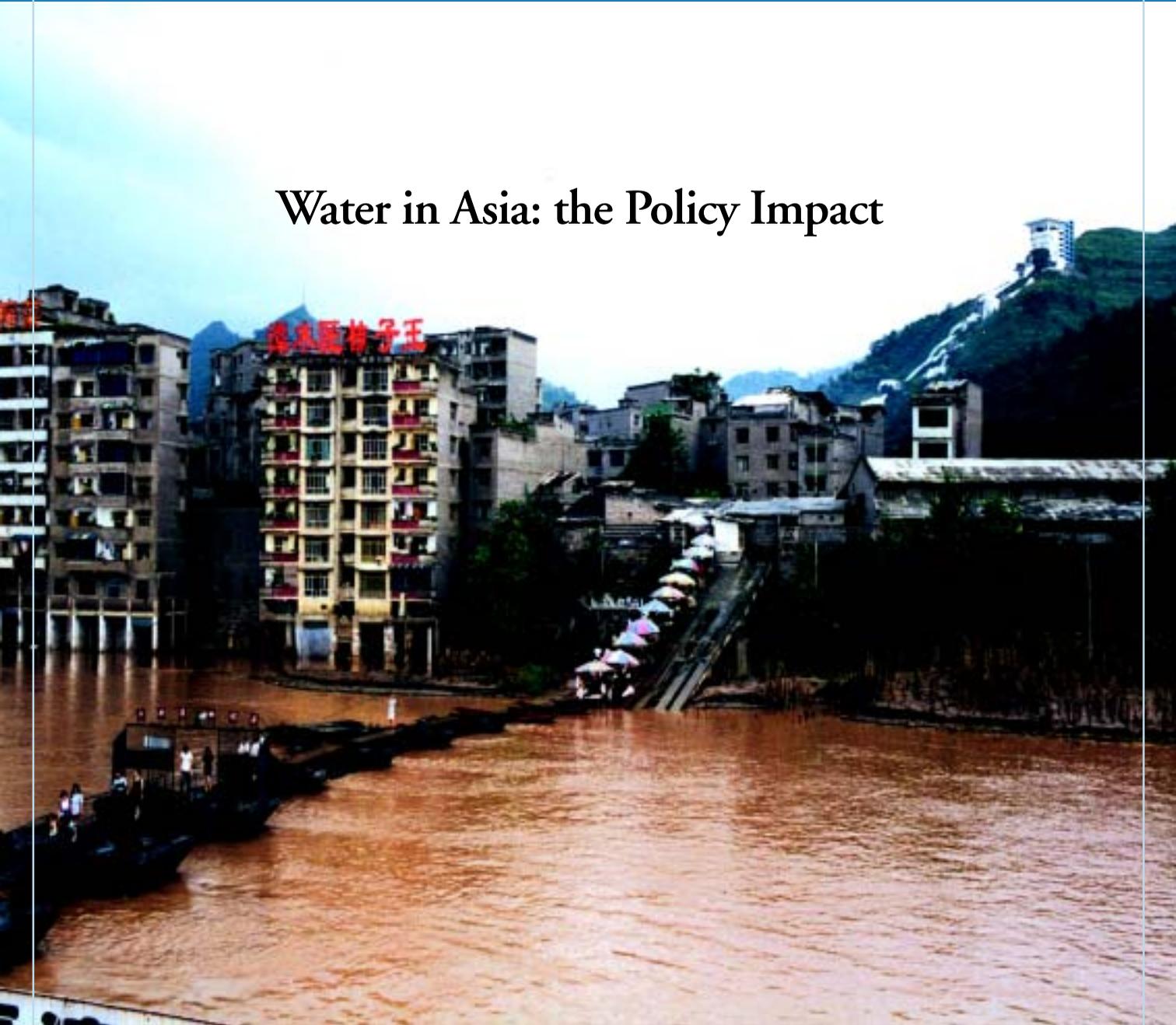



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Water in Asia: the Policy Impact



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Water in Asia: the Policy Impact

“The theme of this issue of NIASnytt concerns relations between water providers and consumers. Water resource policy has an imprint on people’s daily lives. The relationships, political as well as socio-cultural, between service providers and consumers must be integrated into water resource planning. This issue gives examples. The common theme is to consider the human relations so that they are included in a water resource concept. Only in this way can conflicts be avoided and co-operation established. The theme is concluded with a treatise of water resource management as a political project of great significance.”

Anders Hjort-af-Ornäs (see p. 4)

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We have got new telephone and fax numbers!
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The future of NIAS



First, an apology. I previously announced the launching on our website of a discussion list called 'The future of NIAS'. This was in line with our commitment to keep our friends and colleagues fully informed on developments regarding the Institute's future as a result of changes to the mandate of our owner, the Nordic Council of Ministers.

Unfortunately, the functioning of this discussion list has been temporarily disrupted due to the major reprogramming of our website. I know that many of you have tried to register and participate in the list, and I regret the inconvenience caused.

Many people ask what is happening with NIAS? Is there any conclusive outcome of the restructuring process that was initiated by the Nordic Council of Ministers for all Nordic research institutes earlier this year? Here I shall try to give you a nuanced picture that explains the current situation.

The situation as it stands is that the Nordic Council of Ministers is looking to transfer the ownership of its research institutes – including NIAS – to other partners. At this stage, they are primarily thinking of a 'national solution', of one country progressively taking over budgetary responsibility for each institution. However, the Council maintains a strong interest to see that the Nordic institutions maintain a Nordic mandate.

In order to meet this national solution for NIAS and the other research institutions, the Nordic Council of Ministers recruited Dan Brändström, Executive Director of the Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation), as a consultant to negotiate a new ownership and he is working hard to find an appropriate solution for each institution. We know that some of our readers have already been in contact with him. His report will be out for comments by the institutions at the end of July. At that time, we shall know much more about what is being proposed.

What of course makes the situation less clear at present is that the Nordic Council of Ministers is but one actor; the five Nordic governments and their various ministries and research councils also have a part to play in the final decision. So do you, as you will see below. In such a complex situation, obviously a quick solution will be difficult to reach but all indications are that NIAS will continue to serve the Nordic scholarly community.

That said, we have seized on the opportunity presented by this review to reassess our strategy and reconsider how best we can serve as a centre of excellence for the highly fragmented Nordic Asian Studies environment (something like 160 institutions when last counted). Our idea is that, from early August, 'The future of NIAS' discussion list (<http://www.nias.ku.dk/who/future/default.htm>) will function as a vehicle to discuss a new mandate and strategy for NIAS that is to the benefit of our users, partners and new owners.

Not only will this require enthusiasm and energy in formulating a better and more stable future for Asian Studies in the Nordic region; it will also demand that you make your voices heard in the wider community, that you make it known – to your supervisors, your university managers, your research council members, your chairmen of the research councils, your ministries and your ministers responsible for education, research and development, as well as your politicians – how and why the Nordic region would continue to benefit from the existence of NIAS.

Jørgen Delman, Director



Anders Hjort-af-Ornäs is Professor at the Department of Water and Environmental Studies, Tema institute, Linköping University, Sweden. He received his Ph.D. at Stockholm University 1979 in social anthropology, and became associate professor there in 1980. He also holds an MSc from the Royal Technical Highschool (KTH), Stockholm. He has been engaged in development research through research programmes, consultancies and institute directorship. His research interest is in the interface between socio-cultural factors and natural resource systems. He has among other things a research interest in community effects from river basin development and catchment planning in Vietnam.

Politics of Water Use in Asia

By Anders Hjort-af-Ornäs

The politics of water – the focus of this issue of NIASnytt – brings attention to the role of water resource systems in human development. The contributions do not deal with the mechanistic design of water policy arrangements (sector reforms, integrated management, delivery systems, conservation issues, regional shared water resources etc.). Instead they touch on those sides of policy that focus on poverty issues, empowerment/good governance, the situation of women and consultation issues. We have in this way sought to pick up some of the dynamics around water resources and their use by various so-called stakeholders through selected case studies. Consequently, the principal positioning in this issue is that water themes are not only for technical people. The case studies from development projects involve water resource providers in the form of policy managers, and consumers in the shape of individuals, households and local communities.

In order to be effective, this issue boils down to one message: The political and socio-cultural contexts of water resource programs have to be accounted for in analysis, in planning and in evaluation. Failure to do so means failure to capture the dynamics in the dramatic change in political life currently expressed by the Asian continent. Success in capturing the development needs such as poverty eradication, ascribes water resource management not only the role of delivering resources where it is affordable, but does so in a targeted manner towards equity and democracy.

Jing and Gustafsson demonstrate the ecological process towards environmental degradation through wind erosion caused by human induced changes of river flows and forest cover. The resulting sandstorms need to be controlled. Such control is established in the social life domain.

Hjort af Ornäs gives an account of discussions in remote mountain villages in Vietnam on the implications of new dam constructions. The people who would be affected by possible constructions are concerned both with socio-cultural change and economic compensation forms.

The contribution by Granfelt gives the perspective from those who have already experienced the process. The socio-economic and health implications of three hydropower plants in Vietnam occur under circumstances of poverty. The question to what extent impacts can be mitigated is a core one for the future picture of the benevolent development of electricity production.

Heggelund addresses the case of the Three Gorges dam in China, not only from an environmental and resettlement point of view. By looking at social instability as a result of a political process generated by farm land shortage, corruption and lack of participation, she concludes on the importance of human rights and legal issues.

Castensson's study of a Special Economic Zone in China shows how freshwater pollution upstream seriously hampers the political goal set for such zones. Measures suggested by the affected populations imply political pressure to establish effective river basin planning.

This call for upgraded institutional capacity for continuous interaction is also

reflected in Lambert's bid for supplementary low-tech solutions in the process of policy formation. A hybrid approach will be potentially attractive in economic terms. Transparency and accountability are key requirements for the important cost-benefit analysis required for any project, whether big or small.

Allan argues that socio-cultural relations form an integral part of any water resource management ambition. They are more complex and call for more muscle in dealing with problems created, but they cannot be defined as being secondary to the natural ecosystems. Sustainable water management in particular is more a case for social and political analysis than for hydrological and environmental sciences.

Allan's analysis ties the different contributions together as far as the political perspective on water use in Asia goes, and the set of articles comes up with the argument that the socio-cultural relations around water must be recognised as substantive. Undercurrents such as social equity determine the sustainability of water related projects presented in this issue.

Sandstorms in Beijing

By Dong Jing and Jan-Erik Gustafsson

A general definition of a severe sandstorm is one that it occurs suddenly and affects large areas causing great losses to the national economy and the people. The number of severe sandstorms in Beijing has grown rapidly since the founding of the People's Republic of China. There were five in the 1950s, eight in the 1960s, 13 in the 1970s, 14 in the 1980s and 20 in the 1990s. Severe and widespread sandstorms mainly occur in the period from March to May, especially in April.

For instance, a devastating sandstorm raged Beijing from April 16 to 18, 1998. Blowing from west to east, it even stretched to the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. This storm was almost unprecedented in history, and when it met rain over Beijing, 'muddy rain' was formed (Ci, 2001).

Human activities play an important role in the formation of severe sandstorms, basically through improper use of land, population growth and the rapid spread of urbanization.

Beijing is located in the northern part of the Northern Plains of China. The west (Taihang Mountain), the north (Jundu Mountain) and the east (Yan Mountain) of Beijing are mountain areas. Lots of rivers stream out from these areas. Some of them pass through the territory of Beijing, for example Yongding, Chaobai and Wenyu rivers which used to be big rivers in ancient times, carrying large quantities of water and hence causing considerable erosion, with much bedrock moved along their course.

The speed of water slowed down after the rivers entered into the plain, and the bedloads sedimented gradually. Beijing is located on the fan-shaped bedrock sediments originating from the Taihang Mountain, Jundu Mountain and Yan Mountain.

Originally, there were lots of flourishing virgin forests, which had the obvious function of preventing sandy winds. However, due to wars and the needs of construction for development of Beijing, these virgin forests were cut down and almost exhausted. Only some replanted trees were left in scattered mountain areas. According to statistics, the cover rate of forest in Beijing in 1950s was only 1.3–3.5%.

Strong winds have become more frequent. The elevation of

Beijing area is below 50 metres, but the elevation of the northern mountain area is above 1,000 metres. The difference in topography facilitates the wind entering from mountain areas to plain areas. When the wind passes through the river valleys, due to the effect of topography, the power of wind is enhanced. In winter and spring, the average wind speed is 3.0–3.5 m/s, but on an increasing number of days it reaches above 4–5 m/s, which is the wind speed needed to release sand particles under dry soil moisture conditions.

The activity of sandy winds in Beijing is influenced basically by local factors, but it also originates from the nearby peripheral provinces. Thus sand in the storms in Beijing include both local sources and sand from nearby Hebei and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Provinces.

Effects from descending ground water levels

Lakes, marshes and wetlands have important functions to improve the environment and to keep the moisture contents of the soil and the air. It should be noted, if the soil moisture in Beijing is 1%, even a wind speed of 17 m/s can not blow up sand and dust. But nowadays, in the spring time, the soil moisture is usually lower than 1%.



Dong Jing's BSc thesis (University of Science and Technology, Beijing) dealt with 'international trade in the network economic age'. In 2002 he was awarded a Master's degree in Environmental Engineering and Sustainable Infrastructure at the Royal Technical Highschool (KTH), Stockholm. His Master's thesis was on 'Sandstorms in Beijing – Occurrence, Protection and Control'.



Jan-Erik Gustafsson is Associate Professor at the Department of Land and Water Resources Engineering (KTH), Stockholm. His Ph.D. (1984) was on 'Water Resources Development in the People's Republic of China since 1949'. He participated in the Sino-Swedish Expedition to Tibet in 1995. His main research interests are river basin development, catchment planning, integrated management of land and water resources, the EU framework directive on water and the restructuring of the water utility sector.



In ancient times, lots of lakes, marshes and wetlands were distributed along the banks of Yongding River, Chaobai River and some low terrains around Beijing. Floods and changing river courses formed lakes and marshes. However, human activities reclaimed these areas as cultivated land and residential quarters. According to statistics, areas of lakes, marshes and wetlands presently make up 1.6% of the whole Beijing area.

In older times, people relied on rivers and lakes as their source of drinking water. The withdrawals of ground water were limited and there were hardly any problems of lowering ground water levels.

In the 1950s, the Guanting reservoir, the Miyun reservoir and the Huairou reservoir were constructed in the Beijing suburbs (Gustafsson 1984). At that time, as the main water sources of Beijing, they met water needs for human consumption and the industrial, agricultural production. In the 1980s, the storage capacity of the Guanting reservoir and the Miyun reservoir were greatly reduced. In 1980, the Guanting reservoir and the Miyun reservoir supplied water for agriculture at 917 billion m³. In the middle of 1990s, these two big reservoirs only supplied 200 billion m³ water. Due to a shortage of the surface water, the ground water had to be extracted and even excessively exploited. The water drawn from the ground water not only supplied agri-

cultural production, but also provided for industrial production.

Since the 1960s, excessive exploitation of the ground water has totalled 4,000 billion m³ in the Beijing plain areas, and 2,000 billion m³ in suburbs (see table below). The area of excessive exploitation is 2,660 km² in Beijing. That is 41 % of the whole area of the Beijing Plain. More than half belong to the area of severe exploitation, which forms a 1,000 km² funnel area. The ground level of some areas has sunk.

The overall decrease of the ground water level in the plain areas of Beijing deeply influences the environment conditions. It makes the ground sink which affects large-scale building, but it also decreases the moisture content of the surface soil. The areas of sinking ground water are Daxing, Fangshan, Tongzhou, Changping and other suburb districts and counties. These areas coincide with areas, where sand and dust are thickly deposited. Sandy winds are also frequent in these areas.

Moving sand dunes in Xiaobazi Village of Fengning County

Nowadays, moving sand dunes is a common phenomenon in Beijing peripheral areas. Xiaobazi village, which is located 110 km from Beijing at the northeast of Hebei Province, is a good illustration. It belongs to Fengning County, one of most impoverished counties of China.

Fengning County's poverty is directly related to the harmful-

ness of sandy winds. The area of soil erosion is 4,959 km², 56.5% of the whole county area. The area of degenerated grassland is 1,571 km². The area of desertified land is 1,129 km², one-eighth of the whole county area. Xiaobazi village, which is located at the source of Chao River, is the most affected area. One-third of the whole village area is desertified land. There are 82 sites of sand dunes. The area of soil erosion is 225 km², more than 70% of the whole village area (Gao, 2002). Strong winds carry sand easily from Xiaobazi to Beijing.

The Chao River course and the mountain valley in Xiaobazi village are a narrow wind passage. The westerly and the northwesterly winds are frequent in winter and spring. The average wind speed is 4.2 M/S, maximum wind speed might reach 34 M/S. Therefore, sandy winds in the winter and the spring are very active and cause lots of disasters. For example, the sand covers the cultivated land near the river band. Since the 1950s, cultivated land covered by shifting sand totals 2,600 hectares. 433 hectares of cultivated land have been lost for cultivation, which is 35.9% of the total cultivated land area in the whole village. At the same time, violent wind erosion in winter and spring removes lots of the surface soil annually. Due to the surface soil being eroded by wind, the most fertile part decreases and applied fertilizers

continued on p. 14

Excessive Exploitation of Groundwater in Beijing (Source: Jing 2002)

Type of area of excessive exploitation	Extent of exploitation	Area (km ²)	Total plain area	Distribution
Area of excessive exploitation	>120%	1,262	19.3%	Close suburb
Arera of normal excessive exploitation	100–120%	1,398	21.1%	Tongzhou, Daxing, Fangshan, Changpin

Thoughts on Resettlement

Participatory discussions in Vietnam with potentially affected persons

By Anders Hjort-af-Ornäs

As part of a major study on hydropower and water resource planning in Vietnam recently, a great number of villages were visited (Vietnam 2003). They are located within potential dam sites, and background studies included participatory research with discussions on compensation and development potentials with the people to be affected by dam constructions. In the stepwise selection of alternative locations among many potentially possible sites, 21 sites were finally singled out as of interest. As one side of social impact studies around 40 villages were visited by field teams, and issues of compensation were raised. In some instances, resettlement plans had already been developed and discussed, while in others the possibility of projects was more or less a surprise. This article points at a few of the issues raised, primarily in fields of compensation demands and positive development effects. Findings are composed with the World Commission on Dams observations (WCD 2000).

Out of the villages studied the twelve that are located in the Da River catchment area are addressed here. This choice is made because of the dominant Son La project that involves resettlement of about 100,000 persons. So-called ethnic minorities inhabit each village. Out of the selected villages, five are White Thai, two Black Thai, and another five small ethnic groups, mostly swidden agriculturalists (Khang, Si La, Kho Mu, Hya Nhi and Mang). The principle had been to select one directly and one indirectly affected village, in many cases located far from roads. The study shows that two thirds of the villages were informed about possible hydropower projects. There are proper or rudimentary resettlement plans in just over half of the cases. Once the village studies were carried out, awareness (and worry) naturally became total. Looking more closely at the plans, the proportions between resettles and host populations vary tremendously. In one case the resettles form a clear majority, in other cases a minority between 50–30%. In several cases the plans are so decided that the

resettles line up with already known kin relations so that ethnic tension does not follow. The overall impression is that the resettlee/host relationship has not yet become an issue.

Discussions with village populations as a whole demonstrate a picture of poverty and uncertainty. Seasonal food security problems are common in all cases, and the category of poor people is between 25–40%. This section is then experience based, formed through participatory group discussions, not merely by statistical calculations of rice equivalents. The result means that a project would appear in a situation where human suffering was badly felt. The development needs identified in discussions include in all cases but one: a demand for better infrastructure (not least improved boat transport). In most of the cases there is a call for improved water quality for household consumption. The need for water for irrigation purposes is equally emphasised. The education level is recorded as a problem in half the cases; in one of them not because of poor school constructions but because of a

lack of teachers. One third of the discussions also identified housing as being of poor quality.

The number of persons in a village varies between 100 and 1,000, with a median at about 300 individuals. A common feeling is that if resettlement should occur, the whole village, or the entire commune, should move as one group. In most of the cases, the ideal place to move to would be a neighbouring commune, while others realise that long-distance resettlement to the central highlands might be necessary.

Feelings expressed about resettlement are very mixed. On the one hand there are many statements in favour of national development, where people see their own migration as a necessity but also an opportunity to improve living standards. The collective life-view intertwines with individual interests. In many cases, however, there is great worry over resettlement due to the fact that the tracts have been inhabited over generations. In actual fact only one village is recent, while two have been shaped by the national resettlement policy in the 1950s. The



Anders Hjort-af-Ornäs

rest have been inhabited over generations. Even though land is state owned, there are several expressions that its productivity has increased over generations due to much investment in the upgrading of family labour over the years. This adds an individualistic dimension to a Confucian policy thinking. Going into more detail in the particular discussions at the 12 villages, only four agree unconditionally that resettlement is a good idea. They do that primarily – they say – because of specific development needs, especially within social service. In one case a clear village majority is distinctly reluctant to resettle. In the remaining majority of the cases the village inhabitants express in group discussions that they are positive to resettlement but that they have worries.

These worries led to long discussions on compensation in the interviews. Participants have been clear on this matter. In all cases people request compensation for lost assets, in instances also for non-quantifiable matters such as graves. Graves have been a major place-related issue in the interactions. In two of the

villages the discussion led into statements that the government should build new infrastructure such as houses and compensate other losses in cash. In other cases (ten of twelve) the demand for compensation was in cash, so that the local inhabitants themselves could administer the resettlement. The idea of compensation in kind, for instance through regular development projects, was not forthcoming. Only in one case was there discussion of the establishment of a margin to a possible loss through inflation (this was expressed through the demand to have double compensation for lost property). Yet, a number of development effects were identified in discussions. Running down the list these were, ranked in order of priority in most discussions, the establishment of new crops, improved market access, improved waterways, rural electrification, improved road systems, upgraded primary school system, permanent health centres, new cemeteries, better markets, and access to more water due to dam constructions.

A range of concrete recommendations on the approach to

resettlement was given in discussions. Among these were to invest in expanded wet rice, avoid taxation the first five years, grow new legumes, improve extension and technical training, separate areas for cattle in order to protect clean water, and provide food support over a long initial period. Several sceptical conclusions were also reached, such as a concern whether water would really be improved, and whether food supplies would really be forthcoming for the entire period needed for settling in. The ambition was to look for margins in the dealing with government. A corollary demand appeared in all cases that there is a great need to know the schedule for construction once a project has been decided on.

This brief visit to twelve villages in northern Vietnam is, of course, not representative of the entire rural areas. However, it raises a number of well-known issues, and it can offer a local perspective on these issues that have been debated at international and global levels. The recent World Commission on Dams has come up with a number of recommendations transformed into rules in e.g. the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank activities. The core philosophy is in line with general trends in development; that participation and stake-holding become even more important in project planning. Issues raised at global level are public awareness, good governance, interaction between different administrative levels, stakeholder participation and long- and short-term consideration as far as policy goes. In management terms this may be translated into integrated development planning, community funds, mainstreaming poverty reduction, participation of the private sector, employment creation and attention to key enabling factors.

Song Hinh hydropower dam and the resettlement village Thung 1 (Vietnam)



There is congruence on several issues such as the need for resettles to move in groups (even though the anticipated size of the group varies in local perspective while the general recommendation is to maintain as coherent a group as possible). There is discrepancy on the point of compensation in that the villagers emphasise cash compensation strongly, and they also emphasise their independence from authorities providing mitigation. The one exception in the village perspective is agricultural extension service which is highly prioritised. The ethical issue of minimising the number of persons to be resettled is not relevant in the village discussions. However, it makes sense against the background of reluctance and worry that are commonly expressed in village collective discussions.

One difference between the WCD stand and the popular attitude that appears through village discussions concerns the relationship to natural resources. At first glance it can be formulated so that wet rice agri-

culturalists are more rooted and more reluctant to leave than swidden or formerly swidden agriculturalists. However, when examined more closely, the resource system is shaped not only by natural resources but by ethnic relations and culture as well. Constellations of ethnic minorities express a willingness to resettle with constellations of 'like-minded', but also a reluctance to resettle with particular groups. Out of this observation comes a first lesson from the bottom-up approach that culture counts to the extent that resource systems for resettles extend well into a socio-cultural domain.

A second lesson, also case specific, is a realisation that land is not enough for resettlement. This is expressed in a readiness by some of the villagers to move to central highlands. Those central highlands, which are currently being resettled, represent an abstract 'far-away' resettlement and are not site specific in people's minds. Such a statement as willingness to move to central highlands rather

stands for an acceptance that land is not private, and that there is not sufficient land in the home areas. This connects to the collective dimension of life in the Confucian tradition. Even if the Doi Moi means liberalisation of agricultural production and privatisation of land tenure, ownership remains with the collective, represented by the state. A person's identity is attached to social dimensions such as graves, and also to fields for those families who have invested generations of labour into upgrading productivity. Such cultural factors may not show in ecosystems but they are unavoidable for policy implementation of resettlement strategies.

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Coming Soon from NIAS Press

Reaching for the Dream

Challenges of Sustainable Development in Vietnam
Edited by Melanie Beresford and Angie Ngoc Tran

Transition economies allow the study of fundamental questions about the nature of markets. How do they arise and do they necessarily follow the same *modus operandi* as markets in other countries? How does the state influence the development of markets? How does the opening of the economy to global market influences affect the process of institutional change? How do people respond to both internal and external influences? And how in the context of an underdeveloped transitional economy like Vietnam – from central planning and from under-development – affects various sectors of the population.

NIAS, September 2003, 288 pp.
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Co-management of Natural Resources in Asia A Comparative Perspective

Edited by Gerard A. Persoon, Diny M.E. van Est and Percy E. Sajjé

Co-management, that is the sharing of responsibilities between governmental institutions and groups of resource users, is rapidly becoming popular in Asia. In many countries environmental management is reformulated from exclusive state control to various kinds of joint management in which local communities, indigenous peoples and NGOs share authority and benefits with governmental institutions.

In this book, case studies of experiments with co-management – i.e. sharing of responsibilities between governmental institutions and groups of resource users – in a number of countries are combined with more reflective contributions pointing to underlying assumptions and problems in the actual implementation of co-management.

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320 pp., illus.
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Tiia Riitta Granfelt is a social anthropologist working at Linköping University, where she with focuses on socio-economic and community development, sustainable development and small-scale entrepreneurship development. She has experience from social impact assessment of large-scale hydropower projects in Vietnam and teaching in methodology for data processing and reporting.

Water Managers Learning Hydropower Consequences on Population:

From general impacts to mitigation needs

By Tiia Riitta Granfelt

One topic in a recently held training course¹ for hydropower engineers in Vietnam was socio-economy and health. The ambition was to demonstrate to project staff and provincial administrators how primary data could be gathered, and the significance of that data for monitoring consequences of hydropower projects in the long-term perspective. The training was spread over more than a year with two workshops and an intermittent period for data treatment and training in methodology. The aim of the course was to learn participatory methods in data gathering as well as data structuring for reporting and for applying a monitoring model based on a selection of relevant parameters through an interactive process during the training. Staff from three hydropower stations participated, with a focus on the situations for resettled people in the vicinity of the hydropower stations. An important element in the training was to supervise three brief participatory studies, not in order to generate new data but to practise methodology and thus provide a deeper insight into life situations and accessibility of information through interaction. The group work generated a universal model for stratified problem identification and for dealing with surprising future events. The work process towards the model proved stimulating as an eye-opener for the participants. The model provided them with tools for comprehending the socio-economic and health situations of the people living around the hydropower plants they are running.

Variation among cases: Model for weighting problem areas

Both the three *project areas* (i.e. the area around the hydropower plant (HPP) affected to varying extents by its construction) and two villages in each area, a long-term settled one and a resettlement village are included in the study conducted during the course. Data on both the whole project area and at village level was gathered at all three HPPs using participatory methods. The problem picture shows a significant variation between the HPPs. The project area at Ya Ly HPP exhibits difficulties with ethnic relations, and to some extent also with other relations between host and resettlee populations as well as difficulties with the electricity supply. The latter difficulties relate to pricing policy. In contrast, the situation at the Thac Mo project area is not focused at all on ethnicity and

hardly on resettlee and host populations' relations. Instead, uncontrolled migration is considered disturbing. Also here the pricing policy of electricity is noted as a problem. At Song Hinh more problems are registered at project area level. Ethnic relations create the most serious difficulty along with poverty in the form of an extremely low income level. A low level of education is a primary concurrent problem to poverty. The use of electricity is not mentioned here as a serious problem.

In the study, attention is also given to specific *resettlee and host villages*. At Ya Ly, no extreme specific problems could be noted, though people expressed concern over the water and sanitation situation as well as over low farm output levels. At Thac Mo, the three key problem areas at village level were identified as disease occurrence, culture preservation and availability of water for cultivation. At Song

Hinh, four major concerns were expressed at village level; particularly water and sanitation along with health services were noted as well as food security and difficulties in accessing sufficient water for cultivation. Problems were also noted with education, extension services, land access, farm output and income structure.

The purpose of this account is not to present problem lists for different hydropower projects. What should be observed is the great difference between HPP sites. It would obviously be wrong to suggest a blue print type of standardised approach to remedying problems among resettlement and host populations. Instead, the idea of the training course and its model design, to identify special problem areas at each HPP site, proves correct. Through the monitoring model these areas were identified. The surprising futures model of ascribing greater weight to issues connected with food production

and economy, which lifts the relevant issues to the fore, then followed. Likewise, socio-cultural issues were highlighted, leading to an emphasis on problems with living standards.

In the former case with *food production and economy*, the Ya Ly study shows great concern over farm output at village level but not at project area level, even though some worry was also expressed here with farm output. Some problems at village level were equally connected with water for cultivation and to land access. In the case of Thac Mo, no serious problems appeared at project area while at village level, shortage of cultivation water made up a great problem. At Song Hinh, great concern was expressed over poor income levels in the entire project area, and at village level, with poor access to water for cultivation. At village level, a low level of farm output and poor land access were perceived as major problems.

Looking at the *socio-cultural issues*, the situation at Ya Ly at project area level exhibits greatest concern over ethnicity and relations between resettles and host populations. At village level, however, no extreme problems were experienced in the villages studied. At Thac Mo, great concern was expressed at project area level over uncontrolled migration into the area. At village level there were no extreme worries. In Song Hinh project area, the two most acute problems were connected to ethnicity and low income levels. They are also reflected at village level where secure access to food as well as access to land was indicated as being extremely problematic.²

From fragmented experience to integrated problem focus

The use of the monitoring model proved to be an eye-opener to hydropower station staff and administrators attending the course. It provided them with

means to structure their knowledge into conceivable problem fields. This showed in the level of interaction and not least in the opportunity offered through the model design to compare experiences from different sites. Again the discussions underscored differences at the various hydropower sites and the potential of the model design to anticipate problem areas at individual projects areas and at different levels. The participants recommended that data gathering and monitoring should be conducted every other year.

The rapid monitoring and surprising futures model does not indicate positive development issues but instead reveals the specific problem areas where mitigation is needed. The model offers cost-efficiency but it should by no means substitute for proper monitoring studies. By focusing attention on a limited number of critical parameters, through formalised ways of observing levels and changes, situations in the realm of socio-economy and health can be followed. Instead of continuous monitoring the approach offers a technique to monitor the need for monitoring, in such a way that proper studies can be initiated when the need occurs.

The intention of the surprising futures approach is therefore not to establish longitudinal comparisons as in proper monitoring studies, but to address specific issues as a basis for an observation whether these issues are becoming critical to the extent that further baseline data must be gathered. Sensitive issues can be spotted so that problems might be identified, or at least a need for further information towards policy application or change. Different hydropower projects can also be directly compared, and so an experience base can be drawn upon. It is also worth noting that the model design is general.

This means that the same approach as in this project could be valid for any hydropower project, after some adjustments in the technique.

Model for specific problem indication

Experiences from the training project lead to the conclusion that monitoring and analysing situations at different sites is of extreme importance for properly directed mitigation measures. There is a scale of variation where the most critical socio-economic and health issues appear after a hydropower plant construction. A general mitigation plan to be applied independent of project site might therefore not properly highlight the areas where most measures are needed. The model presented in this project provides instead a rapid and cost-efficient method of indicating the most vulnerable areas where inputs of mitigation and of further monitoring are needed in each specific case.

Notes

¹ The course was organised in cooperation with EVN (Electricity of Vietnam) and Sweco International with financing from Sida (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency).

² These findings relate directly to the covariation of resource access, poverty and inequality as discussed e.g. by Adger & Kelly (2001) and also dealt with in the WCD Report (2000).

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The Three Gorges Dam: Taming the waters of the Yangtze – creating social instability?

By Gørild Heggelund

The Three Gorges project (Sanxia gongcheng) is currently being constructed on the Yangtze River in China. The National People's Congress approved the dam project in 1992. Construction of the dam began in 1994, and its completion is scheduled for 2009. The project was approved after decades of controversy among bureaucrats, scientists and journalists in China. The purpose of the Three Gorges project is electricity production, flood control, and improved navigational facilities, which Chinese authorities claim will be beneficial for the population living in the areas surrounding the Yangtze River. One major reason for the controversy about the dam is the displacement of 1.2 million people (official figures; unofficial figures are 1.4–2 million). This article discusses past resettlement in China as well some of the challenges in the implementation process for the Three Gorges resettlement that may lead to social instability in the area.

Resettlement in China

Chinese authorities claim that altogether 10 million people have been resettled due to the construction of water conservancy and hydroelectric projects (Li Boning 1992). This figure is contended by independent sources in China who believe the number is much higher, with 10 million or more people resettled in the Yangtze Valley alone (World Commission on Dams 2000).

It is generally acknowledged, even by Chinese authorities, that resettlement was unsuccessful until the 1980s, due to the lack of comprehensive resettlement plans. Officially, about one-third of the resettlement has been declared unsuccessful, which suggests that more than 3 million people have not been satisfactorily resettled and compensated. It is also generally acknowledged that among the three million that have been fairly successfully resettled there are still problems. The lack of success has been blamed on the emphasis being traditionally put on the construction of the project, rather than resettlement (*zhong gongcheng, qing anzhi*) (Zhu and Zhao eds. 1996).

The principal method of compensation employed in reservoir resettlement in China was the 'lump sum' (*yicixing*) type of compensation (Li Boning 1992). This was a simple method of returning to the peasants the amount of money that the land and house were worth, according to established standards set by the central government, with no thought of how the resettled people were to live in the new areas. In many cases, the resettled peasants lived in poverty after being resettled, and they often returned to their home areas when they could not sustain themselves in their new areas. However, in 1985, the Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power (MWREP) instituted new reservoir resettlement design requirements, and in 1986, required projects to include resettlement funding in the overall project budget. Furthermore, based upon the experiences of past reservoir resettlement, a new resettlement plan called 'development type resettlement' (*kaifaxing yimin fangzhen*) was gradually developed during the discussions for the Three Gorges project. The purpose of the develop-

mental resettlement scheme is to solve the daily subsistence problems of the resettled population. Thus, as opposed to old resettlement schemes where this was more or less ignored, the current resettlement policy intends to develop the economy and infrastructure in the reservoir in order to ensure the livelihoods of the resettled people. The Shuikou dam in Fujian province, funded by the World Bank, is a good example of approaching resettlement as a development challenge, where the resettlement funds were used to open up new land for cultivation, improve existing land, and establish new enterprises.

Implementation challenges for the Three Gorges dam

It is important to acknowledge China's efforts in identifying resettlement practices where systematic measures are initiated for preventing impoverishment, which may not be matched in other developing countries. The case of the Three Gorges project is special even in China, due to the large size of the dam and reservoir, the potential environmental impacts, the long controversy surrounding the project,

the many interest groups, and the number of people to be resettled. Despite the positive developments in China's resettlement practices, the future of the relocatees in the Three Gorges project is uncertain. The construction of the Three Gorges dam may tame the waters of the Yangtze River, however, will the resettlement of 1.2 million (or more) people create social instability in the Three Gorges area? Some of the challenges to successful implementation are discussed below.

The Environment. Environmental capacity is the key to a successful resettlement of the rural population, as resettlement and environmental capacity are closely linked. The worst problems for the Three Gorges area are considered to be erosion and bad water quality. Erosion covers between 58.2 and 65 per cent of the land in the reservoir area (Zhongguo Sanxia jianshe nianjian bianjibu 1996). This is mainly caused by two factors: agricultural reclamation and tree felling. The vicious circle of opening up new land and destroying the forest for agricultural purposes has resulted in serious ecological degradation. The reclamation of land only increases the problems in the area, and the quality of the reclaimed land is often poor, which also makes it difficult to resettle the peasants.

Water pollution is not paid enough attention to, and even though the water in the Yangtze River is considered relatively clean compared to other rivers in the country, the water quality in the river is very bad in some sections. For instance, one-third of the water discharge in Chongqing does not satisfy the national standards (Chen, Xu and Du 1995). When the natural river flow slows down in the reservoir, there is concern among researchers and officials that the reservoir will become a cesspool, as most waste water in the area

is discharged into the river without proper cleansing. Funding has been increased for environmental clean-ups in the area, whether or not it is sufficient, time will show.

Lack of Farmland. The serious environmental situation in the area leads on to the next issue, the lack of available farmland for the resettled population. Lack of available farmland in the Three Gorges area is one of the biggest challenges for the successful rural resettlement in the reservoir area. The rural population is large in the reservoir area; 87.3 per cent belong to the peasants category (Zhu and Zhao, eds. 1996) The scarcity of farmland in the area is one of the most important factors that may cause problems in the process of resettling the rural population. Even if 125,000 rural residents are relocated out of the reservoir area as decided in 1999, it is questionable whether there is sufficient farmland for the remaining relocatees. Due to the lack of farmland, a number of farmers will have to change vocation. The educational level is low in the area and it may be difficult to find work. With no land at all to farm on, their daily subsistence is questionable.

Corruption. The growing corruption problem in China has also had implications for the Three Gorges project. Funding that was earmarked for resettlement and reconstruction of infrastructure has been embezzled and spent elsewhere. This may be unique for the Three Gorges project due to the large scale of the project. It not only involves the construction of a dam, but it also includes the construction of towns, roads and other infrastructure projects. This makes it easier to divert funding into one's own pockets or for other projects. Corruption is a phenomenon that is eroding the policymaking of the Three Gorges project resettlement to the

extent that the implementation of the resettlement is imperilled. The resettlement funding that has been mismanaged or pocketed by local officials will result in a reduction of the compensation to the relocatees as well as for infrastructure construction. It goes without saying that this may have grave consequences, and may lead to social instability as in earlier dam projects.

Lack of participation. Little or no public participation has been common for the Three Gorges dam. Some dialogue seems to exist between the authorities and the resettlers for the Three Gorges project, but this is mainly at the village level. At the village level, the heads of villages and resettled population may participate in the selection of resettlement sites, reallocation of land resources and the settlement of disputes between migrants and their hosts. Public participation in the early stages of the process, i.e. in the decision-making process, is next to nothing, and at the provincial level the possibility for relocatee participation is low. Lack of participation in the decision-making process may result in social instability, complaints and collective actions carried out by the relocatees in order to obtain better conditions following resettlement.

Lack of legal protection. There is a need for a law protecting the rights and interests of people displaced by water control projects. The Chinese maintain that *renzhi* (rule by man) often still

View on the Yangtze, below the Three Gorges Dam (Photo: Kjeld Oksbjerg)



prevails over *fazhi* (rule by law) (Dai 1989), and one may say that the rule by law and the comprehension of the existing laws in China are still in their nascent stages. Legal issues are important in the Three Gorges project, as they relate to freedom of speech, a more open and free press, and supervision by the public. Arrests have taken place of rural citizens who have pointed to mismanagement of the resettlement funding. Arresting these individuals, who have voiced their concern about the resettlement process, will only increase the anger among fellow resettlers and influence social stability.

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continued from p. 6 (Sandstorms ...)

are also lost. The production of crops declines and farmers continue to be impoverished.

Sandy winds in Xiaobazi village do not only harm normal life of local inhabitants, but also threaten Beijing. The Chao River originates from Xiaobazi village and provides 70% of the storage water of Miyun reservoir. The silt transport to Miyun reservoir is a fatal threat to it. Less water in Chao River decreases the water supply to Miyun reservoir. Presently, Miyun reservoir is the main water source of Beijing. Hence, a serious shortage of water is facing Beijing. Shifting sand in Xiaobazi village is spreading further away unceasingly every year. Under the movement of northern winds, the sand is blown to Beijing in the winter and the spring. Xiaobazi village of Fengning County is a good example of the main peripheral sand source of sandstorms affecting Beijing.

Conclusion

With the sustainable development and progress of society, the state and the public require higher and higher standards of the ecological environment rather than only focusing on the development of the economy. China is not exclusive in this respect. The control and prevention of sandstorms is a systematic, complicated and social project. Considerations must be given to both the construction and prevention of the ecological environment and the development of the social economy, before any feasible and practical measures are drawn up. In fact, the latter aspect serves to help farmers, peasants and herders, who participate in projects of construction and prevention of the ecological environment, to become rich.

The final aim is the satisfaction of all, especially now that Beijing is going to host the 2008 Olympic Games. The flaunting banner of a 'Green Olympic' was one of the reasons that Beijing was so successful. The Olympics requires higher standards for environmental conservation, which calls for a great urgency and demands immediate attention.

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Further Growth of the Xiamen Economic Free Zone Hampered by Freshwater Pollution

By Reinhold Castensson

The official Chinese kai fang (opening up) policy was launched fifteen years ago. An essential part of this policy for openness was the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZ). The purpose was to attract investment capital and know-how from abroad. The cooperation was mainly organized in subsidized joint venture companies during the first five–ten years. The policy was successful in the meaning of attracting investment capital but today, fifteen years later, we can also observe the environmental effects especially on the local freshwater resources.

The City of Xiamen

The City of Xiamen is one of the SEZs along the Chinese coast located in Fujian province at the mouth of Jiulong River. Xiamen, the most developed area in the river basin, has been a Special Economic Zone for 15 years and has attracted lots of investment capital. The GDP reached 37.18 billion RMB in 1997, which was 21% up from 1996.

The Xiamen City is composed of the central urban area located on the Xiamen Island and the coastal urban and countryside areas facing the island on the mainland. The mainland and the island are connected by a causeway, which divides the Xiamen West Bay in an upper and a lower part. The total population of Xiamen city was 1,247,000 inhabitants in 1997.

Jiulong River Basin

The Jiulong River is the second longest river in Fujian province. It is divided into two main branches, the North River and the West River. The two branches join together in the upper part of the estuary area. The total length of the river course is 1,923 km. The average annual flow volume is 12.1 billion cubic meters and the drainage area measures 14,700 square km. The river mainly flows through a mountainous area with narrow valleys. The city of Longyan is situated in the

upstream area at an altitude of some 350 m.a.s.l. (metres above sea level) and with surrounding mountain ranging 1,000 m.a.s.l. The valley floor in the upstream areas widens only at limited stretches. The most important plain areas are found around the city of Zhangzhou in the downstream reaches. The river mouth is an extensive delta bordering Xiamen Bay. The geology of the basin is mainly composed of granite rocks with intrusions of rocks containing coal and other minerals.

Administratively the Jiulong basin is covered by the three cities of Xiamen, Zhangzhou and Longyan. Under the cities' administration, the basin interferes with ten county administrations. The total population in the basin is 8 millions, with an average population density of 545 inhabitants per square km.

Pollution of the freshwater

The Jiulong River is the major freshwater resource for the city of Xiamen, and due to the rapid economic growth the river has become heavily polluted. The Jiulong river receives more than 200 million tons of industrial and domestic sewage water each year. The major part is untreated. In addition, a large amount of waste water is discharged from the animal husbandry sector. For instance more than 1 million pigs

are raised in the basin, whose untreated droppings (equivalent to sewage disposal from 4 million people) sooner or later reach groundwater and rivers. The coliform indicators are always over the national standards.

Upstream in Longyan City there are many heavy industries as steel plants, and numerous highly polluting small paper-mills, cement factories and mines. Small-scale industries are also common in townships in the middle sections together with agricultural processing industries. Zhangzhou City is an important centre for subtropical agricultural products.

Acid rains are prevalent in Fujian: about 90% of the rain is acidified. The monitoring of acid rains is today organized in a joint East Asian Network. Preliminary evaluation indicates that about 30% of the acid rains is derived from local sources and 70% from external sources.

The ongoing increase of the freshwater pollution tends to hamper further expansion of the city of Xiamen. The freshwater pollution will become an obstacle for further regional development. In summary:

- Although the economic growth rate has been 10–15 % per year, very few investments in environmental protection are made. The input for environmental protection has, in



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general, been less than 0.2 % of the GDP.

- Jiulong River Basin is a unified area contains upstream–downstream conflicts.
- Local governments have a tendency to support high economic growth rates without any considerations of protection of the environment.

Environmental protection work

Considering that only 50% of the Chinese urban population is unconnected to any municipal sewage treatment, the environmental protection work is the most advanced in the city of Xiamen compared with the other three cities in the basin. The total amount of treated municipal sewage water is 260,000 tons, which is 50% of the total discharge. One of the plants is equipped with phosphorous removal facilities. The water tariff for households is set at one Yuan per cubic metre. In the central city area the formerly highly polluted Yuandang Lake has been renovated into a beautiful urban water area, and the

Xiamen City bird, the egret, has returned. Four refuse grounds or landfills have been constructed to take care of the solid waste. The city is one of the Chinese cities with the best air quality.

The institutional structure for environmental protection has undergone a significant improvement in the 1990s. In 1997 there were as many as 19 environmental protection institutions with 192 staff under the Xiamen Environmental Protection Agency (EPA).

Actions to be taken for improvement of water environment

The result from an undertaken Logical Framework Analysis (LFA), including staff from the concerned regional EPA, indicates the following priority areas for further environmental improvement.

1. Improve the institutional management. The river basin is today splitted in separate administrative bodies an integrated approach to riverbasin management is needed.

2. Increased environmental awareness is needed for public support of further environmental investments
3. The treatment of urban and industrial sewage is not sufficient.
4. Rural and farming sewage should be considered as significant sources for non-point water pollution.
5. Solid waste disposal is an increasing water pollution problem. Leakage from waste deposits often pollute the ground-water.
6. Improvement of forestry management important for reduction of the ongoing slope erosion.

A coordinated river basin planning approach combined with an efficient environmental legislation system to support unified actions inside the river basins are fundamental requisites for efficient environmental protection work. Combined with publicity and other opinion building activities, the solutions of the freshwater pollution problems will increase significantly.

Coming Soon from NIAS Press

From Subjects to Citizens

Balinese Villagers in the Indonesian Nation-State

Lyn Parker

This book analyses the processes by which conservative and introverted Balinese villagers have been incorporated into the Indonesian nation-state. It explores the changing social relations of villagers in their transformation from being subjects of their local “king” to anonymous citizens of the Republic of Indonesia.

Although the national unity of Indo-nesia is now hotly contested, the Suharto regime was long-lived and a development success story. This book is significant because it shows how we can understand Indonesia in its efforts to become a nation-state. While not in any way attempting to apologize for or glorify the Suharto regime, this study is unusual in showing that the experience of many Indonesian citizens was not of a menacing and coercive state but of a modernizing and developmentalist nation-state.

NIAS, September 2003, 288 pp.
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All Fired-up Over Water: Assuring Ample Consideration of Low-Tech Solutions in Development Policy Formation

By Bruce Henry Lambert

Great tension has been building in South Asia and elsewhere in the world over water systems development. Arguments have spilled over into serious confrontation. Discord creates long-lasting fall-out when combined with the chronic problems that continue to confound chemists, engineers, legal experts, bureaucrats and businesses, as well as local consumers and the dispossessed. Poor communication among the parties concerned has meant ill-considered choice in water resource policy, where low technology alternatives are easily overlooked.

Rival remedies

Water policy has become increasingly polarized. Large-scale dam projects draw substantial criticism for that which they displace or destroy, and little praise for being dependable sources of water, and for generating both electrical power and jobs. Big developers, engineers and bureaucrats are depicted as being pitted against small-scale local organizers, simple farmers and villagers. Each side claims the other generally ignores their arguments. Part of the changing relationship stems from a growth of ecological consciousness, and the development of democratic stridency. The legacy of paternalistic top-down policies is reasonably open to criticism: deficient not only for providing insufficient consultation, but also for poor results. Rural people may claim that little has been done, too slowly, and at great social cost.

At the same time grand development efforts often are misrepresented, and successes belittled. Many talented people have dedicated decades to designing, building and steering big projects through to completion, and these projects have served to support huge urban populations with complex infrastructures. Such energies have often been well-placed if

we judge development progress on the success of efforts to bring the greatest good to the most people.

Small-scale rural districts, for their part, have often been neglected. When they do come to the attention of developers, it is often at their peril. Local people's views on development may be only cursorily examined. The reasons for this are many. Sometimes already-formulated regional policies are judged as having precedence, and the fruits of development are largely to be harvested elsewhere; in other cases, the local opinion surveyed is extremely diverse and contradictory: some people wish to relocate, while others hope for no change at all. The attitude of the latter group finds influential allies in cities and suburbs, amongst those who deplore disturbing a semi-mythic rural idyll with unnatural machinery.

Local struggles for water, fuel, food and survival are glaring problems often ignored by those more comfortable. Poor quality water stifles whole communities into cycles of illness, suffering and early death. Worldwide, approximately 1.2 billion people are without access to safe drinking water, and up to 30,000 people die every day from water-related sicknesses (*New Scientist* 17 August 2002, p. 32).

Self-help efforts with rain-water micro catchment, aquifer recharge and water harvesting show much promise, but they may not be getting ample consideration in the policy formation process. Small-scale projects are overlooked by many because it seems that there is not any money in them, data is difficult to gather, there is little continuing work to be had, and such work is uninteresting drudgery. But local creativity has great potential. Magsaysay Award winner Rajendra Singh's efforts to recharge groundwater in Rajasthan, India, have physically transformed a large region while mobilizing local people to act for rural renewal, and slowed the exodus of young people to cities. Yet those with interests in other forms of development attacked him personally and sought to undermine his efforts. Anti-corporate coalitions meanwhile jump to condemn large-scale dam and reservoir projects. By some calculations, this relegates specified rural regions and even entire nations to permanent destitution and non-competitiveness. While such bickering continues, the poorest and most exposed suffer and die.

Bangladeshi arsenic debacle

Many locales are disadvantaged in lacking the expertise to judge



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one technological remedy or countermeasure as optimal. This is not solely a problem of unsophistication. During the 1970s, UNICEF, the World Bank and other donors developed extensive programs of digging wells in Bangladesh. These efforts turned disastrous when it was belatedly found that the new and deeper wells tapped groundwater highly contaminated with arsenic (leached naturally from Himalayan substrates). Estimates now are that over 75 million people have ingested unsafe levels of toxic arsenic over many years, exposing themselves to major long-term health risks. Few local people would have protested when international benefactors presented a convenient source of free, seemingly pure water. Now their trust seems misplaced. Worse, large numbers of people still drink arsenic-contaminated water many years after the problem was widely recognized. International criticism is focusing on 'who knew what when,' with fear that monies spent on testing might be better spent supplying people with new sources of safe water.

People often discover too late that simply deferring to those more-experienced is costly and sometimes tragic. We need to create robust systems of review with built-in accountability, including negative publicity and monetary penalties. Transparency requires dialogue and the possibility of maintaining a long-term accessible database of result reports, not simply filing a few copies for the archive shelves of government or aid organizations.

Market discipline

Privatization is now being touted as a new solution. Yet private investment is unlikely to extend to supplying the most rural people, or those in deserts or squatter shanty towns. The need to recover costs and en-

courage payment can mean that the poorest and most exposed are pushed out of the system. This has happened in even sympathetic regimes: since 1994 democracy, nearly ten million South Africans have had their water disconnected for non-payment of bills (McDonald 2002; the number of electrical service cut-offs due to non-payment is about the same).

Some people campaign for the human right to air and water, leaving unresolved the problem of who will pay for any costs involved in supply, purification and distribution. (And will a human right to food be guaranteed next?) Is a fee for providing clean convenient water to people who have none an exploitation of misery and desperation? Many with great faith in markets might denounce cases of 'profiteering' in times of trouble. But the provision of vital water services deserves compensation. Would-be consumers in desperate circumstances deserve at least survival, and the auctioning of rights to provide water may take away possibilities for the poor to provide for themselves. Glaring disincentives are needed to discourage those who might seek quick profits through deception or deliberate non-performance. Some planners would seek to limit profits (or entirely eliminate the use of money), reasoning that the noble goal is sufficient to attract all manner of volunteers. But even if voluntarism is to be a major component, the market system can help to control waste, to fuel enterprising competitive efforts and to ensure that future maintenance needs are adequately budgeted for and properly carried out. Good performance can be rewarded with valuable publicity and other benefits. Let us design enabling mechanisms into utilities markets. Global consumers might respond positively

to purchasing canned or bottled drinks carrying a small 'desperation!' label, where two cents went directly to subsidizing waterworks in the world's least developed areas.

Various solutions become contradictory in this highly polarized atmosphere, as each camp seeks to enlist maximum user numbers for political purposes. One key point for when construction is over: sufficient effort should be made to measure satisfaction rates. Will there be alternative supplies for those poorly served, and for those simply poor?

'Odious debt'

Many around the world still pay for loans and bond debts incurred by their nation's previous governments. It can take decades to amortize government spending on grand projects (including warfare efforts); this is all the more painful when the project is subsequently judged to have been an adventurous ill-considered mistake. The opponents of dams depict them as projects of a past era, and the struggle to build large dams might become more difficult if any government were to exercise the doctrine of 'odious debt.' This is a concept where a new government repudiates and unilaterally cancels the debts of a prior regime, due to the debt having been incurred for reasons outside the needs and interest of the state (see Abrahams, 2000). The USA repudiated 'odious debts' for Cuba in 1898, explaining that:

1. the loans have not been contracted for the benefit of Cuba, but, on the contrary, the proceeds had been spent in a way contrary to the interest of Cuba; and
2. the financial burdens connected with these loans had been imposed upon Cuba against her will and without her consent. (Abrahams pp 33-34)

Using this logic (and much of the wording), dam-building debts, for example, might be repudiated for any region gaining recognized sovereignty – if it could be shown that the benefits accrued largely to separate (urban) areas, were contrary to the region's interest, and were imposed against the region's will and without consent. Creditors of course might challenge such a declaration, and the new regime would surely face a struggle securing new loans.

Project debugging

Some regions among the OECD nations have begun radical adjustment of their water and wetlands management policies. Unprecedented dam decommissioning plans have been trumpeted by activists as environmental victories (notably Arase dam in Kumamoto, Japan; and the removal of the 160-year-old Edwards Dam from the Kennebec River in Maine, also the Comprehensive Everglades Restoration Plan in Florida, USA). Appropriate technology can, however, be appropriate for big projects as well as small. And any project might be inappropriate: micro-funding can raise problems, for example by reinforcing local inequities, if with

increased and convenient water availability, landlords charge for water and build chronic indebtedness amongst those living on and around the landowner's property.

Explicit and comprehensive cost-benefit analysis is vital, and while such studies require time and money, the cost of a mistake is often more substantial. UNEP (the United Nations Environment Programme) is now compiling a *Global Source Book on Alternative Technologies for Freshwater Augmentation* that will detail best practices for reference. Certainly one key cost in the planning process is the time requirement in itself; transparency and accountability are further key requirements. Funders should keep an open mind to hybrid combinations of large and small projects.

Most of all, continuing dialogue is necessary. The developing of wider trust and a spirit of non-partisanship needs to be better encouraged. The bridging of differences will save lives.

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A bridge over the River Yangtze. (Photo: Kjeld Oksbjerg)



Professor J. A. Tony Allan [BA Durham 1958, PhD London 1971] heads the Water Research Group at King's College London/ SOAS. He specialises in the analysis of water resources in semi-arid regions and on the role of global systems in ameliorating local and regional water deficits. In his early career he was concerned with hydrological and environmental issues but gradually turned his attention to the social and political when it became evident that environmental science could not explain why people manage water as they do. He provides advice to governments and agencies especially in the Middle East on water policy and water policy reform. His most recent book is entitled *The Middle East water question: hydropolitics and the global economy*.

Poor Communities in Water Resource Management: A Political Project

By Tony Allan

*'Please help us to see what should be done,
And especially to know what can be done.
Above all help us to detect the difference.'*

After the Serenity Prayer of Reinhold Niebuhr c. 1937

Introduction

The purpose of this contribution is to provide a framework, based on social theory, that enables analysis of the discursive political processes in which water providers and water consumers interact. There is a tendency to de-emphasise, or even ignore, these unavoidable political processes, favouring tangible factors such as freshwater itself, the hydraulic interventions to move and store it and the economic instruments used to manage it.

Politics are important because they determine who is important. Politics also determine what is identified as a problem and therefore the design of any project, which might provide a solution. Politics certainly determine which voices contribute to the selection of the interests to be addressed and whether those of the poor are considered at all. Even more important, politics determine whether a project is politically feasible. In other words, what can be done. While it is important to know whether a soil profile has mechanical qualities that will support a new civil structure, it is even more important to know whether local social and political systems will accommodate the new project. The particular concern of this thematic issue is to throw light on the conflicting interests faced by stakeholders – water providers and consumers – in the particular political and

social circumstances that occur in parts of China, Vietnam and Bangladesh.

The interests of water users and providers are commonly identified as environmental, technical/economic and social/political. The ex-ante evaluation teams are searching for what 'should be done'. But without even a limited understanding of local social norms and of the local political economy that determine whether a technical or social innovation 'can be done', such analyses are incomplete. It is unusual, however, for the socio-political contexts of new projects to be considered as the prime concern, or for such issues to be researched and evaluated. It is the technical, economic and environmental aspects that are subject to relatively searching ex-ante evaluation. The circumstances of poor communities tend to be especially under-researched. This thematic issue is especially useful in addressing the problems faced by communities living in poverty, often in remote locations. These are precisely the communities that are ignored ex-ante and suffer the consequences of hydraulic works ex-post.

Social and political contexts are fundamental as it is power relations that determine 'who gets what, when and how' (Lasswell 1953). Local village communities will be impacted by hydraulic works negatively or positively, for example by dams

and flood control structures, according to their influence over the policy making process. If communities living in poverty play no role in the political process of decision-making and implementation, their interests will generally not be taken into account.

Scientists and professionals in the fields of environmental science, hydraulics and economics, with long-standing involvement in water allocation and management, have well founded procedures with which to identify the factors and conditions that affect the systems of concern to them. Climate, hydrological, hydraulic and land forming systems are generally well understood and the relevant principles are widely deployed, as are those of economic and trading systems. These professionals have evolved methods of quantifying inputs and outputs and they have accepted understandings of the driving forces such as gravity and of physical and economic gradients. They can model their analytical approaches. In neo-liberal political economies, rational choice theory has gained a place – albeit a very contested place – in applying similar systems of analysis to economics and politics. Such procedures have not been deployed much in the analysis of communities living in poverty and facing water resource challenges (Mollinga 2001).

Understanding plural sustainability and the political determinants of how it is perceived by a community

Achieving sustainability, for the poor as well as the rich, must be seen as a political process because sustainability has three dimensions reflecting the concerns of society, the economy and the environment. These concerns are usually in conflict. They can only be mediated in political processes – not in environmental, hydraulic or economic processes separately.

This plural notion of sustainability is useful in that it provides first, a conceptual framework to identify and analyse the components, and voices, of the political process of water policy making. Secondly, the notion of a 'plural' sustainability reflects the discursive interaction of those pressing, often separately, for social, economic and environmental interests. The idea of plural sustainability also highlights the discursive political mediation that determines how allocative decisions are made. Figure 1 illustrates the three components of sustainability and the dominant role of discursive politics in water policy-making. Politics are at the heart of the water policy-making processes in the center of the diagram.

Who are the stakeholders? And analysing the dynamics elements of water policy-making

How can we identify the players who act out the politics that determine water policy outcomes? Cultural theory (Douglas 1982, Thompson 1988) is very useful in helping us identify these actors in a resource re-allocation activity such as the construction of a reservoir in a remote rural area. Cultural theory is also very

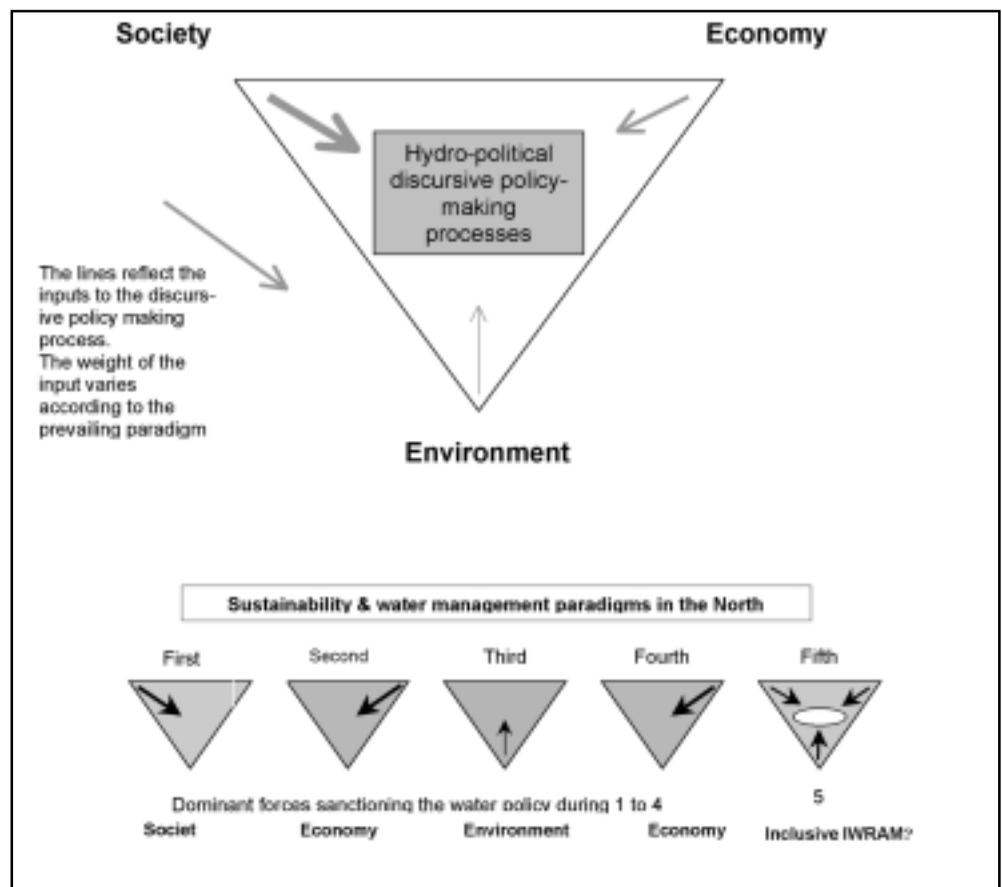


Figure 1

helpful in that it can be deployed at all social scales – the local, the national, the river basin, the international and the global levels. At each level cultural theory enables us see the players as being inspired by four different approaches or ways of life. These four ways of life are characterised by the way their adherents solve problems and achieve social change or not. Figure 2 (see p. 22) maps these four ways of life against a central horizontal axis defined by the wish to be free from control, or the wish to exert it. And a central vertical axis defined by groups that tend to comply with social and political norms and those that tend to be non-compliant.

The two ways of life that are mainly associated with getting things done are inhabited first, by people and institutions that form hierarchies. 'Hierarchists' accumulate allocative power.

The second way to get things done is via markets and the energy of 'entrepreneurs' associated with private enterprise. The third source of change is through the advocacy of 'ethicists' who advocate change on the basis of environmental, human rights or gender principles inspired by egalitarian principles. The remaining quadrant is occupied by what Mary Douglas calls 'fatalists', or civil society.

Civil society can show its preferences according to the nature of the interface with hierarchy expressed formally via such institutions as democracy (or versions of coercion) and also via taxation, conscription, employment and legal regimes – and informally by deference and long established social norms of that often characteristic of the public/private politics of a culture. The public/private relationship characteristic of late

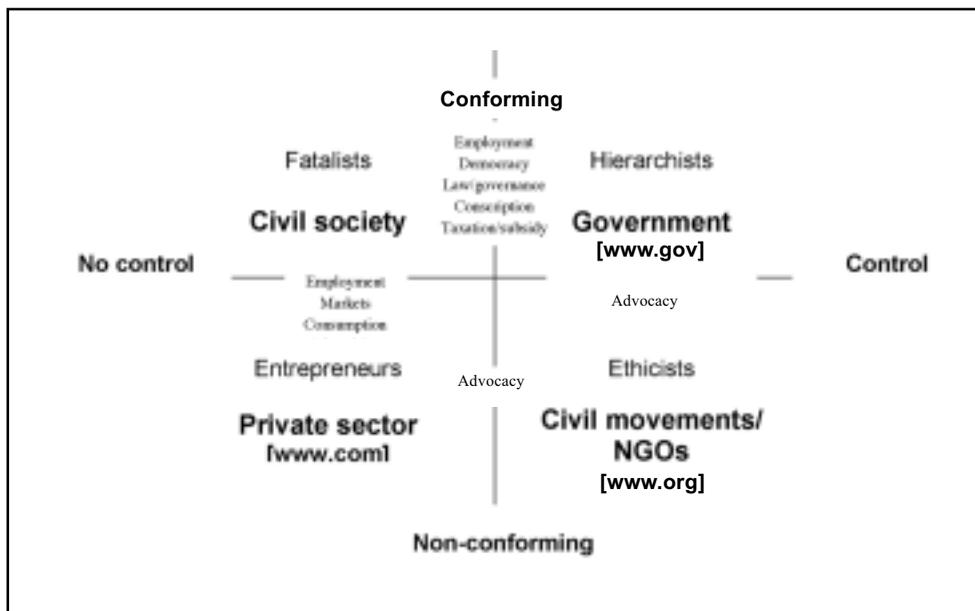


Figure 2

modern neo-liberal North, emphasising individual rights, is very different from the public/private norms of East Asian Confucian or South Asian Islamic cultures where the individual defers to the sanctioning conventions of the family and society in the widest sense. The interface of civil society with the market is expressed by the choice of consumption, the manipulation of that consumption (advertising), and by employment.

We can use cultural theory to identify actors and analyse relevant socio-political features of the three political economies relevant in this set of thematic studies on China, Vietnam and Bangladesh. These three political economies have a number of socio-political experiences in common. They have all experienced a socialist form of national level government in the past half-century. In the case of China, the secular socialist intervention was very radical after 1949. Communism reached deep into a society evolved over centuries according to a collective Confucian ethic which subordinated the interests of the individual to that of

society. A similar public/private form of society was also overlaid by communist socialism in part of Vietnam in the 1950s. In Bangladesh, a Muslim tradition, just as subordinating of the individual's identity, as opposed to the rights of religious and state authorities, prevailed. Bangladesh has struggled with difficulty with the management challenges of its resource endowment and demography during its colonial period and its various phases of independence. Only in the past decade has the environmental policy of Bangladesh escaped from the misguided hand of hierarchy. This escape was a consequence of the successful advocacy of local environmental NGOs. They rejected the hydraulic mission of outsider agencies and insider technical arms of government, which had been in coalition with international agencies, consultants and private sector bodies.

Figure 2 can be used to show how the framework of cultural theory can be used to compare the changing roles of the four ways of life in the Confucian/Communist interactions experienced in China and

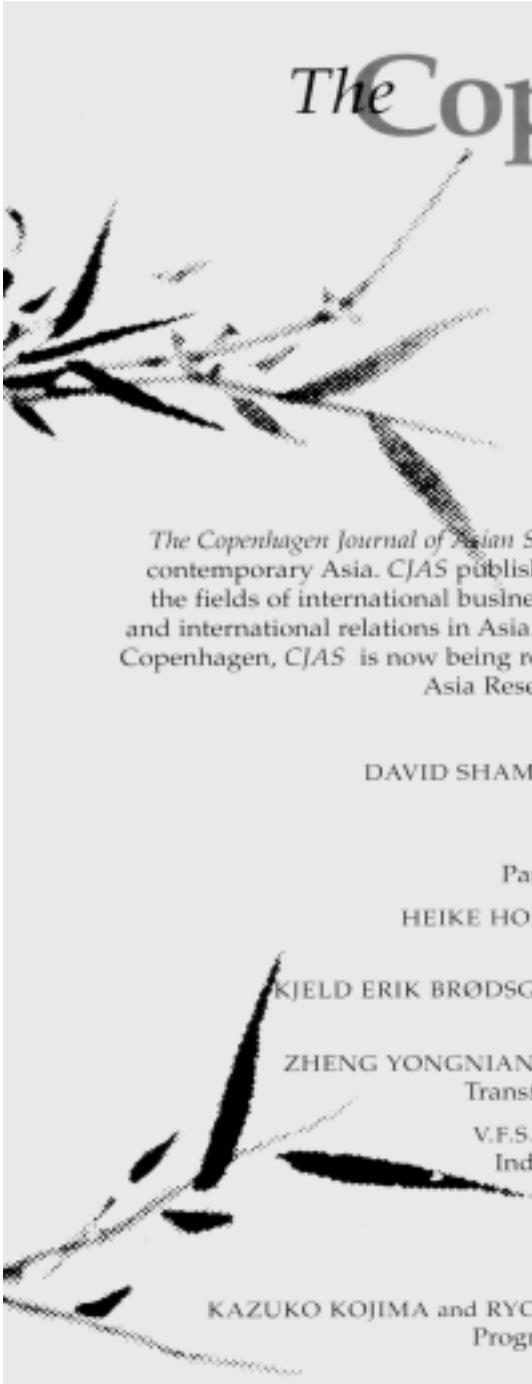
Vietnam. The current transition from a Confucian/Communist mode to a Confucian/Communist mode with neo-liberal tendencies can also be illustrated. In Bangladesh the Muslim/Socialist mode is in transition to a Muslim/Socialist mode with neo-liberal tendencies.

In China and Vietnam the forms of state organisation have throughout been characterized by an emphasis on authority, centralisation and hierarchy. This mode is consistent with the Confucian approach and the long, centralising tradition of the Chinese state. Communism was a social movement – in the ethicist quadrant – in China before it took over power. Once in power the Communist leadership saw no point allowing any other social movements to flourish, or even exist, in that all the necessary social and political virtues were enshrined in the Communist Party and the Communist state. In addition, since all the productive activities of the economy were to be in the public sector, the private sector, populated by entrepreneurs, was elided. Both the lower left and the lower right quadrants were removed by the Communist revolution.

The adoption of the Communist approach in 1949 reinforced hierarchy. A similar process of Communism overlaying long established public/private relationships and hierarchical forms of government occurred in Vietnam.

Cultural theory provides a framework to identify the waxing and waning of the influence of different actors through the phases of dynamic socio-political change. The approach illustrates first, the reinforcement of a conventional hierarchical political culture in China and Vietnam in the 1950s–1980s period. And

continued on p. 27



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The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies is a leading Scandinavian journal on contemporary Asia. *CJAS* publishes refereed research and review articles in the fields of international business, politics, economics, society, law, culture and international relations in Asia. Previously published by the University of Copenhagen, *CJAS* is now being re-launched as a biannual publication of the Asia Research Centre, Copenhagen Business School.

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NIAS Grants

Guest Researcher Scholarships for Nordic Scholars

This type of scholarship is designed for senior researchers and doctoral candidates based in the Nordic countries. It offers researchers an opportunity to work at NIAS as an affiliated researcher for 2 or 4 weeks. A scholarship includes inexpensive travel to and from Copenhagen and accommodation with full board in a NIAS room at Nordisk Kollegium. The guest researcher enjoys full access to the Institute's library services and research tools, computer facilities, contact networks and scholarly environment. Stays are arranged subject to a time schedule administered by NIAS.

The application form is available at

<http://www.nias.ku.dk/activities/supra/NIASNordicGuestResearcherSch.doc>

Contact Scholarships for Nordic Graduate Students

These scholarships are designed to make NIAS's library and other resources accessible to graduate students in the Nordic countries. A scholarship covers inexpensive travel to and from Copenhagen and accommodation with full board in a NIAS room at Nordisk Kollegium for a period of two weeks. Stays are arranged subject to a time schedule administered by NIAS.

The application form is available at

<http://www.nias.ku.dk/activities/supra/NIASContactScholarshipsAppli.doc>

Øresund Scholarships

Researchers and students from Lund and Roskilde universities are invited to apply for NIAS's 'Øresund Scholarships'. The candidate will be seated in the library's reading room and will be offered the same extended library services as the regular holders of contact scholarships. Only transport costs are covered by the scholarship. Accommodation costs and incidental expenses are not covered. Stays are arranged subject to a time schedule administered by NIAS.

Find the application form at

<http://www.nias.ku.dk/activities/supra/NIASresundScholarshipAppliac.doc>

Application Deadline

Monday 15 September 2003 for scholarships during the period October–December 2003.

Further information on NIAS's scholarship programme on the web:

<http://www.nias.ku.dk/activities/supra/scholarships.htm#students>.

NIAS has new telephone and fax numbers

As part of the implementation of a new telephone system at NIAS, *all* of our numbers are changed.



Switchboard: (+45) 3532 9500

Fax: (+45) 3532 9549

Library/NIAS LINC: (+45) 3532 9510

NIAS Press: (+45) 3532 9501

All staff members have direct numbers; these can be found at our web site www.nias.ku.dk

Our yearbook, *NIAS 2002/2003* is now available. Send us an e-mail (djn@nias.ku.dk) if you want to receive a copy. You may also visit our website for an electronic copy of the report as well as more detailed information on our activities last year (<http://www.nias.ku.dk/who/annuals/2002-2003/default.htm>).

Staff News

We note the departure, earlier this year, of two members of the NIAS staff. Each made significant contributions to life at the Institute.



Jens-Christian Sørensen joined NIAS in 1992 and in many ways was instrumental in placing NIAS on the world stage. It was under his long period as editor that *NIASnytt* became a leading Asian Studies magazine and he was the driving force behind the early success of our NIAS Reports. But it was on the IT side where Jens-Christian made the greatest impact – and suffered the biggest challenge. Thanks to his efforts, in a few short years, email became our main medium of communication and our website became a crossroads in Asian Studies (not least because Agenda Asia was the leading conference calendar that scholars consulted). On the ground, Jens-Christian developed and struggled to maintain a modern IT system with meagre resources. That eventually we needed to outsource our IT operations and say goodbye to Jens-Christian was not a criticism of his achievements but recognition that he was not superhuman.



Andrea Straub joined NIAS in 1998. Although working only 13 hours a week at the Institute, her energy, dedication and sheer good humour impressed everyone she met. Virtually any task could be passed to Andrea and it would be finished impeccably and on time. Besides a host of problem tasks, Andrea also worked as acquisitions editor and later as marketing coordinator and webmaster at NIAS Press. We were saddened to see her head-hunted by an international consulting firm recently and wish her well.



Birgit Oksbjerg, Institute of Anthropology, University of Copenhagen, holds a *studieplads* at NIAS, from 1 March until 31 July 2003. She is working on her MA thesis on *Extracurricular Education Seen in the Light of Modernizing China*.



IT 'Super user' **Jaris Zeck** (left) is assisting NIAS staff in all things computer related at the Institute. He took over from **Morten Hadberg** (right) who helped in the transition period up to the beginning of April.

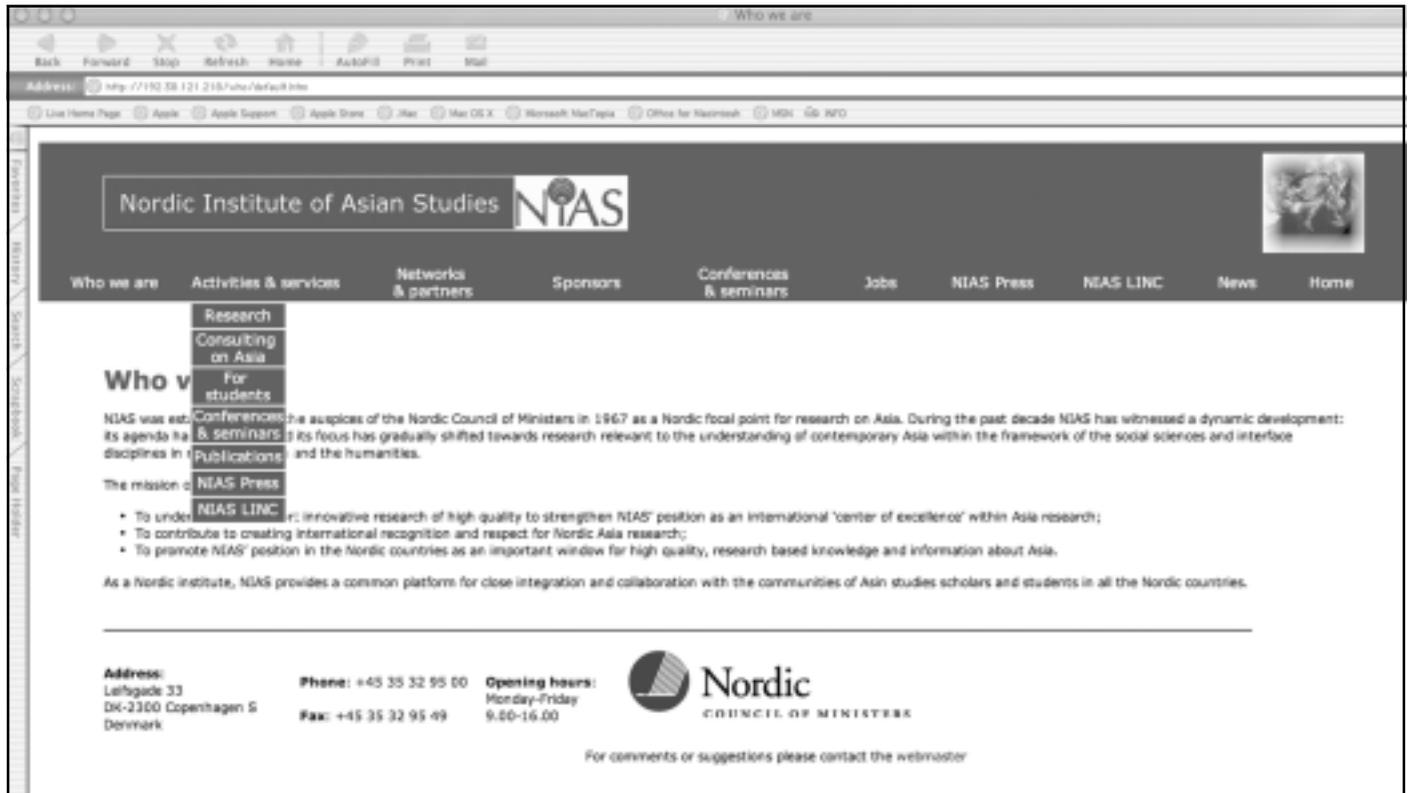
The New NIAS Website at <http://www.nias.ku.dk>

NIAS' website has been moved to the new address <http://www.nias.ku.dk>. The old website at <http://eurasia.nias.ku.dk> is no longer accessible, but visitors are automatically redirected to the new website.

The new NIAS website has been designed to give an easy overview and access to information about NIAS and our activities. The information is basically divided in four sections:

Who we are, which introduces NIAS to the new visitor and contains general information about NIAS, our staff and our work, including annual reports, job opportunities at NIAS and other places, as well as contact information. Here you will also find the discussion forum, *The future of NIAS*, where we invite you to discuss NIAS' future. A completely new feature is the *NIAS Contact Database*. By registering your data here, you will receive information about NIAS and other Asian related activities according to your interests. For more information please see below.

Activities & services presents the services we provide to the Asian studies community. It includes information about the research projects which NIAS staff are involved in, our consultancies, our special program for students and young researchers *NIAS Support Programme for Asian Studies (SUPRA)*, conferences, seminars and workshops, our publications *NIASnytt* and *NIAS Update*, and finally links to *NIAS Press* and *NIAS Library & Information Centre (NIAS LINC)*.



Networks & partners includes information about the Nordic cooperation, of which NIAS is a part, NIAS networking activities in the Nordic countries, Europe and Asia and our cooperations with other Asian Studies institutions, as well as links to the websites we host for other Asian studies centres or networks.

Sponsors introduces NIAS sponsors and our sponsorcare programme.

Finally, there is a **sitemap** for a more detailed overview of the website.

We hope that you will visit our website and find it informative and easy to use. If you have any suggestions or comments about the new website, you are most welcome to contact the webmaster, Inga-Lill Blomkvist at ilb@nias.ku.dk.

NIAS Contact Database

In order to provide optimal services to our users and partners, NIAS maintains a Contact Database, which enables us to send you information according to your specific areas of interest within Asian studies. As a member you can also subscribe to our regular services such as *NIAS Update*, *NIASnytt* or information from *NIAS Press* or *NIAS Library & Information Center (NIAS LINC)*. As a member of the *NIAS Contact Database*, you can also register in the *SUPRA Database for Students* or the *NIAS Curriculum Vitae Database*.

As a subscriber to *NIASnytt*, your address information is already in our Contact Database. But we ask you to **update your details** to enable us to send you information according to your interests.

To view and update your details you will need the intermediate password and login which has been assigned to you. You can obtain this by sending an e-mail to **Jaris Zeck** at jz@nias.ku.dk. Please state your name and e-mail address.

For more information please visit <http://www.nias.ku.dk/contact/contact/contactdb.htm>



Inga-Lill Blomkvist



Jaris Zeck

Water in Asia: the Policy Impact

continued from p. 22 (Poor Communities ...)

second, the gradual shift, in both political economies, to the – politically feasible – re-introduction of private sector type approaches in the economy and even the gradual establishment of civil movement NGOs.

The dynamic explanatory qualities of cultural theory are also useful in Bangladesh in distinguishing the different inspirations of water policy that occurred since independence. The theory can be used to highlight the role of the various hierarchical Bangladesh Governments in driving the hydraulic mission, which characterised the period until the mid-1990s. By the mid-1990s the direction of hydraulic policy was being questioned by the local environmental NGOs. In coalition with international environmental NGOs, the local NGOs have significantly influenced water management policy in Bangladesh. Local

NGOs advocated principles that emphasised behavioural change responding to annual flood events and groundwater management rather than heavy investment in civil structures that had tended to increase flood risk.

Conclusion

We need environmental science, hydrology and hydraulic engineering to identify solutions to social problems. We also need economic analysis to help us evaluate the comparative benefits to society of different approaches to allocating and managing water resources. The main purpose of the analysis has been to show that these methods do not in themselves provide sufficient information for society to decide what should be done, and they certainly do not predict clearly what can be done. It is only if such analyses include an evaluation of the

discursive politics of plural sustainability by considering the competing needs of society, the economy and the environment, that productive, secure and equitable policies will be identified.

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Recent Visitors



Jesper Højgaard Viemose (University of Aarhus) held a NIAS Contact Scholarship in March. He is working on his MA thesis on *The Consequences of the American Missile Defence Plans for North East Asia – A Constructivist Analysis*.



A research course for Ph.D. students took place in Lund and Copenhagen on 17–20 March 2003, organized by NIAS and the Centre for East and Southeast Asian Studies, Lund. The theme of course was *Solving Methodological Problems in Social Science Research in Asia*. Main sponsor was the Swedish School of Advanced Asia Pacific Studies (SSAAPS)



Representative **Frederic Chang** (left) and Director **Johnney Hwang**, from the Taipei Representative Office in Denmark, visited NIAS on 14 March.



Tobias Axelsson, Lund University, held an Øresund Scholarship at the beginning of March. He is carrying out a Ph.D. project on *The Indonesian Crisis. An Inquiry into the Economic Crisis and its Impact on Farmers in a Long-Term Perspective*.



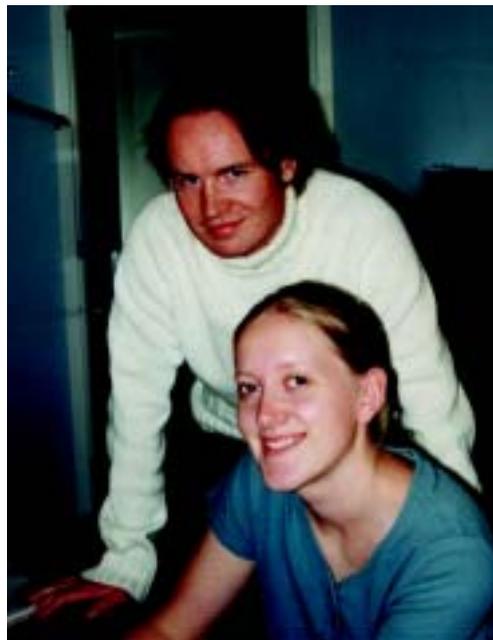
On 25th February Professor **Xu Xianming**, President of the China University of Political Science and Law, visited NIAS together with Mr **Zhang Wei** and Professor **Ban Wenzhan**. Also in picture are **Hatla Thelle** (Danish Centre for Human Rights), **Mads Holst Jensen** (NIAS) and **Cecilia Milwertz** (NIAS).



Annette Skovsted Hansen, University of Aarhus, held a Guest Researcher Scholarship in the beginning of February. She is working on a postdoc project on *Knowledge Transfer in Development Assistance (Japanese and Danish Co-operation Programs)*.



Elizabeth Tsam Yuen Kam, University of Helsinki, held a Contact Scholarship in the beginning of March. Elizabeth Kam is writing her MA thesis on *Community Forest Management and Rehabilitation as a Means of Biodiversity Conservation: A Case Study of Thung Soong Community Forest in Krabi, Thailand*.



Upu Sanna Amanda Leppänen and Jan-Eerik Leppänen (both University of Helsinki) held NIAS Contact Scholarships in the first 2 weeks of April. She is working on an MA thesis on *Ethnicity and the Social Construction of Identity among Yunnan's Miao* and he on his MA thesis on *Ethnic Relations between Miaos and Han-Chinese*.



Richard Nakamura, European Institute of Japanese Studies at Stockholm Business School, held a Contact Scholarship in February. He is carrying out a Ph.D. project on *Inward FDI in Japan: Impact of M&A's on Industrial Structure and Firms Partner Selection*.



Anna Mikander, University of Helsinki, held a Contact Scholarship in February. Anna is working on an MA thesis on *Democratisation in Singapore and Taiwan*.

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Rasmus Conradsen, University of Aarhus, held a Contact Scholarship in February. Rasmus is writing an MA thesis on *Allied Again? – Possibilities and Constraints in the Sino-Russian Strategic Partnership*.



Gerald Jackson,
Editor in Chief

New Horizons

By Gerald Jackson

The book distribution agreement that NIAS Press has had with RoutledgeCurzon since 2001 will not be renewed when it expires at the end of this year. Although this move was initiated by NIAS, the decision was reached by mutual consent. Thus ends a long relationship, one more than 30 years old. NIAS's editor in chief reflects on the end of an era.

Breaking off relations with one of the giants of Asian Studies publishing and one, moreover, with whom we have had a long-term relationship. Are we mad?

No, far from it. Some of you may indeed be surprised by this move but in fact there were compelling reasons for a change.

- Taylor & Francis, the giant publishing conglomerate that owns RoutledgeCurzon, is active in many fields (not least journals publishing). For them, Asian Studies is just one market segment whereas Asian Studies is our lifeblood and *raison d'être*. This was a mismatch in size and interests.
- With NIAS the last outside publisher distributed by T&F (and fitting awkwardly in their systems), the arrangement was unsustainable in the long term. (Nor is it practical to revert to being a supplier of 'product' for T&F like certain other research institutes.)

It is also worth noting that we are not looking to break off relations with T&F altogether. Publishers do often co-operate as well as compete. For instance, sometimes we refer people to another publisher like RoutledgeCurzon whom we think will fit better there than in our list. Often the favour is returned. In this way, everyone wins, not least the author.

Where do we go from here? Later this month, the NIAS Press website will advise details of our new distribution network. Ensuring that our books are available and promoted worldwide is a key part of our plan to make NIAS Press a notable and respected publisher in Asian Studies.



Looking back – was it all worth it?

Without question (especially in the years of explosive growth in the 1990s), the relationship between NIAS and Curzon greatly benefitted both parties. Nordic scholars moved from the wings to centre stage in the international Asian Studies community and Curzon became the world's biggest Asian Studies publisher.

In crude terms, the partnership may have been an alliance of convenience but the reality was more like a mainly amicable marriage between two families communicating in a third language neither spoke very well. As such, although for years Malcolm Campbell, Curzon's owner, urged

NIAS to adapt to commercial realities, we listened more to the siren songs of 'Nordic value' and 'international profile'.

All the same, each year NIAS produced about 10 books for Curzon. A few were frankly un-sellable but many came with generous subsidies attached and/or became bestsellers. 'Uncommercial' NIAS was thus a major contributor to the growth of Curzon, especially in its earlier years.

But let us not forget that it was 'commercial' Curzon that did much to bring NIAS the undoubted international profile and high reputation that it enjoys today. For this we are truly grateful.

New Books from NIAS Press

Power and Political Culture in Suharto's Indonesia

The Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and Decline of the New Order (1986–98)

Stefan Eklöf

University of Lund, Sweden

Key Points

- “The book provides a very valuable case study of the PDI, and will be a valuable addition to the literature on Indonesian politics.” (External reviewer).
- Provides a crucial insight into Indonesian political culture as seen from the perspective of currently the biggest political party (that of the president).

Description

Under Indonesia's authoritarian New Order regime, the continued existence of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), was meant to demonstrate the ostensibly democratic character of the regime. In essence, this small nationalist-Christian coalition was meant to fill the role of a pliant state corporatist party. From the later 1980s,

however, the PDI became more openly critical of government policies and came to stand out as the major proponent of reform within the formal political system. The government responded in 1996 by engineering the removal of the popular Megawati Sukarnoputri as PDI leader, a move that significantly damaged the popular legitimacy and moral standing of the regime.

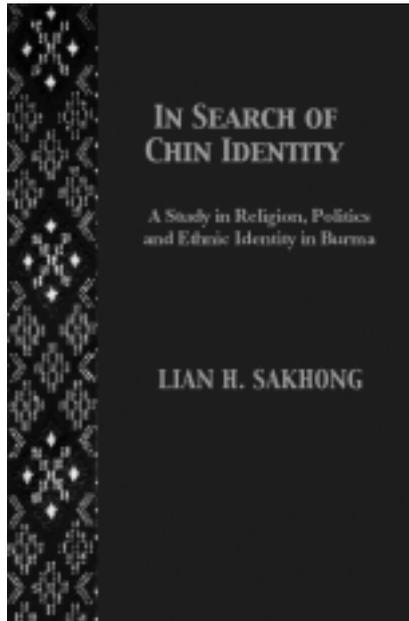
Against this background the book assesses broader questions of political culture, political participation, regime maintenance and opposition in the late Suharto era. The political culture perspective provides a fresh understanding of politics under the New Order and its influence on the systems of power and political relations in post-Suharto Indonesia.

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Gothenburg University, Sweden

In sharp contrast to today's disorder was the apparent cohesion and stability of Indonesia during much of the New Order period (1965–98). While Suharto's authoritarian rule was significant, the regime's cultural policies also played their part. Ethnic, religious and regional sentiments were to be channelled into art, and culture was used to help develop a national Indonesian identity. This theme is explored by this study, which focuses on the efforts of a group of young art students based at the Bandung Academy of Performing Arts to revitalize traditional Longser theatre. The interaction between the artists and regime and their often-differing ideas about identity, the role of art and cultural traditions offers valuable insights into the underlying dynamics of the country's current condition.

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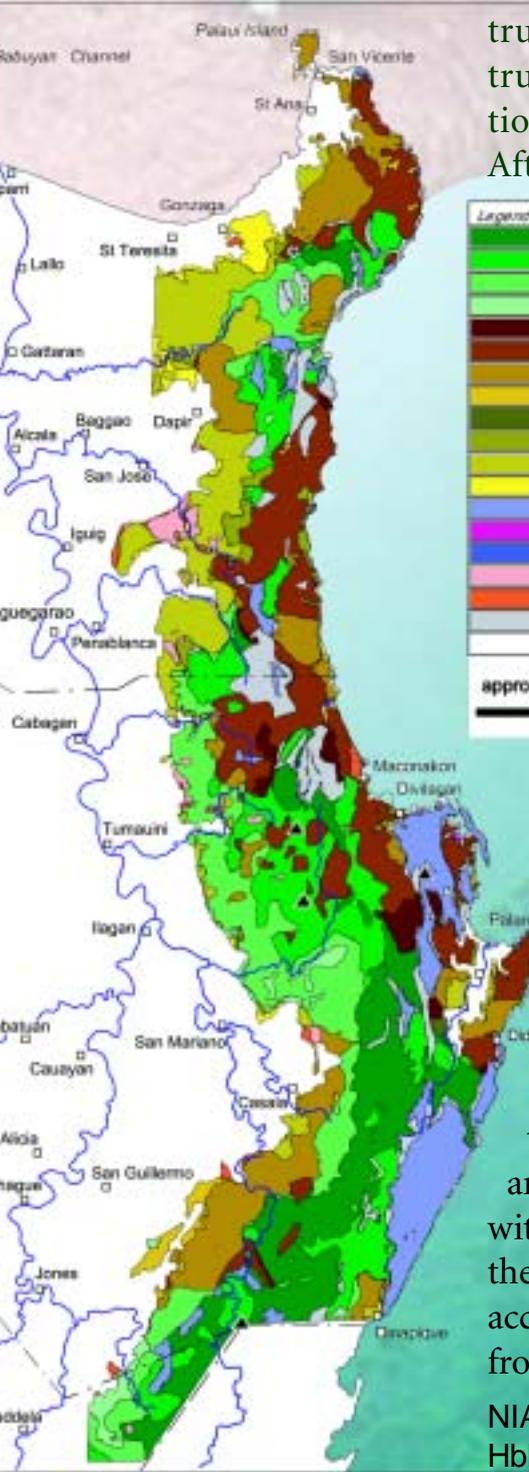
Margaret Mehl

University of Copenhagen

The establishment of a national education system soon after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 is recognized as a significant factor in Japan's modernization, hence research on education is concentrated on the state system. However, this development did not mean the disappearance of the *juku*, the private academies which were so much a feature of the Tokugawa period. Indeed, these played a far greater role than has been appreciated so far and this book aims to rectify the omission. This comprehensive study of a little-known but significant area not only contributes to a better understanding of education in the Meiji period but is also relevant to Japan's public education reforms today.

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“after some time ... I found out there is much money in wood. In 1985–86 I started my own *salabadiok* [illegal logging] operations. The NPA [communist New People’s Army] allowed me three trucks and asked for 300 pesos per truck in taxes. I found some trucks in Bulacan, someone from this town financed my operations and I provided him with wood. It is very easy money! After paying the military and the DENR (each 200 per truck) I earned 12,000 pesos just sitting here.

... Of course, there is the NPA, and the Army people and others to be bribed. We give them 100 to 200 for their coffee, some pocket money; we take them to a nice restaurant, things like that. We wait, because we know they have to take a rest, and then when it is midnight, we move ...’ (from ‘Profile of a *salabadiok* entrepreneur’)

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Worldwide Fund for Nature, Netherlands

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