

# **Exploring the impacts of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project on the sustainable livelihoods of resettled communities**

by

Mosili Jacqueline Liphoto

*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sustainable Development in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at Stellenbosch University*



Supervisor: **Prof. Adoniya Benaya Sebitosi**

March 2020

## **Declaration**

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## Abstract

The controversies surrounding the construction of large dams around the world are well documented. The most talked about in recent times is the Chinese Three Gorges dam, which broke all-time records. On one hand, the Chinese government has projected it as the largest green power initiative, while on the other hand it displaced a whopping 1.13 million villagers in addition to other environmental issues. In Africa the narrative is very similar. While national governments prefer to highlight the potential economic benefits of such projects, the communities directly affected are invariably indignant during and after such projects are commissioned. Not only do they express dissatisfaction for little or no compensation for the direct losses occasioned by their displacement, they also do not benefit from the supposed economic benefits. When one reads such stories they are often presented by un-empathetic foreign researchers, who simply present the communities as faceless numbers.

This is a study with a difference. It is about the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) and was undertaken by a researcher born and raised under similar socio-economic and cultural circumstances as the communities involved.

The constructions of large dams serve a variety of purposes. Lesotho's primary purpose is selling water to South Africa. A secondary purpose is provision of hydropower to Basotho. The study is aimed at exploring and understanding the socio-economic impacts experienced by Basotho who have been displaced by the LHWP. The area of interest fundamental to the research was to understand the livelihoods of project affected persons (PAP) during pre and post-resettlement. Discussed in the study were impacts of the resettlement and development implementation program (RDIP), as seen from the re-settlers' perspective and the implementation of the compensation policy on PAPs as presented by the project implementers. The PAPs resettled in many host villages, but only two: Ha-Mosalla and Makhoakhoeng were selected for the purpose of this study.

This explorative study adopted a qualitative approach where primary and secondary forms of data were collected. Literature review served as background information and provided foundational information to the problem statement, application of relevant theories and methodology design. The literature further sharpened the understanding

of larger dam impacts. In-depth semi-structured interviews and focus groups were conducted during data collection. Informed by life history method of data collection, the life-changing events of participants were effectively captured. The study found that PAPs have experienced negative and positive impacts owing to compensation and the RDIP. However, due to inefficient implementation of programs, results indicate that the negatives outweigh the positives. The study uncovered an unexpected phenomenon. Those regarded as unaffected by the LHWP turned out to be inadvertent PAPs due to the socio-economic and cultural interdependency with PAPs. Finally, the study came up with recommendations from the lessons learnt. These included: (i) prioritization of livelihoods restoration; and (ii) comprehensive and inclusive community participation during inception and post implementation phases of dam projects.

## Opsomming

PAP's het hulle in verskeie naburige dorpieë hervestig, maar slegs twee dorpieë is uitgekies vir die doel van hierdie studie: Ha-Mosalla en Makhoakhoeng.

Hierdie verkennende studie gebruik 'n kwalitatiewe benadering, waar primêre en sekondêre datavorme versamel is. 'n Literatuuroorsig dien as agtergrond en verskaf grondliggende inligting vir die probleemstelling, die toepassing van tersaaklike teorieë en die metodologie-ontwerp. Die literatuur verskerp verder die insig oor die impak van groter damme. Diepgaande semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude en fokusgroepe is tydens die data-insameling gebruik. Die deelnemers se lewensveranderende ervarings, ingelig deur die lewensgeskiedenis-metode van data-insameling, is effektief vasgelê.

Die studie het bevind dat PAP's negatiewe en positiewe gevolge ervaar het na aanleiding van die vergoeding en die RDIP. Die resultate dui daarop dat vanweë die ondoeltreffende implementering van die program, die negatiewe aspekte ongelukkig die positiewe aspekte oortref. Die studie het verder 'n onverwagse verskynsel uitgewys. Diegene wat beskou is as persone wat nie deur die LHWP geraak is nie, het geblyk onbewustelik PAP's te wees as gevolg van die sosio-ekonomiese en kulturele interafhanklikheid van die PAP's. Uiteindelik kon die studie aanbevelings formuleer uit die lesse wat geleer is. Dit sluit in: (i) die prioritisering van die herstel van lewensbestaan; en (ii) omvattende en inklusiewe gemeenskapsdeelname tydens die aanvangs- en postimplementeringsfasies van damprojekte.

## **Acknowledgements**

I am humbled and most grateful for the support, guidance, patience and counselling I received from my supervisor, Professor Benaya Sebitosi. Without your selfless contributions this project may not have come to pass. I am most thankful to my family and friends who showed me unwavering support during the most difficult period of my life.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to all the study participants who opened their doors for me and dedicated their unlimited time to sharing their knowledge. I trust you will continue to share your experiences and wisdom. Most importantly I would like to give thanks and praise to the almighty God, for continually walking with me and pulling me out of storms.

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## List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BOS	Bureau of Statistics
CALC	Combined Area Liaison Committee
DFID	Department For International Development
DFDR	Development-forced displacement and resettlement
ILO	International Labour Organisation
EAP	Environmental Action Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IRR	Impoverishment Risk Reduction
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
LHDA	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority
LHWC	Lesotho Highlands Water Commission
LRA	Lesotho Revenue Services
PAP	Project Affected Persons
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
RDIP	Resettlement and Development Implementation Programme
SIA	Social Impact Analysis
SOLD	Survivors of Lesotho Dams
Sq	Square Meters
TRC	Transformation Resource Centre
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
USD	United States Dollar
VIP	Ventilated Improved Pit-latrines
WCD	World Commission on Dams

## Definition of Terms

**Livelihoods** encompasses the assets (material assets and social resources), capabilities, and activities required to attain means of living. For a livelihood to be deemed sustainable it must be able to cope with, and also recover from the stress and shocks experienced, and enhance or maintain its assets and capabilities now and in the future, without undermining their natural resource base (Chambers & Conway, 1991).

**Compensation** refers to the cash, goods and/or services offered in replacement of the resources which were/are unavoidably lost. Further compensation refers to activities which have been/are impeded due to project development and its implementation (LHDA, 1997).

**Project-affected persons** refer to the people negatively affected by the construction of dams. The impacts affect the economic, cultural and social lives of the people, their infrastructure, and other ecological consequences that affect displaced people, and their host (WCD, 2000).

**Sustainability** is the ability of consistently maintaining sufficient economic and social needs without compromising future generations.

**Development** comprises identified projects intended to improve lives of project-affected persons and/or their communities.

**Host villages** are the identified villages and communities where the Mohale PAPs resettle in.

**Relocation**, as defined by the LHDA, is the removal of homesteads from their project-affected (inundated) villages to neighbouring unaffected villages. This means that it does not bring about greater changes in those people's lifestyles; they still benefit from their socio-economic environment (LHDA, 1997).

**Resettlement** refers to the removal of people from their places of origin (inundated villages), to greater distances outside the project catchment. The people forfeit access to their socio-economic environment (LHDA, 1997)

## Chapter 1: The white gold



Photo 1: *The Mohale Dam, in Maseru, Lesotho.*

Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohale\\_Dam-001.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohale_Dam-001.jpg)

### 1.1 Introduction

Development projects are envisioned to bring positive change and provide for the general public's needs. Energy, food, water, housing, road networks, are among the many needs to be provided for. Consequently, the provision of these needs may result in development induced displacements for selected segments of a population situated in the intended project way (Blaser, et al., 2004). Numerous cases of those displaced from their original places as a result of development projects have documented dire consequences. Such consequences include, but are not limited to deteriorating socio-economic conditions (Sudder, 2005).

The researcher sets in this chapter the tone on development projects background on an international level and on the LHWP. Understanding the relationship communities under investigation have with the LHWP follows in the subsequent sections. The researcher sets out the problem statement and the study objectives. A rationale on the importance of this study is also laid out. And finally delimitations of the study and chapter outline are set.

## 1.2 The irony of large dam developments

The Anthropocene epoch has seen a rising need for water due to population increases hence the rise in construction of dams. Large dam developments has been a highly contentious topic due to the positive and negative impacts on both human life and the environment (World Commission on Dams, 2000). Globally, the construction of large dams is among the key developmental projects that impact the livelihoods of the communities where such projects are (Thabane, 2000).

Proponents of large dams have argued that such development is necessary in meeting the water and energy needs that are growing at a soaring rate. In support of this school of thought are governments and international development partners. These bodies further argue that dams create jobs and boost national and regional economies. Additionally, the World Commission on Dams (WCD, 2000;1) states that, those in support of dam constructions speak of "social and economic benefits of irrigation, electricity, flood control and water supply". While on the contrary, opponents highlight cost overruns and debt burden, the displacement and impoverishment of people, destruction of important ecosystems and fishery resources and the inequitable distribution of costs and benefits. By the year 2017, it was estimated that 58,519 dams had been constructed globally, affecting millions of people, with resettlement being the core concern (Huang, Lin, Li & Ning, 2018).

There is a growing contention against dam developments. Such contention emanates from the adverse socio-economic impacts brought about by the large dam developments, which have affected millions. These interrogations magnify the question on 'who truly gains from such developments' (WCD, 2000). There is also a widely held conviction that these large dam constructions promote trade-offs. Those affected by the construction sacrifice their livelihoods for the greater good of the national economy (De Wet, 1999; Lerer & Scudder, 1999). A classic example of our times is the '*Three Gorges Dam*' in China. In 2007, approximately 1.3 million of the Chinese population had been resettled for achieving three major purposes: hydropower generation, flood control, and navigation improvement (Yan, *et al.*, 2005;





### *1.2.1 Background of the LHWP*

The LHWP is an ongoing bi-national developmental project aimed at water supply with a hydro-power component. The project is in partnership with the government of South Africa, which came about because of a dire need for a sustainable water supply in South Africa (Thamae & Pottinger, 2006). The Gauteng province critically needed a sustainable water supply to expedite the growth of South Africa's economic hub (industrial capital). Additionally, the province is the most densely populated among all provinces in South Africa, hence the need of consumption water. The LHWP comprises a scheme of five large dams and tunnels in the highlands of Lesotho, delivering water to the Vaal River System in neighbouring South Africa (LHDA, 1998).

The LHWP is the brain child of Sir Evelyn Baring who was the British commissioner in the 1950s (Thabane, 2000). The project was only realised after a hostile takeover of the government of Lesotho by its military in 1986. Only then was the treaty agreement signed by Lesotho and South Africa's apartheid government (Hitchcock, 2015). The military's hostile takeover under the leadership of Major-General Metsing Lekhanya overthrew the Basotho National Party (BNP)-led government (Thabane, 2000). The Prime Minister at the time (1966-1986) was Chief Leabua Jonathan. Prior to the coup d'état of 1986, South Africa had been in talks with Lesotho for a number of years on the water transaction deal. However, negotiations were prolonged due to Jonathan's persistence on the need for a comprehensive feasibility study on the prospective water project. The rationale behind the feasibility study was for the Lesotho government to ensure a project of this magnitude would be sustainable. But most importantly it was intended to equip the Lesotho government with bargaining power (Thabane, 2000).

The report informed the government of Lesotho on a sustainable model of selling their water to South Africa. It further gave Lesotho the upper hand in negotiating a deal that allowed the country to manage the process, and negotiate fair royalties. On the basis of this study, Leabua Jonathan did not submit to South Africa's offer. He

argued that the negotiated deal was for the benefit of South Africa, leaving Basotho with an unjust deal (Makoro, 2014). Jonathan's steadfast approach to the South African proposal led to his overthrow. Within six months after his overthrow, the two governments signed a treaty which set up the LHWP. "A major objective of the project was to provide water to South Africa, a water-scarce country, and hydroelectric power to Lesotho, which was facing power shortages" (Hitchcock, 2015;527). The second objective according to Hitchcock (2015), was to contribute to the reduction of environmental degradation in Lesotho, which is considered to have one of the worst soil erosions globally.

Upon completion, the LHWP is projected to transfer forty percent of water through the "inter-basin water-transfer scheme (which) comprises five proposed dams, [200](#) kilometres of tunnel and a 72-megawatt hydropower plant that will supply power to Lesotho" (International Rivers, 2005).



*Photo 2: Treaty Signing by Foreign Ministers- Lesotho's Col. Thaabe Letsie (left) and South Africa's Mr. Pik Botha (right) in Maseru, Lesotho (SAICE, 2002).*

For efficient administration and execution of the project, the two countries are guided by the 1986 treaty. There was also an establishment of governing bodies in each country, and one joint body which governs the operations of the LHWP (GoL, 1986b). The institutions responsible for implementation on the South African side is: The Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority (TCTA,) which is mandated to raise funds for the project; the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) is the

implementing authority on the Lesotho side; while the Joint Permanent Technical Commission (JPTC), now known as the Lesotho Highlands Water Commission (LHWC) is a joint team of three representatives from each country, they oversee the whole project (Mashinini, 2010).

The LHWP Treaty is binding for 50 years from 1986-2044, it is obligatory for Lesotho and South Africa to observe all treaty agreements. Article 7(18:27) of the Treaty points to the fact that:

*The LHDA shall effect all measures to ensure that members of the local communities in the Kingdom of Lesotho, who will be affected by flooding, construction works or similar project-related causes, will be able to maintain a standard of living not inferior to that obtaining at the time of the first disturbance, provided that such Authority shall effect compensation for any loss to such member as a result of such project-related causes not adequately met by such measures (GoL, 1986b).*

Likewise, Article 15 of the LHDA Order of 1986 states the following:

*The Parties agree to take all reasonable measures to ensure that the implementation, operation and maintenance of the Project are compatible with the protection of the existing quality of the environment and, in particular, shall pay due regard to the maintenance of the welfare of persons and communities immediately affected by the project (GoL, 1986a).*

The above legal obligations are necessary, and as implied in the SADC policy for sustainable development, sustainable livelihoods for affected communities must be the primary objective for development projects such as large dam constructions (Mashinini, 2010). It is imperative that deliberate policies be put in place along with the implementation strategies to link dam developments to local livelihood web. The successful implementation of such policies warrants sustainable development and livelihoods for affected communities. Monetary investments made towards achieving



Phase 1 of the LHWP included the construction of Katse Dam (phase 1A), and the construction of Mohale Dam (phase 1B) and the ‘Muela hydropower station. According to Hitchcock (2015), Phase 1A affected more than 20,000 people, and led to the involuntary relocation of 71 households. In Phase 1B more than 320 households were relocated from rural Mohale to urban areas, lowlands, and foothills of the Maseru district (Thabane, 2000).

### 1.2.2 Community relationship with the LHWP

The area that hosts the second largest dam of the LHWP, Ha Mohale, is located along the Senqunyane River which runs through the central mountains of Lesotho. Ha-Mohale lies in the mountainous area of Maseru district which ranges from 2000 m above sea level (Thabane, 2000). Villages, agricultural fields, and grazing lands were sporadically distributed along the project area prior to the LHWP. Today the LHWP carries a bitter-sweet legacy of economic benefits. The nation at large enjoys an improved gross domestic product, while those affected by the project have their villages and land inundated or affected by construction works. The impacts on PAPs who have been relocated and resettled and environmental impacts on those deemed as unaffected have contributed to the communities’ relationship with the LHWP. Basotho, directly and indirectly affected by the Mohale Dam, highlight how the project adjusted their socio-economic and cultural ties. They displayed discontent towards the life-changing events brought about by this dam. The map below illustrates where the villages in the Mohale region were located prior to inundation.

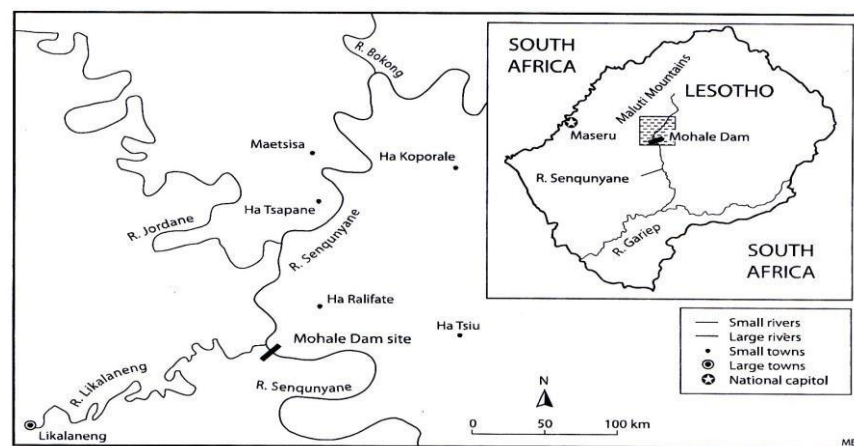


Figure 3: Source-Devitt P & R. Hitchcock (2010) Mohale villages pre-inundation

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

The construction of large dams aims to develop the energy and water supply infrastructure of a nation but has always been riddled with concerns over treatment of the affected communities and the environment. In the case of Lesotho, communities are currently up in arms over compensation disputes and alleged failure by the LHDA to implement the livelihood restoration programs adequately. The LHDA adopted a compensation policy which offers cash, land for land, or grains in replacement of lost assets while the RDIP was concerned with implementing resettlement efficiently, and introducing livelihood restoration and development projects.

The bone of contention is that the LHDA compensation and the RDIP implementation have not delivered livelihoods restoration for PAPs. Particular interest is on PAPs who have had to forfeit their socio-economic environment through resettlement. The re-settlers were uprooted from an agriculture-based means of livelihood to an urban lifestyle where money and employment are the major means of livelihood. I argue that for efficient functioning, the policy and RDIP may need modification in contexts where misappropriation of funds, unclear implementation structures and lack of will challenge effective implementation.

### **1.4 Research Question(s) OR Research Objective(s)**

The principal research objective in this qualitative study is to explore how the LHDA compensation policy and the RDIP have impacted the livelihoods of project-affected communities almost 25 years after implementation. Subsidiary research objectives include:

- Establishing the perceptions of project-affected communities on whether compensation for lost assets was adequate and applied as agreed and stated.

This objective will:

- Examine how the compensation packages were disbursed as per agreements.



- Enquire about the adequacy of the compensation to replace lost assets.
- Gather perceptions of PAPs on individual and communal compensation.
  - Examining the impacts of the resettlement and development implementation programme (rural to urban) with regard to adaptation in new area, and livelihoods restoration of the resettled communities.

This objective will:

- Explore whether the implementation of the resettlement program was efficient.
- Explore the various coping strategies used in adapting to urban life.
- Enquire about the different perceptions and attitudes to adaptation.
  - Examine the experiences of PAPs in line with socio-economic effects brought about by forced removal from their indigenous homes.

This objective will:

- Enquire the understanding on pre-resettlement socio-economic status.
- Interrogate PAPs income generation or employment status.
- Look into their financial support systems.
- Evaluate the vulnerability/exposure of PAPs to poverty.

## **1.5 Rationale for the Study**

With the construction of Phase 1B (Mohale Dam) beginning in the late 1990s, residents of Ha-Seotsa and Ha-Tsapane became key players in giving way for the reservoir. These two villages are part of the 321 households, with approximately 1 900 household members, from 14 villages which were resettled. The above were resettled from Ha-Mohale to various urban and lowlands villages (Devitt & Hitchcock, 2010), but focus will be on the Ha-Mosalla and Makhoakhoeng re-settlers. The communities under study have almost half a century of experience with one of Africa's largest water transfers between Lesotho and South Africa.

The study is motivated by three main standpoints: the interest of testing theories and frameworks which address the sustainable livelihoods of communities affected by developmental projects; secondly, what is practically being implemented on-ground as compared to what was promised on paper; then thirdly the study is motivated by the



researcher's passion to understand intimately the impacts of resettlement on livelihoods of her fellow countrymen who dependent on compensation to sustain a family.

It is significant to understand theories and frameworks that have shaped resettlement policies in development projects. Frameworks such as that of sustainable development is vital in critically assessing the sustainability of the LHWP compensation and RDIP for resettled communities. It is further imperative to understand theories on social impacts of development projects, the uprooting of a community from a rural setting to a foothills or urban setting is life-changing and has an all-round impact on the affected lives.

The re-settlers were placed among unfamiliar people (host villages), and were expected to adapt to a foreign economy, and to basically rewire their entire way of life. Subsistence farming and rearing of animals was the backbone of the re-settlers' livelihoods, economy and their means to development. As such, having been moved from this type of lifestyle by a so called 'development project' raised legitimate expectations on the PAPs' side. They expect a social betterment from the LHWP, while at national level economic development for Basotho was, and still is, what the country strives to gain through the LHWP. This leads the study into exploring how much the policies and programs of the LHWP are vested in poverty alleviation.

Furthermore, an understanding of a practical justification on how projects impact the sustainable development and livelihoods of communities is necessary. Lesotho has signed up to build five large dams, whose primary objective is to benefit South Africans while the secondary objective is supplying Lesotho's urban communities with hydropower (Manwa, 2014). Communities affected by resettlement face perplexing life changes particularly those relocated to urban areas. The LHWP, through their compensation policy and RDIP, were intended to ease the resettlement and relocation processes. The questions to be explored are: have they really eased PAPs' transition into urban life? Have they provided them with sustainable livelihoods? Lastly, have their compensation packages and livelihood restoration projects enabled them to provide a sustainable future for their families? And are these legacies sufficient to be passed on to PAPs' future generations? Critically exploring the compensation policy and the RDIP with regard to whether they promote sustainable development and livelihoods, the findings will inform the Lesotho Highlands Development

Authority (LHDA), government, NGOs and development partners on developing policies that are pro the environment and PAPs.

On a more personal level, the researcher is passionate about this study because of a background in social work. The researcher thus shares a deeper understanding of the importance of capacitating people (especially isolated rural Basotho) to be able to attain a sustainable livelihood and development. Most importantly, the study will be a tool through which the resettled persons express their views on what they deem as an ideal livelihood in order to attain sustainable development, and from these views, improved compensation policies could be drawn.

## 1.6 Delimitations of the Study

The study is conducted with two communities that were relocated to the lowlands of Maseru, in the area of Thaba-Bosiu in the village of Ha-Mosalla which is about a 75km from Mohale Dam. The second village, namely Makhoakhoeng, is located in the urban areas of the city (Maseru) which is approximately 115km from Mohale Dam. Further data was collected from LHDA personnel located at the LHDA head office. And it is further important to get a perspective of those who were not affected by the LHWP, and are still located in Mohale (inadvertent PAPs). Below is a map of all areas that the 322 households from the Mohale region were resettled to.



Figure 4: Source- Devitt & Hitchcock (2010) –Receiving areas/Host villages

## 1.7 Chapter Outline

**Chapter two** -This chapter entails the literature review whereby the study is situated in academic research. The literature discussed in this chapter has helped in gaining a better understanding of the study, and the knowledge gained from similar studies and theories has shaped and directed the research. Some of the theories discussed in the chapter include: development induced displacement; social impacts of development; sustainable livelihoods discussed and adopted by the DFID in many of their development projects globally; and sustainable compensation, pioneered by writers such as Cernea (1997). I conclude the chapter with a summary of the literature.

**Chapter three**- The methodology applied in this study is discussed in detail. The chapter entails the strategies and methods implemented in data collection. These include focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. Furthermore, the processes of data collection with participants are discussed. The chapter also indicates how data was analysed and the data collected, and presents the limitations of the study. Then a summary of the chapter is provided.

**Chapter four**- This chapter presents the study findings enabled by data collected from LHDA and LHWC personnel, PAPs and inadvertent PAPs. The study presents the positive finding of how the LHWP enhanced certain elements of PAPs' lives. While on a more depressing side the negatives are presented, and they have been found to outweigh the positives. The summary of the chapter is presented.

**Chapter five**- This chapter delves into the results of the analysed data. These results answer the initial concern raised in the study which is whether the LHDA compensation and RDIP have promoted sustainable livelihoods for the resettled PAPs. The chapter includes the discussion on effects of not implementing development programs for PAPs, and the impact of resettlement on the participants.

**Chapter six**- This concluding chapter entails key findings, limitations of the study, and the recommendations I make for LHWP, LHDA and governments of Lesotho and South Africa to consider. These recommendations are important as they have the

capability to reshape the Phase 2 (Polihali Dam) compensation plan before its formal implementation.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

The study draws from bodies of literature that have a direct bearing on it. Underpinning this chapter, are contributions from various scholars interrogating large dam development projects. The chapter explores the literature and theories, and attempts to tie the theoretical standpoint to the presented literature. Understanding the theoretical perspective provides an informed analysis on why certain events under the LHWP unfolded as they did.

From 1989, the World Bank has been the main funder of LHWP. It has further given guidance through policies and guidelines towards making the LHWP a success (Hitchcock, 2015). The World Bank aims at funding dam projects for purposes of national development, poverty reduction, and economic development measures for host communities (Cernea, 2003). The development components within the LHWP treaty as per World Bank standards are secondary measures, whose purpose is to simply ensure PAPs living standards are not lowered (World Bank, 2001). On the contrary, Tilt, Braun & He (2008) considers the rural poor (PAPs) as burdened with an unequal share of the losses (social and assets) from these schemes. Likewise, PAPs arguably are on an inadequate receiving end of benefit sharing (Thamae & Pottinger, 2006). Thamae & Pottinger further indicate that Lesotho through the LHWP is no stranger to the burden brought about by the so called 'development projects'. The LHDA continued from phase 1A into phase 1B to give less attention to the development and livelihoods restoration of resettled PAPs. Yet the World Bank clearly stipulates that the main goal of development projects is to implement poverty reduction strategies (Thamae & Pottinger, 2006).

The LHWP subscribes to the standards and guidelines of the World Bank on dams as it is its main funder. It is thus important to understand how the World Bank influences large development projects. From the 1980s into the 90s the World Bank, as the leading funder of dam developments, drew guidelines considered most comprehensive in executing resettlement, social and environmental protection during implementation of development projects (WCD, 2000). The World Bank (2013; 37) states that "displaced persons should be assisted in their efforts to improve their livelihoods and standards of living or at least to

restore them, in real terms, to pre-displacement levels or to levels prevailing prior to the beginning of project implementation, whichever is higher”.

Although the guidelines have been a blueprint to countless dam developments, they have also suffered criticism for only focusing on the restoration of PAPs’ lives to pre-resettlement standards. This basically translates to offering PAPs nothing beyond what they already had. Arguments conversely emphasise the importance of improving PAPs’ standards of living as an effort to ensure they do not fall into poverty considering resettlement challenges they are faced with. As argued by the WCD, (2000), PAPs’ livelihoods need to be improved not just restored by development organisations and governments. Nonetheless it becomes a challenge for developing countries to stand their ground and insist that the World Bank should consider a review of guidelines to match those of the WCD (Hitchcock, 2015).

Among the major challenges PAPs endure is loss of land, hence the WCD advocates for greater support to restore the livelihoods of those who largely depended on land as a means of livelihood. Of great importance, Cernea (1997) identifies landlessness as one of the propellers of impoverishment as it is one of the major resettlement impacts. According to WCD (2000), expropriation of arable land results in loss of means of livelihood. Lesotho and Basotho, particularly those in rural areas, have their entire livelihoods system intertwined with their environment (including livestock and crop farming). Hence land is the most valuable asset for most Basotho families. It is therefore vital that development organisations protect the welfare of those whose land is expropriated (Lee & Ali, 2016).

## **2.2 Development induced displacement**

Theories of displacement play a vital role in the research. It is key to understand that different theoretical views and approaches to displacement may yield different impacts among PAPs. Displacement involves expropriation of land (productive land), eviction from one’s dwelling and the loss of other assets. Theoretical models of displacement are discussed to understand different approaches to displacement.

### *The DFDR*

Development-forced displacement and resettlement (DFDR) research emerged in the early 1990s motivated by the rising displacements that were caused by development prior to the 90s (Dwivedi 1997). DFDR researchers are mainly concerned with the prevalent practice by development organisations in compensating displaced and resettled people with money. Compensating lost assets with cash overlooks the invaluable socio-cultural losses resettlement imposes on the PAPs (Scudder, 2012; Cernea, 2008). Cash compensation in resettlement programs is further treated as a one-time event, regrettably overlooking complex patterns. Such patterns as seen in livelihood webs; sense of belonging within a community, and resilience and ability to reconstruct themselves (PAPs). The distortion of these patterns may result in PAPs losing their livelihoods due to displacement. Thus no amount of compensation can be enough for PAPs to reconstruct their livelihoods in new circumstances. According to McDonald-Wilmsen & Webber (2010), in most cases PAPs navigate their new environments with less or no assistance from those who displaced them.

### *The IRR*

The Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model has arguably been the most influential and all-round contribution to modern-day resettlement studies (McDonald-Wilmsen & Webber, 2010). Proposed in the 1990s by Michael Cernea, the theory became a game changer. Cernea is considered to be an authoritative voice in the field of displacement and settlement. The theory's main concern is identifying impoverishment risks which are interwoven with forced resettlement. The IRR further aims at reconstructing the displaced livelihoods. This is achieved through understanding the inter-linkages of the nature of displacement and the emergent socio-economic problems. Thereafter, remedies may be identified, paving the way for community reconstruction Cernea (1997). This theory and model enable the researcher to understand the challenges presented by displacement. It goes further to understand what initiatives have been made to reconstruct the livelihoods of the resettled PAPs. The theory is not one-sided whereby it only looks at the negative impacts; rather it aims at addressing such challenges through efforts of reconstruction. The IRR model unpacks the complex process of displacement, identifying its principal risks and the recurrent risks (Cernea, 2000: 34), and the following are identified:

- Landlessness
- Homelessness
- Joblessness
- Marginalization

- Increased morbidity and mortality
- Loss of common property
- Food insecurity
- Social disarticulation.

In addition to the identification of quantifiable risks (landlessness, joblessness, homelessness), the model magnifies the significance of recognising the cultural and social aspects in the debate on resettlement and displacement.

There are critiques on these theories; it is augured that it is too idealistic. De Wet (2005) is concerned with the optimism in IRR, which emphasises that improved planning will enable a problem-free displacement. De Wet's main concern lies in IRR turning a blind eye to complexities that are inherent in resettlement, which include political motivations, lack or mismanagement of funds, and lack of institutional capacity. He proposes that resettlement planning should adopt flexible approaches, and be open-ended (De Wet, 1999).

### *The Justice Theory*

John Rawls' 'General Conception' of Justice Theory is explored in an effort to understand how resettlement and compensation in the LHWP affected the livelihoods of the displaced and resettled PAPs. In his theory, Rawls calls upon justice for the displaced people. According to Rawls(1971) displaced people should be empowered in terms of wealth and income, liberty and opportunity, and in social-bases for respect (these include social organisation that will allow the displaced peoples' cultural practices to survive). This theory takes an interesting perspective to displacement. While other theories may overlook social-bases for respect, in the context of Lesotho it is essential. The LHWP displaced people from rural agrarian communities to urban communities whose lifestyles differ drastically. Fitting in and being able to practise cultural rights and have a network of social relationships is imperative among Basotho.

## **2.3 Social impacts of development projects theory**

A social impact may be defined as a significant deterioration or improvement of an individual or community (Huang *et al.*, 2018). There is a school of thought among sociologists who view SIA as a philosophy; they argue that it connects development, equity and democracy



rather than just a methodological tool to measure development interventions (Vanclay, 2002; Lockie, 2007). There is however a growing concern globally on the social costs inflicted by large dam projects on communities. Large dam projects are run by corporate/organizations whose behaviours and decisions have an impact on its stakeholders (communities they operate within). It is Social Impact Analysis's central premise to ensure such organisations understand these impacts (Dietz, 1987). These grave concerns led to the formation of the 1998 World Commission on Dams and publication of 'systematic assessment of large dams around the world' in the year 2000 (WCD, 2000), which was the first study of its stature.

The LHWP is one such project that requires examination of its social impact across numerous geographical scales and through time (Tilt, Braun & He, 2008). These impacts are analysed using the SIA framework which:

*embodies all human impacts including aesthetic impacts (landscape analysis), archaeological (heritage) impacts, community impacts, cultural impacts, demographic impacts, development impacts, economic and fiscal impacts, gender assessment, health impacts, indigenous rights, infrastructural impacts, institutional impacts, political impacts (human rights, governance, democratization etc.), poverty assessment, psychological impacts, resource issues (access and ownership of resources), tourism impacts, and other impacts on societies (Vanclay, 2002; 2).*

The SIA impact categories are suitable in the context of the LHWP. The impact this large developmental project has had within the country cuts across all the above mentioned categories. It is important to assess the social impacts of displacement and resettlement which are motivated by large dam projects. This will enable formulation of adequate mitigation measures to address the undesirable social impact, additionally, it will be a great leap towards achieving general sustainable development goals (Huang *et al.*, 2018).

## **2.4 Sustainable livelihoods**

The concept of sustainable livelihoods was initiated by the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development in 1987. It was aimed at linking the socio-economic and the ecological considerations, in a policy-relevant structure. The concept was further expanded at

the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). The UNCED aligned the concept with Agenda 21, whereby sustainable livelihoods was adopted as a goal for eradicating poverty (Krantz, 2001). Integrating the concept into policy enables tackling three main factors simultaneously: poverty eradication, sustainable resource management, and development (Krantz, 2001).

The sustainable livelihoods definition was proposed in 1992 by Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway. In their definition there are five key components. According to the Department for International Development (DFID 1999) the components are human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital and financial capital. Supporters of this concept strongly believe it is befitting to examine the impact large dam projects have on PAPs' livelihoods (Manwa, 2014; Mashinini, 2010). A sustainable livelihood is defined as the capacity of the present generation to attain their basic needs and their entitlements efficiently and adequately from their livelihood web. This must be attained without jeopardizing abilities of future generations to achieve the same. Achieving a sustainable livelihood therefore minimizes stresses, shocks, and vulnerabilities (Mashinini, 2010).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach's flexibility and openness to changes makes it adaptable to a diversity of local contexts. The approach can be an analytical tool that helps identify development priorities, or other development activities before commencement of project processes (GLOPP, 2008). These are considered as the strengths of this approach. There are some loopholes to the sustainable livelihoods approach. Its holistic nature makes it heavily detailed, which requires time for meticulous execution. Unfortunately, developmental projects globally have a record of being implemented within limited time frames (GLOPP, 2008).

## **2.5 Sustainable Compensation**

Compensation is defined by Cernea (2008) as a financial tool used by countries in cases where people are resettled, lose assets and experience land expropriation. Compensation plans have been criticised widely for failing to improve lives. Its critics define it as "vested with almost mythical virtues, as if it were able to cure all the ills of uprooting, dispossession, emotional pain, expropriation and economic impoverishment inflicted by forced

displacement” (Cernea, 2008: 90) It is however a sad reality that in large development projects such as dam constructions, PAPs not only lose assets which are compensated with money, but also lose their way of life, the livelihoods that define them and make them unique.

The impacts of development projects range from loss of common pool assets, land, income opportunities, and breaking of social networks (which too can be a safety net) (Ty, Westen, Zoomers, 2013). It should however be noted that the World Bank as the main funder of large dam projects has addressed the impacts experienced by PAPs. In their guideline of 2013, the World Bank has repeatedly advocated for maintenance or where possible, improvement of livelihoods of PAPs (World Bank, 2013). It is however concerning as previously mentioned, that the World Bank’s priority rests on restoration of standard of living, yet is silent on some critical factors that contribute to prosperous livelihood of any individual. These factors include: rehabilitation among new hosts, minimised shocks and social risks, protection of welfare and rights, redevelopment support, and adequate resource allocation (Ty *et al.*, 2013).

Dam projects are normally build in areas with deep gorges and abundance of Feeder Rivers that can be channelled. This is qualified by Ty *et al.* (2013) when indicating that apart from dams being in remote mountainous areas, it further affects people who do not have clearly defined land market prices. This is as a result of being isolated from service providers such as land authorities, thus they are unaware of the value of their land. This leaves the developers to determine the value of their land. Involuntary resettlements have proven to be major economic, political, and ethical problems widely in induced developments such as construction of dams (Cernea, 2003).

The compensation theory cannot be divorced from economic theories. It is vital that economic theorists include, in their feasibility studies, the impacts compensation packages may have on the livelihoods of the PAPs. Cernea (2003) argues that by definition, compensation does not provide PAPs with anything beyond repayment, and the repayment is in most cases equal to what they had before. Therefore, to achieve sustainable compensation programs Cernea (2003) speaks of three factors that can be considers as pillars, these are:

- The consideration of economic grounds. PAPs who have been resettled should be given priority to accelerate forgone economic growth in order to catch up with expected standard of living.
- Policy consistency is key. A mismatch has been identified in numerous formal resettlement policies (particularly when comparing goals to means). The means of compensation are worryingly not commensurate with the restoration goals, nor those of improvement and development.
- There must be consideration of poverty reduction. It is objectionable to allow what is deemed new poverty to grow under what are considered as development projects which are claimed to have the capability of reducing existing poverty.

## **2.6 Lesotho Highlands Water Projects and Sustainable Livelihoods**

Several studies conducted by scholars whose research was concerned with the LHWP impacts on PAPs will be discussed in this section. The studies have focused on health and socio-cultural impacts of LHWP; micro and macro-economic impacts; community participation in the compensation and resettlement inception and implementation phases; Social Impact Analysis framework as a tool used to assess LHWP impacts; PAP resettlement experiences and the assessment of living standards as prescribed by the Treaty and policy. More focus should be directed to livelihoods restoration; hence the study aims to contribute towards that knowledge base. The LHWP displaced over 20,000 rural Basotho during Phase 1A and 1B (Katse and Mohale Dams). They were forced into leaving their homes and land (Mwangi, 2007). Over and above Maema & Reynolds (1995) reported the underestimation made by project planners of numbers of the displaced persons by 600 percent. These numbers are for both phase 1A and 1B, it is thus important to question whether these masses have been adequately supported to attain sustainable livelihoods in their host communities.

According to Devitt & Hitchcock (2010: 57), “large dam projects are often regarded by governments to be in the national interest and therefore take precedence over any local

interests”. Governments believe citizens must understand the legitimate expectation that those affected by development projects are duty bound to sacrifice their livelihoods and welfare for the greater good of the whole nation. Devitt & Hitchcock (2010) highlight that, although governments expect the PAPs to sacrifice their livelihoods, it becomes a bitter pill for those affected, as project managers and governments strive to rollout their compensation and resettlement at the lowest conceivable cost.

The livelihoods change for the PAPs is of concern as it may bring positive or negative implications for the affected. In his study: *Shifts from Old to New Social and Ecological Environments in the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme; Relocating Residents of the Mohale Dam Area*, Thabane (2000) focuses on the livelihood changes of PAPs. He interacts with PAPs to understand their experiences with the LHWP.

Multiple testimonies on displacement impacts are shared by a number of scholars. Thabane (2000) captures the fears, insecurities, anxieties and stresses the PAPs had to grapple with while they were preparing to leave their homes to their new host communities. “This change in their lives from independent self-sufficient peasants to employment-seeking laborers was a shift that the Molika-liko community was going to take a long time to make. In the words of one resident, 'chasing around [for jobs] and getting used to looking for jobs is another long job’” (Thabane, 2000: 647). The experiences of project-affected Basotho of the Mohale area (Molika-liko) indicate that the LHWP prioritised engineers and investors’ concerns over those of communities affected by the dam construction.

The administration of Mohale Dam (Phase 1B) was refined and improved, informed by lessons learned from Katse Dam Phase 1A concerning poor policy performance which resulted in disruptions in the environment and local communities. In ensuring Phase 1A disruptions do not reoccur in Phase 1B, Hunting-Consult 4 Joint Venture was appointed from 1995-1997. The consultants were mandated to draw an implementation plan within which the compensation and rehabilitation policy were included. The consultants further had to plan for resettlement program for Mohale Dam PAPs as per the World Bank procedures and standards (Devitt & Hitchcock, 2010). The “LHDA’s legal obligation was to ensure that members of local communities affected by flooding, construction works, or other similar project-related causes maintain a standard of living not inferior to that obtaining at the time of first disturbance” (Devitt & Hitchcock, 2010:71). This was mandatory as per the 1986 Order

(Government Gazette) which supported the legal obligation, and among its key priorities, housing took precedence. This meant that all households resettled would be build new decent houses in their host communities.

As a result of the study conducted by Hunting-Consult 4 Joint Venture, the compensation policy of 1997 was drafted. The compensation package covered replacement of houses and other affected facilities (e.g. latrines, kraals and livestock pens). According to the LHDA compensation policy (1997), cash compensation for loss of land (arable), trees and forests, and general loss of communal natural resources was provided for. The affected households had a choice of opting for a lump sum payment, receiving grains annually over a period of 50 years of the project life or the land for land option. While grazing land was compensated through giving fodder to those with animals.

The LHWP has since its initial stages, to date, remained a controversial development, which has been debated from community levels to scholarly levels (Scudder, 2012). It is however imperative to interrogate the role of the LHDA RDIP and compensation policy in achieving sustainable livelihoods of the resettled PAPs. Vusi Mashinini in his 2010 article '*The Lesotho Highlands Water Project and Sustainable Livelihoods*' immaculately focuses on the issues of sustainable livelihoods. The bone of contention in this article is on whether dam developments are promoting or hindering sustainable development and sustainable livelihoods of those in communities and areas impacted by dam development. It has been stated that on a global level, millions have suffered the consequences of resettlement due to dam developments, all in the name of national development. The LHWP-affected communities are not immune to this narrative. Mashinini (2010), further suggests that mitigation measures must be implemented in order to curb the impacts of dam projects on PAPs. Within the LHDA programs, plans were designed on how to restore livelihoods, and start-up development programs. However, there are no clear implementation stipulations within the documents A closer look into "temporal and inter-generational aspects of compensation policies is mandatory so as to devise and implement policies that would make sure that the dam impacted communities are not left worse off today and in future than they were before dam projects" Mashinini, (2010: 8).

Furthermore, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the region's water policy of 2005 has stipulated that member countries should identify negatives and positives

of dam construction (SADC, 2005). This was done upon realisation of a wide variety of unforeseen impacts caused by such projects that have not adequately been assessed by development partners in collaboration with affected communities. Mashinini (2010) therefore suggested that SADC, through its water sector, should implement mitigations that are tailor made for the SADC region. He argues that SADC should to not adopt western policies as they are. One of the recommendations made by Mashinini (2010:8) reads as:

*SADC states need to ensure that local traditional governance is not displaced by 'modern' structures introduced by the dam projects because the former are known, 'established' and recognised over generations by the local communities, and they often act as the umbilical cord that links them with their livelihood web, as provided by their environment. This is necessary for the minimisation of the vulnerability context of the dam impacted communities.*

Evidently SADC does have clear and good policies; however there should be improved policy enforcement in order to guarantee dam impacted PAPs improved and sustainable livelihoods (Mashinini, 2010). It should further be noted that Lesotho is far more experienced in terms of dam developments than most countries, due to the magnitude of the LHWP. Thus SADC has a golden opportunity in the upcoming LHWP phases to make an input towards prioritising the livelihoods of PAPs.

## **2.7 Summary**

In summary, this chapter entails theories and frameworks applicable to the research. The chapter further included some of the major studies conducted by scholars on the resettlement, compensation, and livelihoods restoration of Basotho affected by the LHWP, under the administration of the LHDA. A few frameworks have been discussed which are useful in identifying impacts and drawing mitigation plans to ensure restoration of livelihoods. The discussed theories will be applied to the study findings. Such theories as the SIA and the IRR have displayed an all-encompassing character that can be applied in the context of Lesotho and further inform the data analysis process. The literature has further magnified the fact that development projects in most cases compromise the welfare of those affected. The theories cited here will form the backbone of the study for later analysis and presentation of results.

## Chapter 3: Research methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

When undertaking research one has to choose their standpoint which will shape and guide the research. In this study the researcher adopted a social constructivist stance. Social constructivism identifies human development as socially situated, whereby interaction with others results in knowledge construction (McKinley, 2015). Social constructivism “allows for necessary qualitative analysis to reveal insights on how people interact with the world. Social constructivist theory asserts that people’s ideas coincide with their experiences” (McKinley, 2015: 1). This research seeks to understand and uncover how the prevailing resettlement and compensation practices influence development and how they can be challenged. A qualitative research is thus most relevant as it enables value-laden concepts to be subjected equally to various interpretations and contestations.

Another important decision a researcher must make is choosing a relevant research method to guide the research study. Having to choose the correct method to collect and analyse data among a variety of methods is very essential in research. The method chosen is a guiding framework which helps address the research questions and objectives (Bryman, 2012). Using an exploratory analysis approach, a document analysis was undertaken to obtain past experiences. Various bodies of literature were explored to understand the phenomenon of communities whose sustainable livelihoods under the LHWP have been previously studied. Empirical data was collected using primary methods which include in-depth interviews (for PAPs, inadvertent PAPs and LHWP personnel), and focus groups. The study adopted a triangulation of methods through the use of desk research and primary data collection methods.

One may link the exploratory analysis to life history research. Life history gives an understanding that people are unique in their own right and they have different histories, temperaments and purposes. Most importantly, it helps us understand that people interact with life challenges in different ways, hence the different life experience outcomes. “The life history approach is probably the only authentic means of understanding how motives and practices reflect the intimate intersection of institutional and individual experience in the



postmodern world” Dhunpath, (2000: 544). The reality is that our lives are inherently a narrative ongoing story; our experiences and the way we represent them are presented narratively. Presenting biographies or other forms of life presentations enables us to identify significant life events, tipping points and growth episode, and further enables us to witness continuities and discontinuities. Kelchtermans (1993) asserts that the biographic perspective as a theoretical approach is characterized by five general features. The features are defined as *narrative, contextualistic, dynamic, constructivistic and interactionistic*.

Among advocates that believe life histories should be used as an academic tool are Carol Witherall and Nel Noddings (1991: 280), who suggest:

*“Telling our stories can be cathartic and liberating. But it is more than that. Stories are powerful research tools. They provide us with a picture of real people in real situations, struggling with real problems. They banish the indifference often generated by samples, treatments and faceless subjects. They invite us to speculate on what might be changed and with what effect. And, of course, they remind us of our persistent fallibility.” (Indented quotations are not inverted as they already stand out as quotations. Unless this is the style you have been told to use. However, the usual way is to use inverted commas for within-text quotes, not on stand-alone.)*

Through adopting this paradigm, the researcher has been better positioned to fully understand the participants’ views, concerns and ideas. This paradigm has afforded the researcher a chance to intimately understand and interpret each participant’s story, thereafter be able to draw similar trends from their stories.

In the following subsections, the methods that were used to carry out data collection will be discussed. They include individual in-depth interviews, focused group discussions and documents analysis. Data collection was conducted in Sesotho as it is the mother tongue which the majority of participants were comfortable with. For the research reporting, the data was translated to English.

## 3.2 Research Methods

This section will present methods used in the study:

### 3.2.1 Documents analysis

Document analysis method of inquiry comprises of documents such as institutional reports, journals study reports, policies and newspapers. These documents/reports are analytically examined for relevant data that may contribute towards the study at hand (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). Documents analysis method is a secondary data collection method, whereby other researchers' data or institutional policies and reports are analysed (Bryman, 2012). This type of method enables the researcher to gain background and insight on the historical context of the phenomena being studied. It is further advantageous as it corroborates data with multiple sources, and in assessing change and progress/development. The historical background planning, interventions and reports of the LHWP have been sourced through a documents analysis. In particular resentment (This word is misplaced here, did you mean 'resettlement'?) planning, policy dimensions, environmental action plan and all the implementation processes were relevant for the study's documents analysis for Mohale Dam Phase 1B.

Documents analysis has been advantageous in giving this study an insightful background, and shed light on the progress that has been made thus far. In the preceding (To avoid repetition of 'previous') chapter on literature, previous studies looked into the impacts resettlement has brought onto resettled PAPs particularly those who transited from rural to urban. Thabane (2000) in his article *'Shifts from Old to New Social and Ecological Environments in the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme; Relocating Residents of the Mohale Dam Area'*, articulates these experiences well. This article among others helps in providing early days of post resettlement and last days of pre-settlement of the PAPs. It provides a rich background which acts as a foundation for this research. Without such well articulated past events, the research may have been unable to acquire details which would have been blurred if captured through interviews because of time and memory loss of participants.

### 3.2.2 In-depth interviews

Interviewing is considered as an integral part in ethnographic studies. It requires that relevant questions should be asked in order to gather relevant information from participants (Bernard, 1995), while those knowledgeable about the phenomenon being studied are considered as key informants. Interviewing is thus valued as a first-hand means of collecting empirical data, and further relates to social realities whereby people are asked questions in their real life contexts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). This method involves conducting rigorous individual interviews. The number of respondents is usually small to allow an intensive exploration of their perspectives on an idea, situation or program being studied (Boyce, 2006). I chose this technique with confidence that it would pave way for a rich understanding of how the LHWP conducted the whole compensation and resettlement process. Most importantly, the connections the resettled persons have with the project, and their perceptions on livelihoods.

There are seven main purposes for researchers to conduct qualitative interviews. These include: integrating multiple perspectives, developing holistic descriptions, identification of variables, well framed hypothesis, developing a detailed description of events, describing processes, and understanding inter-subjectivities of research interest (Weiss, 1995). This form of data collection serves to address the aforementioned objectives, particularly those that address perceptions of PAPs. The limitation to this method is that it can be prone to bias (Bryman, 2012). In gathering data, the researcher found it befitting to interview resettled people, inadvertent PAPs, the LHDA and LHWC personnel (implementing agencies). In addition to the conducted interviews, the researcher was an observer in civil society organised marches which were advocating for the rights of the PAPs.

The resettled people were the key participants, and therefore provided first-hand information on how the LHWP with regard to compensation, resettlement and livelihood restoration has affected them. The non-affected and not resettled persons (inadvertent PAPs) provided vital information on how life is in the original place of Mohale, with regard to opportunities and livelihoods. The inadvertent PAPs were initially considered as unaffected by the LHWP, thus they were intended to serve as a control group. The main purpose for control interviews was to provide a comparative analysis against information provided by resettled PAPs.

The researcher became an observer in marches organised by a civil society organisation by the name of Survivors of Lesotho Dams (SOLD). Being an observer in marches where PAPs submitted their grievances and suggestions to the LHDA gave insight to issues that affect and

concern the PAP general community. Moreover, it contributed in enhancing understanding towards how implementation and execution of programs ought to have been rolled out. Moreover, how the advocacy is influencing policy and implementation (particularly on resettlement) processes. Officials from the LHWC and LHDA were interviewed with the purpose of gathering insights on how policy implementation was executed, the rationale behind some of their approaches, what problems were encountered, and how encountered challenges were and continue to be navigated and mitigated.

Qualitative research however comes with its challenges. While conducting data collection the main concern was the tension that has grown over the years between the resettled communities and the LHDA. Such tension contributed to some of the respondents displaying defensiveness and anger towards the LHDA. Some respondents, whether officials or PAPs, strive to prove that the project is a success story, or it has failed dismally. This issues proved to be challenging during data collection; further details will be shared in the section exploring limitations of the study.

### ***3.2.3 Focus groups***

In qualitative research, focus groups help capture group/community dynamics. It further helps the researcher establish levels of consensus among the group (especially on study interest) and diversity of the participants' viewpoints (Kitzinger, 1995; Morgan, 1996). Kitzinger (1995) identifies a group process as being helpful in allowing people to explore and freely clarify their views as a group. A focused group was useful in the first interaction with the selected participants. It enabled them to discuss and remind each other of the events that have taken place over the last 18 and 21 years of their resettlement. A focus group was selected as the best introductory method to data collection. Beginning with one-on-one interviews would have most probably yielded poor results as most were unable to remember some of the events the group gave detailed a detailed account of. It may have resulted in loss of important data that had to be captured. This method further addresses the area of concern of moving from rural to urban life, and how this transition impacted them as a group. The limitation to focus group is that some participants can overpower others, and discussion can be too lengthy which may drain some of the participants. Nonetheless the researcher attempted to limit the risk of this limitation occurring by providing refreshments (watermelon and roman creams).

### **3.2.4 Life histories**

Qualitative research has various methods of data collection among which there is *life history* interviews. Life history is a type of method that requires respondents to give their subjective life events of a given period, in their words, with freedom of expression (Olive, 2014). Dhunpath, (2000: 547) argues that “narrative research challenges the notion of there being no ‘truth’, but only a series of subjective views. Particular kinds of truth are lodged in people’s narratives”. Life history has the potential of providing a deeper understanding of events contributing in shaping a person’s life. This form of research method has however been criticised for its relativism of the truth that is associated with constructing and analysing biographies. Moreover life history research is criticised for being subjected to small samples due to the intensive time consuming interviewing that has to be undergone (Dhunpath, 2000). Nonetheless, although life histories or narrative research are criticised, the depth and richness of the data collected using these methods is invaluable, while empirical research is less likely to yield such depth and richness of data due to large samples. The data collected in this research was detailed and pure due to the use of life histories method.

### **3.2.5 Informal interviews**

Informal interviews are considered to resemble casual conversations a researcher may have with participants while collecting data. It is however argued that the line between casual/normal conversations and informal interviews is blurred. Informal interviews are advantageous in that they allow information to be gathered from respondents while they are in their most natural context (Fontein, 2014). On the contrary, planned interviews may be challenged with participants holding back.

While conducting data collection the researcher was introduced to the SOLD chairperson by some of the participants (the PAPs). He has written a number of articles on the LHWP including: *On the Wong Side of Development: Lessons Learned from the Lesotho Highlands Water Project*. The chairperson therefore invited the researcher to join them in their peace marches. The marches enabled the researcher to interact with a large number of re-settlers and some of the LHDA personnel who were representing the LHDA to receive the grievance letters. Such engagements were easily and spontaneously conducted due to no language barrier, both

researcher and participants speak Sesotho as their first language. The conversations were most beneficial in refining and shaping some of the formal interview questions, and shed light on how best the researcher could probe to squeeze more information from the participants. It may however be concerning to use this method as ethical boundaries may be compromised. The researcher was however within ethical boundaries. As Fontein (remember the earlier comment on the previous page) (2014), highlights, having casual conversations with respondents who are already fully aware of the intentions of the researcher, allows for such information to be used.

In order to see through the above data collection methods, the researcher had to strategically plan and have tasks in line in order to efficiently achieve data collection. The following section will give a layout of the undertaken tasks, and give reasons why they were executed in the manner they were.

### **3.3 Tasks Guiding Data Collection**

The study was guided by a series of tasks that were intentionally conducted in a sequence outlined below.

- a) The researcher began the journey by familiarizing herself with the environment chosen as the study area, and by building rapport with the resettled PAPs who were the intended participants.
- b) The second visit was intended for conducting a focused group discussion with all the PAPs of the study area. The focused group was a great tool to start with because some of the events to be discussed had occurred 18 years back. Therefore, gathering PAPs in a group was ideal as they would remind each other of important events and dates. Most importantly, the focused group was also helpful in gathering relevant documents, forms and receipts (each PAP brought what they had to the discussion table). Such documents as the Blue Cards, the Sesotho version compensation policy, forms and receipts on cash compensation were provided. The researcher further provided refreshments during discussions because they tended to take long.

- c) The next process after the focused groups was the one-on-one interviews. The main purpose of one-on-one interviews was to intimately get to understand each PAP's journey pre and post-resettlement. Such information would have been difficult to source in a focused group discussion.
- d) For a better understanding of what other PAPs view how they have been impacted by the LHWP, the researcher linked with a non-profit making organisation called Survivors of Lesotho Dams (SOLD). This is an organisation that basically fights for the rights of PAPs who have been affected by the LHWP, who according to SOLD have not been fairly compensated by the LHDA. Beyond and above, they advocated for a review of the treaty and the policies that have been guiding the LHWP, particularly those that affect Basotho. SOLD has been coordinating demonstrations for PAPs to the LHDA management. The researcher has been part of two of a series of ongoing demonstrations as an observer. The PAPs with the assistance of SOLD have written their grievances on compensation and development projects and their suggestions to the LHDA. They are calling for a speedy intervention to their raised concerns. Being part of these demonstration was intended to broaden the perspective on how major development projects affect people. It also gave the researcher an opportunity to interact with LHDA personnel informally so as to understand some of the processes undergone.
- e) With a better understanding of the processes and past events, the researcher was more confident in probing during interviews. Thus she continued with the one-on-one interviews with more confidence. It was also imperative to interview people who were not affected by resettlement nor lost assets due to dam development. Thus two households were interviewed. Both are located in Mohale and have never received any form of compensation directed to their families from the LHDA. The intention was to gather information on their lives and livelihoods pre and post dam construction.
- f) Interviews with LHDA personnel were scheduled towards the end of the data collection period. The main reason was to have more informed conversations with the personnel, and gathering data from the PAPs prior to the personnel would equip the researcher with necessary questions. The first interview was with a lady who was in a managerial position under the Lesotho Highlands Water Commission (LHWC). She was, at the time, representing the South African side. Gathering views from former employees, particularly from the partner

country (South Africa) provided rich and diverse perspectives. Further interviews were conducted with two gentlemen who are managers under the resettlement and compensation units. The two units are more relevant to the study, thus it was imperative to gather the views of decision-makers in the relevant units.

- g) The interviews resulted in accessing documents which are not easily accessed without authorization from the LHDA archives. Such include the Environmental Action Plan (the resettlement and development volume which is the most important tool for my data analysis.

### **3.4 Ethical considerations**

In ensuring the privacy and protection of the information gathered from study participants, a careful consideration of ethics had to be prioritized. It is of most importance to uphold the privacy and respect of those whose lives are under investigation. The following measures were conducted:

- *Informed consent*- the researcher is supposed to fully disclose to study participants, in a manner that is clear and understandable to them, what the purpose of the study is. Moreover, the researcher must disclose to the participants how the gathered data will be disseminated (Berg and Lune, 2004). Informed consent allows the prospective participants to make an informed decision whether they become part of the study or not. Consenting to a study is an ongoing process whereby the researcher checks with the participant throughout data collection whether they are still comfortable with participating in the study. Most importantly, the participant must be informed of their right to withdraw as study participants if at any point they feel uneasy about the process (Ryen, 2016).

As prescribed above, the purpose of the study was explained in Sesotho (the participants' first language). A clear stipulation of the participants' rights to voluntarily be part of the study, and to withdraw at any given time when they felt uncomfortable was made by the researcher. The researcher further asked for permission from the village chiefs and the LHDA management to collect data from the community and personnel respectively.



- *Integrity*- In conducting interviews and the presentation of findings, it was of utmost importance for the researcher to be mindful of all processes on maintaining the integrity of research participants. Upholding the integrity requires the researcher to capture the views of participants and present them as they are with as much honesty and respect possible.

First-hand knowledge characterizes qualitative studies; this is knowledge captured through the researcher engaging with the subject to gather personal insights and perspectives (Neuman, 2006). Moreover, integrity became key in interpreting data and presenting results, thus avoiding prejudiced interpretation of data. Therefore, in interacting with research participants and handling generated data, it was vital for the researcher to maintain sensitivity, integrity and honesty as far possible.

- *Confidentiality*- the data that was collected was solely used for this research. The respondents were consulted in all recordings that were made, and such recording was safely stored. The participants were further assured anonymity while presenting findings in the written thesis. Where anonymity was impossible, particularly with the LHDA personnel whose positions are disclosed in the study, permission was warranted by the respondents to do so.
- *No harm*-regardless of the participants voluntarily consenting to be part of the study, the researcher remained bound as per the ethical requirement to alleviate any harm to participants (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). The researcher was therefore constantly conscious of not imposing harm on participants. There are various forms of harm that the researcher had to be mindful of, and these included: physical, psychological, social or otherwise. This encompassed non-disclosure of information that could possibly endanger or humiliate people's lives in the findings of the research (Babbie and Mouton, 2001).

### **3.5 Limitations of the Study**

In this section, the researcher aims to share some of the limitations that may have possibly limited the study:

- The two senior managers interviewed at the LHDA both had not joined the LHDA when Phase 1B Mohale resettlement commenced. They provided vital information, but it would

have been ideal to have spoken to those who headed the resettlement and compensation departments at the time. I believe they would have provided more detailed challenges and achievements of the early days of the Project.

- Having chosen to conduct a qualitative study, the intention was to intimately understand the life-changing events the PAPs went through. Engaging on that level with them was emotionally draining because of the touching life changes they had to endure. The researcher thus experienced burnouts a number of times, which may have influenced the data collecting process negatively.
- Due to the intense qualitative nature of the research, the participants were selected to be a manageable size. The sample size thus may be subjected to criticism whether the results are generally what the general community of resettled PAPs experienced. Nonetheless documents analysis curbed this problem, whereby previous studies supported the research findings.
- The PAPs have been interviewed by many previous researchers, and they have already voiced their concerns in media houses on how they have been unfairly treated by the LHWP. This poses a challenge because the PAPs at times have expectation that the study will advance their concerns to relevant offices. Some, on the other hand, have developed fatigue on issues concerning the LHWP and the LHDA.
- While conducting focused groups, there are community tensions that arise. In the case of this research, two participants who had family feuds, physically fought during an interview. This unfortunate event delayed data collection because the researcher had to involve the village chief to intervene. Further interventions were conducted through having the two families meet to iron out issues. Moreover, after the interventions the researcher had to take a break from data collection in that village so as to allow normalcy to reign again. Thus significant data collection time was lost.

### **3.6 Summary**

The life histories, in-depth interviews and other methods used in this study were enabled by the social constructivist stance the researcher identified from the onset. This chapter explored

the methodological aspect of the research which serves as guidance on how and why the study undertook the exploratory analysis route. There were various methods used in this type of analysis which include documents analysis, interviews and focus group discussions. Documents analysis method is a secondary data collection method, whereby other researchers' data or institutional policies and reports are analysed. This type of method enabled the researcher to gain background and insight on the historical context of the phenomena being studied.

It is further advantageous as it corroborates data with multiple sources, and in assessing change and progress/development. The historical background planning, interventions and reports of the LHWP have been sourced through a documents analysis. Without such well-articulated past events, the research would have been unable to acquire details which may have been blurred if captured through interviews due to the time-frame and memory loss of participants.

Another method that was explored is in-depth interviews, whereby those knowledgeable about the phenomenon being studied are considered as key informants. The number of respondents is usually small to allow an intensive exploration of perspectives on the phenomenon being studied. In-depth interviews are however prone to biasness. In qualitative research, focus groups help capture group/community dynamics. A focused group allows open discussion and facilitates refreshment of memory as participants remind each other of the events they may have not recalled in individual interviews. As discussed, the limitations to focus group is that some participants can overpower others, and discussion can be too lengthy which may drain some of the participants.

One more method that was explored was of life histories. Particular kinds of truth are lodged in people's narratives within life histories. It therefore results in detailed and pure data due to the use of this method. Informal interviews were also a helpful tool which helped squeeze out information that was a challenge to acquire during planned interviews due to participants holding back. In order to see through the above data collection methods, the researcher had to strategically plan and have tasks in line in order to efficiently achieve the above methods.

## **Chapter 4: Research Findings and Discussion**

### **4.1 Presentation of Findings**

The prime focus of the chapter is a presentation of the findings and the analysis of the research data obtained through interviews and documents. The developed themes to be presented were influenced and categorised as per the information gathered from the interactions with the research participants. As mentioned in chapters one and three, the study's prime focus is to establish how PAPs' livelihoods have been affected by the LHDA resettlement and development implementation programme (RDIP) and compensation policy. Therefore, analysis and the interpretation of the gathered data was, among others, with reference to the above key objective.

As was previously stated, the participants were displaced from Mohale and were resettled at a historic area called Thaba-Bosiu where the great king Moshoeshe I, the founder of the Basotho nation, had his fortress. Some of the participants opted to be resettled in an area within the capital city (Maseru) known as Makhoakhoeng. These resettled households were moved from the Mohale Dam construction area from 1998-2000. The researcher will share experiences and means of living of the re-settlers pre and post-resettlement. Their experiences (benefits and challenges) with the RDIP and the compensation policy are also shared. In this section, findings gathered through interviews will be discussed and the discussion will be centred on means of livelihoods for the PAPs. The chapter will further share the data gathered from control participants and professional respondents: the LHDA personnel and the former LHWC chief delegate.

The methods used for data collection in this study were telephonic and face-to-face semi-structured interviews with: 14 project-affected persons; 2 interviews with persons who were not resettled nor affected by the LHWP (served as control participants); and 3 interviews with professionals who are the LHDA and LHWC personnel (one telephonic interview). The second method used was semi-structured focus group discussions for two groups which are the Ha-Mosalla PAPs with the chief included, and the Makhoakhoeng PAPs. All interviews

were recorded. The following presentation of findings was divided into five themes which will be discussed in-depth. The themes comprise of: socio-demographics of the participants; the participants' life and livelihood means before the introduction of LHWP; views and perceptions of participants about the RDIP; perceptions on the implementation of the compensation policy; and views of control interviewees on the introduction of the LHWP.

This chapter will only focus on data gathered through interviews and the focus group discussions. The primary documents analysis which is the third form of data collection has been incorporated in previous chapters such as the literature review. The data that will be presented in this chapter was solely the participants' views, free of any influences. The participants gave consent for the researcher to present their views, thus the chapter is purely based on how participants presented their views. The anonymity of participants has been protected, thus they will be referred to as Respondents (for PAPs), control respondents/inadvertent PAPs, LHDA1 and 2, and LHWC3. The LHDA and LHWC personnel will also be referred by the positions they hold.

## 4.2 PAPs' Social Demographics

### 4.2.1 Gender

<i>Respondents No.</i>	<i>Gender</i>		<i>Village</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Mohale</i>	<i>Lowlands</i>
Respondents 1 – 6	4	3	Ha-Seotsa	Ha-Mosalla
Respondents 7 – 12	4	3	Ha-Tsapane	Makhoakhoeng
Respondents 13 -15	2	0	Ha-Nyakane	n/a
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>

*Table 1: Respondents by gender and village (pre and post-resettlement)*

Gender is an important aspect in data collection and analysis as it may influence how people are affected by life-changing events. As stated by the WCD (2000) gender plays a significant role in how large dam projects affect PAPs. The issue of gender and the LHWP PAPs (Mohale Dam) has proven to be of significance, particularly pertaining to livelihoods sustenance. The research participants spoke of how life in the highlands and lowlands offer different opportunities for men and women. The study participants interviewed were 16, within which 2 were control participants from Ha Mohale. There were 14 resettled participants comprising of 7 from Ha-Mosalla and the other 7 from Makhoakhoeng. Both men and women were fairly represented in the study, however this may be attributed to how gender roles have been affected by resettlement.

The majority of the participants were men though it was by a small fraction. The gender discrepancy was purely influenced by availability. Most male participants indicated that their wives were at work, which is a subject that touches on the gender roles dynamics. The men believe employment opportunities for persons with low skills in urban Maseru are higher for women than men in the informal sector. An example was drawn from the textile industry which employs thousands of Basotho, and a huge majority are women. According to the report on ‘*Performance of the Manufacturing Sector in Lesotho Second Quarter 2017*’, the Bureau of Statistics (BOS), (2018: 6), states that “there were more females (75.6 percent) than males (24.4 percent) in the manufacturing sector. It was further noted that, for those engaged on a part time basis, more than six in every ten employees (63.6 percent), were females”.

#### 4.2.2 Age

*Table 2: Respondent’s Age distribution*

<i>Age category</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
35 – 39	3	18.75
40 – 49	5	31.25
50 – 59	5	31.25
60 – 69	3	18.75

<b>Total</b>	16	<b>100</b>

The above table shows the age distribution of the respondents. The interviewed participants were 35 years and older. Those under the age of 35 were excluded from the study for the reason that resettlement took place nearly 19 years back. Therefore, those below 35 were considered to have been too young to have detailed impacts of resettlement. Those over 35 years, on the other hand, were 16 years and above at the time and could comprehend the impacts the LHWP has had on PAPs and the Mohale community at large. Only 18.75% of the participants were in their thirties during data collection; two male participants who inherited their parents' compensation packages while one female was married at a tender age. Furthermore, 31% of the participants (who make up the majority) were in their forties. Most of these participants were young newlyweds at the time of resettlement. The age groups 50-59 also make up 31% of the study participants. These are the two groups that proved to have information on the LHWP from its introductory stages in the Mohale region. The age group of those above 60 years made up 18.75% of the study participants. The PAPs were also expected to give detailed accounts of life post-resettlement, and a comparative account of life in the highlands versus life in the urban and lowlands of Maseru.

#### 4.2.3 Level of Education

Table 3: Educational level of respondents

<i>Educational level</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Standard 1-3 (lower primary)	6	37.5
Standard 4-7 (upper primary)	5	31.25
Form A-C (secondary school)	3	18.75
Form D-E (high school)	0	0

Certificate (tertiary)	2	12.5
<b>Total</b>	16	<b>100</b>

Participants attended school in the era where ‘grades’ were referred to as ‘standards’, however it bears no difference. The majority of respondents who have either lower primary education or upper primary education make up 37.5% and 31% respectively of the study participants. Some of the participants (68%) were unable to further their education. Some of the common reasons which hindered respondents to further their studies were: the lack of finances in most families; and the distance most had to travel to get to schools. These reasons frustrated their efforts to attain educational qualifications, and those who went through primary couldn’t access higher education due to scarcity of secondary and high schools. Those who could go further into higher education make up 18.75% and 12.5%. Pursuing higher education meant parents had to cater for boarding fees, and renting flats or placing a child with relatives who were closer to schools. Additionally, food, uniforms, books and fees had to be covered, hence it was expensive for most families to take their children through high school. The other important reason raised was how most children had to help their parents with herding animals and going to the fields, which resulted in children missing most school days. This was most common with males who mostly dropped out of school in lower primary, while the females attributed their reasons for dropping out to lack of funds and early marriage.

#### 4.2.4 Marital Status

Table 4: Marital status and household size

<i>Respondent number</i>	<i>by Sex</i>	<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Household size</i>	
			<i>Over 18 yrs</i>	<i>Under 18yrs</i>
Respondent 1	F	Widowed	3	2
Respondent 2	M	Re-married	2	1
Respondent 3	M	Married	2	1
Respondent 4	F	Married	2	2



Respondent 5	F	Married	2	2
Respondent 6	M	Single	2	
Respondent 7	M	Married	2	1
Respondent 8	M	Divorced	1	
Respondent 9	M	Married	6	5
Respondent 10	F	Widowed	1	
Respondent 11	F	Widowed	4	4
Respondent 12	M	Re-married	3	
Respondent 13	M	Married	2	3
Respondent 14	F	Married	2	1
<b>Total</b>			<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>

The purpose of the above table is to give perspective on respondents' (PAPs) household sizes. Household size matters when looking into livelihood strategies of a specific household. The household size can provide a picture of the number of persons who are dependents of the bread winner. It can also provide a picture of the number of persons in different livelihood strategies that contribute financially in that specific household. The majority of the above respondents are married couples (64%), have more than one able-bodied adult, and 2 children on average. Although 14 PAPs were representatives, there were 34 adults (18 years and above) living within the 14 households, and 22 children (under 18 years). This implies that 14 households with a total of 56 members were part of this study. It should however be noted that household members are those persons who dwell under the same roof and eat from the same pot. The relationship between household composition and livelihood strategies will be discussed in-depth under the livelihoods subsection.

## 4.2.5 Means of income generation

Table 5: Means of income of Household Members

<b>Respondent by number</b>	<b>Piece jobs (gardening / building)</b>	<b>Business owner (taxi/rental flats/street vendor)</b>	<b>Factory worker</b>	<b>House keeper</b>	<b>Others (security guard/gu est house work/sew ing)</b>	<b>Not Working</b>
Respondent 1	X X					X
Respondent 2	X		X			
Respondent 3						X X
Respondent 4					X	X
Respondent 5		X			X	
Respondent 6	X X					
Respondent 7	X		X			
Respondent 8						X
Respondent 9	X			X X	X	X X
Respondent 10					X	
Respondent 11	X X		X X			
Respondent 12	X	X				X
Respondent 13				X		X
Respondent 14		X		X		
<b>Total</b>	<b>10 (29%)</b>	<b>3 (8.8%)</b>	<b>4 (11.7%)</b>	<b>4 (11.7</b>	<b>4 (11.7%)</b>	<b>9 (26%)</b>

				%)		
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The above table displays the employment status and means of income generation of PAPs of Ha-Mosalla and Makhoakhoeng. The table covers all household members who are employed or running a business within the household. The ‘X’ represents the 34 adults within the 14 households who are all at a working age. Each X is placed under the means of income each adult engages in. It is clearly indicative that most PAPs are either engaging in piece jobs, or are unemployed at 29% and 26% respectively. Most attributed the lack of jobs to their low educational qualifications. They believe if they at least had a high school qualification, they would have a fair chance in job-seeking. Of these, 8.8% run the projects they started up with their lump sum compensation. They built rental flats and bought taxis to venture into public transportation. Combined, those who are employed as casual labourers or are in low skill jobs make up 35% of the employed adults. This is the status of income generation of the LHWP resettled PAPs.

#### 4.3 PAPs Life and Livelihoods Pre-Resettlement

A country analysis conducted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) indicates that “over a million people (57.1% of Lesotho’s population) live below the national poverty line, and that 34.0% are below the food poverty line of Maloti (LSL) 138 (approximately USD 10.30) per adult per month, which translates to one out of every three people” (ILO, 2017: 5). Given the poverty situation in Lesotho, it is important to take into consideration how large development projects such as the LHWP affect people’s livelihood strategies and systems. Basotho households have over the years grown to practice multiple livelihood strategies within one household due to the constant fight against hunger and poverty. It was/and is a norm for majority of rural households to have almost every member of the household pull their weight in achieving a sustainable livelihood system for that particular family. This has been proven by the study participants when addressing the question on how life and livelihoods were before the introduction of LHWP and resettlement. Their responses on how they lived on a day to day basis and their livelihoods were aligned to land use, livestock keeping and natural resources.

Like in most Basotho households, lack of formal employment in the Mohale region before the introduction of the LHWP meant that the inhabitants had to engage in multiple livelihood strategies to sustain households. Tuner (1999) pinned the need for mountain dwellers engaging in multiple livelihood strategies as perpetuated by the disadvantaged nature and difficulty mountain life presents. Before the introduction of the LHWP, the respondents defined the Mohale area as a place that was isolated with no connecting roads, and with a scarcity of basic services such as clinics and supermarkets. It is on this premise that they had to combine subsistence farming with other income generating activities like selling cannabis, homebrewed beer, medicinal plants, brooms, thatching grass and roofing ropes. Only 2 respondents mentioned that they combined these livelihood strategies with mining remittances from South African mines which at the time hired majority of Basotho men.

Multiple livelihood strategies were a reality to all the study participants. Among the participants, 71% reported they had fields where maize, sorghum, wheat, beans, potatoes and cabbage were planted. Among the 71% of these participants, 50% of those with fields also grew cannabis for commercial purposes. Some of the participants (28.5%) did not have fields but indicated they engaged in share-cropping, hiring fields, or depended on their nuclear family's harvest. All participants without fields also found means of having a stake in the cannabis business, either through share-cropping, being sales agents or transporting the cannabis.

#### *4.3.1 Land use*

During the focus group discussions, and during one-on-one interviews, there were common themes that arose regarding land in Mohale prior to the LHWP. The participants described the soils in the Molika-liko and Jorotane areas which were along the *Senqunyane* valley as fertile black soils acclaimed as the best for organic crop farming. They were all agreeable that the soil required no manure, nor pesticides as the area was highly fertile and pest free. This was due to alluvial deposits from the Senqunyane River. It was also due to animal manure that would be washed down from the kraals (Basotho build their houses and kraals on slopes,

reserving flat land for farming) into the fields by the rain. Families in the area owned fields which were used for crop production that required less or no financial inputs owing to the fertile soil.

The respondents indicated that, because of the lack of roads, only cattle were used to turn the soil in the fields; tractors were alien to the communities. They further spoke of how the crops were irrigated. They specified that farming in Mohale required no specialised irrigation systems. This was due to the snow that fell during the winter which was and still is stored as water in the porous rock to sustain a natural crop irrigation system. The water would feed the rivers and was harvested through springs and wetlands. The main crops that were grown in the region were maize, wheat, sorghum, beans, potatoes and cabbage. These were grown mainly for subsistence use. Nevertheless when there was surplus harvest, the produce was sold or bartered for other goods or foods with neighbouring villages. There was also cannabis (*Matekoane*) which grew in abundance in the area. Cannabis was grown specifically for commercial purposes which the majority of the rural dwellers subsisted on. The region was, and still is, well renowned for various grasses used for roofing and its great pastures. This is how some of the respondents described the Mohale region pre-LHWP:

**Respondent 2:** *Jorotane was a haven for farmers, the soil there was fertile and no artificial additives were needed. We were near the wetlands which stretched for miles hence moisture and water were in abundance for farming.*

**Respondent 9** as well indicated that; *our village was isolated, we were far from urban life and essential services, deep in the Blue Mountain Ranges. Due to the isolation, life was simple and livelihoods depended on agricultural produce.*

While **respondent 3** reiterated that: *Life back then was simple, there was no formal employment, and livelihoods were dependent on subsistence farming, barter system, and selling cannabis to South Africans. Food was always in abundance; one would never go hungry.*

According to a study conducted by Sets'abi and Mashinini (2006), at least one in three households detailed that cannabis was their major source of income prior to resettlement in the Mohale region. These findings were verified by this study's participants where 70% of them indicated they subsisted on cannabis farming. This statistic included even those participants that didn't own fields but resorted to share-cropping or hiring people's fields. The Mohale region was described by Devitt & Hitchcock (2010: 66) as blessed with soils that "encouraged a degree of food self-sufficiency unusual in Lesotho". The following extracts from interviews with participants will indicate how the land in the Molika-liko and Jorotane areas enabled sustainable livelihoods.

**Respondent 1:** *The annual produce of Matekoane (cannabis) on a good year would make a harvest of 5 bags of 50kg or 80kg. The bags were traded or bartered for wheat, maize, or beans (a bag for a bag), within the village or with neighbouring farmers from other villages. The preferred target market though was South Africans (commonly Zulus or Xhosas), who would come to our villages to buy Matekoane (cannabis); a 50kg bag at the time was sold at an average price of 500 Maloti (Maloti is equal to Rands), 80kg at an average price of 800 Maloti. Alternatively, the South Africans would barter for a bag of cannabis, washing basins, washing powder, soaps, cooking oils, body lotions, and all other necessities that were not easily accessed due to terrain and lack of proximity to the shops.*

**Respondent 14:** *We (she and the husband) farmed potatoes and cabbage on a large scale. I had a good market from neighbouring villages due to my village's strategic positioning. There was one big Catholic Church which was in our village, therefore people from other villages assembled for mass on Sundays, then we would sell them the potatoes and cabbage after church.*

**Respondent 5** shares a slightly different livelihood means: *We mainly relied on my husband's salary who was a shoe maker because we were a new couple and had no fields. He made an average salary of M500 per month which would support the family. At times we would get support from my mother-in-law. She had three big fields that were used to grow mainly cannabis for commercial purpose, while grains and vegetables were grown on a*

*subsistence level. With what she made from the cannabis she would assist us financially, and also give us mainly grains for us to eat on a daily basis.*

The above extracts are simply a testimony of how the land in the Mohale area was fertile and enabled the inhabitants to produce adequate food for them to survive year-round and lead a healthy life. On the contrary, respondent 5 spoke of more urban means of living whereby one has to be employed to sustain needs. Regardless, their salary was not enough to sustain the family. They were therefore supplemented by the mother-in-law's produce and the money she made from the cannabis sales back in Mohale. In their study, Sets'abi and Mashinini (2006) point out that 70% of the PAPs depended on livestock and cash crops as a source of income before resettlement. This statistic further affirms what some of the respondents have highlighted about agriculture being the backbone of the Mohale region economy.

#### *4.3.2 Livestock*

In addition to crop farming, another means of livelihood that earned those in the rural areas a sustainable living was livestock keeping. Sheep and goats in particular were kept for commercial purposes. The wool and mohair from the animals, to date, is sheared and exported for cash abroad. It comprises a fair share of the country's economy. The LHDA had undergone feasibility studies aimed at establishing how the prospective PAPs of the LHWP made their living. Such studies as the 'Phase 1B Feasibility Study Report on Agriculture' and the '1993 Phase 1B Census Report on the LHDA' provided the following statistic;; 75% of PAPs owned cattle (at an average of 7 cattle per household); at an average of 31 sheep per household, 46% of the PAPs were sheep farmers; 43% of PAP households owned goats (with flock sizes of 18 on an average per household); while the majority of the households had at least one horse and/or donkey used as a means of transport in the mountainous area (Tshabalala, 1993; LHDA, 1995).

The study participants generally were of the view that animals in the Mohale region enjoyed feed that is considered as most nutritious for animals, unlike much of the lowlands, which are dominated by a type of grass called '*Molula*'. The Mohale area was home to a variety of grasses which were good for grazing. Most of the respondents alluded to the fact that animals

enjoyed an abundance of fodder, and further lived long and produced beyond normal. While on the contrary *Molula* is hard and wears out animal teeth, eventually leading to their death.

**Respondent 8** points out: *I had approximately 40 to 50 sheep and 7 cows. Annually the sheep would go for sheep shearing, where I sold the wool to a South African company. The company gave me a cheque of an average amount of M4, 000 annually. The cows were used in the fields, and they gave us an abundance of milk. The grass the animals ate back in the mountains was very soft and good for their growth (the soft grass was good for animal teeth, while other types of grass broke animal teeth), allowing the herd to grow bigger.*

#### 4.3.3 Natural resources

Prior resettlement natural resources were among important livelihood aspects for the Mohale inhabitants. Natural resources like rivers, medicinal plants, wild vegetables and fruits, grazing land and a variety of grasses were some of the recourses the PAPs had established livelihoods upon. In both focus groups, the respondents specified that those who didn't have fields survived through the abovementioned resources. It was emphasised by both focus groups that they depended on medicinal plants more than visiting health centers. Irrespective of the high subsidies for health care in Lesotho, the clinics were too far pre-resettlement thus the community members had to travel long distances for health services. Hence the dependence on traditional medicinal plants which were accessed for free and gave the Mohale inhabitants a chance to good health. The respondents further pointed out that some community members made a living from the medicinal plants, through being traditional doctors or selling them to urban dwellers. They specified that there were medicinal plants known by all such as plants for flu or headache, but those who got into the business of selling or healing had a greater knowledge of a variety of medicinal plants.

The participants also touched on the subject of the various grasses found in the mountains. They first addressed the housing issue whereby building a rondavel was so affordable. Resources needed for extracting walls were sticks, stones, and clay, while for roofing the grass and ropes made out of the grass were all that was needed.



**Respondent 10**, a 43-year-old Mosotho woman says: *while living in the mountains, I had a very small field (lekorota), thus it was without question that my husband and I had to find other means of livelihood. I would go up the mountains to gather a type of grass called 'moseha' which makes beautiful and long-lasting brooms (used to sweep in the house), we also made thatching ropes. My husband knows our traditional medicinal plants so well, so he used to dig them up, dry them and some were pounded into powder. All these products were transported to the lowlands to be sold in order to make a little bit of income to buy household needs like soaps.*

'Moseha' is a type of grass predominantly used by Basotho from the highlands region to make brooms, ropes used in houses with thatched roofing, hats and mats. Sekaleli (1998) states that the grass is scientifically known as *Merxmuellera macowanii* which is confined to areas of above 1, 800m above sea level altitude. Sekaleli further asserts that the grass thrives on sheltered valleys with moist deep soils, the grass covers at least 29.22% of Lesotho's highlands. The brooms made out of this grass are believed to be very effective in removing dirt better than many modern brooms as per the respondents' extract. The other type of grass which is an important natural resource to Basotho is the thatching grass (scientifically known as *Hyparrhenia hirta*). This grass is used by 90% of rural or highlands household, who normally build rondavels that are roofed with the thatch grass (Sekaleli, 1998). Hence the respondents continually emphasised how building and maintaining their houses was never a financial stressor.

They had wild fruits and vegetable as their food source during seasons with a poor harvest. While rivers provided them with water for domestic use and irrigating their fields. For cooking and heating their homes, the respondents spoke of fuels like cow dung and wood that were collected and dried for use. According to a study conducted by Sets'abi and Mashinini (2006), 97% of their respondents indicated that to heat their homes and cook, firewood, cow dung and brushwood were the resources they relied on. While 99% of the respondents interviewed by the researcher as well indicated they used to depend on their natural resources for cooking and heating, which was inexpensive.

**Respondent 12**, a 50-year-old Mosotho man describes how their natural resources made life simple and easier pre-resettlement: *In most Basotho rondavels, the rondavel designated as a kitchen usually has a build-in space (made from the mud and cow dung mixture and wood) where kitchen utensils can be put, therefore there was never a need to buy a kitchen unit. Furthermore, we used animal skin as beds, particularly for the children, which was never an issue because the mud flooring was warm. The houses were plastered inside and outside with this cow dung and mud mixture and roofed with thatch, this helps lock in heat when it's cold and cools the room when hot. We rarely visited clinics because when one had flu, headache, or any other ailment, we just dug medicinal plants such as 'pooho-tsehla' (used for flu) to deal with the problem effectively.*

The above livelihood strategies were what sustained the study participants. Majority of these respondents highlighted that as much as they were isolated from what the world deems as civilization and basic services, they led decent lives. They survived through having human capital, which is the manpower within each household to execute the multiple livelihood strategies. They had free access to land, natural resources, water, and many other resources which made up their natural capital. Lastly, they had a natural irrigation system for their fields, livestock, and means of building their houses which made up their physical capital. The participants deemed their household livelihood systems pre- resettlement as what guaranteed them sustainability in their lives.

#### **4.4 The RDIP and Compensation Policy**

It was key to find out how the study participants' (PAPs) lives and environment have been impacted by the introduction of the LHWP. Thus, the resettlement and development implementation programme (RDIP) will be interrogated by presenting the views of the participants and officials. Furthermore, perceptions and views of the implementation and the reception of the compensation policy will be presented. Other views and perceptions to be presented are of those who were unaffected and are still located in Mohale (control participants). De Wet (2005) advises that, when implementing large developments such as

large dam constructions, PAPs must be guaranteed development in all spheres of their lives. Such enhancements should be concerning: the PAPs material circumstances, a range of choices and options, and an enhancement in how daily affairs are controlled.

The objectives of the 1997 LHDA compensation policy and RDIP are supported by Article 7 (18: 27) of the Treaty regarding ensuring PAP lives are maintained to the standard not lower than before the implementation of the LHWP. But most ideally, the project will aim to improve the standard of living of PAPs (GoL, 1986b). As per the treaty prescriptions, the LHDA developed a compensation policy which was reviewed and enacted for Phase 1B in 1997. The policy is intended to protect all PAP rights against negative impacts. Regarding the RDIP, the authorities pledged through the LHDA Order of 1986 (S.44 (2)) that it will:

*Ensure that as far as possible the standard of living and the income of persons displaced by the construction of an approved scheme shall not be reduced from the standard of living and the income existing before the displacement of such persons. (GoL, 1986a)*

#### *4.4.1 The Resettlement and Development Implementation Programme (RDIP)*

Resettlement planning for PAPs residing within the Mohale region was effected in the mid-1990s. The feasibility study as previously mentioned was undertaken from 1995 to 1996 (Devitt and Hitchcock, 2010). Resettlement processes for Phase 1B were spread over 15 years (1995-2010). It should be noted that the implementation of some aspects of rehabilitation and compensation is ongoing regardless of the involuntary resettlement that ended in 2010. The sole purpose of the RDIP (which is informed by the rehabilitation and development action plan) is planning, formulating and implementing activities to:

- To maintain, or ideally improve the welfare of affected households.
- Adequately provide for the host communities which will be affected by resettlement.

Before delving into the findings for this section there should be a clear understanding that resettlement and relocation are defined by the LHDA resettlement manager as:

*Resettlement is a movement of PAPs to long distances where people forfeit their rights and privileges to assets and resources they used to enjoy either individually or communally. Relocation, on the other hand, involves people who are moved within the same jurisdiction, not outside the catchment, they are people who still have access to arable land and other resources (LHDA 1).*

Shared below is a table that provides a picture of the major resettlement processes and timeframe undertaken by the LHDA. It should be noted that half of the study participants were within stage 1 resettlement. The other half were in stage 2 resettlement; however, stage 2 re-settlers were resettled in November 2001.

*Table 6: Plans and Construction Stages of the Mohale Dam.*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Milestones</b>
1995-1996	Feasibility study and resettlement planning for Phase 1B of the LHWP begin
1996-1998	Stage 1 resettlement and relocation implemented
1997	Adoption of the revised compensation and rehabilitation policy based on the LHWP Phase 1A experience
1998	Construction of Mohale Dam begins
2002-2006	Stage 2 resettlement and relocation implemented
2003	Completion of Mohale Dam construction
2004	Official inauguration of Mohale Dam
2008	Decisions reached by LHDA and LHWC on Stage 3 resettlement
2009	Final visit of Panel of Environmental Experts on Phase 1 of the LHWP
2010	Workshop on lessons learned from LHWP

Adapted from: Devitt & Hitchcock (2010:70)

During the engagements in the focus groups, the PAPs indicated that not only did they lose their material assets due to the LHWP, but also socio-cultural losses. The fundamental

impacts of forced resettlement are the disruption of the established socio-cultural order. Enshrined in this social order are some of the PAPs livelihoods and some of their invaluable resources. They further highlighted that they have suffered environmental consequences as a result of losing what was termed environmental wisdom. From the one-on-one interviews respondents addressed the following issues:

*Urban life can be compared to emasculation. I feel we have been stripped- off the powers of fending for our families as the head of the household. I believe the inundation of our fields, pastures, and medicinal plants took away our only means of livelihood. In the urban areas, life is completely different, one has to depend on another person to hire and pay them, while living in Mohale was a self-sufficient life, with ample resources to sustain a family. My family's life had to change from agrarian to cash bases through being a casual labour. (Respondent 7, a 54-year-old male)*

*Moving to the lowlands was not easy for some of us who are uneducated. I depended on sharecropping because I had no fields. Beyond that, I was well acquainted with my environment so much that I was able to make a living out of what it had to offer. I used to make our traditional Basotho Hats (Mokorotlo and Ts'ets'e) out of the grass which we had free access to. The hats are symbolic to Basotho hence they are a good market. But since resettlement, I have to buy the grass as a result of being in the lowlands, and here the grass is not easily accessed. Continuing with the Hat business is no longer as lucrative as before, and the grass suppliers are not consistent. (Respondent 12, a 50-year-old male)*



*Photo 3: The Basotho Hats*

The above extracts affirm the previously mentioned point on how the livelihoods of the PAPs were intertwined to their environment and the socio-cultural order. They insist that the forced resettlement process altered their lives drastically. All respondents seem to share the same

observations that the LHDA had ample time to plan and think through the drastic decision of relocating them. Moreover, the respondents share a concern that there was a lack of consideration of the socio-economic, spiritual, cultural and psychological impacts they would have to endure because of resettlement. It was however only fair for the researcher to have approached LHDA representative and the former LHWC representative concerning resettlement planning.

**LHDA 1** is the resettlement and development manager for the authority. This is what he had to say:

*Prior resettlement consultations were adequately conducted before resettling or relocating the PAPs. Such consultations with affected communities were concerning both resettlement and compensation. Although I do not have an exact number of public gatherings conducted, ample stage by stage consultations with communities were held. The consultations ranged from advising the policy formulation, to being actively engaged so they (PAPs) select their host villages. The only downfall of the intensive community consultations was the community misconstruing discussions and suggestions made at public gathering into finalised decisions. Hence the community would claim promises made by the LHDA were not fulfilled.*

*There were preparatory processes that were undergone pre-resettlement in the Mohale catchment area, and the previously mentioned studies should not be overlooked. The preparatory process for the introduction of LHWP, resettlement and relocation began in 1995. After the consultations which engaged the community, the LHDA advised that the communities (with respect to their resettlement stages) should halt major developments in their households or within their villages.*

*They were however still at liberty to engage in agricultural activities but not major developments such as building or extending one's house. In capturing every household's assets, we went through the process in collaboration with the asset owners. The PAPs houses were measured and from the measurements, each household was given how many rooms their new house would have as per the square meters (sq.) of their previous houses. This was captured on forms that were signed by both parties.*

*Additionally, fields were measured by the consultants and owners of the fields. The acquisition forms were signed by field owners agreeing to the captured sizes of each field, the*

*chief and some witnesses also signed on the acquisition forms. These are some of the examples I can reference that indicate engagement of the PAPs in processes affecting them.*

*LHWC3 is the former Republic of South Africa (RSA) Chief Delegate under the Lesotho Highlands Water Commission (LHWC). Regarding resettlement, she stated that: even though relocation and resettlement were involuntary, no one was ever forced to move to the lowlands or urban areas. The re-settlers had an option to choose sites in neighbouring villages, or move to the lowlands of Maseru. All re-settlers were adequately informed of the challenges and advantages of the areas they would choose; therefore, none can claim they were unaware of the challenges they were going to face.*

The PAPs gave a different narrative though not far off from what the resettlement manager has stated. The main differences in their views are the following points:

They do agree that sensitization on the construction of the dam by the LHWP did begin in 1995. However, the officers disappeared for years and only resurfaced in 1997 when they were informing them that they will have to be resettled or relocated. They thus claim they were never given enough time to prepare themselves.

In preparation of resettlement, the PAPs were unable to state how their assets were valued. The involvement in capturing household assets was partially conducted to satisfaction. Such assets as houses were fairly measured with their involvement, and they were told immediately how many rooms they should expect in their new houses. Nevertheless, measuring fields was not fairly conducted because the consultants simply asked one person to go show them the fields and indicate who they belong to. As such the PAPs strongly doubt one person would have been able to memorise demarcations of fields of over 20 households.

*The LHDA first introduced themselves in our community in 1995 sharing the national government plan to build a dam in our area. We rejected the proposed dam at first, on grounds that, at the time the LHDA had no resettlement or compensation plan, they simply had said the government would take care of those affected. It's only in 1997 that the idea of relocating was entertained. This was due to the ground job to prepare the community for*



*resettlement and compensation which was done by a consultant in collaboration with a committee that was chosen by us (the villagers). The consultant's approach was much better than how we were initially approached. (Respondent 7 who falls under stage two resettlement).*

*We were never given feedback on the sizes of our fields (the measurements) nor were we told how much each was worth. We only got to know the size and worth when they were handed the blue cards (a file with all the captured forms and signed agreements) during the first payment. What happened with the fields was different from how the housing issue was handled? The issue of being sidelined when taking measurements and the lack of disclosure on the worth of our fields instigated doubt on how fair and transparent the LHDA was. It is on these grounds that we strongly believe we were not fairly compensated for our land. (Respondent 11, a 63-year-old woman).*

*Nonetheless, the LHDA deserves to be applauded for enabling and assisting us in selecting host villages of our choice. We were allowed to even come for inspection during construction of the houses. The majority of the houses including mine were built per agreed square meters and the number of rooms. It's only a few cases whereby houses were not built as per initial agreement. (Respondent 8, from the first resettlement stage).*

The issue of how and who valued the PAPs assets will be discussed under the subsequent section on compensation. According to the research participants (PAP), involuntary resettlement has been marred with unpleasant experiences. Among the sour resettlement experiences, the respondents pointed to the failure of the LHDA to implement comprehensive development programs. They say they were promised to be empowered individually and in groups through training to become employable or engage in income-generating projects.

*The LHDA could have engaged us as community members (PAPs) in the planning of the policies, we could have had a chance to negotiate better deals. Given the fact that we had to be resettled to the lowlands, LHDA should have capacitated us more on urban life, trained*



*those with potential, equipped us with skills to be able to find jobs. Furthermore, they could have linked us to the market after training. (Respondent 2)*

*This people (the LHDA) they just selected about 2 or 3 people within a group of households of about 22 households. They said the selected persons would pass on the skills to the rest. It was vocational training with a selection of either sewing, woodwork or leather works. After the training, we were not provided with space nor tools to teach others the little we had grasped. (Respondent 13)*

*My wife, on the other hand, was part of a small group that was selected for vocational training by the LHDA, in the first year of resettlement. She opted for sewing lessons which were provided for approximately 3 months (though it was an inconsistent term due to the trainers who were at times not there). Post-training, she bought a sewing machine with some of the cash compensation, and she currently sews clothes for customers (though it's not a consistent income). (Respondent 7)*

The development component in the RDIP was key in addressing PAPs livelihood changes. Unfortunately, this key element was given less attention as per the above extracts. The LHDA personnel are agreeable that as an administrative body, they acknowledge poor service delivery regarding livelihoods restoration. The resettlement manager spoke of the LHDA mandate in resettlement and livelihood issues. He highlighted that one of their main duties as a unit is assisting communities to use their communal compensation to implement development projects.

*LHDAI states that: sadly, I believe we as the LHDA did not adequately facilitate for the livelihoods restoration component for it to reach its intended potential. Not only did the communal livelihoods restoration projects fail, but the individual livelihoods projects as well. The failure of the majority of the projects can be attributed to the top-down approach which we seem to practice as the LHDA which overpowers communities. The LHDA has this perception that projects should always be aligned to farming, and this is a perception that cuts across most sectors in the country. Farming is seen as Lesotho's development paradigm*

*by many organisations and government sectors. An example of one of the communal livelihoods project that was piloted was that of a potato shed project. The project boasted a big warehouse that was built in the Mohale area, but it failed due to half-hearted attempts by our LHDA personnel and the community itself. But what is most cancerous to the livelihoods component was a lack of advocacy on the LHDA side and lack of passion on the community's side.*

When compensation policy is discussed in the subsequent sub-section, it will be clear that the PAPs were simply repaid what they lost due to inundation and resettlement. Simply put compensation deals with the replacement of lost assets, Livelihoods, on the other hand, had to be restored to equip the PAPs with means of having a sustainable income. Hence the PAPs and the resettlement and development manager agreed on the LHDA's failure to restore livelihoods. They, however, differ on their views on resettlement and the effective implementation of plans to prepare communities on the life-changing events LHWP will bring. The researcher's observation based on findings is that indeed the LHDA made commendable efforts to ensure an efficient implementation of the resettlement program is achieved. There were a few challenges as alluded to by the PAPs, but it doesn't deter the efforts the LHDA took to make the PAPs comfortable in their new homes. It should, however, be noted that the LHDA did not put efforts and funds towards the restoration of livelihoods, thus they failed the PAPs and policy implementation in this regard.

#### *4.4.2 The Compensation Policy*

The compensation policy of the LHDA aims at restoring PAPs living standards and their incomes. This is achieved through specifically addressing losses incurred due to the construction of the Mohale dam. The issues pertaining to lost assets that were compensated and the procedures followed will be discussed. Accounts from PAPs and the Social Services and Compliance branch manager will be shared. This is the office that is directly responsible for compensation, and the designing of the compensation policies at the LHDA headquarters. Six principal issues addressed within the policy are housing, cash compensation, communal compensation, re-establishment of livelihoods, disturbance allowance, and the minimum threshold. These principal issues and other issues included within the policy will be

discussed. It is important to note that for each resettled household, there was a standard package that was received. According to both LHDA officials (*LHDA 1 and 2*), they define the package as follows:

- ✓ A brick house with corrugated iron roofing.
  - ✓ A 30x40sqm fenced compound.
  - ✓ A 500 litter's water tank.
  - ✓ A VIP toilet
  - ✓ Garden tools
  - ✓ A gas or coal stove
  - ✓ Disturbance allowance
- 

### *Housing*

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The LHDA within its compensation policy stipulated that it will provide all PAPs with the housing of equivalent floor area as their previous houses. As described by LHDA2:

*The LHDA ensured that PAPs were built houses not below 20 sq., regardless of whether their previous house was below the mentioned square meters. This was in fulfilment of what the treaty says regarding the LHDA improving PAPs lives. Moreover, most households that had to be resettled had built houses on sloppy mountains, thus most did not have enough space to have big compounds. Nonetheless, the LHDA vouched to compensate all re-settlers with standard residential blocks of 30x40 sq. compounds. The housing package further includes improved pit-latrines and water tank to harvest rainwater from the house gutters.*



*Photo 4: Gardens*



*Photo 5: Block house with tank*



*Photo 6: VIP toilet*

Above are three pictures of the 30x40 compounds with garden beds; the brick blockhouse roofed with corrugated iron and a water tank attached to the side of the house; the third picture is of the VIP toilet built for each household. The study participants except for one participant had displayed satisfaction with the quality of houses they were built. They indicated they were satisfied that all which was promised was delivered, and more. The houses were well built with block bricks, walls were painted, there were a stove, and curtains in the windows. One participant who had issues with the housing component had the following to say:

*They have built us a two-roomed house, yet the man who measured my house had said I will get a three-roomed house. I made many attempts to alert the LHDA to fix this problem but to date, no action has been taken. (**Respondent 7**)*

The majority of the participants however raised concerns about the maintenance of the houses. They are adamant the LHDA had indicated they would help them maintain the houses, but they only did maintenance jobs about once or two times. Moreover, they raised issues of how the modern house, which was different from the rondavels majority of them owned had put them under pressure. The pressure came from furnishing their houses with befitting modern furniture, installing electricity (because that's what's commonly used in the lowlands), maintaining the walls and roofing, and finally tiling the floors.

*With the 'settling-in' (disturbance) allowance and some of the remaining lump sum cash, we bought furniture befitting our new modern house. But I must say this was a culture shock because in our hut back in Ha-Seotsa, we never needed all these (pointing to dining room table and sofas). The new house had cement floors there was a need to cover the floor. Most importantly some of the cash compensation was used to install electricity because the communal compensation which we had decided would do that took more than 17 years to materialise. (Respondent 3)*

From the above extracts, the PAPs stated that initially they were excited about their new houses, and they still are appreciative of the houses. Majority of them considered it to be an upgrade from their previous dwellings. What they never foresaw was the demands that were tied to this upgrade. They insist that the need for befitting furniture for the houses was brought about what they regarded as 'silent pressure'. Seeing other PAPs buy new furniture, especially those with lump sums put those without cash compensation, and those with annuity under immense pressure. Either than the unforeseen social pressures the service delivery of the housing component was reported by both the LHDA personnel and the PAP as efficiently and effectively delivered.

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### *Cash Compensation*

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The 1997 policy addresses individual and communal compensation packages. With individual compensation, the major asset compensated was arable land. Other assets such as trees were also compensated but it was small amounts of money not exceeding M1000 given as a once-off payment. Therefore, the study interest shifted to compensation for arable land. Individual compensation offered PAPs three compensation packages; land for land, cash (lump sum or annual payment), and an option for receiving grains annually. The PAPs with fields had the liberty to choose any of the three compensation packages. It, however, must be noted that the first package of land for land proved to be a challenge, therefore participants interviewed all opted for cash compensation. The compensation manager (LHDA2) explained that the land for land package was challenging to achieve in the low lands and urban areas. The difficulty was attributed to the scarcity of arable land, he stated that arable land is currently at 10% in Lesotho, therefore only for a handful of PAPs were able to be compensated under this option.

The Branch Manager acknowledged that Compensation is simply designed to replace what has been lost, therefore compensation is not expected to improve lives. Rather compensation restores PAP lives to where they were pre-resettlement, with exceptions of slight improvement where possible. Nonetheless, the LHDA is also mandated to assist the compensated beneficiaries with technical assistance on how their funds can be invested. The LHDA thus employed Income Generating Activities officers to assist with such.

*The manager clarified that; fields were not compensated according to size (hectares), reason being: no one owns land in Lesotho according to the land act of 1979, the land is under the custodianship of the king. What the LHDA did was to measure the fields, thereafter used the maximum production a field of a stipulated size would likely produce. The LHDA used the geographic information system (GIS) to capture the spatial information, in the case of Mohale the GSI was used to capture the sizes of fields. We further went to the communities to physically validate the information they had captured with the GIS (as previously discussed). Cash crops were used to estimate maximum production (using South African cash crop pricing). The sum of all production, therefore, was converted into the cash compensation one would get from each field. For re-settlers who opted for a lump-sum, their amounts were multiplied by 50 years (which is the economic lifespan of the project). While those who opted for the 50 years' annual cash compensation (annuity) the amounts will continue to be influenced by the consumer price index provided by the Lesotho Bureau of Statistics (BOS). And it should be noted that the annual compensation never decreases, rather it increases due to the consumer price index.*

Given the above information gathered from the LHDA personnel, the researcher found it imperative to gather the views of PAPs, and as indicated all study participants with fields opted for cash compensation.

*I had to be compensated for two fields so I initially opted for annual compensation of 50 years. The first 9 years the LHDA only gave me a compensation of M3000 per annum for one field. After fighting long and hard to receive compensation for the second field, LHDA paid*

*an additional M2000 annually for it. After 12 years of annual compensation, I opted out on grounds that it was not a fair deal. I was never certain of the amount we had to receive annually. Thus I requested a lump sum, from which I received the remaining amount of M70,000. (Respondent 2)*

*In 2001 when we received the lump sum cash compensation for our inundated field, the LHDA requested that we first present a plan on how the money would be invested. We opted to invest M20,000 at Standard Lesotho Bank, which was meant to mature after five years although I don't remember how much we got from the investment. (Respondent 14)*

*The compensation my husband and I had received was insufficient as it only covered our immediate needs in our early years of arrival in the host village, thus compensation did not in any way bring development to our lives. For the fact that the money didn't last long and it did not help us with starting up any viable project, I can safely say compensation offered by the LHDA has not contributed to our sustainable livelihoods nor development. The only legacy we will leave our children is the beautiful modern house that you see, apart from that it will be assets we will acquire through our current livelihood strives. (Respondent 5)*

*If I had the knowledge I currently have, I and my family would have not adhered to LHDA requests. I inherited arable land from my forefathers, and such land enabled me to fend for my family and excel in my livelihood strides. With my land inundated, I'm concerned about the future of my child. I'm saddened by the fact that I no longer have land to hand down to my son so that he at least has an opportunity in informal agriculture if all fails in the formal sector when he's older. (Respondent 12)*

*Although I cannot recall the exact amount we received for our small field (Lekorota), I'm definite that it was an amount not greater than M25,000. I firmly believe the land is indispensable and can be passed from generation to generation, therefore at least the LHDA could have compensated us for 99 years. These are the number of years an individual is given rights to land ownership in the Lesotho Land Act of 1979. (Respondent 8)*



The results indicate that 71% of the study participants were eligible for cash compensation for their lost land. Majority of this household mentioned that they were never aware from the onset how much they were going to be compensated. Even after knowing how much each would get, they all mentioned that at the time, they thought what they were getting was more than enough. However, after the life-changing events, and the urban life with its economic pressures they feel they were not fairly compensated. *Respondents 12 and 8's* sentiments are generally how the majority of respondents felt about the cash compensation for land. 28.5% of the participants had no fields, nevertheless, they hired fields or engaged in sharecropping with their neighbours back in Mohale. They survived through agriculture, consequently, the inundation of fields negatively affected them, but they were not found eligible for compensation in this respect. Post-resettlement the 28.5% of participants experienced a decline in their standards of lives and their food security due to not being compensated for the annual harvest they made through sharecropping.

Two participants reported that they initially had no assets at all, but a few years after resettlement, they inherited their parents' cash compensation after their parents' deaths. They reported an improved life due to the inherited compensation. They conferred their satisfaction to the gaining of assets such as houses, and annual payments. One was even able to build rental flats through the inherited lump sum cash compensation. 28.5% of all participants achieved sustainable projects with the cash compensation they had received from the LHDA. They were able to build rental flats and some bought taxis that transport people locally in the capital city.

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### *Communal Compensation*

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The LHDA through what's stated in the compensation policy acknowledges that PAPs benefited from what their environment had to offer through access to: Grazing land, brushwood, wild vegetables, medicinal plants, useful grasses, and water supply. Furthermore, the community had communal assets such as community and government infrastructure (schools and churches). The LHDA thus decided that these resources and assets have to be compensated under communal compensation which will benefit all community members



within the host villages (PAPs included). Such a decision was propelled by an understanding that PAPs will in their host villages put pressure on the natural resources and the communal assets as they did in their villages of origin.

*LHDA2 says: communal compensation was paid to the resettled communities, however there were multiple glitches with communities managing the cash compensation. The communal compensation that was meant to start up income generating projects therefore had to be transformed. The new model which was adopted was a community participatory model where the whole community decides what kind of development they would like. We (the LHDA) still experience hardship in rolling-out the communal compensation swiftly, nonetheless every community will eventually receive what's outstanding accordance with their compensation status.*

*For example, re-settlers of Makhoakhoeng and Ha-Mosalla (who form part the study participants), were not treated uniformly in transferring communal compensation. Makhoakhoang re-settlers made demands which were not within the compensation policy due to their circumstances. They indicated they pay for communal resources like water, waste management and grave yards to the Maseru City Council hence the money that had to be shared with the community was given to them directly (PAPs). Each re-settler from Makhoakhoang received approximately M100, 000 from the communal compensation. On the other hand, Ha-Mosalla is in the low lands area of Maseru, consequently resources such as fire wood, grazing land, water, and grave yards are equally shared with host communities. Thus as stipulated in the policy, their communal compensation has to benefit the whole community not individuals as opposed to the case Makhoakhoeng case where resources are paid for.*

The interviewed participants of Ha mosalla expressed disappointment in how the LHDA has been handling the communal compensation. They insist that they do not benefit from the natural resources of Ha-Mosalla, the only pressure they believe they exerted is in the educational system. Their children had to be enrolled in the nearby schools. As one of the participants who is in the Combined Area Liaison Committee (CALC) states:

*The LHDA has not been completely forthcoming with their communal compensation (Compensation for lost grazing land, with various resources such as thatching grasses). We (PAPs) have been pressurised into agreeing to install electricity for the whole host village with the communal money. We are contesting this issue because the LHDA took years to execute the project, therefore some of us (the PAPs) incurred individual expenses to install electricity. We don't mind if the LHDA continues with the electricity installation project, but they should reimburse those of us who have already installed our own electricity. Unfortunately, the LHDA is not corporative on the issue. Because of our request, the project delayed starting, as a result our host neighbors are angry with us. This issue has deepened the drift between us and the host community, because it is as though we are against a community development.*

In their focus group, the Ha-Mosalla participants echoed the above points, they indicated that: they have recently asked the LHDA to clarify why after 17 years they still haven't received funds for community development, for the loss of their fauna and flora. They further are questioning why the LHDA has not installed electricity that was promised over 15 years back. Those who installed their own electricity are requesting to be refunded. They indicated that the LHDA staff seems to be arrogant and has been unclear on how and when these concerns will be addressed. They also were concerned about the misuse of funds they suspected their committee members were doing. The LHDA has for years been depositing money into the community account, until they stopped without telling the PAPs. That money was accessed by the committee members who fail to give them a transparent account of how it was spent.

The above are PAP grievances about the communal compensation component. They initially believed they deserve to be given the money into their individual accounts as was done for the Makhoakhoeng PAPs. Their reasoning was pinned to their shared view that they do not benefit from any resources without paying for them at Ha-Mosalla. However, they settled for sharing the money with the community under the impression that the selected project (installation of electricity) will be implemented on time. Nonetheless they acknowledged that the LHDA installed a water pump for the whole community, and did make access roads when

they first moved to their host village these views are shared by all the Ha-Mosalla community members.

On the contrary to the Ha-Moasalla challenges, Makhoakhoeng PAPs and their host village have enjoyed benefits of communal cash compensation:

*In urban communities like Makhoakhoeng all amenities are paid for and provided by City Council, it is due to this reason that we were contesting that the money should be split among us (PAPs) not the community as a whole. After having the ombudsman mediate in the issue, the LHDA was ordered to pay the communal compensation to individual households. We have been fighting for this money since 2000, yet we were resettled in 1998, but we only got justice in 2010, the LHDA paid each household M100, 000.00. The community still benefited because the paved roads (tarmac roads) you see in this whole village and the street lights were installed by the LHDA.*

*LHWC 3 acknowledged that: there were delays on our part as service providers, in dispersing compensation, particularly communal compensation. Nevertheless, this was as well driven by the bottom-up approach we adopted as LHWP. When working with communities using this kind of approach may result in delays due to the indecisiveness of the community to choose a suitable project. In most cases, most re-settlers and their host villages delayed to get their communal compensation due to not agreeing on which projects to venture in.*

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### *Re-establishment of Livelihoods*

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When addressing the issue of livelihood skills development for the re-resettles and communal compensation, the former RSA Chief Delegate voiced her opinions, she reiterated that:

*LHWP's main intent was to improve the lives of PAPs. An example can be drawn from how the lump-sum cash compensation option was tied to a prerequisite of a solid sustainable plan on how the beneficiary was to invest such amounts. The LHDA not only requested these plans, but they further conducted training for the PAPs on how they could invest their money. Concerning the livelihoods development component, PAPs were capacitated with skills. Some PAPs were further taken to such places as Stellenbosch in South Africa, to be trained on*

*commercial farming (both animal and crop). The shared example was however not applicable for Mohale PAPs, rather it applied with the Katse PAPs.*

Shared below is a step by step account from the study participant of how the LHDA ensured that PAPs who had opted for lump sums would make sustainable investments:

*The LHDA had stipulated that those who opted for lump sum amounts should present legit projects or investments that the compensation money will be directed to. They said this was done to ensure we would have a sustainable future. My husband and I thus presented the LHDA with the plan to build rental houses in the city, and buy a taxi which will generate income for us. Our plan was approved, we were further tasked to find quotes from dealers or persons selling their taxi, builders, a person selling a site, and companies we wanted to buy building material from. We did all that was required of us, thereafter the LHDA wrote cheques directly to service providers. The taxi worked from the year 2010 until 2014, making an average of M300 from the taxi ranking on working, it sadly broke down in 2014 and it was too expensive to fix. The tenants at the rental flats pay M200 monthly, therefore we received a sum of M1, 000.00 from the flats monthly (the flats do not have electricity). I only have gratitude towards the LHDA on how they assisted my family in acquiring the aforementioned assets. (Respondent5)*

Below is the Lesotho Revenue Authority form which verifies the sale of the taxi between its previous owner and the couple. The second picture is proof of the construction for the rental flats, it is an agreement of payment amounts to various service providers, and it is signed by the beneficiary and their witnesses.



Photo 7: An agreement form construction of rental flats

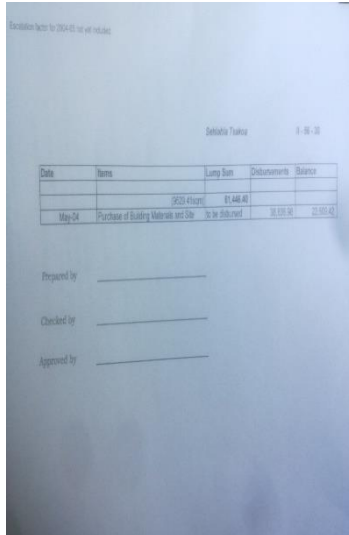


Photo 8: Receipt of compensation balance



Photo 9: LRA change of taxi ownership

Nevertheless, not all investments guided by the Income Generation officers under LHDA were a success, **Respondent 9** shares his story:

*I bought a taxi with the hope that it will generate income, but unfortunately, I was scammed M30, 000 by the seller. He never handed over the taxi to me after I paid him. Even worse, I was unable to peruse the case with the police because the seller died. With the remaining amount, I decided to put my children through school. (**Respondent 13**)*

It should be noted that the families acquired these assets through their cash compensation. The LHDA simply guided them to invest smart, although the final choice of what to do with the money was solely bestowed on the beneficiaries. Only 4 out of the 14 interviewed household reported acquiring assets through compensation, which will most probably sustain them and their future generations. Among the other 10 participants, some did not reap anticipated benefits from their investments. While some had to make a transition to urban life and find jobs because they had not gained much cash compensation from the LHDA (they did not have assets).

*LHDA2 specified that: the livelihoods restoration component is provided for in the compensation policy. I, however, appreciate that not much has been done thus far regarding livelihoods restoration. The livelihoods restoration component had to have included skills*

*development and capacity building for the re-settlers, sadly the projects were not adequately funded nor was it given sufficient personnel for technical support to the re-settlers. This was the most vital element that could have helped the PAPs to access opportunities to sustainable livelihoods in an urban setting. Nonetheless, the LHDA compensated Basotho in the best way we could at the time, and it remains as Africa's best practice to reference and be used as a blueprint in other dam developments. Though I admit that the PAPs were failed on the livelihoods aspect, thus the LHDA has to review and rectify mistakes of the past and carry through to phase 2 of the project with best practices.*

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### *Disturbance Allowance*

The disturbance allowance was designed as a component in the compensation policy to help re-settlers curb unforeseen but inevitable costs brought about by relocating. The compensation and resettlement managers both stated the importance of this allowance as Central to resettlement policies. There is the need to protect PAPs through mitigating inherently negative consequences brought about by involuntary resettlement. The disturbance allowance is given to all PAPs affected by relocation or resettlement. Those resettled to urban and low lands of Maseru are eligible to double the amount of those that were relocated to neighbouring villages in the Mohale region. As per the policy and the two managers, the resettled PAPs received a sum of M12, 000.00 over 3 years. During the first year, re-settlers received M6, 000, in the second year M4, 000, while in the third year they received M2, 000. These amounts are as per stipulated in the policy, and as accounted for by the two managers. The PAPs (study participants), inversely had different disturbance amounts.

*I received M8, 000 which we were told it was for resettling us. Then I received what was known as 'Kutluiso bohloko' (disturbance allowance). This allowance was given over ten years. In the first year, I received M8, 000, in the second year M6, 000, while in the third year I received M4, 000. I can't remember well the other seven years, but I'm certain the amount continued to decrease until the tenth year. They started giving us the amount in 2002. (Respondent 6, a 45-year-old male)*

*Resettlement occurred in November of 2001, we (her family) received the first M8, 000 which they called allowance for 'ho-tsitsa motse' mocha (Settling-in) in the first year. The money helped us survive into the year 2002 while struggling to get any casual jobs. Throughout 2002, we tried hiring fields from the local host community members to our dismay the hosts inflated prices driven by the misconception that we had a lot of money. Nevertheless, with some of the cash received from the LHDA, we hired a field which produced 8 bags of maize in that year. We also bought two cows which unfortunately didn't survive due to drought in the lowlands. The maize harvested was helpful as we were able to have maize meal throughout that year. In November 2002 we received the second 'settling in' payment, which was M6, 000, from which half was used for my husband's travel expenses to South Africa where he had hoped to find employment. This meant me and my child had to survive on M3000 throughout the year 2003. The last amount received was M4, 000, and was used to cover the debts we were in. (Respondent 4, a 38-year-old woman)*

The above extracts are among the 21% of participants who were not clear on the amounts they had received as disturbance allowance. The remaining 79% reported the amounts as stipulated in the policy, thus more than half of participants reported having received M12, 000 of the allowance. What seemed confusing among all the participants was how they named this allowance, they confused it as 'ho tsitsa motse-mocha' (Settling in) allowance, but seemed to also have expectations of receiving what they called 'Kutloiso bohloko' (disturbance allowance). There was also confusion on the number of years the disturbance allowance had to be received. What was predominant in the focus groups as well as complaints about some households only receiving these amounts for 3 years while some received money for 10 years. The confusion seemed to be fuelled by not understanding the different allowances each household receives and the eligibility criteria.

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#### *Minimum Threshold*

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The minimum threshold was intended for PAPs who were regarded as vulnerable. According to section 13 of the LHDA compensation policy (1997:9) "shortfalls in household income shall be made up to the level of the threshold by means of annual payment, which shall be made until the original household and its members shall no longer be in need of income



supplementation". The minimum threshold was set at M3, 960.00 per annum (comprises of assets, income and annual harvest). The LHDA thus sort it imperative to give such households a minimum threshold compensation for a period of 10 years. The participants in the Ha-Mosalla focus group had the following perceptions on the minimum threshold allowance:

- The participants said the LHDA personnel promised them an unindicated amount that would be paid annually for ten consecutive years. The purpose of the allowance was intended for families to upgrade their lives and adjust them to urban living. To their dismay, not all of them were eligible as opposed to what they were initially told by the LHDA.
- They (the LHDA) indicated that if a family had inundated fields back in the rural areas that were being compensated, or had a lot of assets, they were declared not eligible.

This money caused confusion among the PAPs for the following reasons: (i) initially it was not clearly stated who would receive the money and why; (ii) how much would be received per annum because the amount kept fluctuating. The only explanation they were given was that the amount differed because of inflation; (iii) the money did not take 10 years as promised, some of them started receiving it in October 2004, and ended in 2010. Still, nothing was signed, therefore they don't know the full amount they had to receive.

As much as this allowance caused confusion among the PAPs, those that were eligible for receiving it reported positive feedback. The households that were below the Threshold such as *Respondent 4* who had no fields nor compensable asserts benefited from this allowance. The 21% of eligible PAPs admitted that they were never certain of the annuity amounts they received, nevertheless the allowance came in handy while they were struggling with getting employment post-resettlement.

#### **4.5 Views of the unaffected**



While conducting interviews with the PAPs, among the questions asked was whether comparatively, they preferred urban or highlands life. Most of the respondents opted for the latter, they strongly believed if they were still within a familiar environment, there would have not been forced to make drastic life changes. Thus most held a strong conviction that their lives and livelihoods would be at a better level than where they currently are. Based on this notion, the researcher was motivated to do a comparative analysis on this issue, hence two participants located in Mohale were randomly selected as the unaffected people. It was vital to have an overview of their lives pre and post dam construction. The unaffected respondents' views are as follows;

*From 2003 after the dam was completed my wife and I depended on selling brooms and thatching ropes to customers in rural and urban areas to make a living. Brooms are sold for M10.00, and the ropes for M50.00 per 10 meters. We seldom make enough cash profit from these items, what is more, common is customers who offer grains in exchange for these items. Common exchange is of a broom being exchanged for 5 liters of sorghum. In addition to our livelihood strategies, my wife does laundry for the elderly in the village and hoeing piece jobs for cash payments. I occasionally do gardening for people. After the inundation of our neighbouring villages, our livelihood changed, we no longer had people to do sharecropping with. The soil in the valley was more fertile than what we have on this rocky mountain. The LHWP dismantled our neighbourly ties and partnerships we had. Prosperity is now only a dream. What baffles most of us is our lives have been sacrificed by a development organisation (LHDA), all in the name of selling what is ironically glorified as a national treasure, our white gold. (Control 1, a 45-year-old male)*

*'Batho Ba Morero' (meaning LHDA PAPs who relocated to host villages) here in our village are better off than we are due to the compensation they receive annually. Some of the relocated PAPs enjoy monetary benefits, while some enjoy food (grains) compensation. Some received lump-sum amounts which enabled them to transit to new livelihood means such as building rental flats which generate income for them on a monthly basis. Sadly, we (the unaffected) had to face all these changes without any financial support from the LHDA. Not only were our livelihoods affected by the dam development, but our health as well. The aggressive cold that comes from that dam is a health hazard to all people in the surrounding*

*villages. True enough our mountainous area has always been cold, but the dam has played a role in the aggravated temperature drops, especially in winter. To substantiate my point, I can tell you of a number of my neighbours that have been diagnosed with arthritis and pneumonia as a result of the freezing environment. (Control 2, a 42-year-old male)*

What the above respondents are concerned about is the failure of the LHDA to realise that a livelihoods web that sustained communities has been collapsed. The inundated valley seemingly was the breadbasket of the Mohale region, thus the food security of other neighbouring villages has been jeopardised by the LHWP. Not only alterations had to be made in finding new means to source food, but also in the livelihood strides people engaged in. One respondent already engaged in livestock rearing, so his herd had to suffer for some time while he was searching for new fertile grazing land 'Motebo' (*isolated animal post*). While the second respondent suffered severely in finding other means of income generation because he depended on sharecropping with his Ha-Seotsa neighbours.

They acknowledged that Mohale economically flourished during the construction of the dam, but after its completion, financial challenges mounted. They both appreciated the good roads, clinics, schools, and tourism that have been brought about by the construction of the dam. Although these are developments that contribute little to household economic growth.

#### **4.6 Summary**

This main purpose of the chapter was to address the main objective of the study, which is establishing how PAPs livelihoods were affected by LHDA implementing the compensation policy and the RDIP. The researcher thus went on a data collection mission whereby study participants were interviewed using a semi-structured interviewing method during focus groups, face-to-face, and telephonic interviews. The main five themes other findings were categorised in revealed the roles both the PAPs and the implementing authorities played in the resettlement and development of those affected.

The PAPs indicated how they led a self-sufficient life where food was in abundance before the introduction of the LHWP. The Majority which make up 71% relied on agriculture, stating that it was the backbone of the Mophale region economy. Their livelihood strategies were enabled by their access to land that had fertile soils, the grasses that were nutritious for their herd, and low risks of animal diseases due to the low temperatures. And finally, their livelihood strategies were tied to the environment through free access to natural resources.

Resettlement altered the livelihoods of the PAPs drastically, it went beyond economic effects, but also into gender roles and household structures. Pre-resettlement, the PAPs livelihoods were Traditional systems which are intrinsically connected to culture, socio-economic, structures, religion, customs, and gender (ibid). In the above findings, there is a clear correlation between gender roles, level of education, and means of income which is a different dynamic from the traditional systems. Pre-resettlement the agrarian lifestyle required that man is at the forefront of ensuring there is food security, while women assumed more supporting roles. Post-resettlement, urban life offers more job opportunities for women with low educational levels than it does for man. This is driven by the huge textile industry in Lesotho which is the highest employer in the private sector. Thus the gender dynamics have also changed within the household, whereby the man was culturally known as the breadwinner. This dynamic has also affected relations within the household as most men mentioned they felt emasculated.

Concerning the implementation of the RDIP, there was a consensus from all respondents that the LHDA made recognisable efforts in resettling PAPs into decent houses, however, the PAPs felt they were not adequately integrated within the community. The other issue all parties agreed on is the poor delivery of development programs, which has led to failure in the livelihoods restoration aspect, and sluggish delivery under the development services (e.g. water and electricity installation) aspect.

Regarding compensation, the findings have proven that the LHDA did pay the majority of the PAPs their individual cash compensations. Due to lack of sensitization, the PAPs believe they are being reaped off in the annual compensation package. However, the compensation

manager did explain why the amounts change annually. The PAPs initially thought their compensation packages were more than sufficient, but with time, exposure and experience, they began doubting the fairness of the amounts they received for their land. Communal compensation is another component the LHDA still needs to review because to date, there is still an unclear provision of how communal compensation should be managed. Therefore under communal compensation, the LHDA is considered to have failed in implantation and capacitation of communities.

There are further dissatisfactions from the Ha-Mohale residents, who were deemed as unaffected by the project. They listed several ways the LHWP has altered their lives. Among the key impacts was food sufficiency, whereby those from other villages relied on sharecropping or trading with the people from the fertile valley that was inundated. This also changed their livelihood means, as they had to supplement the depreciated agricultural sector with other means. The environmental changes that came with a further drop in temperatures in the region have also affected the health of many who have been diagnosed with cold-related illnesses. In support of the unaffected views Tilt *et al.* (2008: 254), puts forth a similar case "the economy of the rural areas adjacent to the Manwan Dam experienced significant impacts, including a decline in productivity in agriculture and animal husbandry, shortages of water for irrigation, increasing costs for electricity, and depletion of forest resources". The Mohale residents' experiences though slightly different, but they have proven the dire impacts development projects may leave behind.

On the up-side, they appreciated the infrastructural developments such as clinics, schools, roads and development of the tourism industry that has been brought about the project, thus helping them expand businesses in the tourism sector.

## **Chapter 5: Results**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter, the perceptions and views of the study participants (PAPs, unaffected Mohale residents, and officials) were presented. The findings presented were on the implementation and impacts of the RDIP and the 1997 compensation policy by the LHDA. In this chapter the researcher will provide an analysis of the findings, tying them to previously discussed theories and literature. The analysis will consider uniform impacts that have affected the re-settlers. Then an analysis of challenges unique to Ha-Mosalla and Makhoakhoeng will respectively be presented. Moreover, the perceptions and views of the study participants will inform the analysis process. It will further be informed by previous researches on these communities, and the researcher's observations while conducting the study. In investigating the socio-economic impacts, the LHDA programmes have had on PAPs, there were negative and positive impacts that were reported. Therefore, the results will be representative of all deliberations.

### **5.2 Consequences of the Resettlement Programme**

In 1998 the first stage of resettlement was rolled out, it included the study participants who are originally from Molika-liko Ha-Tsapane in the Mohale region. Approximately 22 households from Ha-Tsapane decided to opt to resettle in the same village of Makhoakhoeng located in urban Maseru. The second stage of resettlement resumed in November 2001. PAPs who resettled to Ha-Mosalla were originally from Jorotane Ha-Tsapane in the Mohale region, they were among the stage two re-settlers. 7 households who are all related decided to settle in this area in pursuit of maintaining family ties. The 14 respondent from these two areas shared the challenges and benefits they have experienced since their first arrival in their host villages. Presented in this section will be an analysis of issues which arose from the interviews carried out with PAPs and officials. There is an unavoidable correlation in these issues, thus one aspect cannot be divorced from the other.

### ***5.2.1 Household and lifestyle dynamics***

Pre-resettlement, PAPs indicated that due to isolation from services deep in the mountains of Mohale, they depended on agriculture as a livelihood strategy. The agrarian lifestyle required all members of the household to pull their weight in ensuring there was food security. Human capital was never an issue in the livelihood strategies a family engaged in. Roles within an agrarian household were allocated in accordance with culture and gender. Even more interesting, the assumed roles for children would serve as grooming strategies teaching them on how to take responsibility within the household. They led a simple and inexpensive lifestyle where natural resources such as brush-wood, and cow-dung were freely accessed. These resources were used for heating homes and cooking. Usually, the man in the households, as per the findings, was the head of household and breadwinners. Medicinal plants assisted the inhabitants of the region to sustain a healthy living.

Post-resettlement, the LHDA placed the PAPs in their new communities, where they were provided with modern brick housing. The new environment brought about a change in lifestyle among PAPs. They were faced with transforming their means of heating their homes and cooking. They could no longer make a fire in the houses as there was no provision for '*leifo*' (fire area) in the house as was in their rondavels. An exception was in cases where PAPs opted for a coal stove, which too requires one to buy coal. In the lowlands and urban Maseru, they had to pay for water. Most PAPs were pressurised by the urban lifestyle to also install electricity. These amenities did not come for free. They are long term expenditures that are paid for monthly.

With the change from an agrarian lifestyle, where food security was never a concern, to landlessness posed new challenges. Unforeseen expenditures (caused by amenities) and the need to provide food on the table led to changes in gender roles and household responsibilities. The paradigm shifts the PAPs had to go through required them to seek employment opportunities to provide for their families. Additionally, neither the disturbance allowance, minimum threshold, nor annual cash compensation could sustain household needs sustainably. Those with lump-sums were slightly advantaged because some of the PAPs were able to start up sustainable projects. It further was challenging to get pastures in the city for those who resettled with their livestock, they were forced by circumstances to sell their animals.

***The shifting gender Roles***-Job seeking has proven to be a difficult task due to the low level of education and lack of skills among PAPs. Only 1 PAP among the 7 interviewed in Makhoakhoeng, has higher education, while the rest, including the 7 respondents from Ha-Mosalla only have primary education. Due to this dynamic, household units have been forced into dismantling. Three PAPs reported their wives were in South Africa as housekeepers. The housekeeping job pays better in South Africa than Lesotho. At least 3 more PAPs reported their household members worked in the factories, and all 3 are women. The men do get job opportunities although it is temporary jobs. The changes have resulted in gender roles shifting within the household, women have become breadwinners, sadly culturally the man is expected to fend for the family. Due to these changes, the male respondents reported higher tensions within their homes. One respondent has reported that they are in a process of divorce with his wife. He asserts that:

*My wife decided to tap into other life opportunities in 2008, she thus left for South Africa for employment, leaving me and the children behind. We owned a few businesses in the early years of resettlement, acquired with the compensation money we received. Our prosperous life was however short-lived. Urban life put more strain on our marriage, the intensity escalated to a level where some of our businesses had to be sold due to poor management. She felt I was no longer good enough, maybe she had found someone in Gauteng. (A 60-year-old male respondent)*

The above extract is in support of the above household dismantling referred to. Mosuo (2018) supports this view by noting that, "the inherited male-headed household structure that had dominated social structures for generations was now confronted by the demands of a different economic system, whereby money was more desirable than the rearing of livestock and dependence on subsistence farming". What burdened the household structure, even more, is the inadequate efforts by the LHDA in implementing the RDIP. The LHDA did not provide the PAPs with relevant skills development for urban life.

***Livelihood Restoration***- The LHDA did not financially and technically support any community income-generating projects that would have developed the income levels of PAPs. With reference to the findings, the resettlement manager acknowledged that less effort was dedicated to livelihoods restoration by the LHDA. Among the Makhoakhoeng re-settlers, not more than 3 PAPs were selected for vocational training that was designed to train the

PAPs for a duration of three months. However, there were inconsistencies, in the program delivery, resulting thus in trainings taking less than the anticipated time. Expectation conferred onto the trainees by the LHDA was that trainees would return to their fellow PAPs and train them as well. The PAPs they were unable to train their fellow neighbours because they stated they weren't confident enough to conduct such training. Moreover, they did not have the necessary tools to train others. It is based on such reports that the researcher identified a void in LHDA which was pinpointed by the resettlement manager on lack of will to serve.

### ***5.2.2 Delivery of housing***

Majority of the study participant gave positive feedback regarding housing. Back in Mohale isolation limited most households to a mud house roofed with thatching grass. The PAPs indicated that block brick houses with corrugated iron roofing represented prestige. Even though some could have afforded to build such houses, the isolation from services and lack of roads made building such structures very expensive. Hence the community members in the region resorted to building with resources within their environmental reach.

The study participants admitted to not being consulted about house plans. Nonetheless, the LHDA built them houses of agreed square meters with an exception of one participant not getting the rooms agreed upon. Furthermore, the LHDA would occasionally transport them from Mohale to check on the progress of their houses. What seemed to concern the PAPs was being provided PAPs with equal plots (30x40 sq.), yet pre-resettlement, some owned bigger yards. The LHDA personnel argued otherwise, he indicated that most PAPs did not have much land previously due to their houses being built on the sloppy area. The LHDA thus resorted giving PAPs with compounds of equal size. This dynamic was found to be dealt with justly based on the scarcity of flat land in Lesotho. If the LHDA had procured different size land for each PAP, some would have not had an opportunity to have garden beds in their compounds. Therefore, all PAPs were deserving of an equal fair piece of land.

What seemed to be the most prevalent concern among PAPs was the uncommunicated expenses that would come with the new upgraded houses. An example of the uncommunicated challenges was expenses that would be incurred with the maintenance of roofing. This was contrary to their past challenges whereby roofing issues would simply be



managed with accessing free thatching grass from the valleys. Having a modern house required befitting furniture as well. All these are expenses the PAPs were not sensitised on nor accustomed to. Moreover, maintenance of a house requires one to have means of income, unlike back in Mohale where resources were free.

Considering the unforeseen challenges that came with the new beautiful structures built for PAPs, policy scrutiny is inevitable. Based on the researcher's analysis, and the informal conversations with PAPs, a looming question is whether the LHDA had thoroughly considered the socio-economic challenges tied to new housing structures. The IRR model speaks of project managers being able to identify inherent risks which are associated with resettlement, then plan for mitigation (Cernea, 2008). The LHDA under the housing component in the compensation policy did plan for this. Hence the LHDA took maintenance responsibility for the first two years as reported by the Ha-Mosalla community. Although a fair share of PAPs were still unsatisfied by the maintenance conducted by the LHDA in the maintenance of their leaking roofs, which remains unverified. Further, there was a disturbance allowance solely intended to assist the PAPs with their needs in their new homes.

The above efforts by LHDA are recognised under the IRR model, nonetheless, there were shortfalls from the LHDA. The frustration and demands of a new environment resulted in several PAPs using their disturbance allowance not only for settling in their new homes but also for food security and minor house fixtures. Further discussion about allocating allowances to other needs will be further discussed. Thamae & Pottinger (2006:14) summarise the household dynamics by stating that:

*Socially, the resettlement in LHWP areas has disturbed family structures and other structures within the affected society, which had been built over decades. Some members of a family may be relocated far away from their relatives where they are forced to begin a new life with different people. And communities that have been together for many decades are suddenly torn apart.*

### **5.2.3 Socio-economic dynamics of resettled PAPs**

According to Krantz (2001), sustainable livelihoods aim to achieve three fundamental issues; poverty eradication, development of persons or communities, and sustainable resource

management. In chapter 2, supporters of this concept have advocated for its adoption in large development projects where affected communities are most likely to lose their assets. The construction of the LHWP is not an exception, hence plans to mitigate the economic impacts of the project on PAPs. In this section, the findings previously presented and the LHDA policy efforts will be dissected. Based on the findings, the researcher will present whether the socio-economic impacts of the LHPW have been positive or negative on those indirectly and directly affected.

The urban lifestyles coupled with landlessness required the PAPs to seek jobs to sustain their households' needs. As one participant explained 'job-seeking' in the previous chapter as "looking for a job in Maseru is a job on its own". As aforementioned in the previous section, being unable to further their education and the lack of other skills beyond agriculture and handy-crafts limited PAPs low skills jobs. The PAPs (mostly women) have had access to the textile industry jobs. Of concern, access to these jobs has come with challenges such as high competition which is driven by high unemployment in the country. They further raise a valid point that they would have been more eligible upon their arrival for such jobs if they had been equipped with vocational skills by the LHDA.

Furthermore, such jobs as garden work, housekeeping, security guards, and street vendor work have been identified as jobs PAPs have a chance to embark in considering their skills and educational level. Of concern though is the uncertainty of job retention or a consistent stipulated salary in such jobs. The PAPs have also appreciated that they are now closer to services, particularly schools for their children. This is important because most PAPs dropped out of school due to proximity and access. Nevertheless, educating a high school child still requires money, thus some expressed how difficult it is putting their children through school under the inconsistent low paying jobs. Pre- resettlement most had livestock that was normally sold to raise fees for the children, regrettably, those who resettled with their livestock had to sell them as a result of scarce grazing lands.

The socio-economic dynamics transcend into community relations. Owing to the high unemployment, host communities have displayed hostility in accommodating the PAPs in community projects. Reality is an average Mosotho is faced with harsh unemployment levels which were at 28% in 2017 (World Bank, 2016). PAPs reported exclusions in village lists for temporary employment in government initiated cash-for-work or food-for-work projects.

According to the PAPs, this behaviour was driven by a misconception the hosts have about all PAPs benefiting from cash compensation, thus they were regarded as well off. The resettled PAPs without employment have to depend solely on compensation, although this has proven to be unsustainable and insufficient. According to Inambao (2007:16), "having income derived from compensation is insufficient to ensure that a household's well-being has been restored to the point where it was before first disturbance".

The study found that the LHDA through its RDIP had vague livelihood restoration plans for employment creation opportunities. The four main development sectors the RDIP had intended to focus on are within: agriculture, tourism, infrastructure, and income restoration activities (entrepreneur development and training) (LHDA EAP, 1997). An example of one of the plans that were drafted by the LHDA but was never realised was the development program specifically designed for women to assist them in income generation. No such program has been reported by PAPs who have been interviewed. Devitt & Hitchcock, (2010) suggests involving and designing with members of the communities plans to restore desired changes would have been the most appropriate step the LHDA could have taken.

The LHDA supported PAPs who received lump sums with technical assistance on how to invest the money in viable projects. As such the resettlement manager appreciated they cannot take credit for those projects which were a success. Repeatedly he mentioned that compensation is designed to replace lost assets, therefore those PAPs who achieved sustainable projects with such money independently achieved such. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the LHDA failed to achieve the restoration of livelihoods of those affected by the LHWP resettlement program.

#### **5.2.4 Landlessness**

Within theories of development induced displacement, loss of land is the main concern which has previously been identified as the most significant asset PAPs lose. The question of land loss has been a contentious issue which has altered the lives of the PAPs. As Rawl (1971) states, it is mandatory for organisations that displace affected communities to assist them through empowering them to attain sustainable sources of income, and opportunities. It was therefore imperative to explore how the implementation of the LHWP has affected those it has left landless. Moreover, whether the effected means of compensation and rehabilitation

methods have achieved what Rawl advocates for. In the previous section on socio-economic dynamics, the issue of landlessness and transitioning from an agrarian lifestyle to a money-based lifestyle proved to be a challenge. Within the IRR model, it is clearly stated that PAPs in such projects are exposed to loss of arable land which can be detrimental to them and those they support (Cernea, 2000). Although the LHDA personnel maintained that compensation was solely meant to replace what was lost, as prescribed by the compensation policy, challenges arose.

As findings have revealed, the first challenge was tied to policies addressing the intertwined nature of PAP livelihoods to their environment in a shallow manner. Due to this vague vision, the second challenge became replacing a durable asset such as land with liquid cash. One may believe the PAPs received fair compensation for their land, but the concern of this study is not fair compensation, rather sustainable means of livelihood. This brings us to the third challenge whereby the compensation for land has been regarded as incapable to re-establish livelihoods sustainably for the majority of PAPs. In the findings, it was found that only 28.5% of the PAPs achieved sustainable projects with their land compensation money. While 71% attributed failure to establishing viable and sustainable projects to a range of immediate needs that had to be attended to with the compensation money. These needs include educational needs for children and immediate everyday needs such as food security. Tsietsi (2018) adds that dependence on money requires consistent regular income. Allocating 50 years to annual compensation for land has raised concerns among PAPs on the legacy they are going to pass on to their children. Consequently, the time frames attached to compensation have led the PAPs into impoverishment especially in the absence of other reliable means of income.

In support of the above non-governmental organisations such as the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) (2001) have argued that landlessness among PAPs has resulted in limited agricultural activities, thus increasing poverty levels among the resettled households. Having interviewed two participants that are still located in Mohale, and were not affected by the dam construction, it became clear that inundation of the fertile soils affected a wider population than the LHDA has identified.

*After the fields we used to cultivate were inundated, there were fewer options for farming on the rocky land that remained available. I could have continued with farming, however, it was*

*going to be a risky venture that would require a lot of inputs, including the use of fertilisers. While previously (Pre-inundation) we enjoyed fertile soil on which we engaged in sharecropping with the Molika-like community. Back then we consistently got a good harvest with fewer inputs involved. The LHWP put us through major transitions, in the beginning when there were multiple job opportunities at the dam sites it was great to be part of this development. But immediately after the completion of the construction, the reality of lack of formal training, and educational qualifications kicked in. I had to explore other means of livelihood beyond agriculture, and I can't say life has been smooth from 2003/2004. (Male respondent, aged 45)*

The TRC (2004) in their booklet: *Irony of the White Gold*, indicate that PAPs believe their lives prior resettlement were of a better standard, this was attributed to free access to basic resources such as water and wild vegetables. This changed post-resettlement as have been alluded to above. The above extract further asserts that the landlessness state brought about by the construction of the LHWP affected more people than those estimated in the environmental action plan.

### ***5.2.5 Participation in the Rehabilitation Processes***

As indicated previously, rehabilitation efforts for Phase 1B were realised through communal compensation. According to the LHDA (1997: sec 11.5), the communal compensation, covered, among others, loss of communal resources such as grazing land, springs, and medicinal plants. The policy was designed to include within the communal compensation, the hosts and PAPs alike. As stipulated under the community Infrastructure Development Programme "each host community and its relocatees/resettlers will together determine sustainable development t project(s) that they intend to implement with the funds available" (LHDA, 2007: Section 11.1). The LHDA aimed at livelihood re-establishment and income generation. This was based on forecasts that the PAPs would increase pressure on the shared resources in their host villages. Hence it was important to consider the hosts within communal compensation.

Project implementation required each community to present plans, either related to income-generating projects, which would ideally improve livelihoods of community members; or development projects such as the installation of electricity, water, roads, etc., intended to

address priority needs and services decided upon by the majority of community members. The project plans were intended to be a joint effort of the community with technical assistance from LHDA and consultants relevant to the chosen project. The approach was envisioned to ensure chosen projects would be feasible and yield sustainable benefits.

Communal compensation was intended to help restore livelihoods through community development projects. The intentions of the LHDA were indeed developmental, however, implementation proved to be a challenge. As presented in the findings chapter, Ha-Mosalla and Makhoakhoeng communities have two different stories to tell regarding communal compensation.

*The case of Ha-Mosalla community-* In the 18 years of the introduction of the re-settlers in the Ha-Mosalla community, all community members were tasked by the LHDA to agree on a project that will benefit them. The project implementation required community members to decide on the projects which will bring sustainable developments to the communities. Giving the community the authority to choose and decide on what would benefit them was a good initiative by the LHDA. Unfortunately, the LHDA was not prepared for the community politics that arose due to the bottom-up approach they had adopted. For years since the introduction of communal compensation within this community, the PAPs and their hosts could not reach a consensus on a viable project to undertake.

The CALC member who was interviewed, and is part of the PAPs indicated that initially, they wanted different things, however years back they came to an agreement to install electricity. This never took shape until this year, hence as mentioned in the findings, they (PAPs) installed their own electricity. They as PAPs feel the communal compensation has been introduced in the host village because of their sufferings, thus from the compensation to install electricity, they deserve to be compensated for their incurred expenses. They further asserted that it was unfair for the LHDA to continue with the implementation of a project that had been put on hold for years. They had suggested revisiting the drawing board. This issue has caused tension between the hosts and the PAPs.

Further tension was aggravated by the community members not being decisive on which villages within their catchment were eligible for inclusion in the project. The chief of Ha-Mosalla has under her chieftainship several villages, thus she did not want to exclude any

village in fear of being labelled as segregating. The LHDA personnel as well indicated that communal compensation was under review for the past few years because of emergent issues such as the aforementioned. The LHDA needed to undertake a revision of implementation strategies, particularly in cases where the community did not agree on which projects to undertake.

Most communities including Ha-Mosalla opted for the installation of electricity and water. The research has thus questioned what communal compensation was meant for? Seeing that water and electricity just serve as development s but not as income restoration projects. The researcher strongly believes that the LHDA did not take enough initiative to guide the community on how they can achieve a balance in implementing both development and income-generating projects. Nonetheless, Ha-Mosalla will in a few months receive electricity for all households because of the efforts of the LHDA and the Lesotho Electricity Company (which is a parastatal) and the community have taken to finally see the project through. Ha-Mosalla further has access to water from a community tap initiated by the LHDA.

*The case of the Makhoakhoeng community-* This community is located 10km from the Maseru city centre. The study participants (PAPs, and LHDA officials) indicated in the previous chapter that urban life presented different challenges. Urban life was different from lowlands/ Maseru outskirts in terms of resource sharing. The LHDA had anticipated that all PAPs would have to share resources such as water, grazing land, and firewood with their host communities. Thus they designed a uniform communal compensation plan. In urban Maseru, as previously stated by PAPs, the majority of the needed amenities are paid for by individual users, these include water, waste, and even firewood. It is based on these circumstances that the urban re-settlers (PAP) requested that communal compensation should be in a form of cash payment to PAPs because there was no resource sharing with the Makhoakhoeng community.

The LHDA in its policies and guidelines on communal compensation lacks diversity, it is inconsiderate of the differing lifestyle requirements unique to each area. The lack of foresight of the different needs re-settlers have in their different host communities caused tension among all concerned parties. The Ha-Mosalla participants particularly do not understand how the LHDA granted the Makhoakhoeng re-settlers their communal compensation, yet their plight is overlooked by the LHDA. As the resettlement manager had explained, the



Makhoakhoeng case was mediated by the ombudsman, thus they were mandated to acknowledge the different circumstances this community lived under. And yet in Ha-Mosalla the community still shares some resources without having to pay for them. On the contrary, the Ha-Mosalla PAs claim they pay for wood, water, and they are never included in community cash-for-work project, therefore their case should be reviewed as well.

As stipulated in the policy, the LHDA had promised host communities feeder roads. In Makhoakhoeng, the LHDA has constructed tarmac roads with streetlights. In this regard, the LHDA did deliver the roads as promised. Having good roads within-host villages would have been beneficial if the livelihoods restoration programs had been implemented. Accessing efficient transportation is essential for any business or livelihoods to thrive.

Given the above case studies, the researcher observed five main issues which hindered efficient implementation of the development programs particularly in Ha-Mosalla. The identified issues are as follows: (i) Insufficient capacity building for the community and CALC as the administering committee, (ii) The misappropriation and misuse of project funds, (iii) Lack of will from both community members and LHDA personnel to see through the projects, (iv) Unsustainability of projects, and (v) Incoherent policies.

Several writers have agreed upon the need for public participation, particularly in development projects to ensure effectiveness, concern still lies in the implementation of public participation. The main concern is whether participants are indeed involved in all levels of the project (Cleaver, 1999; Reed, 2008; Buchy and Hoverman, 2000). Notably, public participation may be negatively or positively affected by dynamics within the community and among service providers as seen in the aforementioned concerns.

Some of these restraining issues applied in the case of Mohale resettlement, affecting the implementation processes. The issues that are to be discussed mostly apply to Ha-Mosalla because as stated before, the Makhoakhoeng case has been an exception. The community development project must be under the administration of the CALC which comprises of community members with no special skills in project management. The lack of skills within the committee and lack of capacity building for the CALC raised concerns. With such a mammoth responsibility, community-level committees struggled with the management of projects due to the insufficient capacity building through training that should have been



provided for by the LHDA. Also, a lack of on-going monitoring and regular accountability measures added to the challenges which inhibited effectiveness in the implementation of planned community development projects.

The committees further handled finances that were deposited in thousands by the LHDA into the community accounts. The LHDA shifted the responsibility of handling funds to CALC for them to handle finances for co-operatives without adequately capacitating and accrediting them for having the ability needed. Accountability, monitoring and evaluation have also proved to be among the concerns raised by other community members. In the findings, concerns were that these untrained committees further engaged in misappropriation and misuse of funds. But it was unclear which accountability measures have been taken. A similar challenge was experienced in the *'Three Gorges Dam'* resettlement program. Misappropriation of funds that were budgeted for housing and training were diverted to paying personnel salaries and other expenses apart from resettlement (Heggelund, 2008). With over 270 million Yuan misappropriated, it's unimaginable the impact it had on resettlers. The Lesotho PAPs face a similar predicament with funds which were meant for livelihoods restoration and development projects

Another issue is lack of the will to implement from the LHDA's side, to keenly engage affected communities in the community projects. What is even more alarming is engaging communities without adequately capacitating them. The Ha- Mosalla community was involved in the planning of a community project, though it was without sufficient capacity building, hence the delayed implementation. Lack of will and drive on the LHDA side, and lack of capacity on among community members both yield unsustainability and ineffective projects.

In the case of Ha-Mosalla, the PAPs feel the LHDA did not fully consider their views, but those of the general community. Thus this created a void and barriers between implementing agencies and PAPs. The Ha- Mosalla community was engaged though it was without prior nor continuous relevant training in project management. Hence, poor misinformed decisions were made and misappropriated funds characterised the CALC. these challenges have therefore negatively affected the development projects of Ha-Mosalla to date.

### 5.3 Comparison of Life pre-resettlement and post-resettlement

The researcher found that majority of the PAPs and those who were unaffected by the LHWP but were interviewed as control participants similarly dwelled on Mohale (the Molika-liko and Jorotane valley) prior the introduction of the LHWP. In this section its key to relate the social impact of development projects using the SIA to understand why at least 71% of the participants are still attached to the life they led prior the LHWP. The SIA thus brings attention to social costs endured by PAPs. Application of the SIA will help us understand why participants found life before the LHWP much better than post LHWP. Among many elements, the SIA assesses access to resources, economic assessment, demographics, infrastructural and cultural assessments.

The participant reflected on the qualitative life aspects which made the Molikaliko and Jorotane valley land of abundance. All participants who engaged in crop farming or livestock farming attested to the quality of products they had. Grazing grass for animals was nutritious, and the soil for crop production was fertile. 12.5% of participants indicated they preferred their urban life post-resettlement, while 87.5% still ponder over their previous lives. Which they further wished can be reproduced by the LHDA through socio-economic programmes, however, the qualitative elements they hold dear can never be reproduced.

The PAPs have indicated in the findings that life in the lowlands and urban areas requires one to have a consistent source of income. But this has proven to be a challenge considering the types of Jobs available for PAPs (to those lucky enough to get a job). These are jobs which lack Job security, thus cannot guarantee a stable and sustainable means of income. It based on the above that PAPs strongly doubt the LHDA compensation policy (1997) and the RDIP were intended to prohibit a deteriorating life standard for resettled households. 87.5% of the participants made it clear that their current economic conditions subject them to an "inferior standard of living". As one 52-year-old male respondent narrates:

*After 18 full years of living here, I'm still unable to warm up to urban life. Resettling here has negatively impacted my life and family development. Resettlement stripped me of my only means of livelihood, where I had skills and excelled. An urban lifestyle is heavily dependent on liquid money, thus requires one to plunge into business or be employed. Both these options have been a struggle for me, hence I'm still unemployed. I'm an African man who strongly believes in being a breadwinner for my family. I'm scared that I'm unable to provide*

*for my family. If only the hands of time would be turned, I would have opted to be relocated to villages not far from Ha-Seotsa (original village). Moreover, in those neighbouring villages, engaging in sharecropping and continuing with rearing sheep wouldn't have been a problem because I knew most people. Here at Ha-Mosalla relations among neighbours seem more hostile than the unity I was used to backing home in Ha-Seotsa.*

The points being raised by the above respondent portray the socio-economic situation most of the resettled families have been subjected to because of the resettlement programme. The standard of living in the lowlands was high as compared to their previous life. However, from the findings presented, the PAPs strongly believe the quality of life post-resettlement depreciated drastically. As Meissner (1999) states, displacement of the local people, loss of arable land, poor resettlement programs, broken promises, and environmental degradation. These issues all contributed to the resentment most PAPs display towards the LHWP and the LHDA. In his study: *A policy analysis of the consequences of the Lesotho highlands water project for rural communities in Lesotho: a case study of communities affected by the construction of the Katse and Mohale dams*, Tsotetsi (2014: 284) states that:

*Majority of those resettled in the foothills and on the outskirts of Maseru are suffering, and feel that their livelihoods are not at the same standard as they were before their displacement. Despite the provision of educational facilities, these communities are finding it difficult to raise money for school fees for their children, who are at secondary and high school levels. In essence, the interviewed people have regretted taking their families to Maseru Urban for resettlement.*

The LHDA appreciated that PAPs will forever be attached to their previous homes due to involuntary resettlement. The Resettlement manager asserts that:

*The re-settlers are well within their rights to have high expectations of how their lives should have improved after resettlement. The high expectations might have been motivated by possible over-promising from our side as LHDA officials, or demands that were made by the community themselves during various public gathering, which may have been misconstrued as official demands. Rather I believe the PAPs have what is known as place attachment. Place attachment is an emotional attachment one has to their place of origin, and in most cases, it occurs among people who have been involuntarily relocated. The relocation causes trauma that may result in individual disruption, and social capital disruption (in their place of origin social capital was built which eased some of their life challenges).*

*Place attachment may seem to aggravate a sense of entitlement due to the rosy picture those experiencing it draw of their place of origin. It does not mean there were no bad experiences or negative issues in the original place. It is simply a psychological state whereby the mind represses the negative past issues and only remembers the good, that's how the mind works. Thus the PAPs will always believe their lives were better pre-resettlement, and most feel if they were still back in the mountains their lives would be better. I fully understand the resentment some may have towards the LHDA and towards being resettled. Regardless, I fully empathise with what the re-settlers have gone through and continue to endure to date. I wish and hope as an organisation we can offer more support to the PAPs considering the trauma resettlement burdens them with. Such support should be channelled to helping them re-build sustainable livelihoods.*

The above views from the LHDA personnel are precise and empathetic, conversely, he still admitted to the LHDA contributing to the attachment issues PAPs have. They as the implementing organisation over-promised. The former chief delegate to Lesotho under LHWC, however, shares slightly different views. She emphasised the importance of understanding the LHWP is a development project, thus a project has a start and an end. It was therefore vital to have a contractual relationship with PAPs within which there had to be a mutual understanding that there will eventually be an end to the relationship. Unfortunately, she points to this as cancerous to the LHWP, where communities develop a dependency syndrome and do not want to graduate from compensation.

## **5.4 Summary**

According to Dwivedi (1997:3) "The fundamental issue with involuntary resettlement is—people are moved from their often longstanding resources and livelihoods, it imposes a loss of various forms of capital – socio-cultural, physical, and financial – which, in turn, inflicts disempowerment, helplessness and impoverishment on those directly affected." In this chapter the researcher discussed and presented the consequences that come with large development projects as the LHWP. The study participants addressed all the negatives and positives they have experienced due to the introduction of the LHWP. As per the results, the

LHDA delivered on the compensation component, with limitations in the delivery of the RDIP.

In the assessment of LHWP policies and programs, and consideration of the study the findings, concerns are raised on whether the project considered the SIA. The following are the basic requirements the SIA advises any development project should consider (Huang *et al.*, 2018). Therefore, against each requirement the researcher considered whether the LHDA has achieved any:

- ✓ The SIA serves in identifying and managing social impacts, it aims at mitigating negative effects, while enhancing the positive benefits. Considering the study findings, the LHDA was unable to adequately identify and manage social impacts brought about by the LHWP and resettlement program.
- ✓ The SIA requires that there should be comprehensive community engagement and social assessments where people's anxieties, likely social tensions, and expectations are addressed. The PAPs have emphasised how they were not given enough time to prepare for resettlement, and how there was never efforts of social integration done by the LHDA within their host villages. Hence the unsettled anxiety levels and social tensions that have been expressed by PAPs.
- ✓ To achieve management of social issues throughout the project life, meaningful community engagement is necessary and central to SIA implementation. It further serves as a foundation in the management of community agreements. The LHDA had good plans on community implementation structures in their plans. But the poor implementation of community projects has proven that less effort and funding were directed to meaningful community engagement.

Mashinini (2010) emphasises that the situation among PAPs in their host communities is severe than what studies present. He touches on the extreme results whereby families have disintegrated due to harsh economic realities. Pottinger (2007: 30) declares that "while many affected people have benefitted from improved roads and sanitation, too many other programs designed to help them restore their lives have failed." Pottinger defines the Standard of living of resettled PAPs as appalling. The PAPs are surviving though under the harsh economic condition as the majority of them are unemployed. They are confronted with not only economic challenges, but also their social ties which previously were tied to their livelihood strides. The LHDA as an implementing organisation went through many trials and

errors, nonetheless, they delivered a fair compensation policy as per the findings. Nevertheless, there is a great room for change and improvement, seeing that money is dispensable, therefore in most cases, it is not a fair substitute for land.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

### 6.1 Conclusion

The research aimed at exploring how the construction of Mohale Dam under the LHWP has affected the livelihoods of Basotho (PAPs) who had to be resettled to make way for the dam development. There were two programs initiated by the LHDA to assist the PAPs in re-establishing themselves and restoring livelihoods as detailed in chapter one. These are the RDIP and the compensation program as informed by the policy.

The researcher aimed at exploring PAP perceptions towards compensation for lost assets. Based on the qualitative explorative analysis, the study can conclude that individual compensation was efficiently implemented. While communal compensation, on the contrary, has been characterised by inconsistencies during implementation. The PAPs have expressed disappointment in the implementation of communal compensation. While there were mixed views regarding individual compensation. Majority indicated they only realized years post resettlement that it was not sufficient considering urban challenges. While those who had no assets strongly felt they deserved to be compensated somehow due to the sharecropping activities they depended on. While a few who made good investments were satisfied with the amounts they received.

Under the RDIP the researcher aimed at understanding how it had impacted the PAPs. Based on the findings, the researcher can safely conclude that the livelihoods restoration program implementation has failed dismally. The results revealed that cash compensation, instead of development programs under the RDIP, has restored the livelihoods of a few respondents. The majority of the respondents have a worrisome dependency on the annual compensation due to landlessness. Those that are neither eligible for lump sum nor annual compensation have been left to re-establish their livelihoods independently navigating the urban life with minimal once-off assistance from the LHDA.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the compensation and resettlement program at Ha-Mosalla and Makhoakhoeng has resulted in undeniable alterations of the resettled PAPs lives.

This chapter will provide summarised impacts (positive and negative), and the overall experiences with the compensation and resettlement programs. The summaries will be completed with a discussion of specific conclusions. The final section will lay out the recommendations and the closing remarks.

The study findings have revealed positive and negative elements of resettlement in line with PAP views on how forced resettlement has affected them. The PAPs have enjoyed positive impacts such as good housing structures, electricity, accessible water, roads, being closer to schools, clinics and facilities such as stores. However, the findings have displayed that the negative impacts outweigh the positives.

Resettlement and the inevitable lifestyle change from subsistence agriculture to a cash-based life style has been the most illuminated negative. There is a significant dependence on cash compensation among PAPs, and this has been attributed to the low skills, low paying jobs and high unemployment levels in Lesotho. While a few respondents were able to make smart sustainable investments with their lump sum cash compensation, most made poor investments (e.g. purchasing used vehicles). A fair number have opted for annual payments that will be paid to them until the lapse of 50 years, which has turned into security money these PAPs can rely on to get by. Unfortunately, not all PAPs owned fields thus cash compensation was not available to restore livelihoods of those without fields.

Notably, the findings revealed that compensation was solely intended to replace lost assets, while development programs were intended to restore livelihoods and invest in development projects. The livelihoods restoration programs sadly were never adequately funded, nor given adequate technical support yet the LHWP treaty and LHDA Order of 1986 had stipulated that the standard of living of PAPs should be reinstated and, where possible, improved. However, the LHDA has not achieved livelihoods restoration initiatives for the majority of PAPs. Hence the transition from subsistence agriculture to a cash-based landless lifestyle has been challenging for most PAPs.

Cash compensation styles adopted globally have been defined by McDonald-Wilmsen & Webber (2010) to seem to treat resettlement as a one-time event. It is more concerning for those PAPs who had no land at all; indeed, their cases were treated as one-time events. It is such approaches that have left most PAPs living from hand to mouth in their host villages and



they remain landless. The researcher has further concluded that the LHDA did not apply the guiding principles of the Impact Risk Reduction model proposed by Micheal Cernea in the 1990s. Efficient adoption of this model would have assisted the LHDA in recognizing the intrinsic connections the PAPs had with their environment, social and cultural aspects. Therefore, more efforts and funding would have been directed towards the RDIP due to the recognition of the impacts the projects was to inflict unto the PAPs.

The RDIP under the development component has exhibited inadequate community participation. As stipulated in the Social Impact Analysis (SIA), participation should be comprehensive and this entails capacitating communities adequately to be able to participate in development projects (Cernea, 2008). Participation was also vital in the preparatory stages of resettlement but LHDA's efforts in community engagement from inception to post implementation phases (in resettlement planning or development projects planning) have been characterized by a lack of transparency. The PAPs indicated in the findings that during the initial introductory stages of the LHWP, there were unclear points which the LHDA could not address, such as how the PAPs were going to be assured of a decent life post resettlement. The PAPs indicated that the LHDA disappeared for years, and resurfaced a year before the first stage resettlement commenced. They indicated that they were never fully involved in the planning and designing, however efforts were made to involve them during asset capturing. A greater part of the decisions remained inaccessible in the development programs which had to be spearheaded by the communities affected. The development programs either delayed to be implemented or totally failed due to the lack of transparency. When the LHDA halted the development program for a review on implementation, it was an uncommunicated decision. The Ha-Mosalla participants, including those who are part of Combined Area Liaison Committee (CALC), were clueless on why communal compensation was halted, hence the lack of transparency.

When asked to compare their lives pre and post resettlement, all PAPs, except for one, indicated that they led a self-sufficient life, which they regard to be of better quality than their current lives. Most of them had voiced with regret that they could have prospered if they had chosen to remain in the Mohale region. Hence there was a need to make a comparative analysis with those people who are still in Mohale in order to establish whether indeed they are better off. The decision to have what was deemed as control participants presented surprising yet interesting results. The research regarded the participants as unaffected by the

dam construction, as they were never compensated on anything. The participants presented a twist to the initially held views. They were rather affected by the dam development in more ways than one. Their livelihoods web was distorted because as an agricultural community, their bread basket was inundated; their socio-economic relationships were torn apart; they were faced with rewiring their livelihoods strategies; their movement between villages was restricted; and lastly they have spoken about their health being affected by the cold temperatures brought about by the dam.

All the aforementioned impacts led the researcher to rename them as inadvertent PAPs, because indeed they were part of the project communities. The only benefits the respondents appreciated were that the LHDA constructed foot bridges and roads to address access, and clinics and schools were now closer to them. The LHDA has to, in future, adopt an all-encompassing impact analysis in order to cater for everyone's needs. The Environmental Action Plan (EAP) was unable to foresee these challenges, hence excluded these communities while planning mitigation measures. This implies that regardless of whether the PAPs would have chosen relocation to nearby villages in the Mohale region, they would have most probably faced similar challenges.

Thus, comparatively, those in Mohale have an upper hand in the availability of grazing land for their animals, access to cooking and heating resources, the roofing grasses and wild vegetables. But the Mohale residents have stated that they have also experienced a partial transition from subsistence agriculture to a cash-based lifestyle, therefore those closer to services (the PAPs) are better off in this regard. Given the above, it is safe to conclude that the PAPs have equal chances to either be self-sufficient or fall into poverty whether located in Mohale or their host villages. The only initiative left for the LHDA to make, is to provide PAPs with a fair chance to sufficiency through reviving the livelihoods restoration program which will likely benefit the affected.

## **6.2 Recommendations**

This final section of the research will conclude with suggestions on how impacts could be mitigated and new ideas that can be implemented. The recommendations have been derived from and informed by the interviews with all the study participants, and the literature the

researcher engaged with. The recommendations are intended to inform better policy and program implementation in the Phase 2 Polihali Dam construction that is already underway. The researcher also believes it is not too late for the LHDA to adopt some of the recommendations to mitigate past mistakes in Phase 1A and B. The study therefore makes the following recommendations:

- It is advised that the LHWP should in future give equal effort to the social assessment as given to the environmental assessment. Unlike in the previous assessments where social impacts were a subsidiary component within a larger environment impact analysis, there should be an adaptation of the Environmental Social Impact Analysis.
- The LHDA should, incorporate the sustainable livelihoods approach in the initial Environmental Social Impact Analysis of the upcoming phases. It is an analytical tool that can assist in identifying development priorities which will help restore livelihoods.
- The LHDA should engage the communities at all levels of project implementation. The environmental wisdom the inhabitants hold on the project site may richly inform policy making and program designing. Such is seen in the case where the neighboring villages in the Mohale region have been driven into food insecurity due to the inundation of their bread basket. Thorough assessment should have recognised the valley was the bread basket, hence there should have been mitigation measures to help the unaffected not to fall into food insecurity.
- The apparent difference between the PAPs with sustainable projects, and the majority without sustainable projects, should motivate the LHDA to capacitate PAPs more. Both groups have come out of the rural setting with little or no cash management skills, while the former seemed able to manage their cash compensation. Therefore, the LHDA should reference these success stories as exemplary, and why cash disbursement should be augmented by business and financial training.
- There should be an adoption of benefit sharing where a certain percentage of the royalties Lesotho gets from water sales is shared with PAPs either through education investments or development projects.
- The implementing authority should ensure that all PAPs enjoy the benefit of having water in their compounds as equal to those who enjoy the benefit in South Africa.
- Likewise, the PAPs should enjoy the benefit of electricity similar to urban Basotho who benefit from the hydropower stations.

- It should be an ongoing priority of the LHDA to ensure PAPs do not fall below the standard of first contact.
- The LHDA should have good working relations with relevant government ministries such as Social Development and Small Business to assist in empowering and capacitating PAPs.

### **6.3 Final Comments**

The inherent complexities in resettlement programs and compensation packages have overreaching consequences for PAPs. These are the people who are faced with life-changing impacts which include loss of land, loss of communal resources, food insecurity and loss of livelihoods. The sacrifices PAPs endure for the sake of Lesotho's economy and that of South African are immeasurable. It would only be a dignified effort for implementing authorities to invest time and sufficient funds to ensure the affected people achieve sustainable livelihoods for their families rather than simply replacing what they have lost with cash compensation.

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### **Interviews/Fieldwork**

1st category: Three officials in the Lesotho Highlands Water Commission and Lesotho Highlands Development Authority = (LHWC3), (LHDA1), and (LHDA2)

2nd category: 14 affected community members = (Respondents 1-14)

3<sup>rd</sup> category: 2 unaffected participants = (Respondent 15-16)

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Household interview guide

1. Demographics:
  - i) What is your name (respondent)?
  - ii) What is your age?
  - iii) What is your level of education?
  - iv) What's the size of your household (children, and other relatives living in household)?
  - v) What are your village names pre and post resettlement?
  
2. Livelihood changes:
  - i) How did you make a living prior resettlement? And how do you make a living post resettlement? (e.g. subsistence or commercial farming, employment in the mines, selling medicinal herbs)?
  
  - ii) How did the LHDA involve you during the resettlement process?
  
  - iii) Did any of your family members participate in the decision-making processes on issues of resettlement and compensation? Please, explain your answer....
  - iv) How was the resettlement process conducted? Please provide examples.
  
  - v) How different is life in the urban areas from life in the rural mountainous areas of Ha-Mohale?
  - vi) What assets were and are in your name pre and post resettlement?
  
  - vii) What are your views on the resettlement and development program?
  
  - viii) Were you engaged by the LHDA in any livelihoods restoration project
  
3. The LHWP compensation plan sustainability:

- i) Have you received compensation for the lost assets and for resettlement? What kind of compensation have you received (lump-sum cash, annual cash, food grains)?
- ii) Considering your household size, and livelihood changes, is the compensation offered by LHWP sufficient with prospects of sustainable development for you and your future generations?
- iii) Were any investments made with the lump-sum compensation packages?
- iv) Was/is the agreed (between project authorities and household) compensation package paid consistently and timely?
- v) Was cash compensation a fair exchange for the assets lost, particularly land?
- vi) How do you feel the compensation plan could have been designed and executed?

## Appendix B: Focus group interview guide

- 1) How were community dynamics prior resettlements? (E.g. Community support structures, norms and values).
- 2) How have the community dynamics changed post resettlement? (Reception of host community, acquisition of assets, norms values and general way of life).
- 3) How have you been compensated for communal losses by the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority? (Fauna and flora, grazing lands, schools, churches).
- 4) Has the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority supported any community projects as indicated in the compensation plan for phase 1B (Mohale Dam)?
- 5) How do you feel implementation of communal assets compensation could have been implemented?

## Appendix C: An example of an interview with a PAP

### *Resettlement, Compensation, and Livelihood Chronicles*

#### **Introduction**

The historic area called Thaba-Bosiu is where the great king Moshoeshoe I, the founder of the Basotho nation had a fortress, and where Basotho's great kings (Moshoeshoe I included) are buried. This is the area where families from the Mohale Dam construction area were relocated and settled in early 2000, in the lowlands of Maseru district. I will share life experiences of a small group of re-settlers who came to these areas due to inundation of their villages during the construction of the Mohale Dam. They share their experiences, challenges and achievements all influenced by being Project-Affected Persons of a dam development.

It is however imperative to understand the geography of the area where Project-Affected Persons (PAPs) lived pre-resettlement. They hail from the mountainous highlands of the Maseru district namely 'Mohale, Jorotane in a smaller village of Ha-Seotsa'. Ha-Mohale lies 2000m above sea level and is situated along one of Lesotho's major rivers-Senqunyane River (Thabane, 2000). The soil along the Senqunyane valley is said to be fertile black and acclaimed as the best for crop farming (maize, sorghum and wheat) organically. The soil fertility requires neither manure, nor pesticides as the area is pest free, this is due to alluvial deposits from the Senqunyane River (Thabane, 2000). The area is well renowned for various grasses used for roofing and great pastures for animal feed. The area is also known for cannabis that grows in abundance and is considered to be of a higher grade. The area requires no specialised irrigation systems as the snow that falls during the winter is stored as water in the porous rock to sustain a natural crop irrigation system. Moreover, being along the river basins also was advantageous.

It is against this background that I will share my experience with one of my study participants as we discussed life before and after resettlement. She, like the majority of Basotho households, welcomed me into her family to spend a few days where she gave me an opportunity to intimately understand their past and present life as a family. Her story takes us

through her life from when she first got married in the inundated village of Ha-Seotsa, to date.

### **A Glimpse into the PAPs Lives Pre-Resettlement**

The lady of the house introduced herself as a 38-year-old Mosotho woman who attended school to a level of standard five. Her husband, who was out to work, is aged 41 and attended school up to standard four. The couple was unable to complete their primary education due to lack of schools in the mountainous area of Mohale back then. They have two girl children, aged 15 (currently doing Grade Nine), and one who is a year and 10 months old. The respondent joined her husband's family in the year 1999 when they got married. Then they were still living in Jorotane Ha-Seotsa, which is one of the project-affected villages now inundated.

The respondent reminisced of life in the highlands of Ha-Seotsa pre-resettlement. Life then was simple, there was no formal employment and livelihoods were dependent on subsistence farming, barter system, and selling cannabis to South Africans. When she first arrived at Ha-Seotsa, LHWP construction works were already underway, thus the community enjoyed piece jobs or temporary employment that came with the dam construction. Her husband would work temporarily as a brick layer within the LHWP. Beyond that they were a young newly married couple and thus did not have fields nor animals. However, they had a big plot where their two huts were built, while the rest of the land would be used for cannabis (*Matekoane*) cultivation.

Their annual produce (of cannabis) on a good year would make a harvest of 5 bags of 50kg or 80kg. The bags would be traded or bartered for wheat, maize, or beans (a bag for a bag), within the village or with neighbouring farmers from other villages. The preferred target market though was South Africans (mainly Zulus or Xhosas), who would come to their villages to buy the cannabis; a 50kg bag at the time was sold at an average price of 500 Maloti (o the Loti is equivalent to the Rand), 80kg at an average price of 800 Maloti. Alternatively, the South Africans would barter washing basins, washing powder, soap, cooking oil, body lotion, and all other necessities that were not easily accessed due to the terrain and being distant from the shops.

Apart from the cannabis sales, the lady of the house engaged in piece jobs such as hoeing other community members' fields. She would get her payment in the form of cash, or a bag of maize or cannabis. All these livelihood activities they engaged in secured their family a meal for the entire year. Emphasis was on how life then was cheaper considering most of their produce was used for consumption on a daily basis; money would be used to buy what they could not produce.

### **Life Post-Resettlement**

The respondent's life and that of her family changed drastically in 2001 when the LHDA resettled them to the lowlands of Maseru district, in the area named Thaba-Bosiu Ha Mosalla. The disappointment in her tone and facial expression as she narrated how their livelihoods had changed due to the resettlement spoke volumes. Urban life was a completely different animal from their norm. The first 10 years were the most difficult for her family in their new home in the host village of Ha-Mosalla. Coming from a rural setting where money was not the essential need because of the community's self-sufficiency and abundance of natural resources, the family faced a 'transition shock'. It was indeed a shock because they had to transit from being self-sufficient, to seeking employment with only their primary school education coupled with limited skills.

During their first years of resettlement, the LHWP compensated the family with the following:

- A two-roomed house (equivalent to the number of rooms they previously had which was two huts) with a fenced compound (30x40 sq.);
- A gas stove;
- Fruit trees to plant, and an amount of R600 for inundated fruit tree;
- Three years 'settling in' compensation to the amount of M18, 000 that had to be received by all re-settlers
- Her big plot equivalent to smaller fields that were being compensated at M3.37 per square meter, was initially not compensated, but after years of contesting this issue, the family received a M10, 000 lump sum payment for their big plot.

The family had no other assets such as fields and animals, therefore they depended only on the 'settling in' cash compensation, and later the land lump sum compensation.

Relocation and resettlement occurred in November of 2001. They received the first M8, 000 (settling in cash payment) of the first year, which helped their family survive into the year 2002, while they struggled to get any casual jobs. Throughout 2002, they attempted hiring fields from the local host community members but to their dismay the hosts inflated prices driven by the misconception that the re-settlers had a lot of money. Nevertheless, with some of the cash received from the LHWP, she and her husband hired a field which produced 8 bags of maize in that year. They additionally bought two cows which unfortunately didn't survive due to the drought in the lowlands. The maize harvested was helpful as they were able to have maize meal throughout that year. In November 2002 they received the second 'settling in' payment, which was M6, 000, from which half was used for the husband's travels to South Africa where he had hoped to find employment. This meant the remaining family members had to survive on M3000 throughout the year 2003. The respondent marked 2003 as the toughest year for her family. They struggled to make ends meet and, to add salt to the wound, the husband was unsuccessful in his job-hunting venture in South Africa.

She highlighted with a trembling voice how resettling drowned them into debt, as their means of survival depended on borrowing money from other re-settlers, which was to be paid with the last amount of the 'settling in' cash payment. The last payment of the 'settling in' cash compensation was M4, 000, and as mentioned, the bulk of the money was used to cover expenses incurred during the length of 2003. With the reality of not getting any cash payment from LHWP going forward, the respondent had to press harder in finding a job in the city (Maseru). In 2004 she landed a job as a factory worker, while the husband got piece jobs as a bricklayer in government schools that were being built in the area. 'Life in the lowlands requires money in everything that one has to undertake, even simple access to water requires money' as she emphasised how important it is to be employed in the lowlands.

From 2006, both she and the husband had to work as security guards to make ends meet. Working as a security guard was so stressful; sometimes they wouldn't get paid on time, or receive their expected salary, or even get paid at all. The sum of both salaries did not amount to M3, 000 per month. Currently the respondent is working at a guest house as a housekeeping staff on a permanent basis, where she earns M2, 100, which covers their daily needs, while the husband is currently unemployed since January 2019. Their survival depends on being employed because they do not have fields nor animals in their host village.



The respondent described their life in the highlands of Mohale as a self-sufficient simple life, whereby everything was in abundance, though isolated from needed services. She says in the rural areas they did not have to buy firewood, medicinal plants nor some food items. Whereas the lowlands require money for these items, life in the lowlands is defined as money-based life where one has to earn an income to survive and cover their daily needs. She however enjoys the benefit of accessing roads and transport easily in the lowlands, and other essential services such as hospitals.

### **Perceptions about the Compensation Policy, Resettlement and Livelihoods**

Pre resettlement, the couple had their two huts and a big plot to their name. Post resettlement, 18 years down the line, the family still has a house and their plot (in the host village). The difference is that their yard pre resettlement was big enough to produce the cannabis which used to sustain their household needs through its sales. Comparing their previous life to their current seemed to be very sensitive judging from the reaction Mamatsiliso (I do hope this is a pseudonym / false name. I am not sure this was referred to in the methodology section.) displayed when addressing the matter. She admits that she did not have much assets prior to the resettlement, hence she was not compensated adequately. However, she believes LHDA has not done enough to integrate them within their host community and capacitate them for their new environment. The compensation she had received was insufficient as it only covered their needs in their early years of arrival in the host village, thus compensation did not in any way bring development to their lives. For the fact that it didn't last long and it did not help them with starting up any viable project. She concluded that the compensation offered has not contributed to their sustainable livelihoods nor development. The only legacy she will leave for her children is the beautiful modern house LHDA built them, and any other assets she will acquire in her current livelihood strives.

As previously mentioned, they bought cows with part of their money, however the animals needed more resources in the lowlands such as buying animal feed, thus they died. The LHDA did not equip them as re-settlers with enough knowledge and skills on animal husbandry in the lowlands because rearing animals in the highlands is much cheaper thus demands less inputs. The lack of support from the LHDA compromised her and her husband in achieving sustainable livelihoods in the lowlands. The respondent mentioned a profound

point; she spoke of how one acquired wisdom to survive in an environment familiar to them, thus relocation and resettlement robs one of all wisdom acquired to make ends meet in a familiar environment. She mentions this point in support of why it was crucial for the LHDA to have invested in the re-settlers' skills development suitable to their new urban environment.

When addressing the compensation roll out, to my surprise, the respondent was never aware of the exact amounts they had to receive; beyond and above, the cash compensation would differ each year. As for consistency, some payments were paid consistently while others were not, and some payments have not been paid out to date, particularly the joint community compensation packages which was money meant to develop either roads, schools, or provision of water and electricity in their host communities. She however didn't shy away from giving her honest views about the whole compensation package. The issue of compensating land for cash seemed not to sit well with her, given that land can be passed on from generation to generation, while we cannot say the same about money that did not even exceed M30,000.

### **Views on compensation and livelihood**

The respondent boldly believes her family's life would have prospered given their livelihood strives if they were still based at Ha-Seotsa. Her land could have continued to support them, she could have grown her cannabis clientele, acquired bigger fields, and would be a mohair farmer by now. This she stated with confidence as she made examples of her peers that remained at Ha- Mohale. She stated that they are rich mohair farmers now who have cars and beautiful big houses in the rural areas. She is definite she could have achieved the same or more if it wasn't for the unfortunate trade of land for cash.

The compensation policy and implementation could have been approached (Do you mean differently? as per the scenarios. The respondent put forth a few in an attempt to validate her strong views. She says in the first scenario, the LHDA could have engaged them as community members (PAPs) in the planning of the compensation policy, where they could have had a chance to negotiate better deals. Such deals as being moved to a village not far from their familiar environment, rather than being resettled to a completely alien environment. In that way their livelihood wisdom wouldn't have been lost. Secondly, given

they had to relocate to the lowlands, LHDA should have capacitated them more on urban life, trained those with potential, equipped them with skills to be able to find jobs. Furthermore, they could have been linked to the market after training. But most importantly she feels they could have been given more money for their invaluable land lost.

As much as they as a family have adjusted to urban life, and do genuinely enjoy some of the urban benefits, she is adamant that the compensation package dismantled their entire livelihood. They as a couple eighteen years down the line are still struggling to recover from their lost life, and the prospects that could have been.

