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Water worries: An Intersectional Feminist Political Ecology of Tourism and Water in Labuan Bajo Indonesia.

ABSTRACT

Framed in feminist political ecology, this paper presents an intersectional analysis of the gender-water-tourism nexus. Based in an emergent tourism destination, Labuan Bajo, Indonesia, it goes beyond an analysis of how women bear the brunt of burdens related to water scarcity, and examines which women and why and how it affects their daily lives. Based on ethnographic research and speaking to over 100 respondents, the analysis unpicks how patriarchal cultural norms, ethnicity, socio-economic status, life-stage and proximity to water sources are intertwined to (re)produce gendered power relations. While there is heterogeneity of lived experiences, in the most part tourism is out competing locals for access to water leading to women suffering in multiple ways.

Keywords: Gender, water, Indonesia, intersectionality, patriarchy.

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the UNWTO, "tourism can empower women in multiple ways… and is a tool to unlock their potential" (2015:2). They also claim that "Tourism can play a crucial role in achieving water access and security for all". But can global tourism, based on capitalist relations, and putting profit before natural resource conservation coupled with neoliberal water policy really deliver on either of these goals? As Ferguson suggests, for many "tourism perpetuates underdevelopment and the violation of human rights" (2015: 474). According to Mostafanezhad et al (2016), "to remedy this we must first be aware of the intricate interconnections between politics, culture, economy and the physical environment". This paper unpicks these interlinkages and specifically examines the gendered power relations in relation to water access in an emergent tourism destination. Taking a feminist stance, this paper uses a gendered political ecology framework to explore the intersectional inequalities relating to water access and the related emotional responses.

There is a growing body of literature on water and tourism, which has been reviewed elsewhere (Cole 2012, Cole 2014, Becken 2014, Gössling et al 2012, Gössling et al 2015). Some years ago I noted that "despite access to water being a key indicator of progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals, the intensification of global concerns over water access and availability and the increasing importance of tourism in developing countries, there has been remarkably little academic research into the link between tourism and the impact of water scarcity on destination populations" (Cole 2012:1223). This remains the case, although Su et al (2016) have made a useful contribution with their study from Lijiang, China.

The purpose of political ecology is to understand the complex relations between nature and society through a careful analysis of access and control over resources and their implications for the environment (Watts 2000, Robbins 2004). As Swyngedouw (2009) has suggested with reference to water distribution, nature and society are fused in inseparable ways and political ecology provides a bridge from hydrological science to social science understandings. Feminist political ecology (FPE), a growing field of political ecology (Elmhirst 2015) treats gender as "a critical variable in shaping resource access and control, interacting with class, caste, race, culture, and ethnicity to shape processes of ecological change," (Rocheleau et al., 1996, p. 4). FPE considers a range of environmental rights and responsibilities including water resources and how those most vulnerable in society are impacted by environmental change (Hanson and Buechler, 2015). Furthermore, "FPE scholarship privilege knowledge of those most affected or marginalised by neoliberal, colonial or patriarchal systems in which tourism and water policy and practice are carried out" (Cole 2016:33).

The unequal gendered power relations embedded in the tourism sector have been well rehearsed (Gentry, 2007; Schellhorn, 2010; Vandegrift, 2008 Ferguson, 2011; Tucker and Boonabaana, 2012; Duffy et al 2015), but there has been a failure to consider differential impacts or consequences of tourism developments on men and women. Scholarly work on the environmental impacts of tourism have been largely gender blind, failing to acknowledge the differences between men and women and frequently reinforcing gender stereotypes. Inequalities in terms of access to resources, greater vulnerabilities and disproportionate negative impacts have not yet been subject to systematic gender analysis. Communities have largely been considered homogeneous, for example Mbaiwa (2003), or Saarinen (2016). While Gezon (2014) noted the importance of comparing impacts on neighbouring communities "the communities" in each location were undifferentiated. In this paper I take a specifically gendered analysis of the impact of tourism on water resources.

In Labuan Bajo, economic development, as part of Indonesian neoliberal policies, has promoted tourism growth at any cost with little space for alternative discourses (Dale 2015) and led to price rises and competition for natural resources, including water. As in many societies, women are responsible for domestic water provision and management. These roles are often "naturalised", unpaid, and unrecognised but mean that women live with issues of water scarcity and contamination on a daily basis. Their water work is part of reproductive labour, lacks visibility, and yet while integral to water supply, women are frequently excluded from water distribution policy and decision making. However, not all women experience issues of water scarcity to the same extent. This paper considers not only how women bear a disproportionate share of the hidden costs of tourism development, but also unpicks the differential impact on different groups of women and explores how they deal with their daily water struggles.

This paper contributes both to tourism studies and FPE as the first paper to use a framework of feminist political ecology to explore the gender-tourism-water nexus and examine how gender norms are negotiated in the course of environmental struggles, as Elmhirst (2011) suggests. It is also the first study to attempt an intersectional analysis of tourism and water scarcity at the destination level. It reinforces the work of Vandegrift (2008) that dissolved the guest-host divide and explored the racisms underlying tourism labour; whilst also underscoring Sultana's (2011) work on water and emotions, cross fertilizing important FPE work into tourism studies.

Following an introduction to intersectional analysis I review first how it has added to the rich FPE in water studies and its limited use in tourism research. I then provide the context in some depth, before examining the methodology including my positionality, data collection and analysis. I then unpick the water-gender-tourism nexus, unravelling water work, patriarchy and tourism labour and the differentiated women's experiences and their suffering for water.

2. WOMEN ARE NOT HOMOGENOUS: INTERSECTIONALITY

Intersectionality, a term coined by Crenshaw (1989), stresses the interwoven nature of categories of oppression, has become "institutionalised in sociology" (Collins 2015:2). Intersectionality explores how categories of identities such as gender, race, ethnicity, ability, age, sexuality etc. are mutually constructing and interrelated and shape systems of power, producing complex social inequalities that vary over time and space (Bel hooks 1989); and that "the complex social inequalities fostered by intersecting systems of power are fundamentally unjust" (Collins 2015: 6). There are three strands of intersectional studies: as a field of study, as an analytical strategy, and as critical praxis. This study falls

into the second i.e. " how intersectional frameworks provide new angles of vision on social institutions, practices, social problems, and other social phenomena associated with social inequality" (Collins 2015 :5). Intersectionality is influenced by post-colonial studies considering how capitalism, patriarchy and ethnicity inform women's subordination (Mollet and Faria 2013). In FPE nature or ecology are added to explore how multiple forms of social inequality intersect with nature (Nightingale 2011); in this case proximity to a water source is added to competition from tourism, a patriarchal culture, ethnicity and life stage as factors that re-inforce women's inequality.

2.1 Intersectionality and water

It is well known that women and men often have differentiated relationships to water access, uses, knowledges, governance, and experiences, and these gendered inequities are rooted in gendered divisions of labour (Ahlers and Zwarteveen 2009) which associate women with water. Further, as Harris et al (2015) suggest from a FPE perspective, these relationships can be mediated by gendered labour practices, socio-cultural expectations, as well as intersectional differences (e.g. race, income, and so forth).The most common intersection explored is between gender and poverty, in a variety of forms e.g. landlessness (Harris 2008); home ownership and employment (Harris et al 2015). Truelove (2011) suggests the FPE approach provides a more focused attention on constructions of social difference and micro-politics within the scale and spaces of the everyday. In Bangladesh water access is a function of land ownership, market access, common property access and state provision. Each "has particular characteristics, or social dimensions: cost, labour time, decision making (agency), historical trajectory or long-term dynamics, and response to external shocks" (Crow and Sultana 2002:711). In each case men are the decision makers and make the priorities for public investment, but women are the time givers.

Specificity of space and time and how they vary has been a theme in intersectional analyses. Furthermore, for water resource questions, it is imperative to also consider how populations are differentially situated with respect to hydro-geographic attributes (Harris 2006); as her study in Turkey on the impact of irrigation and the intersection of gender, poverty, landlessness and ethnicity, so clearly illustrated. This could not be starker than in the Bangladesh case where water from shallow tube wells accessing one aquifer is contaminated with natural arsenic, while deeper wells draw water from a deep unpolluted aquifer (Sultana 2011). Her study also underlines how water resource struggles are not just material challenges but emotional ones too and how local personal relationships, and their maintenance are bound up with water access. This leads to "complex webs of power" affecting "how water is owned, accessed, used, and controlled that affect everyday life" (2011: 171). Stress, worry, suffering and embarrassment are added to women's physical and financial difficulties

of water access. As feminist scholars have argued emotions are an important key to knowledge and a rich source of understanding especially among oppressed women (Heng 1996). The emotions expressed by the participants, especially the women, in this study add to our understanding of a consequence of tourism development.

2.2 Intersectionality in tourism studies

The use of intersectionality as a framework of analysis in the tourism literature is limited, despite Jamal and Hollinshead's (2001) consideration of its importance as an aspect of qualitative research, and Swain's (2002) reminder of the need for a more nuanced concept of gender in tourism studies and "the socio-culturally constructed dimension of gender and its necessary intersection with other externally imposed and individually chosen points of identification (such as ethnicity)". Henrici's examination of craft sellers in Peru showed "women have varying degrees of authority and power that articulate with relationships of ethnicity and class as well as of gender" (Henrici 2002:118) while Ypeij (2012) explored the intersectionality of ethnicity and gender comparing the experiences of both men and women. In a similar vein Kayoko Ishii (2012) found, among the Akha of Northern Thailand, multiple marginalization based on ethnicity, gender, and legal status. Harris (2009) briefly explored gender and race intersectionality in housekeeping in a New Zealand hotel. In other literature intersectionality has been used to frame sex tourism and race (Files-Thompson, 2013 and William 2013); tourism, sexuality and identity (Alexander 1997 and 2005) and romance tourism (Hamid-Turksoy et al 2014).

Vandegrift's (2008) challenged the "First World guests" and "Third World hosts" dichotomy and highlighted the global restructuring of women's work through tourism. Importantly, she explored not only First World ownership of tourism businesses but also how white First World workers gain employment over local people, through the use of personal resources shared with tourists, such as language and cultural understanding. In a precursor to this study, Cole and Ferguson (2015) explored the political economy of tourism, gender and water relations in Costa Rica. The limited use of intersectionality as a framework for analysis in tourism, maybe down to the brevity of journal articles, which limits a rigorous investigation of the host contexts that structure the power dynamics. As Feng (2013) suggests this is especially so, given the importance of "contextualizing such analysis with the particular historical and sociocultural factors in a given locality and against the backdrop of global economic trends" (Feng 2013:5). This paper explores the intersectional nature of water access in an emergent tourism destination; before doing so I provide the necessary background to the context and people. Although this sketches the historic development, based on previous studies, it includes some data collected during the research to provide the contemporary context.

3. CONTEXT

Following the political and environmental background, I briefly contextualise the present water and tourism systems. I then provide the ethnic background to the residents of Labuan Bajo (hitherto Labuan).

3.1 The place

Labuan is a small town in a secluded bay, on the West coast of Flores, East Indonesia, built on very uneven limestone topography with shifting underground stream systems. Labuan is a migrant town per se. Bajo people probably had temporary settlements here since the 18th and 19th century (Fox 1977), but it was permanently settled in the 1950's by three Bajo families. Since then the Bajo have been joined by other sea-faring migrants, Manggarai migrants from inland, and by both national and international migrants smelling the tourist dollar. When I first visited in 1984 it was little more than a single unmetalled street with a weekly ferry to Sumbawa (the next major island west) and a sole "guesthouse". Growth was slow during the 1990s but since the turn of the century has grown into a global town with an increase in population from 10,000 to 52,000 between 2007 and 2014. Much of this population increase is tourism induced. However, the place remains stubbornly poor with over 80% of the population living below the Indonesian poverty line. More than a quarter of the population have more than five children and only 24% have access to piped water. At the time of the research in 2015 there was no hospital in town and the small clinic had no running water; twelve doctors served the population. West Manggarai became an autonomous region in 2003, with Labuan as its "capital", with the authority to manage its own affairs, including the natural resources available in the territory. It is a young administrative region, with its own local parliament, with a very high level of corruption (Cochrane 2013). In 2012, for example, there were 219 cases involving misuse or embezzlement of some US$3.2 million from state budgets (Fitra, 2012 in Dale 2013), including water treatment and storage networks (Erb 2015).

Labuan is fed by the water catchment area of the Nae/Mese river systems whose source is in the forested area of Mbeling. Highly seasonal rainfall in town averages 1200mm/year. A very small stream runs through one end of the town and various springs appear and disappear. Wells are used throughout the town with salt water intrusion an apparent problem close to the coast. Many people try digging to find no water while their neighbours have successful wells. One resident dug and found water at only 4 meters in such quantity that he is the major supplier of truck water in town and

provides water free to neighbours; he has presumably hit an underwater river. There are two other sites where wells have been dug to 12 and 14 m and trucks fill up for a fee. In many wells, the water has such high lime content it is not potable without treatment. River water from the Nae is taken and, via holding tanks, feeds those on piped water supplies. Since 2012 water has been taken out of the river Mese. This water is prioritised to the hotels as the business water rates are needed to cover pumping and purifying costs (Head of Water Department interview). The removal of water from the Mese has caused problems for a number of reasons: 1) Downstream agriculturalists have less water than they need for irrigation affecting agricultural output; 2) The communities who have the large pipe running past their homes but no piped supply themselves, bore into it – leading to leaks and wastage; 3) Envy that hotels are supplied over the people; 4) The inconsistent supply to hotels means they supplement it with tanker water – affecting the cost and supply of this source for the community. Less than 25% of the population have access to piped water, and even when they do it frequently only runs for a couple of hours, a couple of times a week. Most water in Labuan has been commodified, supplied by truck, in an ad hoc and anarchistic style, with virtually no control.

Despite being the gateway to Komodo National Park (established in 1980, and designated a World Heritage Site in 1991) tourism, Labuan's main (only) industry was slow to develop. In 2000 Warpole and Goodwin estimated 11,000 tourists supporting 256 full-time equivalent jobs, 79 of which were in the town's 18 guesthouses with 278 rooms (2000:567). Presently 48 hotels/guest houses have 1,355 rooms ranging from US$5 to US$80 per night. In addition, there are over 60 locally registered live-aboard boats, each providing a further 4 to 30 bed spaces per night. The first starred hotel opened in 2008 and there are now four of them. Since 2006, the dive tourism industry has become increasingly important in Labuan, increasing from one dive operator in the 1990s, to five by 2010, 15 in 2011, and 25 at the time of the research. In addition to the locally based live-aboards, there are numerous boats from various countries operating out of Labuan's harbor, advertising diving trips abroad and catering to their own citizens, plus many more Bali based boats.

3.2 The people

The people of Labuan fall into one of three categories: national and international (N&I) migrants, Manggarai and Orang Laut. I use the gloss "Orang Laut" (OL - literally sea people) to refer to the group of people who self-identified (see methodology below) as from the Bajo, Bugis, and Bimanese ethnic groups. The Bajo are the original settlers, as the name suggests Labuan Bajo (port of the Bajo people); also sometimes called Bajau and frequently referred to as 'sea nomads' or sea gypsies. They live in stilt houses over the sea, are generally landless, and are regarded as 'uncivilised' and 'threatening' by the Indonesian government and conservation organisations (Lowe 2006 in Stacey et al 2012).

Progressively peripheralised and impoverished, they exist on the margins of "otherness" for the culturally and politically dominant populations of the region (Chou 2006). The Bugis, one of Indonesia largest and widely dispersed ethnic groups are considered a more elite ethic group (Ammarel, 2002). The Bimanese come from the neighbouring Island of Sumbawa and have a history of intermarriage with Bugis. In Labuan some people identified as one or other of these ethnicities, but many were a mixture of two or more. For the most part they are fisherfolk except the few families of original settlers who own property: guest houses, shops and rentals. All the OL are Muslims.

The majority of people in the Regency, and in Labuan town are Manggarai. Although considered one ethnic group, they are a culturally and linguistically diverse population (Allerton, 2004). Manggarai is only a recent construct; historically, its people consisted of hundreds of small autonomous communities, but became a self-governing unit when the kingdom was established in 1925 (Moeliono, and Limberg, 2004). The Manggarai are Catholic and have migrated to Labuan from all over the region. The Manggarai and OL live alongside each other but inter-marriage is rare.

In addition to the OL and Manggarai communities there are significant numbers of migrants both Indonesian nationals (N), from other islands, and international (I). While the local dive companies employ local people many of the dive guides are foreigners. Erb (2013) reported the "growing unhappiness of locals who feel increasingly marginalized by the presence of foreigners involved in tourism businesses" and "competing with locals for jobs". As Daldenez and Hampton (2012) identified in Malaysia, foreign volunteers compete with locals for dive guide work. However, foreign ownership and work in Labuan is not limited to dive operations. There is growing foreign involvement in guesthouses, restaurants, and cafes.

4. METHODS

This research was conducted using feminist methodologies i.e. reflectivity and subjectivity of the researchers, and a commitment to making the research useful to the women who shared their stories, while hoping to contribute in some way to improving their lives (CF Tickner 2005). Before describing the data collection and analysis I will situate the researchers (Ateljevic et al 2005). The principal researcher is a middle aged, white, academic. Once introduced as a doctor my already high status was further enhanced, added to which I speak Bahasa Indonesia fluently, and know Flores well. I positioned the research as wanting to help a place I cared about deeply (which I do) and that I wanted to help them explore solutions. I made it clear I had no stakes in water politics but, in the spirit of knowledge sharing, gave my opinion when asked, on a desalination project that was under consideration.

Two research assistants were employed in the research process. An invaluable Manggaraian research assistant in Labuan acted as a "fixer", arranging appointments and ensuring we spoke to relevant people in the right government departments. She comes from large, well-known, family and had a significant network of contacts to draw upon. She had worked for an NGO involved in tourism, in Labuan, and so knew many of those working in the Industry. She also transcribed the interviews. A second Indonesian, who knew Labuan, was employed to help with the data analysis in the UK.

4.1 Data Collection

The data was collected during April and July 2015 using a range of feminist ethnographic methods including participant-observation, structured and semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Forty-six Manggarai, Thirty-six OL, and seventeen N &I migrants took part. We conducted seventy-seven interviews in participants' homes or workplaces, in either Indonesian or English. While we used standard interview themes, we tailored questions to the particular circumstances and biographies of participants. We conducted five focus groups, involving a further 31 respondents, in local homes (3), a respondent's yard (1) and in a central café (1).

We located informants by a combination of the research assistant's local knowledge, serendipitous meetings, strategic place-based conversations and snowball sampling. Participants were selected to provide information on the water-tourism-gender nexus and in order to ensure a cross-section of ethnicity, age, economic background and relative power. The participants fell into three broad groups, however, there is overlap between the groups, for example, the head of the tourism department is at once a key informant and involved in tourism. The three groups were: 1) Key informants who could shed light on water policy, management and scarcity, tourism, and gender relations. These 20 key informants included nine government offices, five NGOs, two village heads, two community leaders and two priests. 2) Those involved in tourism, 16 were owners or managers and 28 were employees. 3) Residents of Labuan who were (44) or were not (20) affected by water scarcity and who were not involved in tourism (n=64).

4.2 Data Analysis

The interviews and focus groups were transcribed, and coded around key themes that emerged from the data. In order to understand the intersecting hierarchies of power the respondents needed to be categorised, I used occupation, ethnicity and age (life-stage). Occupation was grouped as working in tourism, or government (or other), or not working. For ethnicity I feared cultural reductionism due to the huge numbers of ethnic groups in Indonesia. I used self-identity construction following one of the

first questions of social location Indonesians ask (Cole 2007) i.e. Where are you from? "*Asal mana*?" – Only three respondents replied "original Labuan", all others replied by ethnic group, or place, such as where in Manggarai they came from, or further afield e.g. Bali, Timor, and Bajawa. The age of respondents was not asked but broad age groups or life –stage was identified.

5. GENDER, WATER AND TOURISM

The following discussion is structured in three parts. The first considers the impact of tourism on locals (lack of) access and control over water supplies, highlighting how tourism rather than bringing "water access and security for all" (UNWTO 2015:2) does the reverse. The second section explores the role of patriarchy as a root cause of women's inequality. It unpicks the intersecting categories of identity, and ecology, and how they interplay to add complexity to the inequalities. It also explores the emotions bound up with water scarcity but how in private, using technology, negotiations over gender roles are starting to take place. The third section explores the contrasting experiences of the many migrants attracted to the town by tourism. It explores the role of tourism labour and its intersection with life-stage and ethnicity and the consequent water struggles.

5.1 Water Access and Tourism

Residents of Labuan access water from a variety of sources: 1) Piped water, which flows occasionally to about a quarter of homes. 2) Wells of different depths from 2-12m, but the water has a very high lime content and must be boiled and strained before consumption; furthermore, many wells are shared and each user pumps water to their homes. Two of the large hotels pump from one of the public supplies with large pumps for a small donation to village funds. 3) Rivers or streams. 4) One of the five public standpoints. 5) Purchasing from 5,000 litre tankers that deliver water, in which case a storage tank is required. These take considerable space and investment (a 5000l tank costs US$600 or 5 months' wages). The more water that is purchased the cheaper it is, and the more regularly you order the more consistent your supply. This means that hotels that order up to 15 tanker loads a day pay the least (Rp 26 /l) and are most regularly supplied. Those that need tanker supplies only occasionally have difficulty with obtaining a supply and those that order the least pay the most (Rp 75/l). As one woman explained, "The community does not have any bargaining power, the price is set by the seller. Delivery time is also set by the seller, they might say they are coming in the morning, but they don't come, we cannot go out because we have to wait, then we miss a meeting."

While rapid urban growth, a lack of planning, poor governance and corruption emerged as the key immediate causes of Labuan's water scarcity, neoliberal development lies at the base. Tourism is the development discourse and as in other places, water is taken out of agriculture to use for higher marginal economic returns (Ahlers and Zwarteveen 2009; Su et al 2016). Furthermore, the use of water for tourism exacerbates the town's water scarcity and increases its cost, with the poorest paying the most per litre and being "most vulnerable to the vagaries of water vendors" (Loftus 2009). The starred hotels in Labuan are supplied by water pumped out of the river Mese, limiting availability for agriculturists. According to the hotels this supply is irregular and insufficient so they also use tanker supplies. As tourism businesses can afford the most and are supplied the most regularly, they win in the competition with local people's needs. It is beyond the scope of this paper to look at the unsustainability of the present water distribution system in Labuan, the purpose here was to take a more nuanced understanding of gendered experiences and focus the analytical lens on the differential experiences of Labuan's population.

5.2 Patriarchy and Daily Water Struggles in Labuan Bajo

In order to unpick the differential water access and women's experiences of the present system in Labuan, it is necessary to understand the gendered norms that surround their lives. Labuan is a highly patriarchal society, and the culture of "paying for" a bride, for both OL and Manggarai, is a critical foundation to this. In both cultures, the groom's family pays bridewealth to the bride's; in Manggarai it is not normally paid in full, as a way of binding the two families together (Allerton 2004). However, among OL the bridewealth is generally paid in full prior to the wedding. Thus, as Idrus' (2004) research suggests, marriage is connected to the notion of 'saleability'. In her research with Bugis male youth, they "were quick to reply that an ideal wife is the one who bows down to her husband, … and expected to have a full time housewife who could concentrate on her domestic responsibilities" (2004). A 'working-wife' was assumed to be 'too demanding' and regarded as a 'bad wife' and a husband who participates in domestic affairs, for example, cooking and washing, tends to be socially criticised.

This patriarchy lies at the base of the women's daily water struggles. In both OL and Manggaraian families, women expressed how they were "bought" with bridewealth. In an interview with an OL woman, when she told me that of course her husband didn't help with household chores or collecting water, he had bought her. When I asked if Bajo also have bridewealth, she roared with laughter, held her blouse and said "this has a price doesn't it?" then lent back and repeatedly pointed at her vagina "so of course this does!!". Another OL, whose husband took tourists on his boat, but could be out of work for two months at a time in the low season, explained, he would never consider helping wash-up, "He has a wife!" Asked if she'd get help from her son, she replied, "Definitely not! He looks after

chickens for cockfighting and plays with his friends". Few OL women work in tourism. Exceptions included the owners (and partial managers) of the original guesthouses in town, the owner of one of the oldest restaurants and the one female dive guide who suggested it would be hard for her to find a husband: "In Indonesian culture women have to have a husband, …men are arrogant, once they have money they want women to stay at home". As one OL man explained "No men help collecting the water and washing the clothes because they are embarrassed to be seen washing clothes in public places, men do not help with child care either. This is part of our culture, especially if they are high status, this is a woman's role". All water work was women's work, collecting, washing, cooking water to drink, dish washing etc. was part of women's domestic responsibilities. However the struggles that result from needing water and not having it on tap is variable, other factors shape women's heterogeneous experiences. The women's experiences were shaped by ethnicity and economic status, which are linked as discussed below in the section on tourism labour; life-stage, and environment – where they live relative to water sources and how much space they had for water storage.

Affluent households bought tanker water as an alternative or a supplement to piped supplies. International migrants did not consider the price of water as high. As one dive operator suggested "the cost of water is negligible to dive operations". And another said it is "not a large part of operational costs" and she'd "never thought about where it comes from". One Dutch hotel owner had "No idea how much her staff spent on water". While a German guesthouse owner said "I would let my guests shower in gallon (bottled) water it is so cheap". These international migrants can afford to buy water in bulk and therefore pay a third of the price paid by the poorest in the community, they have the space to store it; and their cash flows are such that water costs are inconsequential. Furthermore, International migrants "Didn't really think about where their staff got water" or as one international dive guide suggested, "Turned a blind eye to local people's lives". National migrants had clearer ideas about the value of water, the price of which has risen steeply with growing demand from tourism. An Indonesian hotel manager spent US$67 a month on water for his family and said, "The minimum wage in Labuan is so small, I feel sorry for my staff who have family, kids and still need to buy water". Another sympathetic Indonesian migrant manager said, "Staff don't have water in their house, sometimes they have a wash in the hotel". Good salaries also affected inter-family gender relations. A hotel manager's husband did the washing because they had a washing machine, and somewhere, out of sight, to hang the washing. This negotiation of gender relations only occurred in privacy, not in public, and came at emotional cost.

As Elmhirst (2011) suggests gender norms are negotiated in the course of environmental struggles, this was evident in Labuan where well-paid tourism work was used to negotiate gender relations. However, these were technology dependant and only in the private sphere. In public, water remains a women's domain. The study did not explicitly explore trust, jealousy, and gendered interactions with tourists. However, various comments from respondents reflected many of Duffy *et al's* (2015) findings, including the backlash and domestic violence that occur when women work outside the home and roles and relations are negotiated. Several of the women (3 out of 7) who had managerial level posts were separated and this was the reason given.

For the original, and now affluent, OL residents of Labuan, water supply has never been easier: a quick call on a mobile phone to regular supplier and water was delivered, in comparison to long walks to springs and carrying it home. However, as one of the original residents told us "clean water is too expensive for the poor". The original residents were also the only residents who had large storage tanks built under their homes/yards, and collected water in the rainy season. More recent OL migrants' stories were very different. One women recalled collecting water by canoe but she gave up the dangerous method, nearly dying when the canoe capsized. Now she prefers to purchase water - despite only being able to afford an old oil drum for storage and thus paying Rp15,000 a day (from her income of Rp50,000 selling fish) for her families water needs. The financial burden of water was discussed by many of the OL respondents who had a variety of strategies to cope including collecting and boiling river water; washing clothes in salty well water; bathing to keep cool in the sea and then just rinsing in fresh water; and taking water from leaking pipes or work places. When the water situation becomes critical, at the height of the dry season, there is no option for many than to queue. But as one respondent pointed out, "It's only the women, men are too proud. We start queueing from 3 am and wait until 8am for a delivery". The cost and problems of water access were not limited to the OL community, but as coastal dwellers, frequently used to water in short supply, and with more limited financial means than the majority, they used less water than the mountain migrants did.

Occupation and life stage affected water procurement for the Manggarai. Those working in the government and living in the area around the government buildings were in an area of regular supply and none complained about water problems at home. Most of the young tourism workers are Manggaraian and could not afford a home of their own so rented rooms (*kost*). "The first question anyone asks when they seek a *kost* is about the water supply", we were repeatedly told. Most married people rent homes. As children grow, it is frequently the job of young people in a family to collect water. As one woman explained, after school her daughters made ten, ten minute trips to a

neighbour's source taking them a total of 1.5 hours a day. Older boys often used motor cycles. As one hotel worker explained, her brothers-in-law lodged with them to attend school, and each "made 3 trips a day with 5 small jerry cans". They were also "in charge of collecting wood to cook water for drinking". Males would help with water collection in households that could afford a motor bike. They didn't carry water, their motor-cycles did.

Ground water in Labuan is effectively a common pool resource linked to land rights. Anyone can drill a well on their land – epitomised by a family who happened upon an underground river and are now a main water supplier. Most are not so lucky, but proximity to a water source was a clear factor affecting women's water experiences, as was the finance and space for a large water tank. Just as Sultana's (2011) study in Bangladesh showed women are in commoditised and non-commodified relations to water: they have to buy it but also share, collect, spare, save and worry about it. As Sultana found, "emotions matter in the lived realities that shape the practices of access, use and control" of water (2011:164). Their relations with water are emotional, most of the women talked about suffering for water and worrying about water. Their relations with neighbours were affected by "needing to ask" and "feeling ashamed" giving some neighbours power over others- indebtedness causing further emotional strain. One respondent explained how she "paid her neighbour to share their piped supply, but was only allowed to use it at night". In the dry season she was frequently "forced to walk to the river and fill up jerry cans". Replicating Sultana's study, access rules were "often tied to frequency and amount of water taken, and are thus not unconditional" (2011:166). These emotional challenges were added to the women's physical and financial struggles as they suffered for water. Financial struggles are interlinked with water and tourism work, which is discussed next.

5.3 Tourism labour

Ethnicity and life-stage intersect with water struggles in women's paid labour opportunities. Tourism, Labuan's only industry, firmly embedded as part of the global neo-liberal economy, has acted as a magnet for migrants. Infrastructure has not kept pace with urban growth, meanwhile inflation has caused the cost of living to sky rocket. Despite the ideal for women to stay at home, the extremely high cost of living means many take paid work in order to try and make ends meet. Covering the increasing cost of living was the impetus for women working outside the household, consistent with previous studies (Duffy et al 2015, Momsen, 2004). While tourism provides much needed jobs, the vast majority pay less than a living wage and fail to compensate for the much higher water costs. Despite good employment legislation in Indonesia (Hendrytio et al 1999), for most of the employees,

typically young Manggaraians, working conditions did not comply with the laws. A typical story from a restaurant worker was “6 days working, 1 day off. No annual leave; no other benefits. Our wage is cut by US$5 if we do not turn up – even if we are sick”. Her monthly salary after three years was US$110 plus US$15 tips, which combined, just took her to the minimum wage: As one respondent explained: "Hotel work is hard and the salary is small" or another suggested “Life in Labuan is extremely hard!” On these wages buying sufficient water for family needs is impossible, even when women did go out to work, balancing paid labour and domestic responsibilities including water work and water costs was a constant struggle.

When women do work outside the home, many get little help for domestic work from their husbands. As one woman working in a dive shop office said “For housework issues, 95% is my responsibility, if the Sanyo (water pump) is not working my husband will repair it”. Or as a male tourism worker, whose wife works in the market told us, “My wife and daughter are taking care of the housework”. The double burden of paid work and water work was especially hard when the women lived far from a water source and during the dry season.

A high proportion of the national migrants interviewed worked in tourism (17 out of 28) and 10 of these were owners of enterprises, five of which were women. Women managed two of the higher-end guest houses, while the two men managed larger hotels. This reflects work elsewhere that suggests that the benefits of tourism flow to incoming migrant groups (Vandegrift 2008, Schellhorn 2010). Labuan replicates the ethnic and national segregation Vandegrift found in Costa Rica. Most of the tourism workers are recent Manggarai migrants. Most of the owners are National and International migrants. Furthermore, Vandegift’s (2008) work troubles the host –guest divide, “Tourism giving jobs to tourists” (2008: 784) was problematic for Costa Ricans as it was for Labuan residents. In Costa Rica, this included waitressing and receptionist roles, in Labuan it is the highest status dive work that is routinely taken by “tourists”. In the main street of Labuan there are far more Italian restaurants than Indonesian, in one case the restaurateur owns the farm where the vegetables are grown too, with locals stating “he controls everything ...from source to mouth… what’s left for us?” Just as Vandegift found, the international migrants shifted from “seeing the community as a site of leisure (a tourist’s view) to a site of labour (a host’s view)” (2008:785). But their view as hosts differed dramatically from the majority of Labuan’s residents; they didn’t suffer for water (although irritated by late deliveries).

In many cases married women did not work out of the home. It is the norm for women to stop working when they get married; the people of Labuan had three reasons for this: Married women as housewives, as child carers; and water. As one of the managers of the largest hotel that only employed six women out of 58 staff explained, “Many women leave when they get married, so it is a disadvantage for the hotel….we do not mean to discriminate against women but this is based on experience, when women get married they resign and follow their husbands”. Another reason cited was “Men do not want them to”. Childcare was the second reason for women not being able to work. Without relatives finding childcare is very hard as there is “no nursey in Labuan, so that women have to give up work when they have children”. Water was a common reason among younger respondents, as one dive equipment controller explained: “Someone has to stay at home to wait for the water to flow. I think I would let my wife work if the water flowed 24 hours a day, but now she needs to be at home to wait for it.” Or simply “Modern women, they want to work, but because dealing with lack of water there’s no time for working, waiting for water for hours every day.”

Although not a focus of this paper, it is important to note the chances for women to work in the government are even less than working in tourism. The only department with greater numbers of women was the health department because it includes all the nurses. In the district government there is only one woman out of 30 representatives and none of these are OL and there are only three OL men. This severely restricts the chances of women’s voices, especially from OL communities, being heard in the policy development or planning of either water services or tourism. This is likely to further entrench policies that fail to provide for the needs of women.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This FPE study has explored the gender-tourism-water nexus in a growing tourism destination. It has paid attention to the legacy of both migration and institutional discrimination. It has unveiled that tourism development is competing for water supplies with the local residents, pushing up prices beyond affordability and violating human rights. As water work is women’s work, they are disproportionally affected by the competition for water supplies from tourism. Using feminist methodologies critical knowledge was unlocked. Women and men, wanted to share their anger, frustrations, worries, and stresses with regard to water access. As Heng (1996) suggests, pain and anger are rich sources of opposition knowledge among oppressed women. The intertwined neo-colonial tourism, neo-liberal water privatisation and patriarchal systems, have important

consequences for women's emotional, physical and financial well-being as they struggle for water. The intersectional analysis has shown women's experiences are not monolithic and has provided a more nuanced understanding by unpicking which women are affected most and why.

Separating the different axes of dominance that combine to produce Labuan's women's water struggles is unhelpful as we know from the body of work on intersectionality the categories are mutually constructing and interrelated. But by unpeeling the layers of multiple intersecting inequalities a number of conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, this research in Labuan adds to the body of literature that suggests the benefits of tourism flow to outsiders and reinforces Vandegift's (2008) work on the dissolution between first world guest and third world hosts exemplified by the white first world migrant's ownership of tourism businesses and work as dive guides. International and National migrants have used their financial and social capital – knowing tourists' culture – to reap the greatest benefits from tourism. By their standards water is cheap and they chose not to know the plight of the residents with whom their share the destination.

Secondly, as previous studies have highlighted, poverty compounds gender inequality and this is frequently related to ethnicity. Labuan is no different. With the exception of the original settler families, many of the OL, historically peripheral and impoverished fisher folk, do not have the physical space or access to financial resources for a water tank and pay most for their water supplies, when they can get it. The location of their coastal homes compounds their disadvantage, as salt-water intrusion excludes the possibility of useful wells. This least well educated community rarely work in tourism, have minimal representation in the government, and therefore lack influence on the decisions affecting their lives.

Manggarai women also have minimal representation in the government and are therefore also excluded from tourism or water distribution planning. While they have migrated to Labuan for tourism jobs the wages do not cover the cost of living when water has to be purchased. Tourism development has dramatically increased the cost of living and the cost of water in particular, driving women into exploitative paid work and doubling their burdens as they continue to be responsible for all domestic and water work. For some, water procurement prevents them for participating in work outside the home reinforcing gendered divisions. Just as Truelove (2011) describes how Delhi water shortages affect young women's' mobility and shape their life opportunities, in Labuan women experience restrictions in their labour and careers due to water, thus also shaping their life opportunities.

Furthermore, children are involved in water work (which may be affecting their education (CF Watkins: 2006); young girls did more queuing and collecting than boys, reinforcing gender inequalities. Boys would help if they possessed a motor cycle, i.e. not in the poorest families. Thus, interlaid with socio-economic and ethnic identities, age and life-stage further complicated the picture. Young families struggle the most, having to rent homes and pay for water or to carry it without children to help.

Thirdly, not only has capitalism, patriarchy, ethnicity and life stage informed women's subordination, but the research has revealed how nature has intersected with the political, economic and cultural elements. Supporting Harris' (2006) findings, Labuan residents are differentially situated to water sources both by proximity to sources and their type: shared well, public standpipe, neighbours' tanks, springs, streams, etc. However, due to the geology this element was largely random, except in the area around government offices and the homes of the officials who seemed to mainly have an uninterrupted supply, and the OL coastal dwellers whose underground supply were already intruded by salt water. For the majority of women, everyday material practises: water collection, queueing, remembering to call and waiting for a delivery, moving hose-pipes and buckets, were arenas where gender norms and social inequalities are re-enforced. However, there was evidence of tourism shifting gender relations, at least in private. If unseen, and aided by technology, some men, whose wives worked in tourism, did do some water work, thus providing evidence that gender norms are negotiated in the course of environmental struggles (Elmhirst 2011).

Finally, this intersectional analysis has highlighted how the complex combination of factors leading to inequalities in water access result in physical, financial and emotional struggles for many of Labuan's residents. Gendered household water management reflects the unequal ways in which the town ineffectively governs water resources and simultaneously (re)produces inequality. The colonial present, or neo-colonial tourism development project, has transformed nature, affecting water flows. Relations with water are emotional: worry, stress and shame affect social relations and add to women's powerlessness. Water has become commoditised, tourism is winning over residents in the competition for this life source, and, given the only maternity unit has no running water, is now literally a matter of life and death.

As discussed at a multi-stakeholder meeting, held at the end of the fieldwork to share the results, solutions to Labuan's water worries require: water management to be made central to the political agenda, actions to ameliorate the present situation should be taken immediately, while medium, and longer-term plans are formulated. The regulation of the quality and price of water, accompanied by

robust watershed protection plans are a priority. Water conservation education is required across society including for tourism businesses. The water department (PDAM) needs revitalisation, with root and branch reform. Furthermore, the provision of leadership, technical and Human Rights training for women to enhance their agency, so they can monitor the government's performance, and to ensure tourism growth does not outstrip available fresh water resources is essential. While few would disagree that water management requires focus from the local government, transparency and anticorruption measures will have to run in parallel for the residents to receive a fairer share of Labuan's water at an affordable price.

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