involved in the construction of the Yacyreta hydroelectric dam in the Argentine and Paraguayan border and the relocation of nearly 40,000 people in both countries.

Being non-challenging, the welfare approach was popular especially with government and traditional non-governmental organisations (NGOs). By the 1970s, however, many researchers and activists began to question the orthodox equation between women and domesticity (see, for example, Kabeer 1994). Various factors influenced the rise of a more critical thinking on the prevailing development policy, particularly the publication of Ester Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* in 1970. Kabeer (1994: 6), citing Boserup, had pointed out that various colonial and post-colonial governments had systematically bypassed women in the diffusion of new technologies, extension services and other productive inputs because of their perceptions – or misperceptions – of what women did.

Townsend (1994) argued that such perception of women, if anything, was 'simply a false model of reality'. Many development schemes failed because people forgot about the roles and responsibilities of women in production (Palmer 1985, cited in Townsend 1994: 171). Empirical evidence from Boserup's field studies in the sub-Saharan African societies revealed that women played an important role in farming systems, yet the predominantly male planners, decision makers and field workers continually viewed women's primary roles as mothers and wives. Women were not benefiting from the modernisation development policy because they had been brought into development policy on very sex-specific terms: men as household heads and productive agents and women as housewives and mothers (Kabeer 1994: 5).

Integrating women in development

Although Boserup's work was criticised as lacking theory (see Beneria and Sen 1981), it nevertheless pointed out that development had marginalised and excluded women. The answer then was to integrate women into development, thus the Women

in Development (WID) approach emerged 'to ensure women were equal partners in development and had equal access to development resources' (Griffen 1995: 3). The buzzword was equity – with direct top-down intervention at state, national and international levels – to make women visible and give them equal rights.

Attempts were made to adopt the WID approach during the United Nations (UN) Decade for Women beginning in 1975. The UN itself has several organisations responsible for integrating women into its development efforts within its central agencies, namely the Division for Women, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the legal committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, as well as WID units in various bodies of the United Nations.

At national and state levels, the government formulated plans and policies as well as created national machineries to facilitate the process of integrating women in development. This integration was advocated through more equal participation in education and income-generating activities, better health care and social services for women, and training. However, equity was difficult to translate into action because it challenged male domination over access to, and control of resources and power and there was no will to redistribute power to women. Women's poverty – seen as a problem of gender subordination – was considered threatening and not popular with male-staffed development agencies and governments (Townsend 1993: 170-172).

Basic needs

Because of criticisms on the equity question, the new focus on women shifted to meeting women's basic needs. This formed the second WID approach.[16] Anti-poverty schemes particularly small-scale income-generating projects were run by aid and development agencies to ensure that poor women increased their productivity and meet their practical needs such as water, food, health and income. It is often forgotten that women need to gain control over their own lives and to overcome their subordinate position in terms of their relationship to men (Visvanathan 1997: 17-21; Tinker 1997: 33-41; Ng 1999: 192-3).

Efficiency approach

Since the 1980s, the efficiency approach became the predominant WID approach and the most popular with governments and multilateral agencies. Women are seen as 'the answer to everything' and 'a cheap delivery system' to increase production, to stabilise the economy, and to manage poverty' (Moser 1993, cited in Townsend 1994: 172-173). And this is possible through what Moser (1993) described as the triple roles of women – in production (income generation), in reproduction (biological and social), and in community management.

A criticism of the WID approach is that it recognised women's monetised productive roles and women's contributions to development, but did not examine the development policies or existing social structures. Neither does it question the root causes and nature of women's subordination and oppression. It also overlooked the impact of class, ethnicity, and culture.

[16] The original WID approach is said to be the equity approach, followed by the second approach, anti-poverty and third approach, efficiency (see Buvinic 1983; Moser 1993, Townsend 1994).

The notion of 'integration of women in development' itself is questionable since women have always participated in the market economy predominantly in the informal sector and agricultural activities. These provided a livelihood and enabled many poor women and men to survive. It is therefore a false notion that women are a backward sector of society that needs to be 'integrated' in order to be 'developed'. Moreover, strategies to make women 'visible' in planning do not necessarily ensure that women will benefit from development programmes and policies.[17]

Almost two decades after the WID approach, statistics and the growing body of literature on gender have revealed that there were no significant changes in women's lives. In fact, women continued to be marginalized, for example, in the subsistence and informal sectors of the economy (Heyzer and Sen 1994: 21-22; Chant and McIlwaine 1995).

Women and development

Because of the criticisms on WID, the 'women and development' (WAD) approach emerged in the second half of the 1970s. The WAD approach posits that women have always been part of the development process, and thus, examines more critically the assumptions of development and the effects of development on women and men, particularly the poor. It focuses on the relationship between women and the development processes and accepts women as important economic actors in their societies (Visvanathan 1997: 18-19).

[17] My observations of the Kadazandusun women in my study area, Kampong Tampasak, suggest that some women had adopted waged work even before their resettlement.

Although the WAD approach was more critical than WID of the bias in development stemming from class, race, gender and ethnicity, all of which may have influenced women's position and status, it did not analyse the link between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women's subordination and oppression (Griffen 1995: 4; Visanathan 1997: 18-19). It also tended to focus on the development of income-generating activities without considering the reproductive side of women's lives and work and the time burden that such strategies placed on women. It ignored the tasks performed by women in the household, including social reproduction. These tasks were deemed to have no economic value, belonged to the 'private' domain and remained outside the purview of development projects aimed at income-generation.

As seen from above, the existing models of economic development, namely WID and WAD, legitimised the exploitation of the poorest and most powerless people in the rural areas, the majority being women (Heyzer and Sen 1994: 24; Pietila and Vickers1994: 39; Griffen 1995: 2). Rather than improving rural communities and women's lives, economic development often makes them poorer through the acquisition of their lands in the name of "development". Yet, women are often excluded from the decision-making processes that affect their lives. Women's lives are often more affected because of their lower status in society. In many development programmes which impacted women's lives, women themselves were not given the much-needed information and education, much less the opportunity, to participate in the planning and decision-making process.

Gender and Development

The gender and development (GAD) approach emerged in the 1980s and "represents the confluence of diverse feminist perspectives", including feminist activism and

Marxist feminists (Visvanathan 1997: 23). As an alternative to the earlier WID and WAD that focus only on women, the GAD model focuses on the social relations between men and women, gender relations within the family, the household and the society, including the range of social controls over women's lives which determine factors that control women's access to resources such as land and their participation in decision-making at all levels – personal, household and community. In short, GAD aims to empower women and give them an equal voice by recognising their knowledge, experience, expertise and experiences in both the reproductive and productive spheres (Moffat, et. al. 1991; Griffen 1995).

Griffen (1995: 5) remarked that:

> A gender perspective in development policy in the 1990s therefore seeks changes in the development agenda and calls for redefinition of development to address issues of social and gender justice. Women are calling for a development model that addresses people's needs, particularly the needs of the poor and of women.

Third World Women Perspectives

In the mid-1980s, at the end of the UN Decade for Women, a network of southern feminist founded the Development Alternatives for a New Era (DAWN). As a network of Third World activists and researchers, DAWN analyses the impact of development policies on Third World women from the perspective of poor women (Visvanathan 1997: 26; Sen and Grown 1987). DAWN's model of development is based on the GAD approach as an alternative to the WID and WAD focus, where Third World women researchers, writers, activists and grassroots organizations reject the preoccupation of western feminists with patriarchy and the integration of women in the development process. DAWN contend that these approaches have ignored or

misinterpreted the daily struggles for survival and experiences of many third world women in developing countries.

Women's subordination is not just the problem of men but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression. Without a restructuring of international and national political and economic institutions which direct the development agenda that resulted in negative impacts for many of the poor and women particularly, the basic human rights of the poor, landless and the illiterate will continually be eroded. The DAWN alternative model of development is thus to empower Third World women through greater self-reliance and empowerment, besides making women more visible in development and arguing for a more equitable re-distribution of resources and power between women and men.

My gender analysis of the resettlement experience of Kampung Tampasak comes from the DAWN perspective, and thus differs from Cernea's model as the latter is lacking in analysis of the risks faced or perceived by people as differentiated by gender, class and ethnicity, at household/family, community and societal levels. Despite its limitation, Cernea's approach does provide important pointers regarding the impact of resettlement on the affected community, which can be complemented by the GAD and DAWN alternative approaches.

Towards Gender Analysis in Resettlement and Development

Feminist scholars in the mid-1970s regarded gender subordination as an issue of

central concern in development.[18] They contended that:

1) any study of women and development, of their effects on women's position or on their status, cannot start from the viewpoint that the problem is women, but rather women and men, and more specifically the socially constituted relations between them;
2) the relations between women and men are socially constituted and not biologically determined; and
3) women are benefiting most unequally from development (IDS 1979).

The question, 'Why do we need to study the impact of involuntary resettlement' is an essential first step to challenge a long-standing assumption in development planning, namely, that the benefits of development are shared equitably, irrespective of gender, class, ethnicity, and caste (Sen and Grown 1987; Heyzer and Sen 1994; Ng 1999, Yong 1999a). Development is often characterised physically, such as building of major dams, establishment of new industries, expansion of agriculture through land reclamation or plantation schemes. It is hardly about the recognition of peoples' rights to develop and progress as individuals and as a people, based on a social order that they themselves determine (Yong 1995b, 1996; 1999a). To go further and question the need that gender requires a special focus in resettlement and development planning is to challenge the assumption that women's needs are accommodated in the delivery of development programmes directed at the family or household.

[18] It is noteworthy to mention that Kate Young, Ann Whitehead, Maureen Mackintosh, Olivia Harris and Felicity Odlum were the earlier scholars who brought out the issue of gender subordination for discussion through the University of Sussex "Workshop on the Subordination of Women" held in 1976.

Why should women's need demand a special focus in resettlement? How does resettlement affect women differently from men? Why do we need to take gender into consideration in resettlement, if whole families and communities are being affected? These questions are valid for several reasons. One, there are differences in the access that women and men have to different resources and the control they have over them. When we see clearly who has these rights and who does not, we can then analyse this resource loss by gender. Two, the number of female-headed households are increasing with women increasingly supporting their children in resettlement communities. Three, resettlement is a source of emotional insecurity and fear particularly for women. In fact, Cernea's model of 'impoverishment risks through displacement' is more accentuated for women and children when we place resettlement and development within the broader context of women's livelihood needs, family and community responsibilities. It is imperative therefore that the gender perspective is incorporated into the study of resettlement and development, by looking at the concept of gender as a set of power relations intersecting all aspects of life and all categories of people.

Starting from these key questions, the concern of this study is on gender in resettlement because of the following reasons:

1) Development projects and programmes are mostly planned and decided by a top-down process, where the decision-makers and planners are predominantly males. Village leadership is also often a male domain where the leaders are often politically appointed.
2) The mainstream development paradigm tends to exploit the poorest people in rural communities, for example the acquisition of their land for development

projects. Besides the negative impact on the poor, women and children are particularly affected more because of existing intra-household inequalities.

3) Too often the assumption is made that all members of the household or the family share the burdens and benefits of development equally. In reality, the burdens and benefits vary from person to person within a family, and from community to community, thus each case needs to be carefully studied to determine the similarities and differences.

4) Within a family, community or village, the roles and responsibilities of each member – women, men and children, are different but complementary, so it is important to take the gender differences into account to understand the impact of resettlement on these relations.

Concepts and Terms Related To Resettlement, Development and Gender

Displacement

As a sociological concept, displacement is commonly used with resettlement, dislocation and migration although all imply some degree of physical movement from one geographical location to another, and occur under different circumstances and influences (Mangalam 1968 cited in Hanson and Oliver-Smith 1982: 2).

Voluntary migration

The movement or voluntary resettlement of the able-bodied population from one country or locality to another in search of work and better living conditions is seen as voluntary migration. Under capitalism this process is spontaneous and usually proceeds from the less developed to the more developed countries or locality with a relatively high economic growth rate (Volkov 1981: 223-224). To some extent,

therefore, the individual or group has the choice to move back to the place of origin when the pursuits of new opportunities and fortunes have fallen short.

Involuntary displacement

Where people are forced to leave their dwelling places, be it due to natural causes, political unrest or upheaval, or developmental projects, this is involuntary displacement. In India, the forcibly displaced people are called 'oustees' while in other countries the term 'resettlers' is often applied. Involuntary displacement is further distinguished by the fate of the displaced people after relocation. In the case of refugees forced to flee situations of political unrest and natural calamities, there is the possibility of returning to the original place of domicile and even restoring some measure of one's original way of life. But for most project-related displacement, this possibility does not exist (see, for example, Hanson and Oliver-Smith 1982; Thukral 1992; Mahapatra 1999). When people are not willing to move, there is the possibility of physical threat, if not the actual application of force by the state or project holders (Mahapatra 1999: 191-192).

Resettlement

Western social scientists identify resettlement with the processes of displacement and rehabilitation, or reconstruction of livelihoods. Displacement here concerns how land and other major assets are expropriated and people are removed, to allow a project intended for the overall social good as claimed by the state to proceed. Rehabilitation, on the other hand, concerns the fate of the displaced people after relocation and the rebuilding of their lives in the new environment (Cernea 1996).

In contrast, Indian scholars tend to differentiate between resettlement and rehabilitation. Joshi (1987), for example, sees resettlement in India as the simple relocation after physical displacement from the original habitat, and rehabilitation as 'grafting a community at a new place and nurturing it to ensure its steady and balanced growth' (cited in Mahapatra 1999:192). Based on the Indian perspective, Cernea (1996) pointed out that "rehabilitation" does not occur automatically just after relocation, and adds that resettlement may occur without rehabilitation, which of course is true in many cases. Mahapatra (1999: 192) further emphasises that resettlement and rehabilitation, two inter-related processes that form a continuum and partly overlap, should not be seen as sequential 'stages'. In this study, resettlement is taken to mean involuntary displacement of a community caused by a development project. In this case the resettlement involved the Kampung Tampasak indigenous community due to the construction of a water supply dam.

A distinct pattern is found in many Third World countries, that is, scores of people were, and still are, being affected by large-scale projects in the name of development. Virtually all these development programmes require mandatory dislocation and resettlement. Experience has indicated that the affected peoples have little or no say in the decision whether to be removed or not. The Tampasak case echoes what Hanson and Oliver-Smith (1982) pointed out, that the affected people 'have no desire or motivation to leave their place of residence permanently'.

Anthropologists and social researchers recently suggested a broader term – environmental refugees – to reflect not only those displaced due to development projects but also all categories of persons so affected by drastic and irreversible environmental change that they could not sustain their ways of life in their original

habitat (Das 1996: 1509). However, I find the usage 'refugees' inappropriate to the displaced families of Kampung Tampasak because they cannot be compared to refugees in conflict situations or political upheaval. Thus, in this study, I will use the term 'involuntary displacement' interchangeably with 'resettlement' with reference to the Kampung Tampasak community. To this end, and to analyse resettlement experiences, and to test this theoretical framework against the empirical findings of my field investigations, I take into account Cernea's 'Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model'.

Gender

Gender here is taken to mean the socially determined characteristics of women and men, which differ from 'sex', which refers to biologically determined characteristics (IDS 1976; Whitehead 1979; Moser 1993; WDC 1999). 'Gender' refers to the socially ascribed activities of men and women and attributes of masculine and feminine brought about through processes such as socialisation, education, culture, customs, religion, and language. This means that what is biologically determined (sex) is fixed and unchangeable whereas what is socially determined (gender constructs) can be changed. However, because certain parts of society view women as being inferior to men, women are often placed in a lower position (Yong 1992; WAC 1999). This is an example of gender subordination. A related term 'gender relations' is used to refer to social relations between women and men and to explain the power dynamics and social hierarchy between males and females within families/households and the community.[19]

[19] See, for example, writings on feminism and women in Malaysia by Cecilia Ng, "The Women Question: Problems in Feminist Analysis", *Kajian Malaysia*, Jil. XII, No. 1&2, June/December 1994, USM Penang; and *Positioning Women in Malaysia: Class and Gender in an Industrialising State*, Macmillan Press Ltd, New York, 1999.

Gender analysis

The focus on gender analysis is a useful step in ensuring gender issues are addressed in resettlement experiences. Gender analysis begins with the recognition of the differences between 'gender' and 'sex' (see above). It takes into account the central issues of power and hierarchy within the family and society (Moffat, et al. 1991; Ng 1999). Gender analysis tools are available to help planners, development practitioners and researchers. For example, gender analysis takes account of gender factors in the design of policy and projects through an analysis of the work done by women and men, and the true value of all the work done.

Below are the tools of gender analysis (based on Moffat et al. 1991):

- The gender division of labour – examination of the different work done by women and men and the way it is valued, which is a central aspect of gender relations.
- Types of work – the participation of women, men and children in Moser's three main areas of work.
- Access to, and control over, resources and benefits – including economic resources (land, equipment, tools), political (representation in committees and organisations), time, and access to training and education. For example, women's subordinate position can also limit their access to and control over resources and benefits, and vice-versa. Furthermore, women may have access (the opportunity to make use of something) to resources such as land, but no control (the ability to define the use of the resource and impose that definition on others) over the long-term use or ownership of the resource.

- Influencing factors – for example, economy, political situation, religion, culture and environment that have an effect on gender relations.
- Condition and position – the distinction between the day-to-day condition of women's lives and their position relative to men in society and vice versa. For example, condition refers to women's material state – their immediate sphere of experience, the work she does, where she lives, and what she needs for herself and her children (clean water, food) whereas position refers to women's social and economic standing relative to men, and is measured, for example, by female/male disparities in wages and job opportunities, participation in legislative bodies, and vulnerability to poverty and violence.
- Practical needs and strategic interests – practical needs are linked to a person's condition and best tested through unsatisfactory living conditions and lack of resources. Examples of practical needs include food and water, health and education of children, and increased income. Strategic interests for women arise from their disadvantaged position relative to men in society. They are long-term and related to improving women's position, empowering them with more opportunities, increasing access to resources, and participation in decision-making.
- Levels of participation – for example, decision-making capacity.
- Potential for transformation – challenging gender and social inequalities, gains made, new issues, and network of support.

Indigenous peoples

The term 'indigenous' used here is based on the working definition of the United Nations provided by the Cobo Study.[20] The Cobo Study understands indigenous communities, peoples and nations as:

> Those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural pattern, social institutions and legal systems.

Framework of the Study

The conceptual framework of this study is based on the fact that state-led development, such as the construction of the Babagon Dam to supply water to the West Coast areas of Sabah, often involve land acquisition and resettlement. The result of this is that the government assumes control over the planning and execution of the relocation of the Kampung Tampasak community without consultation with the people for their full participation and prior informed consent to the resettlement. Observations from the field will be the primary source of information to analyse the negative effects of resettlement and to postulate that these negative effects will also be felt in future resettlement given the top-down notion of development without adequate consultation. The interplay of power between the parties involved in the Babagon Dam project and resettlement of Kampung Tampasak, namely the state government, implementing agencies, the Kampung Tampasak community, and local NGOs, will also be investigated.

[20] The *Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations* (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7 and Add.1-4), prepared by Special Rapporteur of the UN Sub-Commission for Indigenous Peoples, Mr. J.Martinez Cobo. Cited in Simpson 1997.

When resettlement of people is involved without including them in the planning and decision-making processes this will have significant consequences for the community and households, and for women and men within the households, in terms of gender relations, economic, cultural and social aspects, all of which will be investigated in this study using the tools of gender analysis. Some other mediating factors might exacerbate the effect of the resettlement such as leadership status, marital status, class, and education, which in turn might have implications on the position and status of the households and individuals. All of these will be investigated also. The relationships between the parties involved and cost/benefit for the parties involved is represented by Chart 2.1 and Table 2.1 respectively.

Chart 2.1
Relationships between parties involved in the Babagon Dam project

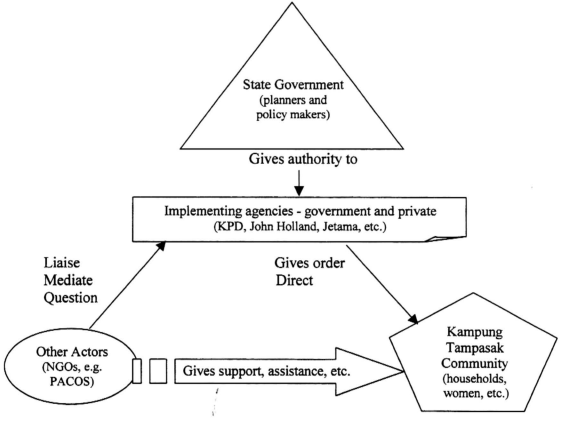

Table 2.1
Cost/benefit for parties involved in the Babagon Dam project

Body	Cost / Benefit for parties involved
State	'Development' – water supply for the populace
Implementing Agencies	Financial profit – construction of the Babagon Dam
NGOs (PACOS)	No direct effects Indirect effect – expanded contact with and support for the Kampung Tampasak community
Kampung Tampasak Community	Physical resettlement Economic, cultural and social changes Gender relations and balance change Change in position and status of households and individuals

Summary

From the empirical evidence on international and national experiences by dam projects, it is widely acknowledged that they carry a major human cost – involuntary displacement, which tends to mostly be borne by the poorest sections of society, namely rural and indigenous peoples. The claimed benefits of many dams, however, are off set by the far-reaching consequences on the lives of those affected by them. These consequences include the economic, environmental, social and psychological damage/loss. The consequences of resettlement in Malaysia have been similar to the international experiences, as shown in the Babagon Dam project and the resettled Kadazandusun indigenous community of Kampung Tampasak in Penampang, Sabah described in the next chapters.