

**Resettlement and Poverty: The Plight of Vulnerable Groups Affected by The
Lesotho Highlands Water Project; Case Study of Phase 1B Communities.**

By

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**A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
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ABSTRACT

Involuntary resettlement due to planned economic interventions for the purpose of economic growth, is a political and socio-economic phenomenon. It is associated with development and poverty, as it affects livelihoods of those involved. This process impacts differently on different individuals, depending on their capability to regain earning and productive bases, to access support systems, as well as to access opportunities and widen choices that sustain their lives. The study investigates the assumption that their vulnerability, ineligibility for compensation provisions and lack of specific programmes to address their needs affect their capability to adjust in new areas.

In view of this, the purpose of the study is to explore the impact of resettlement on vulnerable groups (the landless, unemployable aged and disabled). The overall objective is to highlight their situation, because of a concern for their long-term welfare, possible marginalisation from mainstream development and risk of poverty.

The coverage involved vulnerable groups in stage one resettlement. A stratified sampling technique was employed to select 31 respondents who represent these groups. In the study, primary and secondary data were collected by making use of In-depth interviews, focus-group discussions and content analysis of related literature. A semi-structured schedule with open-ended questions was employed to gather information that was qualitatively manipulated.

The findings suggest that the resettlement process has resulted in the disruption of support systems, limited opportunities in host areas, and inadequate restorative measures to sustain livelihoods of vulnerable groups. As a result, these groups are disempowered, marginalised and excluded from mainstream social and economic development, which compounds their risk of impoverishment.

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1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) is a deliberate economic investment in a large water scheme aimed at transferring Lesotho's plentiful water to the South African industrial heartland. The project involves phase 1A (Katse dam) and 1B (Mohale dam) and associated works (see maps two and three in appendix A). The proposed phase 2 construction (which involves three more dams) has not yet been initiated.

The project is an economic venture that is of mutual benefit for the economies of both countries. According to the Lesotho Review of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (2000) the benefits accruing to Lesotho involve government revenue through royalties from the sale of the water to South Africa.

Based on a recent report on the economic impact of the LHWP, the review indicates that, from 1987 to 2002 the sum of LHWP expenditures will cumulatively amount to about five times Lesotho's total gross domestic product in the year 1994. It was estimated that phase 1B would have added 6.5 percent to GDP (R260m) and 7.4 percent to government revenue (R145m) in 1998, and 3.9 percent to GDP and 9.3 percent to government revenue in 2002. Thus the project has contributed to the country's high economic growth rate, as it has annually accounted for about 75 percent of the total investment in the country's economy.

Lesotho will therefore benefit financially from the royalties and through production of its own electricity, while South Africa will receive a much-needed reliable supply of high quality water (LHWP Environment Impact Assessment Phase 1B 1997).

Running parallel to this growth, however, are the social and physical effects of the project and the failure in the planning and implementation of the mitigation programmes, thus impacting directly on the lives of the affected people, especially the vulnerable groups.

1.1.1 Report Outline

The report structure is made up of six chapters. Chapter one provides background information of the study, by describing the LHWP project, with more emphasis on phase 1B socio-economic environment and the impact of the project on this environment. It explains the focus of the study, which highlights the questions and concerns regarding the livelihoods of vulnerable groups that are affected by the LHWP. It emphasises the aim, objectives and assumptions pertaining to the study.

In this chapter the statement of the problem is also highlighted to put the problem of resettlement and poverty into perspective. The conceptualisation of the problem is given in this chapter as part of the background to illuminate the dimensions of the problem and to further put it into perspective. The significance of the study is also discussed to demonstrate the need for the study and the rationale behind the methodology employed.

Chapter two provides information on the study design and methodology. This involves the units of analysis, sampling technique used, methods of data collection and analysis employed, the coverage of the study population, limitations and ethical appraisal.

Chapter three is the presentation of the findings, and these are depicted in figures, tables, diagrams and brief summations. Chapter four presents the conceptual framework of involuntary resettlement based on the literature reviewed to give insight into the questions posed by the study. This is followed by chapter five, which provides a detailed analysis of the findings based on the framework in chapter four. Chapter six contains the conclusion and recommendations.

1.2 Project Description

Phase 1A started in 1987 following the signing of the treaty between the two governments in October 1986, while phase1B works started in 1995 (Hunting Consult 4 Joint Venture- LHDA contract 1012, Resettlement and Development Study in Phase 1B, 1997, p.10). Phase 1A consists of Katse dam on the Malibamats'o river, the transfer tunnel and delivery tunnel, a reservoir and hydropower plant in 'Muela.

Phase 1B consists of Mohale dam, which is on the Senqunyane river, a diversion weir at Matsoku river and transfer tunnels to deliver water to Katse dam. This phase also involves construction and upgrading of roads and other works (LHWP Environmental Impact Assessment Phase 1B, 1997).

Mohale dam is a concrete-faced rockfill structure with an embankment 145m high. The reservoir surface area will be 22.8km² and will run up-river for approximately 25km. When full it will contain 947 million m³ of water of which 857 million m³ will be transferred. Mohale will divert 300 million m³ of water annually, while Matsoku will transfer 60 million m³ annually.

1.3 Phase1B Socio-Economic Environment

The phase1B scheme area is situated in the central Lesotho Highlands on land that fall under the jurisdiction of two chieftainships and is situated on three of the ten districts of the country (Berea, Maseru and Thaba-Tseka). The Mohale dam inundation falls under Maseru and Thaba-Tseka districts, (LHWP, Environmental Impact Assessment Phase1B 1997, p.24).

Household size in Mohale area range between one and twenty-one with an average household size 5.6, and 76 percent of the population is classified as nuclear family members (LHDA 1994, p.24). The Mohale catchment contains 71,473ha of grassland, 15,083ha of scrublands, 990ha of wetlands, 4,914ha of cultivation and 539ha of settlement (p.21).

In relation to these figures, for stage one villages about 112.96ha of land will be lost and this will have a significant impact on the livelihoods of the people.

Keeping livestock is one of the major activities that sustain life in the scheme area. According to the Environmental Impact Assessment report phase1B (1997, p.21), the livestock herd size of the 75 percent of all households that keep cattle is 6.9 head. The report indicates that keeping livestock is intimately bound up with the lifestyle and culture of the community, and it provides the second largest household income after remittances. The executive summary report on Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho (2000, p.8), reveals that although the remote areas of Lesotho are the poorest in the country, they excel other areas in ownership of livestock and fields. Keeping Livestock is important for agricultural activities such as ploughing, sale of mohair, wool and meat products and for traditional payment of lobola.

Agricultural production also plays a critical and important role in the economy of the scheme area, despite the low levels of production of field crops such as; maize, wheat, peas, beans and oats. About 50 percent of households produce a variety of vegetables for income and family consumption.

Marijuana is also the most important cash crop grown by about 70 percent of all farmers in the area, even though it is illegal (LHWP Environmental Impact Assessment, Phase 1B, 1997, p.21). This was due to the remoteness of the scheme area, which posed difficulties for the law enforcement officers to access prior to the project. Thus the impact of resettlement on the farmers will affect this source of income which will be irreplaceable in host areas. For example, cultivation of marijuana will be almost impossible in less remote areas like the foothills and lowlands resettlement areas due to accessibility of the areas by police officers.

1.4 Phase 1B Project Impacts

The LHWP is massive and has resulted in extensive social and environmental impacts. According to the Environmental Impact Assessment Report (1997, p.10), the LHWP will bring a number of irreversible changes in the socio-economic fabric of affected communities. For instance the change from agricultural to a monetary economy due to loss of land will result in dependence on compensation. The project and related works have affected and disrupted the rural pattern of life and economic activities, and have thereby jeopardised the livelihoods of the affected people.

The project has resulted in a loss of arable land, houses and buildings, and has impeded access to social amenities and other villages while also disrupting social and economic support systems. However, the implementing body which is the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA), has a standing obligation that is stated in the LHDA Order (1986) Section 44 (2), and it states that:

“The Authority shall, ensure that as far as reasonably possible, the standard of living and the income of persons displaced by the construction of an approved scheme shall not be reduced from that which existed prior to displacement”.

The project has deprived many families of land, and pastures and displaced others, for example about 112.96ha of arable land for stage one resettlement will be below full supply level of the reservoir, (Resettlement and Development Action Plan 1997:13). As a result resettlement is mandatory for households whose houses and properties will be inundated, and recommended for those who will afterwards be too close to the dam. Mohale dam will displace over 2000 people before its scheduled completion in 2001. About 100 households from stage one resettlement will be moved as a result of construction impacts and imminent inundation.

In phase 1B, which is my case study, resettlement is scheduled in three stages; the pre-construction, post-construction and post-inundation resettlement. My study will focus on people who were involved in stage one pre-construction resettlement, which was in 1998. These households were moved to various areas of their preference in the highlands, foothills and lowlands of the country.

The following tabulated information indicates the number of villages and households involved in stage one (pre-construction) resettlement. By the time people were moved, the numbers had changed due to marriages and other reasons. Four villages will eventually be inundated and two seriously affected by construction work.

Table 1-1: Stage One Resettled Households and their Former Villages

Village	Household (1996)	Population/People (1996)
Maetsisa	32	151
Tsapane	26	151
Piti	6	55
'Mamokoluo	9	36
Ralifate	12	68
Lekhera	3	21
Total	88	482

Source: Resettlement and Development Study Draft Final Report; Social Impact Assessment and People's Involvement Programme 1996.

1.5 Focus of the Study

Among those who moved were the landless, aged, disabled and infirm, women and other groups. Resettlement affects these groups differently. For example, the options of the landless and aged may become limited because of disrupted support systems and this may result in a vicious spiral of dependency on the project or families.

Nevertheless, a key principle at the centre of the LHWP obligation, is that communities affected by the project should not be left worse off than they

were before the implementation of the project, (The Lesotho Review of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, 2000, p.3).

However, the ability of vulnerable groups to readjust in new areas is highly questionable, and has inspired this study. Rubin et al (1968) show that the weaknesses and strengths of the affected people should always be considered in the planning process, but this is seldom done. There is the same concern pertaining to the LHDA Compensation Policy (1997), considering that there are no specific readjustment programmes to address the predicament of vulnerable groups.

Most literature associate vulnerable groups with the following groups of people: women, children, aged, disabled, unemployed and the landless. For the purpose of the study, vulnerable groups will refer to the unemployable aged and disabled (people who are unable to be employed because of their old age, health and impairment of any nature), and the landless (those who had no land to start with). In the resettlement context these are the people whose long-term welfare is not considered. De Wet (1995, p.2) confirms that vulnerable groups suffer serious impacts as a result of involuntary resettlement, as there are no obligatory welfare measures developed for their specific needs, because they have no legal ownership to compensatory assets.

The study focuses on the ineligible (landless) that depended on the natural resource base and social and economic support that may have existed in the scheme area before the implementation of the project. It also focuses on the unemployable aged and disabled people, whose coping capability in new areas is questionable. The study looks at how these groups are exposed to secondary impacts of resettlement and compensation policies, and endeavours to determine their ability to adjust in new areas.

Coelho et al, (1980, p.468), emphasise the plight of the vulnerable groups by stressing that in sociological terms, relocation affects familial patterns, role relationships and inherent responsibilities, forms of social control, subsistence patterns and organisational structures.

It is therefore imperative to highlight the importance of resettlement programmes that have measures that will redress the non-quantifiable social and economic costs that usually impact on the lives of the ineligible and vulnerable. Cernea (1993, p.22) maintains this by stressing that a range of development options must be built into a full resettlement plan. He supports this by revealing the stance of the World Bank as follows:

“The key characteristics of the Bank’s policy is a shift from a welfare-like approach, limited mainly to cash compensation, to a developmental-oriented, integrated approach that can help settlers rebuild a self-sustaining base and habitat” (p.22).

The World Bank resettlement policy is based on lessons learned from many relocation experiences and from sociological and anthropological research on resettlement. It states that when relocation is unavoidable, efforts should be made to minimise its negative impact and to ensure that those relocated are assisted to at least restore their former living standards and earning capacity, and if possible to improve them (p.21).

In view of the above insight it is my assumption that the LHWP, like many other projects is finding it difficult to live up to its promises and obligations. In the meanwhile the plight of vulnerable groups remains unchecked. Accordingly, the topic of the study reads thus: “Resettlement and Poverty: The Plight of Vulnerable Groups Affected by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project; Case Study of Phase 1B Communities”. The coverage includes about 100 households that were involved in the stage one (pre-construction) resettlement. A sample of 31 representatives from the categories that constitute the vulnerable groups were selected for the study.

1.5.1 The Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to explore the impacts of resettlement on vulnerable groups, and highlight them for policy considerations in order to avoid impoverishment of these groups.

Thus the pertinent objectives with respect to this aim are as follows:

- First, to determine the impact of resettlement on vulnerable groups.
- Second, to establish the implications of the impact of resettlement on their livelihoods.

Accordingly, the overarching assumptions for the study include the ideas that vulnerable groups are not given adequate attention and options to safeguard them against impoverishment. Again, the disruption of support systems, lack of capacity to adjust in new areas due to their vulnerability, as well as lack of specific measures to address their problem, compounds their plight.

1.5.2 Statement of the Problem

The vulnerable groups (for instance the unemployable aged and disabled, landless and children who were not in school such as the herdboys) are often not ready and equipped to start a new life, and will find it hard to adjust in host areas different to their local areas. The impact of resettlement on these groups becomes greater when there are no specific sustainable programmes, and re-establishment measures that are inclusive.

It is therefore imperative to consider the following caution:

“Focusing on the resettlers’ loss of productive potential covers more than simply their lost material assets; full restitution for losses inflicted by the project depends on the ability to provide the affected population with new development opportunities”, (Cernea et al 1993, p.46).

The creation of an environment in which people can sustain their social and economic support systems, and in which they continue to have choices and opportunities for improving and sustaining their lives in the host areas are matters of prime importance. All these issues will be explored in this study.

It is apparent that deprivation of access to resources, opportunities and options that sustained livelihoods of vulnerable people are problems that require attention. A lack of specific policy and programmes for vulnerable groups is also a matter of concern. Issues of eligibility and disruption of economic and social support systems impact directly on these groups' ability to adjust in new areas. Thus these are matters of interest to the researcher.

The study will therefore explore the impact of resettlement on vulnerable groups. It will explore possible relationship between poverty and resettlement based on issues of support systems, earning capacity and access to opportunities that sustain their lives.

Accordingly, the study will attempt to provide answers to the following questions: "How is resettlement impacting on the lives of vulnerable groups", and "does resettlement exposes them to a life of poverty?". In order to create an insight into these questions it is essential to highlight and discuss their conceptualisation to provide context to the study.

1.6 Conceptualisation of the Problem

The LHWP has impacted in many ways on the lives of the people who live(d) in the scheme area. This is at village, household and individual level. The impact vary in its degree of severity according to the ability of those affected to readjust to new ways and patterns of living necessitated by involuntary resettlement.

In the reviewed literature, different authors conceptualise involuntary movement of the people from one place to another differently based on socio-economic, geographic and political factors pertaining to the reasons and extent of the move or the experiences of researchers. The concepts: resettlement, displacement, relocation, and uprooting are often used to refer to this movement.

According to the political experiences in South Africa that resulted in forced removals of the black people, this movement is explained in terms of political policies and referred to as follows:

“Relocation means a political policy of disorganisation of the dominated classes in South Africa” (SA Institute of Race Relations 1981 p.3).

On the other hand, Coelho and Ahmed (1980), explain involuntary movement as the uprooting of people from their familiar local environment, Whereas, in the LHWP experience, relocation and resettlement are conceptualised in terms of spatial distance from the local scheme area to host areas. Accordingly, relocation refers to the movement within the scheme area, while movement to a host area outside the scheme area is referred to as resettlement. Moreover, in many cases movement that is caused by natural disasters and wars is often associated with the concept of displacement.

In view of different definitions of these concepts in explaining involuntary movement of the people, and the socio-economic and political factors that influence the difference, the concept resettlement will be used interchangeably with other concepts. Thus to show that it is an economic, social and political problem, this concept will bear the following meaning:

“The socio-economic process that involves involuntary movement of people from their familiar environment to a new one due to economic and political decisions by the government”(Own definition).

1.6.1 Vulnerability of Other Segments of Affected Population

The effects of resettlement on the affected people are compounded by its inherent dimensions, such as its permanence, enforcement and disorganisation. Among those whose quality of life is at risk of deterioration due to resettlement are the vulnerable groups. Cernea and Guggenheim (1993, p.50), point out that vulnerable groups at particular risk are indigenous people, the landless, and semi-landless and female-headed households who, though displaced, may not be protected through land compensation provisions.

They add that:

“Groups not holding significant assets, such as the rural landless or sharecroppers are in many countries not entitled to compensation for land, even though they may make up the population most severely affected by displacement”(p.50).

In addition, Parnwell (1993, p.41-42) points out that the relative financial and political weakness of scattered communities leave them powerless to resist the relentless forces of capitalism and development. The politically and economically weak are also socially disadvantaged. They are the vulnerable groups who lack resources, and lack capacity to organise themselves to influence changes in their lives. Thus the study is geared towards exploring the impact of resettlement on vulnerable groups in relation to the risk of exposure to impoverishment.

Some authors refer to the aged, disabled and infirm as vulnerable groups. These groups constitute part of the resettlement population that has always depended on extended family support (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981).

Evidently, the concept “vulnerable” is defined differently based on different orientations and contexts. Socio-economic, political, demographic issues (for instance, age, gender, degree of deprivation, position in society and so on) characterise vulnerability. These aspects increase a proneness to poverty and other social ills, and heighten the inability to influence the environment for the betterment of lives and attainment of human development.

According to the Resettlement Action Plan, Final report (1999) of the Ministry of Works and Transport in Nepal, vulnerable groups are those social categories whose livelihoods may be particularly vulnerable to disturbances created by the project. These groups may include tribal groups, landless persons who rely on access to local agricultural work and other support systems built up around the agricultural resource base.

The report on the "Pathway out of poverty: Action Plan for Lesotho" (1996), indicates that rural households bear the brunt of worse forms of poverty and the households headed by old people, or headed by women are more vulnerable and poor. The landless people and those who depended on the free natural resources also suffer deprivation and destitution if they lose control of and access to these resources.

To highlight the issue of vulnerability of poor households in Lesotho, the report on Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho (2000, p.4) reveals that the official safety net projects or welfare efforts have not compensated for the failure of the market-driven economy of the country to reach the most vulnerable people. Moreover, the report states that although there are NGOs and other government partnerships that work with the poor, their efforts are "woefully inadequate".

Thus, based on the above general insight pertaining to the poor and vulnerable, for the purpose of the study, the concept vulnerable groups will refer to the following:

- A special category of individuals who do not hold legal title to land, but were in many cases involved in sharecropping and other land-based activities, and whose social and economic activities are therefore affected.
- The unemployable aged and disabled group. They are relegated to vulnerable group in this context because there are no specific mitigation programmes for their special needs.

(a) Factors that enhance vulnerability

i) Ineligibility (According to the Compensation Policy 1997)

The vulnerable are often neglected in poverty eradication strategies and mostly by-passed by development initiatives. Similarly, the same trend is prevalent in resettlement programmes. The LHWP compensation policy and procedures (1997), indicates that only the households with primary rights (legal title to assets) are compensated, and mitigation measures provided for the eligible.

This is contrary to contemporary approaches to poverty eradication and sustainable development, which emphasise the need to enlarge those choices and opportunities which are basic for the people to achieve decent standards of living, to enhance capabilities and strengthen productive assets to ensure sustained livelihoods, (UNDP Poverty Report 1998).

The LHWP resettlement and compensation programmes do not offer enough choices to the affected people, especially the vulnerable groups. They are designed to protect the rights and entitlement of the people with tangible assets. Thus they have potential to promote social and economic exclusion and increase the risk of impoverishment to those groups who depended on others who had assets such as land. In many cases the vulnerable are unable to take advantage of other mitigation options because of their lack of resources and assets. As a result, they become even more vulnerable.

According to the Resettlement and Development Action Plan (1997, P.1), this state of affairs is contrary to the goal of the resettlement programme, which states:

“The standard of living of all people affected by the implementation of phase1B should not be compromised and where possible improved”.

ii) Low educational level and skills

The vulnerability of these groups is not only due to being ineligible for compensation, but is also based on the fact that the resettled people are characterised by low standards of education and life skills. Consequently, their chances to access meaningful economic opportunities are reduced. The Environmental Impact Assessment Report (1997, p.27) reveals that the educational attainment in the phase 1B population is generally low. About 45 percent of men and 13 percent of women in this area have no formal education.

To illustrate this point further, the information in the following table depicts the educational levels of the sampled population of 48 villages directly affected by phase 1B LHWP.

Table 1-2: Level of Education (Phase 1B Affected Villages), 1996

Education	Number	Percentage
None	1919	36.92
Standard 1-2	360	6.93
Standard 3-5	1060	20.40
Standard 6-7	1318	25.36
Form 1-3	314	6.04
Form 4-5	66	1.27
Police/military/prison	4	0.08
Vocational	8	0.15
College/university	5	0.10
Unknown	143	2.75
Total	5197	100.00

Source: Resettlement and Development Study Final Report 1996.

Note: Standard 1 to 7 refers to primary education and form 1 to form 5 refers to 5 years in high school.

1.6.2 Disruption of Community Life

LHWP is situated at the rural highlands of the country. These areas are to a high degree still characterised by tight kinship networks, which form a basis for social and economic support systems. Rural life patterns also contribute to the support network, in which members derive mutual benefit, for example, the altruistic arrangements such as sharecropping and work parties.

To elaborate on this, Ferguson et al (1999) contend that interdependence, prevalence and overlapping nature of social networks such as the density of acquaintanceship and intergenerational ties are important systemic dimensions of community social organisation. These support networks are part of the coping mechanisms that sustain the livelihoods of other people in the scheme area.

The LHWP resettlement and development study final report for phase 1B (1997, p.6) provides evidence on this, by stating that:

“There are families with no fields of their own or with small land holdings, who survive largely by working on the land of relatives and neighbours, which provide them with an income sufficient to live on”.

In support of this, the report on Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho (2000, p.11) shows that family and community are major assets in helping to sustain the lives of the vulnerable poor. It argues that “The truly poor are kept alive not only by their meagre returns from subsistence agriculture, but by support of the not quite so poor”. It points out that every family above the subsistence line is helping other families, including friends, relatives and neighbours. Almost 20 percent of households report receiving gifts, usually from a relative.

The Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) Newsletter (2000) also reveals that there is a degree of interdependence in the affected villages. Examples of this are sharecropping and the sharing of food and fuel, but this is not given consideration in the LHDA resettlement package, (p.9). This means that there

are no compensation or mitigation measures to re-build these support system mechanisms.

Thus it is highly possible that the disruption of this support system may enhance the vulnerability of the people and exacerbate the risk of poverty. The World Bank (1994) substantiates this possibility by indicating that, "The disintegration of social support networks has far reaching consequences, it compounds individual losses with a loss of social capital".

The report also emphasises that it is hard to rebuild the dismantled patterns of social organisation, which assist to mobilise people for actions of common interests to meet pressing needs. Consequently, the resettlement process compels vulnerable groups to find new ways and make new life arrangements and to find new economic and social bases to sustain their lives. It is highly possible that they may not be able to adapt to new life given their vulnerability. For instance, their status as not being eligible for compensation, their low level of education and their disrupted support system may have a negative impact on their choices and opportunities to improve their lives. Hence there is a possibility of deterioration in their lives, and a creation of new pockets of poverty for these groups of people.

Given the vulnerability of these groups and the different dimensions of resettlement, such as its permanence and disorganisation of community-organised strength, the long-term welfare of these people is questionable. Also, the heightened potential to subject the landless to poverty due to ineligibility to compensation and the possible exclusion from the mainstream economic activities, is a matter of concern.

In view of all these issues, it is a matter of interest to me to find out how vulnerable groups sustain their livelihoods in new areas and how they can be safeguarded from poverty, social and economic exclusion and a life of dependency.

1.6.3 Poverty in the Lesotho Context

According to the reviewed literature, the LHWP will result in depriving the affected people of their natural resource base, and compromising their efforts to maintain food security as well as depriving them of assets which used to sustain their livelihoods.

Many reports indicate that poverty in Lesotho is rife in the rural areas especially in the Senqu valley and mountains, which happen to accommodate the water scheme. Chakela (1999, p.8) substantiates this by pointing out that poverty bites deepest in the rural areas where social services are inadequate and alternatives for livelihoods are fewest (see map one in appendix A). He states that absolute poverty characterises members of society who live from hand to mouth and who normally have no idea where the next meal is coming from.

Accordingly, the Basotho people perceive poverty as lacking “food and clothing”, they also identify the poor as the most destitute and marginalised. To them poverty also means lack of employment (income), livestock and agricultural assets, poor mental or physical health, and insecure shelter. In the same vein, The Lesotho Poverty Assessment report (1995) indicates that in predominantly rural economies such as Lesotho’s, the natural resource base is a key indicator of poverty (p.11).

To expand on the poverty situation in Lesotho, Hoover (2001) reveals that Lesotho is not only one of the smallest countries in Southern Africa but also the poorest. It is landlocked by South Africa, its geographic position, relative dearth of natural resources and its long history as a South African labour reserve makes it almost completely economically dependent on South Africa (p.1).

He shows that the country has one of the highest income disparities in the world, which means the majority of the 2.1 million people subsist on far less than the GDP per capita of \$550 per year. The increases in the rate of

retrenchments in the South African mines has also put pressure on the rate of employment in the country, and has created destitution in many families that used to rely on the remittances from the mines.

Over 80 percent of Basotho households are rural, and about 54 percent of rural households are poor compared with a Maseru (the capital city) average of 28 percent and the average of 27 percent in other urban areas, (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1999). The report on Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho (2000) also reveals that in rural and peri-urban areas, assets (such as houses, fields, trees, livestock, movable assets and employable members in the family) as well as strong social networks and access to informal sector activities are all significant in the lives of poor households.

In view of the above evidence, it is apparent that political, economic, social and geographic conditions are inherent in explaining the poverty situation in Lesotho. Thus, in this context, poverty will refer to the breakdown of social relationships, and to social, economic and political disempowerment and marginalisation of the people due to displacement leading to inability to satisfy their needs.

1.6.4 Inaccessibility / Inadequacy of Resources and Mitigation Measures

The LHWP provides a range of compensation and mitigation measures to restore the livelihoods of the affected people to their pre-project status. These are stipulated in the compensation policy 1997, which covers compensation for buildings and houses, trees, gardens and communal assets such as grazing land, and other rural development mitigation measures.

However, some of the measures are not accessible to ineligible but affected people (for example, training in life skills, rural development initiatives and compensation for natural resources are being delayed and are therefore presently non-existent), whereas other measures are problematic and do not serve as long-term and sustainable means.

For example, the monetary compensation is a controversial measure, especially when there are no other safety net programmes for the vulnerable. That is, monetary compensation without any provisions to assist the poor and to build their capacity to be self-reliant is meaningless.

The report on the World Commission on Dams (2000) shows that cash compensation is a principal vehicle for delivering resettlement benefits, but it has often been delayed, and even when paid on time, has usually failed to replace lost livelihoods. In support of this, other experiences in the Sri Sailam project in India and the Kao Laem in Thailand show that there has been inadequate compensation, unsuitable mitigation, and lack of recourse for those most affected (World Commission on Dams, 2000).

Cernea (1993, p.31) also supports this by revealing that:

“Anthropologist and sociological field research have repeatedly found that leaving those displaced at the mercy of market forces, is a recipe for rapidly melting away their cash compensation and making them homeless and landless”.

The other view is that the ineligible people derive no share in the benefits of compensation of arable land that they once used or worked on for income and food security. Moreover, the project benefits, such as employment, is a short-term measure that lasts during the construction period, therefore it does not provide a sustainable income base. Similarly, the agricultural development programmes, which are currently implemented by the LHWP for the re-establishment purposes, can only be utilised fully by people who have access to land.

The possible effect of this situation is the potential to create a sense of dependency among vulnerable groups. For example, the aged and disabled who could still work in the fields, will now depend entirely on members of their family or neighbours who may also find it difficult to sustain their lives through the compensation system. Similarly, women who previously worked the land,

will now be dependent on their husbands for food security and domestic keeping, because men are the recipients and managers of compensation.

The political, social and economic aspects of the problem of resettlement also involve the approach or model of resettlement that is used to re-establish the disrupted lives as this points to policy decisions undertaken. Thus these are the dimensions of the problem, which the study intends to unravel.

1.6.5 Lack of Developmental Approach to Resettlement

Sen (in Van de Walle D. and Nead K. 1996) highlights the fact that poverty should be seen as the lack of real opportunities to have minimally adequate lives rather than as low income exclusively (p.17). This shows that poverty is not just lack of income. A family may have income such as monetary compensation, but may nonetheless lack the important aspect of opportunities and access to income by all members.

To elaborate on this, he adds that the opportunity of converting personal incomes into capabilities to function in society depends on a variety of personal circumstances including age, gender, disabilities and so on. Social surroundings such as physical and social environment and others are also determinants.

Kankwenda et al (2000, p.11) share the same idea that poverty in Africa is more than low income, it is the much broader problem of chronic human deprivation, both economic and social, that affects the majority of African people. Other authors stress the income, basic needs and capability perspective to emphasise the dimensional components of poverty (see Taylor,V. and Primo, N, 1999).

Thus there is a need for a more comprehensive developmental approach to resettlement that is underpinned by human development principles. The emphasis should be on developing human capabilities, and promoting access to productive and income-earning opportunities for all groups in the society.

This is further supported by Schuh, G.E (in Cernea and Guggenheim 1993), when he stresses that resettlement must be transformed from an exercise in compensation to one of development (p.55). Along the same lines, Cernea (1990, p. 59) further emphasises the importance of establishing new bases for development from which those relocated can earn their living. Coupled with this, he argues the importance of investing in human capital in development and states:

“A major share of the investment made under the auspices of the new project should be in human capital and not physical capital” (p.60).

He also reveals that strengthening and sustaining the base of human capital is critical to creating sustainable development process per se, without investing to this end, there may be no development process to sustain (p.60).

The same view is expressed by the report on "The Pathway out of Poverty: Action Plan for Lesotho" (1996), which states that; 'human capital is almost by definition, the only capital the poor possess. In the long run, investing in human capital is the only way to eradicate poverty in Lesotho' (p.33).

Thus a resettlement programme based on a compensation and welfare approach increases the possibility of the risk of impoverishment. For it to succeed it has to be developmental with emphasis on developing people's productive potential, skills and opportunities to earn a living.

1.7 The Significance of the Study

The economic growth pursuits and related social costs such as poverty have inspired a global concern and commitment to eradicating poverty. This was articulated at The World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen March 1995 (Kakwenda et al 2000). The Human Development Report of UNDP, 1998 indicates that effective poverty eradication should strengthen the capabilities of the poor to enable them to seize opportunities for escape.

It is essential to determine if there are loopholes or bottlenecks inherent in measures planned to address the impacts resulting from economic projects. For example, the unaccounted secondary impacts of resettlement on vulnerable people, such as the landless people who may be deprived of the opportunity to do sharecropping, may have serious implications for the country's poverty situation. Thus it is imperative to highlight the need for resettlement plans and policies that will incorporate survival needs of vulnerable groups and the need to influence the silent national policies and strategies to be responsive to their plight.

The vulnerable groups are the people rendered powerless by virtue of their status in the community. They lack power to influence changes in their social milieu, they are politically voiceless and economically lacking. They are the people asked to sacrifice their local environment for the benefit of the nation. Cernea (1993, p.4) refers to these people as "people compelled to give right of way".

It is therefore essential to highlight their situation for policy purposes, because of the possibility of putting them at risk of a lifetime of poverty. It is imperative to study and illuminate their situation in a bid to influence policies at national level and to encourage macro-economic planning to incorporate special programmes for the vulnerable people affected by economic growth projects.

Cernea (1993, p.15) stresses that neither the government, nor private business should use political advantage for imposing part of the economic costs on those whose social existence is to be disrupted through displacement in any case.

The rationale for this study is based on the fact that there is little written information on the plight of the vulnerable groups in involuntary resettlement. In the LHWP, previous studies have not focused on the effects of resettlement and compensation for these groups. Thus the focus of inquiry in this study will be based on the experiences of this neglected group of people.

The rationale for this focus is due to the realisation that processes and legal implications inherent in compensation and resettlement plans and policies for involuntary resettlement pose a threat to the global and national poverty eradication strategies. Poverty eradication strategies should encompass the following; capacity building, strengthening of assets, expanding opportunities and choices of the people (Human Poverty Report 1998).

In view of this, it is highly important to establish how resettlement plans and policies will bolster the capacity of the vulnerable, how their assets will be strengthened, and their opportunities and choices expanded, considering that the policy as it stands addresses only the people with tangible assets.

The findings of the study are intended to build on the existing knowledge of economic development and related social costs based on the impact of resettlement of vulnerable groups. It will also add to the existing data of monitoring and evaluation study currently collected, which focuses on the entire affected community and not on specific groups. In addition, the LHWP case study will provide a regional context to the findings, as the project is one of the largest in Southern Africa.

The study is designed in such a way that it departs from approaches used in previous studies, which focused on the household level, and depended on the household head's responses to represent members of the family. The approach used in these studies did not single out the vulnerable groups as units of analysis. By contrast, this study focuses on individuals constituting the vulnerable groups.

As a result, stratified sampling was employed to select these individuals for in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions. This approach ensures exclusive representation of vulnerable groups, as opposed to generalising their problems at a household level. It also brings to the fore specific needs and experiences of these groups relating to implications of resettlement on their lives.

It is largely understood that resettlement affects individuals and the communities differently as the community is not a homogeneous entity. De Wet (1995, p.2) indicates this by stating that involuntary resettlement programmes are indiscriminate (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993:3), where the entire communities are involved regardless of differences in their capacity to re-establish themselves in the new situation (p.2).

My experience in working in the project areas, especially in phase 1B area, made me realise the importance and degree of interdependence among these communities. Local mutual contracts and work parties enabled those who did not have assets such as land or livestock sustain their lives. I also realised that with resettlement, there is a potential to deprive the vulnerable groups this opportunity and to limit their survival options.

I am inspired to write this thesis by the concern that despite the incessant efforts at national level to eradicate poverty, the impacts of resettlement on the vulnerable may compound the risk of poverty. Lack of specific programmes to redress the shortfalls on compensation policy and resettlement plan compromises the efforts and strategies of poverty eradication.

In view of all these, the study enables the vulnerable to express their opinion on resettlement and poverty, highlighting problems pertaining to their adjustment in new areas.

2 METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

2.1 Units of Analysis

Babbie (1989, P.83), states that units of analysis are those units or phenomena we observe and describe in order to create summary descriptions of all such units and to explain differences among them. Accordingly the units of analysis for this study were individuals who constitute vulnerable groups.

The focus was on all people who are vulnerable and the criteria in this case were as follows:

- All the people who never had land (the landless),
- All the unemployable aged and disabled persons.

Information was also gathered from the three representatives of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) who have been actively involved in the phase 1B area for a long time doing advocacy work. These are as follows; the Highlands Church Solidarity Action Group, the Transformation Resource Centre and the Lesotho Council of Non-governmental Organisations.

The reason for this selection is because although there are now other NGOs in the phase 1B area, only these three have been active in this area since the beginning of the project. The LHWP representatives were also interviewed, and the interviewees were drawn from the sections responsible for compensation and resettlement. Their views are essential, as the planning and implementation of social programmes depend on them.

2.2 Sampling

Stratified sampling was employed to select the population of the study, which involved the landless, and the unemployable aged and disabled persons. This sampling technique was used to select respondents for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

Babbie (1989, P.188), points out that stratified sampling involves a selection of appropriate numbers of elements, which are drawn from homogeneous subsets of the population. Accordingly, this technique was appropriate in selecting subsets that make up the population of vulnerable groups. Thus respondents were stratified based on aspects of their vulnerability.

Due to small sample coverage and the fact that there are not many people who are disabled or aged, other sampling techniques such as random sampling were not appropriate.

2.3 Method of Collecting Data

In-depth interviews were used to collect data from the sample group. This method enabled detailed interviews based on open-ended questions to facilitate detailed discussion. Focus group discussions were also utilised to supplement information collected from the interviews. Focus groups provided a forum for shared experiences of vulnerable groups. This was contrary to the approach of previous studies such as the recent monitoring and evaluation study (1999-2000) in the LHWP, which involved all the community, and did not specifically single out the landless, unemployable aged and disabled people.

The nature of this study and the small coverage, as well as time and resource constraints, posed limitations in the use of other appropriate methods, such as field research and participatory methods.

2.4 Method of Analysing Data

Story telling and summations are developed to analyse and present the findings, these enable adequate capturing of respondents' views from in-depth interviews.

Since the study is qualitative, the analysis involved coding of raw data in accordance with points of interest, ideas and then developed into categories that formed general ideas and themes. Babbie (1989, p.98), maintains that the result of one's analysis feed back into initial interests, ideas and theories.

2.5 Coverage of Study Population

The coverage of the study was based on about 100 households who were involved in stage one resettlement that took place early in 1998. A total of 31 respondents was selected, 11 of which constitute the landless (two were semi-landless and just given small portions of land by their family prior to the move to qualify for compensation), and 10 respondents were drawn from the unemployable aged, while the other 10 were the disabled.

These respondents were drawn from the following host areas: Ha koporale, Ha T'siu, and Mahooaneng in the highlands (within the scheme area); The others were from Ha Makotoko, Nazareth, Ha Seoehlana and Ha Nkhema in the foothills (outside the scheme area, peri-urban); as well as from Ha Matala in the urban lowlands (outside the scheme area).

A total of 31 out of approximately 35 people who make up this group was covered and this is an optimum representation, given the size of the sample and limited number of the vulnerable group amongst the population study of about 100 households.

Although all the above mentioned areas in host areas were reached, it was a cumbersome endeavour to find all the respondents as the villages are scattered. However, It was imperative to identify these groups because their situation has not been studied and given adequate attention as confirmed by the report of the World Commission on Dams (2000).

2.6 Methodology

The study utilised in-depth interviews and focus group discussions for a more detailed collection of data, and the respondents were selected using stratified sampling based on their vulnerability. Focus group discussions were conducted in the foothills and highlands at Ha Makotoko and Ha Koporale respectively, and the size of the groups ranged from six to eight members. In-depth interviews were used to gather information from the vulnerable groups and from some representatives of LHDA and NGOs. Most of the representatives however, completed the questionnaire schedule that was hand delivered to them.

Additional data came from reviewed literature related to resettlement, poverty and development internationally and nationally. This provided a theoretical base of these related concepts of the study. The experience gained from working in the scheme area and data collected from the monitoring and evaluation study (Participatory Evaluation and Monitoring Study, 1999-2001), which I was involved in and other baseline studies of the project, provided insight into the life situation of the affected people. These also aroused a concern regarding the plight of vulnerable groups because it became clear from these studies that they have not received adequate attention. Thus it encouraged a departure from the usual approach of a general selection to a more specific selection of the vulnerable groups.

The report of the World Commission on Dams highlights this by stressing the limitations in defining the affected, and that the landless, indigenous people and downstream communities usually fall under the categories that are excluded from the compensation measures (2000, p.105).

2.7 Ethical Appraisal

The researcher is familiar with the people who were studied as well as local institutional arrangements in these areas. As a result arrangements for logistics did not pose problems.

mentioned their weariness and reluctance to discuss their lives as nothing is done to effect change in their lives.

3 PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is aimed at presenting the data after organising, coding and categorising it in accordance with the ideas and themes related to the main concepts regarding the research questions. The next chapter will provide a conceptual framework for resettlement in a bid to complement the detailed analysis and discussion of the findings in chapter five.

3.2 Disruption of Support Systems

It was indicated earlier that the approach employed to explain involuntary movement in the LHWP context denotes a spatial dimension indicating movement of people from the scheme area (as resettlement) and movement within the scheme area (as relocation). This implied that the impact of moving within a familiar environment might bear fewer effects than the impact of moving away from the scheme area. This is also evident in the way the two cases are treated in the LHDA compensation policy¹ (1997).

The findings of the study suggest that there was great interdependence between the community members in their former areas. It suggests high degree of social and economic support systems, which sustained the lives of vulnerable people through neighbourhood and familial mutual help. The reviewed literature also indicated this fact, and the findings provide evidence that this interdependence was one mechanism that provided food security and sources of income.

¹ Those who relocated were entitled to R6000.00 disturbance allowance, while those who resettled received R12000.00__LHDA compensation policy 1997.

The responses of all the groups indicated that social and economic support systems were more important to the lives of the vulnerable groups than to the rest of the population. They all confirm that there have been major changes in these socially and economically organised sources of survival measures since they moved.

The tabulated responses depict various measures of support systems for food security, which sustained their lives, and it also indicates the sources of the support.

Table 3-1: Social Support System for Food Security

Responses	Unemployable Sick		Unemployable Old		Landless	
	N	F	N	F	N	F
Farm work (for food)	3	-	6	-	6	1
Share-cropping	3	4	3	-	7	3
Food	5	3	5	1	7	6
Domestic work	1	-	5	1	2	-
Mutual help	-	-	1	-	5	-
Live-in family land	-	-	-	-	-	2

Key: N – Neighbours; F – Family.

Table 3-1 shows that social support systems played a major role in helping vulnerable groups to secure food. Neighbours provided opportunities for them to sharecrop, work in the fields and homes as well as enabling exchange of food (for instance borrowing and lending one another maize or wheat grain in order to have food in the family). The family also supported them on a limited scale, but it was the neighbours' support, which featured most.

The neighbours created opportunities by making their land available to others in a bid to share the responsibilities of producing food, for example, those who had cattle would use them in cultivating the land of those who had land but had no money or cattle to cultivate it. This guaranteed their share in the produce.

On the other hand others would provide their labour during harvest time to be paid with the grain that they harvested. In the case of the family, married couples who still lived with their families depended on the land produce of their families, and whatever form of domestic work they did in their parents' home, is more of an obligation than a service to be paid as labour. This shows that there were more opportunities with neighbours for domestic work.

Concerning the economic support system, Table 3-2 depicts support system measures and sources of income security for the vulnerable groups.

Table 3-2: Economic Support System for Income Security

Responses	Unemployable Sick		Unemployable Old		Landless	
	N	F	N	F	N	F
Money	6	-	5	2	8	1
Stokvels	5	-	4	-	4	-
Domestic work	3	-	5	-	-	-
Dagga selling	-	1	4	-	4	-
Beer selling	3	1	3	-	3	-
Burial Society	4	-	2	-	3	-
Sewing	-	-	1	-	1	-
Animal Produce sales	-	-	1	-	2	-
Farm work (for income)	-	-	-	-	1	-
Vegetable selling	-	-	1	-	-	-

Key: N – Neighbours; F – Family

Table 3-2 shows that exchange of money, stokvels, domestic work and burial societies were indicated as measures of economic support systems that enable income security. Dagga and beer selling as well as other measures also featured. Again the findings suggest that neighbours' support for these activities was significantly larger than that of the family.

The findings from Table 3-1 and Table 3-2 on the support system suggest a high degree of mutual support and interdependence from neighbours and the family. Both seem to have played a major role in sustaining lives of vulnerable people.

Exchange of food and lending and borrowing of food and money were indicated as practices that were common in assisting one another in time of need. Hence food and income security resulted from this practice. Sharecropping contracts and piece jobs were mentioned as major activities, which involved a range of benefits such as receiving grain or dagga for food and income security. For instance, the unemployable sick indicated that sharecropping and an exchange of food provided a high degree of mutual gain, many commented that they made their fields available to those who had no land. They also added that exchange of food was common when they were in time of need.

Ten out of the eleven landless people who were interviewed indicated a dependence on sharecropping with neighbours. Seven out of eleven of these respondents indicated farm work as an activity that enabled them to get food from working in the fields of others. Regarding the exchange of food, seven out of eleven and six out of eleven respondents indicated that they exchanged food with neighbours and family respectively.

Farm work and exchange of food appear to have been an essential recourse in the scheme area. People who had land provided work for those who did not have land, and also for those who were willing to receive some grain or dagga in exchange for their labour. Seemingly this involved both the landless and landowners.

The unemployable old indicated farm work as a mutual gain mechanism that provided food security to sustain life. Fifty percent of the interviewees was involved in an exchange of food as mutual gain mechanism.

Equally important was domestic work, which also involved 50 percent of those interviewed.

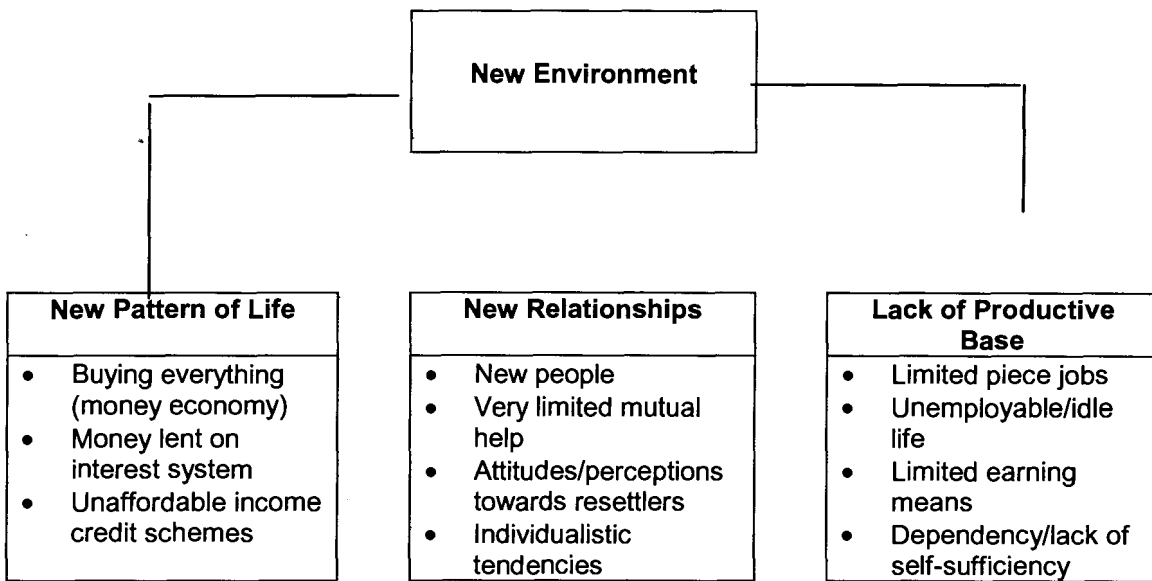
The income-generating activities for mutual gain involved burial societies, stokvels, dagga selling, exchange of money and other activities as illustrated in Table 3-2. The responses of the unemployable sick show that stokvels, exchanging money and burial societies were major support pillars for income security. Likewise, the responses of the unemployable old were also higher on stokvel, exchanging of money and dagga selling, but a greater number of them indicated domestic work (Table 3-2).

More interesting are the responses of the landless on the issue of income security, many indicated exchanging money (which did not have interest-generating basis), stokvels and dagga sales (from dagga earned from the work they did in the fields of others or through sharecropping).

Questions were also asked to establish the importance of support systems and the implications these had on their lives, the groups indicated that they were important to sustain their food and income security. They responded that this reduced the problem of hunger and enabled income to meet other needs such as, school fees, medical costs, groceries and made it easy to buy household utensils and other luxuries to improve their homes. Most importantly, their responses suggest assistance for the weak and mutual help in time of need. The latter included, borrowing and lending of money for school fees.

To establish the impact of resettlement on the lives of the vulnerable group, the study also explored the degree of disruption of the old environment to determine the extent to which support systems have been affected. Figure 3-1 illustrates the responses of the three groups on how the impact of resettlement on their familiar environment has resulted in new relations, patterns of life and limited opportunities, which are affecting support systems.

Figure 3-1: Impact of Resettlement on Support Systems



The responses in this figure suggest the impact of resettlement in relation to a change from their familiar to an unfamiliar environment, thus affecting support systems and organised community strength. This therefore suggests new patterns of life, new sets of relationships, limited opportunities and challenges that threaten their livelihoods.

The imminent life of idleness for many people who engaged in land activities is looming threatenly. The challenges of learning new activities and ways of living rather than the land-based activities will prove to be a hurdle to many people, especially those who are already too old to learn new tactics to sustain life in host areas. They were, for example, not used to buying everything, especially agricultural inputs, as their subsistence farming provided most of their food supplies and seeds.

Thus the life of idleness, commercialised agricultural production, and dependency on the project compensation, all seem difficult to adjust to. To elaborate on this they described it as follows: "Now we live like children waiting for handouts of compensation, if they delay we starve and when we are paid we use it for expensive inputs, food and other needs. Otherwise we

sit and do nothing and wait for this once in a year provision like small hungry birds".

The responses on the effect of disrupted support systems and the socio-economic implications of this on their lives, suggest that the majority of respondents are experiencing difficulties in their new lives due to social and economic challenges now that they have been deprived of their support systems. The following figure shows the general themes indicative of their ideas in this regard.

Figure 3-2: Effects of Disrupted Support System on Vulnerable Groups

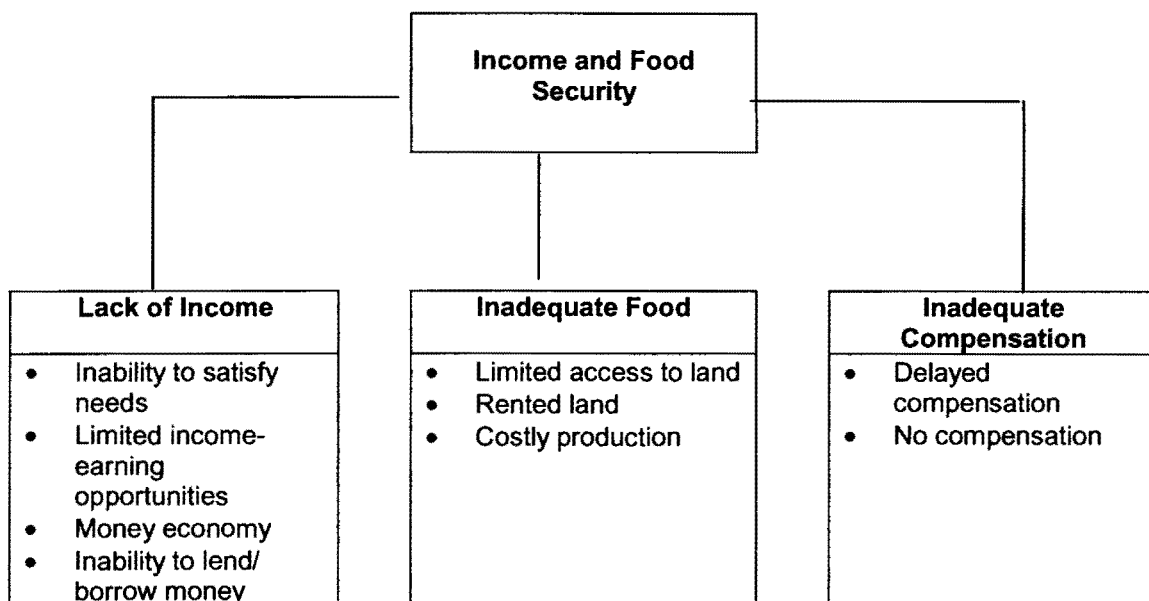
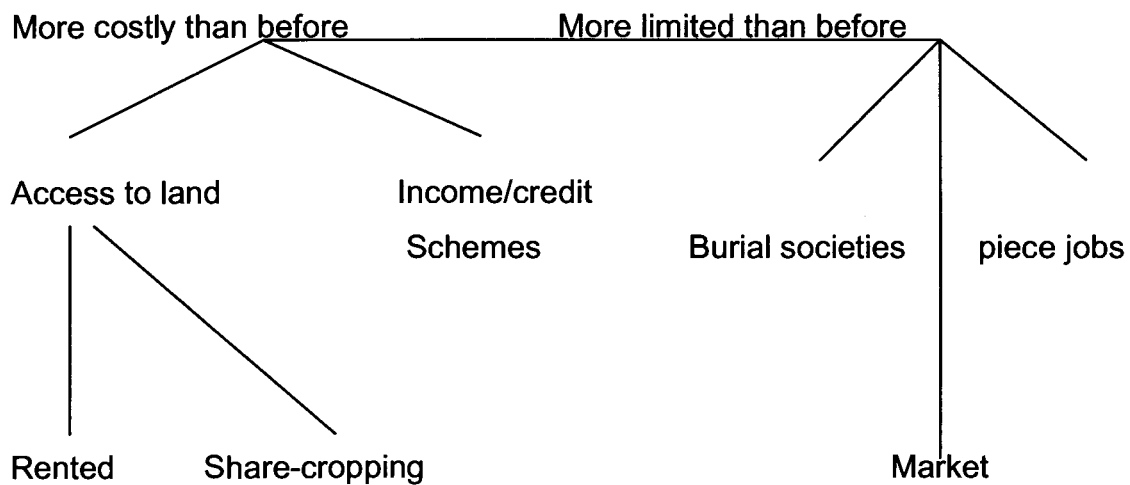


Figure 3-2 shows the effects of a disrupted support system and indicates that, the socio-economic implications of this point to the overwhelming lack of income and food security. This is brought about by the inadequate and often delayed compensation, as well as a lack of compensation for the ineligible people. Again this scenario is attributable to the Inability to meet needs because of affected opportunities to earn income or produce food due to cost implications.

Having established the effects of the disruption of the support system in their lives, it was also essential to explore whether a new support system is available and accessible in the host areas, and to establish the implications this has on the lives of vulnerable groups. The following figure illustrates the responses in this regard.

Figure 3-3: Availability of Support System in the Host Areas

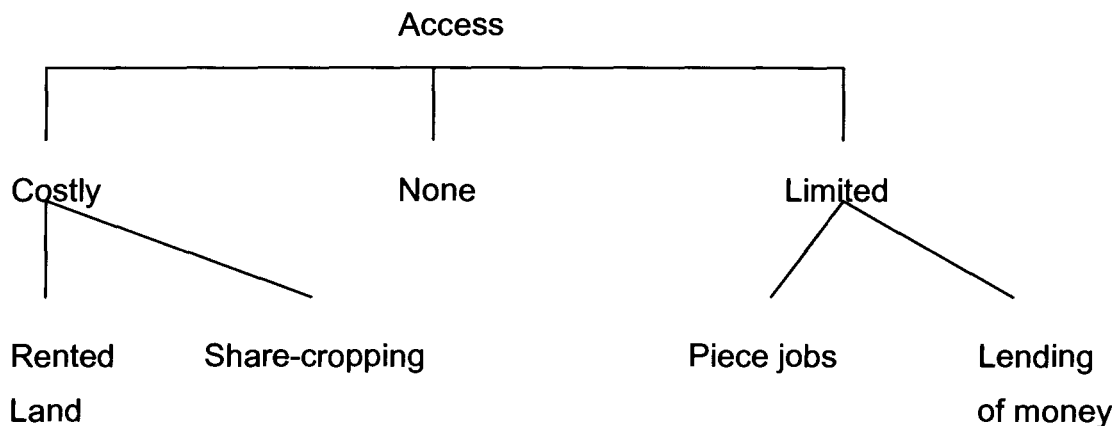


The people who have moved to the foothills mentioned availability of land through renting and sharecropping, but they indicated that this is costly, as production also involves expensive inputs. A large number of the unemployable old and infirm (especially in the foothills) are engaged in agricultural production, while those who had no land are struggling to meet the demands of the cost of production. This is because they do not receive any compensation that they can invest in agricultural production through renting land and sharecropping.

Although the respondents indicated that such support systems did exist, they stressed their inadequacy in helping to satisfy their needs. They stressed that these are either limited or unaffordable. On the issue of accessibility, they indicated that generally support systems were not available to them in host areas due to these factors.

Therefore, most of the respondents (23 out of 31) confirmed that they do not receive the support they used to in their former areas, while 8 out of 31 indicated access to these support systems. Figure 3-4 illustrates the extent to which they are accessible.

Figure 3-4: Access to Support Systems in Host Areas



According to the responses on the accessibility of support in host areas, there is a general concern that limited access to support systems in host areas has a negative impact on the lives of vulnerable groups. As mentioned earlier they indicated interdependency as a community, and this was essential in sustaining life in the former areas. Evidently, limited access and no access at all to support systems have grievous social and economic implications for their lives.

The costly means of production in some host areas², limited piece jobs and the unavailability of money to borrow in time of need, as well as costly income-generating or credit schemes were all mentioned. These were seen as contributing factors to the deterioration of the quality of life due to a lack of shared responsibility and resources as well as a lack of purchasing power.

² The host area of Ha Makotoko in the foothills appears to be the only area where respondents confirmed availability of land for renting and sharecropping.

3.3 Opportunities and Choices

To highlight the impact of resettlement on the lives of vulnerable groups, the study tried to establish their educational levels and life skills. The aim was to determine whether they have any skills and educational qualifications that can provide possible opportunities and choices for them to utilise in order to sustain the quality of their lives.

The findings show that among the unemployable sick a total number of five out of ten have had no schooling, while the other half have not gone past class five in primary school. On the issue of life skills, most of them are skilled in handicrafts, building and agricultural production. However, most of them mentioned that utilisation of these skills is not feasible due to poor health, a limited market and a lack of resources³. Accordingly, the opportunities that they have in life involve engaging in agricultural production with people who can make their land available. Apart from this they indicated that they have no opportunities to sustain the quality of their lives.

Almost similar responses were observed from the unemployable old, where the majority of six out of ten have not been in school and only four out of ten have gone through primary school up to class six. With regard to skills, the majority mentioned handicrafts, they also indicated skills in building and animal husbandry. They stressed that their opportunities in life are few, and their options are limited by other factors such as affordability, and accessibility of those opportunities. They indicated the following opportunities: agricultural production if land is available; employment of their children if they are able to find work; beer selling or investing their money in Malaene⁴ (a form of building property asset) if LHDA can give them lump sum compensation.

³ Access to natural resources such as important grass for mats, broom and other handicrafts is limited due to the impact of the dam on natural resources in their former and host areas.

⁴ Malaene are a block of rooms that are rented out to tenants.

The responses of the landless people show a slight difference in educational levels. The majority, eight out of eleven have gone through primary schooling and only three out of eleven have not been to school. Again only one respondent indicated secondary school qualifications. Their skills range from building, driving, radio repairs, small business and others, while others are unskilled.

With regard to life opportunities, they mentioned that they are relying on being employed, that they would engage in sharecropping if land can be found which is accessible and affordable to them, and that they would engage in small business activities when they have capital. They added that they would be willing to engage in opportunities such as, life skills training when it is offered by LHDA as promised in the policy.

The following tables (Table 3-3 and Table 3-4) illustrate the educational levels and life skills of vulnerable groups.

Table 3-3: Educational Level of Vulnerable Groups

Educational Level	Unemployable sick	Unemployable old	Landless	% for all Groups
None	5	7	3	41.3
Standard 1-4	3	2	3	25.8
Standard 5-7	2	2	4	25.8
Form 1-3	-	-	-	-
Form 4-5	-	-	1	3.0

Key: Standard 1 to 7 refers to primary school education
Form 1 to 5 refers to high school education

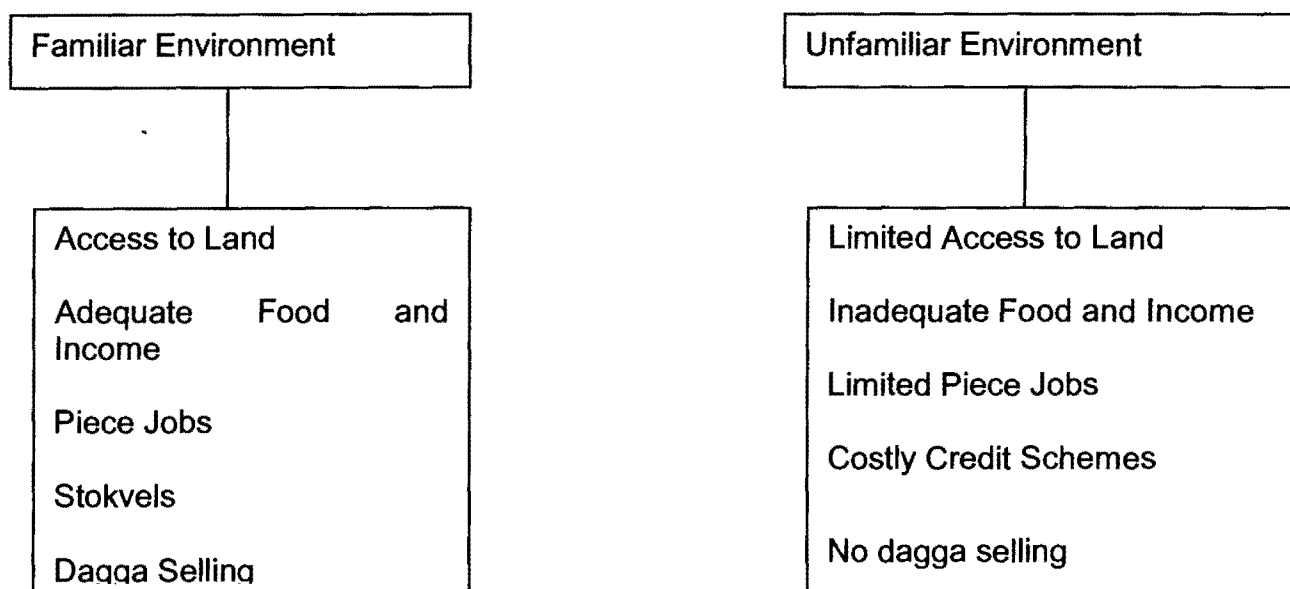
Table 3-4: Skills of Vulnerable Groups

Skills	Unemployable sick	Unemployable old	Landless	% for all groups
Handicraft	6	7	1	45
Building	2	1	2	16
Small business	-	-	2	6.0
Thatching	-	1	1	6.0
Poultry farming	-	-	1	3.2
Driving	-	-	1	3.2
Radio repairs	-	-	1	3.2
None	3	1	5	29
Sewing	1	1	-	6.0
Mechanics	-	1	-	3.2
Beer making	-	1	-	3.2
Carpentry	-	-	-	-
Painting & plastering	-	1	-	3.2
Animal husbandry	-	1	-	3.2
Agricultural production	1	-	1	6.0

From these tables it is obvious that there is a generally low standard of education among vulnerable groups. Even those who went to school did not go beyond primary level, except for one person. Moreover, their level of education only serves for functional literacy and does not enable them to access any meaningful economic opportunities. Likewise their skills were mostly related to land-based activities and appropriate for use in their former areas.

The study shows that the vulnerable groups had more opportunities to sustain life in their former areas than in host areas, the following figure depicts the comparison.

Figure 3-5: Comparison of Opportunities in Former and Host Areas



The above figure indicates opportunities that vulnerable people had to sustain their lives in a familiar environment. The move to an unfamiliar environment poses problems of new life patterns, new challenges and an inability to adapt to the challenges. The opportunities that they also mentioned involve free access to natural resources such as water, edible wild plants and resources that they used to make handicrafts and build their houses. They stressed that these were free and in abundance as compared to limited access in host areas.

3.4 Measures for Sustaining Livelihoods

The study explored the life situation of vulnerable groups, and the majority of responses (27 out of 31) stressed that their lives have deteriorated. They indicated a lack of food and income as major difficulties they face. They related this to the delayed compensation for those who receive it (that is those who are getting land compensation), and the deprivation of land and economic and social activities that sustained life in former areas.

The implication of this involves exposure to the money economy, and the need to adjust to the inherent demands of having to use money for everything they need. For example, to rent land, to pay for agricultural inputs, to buy grain, to pay for education and to pay for health-related needs, food and other things. Other implications of the adaptation to new life involve; crime in other parts of the foothills as well as an inability to keep livestock in host areas due to inadequate pastures. In addition to these, there is a concern about replacement houses. Although they stress that the new houses are prestigious, they indicated that they are very cold and hard to keep. Consequently, a lack of income and resources to provide heating are linked to a deteriorating situation with regard to health.

Accordingly, the respondents pointed out that they experience changes that can easily lead them to poverty. The changes involve a lack of income due to limited jobs, and income activities as well as the fact that they are now relegated to a life of idleness. The change to a money economy and an inability to meet other needs were indicated as harsh realities that vulnerable groups are facing.

The group suggested that they encountered the following common problems: lack of food and income, which account to 53.5 and 46.4 percent respectively. The problem of dependency and delayed compensation is seen to result in accumulation of debts. This makes it difficult for them to invest their money or satisfy their needs. It suggests a vicious circle of inability to sustain life. Coupled with these problems they pointed out health-related issues, which are compounded by a lack of jobs and income to satisfy medical needs. The problems of crime, poor relations with people in the host⁵ area, poor water supply and lack of mutual help were also cited.

⁵ The resettled people in Ha Matala host area in the lowlands are experiencing problems of integration into host area.

The study also tried to find out whether respondents considered compensation and resettlement measures adequate to sustain their lives. The findings suggest that there is concern that compensation is not satisfactory. Lack of control over compensation, delayed dispensation and lack of compensation or help for the landless were major concerns. Coupled with these is the concern that LHDA has not complied with promises and obligations expressed in the compensation policy (1997). The majority of the landless indicated that the measures could have been adequate if LHDA implementation process was based on the policy procedures. They cited as an example, the unkept promise of provision of minimum threshold income and training for vulnerable groups.

The main dangers that these measures pose on vulnerable groups involve; the struggle to sustain life due to a disrupted support system; the deprivation of access to natural resources and an inability to engage in any economic activities. The majority of respondents (25 out of 31) indicated that resettlement has contributed to their current unsatisfactory life situation, while others (3 out of 31) attributed their tough life to poor health, and the rest (2 out of 31) said life is still the same. Limited access to land was indicated to contribute to lack of food, income and piece jobs. Lack of control over compensation, separation from livestock and dependency on the project featured repeatedly. Consequently, a life rife with hunger and the inability to satisfy other needs is common among vulnerable groups.

The respondents stressed that in resettlement, issues that affect their lives mostly involve a deprivation of land, an inability to work, a lack of control over compensation, unfulfilled promises and a lack of measures to assess and redress the impacts of resettlement on vulnerable groups. Thus the ultimate conditions that are likely to expose vulnerable people to poverty involve a dependency on the project for compensation, a lack of productive and income earning bases and a life of idleness as well as a lack of support systems.

Having explored the problems, danger and capacity of the resettlement measures, the study inquired about the measures that the groups are engaging in to safeguard themselves from imminent poverty. The aim was to establish whether they had other options, and whether there were measures that they felt they could take to sustain their lives. The findings regarding the measures that they are involved in are illustrated in the following table.

Table 3-5: Livelihood Activities for Vulnerable Groups

Activity	Unemployable sick/infirm	Unemployable old	Landless
Horticulture	1	1	-
Small business	2	-	2
Share-cropping	1	1	2
Planning Malaene	1	1	-
Investment in bank	1	-	-
None	1	2	-
Piece jobs	3	-	3
Sewing	2	-	2
Making/selling beer	-	1	-
renting out rooms	-	1	-
Costly agricultural production	-	2	-
Project agricultural development	-	-	2
Training	-	-	1

The findings reflect varied measures in which very few people are engaged, which suggest that they are not involved in any significant efforts to sustain their lives, or that they find it difficult to adjust in the new areas.

Small business was indicated as an on and off measure, which depends on availability of capital to buy small goods to sell. On the other hand sharecropping was indicated as occurring on a limited scale and involving costly production, while piece jobs were cited as limited and seasonal.

The respondents indicated concern about their life situation, which is due to changes and problems attributed to impacts of resettlement and the dangers that this expose them to. Their opinions on the inadequacy of compensation and resettlement measures, as well as the unsustainable measures that they initiate to sustain life, all suggest a need for redress in order to ensure that resettlement does not further impoverish them.

On the issue of what needs to be done, the LHDA, NGOs and the government were identified as major role players to see to it that the lives of vulnerable groups are rehabilitated to safeguard against poverty. They suggest that it is essential that they gain control over compensation, that there should be welfare provisions for the old and infirm, and provision of minimum threshold income for the landless as well as constant monitoring of livelihoods.

It was also suggested that project benefits such as agricultural developments and life skills training must be intensified and that efforts should be made to create jobs for the children of vulnerable people and opportunities for sharecropping should be created. On the other hand NGOs were identified as people who could provide training in life skills and advocacy work to see to it that LHDA complies with the policy. The government was also seen to have a major role in monitoring the welfare of vulnerable groups and providing welfare to the unemployable old and infirm, as well as to influencing LHDA to carry out its obligations.

This chapter presented the findings to give an insight into the responses of vulnerable groups, but the following chapters four and five will provide a framework and detailed analysis respectively to understand the findings.

4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF INVOLUNTARY RESETTLEMENT

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a conceptual framework of involuntary resettlement. The framework highlights the history, nature and extent of this resettlement by comparing different movements of people, based on the analysis of their permanence, and on the way they are executed (for example, forced or not forced) and on the causes that may lead to the move. Incidents of involuntary resettlement in different parts of the world also explain the extent and prevalence of this problem.

The framework shows different dimensions of involuntary resettlement as relating to the changes to spatial and socio-economic setting; to the economic and political choices and the development imperative that should form the basis for involuntary resettlement.

4.2 Historical Background of Involuntary Resettlement

The report of the World Commission on Dams (2000) reveals that at least 45,000 large dams have been built as a response to the need for energy or water. They have been promoted to meet social and economic development needs such as irrigation, electricity, flood control and water supply. The report also stresses that the opponents of large dams point to the adverse impacts they have, such as displacement and impoverishment of people, debt burden, cost overruns and destruction of the ecosystem. It states that the dams have fragmented and transformed the world's rivers, while the global estimates suggest that 40-80 million people have been displaced by reservoirs.

In many developing countries the pursuit of economic growth and national development has included large infrastructure projects. Parnwell (1993, p.44) points out that over the last three to four decades some massive reservoir construction projects, have been undertaken in the third world, funded in large part by international agencies such as the World Bank.

Rubin et al (1968) indicate that the creation of man-made lakes in Africa are responsible for the relocation of a large number of people, including some 50,000 people displaced by the Kariba dam, over 70,000 people by the Volta dam and over 100,000 by the Aswan High dam.

The LHWP is a typical example of these large dams and was built to provide water to South Africa and hydroelectric power to Lesotho. Like other large dams it will/has resulted in displacement of people, and loss of resources in the scheme area, and has brought changes in the ecosystem.

4.3 Nature and Extent of Involuntary Resettlement

Movement of people from a familiar environment to a new one can be associated with political, social, economic and cultural forces operating in a society or between societies in the world. Often the movement is related to causal factors such as; religious and ethnic conflicts, political instability and wars, disasters such as famines and droughts, planned development projects as well as migration for economic purposes.

The movement of people can be voluntary or involuntary. The former reflects people's decisions to pursue new opportunities, while the latter involves both forced political decisions imposed upon the people and unavoidable disasters. It denotes lack of choice to remain in a place, and resettlers are often faced with more risks than opportunities (World Bank Resettlement and Development, 1994).

Researchers interpret involuntary movement from a place of origin to an unfamiliar environment differently, depending on contextual framework they identify their analysis with. Thus it has been associated with different concepts to explain the nature and effects of the movement on the people affected. Different researchers usually use the following concepts; resettlement, relocation, displacement and uprooting, to explain involuntary movement, depending on political, socio-economic and cultural forces into play.

When explaining the magnitude and reasons for involuntary movement, De Wet (1995:1) uses the concept displacement, and states that:

“The post World War 2 period has seen the displacement of people on a massive scale”

He adds that this displacement resulted from various causes such as political upheavals and famines or disasters, while others resulted from removals made by governments to make way for technological developments, such as construction of dams or agricultural projects.

On the same note, Cernea and Guggenheim (1993) reveal that, historically the 1980s could well be regarded as the “decade of displacement”.

They indicate that irrespective of the causal factors like, disasters in Africa, wars in the Middle East or homelessness in America, massive displacement has taken place towards the turn of the twentieth century. They point out that:

“The close of the century will be remembered for the large numbers of people evicted from their houses, farms and communities and forced to find a living elsewhere”.

In Coelho and Ahmed (1980), the rate and period of major incidences of displacement is reiterated, and the concept uprooting is used. They state that uprooting of populations in the contemporary world is occurring with an unprecedented speed and abruptness in both the *environment and social arena* (p.7).

The displacement and uprooting of populations may be of temporary or permanent nature depending on the causal factors. In most cases, displacement caused by disasters, wars and development projects are characterised as involuntary, but may differ with regard to their permanence.

Cernea and Guggenheim (1993) stress that:

“ People who are displaced by wars or natural disasters are able to return to their homelands once the turbulence has subsided”(p.4).

They point out that the primary concern of people displaced in this manner is to find sustenance in the interim. Accordingly, their form of displacement is usually involuntary and intended to be temporary and on a short-term basis. On the other hand, displacement caused by development projects is involuntary and of a permanent nature.

The nature of this displacement is indicative of the fact that the displaced people experience a permanent loss of what they had. As a result, their primary concern is how to survive once their farms have been destroyed (p.4). In support of this, Thabane (2001) reveals that the fears and concerns of the people of Molika-liko (villages that will be inundated in phase 1B) are centred on the imminent deterioration in the quality of lives.

In his article on the relocation of residents of the Mohale dam area, he adds that the concerns are mainly on what life would be like in the new home (p.646).

4.4 Changes in Spatial and Socio-Economic Setting

The way resettlement and relocation are conceptualised within the context of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, puts emphasis on the changes to spatial setting and socio-economic environment. Based on the LHWP compensation policy (1997), the concept relocation and resettlement are distinguished from one another on the basis of the spatial dimension of the movement of the population.

This is done in relation to the distance from the original and familiarity of the environment. Thus these concepts are referred to as follows:

“Relocation refers to removal of homestead from its present place to one within the project area so that the members remain as part of their old social environment”.

On the other hand, resettlement refers to;

“A move over a greater distance, with significant but not necessarily complete severance of social and economic ties with the old environment”.

To emphasise to a great extent the spatial dimension of population movement, De Wet (1995) also indicates that, inasmuch as resettlement involves the movement of people from one place to another, it brings about a change in the spatial setting or context in which people find themselves, and have to adapt to (P.10). Along the same lines, Colson (1991:160) in De wet (1995) explains that ‘uprooting and resettlement involve disorientation of the geographic and social space’.

This is further supported by the testimonies of the affected people in an article by Thabane (2001, p.653). A woman interviewed indicated that their uprooting (from Molika-liko in phase 1B) causes “disorientation (sic), and among other things; starting a new home, makes one distasteful as if one is lost”. Thabane concludes that a key consequence of this process has been the destruction of community’s social networks and annulment of all the ‘tricks’ of survival accumulated over a long period of time.

The changes in spatial setting have both physical and socio-economic dimensions, inasmuch as resettlement involves people in new sets of social economic and political relationships, (De Wet 1995, p.10). Accordingly, the understanding of spatial approach to the analysis of the movement of people provides an insight that makes it possible to design appropriate policies and strategies to enhance the process of integration in host communities.

More importantly it enables policy makers to consider the capabilities of vulnerable people to adjust to new areas.

4.5 Political Economy of Involuntary Resettlement

A spatial approach is different but related to a political and economic analysis of involuntary resettlement. Cernea and Guggenheim (1993, p.1), indicate that resettlement has slowly moved into the limelight of development concern. They stress that the heightened interest is partly due to a growing concern over adverse environmental and social impacts created by large infrastructure projects.

Involuntary resettlement is perceived as a problem of economic development. Parnwell (1993) reveals the economic pursuit trend as follows:

“The pace and pattern of economic development in many third world countries has been such that increasingly large numbers of people have been displaced by major infrastructural projects and by the commercial sector’s voracious appetite for land” (p.41).

He adds that it involves the enforcement and permanent movement of people from one site to another, to which there is no practical alternative (p.44).

According to a paper on resettlement presented at an annual council meeting of the South Africa Institute of Race Relations in 1981, relocation is conceptualised as follows:

“Relocation refers to economic forces and political policies that in their interaction, uproot, relocate and contain and control enormous numbers of South Africans within group areas”(p.2).

In support of this view, the Surplus People Project SPP (1983, p.1) in De Wet (1995), reveals that since the early 1960s the South African state uprooted and relocated well over three million people in the name of apartheid.

De Wet (1995) indicates that much of the South African literature analyse resettlement in terms of a broad framework of the political economy. This looks at resettlement as serving the interests of apartheid capitalism (p.24).

Related to this idea are the views of Cernea and Guggenheim (1993), which stress that involuntary population displacement is a special category of adverse impacts from development interventions. They stress that this form of displacement is a direct outcome of a planned political decision to take land away from its current users. Again they indicate that this planned political decision is rationalised by beliefs such as, 'the greatest good for the greatest number', and this reflects basic political choices concerning who should gain and suffer from development (p.4).

They further maintain that projects resulting from development initiatives are usually justified by the need to provide identified benefits to a large number of people (p.40). Consequently, the interests and needs of the local people are compromised in favour of that of the nation.

The LHWP like other major infrastructure projects is a result of development interventions, which in most cases result in population displacement, and some of these interventions are World Bank assisted development projects (Cernea 1993:17). The worldwide dam construction is said to have averaged 300 new dams per year during the early 1990s, while the Bank-financed dams averaged 18 per year during 1980-1985 and has decreased to six new dams per year during 1993, thus making up a total of two percent globally. Accordingly the Bank's share of worldwide displacement in dam projects accounts for only three percent worldwide.

Despite the small percentage of the World Bank's involvement in these projects, the fact remains that they disrupt the lives of the people and compromise the sustainability of the environment. As a result there is a concern that growth-centred development puts economic growth ahead of people and the ecology on which their wellbeing depends (Korten 1990, p.246).

Compromising local interests for benefits of large numbers of people can result in impoverishment of those who sacrificed their homes and assets through displacement, especially the vulnerable groups. Moreover, this can be compounded by inequitable distribution of capital accumulated as it could lead to unequal access to development opportunities.

In confirmation of this, the report of the World Commission on Dams (WCD), 2000 reveals that:

“The knowledge base indicated that the poor and vulnerable groups and future generations are likely to bear a disproportionate share of the social and environmental costs of large dam projects without gaining a commensurate share of the economic benefits”.

Similarly, the LHWP Economic Impact Study Report (1996) reveals that the unequal distribution of income in Lesotho contributes to absolute poverty, which is prevalent in several parts of the country. It states that the skewed income distribution has climbed from 0.23 in rural areas in 1967/69 to 0.55 in 1993. It is therefore possible that further inequalities that may result from the distribution of the benefits of the dam project will worsen the situation of the vulnerable groups.

The constitution of Lesotho (1993, p.41) under ‘equality and justice’, section 26 (2), ensures legal protection to every citizen and emphasises the imperative of protection as follows:

“In particular, the state shall take appropriate measures in order to promote equality of opportunity for the disadvantaged groups in the society to enable them to participate fully in all spheres of public life” (p.41).

Despite the obligation in the constitution, it is apparent that lack of government will and meaningful national macro-economic plans and project policies will have negative effects on the long-term welfare of vulnerable groups. This will be the consequence if their vulnerability is not considered and issues of inequality not redressed in the planning of development projects such as dams.

On a more hopeful note, Cernea (1993) advises that impoverishment can be avoided if relocation is properly planned, and carried out with the commitment of the government to equity and adequate resource allocation and participation of the affected people. However, he adds that some development projects are oblivious to the perils of impoverishment through displacements, and this is contrary to poverty reduction goals.

According to Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model, displacement epitomises social exclusion of certain groups of people. It culminates in physical exclusion from a geographical territory and economic and social exclusion from a set of functioning social networks. As a result people face a broad range of impoverishment risks that include; landlessness, homelessness, food insecurity, joblessness, marginalisation, increased morbidity, loss of common resources, and community disarticulation that result in loss of socio-cultural resilience (World Commission on Dams Report 2000, p.103).

Social and economic exclusion encompasses the alienation of people from socio-economic activities, it results in lack of participation in social functioning of the society and lack of input in the building of the economy. Inaccessible resources and deprivation of opportunities and rights relates to exclusion. Consequently, this affects the development of their potential and renders them powerless to effect any changes in their lives or to influence political decisions to address their plight.

Dixon and Macarov (1998, p.17) elaborate that exclusion directs us to the heart of poverty and lack of resources prevents participation in the normal life of the community. On the same note Macarov (1995,p.235) also relates this issue of lack of opportunities and participation to exclusion and poverty. He writes that a lack of opportunities for poor people can be associated with structural poverty where individual and group diagnosis pertaining to poverty is dependent on availability of opportunities in a society for them to utilise in order to better their lives. This shows that the poor have potential, but if opportunities are lacking to realise and develop them, they are economically excluded.

4.6 Development Imperative

4.6.1 Restoration of Economic and Social Bases

The World Bank focus on resettlement encourages a developmental approach, which involves restoration of economic and social bases of the displaced population. It is indicated that the Bank's obligation as a development agency is to help develop people's productive potential. Therefore the heightened risk of poverty from displacement is also in conflict with the Bank's goal of alleviating poverty through developing the productive potential of the poor (Cernea and Guggenheim 1993, p.46).

These authors also indicate that the World Bank encourages provision of necessary and sufficient development opportunities to the affected populations so that they can share in the development process. This is seen as congruent with the Bank's mandate. Therefore, focus on productive potential and the restitution for these losses, as well as provision of new development opportunities is essential.

Restoration of economic and social bases and the development of productive potential will make it possible to create opportunities for resettled people, which is an imperative to development process.

To emphasise the importance of this comprehensive developmental approach in resettlement, the South African Human Development Report 2000 (p.47) stresses a need to consider an element of inclusiveness in development as crucial by arguing as follows:

“Development is not sustainable, nor will it be human-centred if it is futureless and voiceless, anti poor people, discriminatory and not gendered in ways that empower women”

As indicated by the above, there is an international and national concern about resettlement due to its concomitant risk of impoverishment through disruption of productive bases, support systems and because it creates insecure livelihoods. In a report to the Southern African Hearings for Communities Affected by large Dams, one of the phase 1B resettled people reported as follows:

“Our lives in the new location leave a lot to be desired; our lives are deteriorating day by day; we are worse off, so in conclusion, our lives have not got any better”.

With regard to the worldwide experience with infrastructure projects and a concern for them to succeed, the World Bank established an explicit policy framework to guide resettlement operations. The Bank also revised and reissued resettlement policy into operational directives on involuntary resettlement (OD no4.30, 1990). This resulted in extensive use of the policy guidelines as a framework for planning displacement and resettlement operations and is being used by many countries. Cernea and Guggenheim (1993, p.26) elaborate on the policy:

“The fundamental demand of this policy framework is to counteract the poverty risks involved in forced displacement, prevent the impoverishment of those displaced, and ensure that their income and livelihood are restored through adequate resettlement” (Cernea, 1990).

The World Bank is currently revising the operational directives on involuntary resettlement (OD.no4.30, 1990) and has produced what is known as the World Bank Operational Policies (draft OP4.12, 2001). This stresses that involuntary resettlement under development projects often gives rise to severe economic, social and environmental risks if not mitigated properly. This raises concerns and questions about the livelihoods of the people and their ability to maintain earning and productive capacity. Another concern is whether these policies will have any meaningful role in the resettlement processes.

4.6.2 Sustainability of Livelihoods

Resettlement affects livelihoods of people, therefore the need exists to ensure that the displaced people especially vulnerable groups are afforded chances to sustainable livelihoods. The absence of sound resettlement plans and programmes that cater for their specific needs deprives them of the right to sustainable livelihoods and enhances risk to poverty.

The achievement of sustainable livelihoods is advocated as a broad goal for poverty eradication. According to the United Nations 1992 Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), the concept of sustainable livelihoods can serve as an integrating factor. This will allow policy to address development, sustainable resource management and poverty eradication simultaneously (Singh and Gulman, 1999).

Accordingly, resettlement has become a global and national concern, which is linked to development, and poverty. As a result, it has become clear that emphasis in addressing it should be of a developmental nature to ensure sustainable livelihoods. Cernea and Guggenheim (1993, p.23) express the same idea that involuntary resettlement should be conceived and executed as a development program, providing sufficient opportunities to assist resettled people in efforts to improve upon their former standards of living and earning capacity or at least restore them.

4.6.3 *Balancing Economic Growth with Local Capacity*

The impact of large infrastructure projects has raised questions on how they compromise the sustainability of the environment and has raised serious concerns over social costs inherent in these economic growth efforts. The displacement of affected communities and the loss of their traditional livelihoods, as well as associated changes in livelihood patterns have all presented a new agenda of inquiry into social costs of economic interventions.

Kankwenda et al (2000,p.95) point out that the impact of macro-economic policies on poverty tends to be overlooked, even though they have a direct effect on the living standards of poor households. They stress that the magnitude and expansion of poverty is related to the problem of poorly designed policies and insufficient or unrealistic attention paid to the implementation and monitoring of policies set out in national plans and sectoral strategies. They also add that the shortcomings of the "Growth equals happiness" formula are now apparent (p.55).

On the same note Cernea (1990) states that the problem of resettlement is a complicated task of economic development: it is caused by economic decisions and it requires sound economic measures to address, for instance equitable distribution of benefits to all. However, he shows that economics have tended to neglect the problem of what sociologists and anthropologists often refer to as "Oustees" or displaced people (those who have to resettle in the face of large development projects). Similarly, Parnwell (1993) maintains that even though resettlement of people to make way for infrastructural projects is often justified in development terms, it is seldom the relocatees who benefit from such schemes.

To highlight these facts the report of the World Commission on Dams (2000) reveals that at least 46 percent of the 10 million Chinese resettled as a consequence of reservoirs are still in 'extreme poverty". Also the report shows that 75 percent of Indians displaced by such dams have not been

rehabilitated, and are impoverished. Unfulfilled commitments and lack of legal opportunities for affected groups to seek help lessen the accountability of the project developers and these among other reasons, are attributable to poor implementation of resettlement. Consequently, these macro-economic interventions of large infrastructure projects could possibly fail to benefit the poorest of the poor.

It is indicated that infrastructure projects underpin growth and development, but they involve major changes in land and water use, and often result in displacement of people (World Bank Resettlement and Development 1994, P.1/3). It is therefore imperative to ensure that all people involved benefit from these development initiatives.

The Human Development Report 2000, South Africa: Transformation for Human Development, indicates that decades of experience have shown that economic growth does not of itself lead to improved living standards for the majority, nor does it automatically result in increasing their social capacity or participation in mainstream activity (p.49). It reveals that 'in many countries, economic growth has been followed by widespread inequalities, with the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer' (p.48).

There is a need to ensure that the vulnerable groups are assisted to alleviate the effects of these processes, as it is suggested that they are the ones who suffer more due to their vulnerability. This state of affairs has a potential to deprive them of social capacity and participation in the economic mainstream and marginalize them.

Resettlement as well as the economic situation can have an impact on the informal support systems. The report on Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho (2000) shows that in order to maintain support systems it is important to strengthen the economy as well as the social structure. It elaborates this by stressing that "Were the economy to worsen sharply, this support would disappear and the country would lay open to the kind of social disaster that

has afflicted many other African countries". For example, extreme hunger, crime and diseases related to poverty.

In order to address this, the South African Human Development Report 2000, cautions that there is a need for simple alternatives to ensure that:

"Development is not a commodity to be weighed or measured by GNP statistics. It is a process of change that enables people to take charge of their own destinies and realise their potential. It requires building up in the people the confidence, skills, assets and freedoms necessary to achieve this goal"(p.49).

It adds that human development status is the ability of a country to take care of its citizens and provide an environment in which they are able to access opportunities and resources, and make choices that enhance their opportunity to live decent lives. This is contrary to the conventional indicators of development, which emphasise economic growth to the exclusion of other aspects.

It also points out that "This implies that, human development is not about prioritising one aspect of life, such as the economy, over others. It is the recognition that, for human beings to develop to their fullest and lead meaningful lives, they must have economic, social, cultural, political and human rights" (p.49).

The report of the World Commission on Dams (2000), substantiates this by indicating that the 'end' that any project achieves must be the sustainable improvement of human welfare. It stresses that, this means a significant advance of human development on the basis that is economically viable, socially equitable and environmentally sustainable.

The conceptual framework of involuntary resettlement discussed above points out the historical background, the nature and extent of resettlement and the economic and political decisions pertaining to choices that are made to the

detriment of vulnerable, poor and voiceless people which often result in exclusion. It also highlights its development imperative in order to ensure that resettlement impacts are addressed adequately. Moreover, the enhancement of a balanced approach to economic and social development is emphasised.

" The land (soil) was our treasure, it provided for the owners and those who did not have it. It was going to be passed on to the future generation, but now we are concerned about the future of our children"

The findings suggest dependency on the land as a source of food and income security for vulnerable groups. Piece jobs and sharecropping enabled food production and income through dagga produce. Sharecropping played a major role in sustaining life of these groups and it is conceived as a livelihood strategy, which can be traced back to the 19th century. Moreover it helped to ensure that land remained productive and that the poor obtained some benefit from the land, (Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho 2000, p.35).

This denotes a sense of shared resources and responsibility for production in the fields, thus showing co-operation based on mutually rewarding relations. It is evident that shared resources involved land, livestock and labour to enable the work in the fields to be done. Ten out of eleven landless households (see table 3.1), indicated their engagement in agricultural production and seven out of eleven stressed the importance of piece jobs in the fields.

Shared responsibility was also manifested in the practice of exchanging of food and money in time of need. A total of 22 out of 31 responses indicated the degree of lending and borrowing of money that took place in the scheme area. They attributed this to the extensive production of dagga and the lucrative business of its sale, in which almost each household was engaged. The responses like this one: "We were kept alive mostly by our dagga because we could sell it throughout the year" also confirm that exchange of money was feasible as the business enabled income sources in families.

Coupled with this, it was possible for the vulnerable to afford income-generating efforts such as stokvels, which were cited as common practice by 13 out of 31 respondents.

The practice of exchanging money was also prevalent and accessible to many due to the fact that it did not involve interest-generating measures. But was operated on the basis of mutual help and not profit making. This constituted the pattern of life in the scheme area, as a form of support system and secured welfare based on social relations of recourse. They elaborated this as follows: "We borrowed and lent money as a way of helping and uplifting one another and not to take advantage of making money out of other's bad situation".

The social and economic implications of these support systems are profound, as these mechanisms did not provide only income and food security, but also ensured employment and life of work prior to displacement. The old, the infirm and the landless who could not work the fields anymore were still engaging in other activities such as threshing of corn or separating dagga leaves at home.

By contrast, the fact that the displaced people have been deprived of access to land and its inherent activities has resulted in a life of idleness for vulnerable people whose lives were kept busy in the fields. Presently they find it difficult to engage in any form of work.

The problem of life of idleness is not only due to lack of access to land but it is also compounded by the fact that they no longer have access to natural resources that they were using to utilise their handicrafts skills. Similarly, the move from the familiar environment has affected those activities that depended on their appropriate skills, which were in demand and marketable in the scheme area before the move. For example, building skills, which involved grass thatching, the use of mud and sand stone bricks, as well as animal husbandry and agricultural skills will be curtailed because of limited opportunities to utilise them in host areas.

Thus this relegates people to a life of idleness due to a lack of productive sources as well as limited access to natural resources to engage in and create opportunities for others for their mutual benefit.

This is of concern as it has serious ramifications for the people and the economy because it affects the psychological self-worth of the people who are idle, and reduces regional and national economic activities, which could have led to economic growth. Personal perceptions and value are affected, as people become economically dormant and regional and national economic activities are curtailed.

The displaced Molika-liko communities (phase 1B villages to be affected by inundation) provided local economic activity in that, other villages bought and bartered grain from them. In support of this Thabane (2000, p.640) reveals that the quality of produce, especially wheat and maize was more than they required to satisfy the food needs of their dependants and they sold the surplus to obtain cash in order to meet other needs. Thus the disruption of these activities points to marginalisation and exclusion.

A detailed analytic discussion of the corollary impacts of resettlement will be given, these involve; disruption of support systems, new pattern of life, disempowerment, marginalisation and exclusion of these people in mainstream social, economic and political activities.

5.2 Disruption of Support System

5.2.1 Social Disorganisation

The effects of disorganised social strength of the affected people, due to dispersal of community and family members, have had grievous implications on the life of vulnerable groups. This has given rise to new sets of relationships with the host communities and the resettlers themselves.

The study shows that due to exposure to challenges in their new life, which is mostly different from their former pattern of life, many people find it difficult to secure food and income, thus struggle to assist others as they used to in the former area. One respondent explained the situation as follows;

“ Since we moved, people now behave like city people, they do not help anymore”. This suggests a new set of relationship, which appear to denote individualistic tendencies where everyone fends for himself/herself.

Again the disorganised and fragmented sense of community resulting from dispersal of households to different areas has had a bearing on the support mechanism of these people. Changes in the spatial and socio-economic setting result in the problem of social disorganisation, which tends to exacerbate the disruption of support systems and affects the capabilities that people had prior to the move.

Different capabilities and vulnerabilities of people who have to deal with life that is deprived of old life tactics and productive resources, have resulted in new and strange responses from people who are trying to adapt in new areas. Coupled with this is the reluctance that the host members appear to have in assisting vulnerable people due to attitudes and perceptions that many have about the new settlers. The respondents mentioned that they are seen to be leading a good life because of prestigious houses and the fact that they are recipients of LHDA compensation.

This scenario gives the host and other outsiders ideas that the affected people are well taken care off by LHDA, without realising that there are others who are struggling to make ends meet. If the host people therefore initiate any effort to assist, it usually involves unrealistic expectations and costs due to this perception, for example, the costs associated with buying or renting of land will be increased for the newcomers. As a result, the chances of vulnerable people to access support systems become limited.

5.2.2 *New Relations*

The study provides evidence that the scheme area had a high degree of mutually constructed neighbourhood relations that assisted in creating a sense of community and interdependence. These maintained social and economic activities that sustained life mainly for the vulnerable, (high responses pointing to neighbourly aid are depicted in tables 3.1a and 3.1b).

The impact of resettlement, by contrast, suggests that a new set of relations has emerged and the people appear to have developed individualistic tendencies due to the deprivation of productive bases. The fact that people are struggling to adjust in the new life and to search for other options to sustain life for their families, has left them with no means of helping others when they depend on paternalistic hand-outs from the compensation system.

This situation results in a new set of relations that these people were not used to, and it seems as if others who appear to be better off have developed individualistic tendencies. Evidence shows that the new relations are influenced by the realities of struggling through a new life with limited access to productive sources and dependency on a new way of living through the compensation system, hence most families are battling to adjust. It is therefore obvious that the mutual assistance that vulnerable people once enjoyed is affected by these realities. This is because the basis of this assistance was largely dependent on the availability of productive resources, mainly land and other natural resources.

5.2.3 *Attitudes and Perceptions of Host Communities*

The difficult process of creating a support system is not only affected by new relations in the new areas, but also compounded by pervasive attitudes and perceptions that the host communities hold about the resettlers. In some areas such as Ha Matala (lowlands host area) there are serious problems of integration, and these threaten the peace of the new comers and their ability to adjust to the area.

The situation is so bad that some respondents indicated that there might be a need to be resettled again in another area. *The problem is exacerbated by the fact that LHDA is unable to intervene and the government lacks political will to mediate.*

The prevalent attitude in this regard is one where the host communities believe the resettlers are impinging on their land and resources. This situation manifests itself in the powerlessness of the resettled people and the violation of their constitutional rights. On the part of the government it demonstrates lack of commitment to the welfare of the people and shows that there is an inconsistency and a lack of commitment to the implementation of pro-poor national plans and to addressing the social costs of economic plans. It shows that those involved in the development efforts of the building of the dams have lost sight of the fact that development is for the people and not merely the means for development.

In other cases the attitudes and perceptions of the host people are based on the assumption that these people have money due to compensation packages (see p.68). Mbuguru (in Cook, 1994) reveals that feelings of jealousy and strained relations between resettlers and host people may develop due to seemingly preferential treatment in favour of resettlers through provision of better houses and relocation allowances. He advises that social services need to be promoted to counteract this.

To highlight the repercussions of these perceptions, people who resettled to Nazareth host area (the foothills) are concerned about the high rate of crime that seem to be targeted at them, and there is a feeling that this is partly due to this perception. One old lady in Nazareth indicated her concern about crime as follows; "My life here is not necessarily different from the one I had in my former area except that we live in fear of our lives due to crime, I have never lived in such fear in my life".

This affects the possibility of full integration of these people in the host areas, which is an essential foundation for creation of support systems between host and resettled people. Thus the perceptions and attitudes of host people and other outsiders as well as the individualistic tendencies have a bearing on the creation of good relationships to bolster and sustain support systems.

The majority of respondents indicated that support systems are few, and in most case inaccessible. They attributed this to the above factors such as a new set of relations, attitudes and perceptions as well as to the costs involved in accessing a new support system. Understandably this suggests a life of struggle for them, as there is limited recourse in host areas because of the impact of the move. The dismantling of such multifunctional, yet virtually “invisible” social networks through displacement act as one of the “hidden” but real causes of impoverishment through displacement, (The World Bank Environment Department 1994, p.4/15).

The study shows that the life situation of vulnerable people has deteriorated since they moved and the overarching factors are the realities of their vulnerability and the challenges of the new pattern of life facing them. This verifies predictions that a key impact of Mohale dam will undoubtedly be the overall disruption of social life, social networks and movement patterns⁶.

5.3 New Patterns of Life

A total of 92 percent of the 31 respondents are concerned about the situation of their lives, which is deteriorating. The apparent change of pattern of life has compounded their struggle to sustain their livelihoods. Their responses suggest a life of dependency on delayed annuity compensation, a lack of control over their compensation as opposed to the control they exercised over their land and natural resources. This affects their ability to plan and invest their money adequately.

⁶ LHWP_ Resettlement and Development Study Phase 1B: Social Impact Assessment and People's Involvement Programme 1996, p4-5.

The loss of self-reliance over produce of land and the security it provided, as well as a sense of control and ability to provide for themselves featured in their responses as contributing to new patterns of living.

A new pattern of life consisting of the compensation system creates a sense of dependency, a lack of control and an inability to provide for oneself. Many people indicated that they rely on delayed annuity compensation. They stressed that this results in the creation and accumulation of debts with the result that when they ultimately receive compensation they have already accumulated debts. Thus the money is not adequate to cater for all their needs. The compensation system is understandably not considered as an adequate measure due to the problem of delayed provision and its inability to satisfy needs.

5.4 Disempowerment

The loss of assets in the scheme area is of a permanent nature, and creates inabilities in the affected people to reclaim the same assets or resources. Their case is such that they have permanently lost whatever they had. Loss of assets such as land, loss of access to natural resources, which were typically and exclusively found in their former areas and which also determined their social and economic activities, all have an effect on the power and command of their resources. For instance the development of handicraft skills was closely linked to the local natural resources.

Thus the affected people have been disempowered and no longer have control over their land, natural resources and development of skills, which they have lost permanently to the project works. The disempowerment involves social, economic and political dimensions, and has a bearing on the capabilities of vulnerable groups with respect to sustaining their livelihoods.

5.4.1 Social Disempowerment

Involuntary resettlement is seen as one major factor that influences social disorganisation of community life. Reviewed literature suggest that in an event of resettlement, communities are dispersed and this is evidently confirmed by the findings of this study that socially organised strength of the affected communities is disrupted. De Wet (1995, p.210) supports this by explaining that this is a form of social separation that entails the breaking up of old territorial and social patterns, changing and disrupting continuity and economic viability of people's lives and relationships.

The mutual relationship and interdependence between families, and most importantly neighbours have been affected and this suggests some form of deprivation, and lack of access to this organised assistance. Mbuguru (in Cook, 1994) confirms this when highlighting the experiences of Kenyan resettlement. He indicates that there is general failure to recognise that resettlement by its nature is a socio-cultural and economic process that happens above all else to people, and that it disorganises entire human communities and among other things, breaks up long established networks. It therefore does denotes social disempowerment because of a loss of control and access to these informal mechanisms for mutual gain, which were previously available to the people.

The level of relationships of interdependence and mutual assistance through shared resources (evident in sharecropping and work parties) characterised life in the scheme area. It is no doubt the affected people will take a long time to establish the same relations with host communities. The World Bank (1994, p 4/15) confirms this by indicating that it is difficult and takes time to reconstitute similar social structures and networks among resettlers and their host, capable of exercising similar support functions at new relocation sites. Thus the demands and challenges of adapting to new patterns of life will pose social and economic hurdles that will significantly impact on their lives.

In this regard, the World Bank (1994, p.4/14) reveals that field studies documents show that such "Elusive disarticulation" processes undermine livelihoods in ways uncounted and unrecognised by planners and are part of the complex causes of impoverishment.

5.4.2 Economic Disempowerment

There is evidence that socially organised strength of the affected community facilitated economic activities with a degree of shared responsibility and sharing of resources which sustained their lives. The vulnerable groups benefited economically from these support systems. Table (3.1) depicts how the landless people depended on farm work and sharecropping opportunities.

For the resettled people, subsistence activities formed a major component of their food supplies. Theirs was a land-based economic activity, which enabled human subsistence and commercial gain through dagga and vegetable sales. According to the report on Poverty and Livelihoods in Lesotho (2000), the importance of agriculture in the micro-economic perspective is stressed, as this means the difference between maintenance of life and collapse, even though in the macro-economic perspective its effects may be minimal. Undoubtedly, deprivation of land resource has affected the chances of production and seasonal job creation for both landowners and the landless. Thus their access to subsistence farming for food and income security is compromised, and as a result they are economically disempowered.

Deprivation of economic activities also resulted from a lack of access to natural resources, which provided an income-earning base. The report of the World Commission on Dams (2000) indicates that resettlement disrupt local economies, and effectively displaces people in a wider sense from access to a series of natural resources and environmental inputs into their livelihoods (p.103).

The findings of the study indicate a high level of skills in handicraft, and domestic work such as collection and selling of firewood, or plastering of mud houses (using cow dung) as well as other means of income sources.

Resettlement has also affected their skills development through limited opportunities to utilise them in new areas. The skills that they had were mostly appropriate to the environment that they lived in. Again, given their level of education and lack of appropriate skills in host areas, as well as the general condition of unemployment in the country and scarce resources, it is evident that the vulnerable groups are encountering a high degree of disempowerment.

The majority of the respondents stated their concern about loss of income through sales of vegetables produced from the gardens, which they had in former areas. Their concern is centred on a lack of gardens in host areas and inadequate compensation of their gardens, which remains a source of dissatisfaction. They pointed out that their gardens kept them busy and provided food security.

Thus the loss of economic value of access to garden land has a major impact on the household income and consumption. For example, people in Mahooaneng and Makotoko, but mostly in Ha Koporale, do not have access to homestead gardens. Moreover, they show that they no longer enjoy the central economic marketing position that they had with other surrounding villages by selling and bartering dagga and grain. Consequently, these factors compound their state of economic disempowerment.

Another contributing factor to their economic disempowerment is a lack of control over their own means of survival, dependency and living on compensation handouts. The disorganised long earned tactics and strategies to support themselves, as well as the fact that the project limits their chance to control their compensation money, was cited as demoralising to them.

5.5 Marginalisation

As it was stated in chapter four, changes in spatial and socio-economic environment can have an effect on the availability and accessibility of choices and opportunities that people used to have to improve the quality of their lives. The political choices made by the government also can have an impact on the control and power that they exercised in their lives. The findings suggest that this has been a case on the lives of vulnerable people. The limited choices and opportunities to sustain quality of their lives only serves to marginalise them and excludes them from activities that they were involved in to support their families.

5.5.1 Social Exclusion

The study suggests that vulnerable groups have limited opportunities and choices to effect change in their lives. The findings indicate that in host areas there are fewer opportunities for them to sustain their livelihoods as compared to varied opportunities in their former areas. Limited opportunities and choices affect their participation in social and economic activities, thus resulting in exclusion and marginalisation.

They indicated that they are unable to take advantage of some opportunities, as they are unaffordable. For example, to engage in stokvels, sharecropping, buying of land and agricultural inputs has become impossible, while the purchase of fertilisers, pesticides and seeds, which was not important in the previous areas, is now necessary but impossible to afford.

LHDA is trying to encourage sharecropping and making efforts to enhance access to land in host areas, through agricultural benefits that they supply to a partnership of both the host and resettlers. However, some resettlers are still unable to engage in these measures, as they lack income because they are unemployed and not eligible for compensation. Although a limited number of people receiving compensation will be able to use this opportunity, the majority will be marginalised as they cannot afford to.

The findings suggest frustration and anxiety about the welfare of vulnerable groups. Lack of control over compensation and not being able to plan for the money, which is given annually as handouts, is a major concern of the people. They expressed their powerlessness in controlling and planning for their future. They indicated that they are unable to utilise the annuity constructively as it is inadequate and delayed. This relegates them to a life of powerlessness and exclusion as the project still controls their lives and future in withholding their compensation.

Thus this deprives them of the choices and decisions that affect their lives. Dixon et al (1998, p.3) reveal that fundamentally, what is offensive about poverty, and why it matters so much is that poor people are unable to maintain a degree of control over their lives by exercise of choice. They also add that poverty can be considered as an uncomfortable feeling of social exclusion or powerlessness (p.269). They stress that poverty is about exclusion, as lack of resources prevents participation in the normal life of community. Thus vulnerable people have been deprived of the control and choice by the project, hence their ability to safeguard themselves from poverty is jeopardised.

The landless people indicated that they feel excluded from the broader picture of development brought by the dam, as they are not assisted in any way to rebuild their lives. The fact that they are ineligible for compensation means that they are already excluded and marginalised. For them there are no project benefits to enjoy, as they are left to struggle on their own. As stated in chapter four, this is contrary to the view of the World Commission on Dams, which considers that the end of any dam project must be sustainable improvement of human welfare (World Commission on Dams, 2000, p.2). It is also contrary to the development and poverty strategies that stress the importance of widening choices, empowering the poor, and providing productive bases and capabilities of disadvantaged people.

The vulnerable people are disadvantaged through the dam project. Lack of specific measures to address their predicament serves to exclude them, given their vulnerability. Thus for them the dam project and resettlement facilitate their impoverishment and do not spread the benefits to them.

The SADC Regional Human Development Report (1998, p.100) shows that “Growth without spreading the wealth base to empower the poor is as unsustainable as growthless strategies”. It is apparent that the dam project and resettlement programmes do not spread the wealth base to the vulnerable, but serves to increase their vulnerability to poverty and exclusion.

Thus when assessing their situation basing on the impoverishment risk model of Cernea (1990), the impact of resettlement and mitigation measures relating to vulnerable groups compound their plight. The findings suggest a high degree of inaccessibility of land, marginalisation, joblessness, concern about food and income security, loss of property assets, and social disarticulation through loss of community strength. These are the indicators that point to their vulnerability to poverty.

5.5.2 Economic Exclusion

The collapse of income and food security measures has led to the inability of vulnerable groups to engage in micro economic activities, and makes it impossible for them to be integrated into the mainstream development. According to the findings the problem of unaffordable micro-credit schemes such as stokvels and the lack of opportunities to involve in other income-generating measures in host areas limit their participation in economic activities.

This does not only result in economic exclusion, which causes them to plunge into poverty, but also affects their social and political participation. Dixon et al (1998) substantiates this by showing that poverty ranges from lack of the barest necessities for subsistence to an uncomfortable feeling of social and economic exclusion or powerlessness.

The findings illustrating a comparison between familiar (former areas) and an unfamiliar environment (host areas) in figure 3.5, highlight the changed life situation and choices that are available to resettlers. The general picture suggests a reasonable degree of exclusion of these groups from economic activities because of the curtailed options for involvement due to costs, access and limited opportunities. Thus many have become economically dormant due to a lack of opportunities and are now leading a life of idleness.

Data indicates that economic exclusion of these groups is also attributable to lack of control over their compensation. It disenfranchises them and deprives them of the ability to manage and plan for their future. Consequently, the lack of restorative measures to rebuild earning and productive capacity and control over their lives compounds their insecurities.

Many responses show that the implications of this exclusion involve lack of capabilities to meet basic needs such as education, health, food and income. This suggests a struggle to attain sustainable livelihoods and social development.

6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

This chapter will show the relation between the research findings, discussions of the reviewed literature in chapter four and the research questions. It will also indicate the lessons learned in the conduct of the study and point out the research implications for policy and practice, as well as suggesting issues for a follow-up research that can be conducted. This will be followed by recommendations, as suggested by the respondents and the researcher.

The study relates to the research questions of how resettlement impacts on vulnerable groups and the implications of the impacts on their lives. The study also relates to the theoretical discussions in chapter four. The relationship is highlighted by the degree, nature and cause of the disruption of support systems, which is manifested in the findings to suggest apparent new relations between the host and resettlers and among the resettlers themselves. The apparent attitude and perceptions that seem to compromise the possibilities of creation of support systems are also associated with this disruption.

The discussion of the literature indicates that resettlement is a social phenomenon as well as an economic and political problem. This is apparent in the disorganisation of community strength, social capital and interdependence between the affected people, thus affecting the social relations that promote sources of recourse.

On the other hand, the emerging new patterns of living in the host areas are related to the economic implications that result from the impact of the move. These have created a shift from traditional subsistence farming to a commercialised production and to the dependency upon the money economy, where people have to buy everything including food and seeds.

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The resultant life of idleness due to the fact that the resettlers have been deprived of productive and earning abilities and resources, has a significant link to the economic policies and decisions that are made by the government. Thus the link between the decisions and choices made at national macro-economic level has an effect on the local micro-economic activities of vulnerable groups.

The responses of vulnerable groups suggest a degree of dependency and also show their concern about becoming economically dormant. This could be associated with disempowerment caused by a loss of strengths and abilities as well as the exclusion from participating in mainstream development. This also points to individualistic analysis of their poverty (that is, a sense of worthlessness, of powerlessness and of a lack of believe in themselves to take charge of their lives), where the impact of resettlement has deprived them of their capabilities and responsibilities to sustain their lives.

Coupled with this is the sense of dependency on the project compensation, and it denotes a degree of being deprived of one's power to take charge of one's life. Again disempowerment is manifested in the way they have been deprived of opportunities to develop skills and control their assets and natural resources to enhance their earning and productive capacity. The discussions of the reviewed literature in chapter four highlight the importance of restoration of productive bases and earning capacity, but the findings suggest that restorative measures tend to disempower vulnerable groups. The discussions also stress the imperative for a developmental approach that builds on human capital and widens opportunities and choices. Contrary to this, the findings suggest that the choices and opportunities in host areas are limited for vulnerable groups.

The findings also relate to the research questions and discussions on related literature by elaborating on the implications of the impact with regards to the process of marginalisation and exclusion of vulnerable groups in social, economic, political and cultural activities. This is linked to the political and economic decisions, policy choices and plans at national level.

The relationship points to the political economy of poverty whereby the major problem stems from structural and distributional issues. The lack of opportunities, services and mitigating measures in some areas and inequalities in access to services and opportunities for instance, all pertain to the choices made by the government and policy makers. The ineligible people are excluded from compensation provisions and this in itself limits their access to opportunities.

Consequently, the relationship between the findings, reviewed literature and research questions also points to economic and political forces. Generally the literature suggest a degree of failure of major infrastructure projects to translate their benefits to the betterment of the vulnerable people. The research questions also demonstrate a concern for the plight of vulnerable groups. On the same note, the findings of this study paint a negative picture pertaining to the impact of resettlement on these groups. The majority of responses point to difficult experiences in host areas due to disrupted support systems, lack of opportunities and inadequate measures to restore their capacity to adjust in new areas. The few who tried to accentuate the positive, stressed that if LHDA kept its promises and obligation, their lives would improve. They also blamed their poor health and not the resettlement programme for the uncertainties in their lives.

The study points to the imperative for more investigation and monitoring of the plight of vulnerable groups and the role that support systems and networks play in sustaining their lives. These are the processes that are seldom studied, but only inferred in many studies. The importance of enabling the vulnerable to express their views and conceptualise poverty and resettlement, is a major breakthrough that will help in the diagnosis and understanding of their situation. This will influence relevant policy and appropriate measures for poverty alleviation, and resettlement programmes that are sustainable and developmental. Thus follow-up research is needed to study the latent factors that contribute to the sustenance of their livelihoods in resettlement schemes.

This study explored the impacts of resettlement on the vulnerable and unravelled a plethora of implications such as the issue of dependence, new relations emerging, attitudes and perceptions as well as social disarticulation.

These issues need to be studied further as each of them is a complex issue that directly affects the adjustment to new life. The lessons learned from the conduct of the study are that there is a need to study each of these issues in order to facilitate appropriate policies and programmes that will address them. The building of the dam has had a catastrophic effect on the lives of the vulnerable groups as it has an impact on both the individual and household level, because all the vulnerable people interviewed happen to be household heads.

The implications for policy and practice in this regard suggest the need for planners to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the vulnerable groups to determine their abilities to adjust to new areas in the resettlement process. A comprehensive database, monitoring system and specific measures are an imperative. There is a need to do policy analysis and evaluation to pick up the unintended effects and external forces that affect the implementation and realisation of the objectives of resettlement policies. The implication of legal processes such as the issue surrounding the question of 'eligibility' for example, needs to be closely examined.

Attempts to encourage economic growth and development are essential and indispensable to the advancement of every country, but cannot be meaningful if they are to the detriment of vulnerable groups. Compromising the welfare of these groups for the long-term benefits of the whole nation is a gamble that has proved destructive, given the experiences of resettlement processes in many countries. Thus, as long as there is no balance between economic and social development, the difficulties experienced by vulnerable groups will be compounded by economic development projects.

6.2 Recommendations

The need to have a monitoring system based on the secondary impacts of resettlement, especially on the vulnerable groups, is essential. The issue of targeting and defining the affected people should be based on adequate information pertaining to the abilities and deficiencies of all the affected people and not only on the people who have tangible assets.

Moreover, resettlement programmes must also address the informal and micro-credit schemes by supporting and promoting them to enable the host and resettlers to participate in them. Such schemes need to be looked into and funds made available to implement them in order to accelerate the process of integration and support systems. The NGOs also need to support and promote these schemes.

In addition, programmes that enhance participation of the vulnerable groups need to be intensified so as to encourage negotiations on the dispensation of annuity, lump sums and other problems of compensation. With this in mind, the NGOs need to intensify their advocacy work and empower the people to influence the government and LHDA to be more responsible with regard to the plight of vulnerable groups.

As indicated in the responses, the government and LHDA should see to the welfare of the old and sick people and training in life skills for the landless people must be put in place. That is, welfare measures must be built into the resettlement programmes and not executed as ad hoc measures.

Above all, the effort to implement rural development must be intensified. This will enable restoration of productive and earning bases, it will also create opportunities for the affected people to realise their potentials while also enhancing social capital to promote inclusion of all the people in mainstream development. Thus the role of rural development seems to provide solutions to many of the problems of resettlement and its implementation has to be hastened.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

**MAP ONE: DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC
SUMMARY INDICATORS FOR LESOTHO**

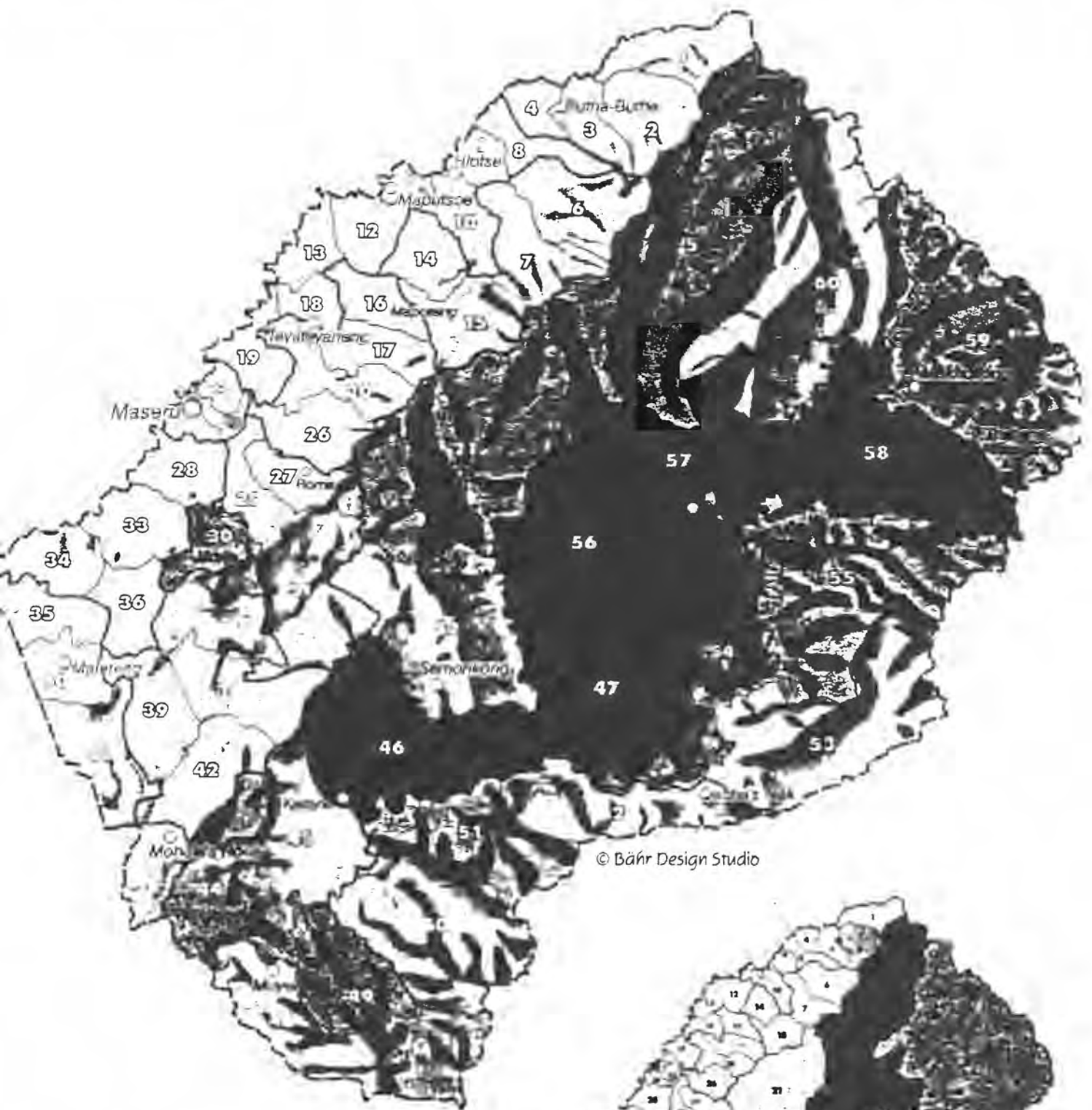
MAP TWO: THE PHASE 1B PROJECT

MAP THREE: THE LHWP PHASES 1A AND 1B

APPENDIX B

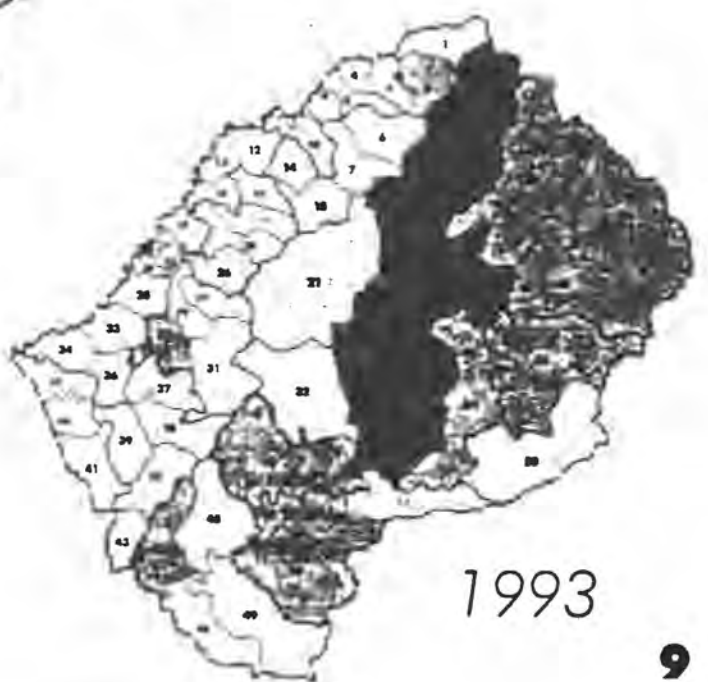
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Distribution of Economic Summary Indicators - 1999

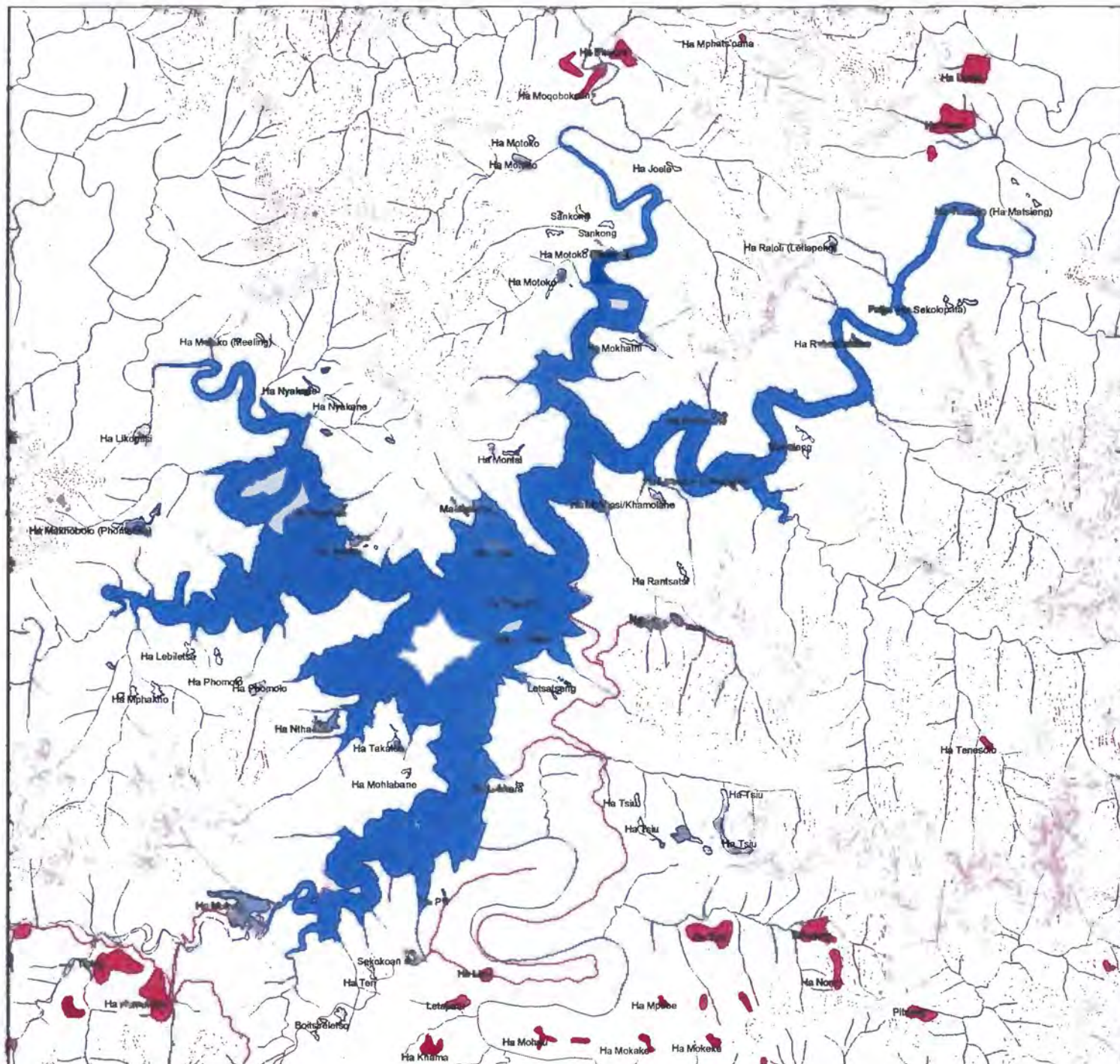


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Level of poverty	Data range
Very low	38 - 47
Low	47 - 56
Medium	56 - 64
High	64 - 73
Very high	73 - 82



1993



- Village
- Mohale Reservoir
- Likalaneng shp
- Roads
- Village

- Major Rivers
- Minor Rivers
- Contours
- 1775 - 2150
- 2151 - 2400
- 2401 - 2600
- 2601 - 2800
- 2801 - 3125





LESOTHO MAP

MAP THREE



- Fai2080
- Reservoir
- Protected areas.shp
 - ┆ Muela Craft Centre
 - ┆ Liphofung Historical and Cultural Site
- Bokong Nature Reserve
- △ Rivers
- Towns
- △ Roads
- District boundary
- National Boundary
- Background.shp

A Study on Resettlement and Poverty: The Plight of Vulnerable Groups Affected by Lesotho Highlands Water Project; Case Study of Phase 1B Communities.

A Schedule for in-depth interviews (FOR THE AFFECTED PEOPLE)

Name of respondent _____

Host Area _____

Date _____

Support systems

(1) Did you have land that you produced back in your former area? _____

(2) Were you engaged in agricultural production in your former area even though you had no land _____ if yes how? _____

(3) What support systems existed in your former area? _____

(4) Was there any support that you received in your former area to sustain your live?
Neighbours _____
Family _____
Others _____

(5) What social support system did you benefit from in your former area? _____

(6) What economic support system did you benefit from in your former area? _____

(7) How did these support systems help you to sustain your livelihood? _____

(8) How has resettlement impacted on your support system? _____

(9) To what extent would you say this affects your life? Give reasons for your answer _____

(10) What types of support systems are available in the new area? Please explain _____

(11) Do you have access to any support system in the new area? _____

If yes, what type? _____

if no, why? _____

(12) What effect do you think this have in your life? _____

(13) How do you consider support systems in your life and Why? _____

Opportunities and Choices

(1) Do you have any formal education? If yes explain _____

(2) What life skill do you have that can be used to sustain your life? _____

(3) Do you have a chance to utilise them to improve your life? explain _____

(4) In your opinion, what opportunities do you have in life to sustain your livelihood? Explain

(5) How would you compare access to opportunities for sustaining life in a new area to the once you had in your former area?

Measures for sustaining livelihoods

(1) In general how can you describe your life in the new area?

(2) What are the changes that you experience that may lead to poverty in your life?

(3) What problems do you encounter in your life in a new area, that are related to your move from your former area?

(4) Do you consider measures in resettlement and compensation adequate to sustain your life?

(5) Would you say that resettlement contributes to the way your life is now? And why?

(6) In your opinion what dangers if any, do you think resettlement exposes to the vulnerable people

(7) What specific issues in involuntary resettlement affect your life mostly? explain

(8) Do you think resettlement can lead to poverty? Please give reasons _____

(9) What measures have you taken to safeguard from this eminent poverty? _____

What needs to be done

(1) What measures do you think have to be taken to ensure that resettlement does not lead to poverty? _____

(2) What role do you think the government needs to play in ensuring that this does not happen? _____

(3) In your opinion, what are the other role players, and what are they supposed to do? _____

The study on Resettlement and Poverty: the Plight of Vulnerable Groups Affected by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project; Case study of Phase 1B Communities.

(SCHEDULE FOR ORGANISATIONS)

Name of Organisation/Section

Name of Respondent

Date of interview

1. What specific issues in resettlement do you think affect the lives of vulnerable people (i.e. the landless, unemployable aged, disabled and sick)?

2. What support systems existed in the former area where these people lived?

3. How important do you think support systems were to sustain the lives of these people?

4 a) How has resettlement impacted on the support systems that these people depended upon?

b) What implication does this have on the livelihoods of these people?

5. Do you think resettlement can lead to the impoverishment of these people? Give reasons.

6. How would you compare access to opportunities that sustained their lives to the ones they have now?

7. What changes do you think these groups experience that may lead to poverty?

8. Do you think the LHWP resettlement programme is adequate to sustain the lives of vulnerable groups? Give reasons.

9. Would you say that resettlement contribute to the conditions of their lives now? Explain.

10. What dangers if any, do you think the vulnerable people are faced with due to resettlement?

11. What measures do you think have to be taken to ensure that resettlement does not impoverish these people?

12 a) In your opinion who are the role players to ensure that these people are assisted?

b) What role do you think they should play?
