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NASFAM FUNDING PROPOSAL FOR THE NATIONAL AIDS COMMISSION September 2003

Prepared By:



Programs and Policy Unit: HIV/AIDS Program

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1. Introduction

Economic development in rural Malawi lies at the core of the National Smallholder Farmers' Association of Malawi (NASFAM). This objective is underpinned by its intention to empower its smallholder farmer members and to improve their incomes. This has an explicit poverty reduction focus that is shared by the Malawi poverty reduction strategy paper (PRSP), which acknowledges the agricultural sector as the principal determinant of growth and focuses predominantly on this sector for the first three years of its pro-poor policies. Indeed, the PRSP acknowledges the growth in agriculture as the most effective approach for reducing poverty and food insecurity because agriculture-focused growth appears to generate employment and incomes more efficiently and effectively than other development options. However, the success of both the PRSP and NASFAM is being increasingly threatened by the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which has reached alarming proportions in Malawi. Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) / Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) is one of the largest development challenge of global proportions facing human societies.

2. Programme Summary

The key problem facing NASFAM and its associated smallholder farmers is the combined pressures of rural poverty, food insecurity and the multiple impacts of HIV/AIDS, which results in a rural development crisis that situates some households at the edge of survival. Even the best resourced NASFAM farmer will be affected by these impacts as they undermine the community in which they live. Thus integrated and cross-sectoral responses are urgently required. An organisation like NASFAM as a core pivot of the agricultural sector has a crucial role to play since agriculture represents the primary foundation of food security and livelihoods in Malawi.

The NASFAM HIV/AIDS programme will consist of three components, which, in their entirety, will provide a comprehensive response to the epidemic and its effects on the NASFAM smallholder farmer. The components are:

- ❑ HIV/AIDS training of NASFAM farmers and field-level staff
- ❑ The HIV/AIDS Association Fund for NASFAM farmers, and
- ❑ Pilot projects to field-test HIV/AIDS mitigation strategies.

These components are not mutually exclusive and are intended to complement and reinforce each other. Each will feed into the others.

3. Background Information

NASFAM, through its policy and programmes unit (PPU), has long recognised the issue of HIV/AIDS as a major crosscutting issue affecting its staff and member associations. In response an HIV/AIDS and gender advisor was appointed in 2001 to help mainstream the issue into the policies and programmes of the organisation. A number of interventions were conducted including gender and HIV/AIDS workshops for NASFAM associations and for field-level staff, in particular the Association Field Officers (AFOs).

The need to consolidate these initiatives within a holistic strategy was reflected in the NASFAM policy platform, an annual process intended to raise major policy issues and identify appropriate strategies. The policy platform highlights policy areas that have been identified by the NASFAM membership as decreasing their chances of attaining maximum benefits from their agricultural businesses. In 2003, an issues document was prepared that focused on education and health facilities, including HIV/AIDS and gender. In this document, the issue of HIV/AIDS was given particular emphasis in recognition of the fact that NASFAM members are struggling to cope with the impact of HIV/AIDS as well as the potentially devastating impact that the epidemic might have on the agricultural sector of Malawi as a whole if strategies for addressing this issue were not developed urgently and effectively.

As a result of the need to consolidate NASFAM's response to the epidemic, this proposal was prepared to develop a holistic HIV/AIDS strategy and to seek funding from the National AIDS Commission to support this initiative.

3.1 Profile of NASFAM

NASFAM is a member-owned, democratically governed, and non-political organisation providing business services to its smallholder farmer members. Founded on the principles of collective action and self-reliance, NASFAM empowers farmers at the grass-root level as they form cohesive village-based clubs and financially independent business associations in order to improve incomes and contribute to economic development.

Thus NASFAM is made up of commercial agribusiness associations that are independent, self-governing and financially viable. To join NASFAM, associations must meet certain criteria, following which both parties sign a Service Contract. NASFAM member associations jointly own the NASFAM Development Corporation (NASDEC), a not-for profit company, which provides them with access to resources, training and technical assistance. NASDEC in turn owns two subsidiaries.

The first subsidiary, the NASFAM Commodity Marketing Exchange (NASCOMEX) houses the revenue-generating private sector business and marketing services. A second subsidiary, the NASFAM Centre for Development Support (NASCENT), provides "soft" services that straddle the public-private divide, such as information services, training, policy, advocacy and outreach. It is within NASCENT that the policy and programmes unit is housed.

By separating these roles, NASFAM ensures that it operates both as a transparent business entity serving its member-owners, and as an instrument for community development.

3.1.1 NASFAM Commodity Marketing Exchange – NASCOMEX

In 2002, NASFAM smallholders marketed over US\$16 million worth of high-value crops. The vehicle for these sales was NASCOMEX. This component of NASFAM channels produce of its members to local and international markets in order to provide them with maximum returns. Building on primary trading in chillies, cotton,

groundnuts, rice, paprika, soya, pulses and coffee, NASCOMEX has moved into value-adding processing, securing extra return and access to more stable retail markets.

NASCOMEX also brings collective bargaining power to input and service supply. Through rapidly increasing networks of supply shops, NASCOMEX markets a variety of farm inputs and agricultural technologies. The NASCOMEX group contracts for produce transportation that has halved costs and delivery times and eliminated bribes.

3.1.2 NASFAM Development Corporation – NASDEC

The NASFAM membership associations wholly own NASDEC. As the corporate head, NASDEC co-ordinates member activities, builds association capacity and acts as a link between associations and the services of its two subsidiaries NASCOMEX and NASCENT.

NASDEC provides on-site technical assistance through a cadre of business, management, financial and agricultural advisors, directly placed with member associations. At present, there are thirteen Association Management Centres (AMCs) situated across the country to service the needs of the NASFAM association smallholder members. Each of these centres is staffed by AMC management and office staff, and advised by an association business manager and a resident crop production and marketing manager (CPMMs), as well as a total of 48 Association Field Officers (AFOs) countrywide.

Through these staff, with support from head office in Lilongwe, the NASFAM farmers are advised with information to produce the quality produce demanded by the market. Meeting market demands requires care throughout the crop production cycle, from seed selection to harvest. NASDEC assists farmers in both yield improvement and crop diversification in an environmentally friendly manner. It provides crop-specific training, seed identification and multiplication, demonstration plots, post-harvest quality management, and promotes land conservation, afforestation and irrigation.

In addition to these association-focused staff, NASDEC also has a finance and accounts office which provides a comprehensive accounting and monitoring service for all associations and ensures the accountability of all membership and staff. NASFAM undergoes an annual audit in order to ensure international standards are met and maintained.

3.1.3 NASFAM Centre for Development Support - NASCENT

NASCENT is a development resource provider, co-ordinating human resource development, information services, policy involvement and advocacy, communications, and rural socio-economic development programmes. Thus NASCENT presents important policy issues at local, national and international levels, acting as a voice of the smallholder farmer, and working for a policy environment which is strongly conducive to smallholder interests. Key areas of current concern include marketing systems, rural infrastructure, farm management and environmental

issues, access to financial services, rural business development, food security, gender issues and HIV/AIDS.

NASFAM promotes "farming as a business" and through a variety of training and communications programmes, individual members and association leaders and staff are equipped with both agricultural and business skills, enabling them to produce and supply better crops, and manage their farms and associations in a commercially viable manner. Training is delivered at community level ensuring information directly reaches farmer members. As a result, adult literacy and numeracy training gives farmers increased power to conduct business. Regular NASFAM radio programmes have proved to be a powerful way of bringing up to date information to rural communities, which cannot access printed materials due to remote location and high illiteracy rates. In addition and partly as a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation system, NASCENT maintains an extensive database of information at both individual smallholder and national level.

3.1.4 NASFAM Association Membership Structure

Thus the primary, and overriding, objective of NASFAM has been to support its member Associations by enhancing their capacities to engage in productive group business – whether through group input purchases and crop marketing as methods for reducing costs and increasing profit margins, through association-based enterprises adding value to their primary products, or in other business endeavours that the members of Associations should elect to pursue. NASFAM has provided assistance for business planning, association management, and a related range of education and training workshops, seminars and other programmes to association leadership and the constituent Group Action Committee (GAC) members in order to build their capacity. This overt focus on the education and training of the member farmers would allow the clubs and individual members to diversify from the production of a single crop to producing and marketing multiple varieties, adding value to them, or developing storage depots, local retailing outlets, and other auxiliary profit centres.

NASFAM associations are comprised of clubs of between ten and twenty farmers in each, which work together in a Group Action / Marketing Centre Committee. These clubs then in turn form Associations of three hundred to six thousand members. The Association Committee is elected by the General Body, which also elects National Assembly Representatives. Association sub-committees, including those focused on HIV/AIDS and gender, are formed to co-ordinate specific activities in the association. NASFAM is thus governed by an elected Board of Directors, in which member farmers have a direct voice.

As of the 30th of May 2003, NASFAM was comprised of 33 Associations, 463 Marketing or Group Action Committees, 5,162 Clubs and a total of 76,008 members. Please see appendix one for a breakdown of the NASFAM member associations. The membership figures fluctuate as associations register members throughout the year. NASFAM membership data is regularly updated.

A commitment to working only with self-motivated farmer groups has enabled NASFAM to effectively reach out to tens of thousands of smallholders. Research

conducted before each new geographic area is targeted ensures that only those with economic and human potential are selected. Associations are viewed as business entities that exist to improve the socio-economic standing of its members through commercial services that address constraints to smallholder member livelihoods.

4. Problem Statement

NASFAM farmers are faced with increasing challenges emanating from the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The impact of HIV/AIDS in the African region reflects the highest prevalence rate in the world according to the *UNAIDS Report on the Global HIV/AIDS Epidemic* of 2000 and confirmed two years later by the *UNAIDS AIDS Epidemic Update* from December 2002. These estimates indicate that 29.4 million adults and children live with HIV/AIDS in Africa, with some 2.4 million Africans having died of AIDS in 2001 alone surpassing any other cause of death on the continent. At least 10 percent of people aged 15-49 are infected in 12 African countries.

At present Malawi is the eighth worst affected country in the world. The adult prevalence rate stands at almost sixteen percent with approximately 800,000 adults and children infected. According to UNAIDS, 15 percent of the population in Malawi aged between 15 and 49 were living with HIV/AIDS at the end of 2001. During the same years, 80, 000 Malawians died from AIDS. The percentage of the Malawian population who are dying in a given year (mortality) increased by approximately 75 percent between 1992 and 2000, almost entirely attributable to HIV/AIDS. At least 390, 000 children have lost either both their parents or their mothers as a direct result of the epidemic.

This is a country that can least afford the direct and indirect costs associated with the epidemic as it is characterised by illiteracy, poverty, food insecurity and lack of access to housing, health care and nutrition. Thus the main consequence of the impact of HIV/AIDS is the reversal of the social and economic progress made during the last few decades, coupled with the serious negative impact both on households and organisations focused on development interventions. It is therefore not surprising that the Malawi National AIDS Commission (NAC) has identified a plethora of HIV/AIDS impacts on the country.

To help conceptualise the impact of HIV/AIDS on the individual and household level, the phases of the epidemic must be considered: asymptomatic; early illness; chronic illness; critical illness; death and, lastly, survivors. Each phase of the disease is associated with a different impact, which has different implications for the individual or household and related policy responses. It is important to emphasise the final category on this continuum - the category of survivors. HIV/AIDS has a massive impact on those left living, as there are many more affected than infected people.

The impacts of AIDS on the household vary but commonly involve:

- Loss of income, remittances or productive labour leading to increased poverty and poorer nutrition
- Increased expenditure on health care, transport and funerals
- Reduced expenditure on food, clothing, school and other costs

- Increased workload on women and children
- Children, especially girls, drawn out of school
- Drawing down of savings and sale of assets
- Emotional stress and loss
- Risks of stigma, isolation and rejection.

A more detailed account of these impacts including the specific implications for the Malawian agricultural sector and the phenomenon of the epidemic compounding the challenges of poverty are discussed in appendix two. The key problem is, however, the combined pressures of rural poverty, food insecurity and these impacts of HIV/AIDS, which results in a rural development crisis that situates some households at the edge of survival. Even the best resourced NASFAM farmer will be affected by this impact as it undermines the community in which they live. Thus integrated and cross-sectoral responses are urgently required. An organisation like NASFAM as a core pivot of the agricultural sector has a crucial role to play since agriculture represents the primary foundation of food security and livelihoods in Malawi.

In summary, HIV/AIDS has a direct and negative impact on NASFAM's core objective of empowering farmers at grass-root level to form cohesive village-based clubs and financially independent business associations in order to improve incomes and contribute to economic development. NASFAM has thus recognised that the organisation must engage comprehensively with the epidemic through a holistic strategy that enables its staff and membership to prevent and mitigate the multiple impacts of HIV/AIDS.

5. The NASFAM HIV/AIDS Programme

In response to the problems discussed above, NASFAM has developed a comprehensive HIV/AIDS programme that is integrated and cross-sectoral in nature. In essence, three key areas of response have been identified by NASFAM:

- **Prevention** – strengthening food and livelihood security, with a particular focus on women, is required to arrest socio-economic behaviour that increases HIV transmission risks. This can be addressed, for example, through education workshops on prevention strategies and understanding the dangers of the epidemic.
- **Care** – in the context of HIV/AIDS, nutrition represents a primary health care component, as a nutritionally balanced diet seems to improve the control of HIV infection and mitigates the health impacts of AIDS. This can be addressed through nutrition-orientated policies focused on producers and connecting with established home-based care initiatives.
- **Mitigation** – in AIDS-affected households and communities, the resulting labour and economic stresses impair agricultural activities and seriously aggravate food insecurity. Mitigation stresses focusing on AIDS impacts comprise alleviating labour loss and shortages, mitigating AIDS-related economic crisis, arresting agricultural disruption, advancing food security, enhancing nutrition, and maintaining community dynamics.

Building on these core elements the NASFAM HIV/AIDS programme will consist of three components, which, in their entirety, will provide a comprehensive response to

the epidemic and its effects on the NASFAM smallholder farmer. The components are:

- Training of NASFAM farmers and field-level staff
- The HIV/AIDS Association Fund for NASFAM farmers, and
- Pilot projects to field-test HIV/AIDS mitigation strategies.

The training component ensures that the NASFAM member farmers and field-level staff closest to the producers on an everyday basis have the basic knowledge around the threats the epidemic poses to rural livelihoods and possess information to prevent HIV/AIDS. This resonates with the Malawian Essential Health Package (EHP), which argues that the key to reversing the epidemic must come through prevention.

The Association Fund is intended to facilitate linkages with existing processes and institutions already working with HIV/AIDS prevention, care and mitigation in the localities in which the associations are situated. In particular the Fund will allow connections to be made with District AIDS Committees situated in their areas and which co-ordinate all HIV/AIDS activities within districts. In addition the Fund may be drawn upon by associations to enable them to access a range of agricultural technologies that are focused specifically on HIV/AIDS mitigation.

The pilot projects will be chosen by NASFAM in order to field test specific agricultural technologies that have an HIV/AIDS mitigation element, to build linkages with a range of organisations operating in the area and to design and implement association AIDS strategies. These pilots will be monitored and evaluated in an ongoing basis to ensure that lesson learning permeates throughout the NASFAM membership as well into the general agricultural sector and HIV/AIDS arena more generally.

Each of these components will be discussed in the detail required by the National AIDS Commission under separate sections entitled objectives, beneficiaries, project life span, evaluation and reporting systems, project funding, project management and budget line.

6. Training Workshops

The intention of this component is to build on the experience and track record that NASFAM has already achieved in providing training in the form of workshops and the provision of supporting material for member farmers and association-level staff in HIV/AIDS issues at grassroots level.

A series of "trainer of trainers" workshops on HIV/AIDS and gender have been conducted for gender sub-committees in all associations and a number of Association Field Officers selected to work as Gender Officers. During these workshops three farmer representatives on the association gender sub-committee and an appointed AMC Gender Officer were trained. These representatives were then expected to conduct their own training workshops for the remaining gender sub-committees, association committees and association staff to ensure that mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS and gender in association activities. This was successfully achieved and a total of 33 workshops were conducted at association level for approximately 900 farmers (500 men and 400 women).

In order for these ongoing workshops to occur in each association for an expanded group of beneficiaries and to ensure that the action plans are developed and adhered to, funding is sought to underpin the process. This funding would be held at the NASFAM head office and allocated to pay for workshops at each AMC.

6.1 Objectives

The workshop component of the NASFAM HIV/AIDS programme will be divided into two focus areas: those targeting field staff and those targeting farmers. The workshops focused on association staff such as Field Officers and Crop Production and Marketing Managers would ensure that NASFAM "front-line" staff are equipped to support the farmers in the fight against HIV/AIDS and are connected with the NASFAM head office from where the programme will emanate. In addition, specific workshops focused on the nutritional side of HIV/AIDS mitigation, care and prevention will also be facilitated to ensure that the staff understands the nutritional aspects of the fight against the epidemic. The farmer workshops would enable each association to expose a greater number of their members to HIV/AIDS information, particularly around prevention issues, to facilitate action plans which address the HIV/AIDS issues relevant to the specific association and to help foster a sense of ownership and responsibility for the implementation of the HIV/AIDS action plans.

Both the staff focused workshops and those targeted on the farmers will increase the pool of local resource persons on HIV/AIDS and gender issues, and thereby build the capacity of the associations to carry out training and implementation in the future around these issues. These local resource persons will form part of a broader community response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic across Malawi.

Linked to these workshops, relevant HIV/AIDS material would be sourced, developed and disseminated. Such materials would include written documentation, picture-based information such as cartoons and comics, issues briefings and radio programmes. A significant amount of material already exists in a number of organisations in Malawi, which can be sourced by the programme and reprinted and translated into *Chichewa*

or *Tumbuka* if necessary. Additional material that has a specific agricultural focus and relevance for the NASFAM farmer will be designed and produced along with material that is readily understood by rural denizens that may be illiterate. In addition, the NASFAM newsletter, *Titukulane* will be utilised to disseminate information. The radio broadcasts would contain HIV/AIDS information outlining issues around prevention, care and mitigation of HIV/AIDS, which would be presented in a form relevant to the NASFAM farmer. A number of HIV/AIDS broadcasts would be produced under the budget allocated to the materials development.

In addition to the actual training and the materials provided, a number of bicycles and radios would also be made available under this programme to ensure that continued dissemination of the knowledge gained during the workshops occurs. Trained farmers would be able to utilise bicycles to share the information across the area covered by the association. Community-based rules would be installed to manage the use of the bicycles, which would be supported by the local AMC. The radios would be used as conduits for the NASFAM twice-weekly broadcasts, which have already been established with success. The radios sought would be winding radios (sourced from EU) as opposed to battery and solar powered radios sourced via the National Institute for Civic Education (NICE). These radios have been identified by NASFAM as being the most cost-effective and practical for the smallholder farmers.

Association Staff Workshops

These workshops will focus on HIV/AIDS, gender and agriculture and will enable the field staff to play a central role in the farmer workshops as co-facilitators with the association gender sub-committee members. These workshops will enable the field staff to supervise and co-ordinate the ongoing activities of the gender sub-committees. The impact of HIV/AIDS on field staff will also be the subject of the workshops focused on them.

The impact of HIV/AIDS on field staff will also be the subject of the workshops focused on field staff. They are a mobile group that are often in the field away from their homes. Their situation is comparable to the extension officers of the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Food Security, which has conducted a study into the impact of the epidemic on this cadre of staff and a number of NASFAM field employees. This study has provided important lessons for NASFAM, which should be borne in mind in the preparation of field staff for the interaction with communities in rural areas. For example, the Ministry has undertaken to train its extension workers in issues around HIV/AIDS and to back this training with services such as the regular availability of condoms, counselling services and the treatment of Sexually Transmitted Infections. NASFAM wishes to consider such an approach and link up with the Ministry to ensure synergies.

Another range of workshops will be those focused on nutrition, which will be separate from those targeted at general support to the client base. The Crop Production Operations Department of NASFAM has embarked upon a programme to open up opportunities for vegetables and food production in addition to cash crops in many associations. This is an important development when considering the issue of directly improving nutrition for NASFAM members and neighbouring communities in the context of HIV/AIDS. The provision of fresh vegetables in rural economies, which

depend largely on maize as the staple food with additional nutrition obtained to a lesser extent from sorghum, millet, pulses, root crops and fruit, is a strategy encouraged by a range of organisations attempting to mitigate the impact of HIV/AIDS. Sixty percent or more of Malawian households have regular difficulty in securing nutritionally adequate food for family members.

Association Farmer Workshops

The general objective of the workshops would be to equip association leaders, representatives of the gender and HIV/AIDS sub-committees, and association level staff with the necessary tools and knowledge to address HIV/AIDS in association activities through training workshops and support materials, which will be extended to all associations.

At the end of the training workshops the participants should:

- ❑ Be able to explain why mainstreaming HIV/AIDS and gender issues in association levels are necessary, and have an applicable knowledge about HIV/AIDS prevention.
- ❑ Know how to identify HIV/AIDS and gender concerns and evolve workable solutions. This would include nutrition, relevant agricultural technologies and information around possible linkages with existing HIV/AIDS processes in their areas.
- ❑ Have developed a common strategy or action plan for addressing HIV/AIDS and gender issues at association level

Particular topics for the workshops and training materials would include:

- ❑ The meaning of "mainstreaming" HIV/AIDS and gender in association activities and the importance of doing so.
- ❑ Understanding HIV/AIDS impacts and how to combat them. In particular focus will be directed on to prevention strategies.
- ❑ Discussions of HIV/AIDS and gender issues affecting associations through use of group exercises.
- ❑ Better understanding of the nutritional needs of children and HIV/AIDS-infected people. Many Association members have expressed an interest in learning about different types of food and methods of preparing them that might improve their nutritional status.
- ❑ Developing and refinement of draft action plans and work plans.
- ❑ Ways in which the gender sub-committees, association committees and association staff can work together to mainstream HIV/AIDS and gender.
- ❑ Identification of other Community Based Organisations and Non Governmental Organisations that work with HIV/AIDS issues in the area. Ways in which the association can link up with some of these for the benefits of the membership. This would identify the person who would lead the linkage from the association.
- ❑ Identification of local resource persons to be invited to either the workshop or other association meetings to make a presentation around their work.

The emphasis of these workshops will primarily be around the process of group exercises and discussions, and providing farmers with simple tools for engaging fellow community members in discussions around HIV/AIDS and gender.

6.2 Beneficiaries

Those participating in the Association HIV/AIDS and Gender workshops would include all gender sub-committee members and MAC gender representatives, association committee members and association staff including all Association Field Officers and a number of Crop Production and Marketing Managers.

As the training workshops are primarily intended to enable the participants to further disseminate the HIV/AIDS lessons and develop an action plan for each association, all NASFAM smallholder farmer members would ultimately be the beneficiaries of the workshops. Similarly, as NASFAM members are by definition integral parts of village-based communities, the benefits of the training workshops would be disseminated throughout these communities in Malawi.

6.3 Project Life Span

The project is intended to begin effectively in January 2004 and continue until June 2004. A work plan will be evolved once the full extent of the funding has been secured and the relevant association members have been informed about the programme. The work plan will unfold according to the availability of the smallholder farmer members and the association staff bearing in mind the agricultural season of particular areas. Planning for the workshops would begin as soon as the funding has been secured. The actual workshops would begin in January 2004 and be completed by June of the same year.

6.4 Evaluation and Reporting

Those attending the workshops will evaluate them, as they will be given an opportunity to report back at the completion of each workshop and during follow-ups meetings with the AMC staff. In addition the AMC staff attending will also be provided with evaluation forms, which will give NASFAM an idea about the impact and relevance of the programme. NASFAM head office staff including members of the policy and programmes unit will also conduct evaluation. These personnel have been identified in section 6.6. Reports will be completed at the end of each workshop by AMC staff that attended and a quarterly synthesis will be produced by the PPU.

Similarly the use of the radios and bicycles will be evaluated by the PPU and the AMCs involved in their distribution. Report backs will be elicited from the association members about the effectiveness of the bicycles and radios in supporting the HIV/AIDS initiatives. The use and effectiveness of the material will also be evaluated by the association members through the evaluation system presently in place to monitor the effectiveness of the NASFAM bi-weekly broadcasts. An outside expert in HIV/AIDS mainstreaming and communication will evaluate the overall programme. This evaluation will take place in the third quarter of the programme implementation.

6.5 Project Funding

The amounts sought are:

Association Training	USD 164,125.00
AFO Training	USD 8,085.00
AFO Nutrition Training	USD 8,085.00
Material	USD 15,283.00
Bicycles & Radios	USD 106,549.00
Evaluation	USD 2,200.00
Total	USD 308,527.00

6.6 Project Management

Project management will be provided by NASFAM staff based primarily in the policy and programmes unit at the head office in Lilongwe.

Lesley Holst is the Development Advisor for the Policy and Programmes Unit of NASFAM. She has led the strategy on mainstreaming HIV/AIDS and gender in NASFAM as part of her focus on all crosscutting issues in the organisation's policy development. In this regard Ms Holst has developed strategies and programmes on HIV/AIDS and gender, developed a training facilities for NASFAM staff at association level and for member farmers, including curriculum and materials, and facilitated a number of workshops. She has also developed a considerable network around HIV/AIDS issues in Malawi including the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Food Security, the Regional Network on HIV/AIDS, Rural Livelihoods and Food Security (RENEWAL) and a number of civil society, government and donor agencies. Ms Holst has an M.Phil in Ethnography and Social Anthropology from Aarhus University, Denmark. She has worked as an United Nations Volunteer as a gender specialist and has lectured in social anthropology at the University of Aarhus and elsewhere. Ms Holst will provide overall responsibility for the HIV/AIDS programme as articulated in this proposal.

Betty Chinyamunyamu is the director of NASCENT within NASFAM. She has developed the policy and programmes unit and supervised a number of NASFAM responses to HIV/AIDS. Ms Chinyamunyamu will provide overall responsibility for the accounting and management of the HIV/AIDS programme as head of NASCENT and the PPU. Ms Chinyamunyamu has been primarily responsible for policy and advocacy within NASFAM and developed a considerable network in both Malawi and the sub-region. She holds an M.Phil in Development Studies from Cambridge University in the United Kingdom.

Mercy Kambwiri is the programme officer for the policy and programme unit. She has focused particularly on the monitoring and evaluation of NASFAM's policy and been a key figure in the development and implementation of a large-scale impact assessment survey for NASFAM membership. She is a key food security strategist and programmer for NASFAM with a particular focus on the smallholder farmer members. In this regard she has facilitated a number of locally based food security initiatives based on existing multiple livelihood strategies used by NASFAM members. She has also worked with a number of agricultural technologies and acted

as the nutritional advisor for NASFAM. She has an M.Sc in Agricultural Economics from the University of Zimbabwe with majors in human nutrition, agricultural economics, development economics and research. Ms Kambwiri has worked for the World Food Programme and CARE International with similar responsibilities before taking on her present position at NASFAM.

Gloria Kamalizeni is the programme assistant for the crops unit at NASCOMEX. Her responsibilities include capacity building at association level particularly for the AMC staff and the farmers. Her agricultural knowledge centers on crop production and agricultural technologies, and training women groups on environmental issues and labour saving technologies. Ms Kamalizeni plays a key role in sourcing new seeds and technologies for NASFAM farmers, researches market demands and information and essentially provides information to enable the continued viability of the farmers. She has played a key role in the Association Field Officers training in gender and HIV/AIDS issues having identified the relevant courses and facilitators for the training. Having gained considerable experience in similar agricultural development focused issues at a faith-based organisation before joining NASFAM, she has now been with the Association for over four years.

The Accounts Unit and the Auditing and Financial Systems Unit based at the NASFAM head office will hold ultimate responsibility around auditing the project and in ensuring accountability in all transactions made.

6.7 Budget Line

All budgets have been calculated using an exchange rate applicable to the 28th of September 2003 at 110 Malawian Kwacha to one United States Dollar.

Item One - HIV/AIDS TRAINING AT ASSOCIATION LEVEL

Participants:

Gender Sub-committee members (gender rep. from each MAC/GAC)

Association Committee

AFO & Gender Officer

In total an average of 35 participants

Length of workshop:

5 days (requiring 6 nights accommodation)

Estimated budget:

Accommodation	35 x 200 x 6	USD525
Meals	35 x 600 x 6	USD1575
Allowances	35 x 300 x 6	USD788
Transport	35 x 200	USD88
Hall hire	5 x 1000	USD63
Stationary (pens, exercise books, flipcharts, markers)		USD56
Total		USD3095
Total budget for association training (50 gender sub-committees):		
50 workshops x USD3095		USD154750

NASFAM Co-ordination

NASFAM HIV/AIDS Advisor USD150 per day @ 40 days	USD6000
Accommodation USD15 per day [rural] @ 15 days	USD225
Accommodation USD60 per day [urban] @ 15 days	USD900
Travel 0.3USD per kilometer @ 100km average per day = USD30 @ 40	USD1200
NASFAM Driver USD20 per day @ 30 days	USD600
Per diem (accommodation & subsistence) USD15 per day @ 30 days	USD450
Total	USD9375

TOTAL	USD 164,125.00
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Item Two - HIV/AIDS TRAINING FOR ASSOCIATION FIELD STAFF (AFOs and CPMMs)

Participants:**AFOs and CPMMs**

In total 50 participants will be involved. The workshop should be divided into 2 groups of 25 participants each. A budget should include transport for all participants.

Length of workshop:

5 days (requiring 6 nights accommodation)

Estimated budget:

Accommodation Sharing: K1300.00/night x 25 rooms x 6 nights Guest wing K1500.00/night	K195,000.00
Accommodation for Karonga Staff (2 nights x 3 pp x K1200.00)	K7,200.00
Allowances 50 participants @ K1300.00/night x 6 nights	K390,000.00
Allowances for Karonga Staff (2 nights x 3 pp x K1300.00)	K7,800.00
NASFAM Staff & Facilitators Expenses 1 person x K1500.00 x 6 nights	K9,000.00
1 person x K1300.00 x 6 nights	K7,800.00
2 people x K1500.00 X 6 nights	K18,000.00
2 people x K1300.00 x 6 nights	K15,600.00
Refreshments 55 people @ K100.00 per part x 2 parts/day x 5 days	K55,000.00
Driver & Vehicle Expenses	

Driver's per diem: K1300.00 x 6 nights	K6, 500.00
Fuel: (Not basing on No. of tanks)	K4, 000.00
First Aid Kit	
Different drugs	K1, 000.00
Classroom Rentals	
Classroom @ K1500.00 x 5 days	K7, 500.00
NRC Consultancy fees @ \$150.00/day/facilitator x 2 people x 5 days	USD1500.00
Malawian Kwacha Total	K889350.00
Total:	USD8,085.00

Item Three - NUTRITION TRAINING FOR ASSOCIATION FIELD STAFF (AFOs and CPMMs)

Participants:

AFOs and CPMMs

It is estimated that 50 participants will be involved in the workshop. The workshop should be divided into 5 groups of 10 participants each. The workshop should be held in a room with a kitchen and a bathroom.

Length of workshop:

5 days (requiring 6 nights accommodation)

Estimated budget:

Accommodation	
Sharing: K1300.00/night x 25 rooms x 6nights	K195,000.00
Guest wing K1500.00/night	
Accommodation for Karonga Staff (2 nights x 3 pp x K1200.00)	K7, 200.00
Allowances	
50 participants @ K1300.00/night x 6 nights	K390, 000.00
Allowances for Karonga Staff (2 nights x 3 pp x K1300.00)	K7, 800.00
NASFAM Staff & Facilitators Expenses	
1 person x K1500.00 x 6 nights	K9, 000.00
1 person x K1300.00 x 6 nights	K7, 800.00
2 people x K1500.00 X 6 nights	K18, 000.00
2 people x K1300.00 x 6 nights	K15, 600.00
Refreshments	
55 people @ K100.00 per part x 2 parts/day x 5 days	K55, 000.00
Driver & Vehicle Expenses	
Driver's per diem: K1300.00 x 6 nights	K6, 500.00
Fuel: (Not basing on No. of tanks)	K4, 000.00
First Aid Kit	

Different drugs	K1, 000.00
Classroom Rentals Classroom @ K1500.00 x 5 days	K7, 500.00
NRC Consultancy fees @ \$150.00/day/facilitator x 2 people x 5 days	USD1500.00
Malawian Kwacha Total	K889350.00
Total:	USD8,085.00

Item Four - HIV/AIDS Material

Estimated budget

Airtime & Radio Programmes:	
10 minutes at USD45 x 52 programmes (6 months)	USD2340
Production fee for 52 programmes @ USD14	USD728
20% surtax	USD615
Total	USD3683
Development of material	USD5000
In-house printing USD0.05 per sheet x 30 pages (per manual)	USD1.5
525 copies of manual @ USD1.5	USD525
10 manuals @ USD525	USD10250
Translation of material	
USD4.5 for one page @ 10 manuals of 30 pages = 300 pages	USD1350
TOTAL	USD 15,283.00

Item Five – Bicycles and Radios

Estimated budget

Bicycles @ USD50 x 150 (three per gender sub-committee)	USD7500
Radios @ USD 20 x 5162 (one per club)	USD103249
TOTAL	USD 106,549.00

Item Six– Evaluation

Estimated budget

Consultancy fee @ USD150 per day x 10	USD1500
Accommodation & subsistence @ USD50 x 10	USD500
Transport	USD200
Total	USD 2,200.00

Grand Total

Association Training	USD164125
AFO Training	USD8085
AFO Nutrition Training	USD8085
Material	USD15283
Bicycles & Radios	USD110749
Grand Total	USD 308,527.00

7. Association Fund

The Association Fund is intended to facilitate linkages with existing processes and institutions already working with HIV/AIDS prevention, care and mitigation in the localities in which the associations are situated. In particular the Fund will allow connections to be made with District AIDS Committees situated in their areas and which co-ordinate all HIV/AIDS activities within districts. In addition the Fund may be drawn upon by associations to enable them to access a range of agricultural technologies that are focused specifically on HIV/AIDS mitigation. The Fund will allow each of the 33 associations to draw up to a limit of five thousand United States Dollars for creating linkages and for agricultural technologies.

7.1 Association Fund Objectives

In essence the Fund will be available to associations to:

- Develop linkages and networks at association level, particularly with the District AIDS Committees,
- Organise meetings with NGOs and CBOs,
- Ensure lesson learning between associations and in particular the pilot projects,
- Build on existing community responses to HIV/AIDS and consolidate the opportunities in their localities,
- Obtaining suitable agricultural technologies for HIV/AIDS mitigation.

In terms of building on existing community responses, NASFAM has recognised that in the context of weak or non-existent institutional support from elsewhere, the need to strengthen community and kinship based networks to provide more systematic and assured support to the affected households is imperative. Building on existing institutional forms also implies the preservation and transmission of knowledge. The increasing numbers of orphans and collapse of extended family networks leads to inadequate transmission and preservation of knowledge. To counteract this trend the FAO have suggested the following strategies (www.fao.org/sd/ip):

- Self help groups and community mobilisation
- Promotion of agricultural training and school gardens,
- Promotion of youth organisations,
- Encouragement of farmer-to-farmer knowledge sharing,
- Documentation of traditional indigenous knowledge systems,
- Develop village based business modules focusing on indigenous products

The National HIV/AIDS Strategic Framework (2000-2004) and the Agenda for Action set out principles and goals, which are being used to develop specific plans at district level. According to recent media announcements some of these plans are being readied for public commentary by District Assemblies. This is an opportunity for associations to ensure that the HIV/AIDS focus of specific Assemblies will meet their strategic needs. In addition, this would be an opportunity to establish stronger relationships with the District Assemblies, which is an imperative considering the decentralisation process in Malawi and the increasing relevance of these structures for development.

There are important opportunities for collaboration between organisations in the public health/AIDS sector and the agricultural/rural development sector. In terms of establishing linkages with existing organisations and processes, the following serve as examples:

- CARE Malawi is an international NGO engaged in various rural development programmes across the country, including a number with an explicit HIV/AIDS focus;
- Medecins sans Frontieres and their home-based care initiative;
- Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Food Security, which is currently developing a sector-wide policy on HIV/AIDS;
- Project Hope is an international NGO which has developed an HIV/AIDS policy paper and actively promotes the "Health of All People Everywhere" initiative;
- Youth Net and Counselling (YONECO) is a community-based organisation assisting youth to improve their socio-economic situation through knowledge and skills transfer;
- OXFAM International is an international NGO engaged in various rural development programmes across the country, including a number with an explicit HIV/AIDS focus;
- Blantyre Christian Centre focuses on counselling and care for AIDS sufferers and has an orphan care programme;
- Malawi Carer is a national human rights organisation, which has a particular focus on inheritance rights in the context of HIV/AIDS;
- Concern Universal (Dedza) is an international NGO operating in several parts of Malawi which has an HIV/AIDS programme.

In terms of obtaining suitable agricultural technologies for HIV/AIDS mitigation, a number of these types of technologies have been discussed in more detail in section 8.1 and in appendix three. The challenge for the agricultural community is to develop farming practices that adapt to the reality of middle and late-stage HIV/AIDS affected environments and yet maintain productivity levels. Building on the needs and responses of smallholders, the following strategies have been recommended in a number of studies.

- Labour economising technologies - farm equipment that sick farmers can use (donkeys, ploughs, planters, cultivators);
- Less labour intensive crops;
- Scotch carts for harvesting;
- Chemicals for dipping livestock;
- Grazing schemes;
- Increased and better utilisation of low-lying wetlands and homestead gardens;
- Potential irrigable lands; and
- Motorisation of extension workers.

It is important to note that many of these technologies improve the productivity of farmers in a non-AIDS context and could therefore be considered by association members in this light. They could be promoted for efficiency considerations with the understanding that they have a potentially significant HIV/AIDS mitigation component.

7.2 Beneficiaries

Those associations that make use of the Fund to develop linkages and to bring in appropriate technologies will be the major beneficiaries. Other beneficiaries will be the organizations that are linked up with NASFAM in terms of strengthening their outreach. As NASFAM members are by definition integral parts of village-based communities, the benefits of the Fund would be disseminated throughout these communities in Malawi.

7.3 Project Life Span

The Fund will be phased in over a year beginning in January 2004 and ending in December 2004. The first three months will be spent setting up the Fund and informing the AMCs and association members about its objectives and uses. Thus the Fund will be ready to be drawn upon in the second quarter of 2004 and operate until the end of the year, by which time it would have been evaluated and adjusted to adapt to particular needs of the associations and to overcome inevitable "teething" problems.

7.4 Evaluation and Reporting

As a Fund of this nature will require stringent financial oversight, the main evaluation will come from the NASFAM Accounting Unit and the Auditing and Financial Systems Unit, as well as a Fund manager situated between these units and the operations of the Fund. The normal evaluation and auditing procedures currently in operation at NASFAM will be applied to the Fund. The Accounts Unit has already developed a reporting system, which will be utilised for this account. It is expected that in the first year of operation, the Fund will be constantly monitored and quarterly reports will be produced. The external audit, which is conducted on all NASFAM activities annually, will also cover this Fund.

As the Fund will be based at a financial institution and will accrue interest, it is imperative that NASFAM account to the core Funder about the balance on a regular basis.

7.5 Project Funding

Estimated budget

Core Fund: 33 Associations x USD5,000	USD165,000
Grant manager: USD150 per day @ 120 days (part time)	USD18,000
Accounts Unit	USD17,000
Travel & accommodation	USD25,000
Total	USD 225,000.00

7.6 Project Management

As a Grant of this nature will require substantial financial and management skill, particularly to set it up in the first instance, a technical consultant will be contracted on a part-time basis to oversee its financial design and implementation. The contract

for such a specialist has been budgeted for in the line account. This person, apart from setting up the Grant, will be required to instill an oversight system in collaboration with the Accounts Unit at NASFAM. In addition, the specialist will be required to pass on the skills to NASFAM staff to ensure that there is continuity in the management of the Grant once the contract is ended. It is envisaged that this consultant will work very closely with the policy and programmes unit and with the accounts unit. See point 6.6 for details of the personnel based at PPU who will be responsible for working closely with the technical consultant on Grant activities. These persons include:

- **Lesley Holst** is the Development Advisor for the Policy and Programmes Unit.
- **Betty Chinyamuyamu** is the director of NASCENT within NASFAM.
- **Mercy Kambwiri** is the programme officer for the policy and programmes unit.

7.7 Budget Line

Estimated budget

Core Fund: 33 Associations x USD5,000	USD165,000
Grant manager: USD150 per day @ 120 days (part time)	USD18,000
Accounts Unit	USD17,000
Travel & accommodation	USD25,000
Total	USD 225,000.00

8. Pilot Projects

The pilot projects will be chosen by NASFAM in order to field test specific agricultural technologies that have an HIV/AIDS mitigation element, to implement other relevant interventions such as nutrition programmes, to build linkages with a range of organisations operating in the specific areas of the pilots and to design and implement association AIDS strategies. These pilots will be monitored and evaluated in an ongoing basis to ensure that the lessons documented permeate throughout the NASFAM membership as well into the general agricultural sector and HIV/AIDS arena more generally.

Two sites will be identified and set up as pilot studies in the first quarter of 2004. Each site will consist of one or two villages within an association from different parts of the country. Possible sites include Karonga in the far north and Lilongwe South outside of the capital city. Both have exhibited promising characteristics that encourage the pilots to be set up in these localities. However, a final decision will be made around this once a major consultation with all AMCs has been conducted and all relevant NASFAM staff approached. It is envisaged that the first phase of the actual pilots will take place between April and December 2004.

8.1 Pilot Projects Objectives

While there is a relatively large body of work investigating the impact of the epidemic on agrarian livelihoods dating back to the late 1980s, a great deal still needs to be done in terms of integrating this information into agricultural strategies and building on locally based responses. The impact of HIV/AIDS on agricultural systems across sub-Saharan Africa, not only at present levels of infection, morbidity and mortality but over the next decade, as mortality levels across the region are set to plunge, throws up a significant challenge for agricultural strategies. Thus the pilot projects will be uniquely placed as an ongoing site for monitoring and evaluation of the agricultural technologies and other focused prevention, care and mitigation strategies placed in operation at the sites.

In essence, the pilot projects will be an opportunity for NASFAM to be more creative in the delivery of its services, work multi-sectorally with other stakeholders, provide a co-ordinated response, providing a decentralised process in which the local capacity of rural institutions are strengthened and local safety nets supported to promote community-based initiatives. The core objective will be to field test in collaboration with association field staff and farmer members a number of HIV/AIDS interventions that will have provide a prevention, care and mitigation response to the epidemic.

A number of suggested interventions might be used within the pilots depending on the appropriate use of such interventions in the specific localities. These include:

□ Labour-saving technologies

(See appendix three for an elaboration of relevant agricultural technologies)

Possibilities include: low-input agriculture; lighter ploughs and tools that can be used by older children, women and the elderly; improved seed varieties that require less labour for weeding; intercropping; minimum tillage; access to potable water; and

provision to fuel-efficient stoves that can free women for more economically productive activities; access to maize mills to reduce preparation time.

□ **Improving nutrition**

Possible strategies include: nutritional home gardens; use of improved crop management and plant varieties with higher yields; use of small ruminants for consumption, sale and manure; education and labour exchange requirements.

A number of strategies that would improve food security and nutrition, and which might be of relevance for the pilot projects include:

- Use of improved crop management and plant varieties with higher yields,
- Emphasis on staple crops such as sweet potato and cassava,
- Improved agricultural practices,
- Use of small ruminants for consumption, sale and manure,
- Nutritional gardens,
- Nutrition education,
- Labour exchange arrangements.

Thus mitigation efforts within agricultural strategies aimed at improving nutrition can range from nutritional educational programmes focused on infants, children, adults and the elderly, nutritional support and education for afflicted individuals, orphan support programmes, infant feeding, to increased agricultural productivity through improved plant varieties and better crop management techniques.

□ **Knowledge preservation and transmission**

Strategies must ensure that basic agriculture skills are transmitted to orphans and to the young generation through informal and formal community institutions, such as extension services and schools. Reinforce community-based mechanisms to preserve local knowledge, including biodiversity and gender-specific agricultural skills;

□ **Social and economic safety nets**

Communities have developed a range of strategies to cope with HIV/AIDS impacts, most of which are traditionally based and coupled with extended family support. Efforts should be made to strengthen these institutions, especially safety nets to ensure food security, which will reduce widows and orphans' need to engage in survival sex to acquire food, will contribute to prevention of the spread of the disease;

□ **Gender equality**

Efforts must be made to reduce gender-based differences in access to and control of resources and livelihood assets - in particular access to land, credit, employment, education and information. This is in recognition that the epidemic intensifies discrimination and *marginalisation* of poor people living with HIV/AIDS as well as their families. This is especially the case with women who are often perceived to be responsible for transmitting the HIV virus. HIV/AIDS also increases the prevalence of *poor female-headed households* (young widows with small children as well as elderly grandmothers looking after grandchildren) and thus the feminisation of poverty and agriculture.

8.2 Pilot Project Beneficiaries

The two pilot sites selected will ultimately be the major beneficiaries of the programme although the benefits of such projects will accrue to all association members through lesson learning facilitated by the workshops and the Fund. In essence the pilots will be conducted at a very small scale focused on one or two villages within an association. Organisations linked to the pilots will also be direct beneficiaries. Other beneficiaries will be development agencies in both the public and private sphere, which are grappling with the strengths and weaknesses of HIV/AIDS interventions. In particular, a link with the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and Food Security will ensure that lesson learning is widely disseminated.

8.3 Project Life Span

The selection of the pilot projects will be conducted from January 2004 until April 2004. This selection process will entail consultation with NASFAM staff and association members, as well as a number of agencies involved in similar projects such as OXFAM. Once the pilot sites have been identified preparations will take place in order for the actual implementation to begin in April and will last until December 2004.

8.4 Evaluation and Reporting

Ongoing monitoring and evaluation of the pilot projects will occur from inception as one of the key objectives is to document the effect of certain interventions at the community level. Three reports will be produced at the end of the first, second and fourth quarters of the project in 2004 by the NASFAM PPU development advisor. In addition to this an external consultant will produce another report after the third quarter in order to feed into the preparation for a possible second tranche of funding.

8.5 Project Funding

NASFAM co-ordination	USD 28,324.00
Project costs	USD 18,000.00
External evaluation	USD 7,500.00
Total	USD 53,824.00

8.6 Project Management

See point 6.6 for details of the personnel based at PPU who will be responsible for working closely with the technical consultant on Grant activities. These persons include:

- ☐ **Lesley Holst** is the Development Advisor for the Policy and Programmes Unit.
- ☐ **Betty Chinyamuyamu** is the director of NASCENT within NASFAM.
- ☐ **Mercy Kambwiri** is the programme officer for the policy and programmes unit.
- ☐ **Gloria Kamalizeni** is the programme assistant for the crop production unit.

8.7 Budget Line

NASFAM Co-ordination

NASFAM programme facilitator USD150 per day (facilitation fees) @ 120 days	USD18,000
Accommodation USD15 per day [rural] @ 40 days	USD600
Accommodation USD60 per day [urban] @ 40 days	USD2,400
Travel: 100km per day average @ 0.3USD per kilometer x 68 days + (12 x 1200km x 0.3USD per kilometers to Karonga)	USD4,524
NASFAM Driver USD20 per day @ 80 days	USD1,600
Per diem (accommodation & subsistence) USD15 per day @ 80 days	USD1,200
Total	USD 28,324.00

Project costs

External expertise	USD 2000
Nutrition interventions (gardens, education material, consultation)	USD5000
Agricultural technologies	USD5000
Documentation of progress (monitoring forms, assessment criteria and indicators, stationary)	USD6000
Total	USD 18,000.00

External evaluation:

Consultant USD400 per day @ 10 days	USD4000
Accommodation USD180 @ 10 days	USD1800
Subsistence USD50 @ 10 days	USD500
Travel (flights from Europe)	USD1200
Total	USD 7,500.00

9. Total Budget Summary

The total budget for the entire NASFAM HIV/AIDS programme has been summarised below:

Training Workshops

Association Training	USD 164,125
AFO Training	USD 8,085
AFO Nutrition Training	USD 8,085
Material	USD 15,283
Bicycles & Radios	USD 110,749
Grand Total	USD 308,527.00

Association Fund

Core Fund	USD165,000
Grant manager	USD18,000
Accounts Unit	USD17,000
Travel & accommodation	USD25,000
Total	USD 225,000.00

Pilot Projects

NASFAM co-ordination	USD 28,324.00
Project costs	USD 18,000.00
External evaluation	USD 7,500.00
Total	USD 53,824.00

Total Budget

Training Workshops	USD 308,527.00
Association Fund	USD 225,000.00
Pilot Projects	USD 53,824.00
Grand Total	USD 587,351.00

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Appendix One: NASFAM Member Associations - 30 May 2003

~~Please attach excel spreadsheet~~

Appendix Two: HIV/AIDS, poverty and agriculture

HIV/AIDS, like all communicable diseases, is linked to poverty. The complex relationship between poverty and HIV/AIDS is central to an understanding of the impact of the epidemic on rural livelihoods and strategies required to mitigate its impact. The relationship is bi-directional in that poverty is a key factor in increasing vulnerability to transmission and HIV/AIDS can impoverish people in such a way as to intensify the epidemic itself.

The debate on the role of poverty in driving the sexual transmission of HIV in Sub-Saharan Africa is widely acknowledged and accepted in the literature around HIV/AIDS. Although there are some powerful critiques of the poverty-AIDS argument, which claim that many of the worst affected African countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa are among the most economically developed in the region, poverty does seem to be a crucial factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS. It should be emphasised that poor people infected with HIV are considerably more likely to become sick and die faster than the non-poor since they are likely to be malnourished, in poor health, and lacking in health attention and medications.

In effect, all factors, which predispose people to HIV infection, are aggravated by poverty, which "creates an environment of risk". According to Balyamujura *et al.*, poverty relates to the spread of HIV in three interrelated ways (2000):

1. Deep-rooted structural poverty, arising from such things as gender imbalance, land ownership inequality, ethnic and geographical isolation, and lack of access to services.
2. Developmental poverty, created by unregulated socio-economic and demographic changes such as rapid population growth, environmental degradation, rural-urban migration, community dislocation, slums and marginal agriculture.
3. Poverty created by war, civil unrest, social disruption and refugees¹. High levels of rape and the breakdown of traditional sexual mores are associated with military destabilisation, refugee crisis and civil war (Walker, 2002: 7).

All three have severe effects on individuals' and communities' vulnerability to the spread of HIV, their ability to handle risks, and opportunity to participate in prevention and care activities. The latter is related to the relatively poor public health education and inadequate public health systems found in most Sub-Saharan African countries. The experience of HIV/AIDS by poor individuals, households and communities is likely to lead to an intensification of poverty, push some non-poor into poverty and some of the very poor into destitution. In turn, poverty can accelerate the onset of HIV/AIDS and tends to exacerbate the impact of the epidemic.

The most devastating consequences of HIV infection arise not simply because many people will die but because the deaths will occur mainly among adults between the

¹ Obbo has also drawn attention to the link between the spread of HIV/AIDS and social instability and conflict, such as was found in Uganda during the 1970s and 1980s (1995, cited in Walker 2002: 7).

ages of 25 and 45 years, the very people who work to support families and should be most productive economically (Williams *et al*, 2002: 9). Therefore HIV/AIDS is changing the contours and dynamics of poverty through its demographic and socio-economic impacts, which may, to paraphrase the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD):

- Create *inter-generational poverty* by impoverishing surviving orphans (often forcing them out of school, thus limiting their livelihood options), by fragmenting or dissolving households and by decimating the fragile asset base of the poor;
- Alter the age structure and *composition of the poor*, by decimating the young adult population while impoverishing an increasing number of children and elderly people;
- Result in *irreversible survival mechanisms* for the poorest as what is to some extent unique about HIV/AIDS is that the shock it inflicts is one from which many households are unable to recover. In particular, the erosion of the household asset base tends to be permanent;
- Intensify discrimination and *marginalisation* of poor people living with HIV/AIDS as well as their families. This is especially the case with women who are often perceived to be responsible for transmitting the HIV virus;
- Increase the prevalence of *poor female-headed households* (young widows with small children as well as elderly grandmothers looking after grandchildren) and thus the feminisation of poverty and agriculture;
- Exacerbate *unequal asset distribution* (land, livestock, labour) leading to landlessness and destocking. Once land and livestock are sold, the recovery potential of these households is severely diminished. Destitution is the culmination of this process of asset depletion; and
- Intensify poverty-driven *labour migration* as a coping strategy, thereby increasing the risk of HIV infection among the survivors (IFAD, 2001).

As indicated by the last point, many of these strategies involve people migrating from their homes to other places, usually urban or rural centres, where they hope to find employment. For some women, the pressures of poverty may lead them to engage in sexual transactions in order to support themselves.

The conceptualisation of the factors contributing to the spread of the epidemic and linking it to issues such as poverty, migrant labour, income inequalities, and gender relations are crucial to an understanding of HIV/AIDS and its impact on society and the household in particular. From this discussion it is clear that poverty increases vulnerability to HIV infection and poverty is compounded by HIV/AIDS. The latter is a result of the shocks, which result from HIV/AIDS-related deaths and infection that intensify the usual problems associated with severe poverty. This discussion has also indicated some of the options, such as commercial sex work, that affected households may be forced to adopt in the face of the epidemic and increasing levels of poverty.

While there is a relatively large body of work investigating the impact of the epidemic on agrarian livelihoods dating back to the late 1980s (Haddad and Gillespie 2000, Barnett and Whiteside 2002), a great deal still needs to be done in terms of integrating this information into agricultural strategies and building on locally based responses. The impact of HIV/AIDS on agricultural systems across sub-Saharan Africa, not only at present levels of infection, morbidity and mortality but over the next decade, as

mortality levels across the region are set to plunge, throws up a significant challenge for agricultural strategies. Despite these impacts the sector is in a strong position to assist in both the prevention and mitigation of the consequences of HIV/AIDS. Moreover, it has a responsibility to those people who depend on agriculture for subsistence.

The adverse effects of HIV/AIDS on the agricultural sector can be largely invisible as what distinguishes the impact from that on other sectors is that it can be subtle enough so as to be undetectable. In the words of Rugalema, "even if [rural] families are selling cows to pay hospital bills, [one] will hardly see tens of thousands of cows being auctioned at the market...Unlike famine situations, buying and selling of assets in the case of AIDS is very subtle, done within villages or even among relatives, and the volume is small" (cited in Topouzis, 2000). Furthermore, the impact of HIV/AIDS on agriculture, both commercial and subsistence, are often difficult to distinguish from factors such as drought, civil war, and other shocks and crises (Topouzis, 2000). For these reasons, the developmental effect of HIV/AIDS on agriculture continues to be absent from the policy and programme agendas of many African countries.

IFAD has suggested that the HIV epidemic is disproportionately affecting agriculture relative to other sectors (2001). De Waal and Tumushabe argue that this is not because rates of HIV are higher among workers in the agricultural sector than elsewhere but because the structure of the agricultural sector, especially the smallholder sub-sector, is such that it is much less able to absorb the impacts of the human resource losses associated with the epidemic (2003). Morbidity and mortality due to HIV/AIDS significantly raise the industry's indirect costs (medical and funeral expenses) as well as through the loss of valuable skills and experience (FAO, 1999). Thus HIV/AIDS is leading to falling labour quality and supply, more frequent and longer periods of absenteeism, losses in skills and experience, resulting in shifts towards a younger, less experienced workforce and subsequent production losses. These impacts intensify existing skills shortages and increase costs of training and benefits. This has ramifications for investment into the sector given the costs of the epidemic.

Thus HIV/AIDS may affect the smallholder farmer in a variety of ways. These include its impact on labour, the disruption of the dynamics of traditional social security mechanisms and the forced disposal of productive assets to pay for such things as medical care and funerals. In turn, local farming skills are drained and biodiversity in crop variety diminished. Indigenous knowledge systems and technology adapted by farmers to suit the particular conditions of specific areas often die with the farmers. Depending on the type of farming and the nature of the labour required, a reduction in labour may lead to less area under cultivation, poorer animal husbandry, increased livestock deaths, poorer land use and a move towards low-labour intensive cropping with less crop variety (Jackson, 2002). Cohen (1997) and Ayieko (1998) have undertaken case studies showing that households with an AIDS sufferer frequently seek to keep up with medical costs by selling livestock and other assets including land. Members who would otherwise be able to earn or perform household and family maintenance may then be spending their time caring for the person with AIDS.

Rugalema (1999a) reports that intensive use of child labour increases as a major strategy typically used by the afflicted household during care provision. Children may be taken out of school to fill labour and income gaps created when productive adults become ill or are caring for terminally ill households members or are deceased. Drawing from another study in Tanzania, Rugalema confirms that the illness affects time allocation, puts pressure on children to work, divert household cash and the disposal of household productive assets (1999b). HIV/AIDS is therefore an impoverishing process that leads to other problems such as malnutrition, inaccessibility to health care, increased child mortality and hence intergenerational poverty.

Baier (1997) and Cohen (1998) have drawn attention to the manner in which HIV/AIDS can cause affected households to become socially excluded, thus diminishing their ability to cope with further crises. Similarly, extended family networks sometimes collapse, not least due to pressure of having to support orphaned children (Halkett quoted in Aliber, 2001). Moreover, it has been argued that in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, HIV/AIDS has forced a change in household composition, severely weakening and often breaking the young adult nexus between generations (Marcus, 2000). This, in turn, exacerbates an already existing social crisis of care, which worsens as the epidemic progresses. It is a social context that is unlikely to withstand the weight of need that HIV/AIDS related deaths generate and many, especially children and the aged, face economic and social destitution (Marcus, 2000).

Another important element in considering the impacts of HIV/AIDS is increasing inequality. Du Guerny has raised the question as to who benefits from the sales of assets by farm-households attempting to cope with the long drawn-out effects of HIV/AIDS (2001). In his view, the number of occurrences evident could lead to significant changes in the socio-economic structures of villages, redistribution of wealth and of land. HIV/AIDS infection ultimately stretches the resources of an extended family beyond its limits as both material and non-material resources are rapidly consumed in caring for the infected.

Appendix Three: Agricultural Technologies

Options	Effect on labour / energy	Targets	Impact on livelihoods	Barriers	Miscellaneous
<i>Conservation Agriculture – hand hoe farmers (very poor)</i>					
Basin Planting (Siavonga, Zambia).	The basins (potholes to retain water) are used as a water harvesting device; they are made by hand hoe during the dry season before the rains start; this way the labour is spread and shifted to a time where labour is available. Making the potholes takes a similar time for preparing a field for maize. Compost, trash or fertilizer is incorporated.	The poorest households are the ones who do not have access to draught animal power (DAP) for land preparation, hence they are the target group for the basin system.	More drought resistance due to the water harvesting effect of the basins, hence – higher and more stable yields.	Small farmers and vulnerable household members need strong incentive to make the basins if they have not been exposed to the basin system before.	Should not be 'labelled' as system for the poorest households because of resistance from households "labelled". The basins can be made in portions each year, existing basins can be 'maintained' with little labour requirement.
Pit farming (GTZ, Southern Province, Zambia).	Conserves water, labour (through minimal cultivation and weeding), and reduces the risk of soil erosion through minimal disturbance of surface vegetation.	Male and female farmers, small-plot agriculturalists.	Round holes filled with organic material can be used for 4-5 years before refilling required. Intercropping with legumes as well as fruit trees.	Initial labour required. For households affected by HIV/AIDS, pooling of village labour, including available youth, is practiced to meet labour needs in initial outlay. Extension across Zambia.	Spreading through farmer-to-farmer extension. Though very labour intensive for initial layout and digging, pit farming saves considerably on labour in subsequent planting seasons.
Soil cover – using crop residues (Karatu, Tanzania).	Soil cover and crop residues which are left on the field suppress weeds – reduce labour demand for weeding.	The poorest households sometimes use this approach as a 'coping mechanism'.	Increases water retention capacity of soils and maintains soil moisture, hence helps to improve yields in dry years.	Conflicts with free ranging livestock is a probability. Conflicts with standard extension messages of maintaining a clean seedbed (land preparation) and a clean field during cropping cycle (weeding throughout)	Community leaders should be involved in acknowledging and accepting this way of farming. In garden farming soil cover reduces requirement for watering (irrigation).
Soil cover – Using <i>dolichos lab lab</i> and <i>mucuna</i> as cover crops (Karatu,	It requires an additional activity to intercrop the cover vegetation (crop) but results in big labour	Cover crops have been very attractive to vulnerable households;	The legumes do fix nitrogen from air in the soils, hence	Conflicts with free grazing livestock but cover crops do produce fodder.	South to South cooperation is encouraged as this system of incorporating various cover

Options	Effect on labour / energy	Targets	Impact on livelihoods	Barriers	Miscellaneous
Tanzania).	savings by almost eliminating weeding; the cover crops are leguminous crops that fix nitrogen, hence natural fertilisation of soil and improving soil fertility happens without additional labour input.	need technical assistance and training plus assistance in getting access to crops in the beginning.	natural fertilization <i>Dolicos lab lab</i> is a cash crop as middle men from Kenya are buying the bean harvest.	Availability of cover crops seeds. Change of perception of 'dirty fields'.	crops has been developed by farmers in Brazil.
Light weight hand hoes for planting.	Lighter hoes are less energy demanding.	Hand hoes are available but specific lighter hand hoes are sometimes rare.			Light hoes should be part of emergency interventions together with the standard heavy hoe.
Hand Jab Planter (hand tool to plant into soil cover) - is widely in use in Brazil and Paraguay.	Reduces labour / energy demand after a period of learning how to best use it. Requires only one person for planting instead of three (digging hole, planting, closing hoe).	A hand labour tool like the hand hoe is suitable for small farmers. Can be used by women and older children.	Can be produced locally. Is an investment opportunity for local making plus for specializing in being hand jab planter service provider.	Cost is approx \$ 10 is currently made in CARMATEC / Arusha or imported from Brazil. Repair and maintenance cultural acceptance?	South to South cooperation and technology transfer is encouraged.
Forage chopper (labour saving technology introduced by MAIAF, Uganda. See http://www.fao.org/sd/in/)	The project aimed at promoting promising farm power, crop processing and household energy-based technologies with a strong gender perspective. Improved fixed knife forage choppers found to be ergonomically safe, less cumbersome with reduced forage chopping and controlled length of chop.	Attractive to affected households - reduces labour time, suitable for small farmers. Women in particular.	Addressed constraints encountered by farmers in forage chopping by hand machetes. They reduced the risks posed by machetes to the users, fodder spoilage, low labour productivity and feed-use efficiency.	Uptake, dissemination and adoption have not been well understood. Despite the advantages the use of the improved fixed knife forage choppers, many farmers (87%) had not yet adopted them due to financial limitations, lack of awareness on the possible sources and advantages of the technology as well as the false beliefs and opinions about difficulties	Data on available chopping methods indicated that 88% of male headed and 79% of female headed households used machetes; 10% of male headed households and 18% of female headed farm families utilised fixed knife choppers and only 3% of both male and female headed households had adopted manual crank wheel choppers

Options	Effect on labour / energy	Targets	Impact on livelihoods	Barriers	Miscellaneous
Treadle pump - water conveyance (labour saving technology introduced by MAIAF, Uganda. See http://www.fao.org/sd/ip/)	The project aimed at promoting promising farm power, crop processing and household energy-based technologies with a strong gender perspective. Treadle pump has the capacity to draw water and raise it to sufficient levels and convey it for household use.	Children played the largest role in water collection. Saved labour for girls, boys, women and men.	Reduced time/labour constraints - Head portage at 43% (bicycle at 34% and a combination of head portage and bicycles at 13%) was the major method of collecting water from sources located about a mile away. Improved livestock productivity.	encountered in maintenance of the choppers. Uptake, dissemination and adoption have not been well understood. In addition, knowledge about the appropriateness, relevance and effectiveness of such technologies has hitherto been lacking. Farmers had not largely adopted this technology because its applicability was not consistent with the existing terrain.	
Treadle pump - water conveyance (introduced by Oxfam-GB in Mulanje District, Malawi)	Modified treadle pumps reduced time spent on irrigating one field - before modification it took 6 hours to finish an average sized field. After modification it took between 3-4 hours.	Groups of farmers with access to wetland/dambo land. Vulnerable households benefited through community sharing.		Technical support not available for households which had never used the pumps. The pumps were dismantled when delivered without help provided in installing them. Community education/sensitisation of new technology not adequate.	
<i>Conservation Agriculture - Introduce draught animals and DAP technologies to reduce hand labour</i>					
Ripper (another type of tool, is a substitute for the plough) (Babati / Tanzania).	Done before onset of rains (spreading labour similar to basin system) with 2 animals, cuts furrow rather than soil inversion, faster than ploughing.	Poorest households don't have access to draught animals but it might be easier for them to find one or two rather than four oxen.	Is available locally as it is adjusted from the mouldboard plough.	Difficult to use when too much soil cover and crop residues are on the field. Training of oxen required.	Also available with planter attachment to combine ripping and planting.
Knife roller	Only one or two animals required.	See above.	Time savings allows	Accessibility of fodder	Can be made locally

Options	Effect on labour / energy	Targets	Impact on livelihoods	Barriers	Miscellaneous
to chop the cover crop for land preparation – eliminates slashing by panga (Karatu/Tanzania)		Only available in selected pilot sites e.g. Karatu.	people to work for others.	availability, vet care.	currently only available in pilot sites.
No-tillage direct planter (Karatu / Tanzania)	Planting through soil cover, eliminates land preparation; two animals instead of four.	See above.	Time saving allows farmer to diversify or work for others.	Not available locally, Expensive.	South to south transfer and communication required (Brazil, Paraguay – Africa).
FAO					
<i>Livestock</i>					
Restocking of small animals such as rabbits and guinea fowl.	Diversifying livelihoods - AIDS-affected can cultivate less.	Most vulnerable - need quick return, Especially for orphans, elderly headed households.	Income generating activities, food source, can act like a savings account to mitigate risks.	Care of animals, this increases with the size of the animal.	Options for types of animals e.g. rabbits, guinea fowl; chicken, goats.
Donkeys.	Use for transportation of goods and people, water harvesting, firewood, marketing.	Specifically targeted to women farmers as donkeys have relatively low status.			Are not slaughtered for funerals; are normally not eaten Cows / oxen.
<i>Using Less Labour intensive crops</i>					
Cassava Cuttings distribution (Oxfam / Malawi).	Cassava is a root crop, can be harvested as required for food.	Normally considered a women's crop. Food crop.			
Crops - millet.	Weeding of millet is labour intensive.	Protein rich plant, very nutritious.	Sold to make beer as income generating activity.		
Traditionally under utilized crops that are labour saving (Uganda, Theta NGO)	Those crops should be made available if they have labour saving features; should be included in seed banks and see fairs.	Local indigenous farmers may use locally known seed sources.		Must be adapted to local conditions and climates.	
<i>Fishing</i>					

Options	Effect on labour / energy	Targets	Impact on livelihoods	Barriers	Miscellaneous
Project to provide start up cost for households to purchase fish that they then dry and sell (and buy more fish to sell...).	Attractive to households with minimal labour eg. old women plus orphan headed households.	Grand parent and orphan households.	Source of income.	Competition to buy fresh fish (context specific).	Any intervention with fishing communities should have a specific programme on HIV/AIDS prevention and mitigation as fishing communities have high HIV prevalence rates.

Source: Adapted from Working Group on Agricultural Technologies at "Mitigation Workshop", Pretoria, South Africa, 27 – 29 May 2003. See in particular Kienzle, J (2003) 'Labour Saving Technologies and Practices for Farming and Household Activities in Eastern and Southern Africa', Agricultural and Food Engineering Technologies Service, FAO, paper presented at "HIV/AIDS Mitigation Workshop", Pretoria, South Africa.

Guidelines to Reviewers

Institutional Research Development Programmes

Title of Research Niche Area	Food Security in the Context of Sustainable Livelihoods in KwaZulu - Natal
Name of Institution	University of Zululand
Research Niche Area Leader(s)	Professor Daniel Ferrelra & Professor Josephine Klamba
Name of Reviewer and Institution	Scott Drimie, Human Sciences Research Council
Date of the Review	3 November 2003

About the questionnaire

This questionnaire serves as a guide to the reviewers when assessing Research Niche Areas (RNAs). Reviewers are requested to address all sections of the questionnaire. Should the information provided be inadequate for an informed assessment, the reviewers are requested to indicate this in the applicable section.

The questionnaire is divided into four sections viz.

- ⇒ Scientific/Technical/Scholarly focus of the RNA
- ⇒ Research Team and Research Niche Area Management
- ⇒ Strategic plans
- ⇒ Overall Comments

Scientific/Technical/Scholarly focus of the RNA: Focuses on the scientific foundation of the proposed research activity, its significance and potential contribution to the existing body of knowledge or creation of new knowledge.

Research Team and RNA Management: Focuses on the human capacity and management issues within the proposed RNA.

Strategic Plan: Focuses on the long-term plans to develop the proposed RNA.

Overall Comments: This section should capture the reviewer's overall impression of the RNA, highlight strengths and potential weaknesses, and make recommendations.

1. Scientific/Technical/Scholarly Focus

Comment on the Scientific/Technical/Scholarly merit of the proposed RNA with reference to the following:

- Relevance of the proposed RNA including the clarity and appropriateness of the motivation
- Coherence and the feasibility of the goals and objectives, the expected outputs and the envisaged impact
- The evidence that the RNA is built around current strengths of the institution
- Current and potential competitiveness (regionally, nationally and internationally) of the proposed RNA, and its likelihood of making a significant contribution to research in its field.

The proposed RNA (food security & sustainable livelihoods) is extremely relevant considering the recent regional food crisis, which afflicted six SADC countries and continues to threaten Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland and increasingly Angola. South Africa was not exempt from this crisis with severe drought affecting parts of northern KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces and reports of malnutrition in the Eastern Cape. Indeed, the Chronic Poverty Research Project based at the School of Governance at the University of the Western Cape reported acute food insecurity amongst communities in the Mount Frere district of the Eastern Cape.

The South African response to this crisis has been to refocus social welfare grants to ensure effective targeting, agricultural projects focused on small-scale and communal production and the appointment of a food price monitoring commission under Professor Van Zyl of Pretoria University. The RNA is a welcome and indeed necessary contribution to the country's overall strategy to mitigate the effects of poverty and ensure food security for all households. This has become increasingly relevant considering the multiple impacts of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which has torn deep into the fabric of the rural household economy. This issue is a central concern, which the RNA must explicitly address if it is to contribute to an effective understanding of the complex interface between AIDS and household food security and livelihoods strategies.

The focus of the RNA is clear – but it is not certain that the envisaged programme is the most appropriate to reach its overall goals. If the programme is intended only to underpin the research of postgraduate students in a selection of related departments at the University then the motivation is sufficient. But it is felt that the opportunities offered by the NRF (the wide portfolio of different grants for different purposes) could be better utilized to underpin a comprehensive strategy that would not only support a number of senior students but ensure a coherent multidisciplinary food security programme, which would guarantee the institution as a "centre of excellence" in this crucial area of research in South Africa.

In order to achieve the overall goal it is suggested that rather than putting forward a number of smaller projects built around honours and masters dissertations that the University considers conceptualising that consolidates the experience around food security that exists in the country and further afield and which develops a niche area for the RNA. This framework could readily encompass the research projects as they evolve but would offer a better service to these studies in ensuring coordination and articulation between the multidisciplinary approaches. In other words that a project is developed which focuses explicitly on securing the broader framework in the first instance (with a dedicated coordinator or facilitator), which would have embedded within it the smaller research (that is co-ordinated effectively within the framework). For example it is suggested that the project would focus on one community that would have the smaller projects effectively coordinated.

Essentially this approach is about enabling the staff to be in a better position to engage with the research and build a "centre of excellence" around food security by off-setting the constraints of time (teaching, supervision) commitments that they face.

It is therefore recommended that space is created for a central strategic coordinator or facilitator to oversee the niche area be created using NRF funding. This central position would be advised by a steering committee composed of the various departments. This is to ensure articulation between the various overlapping projects and indeed create a comprehensive understanding of food security in the Zululand region.

A dedicated facilitator would ensure that the overall framework is in place, that regular meetings between the various departments are held, that interaction between the students is ensured, that sufficient support is provided to them in terms of field supervision and logistical support, that effective networking and linkages are

ensured with other institutions involved in food security (at local, national, regional and international level) and that the full range of NRF funding is effectively administered.

It is also recommended that the NRF facilitate a workshop with the staff of the University of Zululand as a matter of priority to ensure that the range of opportunities is understood. This range would then be harnessed to effectively underpin the overall framework with the different components. This range of options would be used to ensure:

- ☐ Capital equipment is secured
- ☐ Lecture replacement is secured
- ☐ Research assistance for students is secured

All of these would be harnessed to enable a more effective niche area to be created.

It is also suggested that additional funding is sought to build on the financial core provided by the University itself (infrastructure, etc) and the NRF. It may be possible to leverage funding from the private sector in the vicinity of the University, which will potentially be interested in the research. The Richards Bay private sector (RBM, Bell, Alusef), relevant government departments (provincial Department of Agriculture, national Department of Social development, etc), international non-governmental organisations working in Zululand (Oxfam-GB), and national and local NGOs may all be interested in the work. Other interventions in the area such as a livestock project run by the SPCA around the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi game complex (primary health care for livestock), which has the endorsement of the NEPAD secretariat, may be willing partners in the search for funding.

The outputs, as identified in the current proposal, should be geared more explicitly towards refereed publications for the students themselves and the staff. This is the ultimate for the measurement of centres of excellence and would underpin the future careers of all involved. This needs careful planning at the beginning of the research process through a comprehensive literature review to establish gaps and opportunities. Another possibility may be for each research project to form separate chapters in a book on food security in the Zululand region with the provincial and national government as key clients.

2. Research Team and RNA Management

- 2.1 *Comment on the suitability and role of the RNA leader(s) and assistant leader(s) to lead the team in terms of their research expertise in the field of the proposed research, qualification and management skills. Also comment on the likelihood of the team accomplishing the task successfully (skills base, cohesiveness of team, partnerships, critical mass, strengths and weaknesses).*

Notwithstanding these suggestions it should be recognised that the programme, as it stands at present, is built around current strengths in that the research from 2003 forms the basis of the vision. A dedicated group of staff with experience in working with the NRF and developing this niche area are at the core of the proposal and the students involved are enthusiastic about what has transpired. The team that supervised this research is still in place and attempts have been made to bring in a broader range of disciplines to support the vision. It is essential that a consolidation process is implemented to bring together the staff and students to critically review what has been achieved, to identify the challenges and to ensure that there is a mutual understanding about the developments of the RNA.

The leader and assistant leader certainly possess the expertise to lead the RNA in all regards. They would, however, benefit from additional space in terms of relief from time constraints to become more creative in the development of the overall strategy to meet their vision of becoming a centre of excellence on food security.

Another major issue is linkages. Despite the identification of some national and international partners in the proposal this did not form a central pivot of the strategy. This is vital if the RNA is to become firmly embedded in current thinking around food security and livelihoods. Again it should be emphasised that the development of such linkages is a time-consuming undertaking, which, under the current circumstances, is not possible for the staff. These linkages would ensure that the RNA does not operate in a vacuum.

2.2 *Comment on whether this RNA's management structures and financial controls are clearly defined and appropriate.*

The financial controls of the university have been clearly identified as those that will control the NRF funding. Such arrangements appear to have worked effectively in the past and therefore should be more than adequate for the current proposal.

Steering committee

3. Strategic Plan

Comment on the appropriateness of the outlined Strategic Plan with reference to the following:

- **Current and Envisaged Projects:** The appropriateness of the current and envisaged individual research projects and evidence of synergy between them.
- **Human Resource Capacity Development:** The postgraduate student training record of the team and plans for student development within the RNA, the appropriateness of the proposed RNA for the development of highly qualified personnel within South Africa and the likelihood that the proposed activity will make an important contribution to research capacity development within the context of redress and equity (race and gender at student and staff level).
- **Infrastructure Development:** The availability and appropriateness of infrastructure crucial to the success of the proposed RNA and/or on plans to acquire or to ensure access to the required infrastructure.
- **Financial Plan:** Clarity and appropriateness of the financial plan, the appropriateness of the envisaged financial contribution by the institution, and on plans to leverage additional resources. Please also comment on the financial viability of the RNA should the NRF support not be realised.
- **Networks and Collaborations:** The appropriateness of the identified collaborators and the significance of their contributions. Kindly indicate any other collaboration that may benefit the RNA

See point one.

4. Overall Comment

4.1 *Comment on the overall strengths of the proposed RNA.*

Key niche area

Involvement of students – underpinning future capacity in this area

4.2 *Comment on the weaknesses, of the proposed RNA and propose possible ways to strengthen the RNA.*

Too focused on individual projects rather than the overall framework (with appropriate linkages) to reach potential for University.

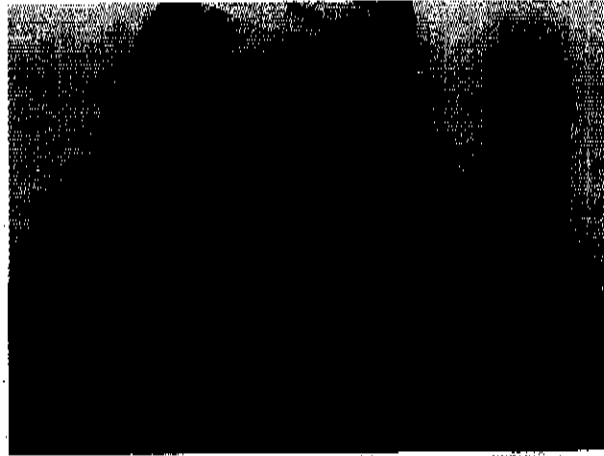
4.3 *Comment on the quality of the RNA submission.*

High quality

4.4 *Additional comments and Recommendations.*

See point one. Need broader commentary and linkages – perhaps suggest that the proposal is distributed more widely across different institutions to ensure adequacy and buy-in.

'This dam is cruel': women's lives and the Lesotho Highlands Water Project



For those who will be displaced, and others who will be directly affected, the LHDA has developed a comprehensive and in-depth resettlement and development program that will ensure that these people will be at least as well off, if not better off, socio-economically, than they are currently.

Environmental Impact Assessment, 1997:2

There was nothing that used to torment me; I was living with joy and peace. I told you, is it not, that I was ploughing and I was eating. Now this place where I am going, what am I going to eat, who is going to give me a field, where am I going? I am saying I used to plough each and every crop and I was eating. Now this place where I am going, I am going to find old residents they are there. What will a person now eat? Where will they get a field? This place where I am going, if I find the people there have occupied all land, where will I find a field? Because here I used to plough my fields and I was eating and getting full. Now I am going to be a molopitsi (beggar) in other people's villages.

David Hemson, Scott Drimle and Kuena Thabane

HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

MARCH 2004

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Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ARMS	Acquisition and Resettlement Management Systems
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DSM	Demand Side Management
EAP	Environmental Action Plan
EGM	Extraordinary General Meeting
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EIB	European Investment Bank
EU	European Union
FIVAS	Association for International Water and Forest Studies
GIS	Geographic Information System
GOL	Government of Lesotho
HCSAC	Highlands Church Solidarity and Action Centre
IFR	Instream Flow Requirement
IRN	International Rivers Network
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
LFCD	Lesotho Fund for Community Development
LHDA	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority
LHWC	Lesotho Highlands Water Commission
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
LHWRF	The Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue Fund
M	Maluti, Lesotho currency equal to a South African Rand
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
PANOS	International NGO dedicated recording perspectives of poor
PAR	Population at Risk
PEMS	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society
Phase 1A	Development of Katse Dam, infrastructure and pipeline to SA
Phase 1B	Infrastructural development around Mohale Dam
PWV	Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging
RBA	Rapid Biological Assessment
RDP	Rural Development Program
RSA	(Government of the) Republic of South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
Senqu River	Called Orange River in South Africa
TCTA	Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority
TRC	Transformation Resource Centre
VIP	Ventilated Improved Privy

1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 26



Executive summary

Dams mark a technological advance for humanity ensuring greater access to water and control over floods, but they also have destructive impact both on the people they displace and on the environment. This is being made apparent through research but increasingly also by the social movements demanding redress for those affected. This study provides a comprehensive gender sensitive impact assessment of Lesotho Highlands Water Project. It takes place at a time when water is increasingly becoming regarded as an economic good both as an input to agri-business and industry and to be priced for human consumption at its full cost. In the context of privatization a wide range of multi-nationals aim to add profit to these costs.

Displacement by dams involves a loss of resources, new settlements and very substantial issues of social justice and equity. This study provides a description of the effects of displacement, the conditions of resettlement, policies, and perspectives from the women themselves. It takes up the theoretical perspectives associated with impoverishment, social exclusion, and marginalisation to understand the extent to which these social processes are effectively reversed by the LHDA's intervention.

The effects on women in Lesotho of the displacement of families by the massive Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) are reported. Altogether it is anticipated that 40,000 Basotho people will be adversely affected through loss of land or livelihood if all four phases of the project are completed. There are also benefits to the country in terms of infrastructural development and capital inflows but these tend to be taken up by the growing middle class and the miniscule wealthy in Lesotho, rather than by the masses of impoverished and unemployed. Through focus groups and individual interviews the experience and voice of the women who have been adversely affected or displaced have been captured. Altogether 69 women in the affected areas around the dams and in the new settlements in the foothills and towns have participated to provide their histories, data on current conditions, and their views.

Before the advent of the LHWP the country was characterized by growing poverty and land shortages. Income inequality is one of the highest in the world and, with half the population in 1999 poor, many suffer extreme deprivation. The relatively small amount of arable land and grazing pastures has been further diminished by the dams. Although promised, it has been extraordinarily difficult for compensation to be provided on the basis of 'land for land', or even for adequate gardens to be provided to those who have been displaced or directly affected. The compensation policy has been revised but there are frequent complaints that the provisions are not being met. Complaints are loud from families which have been displaced either to nearby villages where some access to land is still possible, or to the 'lowlands', the urban centres, in the hope of employment. These issues are examined to understand what effect displacement has had on women's access to water and land, on social cohesion, and the ability to create new livelihoods.

Employing a gender sensitive methodology, the study undertakes a review of displacement and the compensation program. Previously in an authoritative study it is argued that women were reluctant to be interviewed as they regarded their husbands as more capable of responding and concluded "we must regard the women's side of the story as remaining unknown rather than assume that they shared their husbands' interpretations of the changes that were about to occur in their lives" (Thabane, 2000:635). The present study has used focus groups, interviews¹, biographies, and statistical analysis to present a gendered view of the social processes of displacement.

¹ Including an excellent set of interviews conducted for Panos and used through application. Most of the quotations

The study has established that there is a profound attachment to their original residence, "As for this land, I liked it with all my heart" and a sense of catastrophic loss among women, "We have been befallen by the great flood, that one of the water of old which we hear of when we are told; it has come to us; it has taken us, the great flood of water." Most are resigned that nothing could be done about their removal, but now also they feel that they did not know what would befall them, that promises have not been met, that they are impoverished, and that they should have been better compensated.

Most importantly this approach has uncovered that the LHWP officials did not consult with the women at all to consider alternatives before the displacement. This has created a deep sense of humiliation among some: "As for us wives we are like children, children truly... we were just running behind our husbands".²

Those who moved to other highland villages feel socially excluded; "Now I am going to be a molopitsi (beggar) in other people's villages" or, alternatively, report that host communities at times see them as privileged (for being compensated) although they felt bereft and deprived. Those who moved to the lowland areas found that their hope for employment has not been rewarded.

The women are united in stating that they have been impoverished by their displacement. Many of their perceptions are as forcefully, if not even more forcefully, stated as their men. They complain that the compensation is inadequate to keep them alive over the year, that they are constantly short of cash, that their gardens are inadequate, and that the benefits are uncertain over time.

This study has found that the people of Bokong and Mapelane, two areas in the Katse dam area have suffered even more severe effects than the well chronicled grievances of Mohale. More distant from the capital, the women of these communities appear to be experiencing considerable hardship firstly in accessing drinking water and secondly in suffering social isolation from each other because of the formidable obstacle of the dam. In Bokong there are personal safety problems with the dangerous cliffs which claim the lives of many people and attract suicides and in Mapelane the people have experienced earthquakes. These communities express problems with deep social problems, marked by marital discord, prostitution, and suicide. Of all the communities these appear to be the most seriously affected by HIV/AIDS.

The Ombudsman's inquiry launched an investigation into the conditions of complainants from Mohale area in December 2002 freshly identified or rediscovered many chronic problems with compensation including defective stoves, late payment of annual compensation, communities with no electricity or water, inadequate gardens, houses which do not meet the specification promised on resettlement, a lack of rural development projects, and stalled communal compensation for loss of environmental resources such as ranges. He generally found on the side of the complainants, set specific deadlines for recommendations, and urged a general reconsideration of relations between those resettled and the LHDA. Unfortunately many of the recommendations have not been carried out and the improved relationship between the LHDA and those displaced is not taking place.

In its planning the LHWP promised an initiative recognizing geopolitical realities, attuned to the needs of the country, and eventually leading to broad generalised development. The main instrument for the social benefits to be delivered is the Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue

here are from these sources.

² Some slight editing has been made of the response to shorten it for this report.

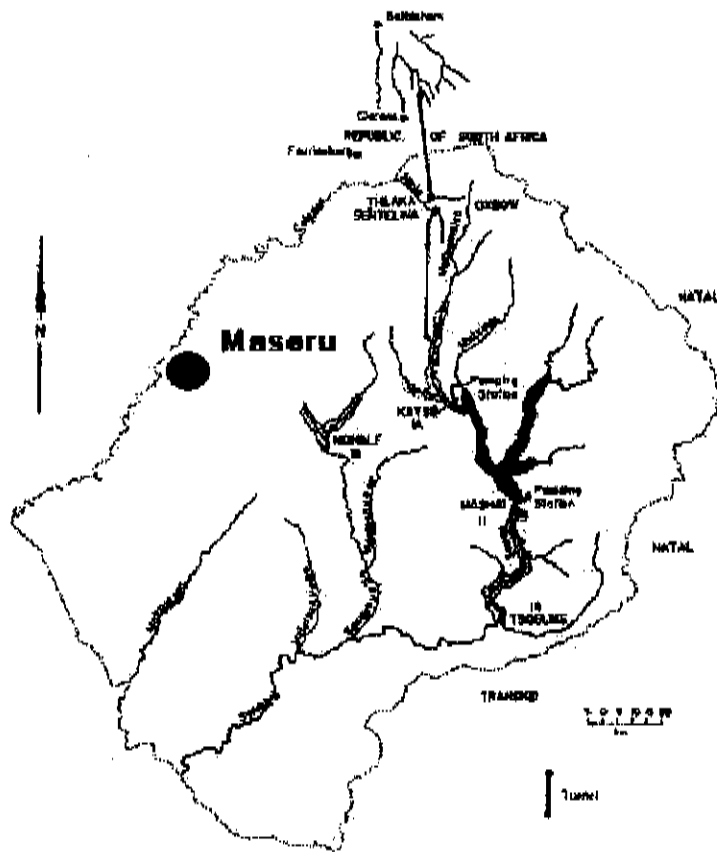
Fund, but these large sums have been squandered by politicians on projects in their interest. The Fund has been suspended and replaced by the Social Fund. There are on-going delays in turning this fund to the tasks of public works and providing employment: the long term rural development program (RDP) is in an impasse.

Apart from short-term construction employment and the development of infrastructure, the ordinary people have not benefited from the LHWP. Those who have benefited substantially from the Project have been individuals at the top of the LHDA and sections of the rising middle class. The former chief executive, Marsupa Sole, was found guilty in May 2002 of receiving bribes of \$5m over a 10 year period from multinational companies tendering for construction projects. The case exposed poor governance of the LHDA and a lack of democratic control.

The study concludes that there is a universal conviction among the women that they and their communities have been impoverished through the dams. This perception is substantiated in the data gathered on livelihoods, employment, gardens, and access to services providing basic needs. Few of the women reported involvement in projects or other activities which would counter the loss of access to resources, and all are heavily dependent on compensation as the basic form of subsistence. There has also been a general, although uneven, process of social exclusion; most acutely felt in the lives of displaced people although also evidenced in those affected. Through various forms of social action such as the petitioning of the Ombudsman, the grievances of the community are now being manifest and the marginalisation of the displaced is now being partly remedied through the process of conflict resolution with host communities. The elevated goals and over-optimistic assessment of the Environmental Impact Assessment that the people would be 'at least as well off, if not better off, socio-economically, than they are currently' has not been well founded.

A strategy to improve the life conditions of affected and resettled women should ensure that the drudgery of domestic labour is counteracted particularly by the provision of water and electricity as promised. In addition the rights of women in customary law and needs to be reaffirmed and strengthened, and their rights in terms of constitutional guarantees and international conventions such as CEDAW, reaffirmed and enforced. The LHDA, which operates as a state within a state, has to be brought under democratic control, its finances scrutinized, and the public works often promised brought into being.

Figure 1: Lesotho and the LHWP



Chronology

1954	Project first conceived
1966	Lesotho achieves independence from Britain
1986	Military authorities sign Lesotho Highlands Water Treaty with apartheid SA on the basis of the 1983 feasibility study
1989	Construction begins on Katse Dam
1990	LHDA produces its Environmental Action Plan, addressing for the first time some of the social and environmental implications of the project
1991	September: World Bank approves loan of \$110m for construction of dams
1996	14 September: 5 workers shot dead during 'illegal strike' at Katse
1997	LHWRF operations (meant to be providing social benefits) suspended by Lesotho government in early 1997 after corruption widely publicised.
	Work starts on Mphahle Dam, Phase 1B, with construction of infrastructure especially access roads; people are moved.
	March: seismic activity near Katse dam wall. Residents in damaged village, Mapeleng, are finally given new houses to replace those damaged by earthquakes, a year after damage first recorded.
	Rand Water, the end user for LHWP water, reveals that Phase 1B could be postponed by as much as 20 years because of water conservation measures being undertaken. NGOs and US government officials press for review of demand-side management options and the economics of project postponement, but Department of Water Affairs urges World Bank to fund Phase 1B without delay.
1998	Early 1998: Commission of inquiry into labour unrest responding to NGO demands submits its report
	March: Katse Dam fully impounded only 12 months after completion and power production from Muela power plant (18 months later than planned). Water deliveries from Katse Dam begin.
	22 September: SA troops invade after chaotic election; all Lesotho soldiers at Katse stated to have been shot dead leading to riots in Maseru.
2002	May: Marsupa Sole, former CE of the LHDA convicted of accepting bribes amounting to \$5m and sentenced to 18 years imprisonment.
2003	August: Ombudsman's report substantially supports complaints by displaced people.
	September: Acres International convicted of bribery; other multinationals later convicted as well.
	Growing doubt whether South Africa will proceed with Phase II of the LHWP.

Background to the study

This study has been initiated through the commitment of UNIFEM to undertake a gender sensitive impact assessment of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project in the context of privatisation in the region. This arose out of UNIFEM's objectives to change policies and institutions to promote women's equal ownership and access to resources and assets and the organisations' concern that the limited access to fresh and safe water by women due to privatisation of water resources has become a pressing concern in the region.

In the statement of intent the document explores the pressure of privatization on the lives of poor women:

Privatisation of water has intensified existing inequalities and insecurities, translating into the loss of livelihoods, economic rights and natural benefits. Multinational corporations often/usually apply full-cost pricing policies and make water an economic good or commodity that will be measured, apportioned and regulated by them. This shift of the control and provision of water from the public to the private sector due to privatisation results in many people failing to access clean and safe water.³

The burden faced of the lack of clean water falls disproportionately on women and children since they are the primary gatherers and users of water in the household context. Women bear the responsibility of carrying heavy buckets long distances to meet the domestic water needs of their families. They are forced to collect water from possibly polluted streams and as a result, on occasion, the number of deaths from polluted water is increased through the outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics. Women are usually the people in the household who provide care to people who become ill due to the use of polluted water.

Water scarcity is an increasingly important phenomenon due to changes in rainfall patterns but also largely due to the appropriation of water resources by agencies serving the needs of mining and industrial concerns and growing cities. The rise in water scarcity in many areas risks is weakening the limited water rights that women have gained in the past. In the world's poorest communities, women are also excluded, even more so than men, from many income-generating opportunities that are dependent on water, such as irrigated farming. In this regard, it is important for Governments to revise laws and policies in order to ensure that women have equal rights to both water and land, and that both women and men have adequate access to water and land. Lesotho Highlands Water Project displaced many families and they lost their land. The research will seek to generate information that will be used to educate governments and women organisations on the water situation in southern Africa and their rights.

Specifically the terms of reference set out the following objectives:

1. To develop a gender and human rights conceptual framework for analysis of privatisation of water in the region.
2. To carry out a gender sensitive assessment on the socio-economic impact of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project.
3. To carry out a gender sensitive assessment on the health impact.
4. To assess the adequacy of support for the displaced communities.
5. To analyse the gender sensitivity of existing water policies in southern Africa.

³ Briefing document.

6. To discuss best practices and solutions that can be disseminated to policymakers and relevant stakeholders.
7. To discuss the cost benefit perspective of privatisation of water.
8. To give recommendations as to how best UNIFEM and related partners can respond to the identified needs as a way forward.

Objective of study

Through an understanding of the general social processes which have operated from the inception of the LHWP, the perspective of the study will largely focus on the impact on women as those who undertake responsibility for water, cooking, and the health of their families. It will involve a gender sensitive impact assessment by looking at the changes in women's lives, responsibilities, and opportunities in the context of the social dislocation caused by the development of the dams. At one level this involves a study of the details of change in terms of housing, heating, cooking and domestic management.

In the broader setting to what extent are the existing water policies in southern Africa gender sensitive?

There is stated to be a comprehensive compensation package to secure the displaced households from impoverishment and destitution; what are its details and to what extent has this worked? Has the level of support been adequate and have women been able to take advantage of the compensatory support to take up alternative livelihoods and become empowered? At another the social and political attitudes and activities of women will be studied within a gender and human rights conceptual framework. In the broadest terms; to what extent has the LHWP impacted on women's equal ownership and access to resources and assets and how have women responded?

These are the questions close to the immediate issues of resettlement and alleviation of the effects of dam construction and cover a range of domestic and social questions. Although the focus is primarily on households which have been resettled the ambit of the study has to be wider and to include those directly affected. In Bokong and Mohale, for instance, all the people were affected either by the construction of engineering infrastructure, roads and buildings involving loss of land, houses, or of grazing range, or by the enormous changes in life brought about by the dam, influx of workers, and the new settlements. Around the dams it is difficult to distinguish between those affected or resettled; while the resettled have certainly lost land, so probably have those who do not move house. Some are resettled in communities where they are already well established and don't face all the trauma of moving to entirely new settlements. These moves also take place for a variety of reasons; either because their homes are being inundated or because (in the case of Mapeleng) they were moved away from areas of seismic activity. In short the study has to deal with all the dilemmas of the women affected either through resettlement or through the multivariate impact of the dams.

In the table below the figures are presented of those affected by a later or greater extent, those resettled (a smaller figure), and the loss of resources.

Table 1: Losses sustained from dam projects

	1A, Katse	1B, Mphahlele	Source
Affected through loss of resources, villages		46/83	EIA 147
Affected through loss of resources, people	3,000	5,130	Matlosa 39
Losing physical structures and/or arable land, households	312	583	EIA 147
Losing physical structures and/or arable land, people	1,750	3,265	Household numbers scaled up
Resettled through inundation, households	75	360	Matlosa, 39; EIA 2
Resettled through inundation, people	420	2,016	Household numbers scaled up
Loss of arable land, hectares	1,800	700	Matlosa, 39, WB 13
Loss of grazing land, hectares	3,000	1,635	Matlosa, 39, WB 13

EIA: Kingdom of Lesotho (1997). Environmental impact assessment Phase 1B.

WB: World Bank. 30 April 1998. Report No. 17727-LSO Project Appraisal Document on a proposed loan in the amount of US\$45 million to the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority for Lesotho Highlands Water Project – Phase 1B.

The figures of the precise numbers affected is somewhat controversial as various researchers have estimations considerably larger than those officially presented. In the quotation below, for example, the total number affected by all dam development to date rises to 27,000.

Katse and Muela alone dispossessed nearly 20,000 people of land and resources, while Mphahlele will similarly affect approximately 7,000 more while displacing hundreds of households. In total, approximately 1.5 percent of Lesotho's citizenry is directly affected by the project (Hoover, 2001:2).

The crucial figures are those directly affected by loss of resources and the numbers displaced. The policy of the LHDA is to persuade as many families as possible to remain in the mountains, but in the case of Mphahlele a larger proportion than anticipated decided to make the move to the towns. In comparison with dams in China and India these figures are almost insignificant, but the question is the proportion of the population affected and the overall effect of the Project on the socio-economic conditions of Lesotho.

In the wider context the Lesotho government is formally committed to eliminating the explicit legal and conventional restrictions on women exercising their rights through its constitution and through the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) of 1979. The Convention aims to establish equal rights for women, irrespective of their marital status and in all fields—political, economic, social, cultural and civil. Other provisions affirm women's equal rights in political and public life, women's equal access with men to education and training, non-discrimination in the field of employment and remuneration, and employment security in the case of marriage or pregnancy. The Convention emphasizes the equal responsibilities of men and women in family life. It also underlines the need for social services—in particular daycare services—to allow parents to combine family responsibilities with professional responsibilities or participation in public life. Other articles are aimed at establishing women's equal access to medical services including reproductive health and family planning.

It is, however, not clear just how legal rights can be asserted through the adoption of CEDAW. As is explained on a human rights website: "International conventions and covenants are not invoked directly in domestic courts; unless specifically implemented by domestic law-making procedures, an international norm is not, of itself, part of domestic

law.⁴ Women's rights are not specifically mentioned in the 1993 Constitution and there have been statements that there are elements in that document which confirm women's legal inferiority.

How has the role of women in the reconstruction of the households and communities been strengthened in the sphere of constitutional rights and international conventions?

Taken as a whole there is the question of the overall costs and benefits of the growing market in water in Lesotho; the material losses in terms of natural resources and social costs to the people, and the benefits in terms of investment in infrastructure in the form of the extensive development of freeway and mountain roads, hospitals and clinics and tourist accommodation.

Finally the brief is to examine what has worked and what has failed in terms of meeting the needs of the resettled communities: what are the best practices and solutions that can be disseminated to policymakers and relevant stakeholders. The study will conclude with recommendations as to how best UNIFEM and related partners can respond to the identified needs as a way forward.

The Lesotho context

Entirely surrounded by South Africa, Lesotho is situated at the highest point of the Drakensberg escarpment on the eastern rim of the South African plateau. The country covers approximately 30,344 km² between 270 and 300 East and about 280 to 320 South. Most of Lesotho lies within the Drakensberg or Maloti Mountains, which range from about 1,500 to 3,500 metres above sea level. The climate is temperate, characterised by warm moist summers and cold dry winters. Snow is common in the mountains for several months during winter and it occasionally snows in the lowlands. The daily temperature variation is high, ranging from 150C in summer to 180C in winter (FAO, 2000; Mphale et al, 2002).

Lesotho is subdivided into four major physiographic and agro-ecological zones. The "lowlands" which forms a narrow strip in the western side of the country, range between 1500 and 1800 metres above sea level. Most of the crop production and major urban centres are found in this region, including the national capital Maseru. The lowlands also accommodate about 80 percent of the total population (FAO, 2000). The foothills range between 1800 and 2000 metres above sea level and forms about 8 percent of the total area. The mountains, which characterise the "highlands", start at about 2000 metres above sea level and beyond and they harbour most of the rangelands and livestock husbandry activities. This area covers the sub-alpine and alpine ecological zones mainly used as summer grazing zones. The valley along the Senqu River is mainly a grassland area with shallow soils. The "lowlands" have significantly scarcer water access than the "highlands", a significant challenge considering the population density and economic production in this area.

Lesotho's population is estimated at 2.1 million people, of which 51 percent are female. The population growth rate is 2.1 percent per annum. Although the life expectancy rate for females increased from 53 years in 1986 to 58 years in 1998, while the rate for men remained almost constant at 57 years during the same period, it is feared that HIV/AIDS and related diseases will soon lower these figures (Mphale et al, 2002). Infant mortality rates increased from 60 per 1 000 to 74 per 1 000 during the period 1986 to 1998, while maternal mortality

⁴ <http://www.hri.ca/fortherecord2001/vol2/lesothorr.htm>, accessed 1 February 2004.

rates stagnated at 282 per 100 000 people despite increased government efforts to improve the health services and immunisation (FAO, 2000; Mphahle et al, 2002).

The Government of Lesotho projected that Lesotho's population density in 2000 was 61 people per km² compared to a density of 53 people per km² in 1986 (GoL, 2000). The most recent estimates indicate that nine percent of land is arable compared to thirteen percent in 1976. This decrease of approximately four percent is due to increased soil erosion and encroachment of settlements on arable land as a result of population pressure. This decrease has contributed to landlessness in Lesotho. Current figures from the census and government reports indicate that landlessness affected 32.9 percent of the population in 1996 (GoL, 2000).

Lesotho is one of the world's poorest nations: cultivable land is scarce, mineral resources limited, and the country's most precious resource is water. The economy of Lesotho has three dominant sectors, namely construction, manufacturing, and agriculture, which account for more than half of the gross domestic product. The construction sector is largely comprised of developments on the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) and of government supported infrastructure projects. As indicated by the table below, the balance constitutes a variety of private and public sector services ranging from business to education services.

Table 2: Contribution to GDP

Sector	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Construction	18.9	19.8	19.0	18.2	15.8	17.9
Agriculture	17.4	17.2	18.2	16.0	17.4	16.9
Manufacturing	15.7	15.4	16.1	15.9	17.2	16.4
Public Administration	6.8	7.6	7.4	7.6	9.0	9.2
Education	8.4	9.0	8.8	8.4	9.4	9.0
Wholesale, Retail and Repairs	9.0	9.0	8.9	9.2	9.0	8.2
Other	23.7	21.9	21.7	24.7	22.2	22.4

Source: FAO, 2000.

The World Bank confirms that Lesotho has 'extremely high' levels of poverty and inequality. Curiously within a country of an equalitarian tribal tradition (extolled in the narratives of the women below) there is gross internal inequality with the Gini coefficient one of the highest in the world. There is widespread poverty with half the population in 1999-regarded as poor and many of the poor suffering extreme deprivation. Poverty alleviation is generally related to employment, but in rural poverty has been linked to stagnation in crop based agriculture and the deterioration of the range (Hassan, 2002: 4).

The LHWP was identified by the World Bank in the latter part of the 1990s as a means to encourage private sector development and poverty alleviation. The Project led to World Bank commitments to Lesotho tripling to almost \$300m in the 1990s with annual net transfers of \$10 million during the decade 1990-2000 and peaks of nearly \$30m in the financial year of 1993. These are considerable sums for a very small country such as Lesotho and it was planned that these would compensate in part for the decline in the major source of state revenue from miners' remittances. The reaction of employers to the miners' strike of 1986 and the subsequent contraction of the South African gold industry had led to a sharp reduction in the number of Lesotho's miners in RSA from 127,000 in 1989/90 to 69,000 in 1998/99.

Consequently miners' remittances dropped precipitously from 62 percent of GNP in 1989/90 to 18 percent of GNP in 1998/99⁵; threatening the stability of the state and its bureaucracy.

The revenues derived both from the economic activity itself involved in dam construction and the customs and taxes derived from this activity was critical to replacing this mainstay of government revenue and regenerating economic growth and improved incomes. A World Bank-African Development Bank sponsored study argued that the LHWP had made it possible to turn the budget deficit of the late 1980s into a surplus in the 1990s and to allow greater social spending. All this was thought to lead on to development programs in the interests of the poor; the same study however concluded:

Although the LHWP project succeeded in growth and generating export revenue for Lesotho, its impact on poverty reduction was minimal (Hassan, 2002:xvi).

Indeed the impact of the LHWP worked in entirely the opposite direction; further enriching the better off and deepening the impoverishment of the poor. The World Bank study was of the general impact on the country as a whole, this study will assess the effect of the LHWP on those most directly affected and who were anticipated to benefit over the longer term.

Political relations with South Africa

The beginning of the satellite economy linking Lesotho to South Africa can arguably be found in 1820 when the Basotho emerged as a people after Moshoeshe the Great gathered the tribes scattered by Zulu raids and established a stronghold at Butha-Butha, and later on the mountain of Thaba-Bosiu, about 30km (20mi) from what is now Maseru. In the face of increasing pressures from Boer settlement, Lesotho became a British protectorate but not before it had lost half of its agricultural land to what was to become the Orange Free State Republic. This was the beginning of a dependence that the small mountainous country would have with its large neighbour that completely encircled it. The British government imposed a hut tax here whereby Basotho men were compelled to go and work in South Africa to earn money on gold and diamond mines.

In the 1980s there were half a million foreigners employed on the South African mines with the largest number emanating from Lesotho. As these migrant workers offered cheap labour to South Africa, having strong ties with their home country, not being entitled to pension, education and other services, leaving dependents at home, and existing in cheap lodgings, they contributed immensely to the prosperity of South Africa. Despite their remittances being used to support the agricultural sector in Lesotho, the migrant labour system ultimately caused its decay through removing able-bodied labour, causing disunion in families and in a short period ensuring that Lesotho became totally dependent on remittances from the gold mines.

These historical trends, compounded during the period of the apartheid regime, and its geographic position, have meant that Lesotho has had a long relationship of dependency on South Africa. The psychological dimension of this became starkly apparent in 1998 when South African troops within a SADC-led force, was seen to "invade" Lesotho after a call for assistance from the government after a coup d'état. The destruction of Maseru was in many ways a symbol of the resistance to South African dominance.

Livelihoods within a wider Southern African context

⁵ World Bank, 2001, p1.

Resource allocation from both economic earnings and government expenditure is heavily skewed towards urban people. The Human Development Profile Survey revealed that although mountain communities constitute 22 percent of Lesotho's households they receive only 11 percent of total cash income (FAO, 2000). The survey estimated that 54 percent of these rural people live below the poverty threshold and rely on food aid. Unemployment is considered a direct cause of rural poverty and female-headed households constitute about 40 percent of total poverty in the country (FAO, 2000). Current estimates are that 33 percent of children under the age of five are stunted and 15.8 percent are undernourished as a result of quantitative and qualitative food shortages (Mphahlele et al, 2002).

A long-term review of livelihoods in Lesotho corroborates that people feel "livelihoods in Lesotho are increasingly threatened by drought or irregular rainfall; by other climatic hazards", regardless of whether climatic variation is actually increasing (Turner, 2001). Basotho have always faced challenges of erratic climate and fluctuating production levels but appear to be coping less well than in the past (CARE, 2003). It has been almost fifty years since most Basotho can ensure household livelihood security through farming (Abbot, 2003). Particularly vulnerable groups in Lesotho include:

- Elderly-headed households living alone or without a spouse;
- Female headed households, particularly those living below the poverty threshold;
- Orphans living in households with a high dependency ratios;
- HIV/AIDS victims and affected households.

In response to a request from DFID, CARE-Lesotho instigated a multi-disciplinary review of the underlying causes of vulnerability in Lesotho and to developed a programme to assist in livelihood recovery in the worst affected areas. This team differentiated between the most immediate and short-term needs of the food crisis, which severely affected Lesotho between 2001 and 2003, and the longer-term requirements of improving the capacity of resource poor households and communities to improve their food and livelihood security. The CARE review identified the underlying causes of vulnerability as:

- Loss of household income due to retrenchment and reduced employment (most notably South African employment);
- Reduced purchasing power due to much higher costs of food and inputs;
- Increasing household expenditure on items associated with long term illness and death (highly linked with HIV/AIDS);
- Reduced land planted due to heavy rainfall, reduced use of inputs and chronic illness;
- Government policies on subsidizing inputs which encourage farming households to delay their planting to wait for inputs (which often arrive late);
- Poor agricultural practices that result in low productivity (see Abbot, 2003).

Many of the underlying causes of vulnerability range beyond the direct control or influence of Lesotho. These causes include climate, supra-national policies and processes, particularly macro-economic and social ties between Lesotho and South Africa. For example, Sechaba Consultants have shown that migrant labour employment declined by about 11 percent between 1993 and 1999 while real gross earnings fell by 1.4 percent per annum in the same period (2000). The devaluation of the South African Rand up to September 2003 has severely inflated food and transport prices. This has meant food has been available but due to pricing is beyond the reach of many households.

Thus the sharply declining employment opportunities and rising staple food prices have adversely affected household resilience to cope with the shock of declining food availability

and access. Households already experiencing or extremely vulnerable to livelihood insecurity are now routinely employing what used to be coping strategies, such as beer brewing, as their livelihood strategies. A recent report released by the Lesotho Vulnerability assessment Committee indicated that approximately 160,000 people, or nine percent of the rural population, required emergency food assistance at the end of 2002, a figure which was expected to increase to approximately 600,000 people, or 33 percent of the rural population in January 2003 (VAC, 2002). Like other Southern African nations, recent food security shocks must be understood in the context of the longer-term deterioration of agriculture combined with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, (the country has the world's fourth highest prevalence rate) which has particularly impacted Lesotho households.

The HIV/AIDS epidemic is beginning to heavily impact on Basotho livelihoods with reduced labour for planting and farming but crucially increased expenditure on medical and funeral bills, diverting household expenditure from productive activities (see Mphale et al, 2002; Turner, 2003). It is important to note that the dependence on South African mine remittances ultimately proved to be a double weight around Lesotho's neck: the source of household capital accumulation dried up and the retrenched miners returned with the HI-virus. The system of migrant labour involved long-term absence of men from their family homes, which promoted temporary marriages and sexual relationships. Access to cash income, through wages that normally remained the prerogative of men, enabled them to pay for sex while they were away. This ultimately led to high prevalence rates amongst migrant workers. The result is that migration has contributed to the spread of the virus through the breakdown of cultural and religious values such as fidelity and no-sex-before-marriage (Mphale et al, 2002). Another result of the epidemic is that there are a high number of orphan headed households in Lesotho: a recent UNICEF study estimated that 15 percent of school children are without both parents or their mothers (Abbot, 2003).

The economic crisis in Lesotho due to massive retrenchments in the 1990s, which is being steadily compounded by the AIDS epidemic, has led to high levels of school dropouts and a boom in commercial sex by youth who migrate from the rural areas to places where they can find clients (Mphale et al, 2003). These include urban and tourism centres such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Project area. These developments are some of the indicators of the historical dependence of Lesotho's economy on remittances and the spectrum of social problems triggered by the collapse of this source of earnings. Despite their contribution to GNP over the years, the situation is exacerbated by lack of a coherent social policy targeting miners, and poor welfare services in the country.

Thus Lesotho households can no longer rely on the livelihood strategy which used to be common, whereby young men would work in the mines for a period of years, financed a family and accumulate agricultural and other resources back in the village, and then returned home to work in agriculture and consolidate their position in the community (CARE, 2003). As a result of these multiple impacts, livelihood strategies in Lesotho have undergone a variety of changes in recent years. CARE-Lesotho hypothesises that the following changes will likely occur:

- People are being forced to change their livelihood strategies due to unemployment, sickness and death in their families;
- Retrenchment and HIV/AIDS threaten both short-term food security and long-term accumulation (houses, land, livestock etc).
- With the fall in male wage employment households need to engage in a larger number of less productive livelihood strategies.

- Increased male unemployment and increased female employment in the garment industry are changing the households' income streams with implications for use of income, decision-making and community involvement.
- The younger generation is less interested in agriculture than older/previous generations.

There are also new opportunities, particularly for female employment in garment factories (CARE, 2003). Employment in the rapidly expanding urban manufacturing sector is becoming an important option in Lesotho although, unlike migrant employment in South Africa, this sector has absorbed more women than men and is not so clearly helping households accumulate agrarian assets. The impressive, though uneven, growth of this sector over the last ten years has been a major trend for Basotho livelihoods.

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project

The mountains in Lesotho form Southern Africa's most important watershed, which is why one of the world's largest and most complex engineering projects is taking place in one of its most impoverished regions. The billion-dollar Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) involves the construction of a series of tunnels and dams to take water from Lesotho's Senqu/Orange River to South Africa's industrial heartland, Gauteng province (Panos, 2003). It is one of the world's largest infrastructure projects under construction today. The project comprises five proposed dams, 200 kilometers of tunnels blasted through the Maluti Mountains, and a 72-megawatt hydropower plant that will supply power to Lesotho. In return for its precious resource, Lesotho receives royalties from the sale of its water, earning about US\$44 million annually (October 2001), and some hydroelectric power that enables it to be self-sufficient in electricity.

A brief history

South Africa's interests in Lesotho's Highlands' waters resulted in two water export feasibility studies in the 1950s and 1960s (Poivey, 1996). Both failed because agreement could not be reached between the two governments on payment for water exports. However, a feasibility study in 1979 was more positive about a major project, recommending a 70cm/second water transfer scheme, as well as a hydropower generation component, reflecting Lesotho's desire to replace electricity imports with locally produced energy. The final feasibility study finalised in 1983 concluded that there were no unsolvable environmental, socio-economic or legal difficulties and that a project should be developed.

On the 24th of October 1986, an agreement between the two countries to proceed with the implementation of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project was signed. The Treaty covered the rights and obligations of each party and laid down the quantities of water to be delivered, the cost sharing provisions, and the scope and calculation of payments for the water. It provided that South Africa would be responsible for all the costs of the LHWP related to the delivery of water to South Africa, covering the cost of implementing, operating and maintaining the scheme. In addition, South Africa would provide loan guarantees if required by lenders. Thus, Lesotho has virtually no financial obligation for the water transfer component of the project. The Treaty also provided that South Africa would pay Lesotho the equivalent of \$60 million (at 1983 prices) a year in water royalties. The royalty would be a net benefit to Lesotho as the cost of exporting the water would be paid in full by South Africa.

Construction began in 1986 with the first dam, Katse, delivering water in 1998. Mohale, the second dam, is currently in the final phases of construction. The entire project is expected to cost U.S. \$8 billion by the time of its completion in 2020. Current donors and lenders include the World Bank, Development Bank of South Africa, African Development Bank, the European Development Fund, various export credit agencies, and European commercial banks (see Byers, 2002).

The signing of the LHWP Treaty in 1986 between Lesotho and the apartheid government of South Africa triggered mixed feelings. In Lesotho and several other countries in the region, the project was seen as a sell-out that compromised the struggles of the liberation movements fighting against racial oppression, tantamount to Lesotho becoming a province of South Africa (Keketso, 2003). Additional objections grew more vociferous during project implementation. These came especially from the communities affected, where people were removed from their original homes or their pastoral and agricultural lands that were submerged by the immense water reservoir that now covers valleys and steep slopes of the Maluti Mountains.

An interesting perspective on compensation has been offered by Thabane who has presented testimonies of the people of Molika-liko in which they related their experiences of being displaced from their villages to make way for the construction of the Mohale dam (2000). In these testimonies, members of this community speak of the fears, anxieties, insecurities and stresses that gripped them as they prepared to leave for new areas; of the material and spiritual losses that they incurred in making way for dam and of the senselessness of authorities' attempts to compensate them. A central theme of the paper was the effects of uprooting a community from its familiar social and natural environment, dispersing and resettling them in new, unknown and hostile social environments, with the key consequences of destroying the community's social networks and the annulment of all the 'tricks' of survival accumulated over long periods of time.

Critics of the controversial project, including the International Rivers Network, point to a number of problems that include the dramatic changes of the formerly remote mountain communities of the Lesotho Highlands; the moving of 20,000 people into the project region; the introduction of AIDS by the work force; and significant increases in prostitution and alcoholism (2003). According to the Oslo-based Association for International Water and Forest Studies (FIVAS), the project would continue to seriously damage Lesotho's environment as "the logic behind this project is to supply water for growing industry in South Africa, not for development in Lesotho" (Poivey, 1996). This claim is underpinned by limited surveys on how the region's ecology and climate would be affected, particularly the impact on environmental balance and food security. Environmental concerns include the loss of thousands of hectares of arable or grazing land, downstream reductions in wetlands habitat, less water available downstream for people and wildlife, reductions in fisheries, and cessation of flooding (see IRNLC 2003). This is despite stipulations in the 1986 treaty, which recognised the challenge to ensure integrity of the environment and maintain the social well being of the affected communities. As articulated in article 15 of the treaty: "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 the people and communities immediately affected by the project."

Investors into the project and the Lesotho government believe that these challenges are being met and have justified the trade-offs. According to the World Bank, the LHWP not only provides water to South Africa's water-short economic heartland, which essentially is the economic powerhouse of the region, but also ensures that critically needed revenues accrue to the small mountain kingdom of Lesotho. The World Bank country director for Lesotho and

South Africa claims "the Lesotho Highlands Water Project provides the only source of development for Lesotho," (World Bank 2003). The Bank believes that the project represents the lowest cost alternative for water supply to the Gauteng Province and is an excellent example of regional collaboration for mutual benefit, achieving "truly 'win-win' solutions to urgent issues facing both countries" (World Bank 2003). Indeed, the LHWP's environmental and social services group argue "people love to attack big dams, but water is Lesotho's only natural resource. It's cash. It's business. This project is the only way to keep this country alive" (Grunwald, 2002). The LHWP has had an undeniably profound impact on Lesotho's economy. In 1998 it accounted for 13.6 percent of Lesotho's GDP. Royalties from the sale of water and project-related customs dues make up 27.8 percent of all government revenue.

At the opening of the LHWP in 1998, South African President Nelson Mandela articulated his support for the project, indicating that its importance derives from the benefits it brings to the citizens of both countries (Office of the President, 1998). The value was seen in the changes it would create in the lives of millions of poor people in South Africa and Lesotho through creating access to clean running water, by opening up remote areas through roads, communication services and electricity supply, through feeding the local economy through the skills gained in construction and which were expanded by the continued training offered to those directly affected by the project, and through the income from the royalties to fund rural development all over Lesotho. Organisations were set up to guarantee the delivery of these benefits to a wide range of Basotho people. For example, the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) was established as the semi-governmental organisation responsible for resettlement and compensation issues, environmental protection, overall construction management, the management of royalties, the generation of hydroelectric power for Lesotho, and the promotion of sustainable development in the highlands.

The reality is that the LHWP has had a mixed socio-economic impact for Lesotho. For example, it has diverted 40 percent of the Orange River's flow, transformed the ecology of its valleys and wiped out nearby medicinal plants. But it also set aside two nature reserves, established the first botanical garden devoted to "Afro-alpine flora" and spent \$2 million to save the endangered Maloti minnow (Grunwald, 2002). Similarly, the project had several development failures -- a recycling plant that sits idle, a soccer field washed away by a storm, a sanitation project doomed by rumours of snakes lurking in toilets, but it succeeded in forming grazing cooperatives and promoting higher-value crops.

However, there are serious questions about the overall benefit for the poor and poverty alleviation in Lesotho. The country still has one of the top ten greatest income disparities in the world, and household income figures for the LHWP northeastern mountain region fell 65 percent faster than the national average during the LHWP's initial years. The Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue Fund (LHWRF) is intended to distribute the project's royalties to the nation's poorest. Instead, the World Bank has already been forced to restructure the LHWRF in part because corrupt local politicians were using the money to reward supporters of the ruling party.

Effects of large dams

Large dams are generally planned to provide water to cities and industries and not the rural populations in their vicinity. It is argued that they fail to meet the needs of the communities, resulting in great financial losses and increased poverty for the people.

In Lesotho there is a crushing contradiction between the transfer of mammoth amounts of water to South Africa while the Lesotho capital and lowlands are often zones of real water

scarcity. In the current budget speech the Minister of Finance stated that "our water demand threatens to surpass available installed supply capacity, largely as a result of rising demand in urban centres by industry" and the level of dams was to be raised.⁶ When it is fully developed the LHWP will transfer the equivalent of one swimming pool full of water (about 70 kilolitres) every second to the industrial heartland of South Africa; and the vital watersheds and water resources of Lesotho would be dedicated to the export of this 'white gold'. Lesotho, landlocked and so heavily dependent on South Africa economically has become an exporter of its only natural resource and is rewarded on the basis of a formula in which South Africa pays for its usage. But as now there is, at times, a sharp contrast between the urgent water needs of the growing population and industrial base in Maseru and the commitment to export water.

At one level the Project is a colossal engineering achievement, the largest infrastructure project on the continent of Africa, at another it marks the absorption of Lesotho's resources into the powerful regional economy on unequal terms.

The project is redirecting river water from flowing south west to north; from an area of serious impoverishment to one of the richest urban conurbations in Africa. The terms and conditions of this exchange have been hotly debated as they were conceived and confirmed at a time when the country was formally independent but ruled under a military regime and there was, not surprisingly, little debate about the merits and terms of the treaty. The language of the treaty itself implies equality and due reward and compensation, but the engineering dominated discourse implied other priorities.

Dams in countries throughout the world have been regarded as exemplars of modernity and national achievement. In the United States during the depression the Tennessee Valley Authority was seen as an engineering achievement, as the saviour of the impoverished, and an important source of employment for the mass unemployed of the time. But large dams in the period since have raised very serious adverse criticisms both in relation to the destruction of natural habitat and for serious effects on the lives of the marginalized rural poor who are mainly affected. The water flowing through rivers in remote rural areas is generally appropriated for agricultural development benefiting more prosperous farmers, for industry seeking profits, or for urban conurbations which are the centres of commerce and industry, but which also draw in the rural impoverished to its slums.

Increasingly there is concern that large dams are seismologically unstable and pose serious danger to people downstream. There are also concerns that dams seriously interfere with the downstream river flow termed Instream Flow Requirement (IFR) which affects water quality, poses health risks, and undermines the access of farmers and people generally to water. There is also the destruction and displacement of wildlife, fauna and flora through destruction of riverine habitats and inundation; and some species may be destroyed lessening the world's biodiversity.

But most importantly the construction of large dams affects the rural poor in two significant ways; by reducing or eliminating the access of people to natural resources such as arable and grazing land and by forcefully displacing them from their homes and surroundings. Not all people are displaced; many (particularly older people) want to continue in the same area but without land or resources. Possibly more people are seriously affected by dams in these terms than actually displaced, although the focus is generally on those who have suffered the most.

⁶ Continuing to build Foundations for Sustainable Delivery of Services to the People - Budget speech to Parliament for the 2004/2005 Fiscal Year. Honourable Timothy T. Thahane - Minister of Finance and Development Planning, Maseru, Lesotho 16 February 2004.

It is ironic that the people affected and displaced generally suffer accentuated water poverty as the rivers they had previously been able to access have been swallowed up and the dams are often not directly accessible and have poorer quality water. Often these communities are forced to return to unpredictable and less consistent springs and other water sources away from the dam rather than enjoy reticulation and irrigation from the dam itself.

Although it has not been conclusively proven, there are persistent arguments among those affected that the local climate of the area is seriously affected by large dams with cold conditions, persistent mist, and unusual extremes of rainfall or drought.⁷

These considerations will be in the minds of the researchers who are tasked to specifically examine what of the effects above impact on women.

Theoretical approaches and gender dimensions

Displacement by dams involves a loss of resources, new settlements and very substantial issues of social justice and equity. This study provides a description of the effects of displacement, the conditions of resettlement, policies, and perspectives from the women themselves. The narratives of the women themselves have been recorded and analysed. It takes up the theoretical perspectives associated with impoverishment, social exclusion, and marginalisation to understand the extent to which these social processes are effectively reversed by the LHDA's intervention.

There are a variety of theoretical approaches adopted in research on the displacement of people and in resettlement of refugees and other peoples. There are a variety of research traditions; those of empirical studies, of anthropological research, of monitoring and evaluation, of finally of a new tradition of risk and reconstruction. These are the established traditions and new studies are now being launched in the form of critical studies and advocacy; of the kind of work which unapologetically takes up the perspective of those impoverished and displaced by dams and takes up critical appraisal of the powerful, state authorities and construction companies. These are embodied in a single person; Roy, who has made the transition from a novelist to a researcher and advocate for the dispossessed. Assertion of ownership of land, rivers, and all natural resources by the state and powerful to build dams leads to dispossession and poverty.

They're a brazen means of taking water, land and irrigation away from the poor and gifting it to the rich. Their reservoirs displace huge populations of people, leaving them homeless and destitute (Roy, 1999).

The thriving NGOs which take up the task of advocacy for those displaced also generate a considerable volume of materials relating to displacement and critical appraisal of dam administration.

The various research and publication currents are virtually mutually exclusive; there has been little interaction between dam critics and the evaluation reports of consultants from the World Bank and other international agencies. The former's material is readily available in websites, periodicals and books; the latter's material appears to be virtually inaccessible in the filing cabinets of administrators except for the most persistent of researchers who can engage in the

⁷ Persistent statements on these lines about the affect on local climate have been made both by those affected by the Inanda dam outside Durban and by those affected by the LHWP in Lesotho.

prolonged diplomacy necessary to get access. Unfortunately transparency and open access to information is not a custom within dam administration.⁸

Possibly the most common perspective taken up is that of risk and reconstruction in which risks are assessed and policies proposed in mitigation of the inevitable loss of land, housing, and resources generally. His work is based on the notion that loss of resources is inevitable but should not lead to underdevelopment. In his words:

Development will continue, however, to require changes in land use and water use and thus make various degrees of population relocation at times unavoidable. Yet, this does not mean that the inequitable distribution of development's gains and pains is itself inevitable, or ethically justified. Such inequity is, in fact, profoundly contrary to the proclaimed goals of induced development (Cernca, 2000).

Since impoverishment is contrary to development another course is possible. From this perspective the inevitable impoverishment involved in displacement, the loss of land and commons, should not lead to permanent destitution:

mass impoverishment itself is not a necessary outcome and therefore should not be tolerated as inexorable. There are many ways to reduce displacement's hazards and adverse socioeconomic effects (Cernca, 2000).

Despite this shift from analysis to more enlightened policies, the risk analysis approach does seem to raise the idea notion that there are easy alternatives to the devastation visited on many communities displaced or affected to some degree or other by dam construction. This perspective assumes that land scarce, often over-populated, regions can provide land for the landless. As the numerous case studies (and this study itself) indicate, resettlement programs which genuinely meet the promise of reconstruction are rare indeed.⁹ The danger of the risk analysis approach is that the quantifying of risk leads to the notion that there are simple and readily available alternatives i.e. that the dam construction should proceed on the basis of available solutions to the social problems of 'development'. It raises the idea that dam development and social reconstruction are essentially rational and logical processes which can be administered by a reasonable bureaucracy.

There are indeed risks involved in the building of dams; those at the civil engineering processes, of miscalculation of geological structure, of construction costs running over budget, etc. These risks are typical of engineering construction projects and appear manageable (even if large projects routinely run beyond their estimates). The risks involved in the overall management of projects, the interaction between state and multinational companies prior to tendering decisions, the plans for and results of resettlement, in short the 'big picture' of dam construction, seem to be stubbornly beyond the range of rational calculation. Hazard at this level is compounded; with social and political factors overwhelming the arithmetic of risk.

These elements of uncertainty appear to be too large to factor into risk analysis as these processes are so vulnerable that they are largely excluded from the tables of logical frameworks as are 'Acts of God'. Alternatively these are too embarrassing to clients to raise even in the formal logging of elements of risk. Yet these are some of the most established certainties; where the powerful agents of multinational companies seeking guaranteed contracts sit down with politicians seeking election funds and top officials who compare their

⁸ This is a point evidenced strongly in the final report of the World Commission on Dams.

⁹ In an admittedly not exhaustive review of the literature, no examples of full reconstruction and development were located.

salaries unfavourably with World Bank officials it would be surprising if there was not collusion and little attention to the needs of the rural poor.

The vulnerability of tendering (if indeed tendering itself takes place) to bribery, state corruption and mal-administration, under the table agreements, payoffs to politicians and officials, 'land for land' policies which are not remotely possible, unplanned forced removals, and privileged consortia is not to be found in these tables. Despite this many of these elements bear the greatest certainty; that the resettled are impoverished, that politicians and officials demand bribes, that multinational companies offer bribes, and that the benefits of dam construction do not fall to those affected.

Risk and reconstruction analysis does have a narrow focus on the rational ordering of the lives of the displaced, but it does have the advantage of classifying the various elements in loss of resources and social dislocation which are inherent in the relocation processes. Cernea provides a useful list of social problems arising and the corresponding reconstructive response:

- (a) from landlessness to land-based resettlement;
- (b) from joblessness to reemployment;
- (c) from homelessness to house reconstruction;
- (d) from marginalization to social inclusion;
- (e) from increased morbidity to improved health care;
- (f) from food insecurity to adequate nutrition;
- (g) from loss of access to restoration of community assets and services; and
- (h) from social disarticulation to networks and community rebuilding.

The idea is that these reconstruction principles should be built into resettlement policies to give a result which will either mitigate the effects listed above or provide a complete solution and eventually result in improved lives for those resettled.

The primary objective of any induced involuntary resettlement process should be to prevent impoverishment and to reconstruct and improve the livelihood of resettlers (Cernea, 2000).

But such is the certainty of impoverishment in the loss of resources either from dams or from political violence that Voutira and Harrell-Bond place the analysis of impoverishment as the general method to refugee and displacement studies. Impoverishment is the "consequence of virtually all types of displacement" and is the "common denominator" in drawing together the experience of refugees and those displaced from dams. Despite this it is common promise within resettlement plans not only to counteract the phenomenon of impoverishment but even for lives to improve.¹⁰

A method sensitive to gender

One of the most important tasks in developing an appropriate methodology has been identifying the specific gender dimensions in resettlement. Most of the writing on the subject, with some notable exceptions, has not identified specifically gender issues within the processes of loss of natural resources and displacement and have concentrated mainly on the dissatisfaction of those resettled and their relative impoverishment.

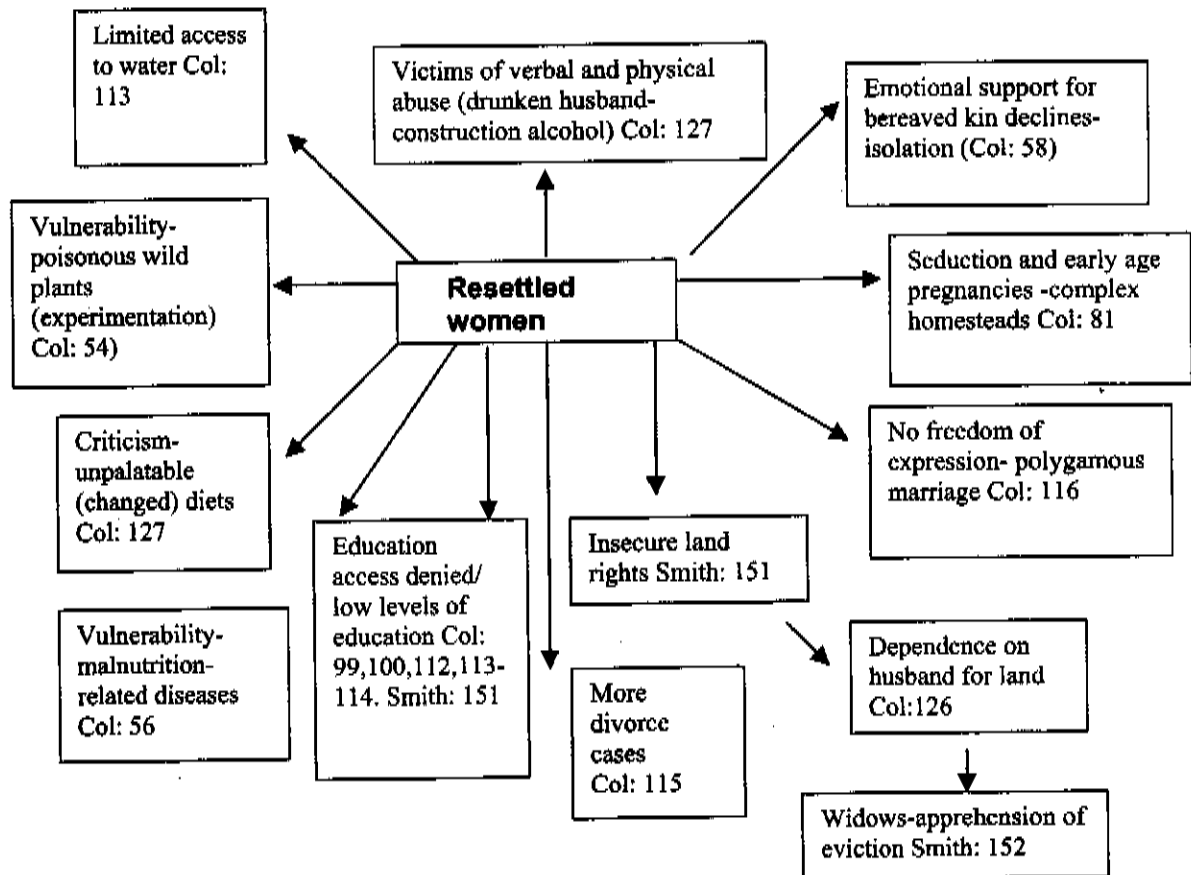
¹⁰ See Environmental Impact Assessment, 1997:2.

Despite this there is a good range of literature on comparative experience on the displacement of peoples from dam areas ranging from the experiences of the people in Kariba by Colson to case studies of very controversial dam construction in India, Brazil and other third world countries.

The question for this report is what work has been gender sensitive and provides some insight into the particular effects on gender relations. Although there has not been a study gender based study of resettlement before this report, there have been excellent general studies which have deep insights into the effect on gender relations by dam displacement. A comprehensive literature review by Mehta (2002) concludes that gender has not been a prominent feature of the social scientific research into resettlement.

Colson identifies factors which lead to social stress to tensions between genders such as a breakdown in the pre-existing social arrangements: daughters elope, households break up, and there is a higher level of litigation. These issues and those also identified by Indra are graphed below:

Figure 2: The social effects of resettlement on women



Sources: Colson (1971) and Smith (1999).

The above diagram compiled from two studies, Colson (1971) of the Gwembe Tonga displaced from Kariba dam area, and Smith (1999) of political migrants in the Kagera Region of Tanzania, provide some mapping of the social dislocation associated with displacement on women.¹¹ These are overwhelmingly negative. Land rights are either more insecure or dependence on the husband is increased and marriage itself does not guarantee access to resources as there are more divorces and cases of widows being 'married off' to unsuitable partners. In relation to maintaining the household basic needs are more difficult to meet; access to water is limited and dietary changes are forced on people. In both cases (and somewhat surprisingly) educational opportunities are more difficult to access for women and there are low levels of achievement.

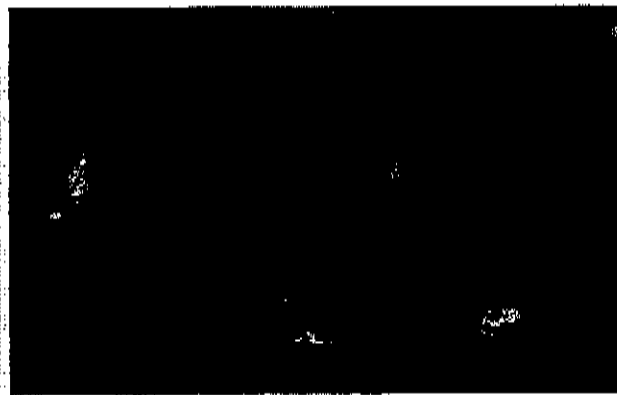
These are two rich case studies which provide some indications of particular effects on women. From a gender perspective there are certainly uneven effects of resettlement but whether displacement strengthens the pre-existing patriarchal order or leads to forms of social instability is often left open in research. Often it seems the patriarchal order is in decay, but this does not relieve women of the burden of domestic drudgery and rightlessness. Whatever

¹¹ This diagram was constructed by Bongsi Dube of the HSRC.

Figure 3: Wild vegetables, part of the highland people's diet



Rapa/rapeisi



Thepe



Leharaswana



Bobatsi

the conditions generally there is a 're-ordering of gender relations' Colson (1999, 26) but not on the basis of new equality but rather on previous experience and assumptions of all involved. With the possible exception of Chinese women displaced by dams who find employment in low wage factories (Mehta,2000,14), there is not significant evidence of any new livelihoods for women.

Women's issues range over a combination of three spheres: the domestic domain; participation in customary society through traditional rights/roles; and the influence and adherence to modern civil rights, such as constitutional rights and CEDAW.

Mehta's review does isolate some key elements of resettlement policy which bear directly on gender relations and particularly women's rights.

As men are treated as heads of households, compensation, either cash or land, is invariably awarded to men. Women are not considered to be farmers or house owners. Single women, widowed women are particularly vulnerable in this situation. Similarly, policy often gives land to major sons, but major daughters are excluded from such provisions (Mehta,2002:30).

In addition women are generally not regarded as economically active in their own right and any compensation for their unpaid labour is awarded to the head of the household, the men. "There is a significant gap in the ways in which the fruits of development are distributed and calculated" (Mehta,2002:4). She argues that for policies to be 'gender just' they need to provide a specific focus in policy and practice to women's needs and interests as (quoting Agarwal,1994:3) the household is not a "unit of congruent interests".

The working out of interests and needs during the process of displacement tends to assert greater male domination because of 'a marked lack of consultation with women' which tends to bring into the open what was previously half understood. This works not only to the disadvantage of the women themselves but to the family as a whole as the husbands did not always give close attention to family needs such as fuelwood and access to water with the authorities:

in many cases, the lack of consultation with women led to several unanticipated consequences for the overall family's well-being and health (Mehta,2002:8).

In summary social scientists have identified a number of factors relating to social dislocation which are disadvantaging women and (although there is not space for complete coverage of all the issues) little betterment. The arithmetic of compensation is undertaken with the male head of the household and women's needs and interests are not canvassed as consultation and participation is generally limited to decision-makers: men. This works out ultimately to the disadvantage of the family and the men who take responsibility for their family's wellbeing.

Methodology

The method adopted has aimed to capture to the greatest possible extent the voices of women who have been affected by the LHWP, to chronicle their personal lives in short biographies, and to survey their conditions both before and after displacement. In addition, from observation and interviews, detailed statistics have been accumulated on demographics, the ability of households and communities to access their basic needs, relations with host

communities, economic activities, access to health facilities, and the range of domestic facilities.

An essential aspect of the methodology has been the access to the documents around the inception, planning and implementation of the LHWP. This has not been easy as there is, at times, a defensive attitude within the LHDA, proprietary attitudes to commissioned work, and at the time of the study the library was being moved and documents were very difficult to access. In addition commercial photocopying facilities in Maseru were under strain. There is an immense amount of documents associated with the LHWP both in Lesotho and South Africa, of consultants reports on the topography, environment, land use, social conditions, etc. Most of these consultants reports not easily available, particularly to Lesotho citizens. Many also have been housed within the library of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry in South Africa.

Associated with these reports are the maps necessary to understanding terrain, location of villages and movement of people. In addition to this large stock of documentation associated with the planning and operation of the LHWP there is a considerable corpus of literature associated with NGOs and campaigning bodies which concentrate on the often devastating effects of dams on the lives of the displaced, and the wider impact on the national and political conditions in the affected countries. In itself this constitutes an extensive literature in printed publications and websites.

The inception of the LHWP has also excited a volume of academic research largely among Lesotho graduates on the social impact of the dam. These theses have been submitted largely at the National University of Lesotho, but also in the United States and South Africa. Many have some documentary value, involve small-scale surveys, but largely and unfortunately do not capture the narratives of the people most affected. Some, however, are informed by theory and rigorous method and make an important assessment of the political and social processes by Lesotho citizens themselves.

There is in addition to the above publications in international and South African journals and a considerable documentation in engineering publications.

All the documentation mentioned has been of some merit in understanding the overall conditions of the LHWP but it has been difficult to trace gender related issues; this has been almost exclusive the task of the field work.

All of this documentation has been reviewed but much is of varying quality and does not necessarily have distinguish gender as an analytical factor. The impression that is created through all the work undertaken is that the interviews and surveys have centred around male respondents as the heads of households and as the owners of the resources which are depleted or lost. The research has aimed, however, to go well beyond the disaggregation of data on a gender basis (useful though this may be) to understanding the gender dimensions of loss of natural resources, displacement, and reconstruction of households.

Interviews have been conducted with the managers of the LHWP where possible, with concerned organisations, but mostly with the displaced communities themselves. Field work has been undertaken by Lesotho researchers and has concentrated on focus groups with displaced women, the entire transcription of recordings and their capture for detailed analysis. This material has been compiled together with previous records of community responses to give the most comprehensive database of all responses by women both before and after dam construction and impounding.

In addition biographical interviews have been conducted to get sense of variety of issues impacting on their lives and how they have been engaged in the reconstruction of their households.

Most of all the research has aimed to capture women's voices to represent to themselves, to the people of Lesotho and South Africa, and to international organisations the pressing issues as they see them.

Altogether nine focus groups and individual interviews were conducted with women either displaced or seriously affected by the LHWP. Data has been gathered systematically on the 69 persons who either participated in these group discussions or were individually interviewed. The primary data of age, household size, original village, present location, as well as secondary data such as access to services, integration into receiving communities, etc, has been entered and made available for analysis.

The group discussions and individual interviews were transcribed *in toto* and analysed by using appropriate software to make cross-sections of issues and themes through the many transcriptions and notes.

The researchers have worked to gather all interviews in articles, theses and other written records to keep a continuous record over time from the various phases of dam construction and displacement of people. Reference has been made to Thoahlane (1991), Munnick (1994), Thabane (2000), and to the excellent Panos website.

Although the research method has had a primary emphasis on qualitative methods to increase the range of contact with displaced and affected people and to record their voice on key issues and themes that they regard as critically important, there has also been a concerted effort to capture key data on household conditions of life, access to services, and to the general environment of the new communities.

It can be noted that although there have been a number of studies of developments in Maseru which is comparatively accessible from the capital, Maseru, there has not been any recent studies of the social conditions in Katse. In this project strong emphasis has been put capturing perceptions and data on displacement and resettlement from dams as a whole, and there has been good material gathered on this more remote location (the most recent documentation for some time).

The participants

The focus groups and interviews covered a wide range of women who had been displaced or severely affected by the development of the LHWP, ranging from two women interviewed individually at a very small resettlement in the approach to Maseru Dam and to the large focus group in Bokong adjacent to Katse where the focus group developed rapidly into a small community meeting. The researchers have concentrated on reaching women who were both resettled in the depths of urban society, as in the case of Ha Thetsane near the industrial area of Maseru, and those in the remotest rural locations.

Table 3: Settlements of participants and interviewees

	Frequency	Percent
Makhoakhoeng	4	5.8
Ha Ntsi Masapong	6	8.7
Ha Makhalanyane	7	10.1
Ha Seoehlana	10	14.5
Ha Thetsane	6	8.7
Likalaneng	8	11.6
Ha Mohale	4	5.8
Ha Moloi	2	2.9
Bokong Ha Khenene	17	24.6
Mapeleng	5	7.2
Total	69	100.0

The interviewees and participants in the research focus groups came in roughly equal proportions from the more accessible lowlands and more difficult to reach highlands.

Table 4: Location by regions

	Frequency	Percent
Lowlands	27	39.1
Foothills	6	8.7
Highlands	36	52.2
Total	69	100

These participants were affected or displaced from both the Katse and Mohale dams; and vigorous efforts were made to identify and include those affected and displaced from the Katse dam, a group which has been rather neglected in current research.

Table 5: Participants by dam

	Frequency	Percent
Katse	22	31.9
Mohale	47	68.1
Total	69	100.0

In addition there has been considerable effort to recording the views of women displaced or affected by both dams. Unfortunately recent research has concentrated almost exclusively on the social dynamics around Mohale while the longer term effects of the Katse dam and infrastructure have hardly been reported in recent years. The people of communities around Katse feel relatively neglected as it seems as though the church action group which has championed the interests of the Katse people has gone into decline.

Because of the difficulties of accessing Katse there are unfortunately fewer women involved in interviews and focus groups, but large groups have participated in the discussions and certainly there has been a good record of their views.

Although it was not possible to get the details of all women participants, the ages of those woman participants who responded ranged from the youngest at 19 to the oldest at 72 years old.

Table 6: Ages of women participants

	Frequency	Percent
19-34	20	46.5
35-49	10	23.3
50-65	9	20.9
above 65	4	9.3
Total	43	100.0

A number of the women felt that there could be a tendency for younger women to move down to the lowlands in the expectation of getting employment in the garment factories, while older women persuaded their husbands to remain in the highlands. The data is not conclusive on this matter, but there is some indication that this might generally have been the case.

Table 7: Ages of those forced to relocate

	19-34	35-49	50-65	>65	
Lowlands	10	2	5	2	19
Foothills	2		1	1	4
Highlands		3	2		5
Total	12	5	8	3	28

Older and young women have participated in the research activities, with the ages of participants ranging from 19 to 73 years. These women are at the centre of their families, caring for the children, a responsibility ranging from 1 to 12. Among the larger families women typically had to sit and think how many children they were caring for as better-off grandmothers were often taking responsibility for a number of children who were staying with them.

Table 8: Number of children

No of children	Frequency	Percent
0	2	5.9
1	5	14.7
2	4	11.8
3	8	23.5
4	6	17.6
5	2	5.9
6	1	2.9
7	5	14.7
12	1	2.9
Total	34	100

Of the women for whom information is available the largest group (23.5%) had 3 children; 5.9% had no dependents as children, and a reasonably large number (5) had 7 dependents as children.

Since there was a fairly high level of participants in the research the demographic information generated from the sample can be considered to be representative of a significant proportion of the women affected or displaced by the dams.

Dispossession, powerlessness and protest

Although the women, individually interviewed or who participated in focus group discussions, felt they had just come through a period of great trauma and psychological dislocation they were prepared to share their ideas and feelings with the researchers. The focus groups were often the occasion for humorous exchanges and good-natured teasing as those interviewed did not feel inferior to the researchers.

In one group discussion a widow wearing mourning cloth, *thapo*, was reluctant to participate and declined to divulge her demographic information as, according to Sesotho custom, people in such attire should not interact with others. But her compatriots encouraged and teased her into interacting.¹² In another group the women teased a granny who could not immediately say how many children she was looking after. On one occasion when asked about culture and marriage, a respondent laughingly excused herself from replying by saying: "I wedded a ghost at night!"¹³ The exchanges involved in the field work were often lively, exchanging nostalgic reminiscences of idyllic village life, demanding to know what had happened to some aspect of compensation, or decrying changing social conditions. The researchers were welcomed for wanting to record the conditions of their life, but at times, despite giving full cooperation, there was also a pointed sense of irony from respondents in relation to their own conditions.

What you are doing is a wise act. You come here to collect some information, which when you disclose down there you become paid. This money goes to your pocket and I gain nothing myself. After you have collected this history you are paid, but me who has been narrating this history to you is left penniless.¹⁴

By the very nature of the displacement the households affected by the dams have been dispossessed of resources, disoriented by change, and placed under conditions of stress. This has led to feelings of powerlessness and social disorganisation.

But in addition to such general conditions and feelings there is also the very evident critical evaluation of promises and protest against conditions. Individuals such as Anna Moepi, the unidentified woman pictured addressing the Ombudsman, and a number of other individuals have emerged to champion the cause of the displaced and allies have also taken up the cause of compensation and social justice. Others do not go to international conferences or have the confidence to address the Ombudsman but they say much the same things, speaking for themselves, providing voice to experience. As the Lesotho saying is '*bohloko ba seta bo utluoa ke monga sona*' (the pain of a tight shoe is felt by the person wearing it and not anyone else).

¹² Focus group 4.

¹³ Focus group 7.

¹⁴ PANOS Interview 26, Mampaleng'.

The interaction between displaced communities and local civil organisations such as TRC has had public results in the interests of the displaced. Through public exposure of the issues there has been a review of conditions for the people from Mohale who have greater access to organisational support, the press, and the LHDA. Unfortunately the issues faced by the people of Katse have not had the same exposure; the matter is not only whether the LHDA has met the criteria of the compensation policy in each case, but whether the full range of support available to the state and the LHDA is being made accessible to the people.

Acceptance or resentment?

There are two features associated with displacement from dams; the first is the generalised loss of resources and the impoverishment of these communities and the second is the marginalisation of people who are moved from one region to another losing their place and not readily being accepted in the new communities.

The first is a general theme running through the entire review, the second is crucially related to the relationships between resettled and 'host' communities; the latter often also poor and short of land and other resources. The inevitable sharing of existing resources, including public facilities such as schools and clinics, land for houses and gardens, and competition for jobs, can bring about a state of tension between 'hosts' and resettled. Often the 'host' communities are neither informed of, nor provide consent to, the movement of people into their areas and can be resentful or even hostile. Generally the 'hosts' are not directly involved in the arrangements to receive resettled people as these are made by different levels of government and may find out about their new neighbours only when the relocation is taking place.

Table 9: Acceptance by host community

	Frequency	Percent
Well integrated now	3	4.3
Partially integrated	10	14.5
Happy about reception	12	17.4
Started own village	6	8.7
Affected not displaced	29	42.0
Displaced locally	9	13.0
Total	69	100.0

Even in the best of circumstances, displaced people are not readily accepted by the 'hosts', who are inevitably required to make some adjustments. There are many degrees of acceptance by host communities; in the table above a fairly large proportion were either not displaced, were displaced locally without having any difficulties in acceptance, or were happily received by the 'host' community. This is the large majority of cases. In other communities there is a form of local segregation; the resettled people make their own lives parallel to the existing host with little conflict between the two because there is relatively little interaction. In other communities the people are well integrated after a period of conflict or are partially integrated with remaining point of friction and resentment.

Curiously for people who feel they have lost so much, the 'host' community may regard the displaced as state beneficiaries and even somewhat privileged. In the new individualism associated with the towns they are, at times, regarded as the 'other' and not welcome.

People here do not assist each other and/or us. This is because of the propaganda circulated by the project staff, that they give us money monthly. So even people who could help us do not because of this. Sometimes we even feel that people here do not like us.¹⁵

The most public display of antagonism between a host community and the resettled came to head in Makhoakhoeng, a suburb of Maseru. The resettled are a tight-knit community and have renamed the area Likalaneng in memory of the place from which they were removed. The resentment of the host community at not being informed about the move and having to make way for the resettled (it appears that there was the loss of some fields to make way for the plots to be prepared) flared into a state of crisis over the issue of the burial of a resettled elder. The question of the burial of Anna Moepe's mother has, for instance, become something of an international cause as she relayed her grief to the World Commission on Dams. Moepe had been denied access to the local burial ground and, in protest, had buried her mother on a site belonging to the LHDA.

This year I was hit by death when my own mother died on the 4th April but we couldn't find a place to bury her so we finally took it upon ourselves to bury the body of my mother in the place of residence. I'm sad to tell you, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the 20th October (1999), the project authorities came to tell us we have to exhume the body of my mother. This is the saddest thing I've come across. They were all ready to exhume but my family refused. I'm not sure what is happening back home - I might find my mother is exhumed.

We have to point out that we don't have good relations with the host community. The excuse that LHDA put across was that they were going to exhume because of the bad relationship between the resettlers and the hostees, but that site belonged to LHDA (Moepe, 1999).

There was a considerable state of tension between the resettled and hosts for a while and many meetings to discuss the question of burial rights apparently because of the misconception by the LHDA that an urban community would regard a local cemetery as a municipal resource. Despite Makhoakhoeng being an urban community in Maseru, however, the people regard themselves as a social entity with a chief with communal ownership of land.

It appears that relations have subsequently improved as the women in the focus group reported:

We have since buried two of our deceased in the cemetery around here. The Member of Parliament from Makhoakhoeng intervened and we are now fully accepted by the people of this area. He came to us and said: 'We can see that you are a group without any problems, and you are Basotho like us; we had hoped that the High Lands Water Project personnel would introduce you to us and to our chief but that did not happen, we now welcome you ourselves.'¹⁶

Conflict between displaced and host communities often centres, as here, around such issues as access to schools, clinics, water facilities, roads, and even cemeteries. In Lesotho there is the advantage that a common heritage, customs and language can be called on during resettlement to unify troubled displaced people with disturbed hosts, but in some communities there has been considerable tension.

¹⁵ Focus group 3, Ha Makhalanyane.

¹⁶ Focus group 1: Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

'The life we left behind'

Under the harsh conditions of a life wrenched from stability, relative isolation and easy peasant support to a new world without certainty and customary exchange, the women tend to provide something of an idealised view of past village life.

Those who did not have fields practiced shared cropping, there were no poor or poorer in where we lived all people were equal and the same. Crop production was affordable because we used last year's crop as seedlings.¹⁷

But if there is idealisation there is also the capturing of a historic moment which is passing in possibly the most graphic and euphoric language in literature of Lesotho. In greatly evocative and spirited narrative the older women describe their past life as one full of elementary solidarity, friendship, dance and laughter.

The tense days just before the first rains is described as a kind of party, with many light-hearted games.

It would just be joy; it would just be joy. People would go *masokoaneng* (the "rain game", played by women and girls in which women from one village go to another to steal the *lesokoana* (stirring stick) from the chief's place, women from the 'host' village immediately pursue the thieves to recapture the *lesokoana*); sometimes people would leave in large numbers and go there and fetch *lesokoana* from there [to another village] and come here running with *lesokoana*, women and girls.

The men go to the plateaus. When the sun is standing (when there is drought) like this, when the sun is standing, the women go to *lesokoaneng* when the sun is standing (when there is drought) like this, when the sun is standing, the women go to *lesokoaneng* and the men climb the plateaus (to search for a male and female snake or monkey).¹⁸

When a child was born the whole village was involved, honouring the mother and celebrating, girl babies as welcome as boys.

Immediately after a new baby was born I would stand outside the house where the mother and her new baby were sleeping and joyfully ululate and shout to the other members of the village that if anyone needed a daughter-in-law she has just been born. '*tlohong le tlo nyala bo-'me ngoetsi ke ena, ea ikutloang a tlo hloma lehlaka*.' [crudely translated to mean Ladies come and propose marriage, there is a prospective daughter in law around. Anyone wishing to do so may come forth and place a reed]

That was so when the newborn baby was a girl. The traditional practice is that a reed is put at the crown of a rondavel housing a new born baby and its mother, one symbolising the birth of a girl and two for a boy.¹⁹

Others described the welcome given to the baby and the assistance to the mother when a child was born, all women in the village helped the mother drawing water and giving gifts of maize

¹⁷ Focus group 3, Ha Makhalanyane.

¹⁸ Panos interview No 10, Malebohang.

¹⁹ Focus group 2, Ha Ntsi.

meal and sorghum meal.²⁰ Others again mentioned that when a woman was sick all the women in the village nursed her.²¹

Most of all these was a sense of being at one with the natural order, making use of natural resources to make a largely self-sufficient life.

We live on grass. We cut grass, we weave, we help ourselves; we plant our food in the fields; you just plant peas, beans, potatoes in your field; you do as you like.²²

'M' as for us we used to yield a good maize crop. And it did it grow. We are not talking of upper Jordan but the lower Jordan. The fields yielded a good crop. This many bales *lisabusabu* (indicated with four fingers) could be put in the house! Really? Yes: maize, beans, harese.

What about green vegetables?

Ah, at this time we would be feeding cabbages to the cows.²³

For many of those displaced there were evident differences between town and villages but the memory of village life was as strong as ever.

In our village family life was pleasant because we grew up in it and got used to it. We lived as a family, we made work-parties for the harvesting of wheat, we ground meal by hand. We made dumplings and brewed beer for the men.²⁴

Work did not have the stern demands of modern contracts, people helped each other in big tasks and gathered in workparties which became something of a party at Ha Nthakhane.

We organized *matsema* (workparty); each one of the village women prepared food and brought it along to the work site to share with everyone else. Everyone participated with vigour and enthusiasm; we lent each other mealie meal out there...²⁵

Here is our position before the Lesotho Highlands Water project came. We were living in peace and harmony. Our life was a simple undisturbed life. Our mode of transport was ourselves - we were travelling on foot, also using donkeys and horses to go to the clinics and the shops.²⁶

Anna Moepe, the outspoken leader of the displaced, presents a view of the past as one of tranquility and peace:

Here is our position before the Lesotho Highlands Water project came. We were living in peace and harmony. Our life was a simple undisturbed life. Our mode of transport was ourselves - we were travelling on foot, also using donkeys and horses to go to the clinics and the shops (Moepe, 1999).

²⁰ Focus group 4, Ha Seoehlane.

²¹ Focus group 4, Ha Seoehlane.

²² Panos 10, 'Malebohang, Ha Lekhera.

²³ Focus group 5, Ha Thetsane. Cabbages are now imported in large quantities from South Africa.

²⁴ Focus group 5, Ha Thetsane.

²⁵ Focus group 2, Ha Ntsi.

²⁶ Anna Moepe, WCD statement.

Other women provide a down-to-earth appraisal of some of the harsher conditions of country life, with food and shelter derived largely from the natural environment and not paid for, but with anything beyond bare sufficiency hard to get and expensive.

Our problem in the past was that there were no roads coming here, so if one thought of making himself a toilet, it was a matter of carrying sheets of corrugated iron on the head for a long distance or hiring men to go and carry a ready made one on their shoulders for a long distance, which was very expensive.²⁷

Many also acknowledge that the world did not stand still in the more remote rural areas but that the processes of social decline were accelerated by the effects of the dams. They decry the rise in theft, particularly cattle rustling which has become a major impediment to rural production, and weep over what they see as rising promiscuity, abortions and fatherless children. Despite this even in the urban areas there are forms of solidarity bound around the ties to the village and amongst themselves.

The mutual support still prevails; we still assist each other. Like when there is a funeral we go to provide our support as a village. We do all until the funeral day and we also do the laundry.²⁸

The somewhat segregated existence of the displaced people in the towns has helped maintain the links to the old village and some form of mutual support, particularly where the vitality of village life has been reduced but still remains in existence.

People around here came from the same village and still work together and some are not so scattered but are in the other villages and during times of bereavement we go to the burial out there and those out there come down to commemorate the dead.²⁹

Some women are, however, grateful for the change which the dam brought forcefully brought about to them, they acknowledge that life in the town is different, but feel that there has been some improvement.

A choice is a choice; we chose to leave and honestly I personally do not yearn to go back. Life here is so much easier compared to how we used to live out there.³⁰

Another woman in the same community felt happy to move away altogether from the arduous conditions in the mountains.

I do not like having to live a difficult life, and for that reason I chose to move away from the mountains, I particularly disliked collecting firewood. Life in the mountain areas is strenuous; farming is a hands-on activity.³¹

Despite these expressions of choice, for most women there was not a concrete expression of opinion about the development of dams as a whole; this is regarded as such a colossal inevitability beyond their control and that of the Lesotho people. Opinion here was not offered; when invited, the women speak concretely about specific conditions and grievances and find it difficult to imagine any alternative; not even the one of going back to the old conditions.

²⁷ Panos 22, Mamookho, Ha Koporale.

²⁸ Focus group 7, Likalaneng.

²⁹ Interview with Matsolo, Ha Thetsane.

³⁰ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

³¹ Focus group 1: Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

'The life we lead'

The feeling of nostalgia and edification of past village life is strongest among those displaced; among many that remained in the mountains often with diminished resources, life is hard and the immediate past almost remote.

In interview after interview the women report how a rural life of simplicity and even of plenty was wrenched around leaving a void of uncertainty. The old life was to disappear irretrievably and the new one is wholly uncertain.

Here where I have built is a place where I have lived well. I was eating. I was ploughing. I was eating and getting full in the stomach. I was planting each and every single crop in the fields. I was getting wild vegetables that have been created by God on the ground, and I was being full in the stomach. Each and every single crop I was planting in my fields, and I was living comfortably in this land where we are being removed from today.

About this matter, we are perplexed as to what kind of life we are going to live in the place where we are being taken to...whether we shall continue to live the same life as we are living here.³²

In this case the interviewee settled in the highlands but without the land which would make the somewhat idealised life of the past possible. What was certain was that nothing would ever be the same and that the most unlikely outcome would be the recreation of the old conditions of life elsewhere.

The move from the traditional home to the new setting is fraught with difficulties, psychological trauma, and loss of control of assets. In the period of their vulnerability many report loss of their animals.

The women who moved to the towns mention the advantages of not having transport difficulties and having greater access to clinics and other facilities. For them there has been a particularly sharp experience of impoverishment through loss of their fields and gardens and through losing cattle either by being robbed or by not being able to provide for them.

Also, we have nowhere to seek part time employment because there are no fields at which to work. We grow vegetables in these small vegetable gardens, and our animals have been stolen.³³

Another woman describes a life of accomplishment in the mountains with crops of maize and cannabis watered by plenty of rain and an abundance of natural vegetation. All this, including the cattle were lost.

We sold wool, from sheep and goats and milk from cows, which was plenty because of the abundance of natural vegetation for grazing, and sometimes we sold the animals themselves including pigs and chicken. That is no longer possible here (Ha-Makhalanyane) because there is no grazing land. Many of our cows died on our arrival due to lack of grazing land.³⁴

³² Panos interview 12, Maseipati.

³³ Focus group 3: Ha Makhalanyane.

³⁴ Focus group 3: Ha Makhalanyane.

The disorientation of a new setting was deepened by the demoralisation of knowing that they losing every ability to maintain their mountain independence both materially and in spirit.

Those who remain in the mountains complain of isolation from social activities, neglect by the LHDA, unsolved problems, and unfulfilled promises. The feelings of disillusionment and hard times are particularly acute among the women of Bokong who are anguish about their situation; in other communities there is often sharp criticism of the LDHA, but some evidence of acceptance of an emerging new way of life, shorn though this is of ready possibilities.

Not only do the women of Bokong declare themselves impoverished, they also feel exhausted and unwell. Life appears to them to be an accelerating downward spiral of hard work, diminished possibilities, and a constant round of funerals. In this community which has had the closest contact with construction and the administrative centre of the Katse dam, the situation appears undoubtedly worse. Although the women did not mention the disease by name, the human destruction of the HIV/AIDS epidemic is only too clear.

There are multitudes of people dying. We are also suffering from nerves. We think very hard and we die very easily. Sometimes we bury two people in one day. You see one group of people assembled in one graveyard, but if you turn around you are likely to see another group in yet another graveyard. We are dying in large numbers.³⁵

Despite having access to a well organised and well equipped hospital nearby, these apparent benefits arising from the development of the dam are reduced by extreme poverty.

Sometimes even if a person could have been saved nothing can be done because he could not afford to pay the fees required by health centres.³⁶

The intrusion into the Katse area by hundreds of single young men as workseekers during the construction phase appears to have catastrophic effects on the young women in the area with the rise of prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted babies. Most of the construction teams have now left but the social and individual problems persist and are worsening.

A few still remain. But they have left us the burden of maintaining and supporting these infants. Now they are gone. Now these girls are no longer able to stop this promiscuous behaviour, they have been corrupted. Now they know contact with a man. We don't know where some of them went.³⁷

The economic vacuum opening after the frenzy of the construction phase has brought about a feeling of desperation among the young women abandoned by the men.

Now they even abort and throw the results of such abortions into latrines, some suffocate the children. We don't know where we stand now because they do not want to breastfeed these children, they just want to continue prostituting themselves non-stop.

Among the women of Mohale dam there are not such desperate conditions, although they voice their grievances vigorously and are sharply critical of the LHDA. For those staying in

³⁵ Chorus of women, Focus group 8, Bokong.

³⁶ Even one the World Bank studies feels that higher clinic fees were counterproductive to improving health.

³⁷ Older woman, Focus group 8, Bokong.

the Mohale area there is strong standpoint of hopes betrayed and a skepticism towards visitors, including even possibly the researchers. A group of women poured out their accusations about maltreatment and there was a particular grievance about not being able to work in the kitchens serving the workers.

We did not even manage to cook in their kitchen, they said they need people with a certificate. We are not employed now the project has finished...we can cook but we cannot be employed by Ha Mohale.

The project has treated us very badly.

That is the reason why we got discouraged when you come to us to write about us.

They state that those who were employed had to bribe their way into a job.

Another problem with the project is that it deals with bribery. How can like us have the money to pay?

How can you pay money in order to get work to get money?

Visitors to the mountain are viewed with suspicion and as the women in pants and white men come and go without things improving.

We have lost hope. We no longer have trust. Honestly even when we are told that there are visitors here we ask ourselves what they come here for, what they want. They have been troubling us for long time.

Do these visitors bring any changes?

Nothing changes.

All the difficulties in their lives have brought a sense of hostility and anger with the LHDA and the visitors seem to be associated with the dam and its administration.

That is the reason why we no longer have any use for them.

We are not happy with them anymore.

Do you not have the means to access clinics and other services?

No we don't.

So it becomes difficult to manage lives?

Yes.

In summary the women felt their lives had changed and that even the small livelihoods possible during the construction phase are now of the past.

In short has the project improved your lives or not?

It has worsened. In the past we knew that all we had to do was prepare bread and sit on the road and sell. Now it is so bad that the bread can even go stale.³⁸

³⁸ Focus group 7, Likalaleng.

In the case of Mohale it seems as though the people had for a period believed the assurance of better things to come. The women now feel that the big change brought about by the dams has brought them hardship, broken promises, and a distrust of administrators and people looking like officials visiting their areas.

Cannabis: women's income?

One of the most cogent arguments made particularly by the women is that they have lost considerable income in the move by losing their access to cannabis production. There is fairly extensive production in the mountains and women are most active in production and see this as something for themselves and their families. Despite production being illegal, cannabis production is so widespread that the people feel secure against prosecution. The dagga is grown in and among the maize crops or in fields away from the public gaze.

Cannabis is celebrated in the Sesotho language and is listed seven times in the glossary provided by the Panos website (as added to by the authors) with colloquial, slang, poetic and practical references.

Figure 4: References to cannabis

<i>Bonkhi</i>	Cannabis
<i>hlahla-se-maele</i>	(literally a plant with tricks), cannabis, marijuana
<i>khomo ea fats'e</i>	(literally, "the cow of the ground") cannabis
<i>Matekoane</i>	Cannabis
<i>tsa bonkhi tsa bolelele</i>	cannabis, poetic term
<i>lengana la loti</i>	plant of the mountain
<i>koge</i>	that which is smoked
<i>kakana</i>	pipes dug into the ground for smoking cannabis

Its use is clearly well established both for its recreational side as well as powerful cash generating character.

The women were not shy of discussing its production and its place within the previous order in what many remember as a fairly carefree rural life.

Life was easy. We were very communal. We would share food. There was a huge amount of land. I used to plough maize, as well as marijuana. I made a lot of money selling marijuana, mostly to South Africans.³⁹

Although it had a ready market and was the most valuable cash crop many of the women were keen to dispel the idea that cannabis cultivation was easy and gave rich pickings without any real effort. In a wide ranging frank exchange among the people relocated in Ha Thetsane discuss the effort they took in cultivating and harvesting the crop.

We used to produce *lengana la loti*; we used to sell it.
Cannabis! it is hard work.

³⁹ Anna Moepe, interviewed by BBC Radio 4's Crossing Continents, 7 August, 2003.

Very hard! It has sharp edges because you have to strip it from the stalks when it is dry.

You weed around it, and when it has been weeded and is big, you pull it from the ground and collect it at one place and strip the leaves from the stalks. You carry it on your head; if you do not have oxen—while carrying a child on your back at the same time. Now how can she not want to work in the industries!

Work that is done seated?

By many people, when you used to make 24 bags. We used to sell to people across the border who came to us to buy.

South Africans provided a ready customer for the 'weed' and there is a big debate about the justice of transactions ensuing after such strenuous labour.

At what price? I imagine a 50 kg bag would fetch up to M50!

Oh! They are so stingy! Sometimes we would get M40.

They could see we were easy to cheat.

But it was a lot of money; we could buy a blanket and groceries.⁴⁰

Other women saw cannabis as a crop similar to maize and demanding close cultivation and good rains and potentially giving a much greater reward.

We produced crops such as grains, and cannabis which thrived because of plenty of rain. Excess of which was sold except in the case of cannabis, which was produced mainly for sale. It sold for up to M800 a bag when prices inflated during the Christmas season.⁴¹

In the literature of environmental assessment cannabis is mentioned as the most important cash crop grown mostly amongst and adjacent to the field crops generally, but mainly interplanted with maize. The Environmental Impact Assessment report considers that the plant is grown by about 70% of all farmers (Kingdom of Lesotho 1997,55) and mentions that many in the mountains were concerned that the roads and development associated with the Mohale dam would bring more intense police surveillance.

Although some have seen cannabis as a cash crop which largely contributes to the women's domestic budget, it has also been argued that it is genuinely a homestead product, planted on land which is owned by the men, cultivated by the women, and finally sold for the necessities for the family. In discussions with the women it appears that the proceeds are generally directed towards the interests of the children, particularly school fees, and not for consumer goods generally.

A key question is how the people are to be compensated for the loss of this income; in the reports and studies of the resettled and affected people cannabis is often mentioned, but the proceeds do not enter into the calculations of compensation.

⁴⁰ Focus group 5, Ha Thetsane.

⁴¹ Focus group 3, Ha Makhalanyane.

Figure 5: Lessons learned from Phase 1A, Katse dam construction

- a) Bidding Documents for Civil Works Contracts in Phase 1B were drafted to include enhanced provisions for: Environmental Monitors (both Natural Environment and Social); Local Contractor Development; Training of Local Engineers; Enhanced Labour Relations Capacity; Health and Safety standards; use of local labour from selected communities; and RSA minimum wage levels.
- b) Full lining with precast reinforced concrete segments included in design of Mohale Tunnel;
- c) Inclusion of Dispute Review Boards from the beginning of contracts;
- d) Pre-bid meetings arranged with potential bidders for local contractors and suppliers to enhance local business opportunities;
- e) Labour incidents during Phase 1A have led to the strengthening of labor unions so that they are more responsive to their member's needs, and over all institutional strengthening of labor relations within Lesotho.
- f) Reservoir induced seismicity is likely and measures have been taken to fully instrument this activity and identify and consult with villages that might be effected;
- g) LHDA has been reorganized based on the experience of Phase 1A. A new structure has been put in place and a more responsive culture is being implemented, starting with a very rigorous managerial selection process. Increased emphasis is being placed on improving the management skills and training of staff.
- h) Design of compensation packages and resettlement strategies based on analysis of the entire household production system impacted, including fuel sources, other common property, cash crops, and a calculation of total proportions of assets lost – and the presentation of a wider range of compensation and resettlement options, with flexibility to choose between them;
- i) Better targeting of affected households for income restoration planning, combined with an annuity type of safety-net compensation;
- j) Responsive complaint management based on operational field teams, a conflict resolution mechanism and local project offices;
- k) Partnering with communities to enhance local unskilled employment and avoid squalid communities around construction sites;
- l) Continuous in depth consultation with local communities in the design of resettlement and social impact mitigation strategies and of EIA/EAP as a whole - and plans for similar role in implementation and monitoring;
- m) Methods to devolve housing construction to owners and local contractors, to minimize cost (cost savings accrue to households), generate local employment, and maximize owner involvement and satisfaction;
- n) Advance implementation of latrines and other infrastructure in host communities;
- o) Closer ties between construction schedules and key resettlement activity completion;
- p) Complete full EIA prior to implementation and development of EAP;
- q) Pre-defined commercial lending terms sheets;
- r) Early agreement (at negotiations) on cost sharing for the development activities in the EAP;
- s) Strengthened management and project selection procedures, for Development Fund, as well as enhanced direct community participation - based on international best practice.

Source: World Bank Appraisal, 1998: Lesotho Highlands Water Project - Phase I B, p8

As well off if not better?⁴²

The Treaty establishing the Highlands Water Project states quite directly that "members of local communities in the Kingdom of Lesotho who will be affected by flooding, construction works, or other similar Project related causes, will be enabled to maintain a standard of living not inferior to that obtaining at the time of first disturbance" or alternatively compensation would be provided.⁴³ It was anticipated that the 'lessons learnt' from the Katse experience would have awoken the LEDA to the problems of consulting the people, proceeding with construction before setting in place a compensation policy or making provision for resettlement, and making the Rural Development Program work (see the adjoining figure for the official statement of lessons). Taken together these should have seen a temporary impoverishment of the displaced and affected followed by the extraordinary promise that the people would be 'better off'.

Despite this promise of a better life, all the women who participated in the research felt that they had been impoverished by the advent of the dams. (The Ombudsman found a similar and well-grounded perception.) Even one of the women who appeared to be relatively well off with a house, a row of rooms to let, and another house in the last stages of construction also felt she had lost enormously. When asked she replied: "You see me now but you should have seen me before I came here!"⁴⁴ As a widow she considers herself a person of some wealth, position and authority in the rural context, and finds her life worsened in the capital.

Table 10: General social conditions

	Frequency	Percent
Impoverished	55	79.7
Some new opportunities	14	20.3
Total	69	100.0

Most stated they had nothing but poverty before them, but in exchanges some 20% acknowledged that there were some new opportunities either in projects (those living near Mphahlele), employment (a small minority) or in some small-scale activity in the future. These opportunities are, however, not yet established and very uncertain, and there is a considerable grievance against the LHDA on this score. Although there has been much talk of alternative livelihoods as an aspect of compensation and rural development there has been very little undertaken in this direction mainly, it seems, because of the LHDA insisting that it will fund cooperative projects not individuals.

Traditional women's earning activities are not necessarily good earners in the cities. In an exhaustive discussion the women of Mphahlele insisted that there was a market for traditional beer despite the shift in taste towards the bottled beer of the multinationals. Against a sceptical question from the researcher they insisted that they could earn from brewing:

We have not done it yet; the market is there, but like newcomers we are still studying the situation to determine how we would do it. There are people here who sell local brew.

⁴² The promise of resettlement made in Environmental Impact Assessment, 1997:2.

⁴³ Article 7(18).

⁴⁴ Matsolo, biography.

The mountain people feel there is a difference between the old sorghum beer, which made people happy and fat, and modern commercial beer, which makes people drunk and quarrelsome!⁴⁵

Even the great expectations of employment in the garment industry have not born fruit for those who chose to come to Maseru.

Some of us have had employment at the Chinese factories at Maputsoe, but I had to return home because there was no longer anyone to look after my young children. When I first started with this job there was a lady I had employed for the purpose of looking after my children but she has since left.

They also report that there are few opportunities to gain the skills necessary to achieve a form of self-employment.

We do not have any vocational skills. Some people here have sewing machines but they too keep those machines sitting idle because there is no market for them to sell their products.⁴⁶

In the highlands the lives of women were by any standard humble but they felt they did have more opportunities to get money for themselves and their families: "We made money by brewing beer and selling cannabis". While all felt impoverished, some within the towns were still taking stock of the situation and racking their brains to come up with some ideas.

In detailed questioning the women of Thetsane came up with the following income generating activities: taking care of the children of people staying in the apartments and share cropping, and letting out apartments, nothing more. Apart from this they felt completely dependent on the food compensation provided by the LHDA.

For the people who moved to the towns the only certain generator of income is the letting out of *malaene* (lines, or apartments) characteristic of accommodation for single people or very poor families. Those displaced who had small size shops (known as *licei* or *café*) out in the village were compensated with rental apartments. This allowed a flexible survival strategy for those who did not lose family ties in the mountains.

Some of them just chose to have the apartments down here but they themselves remain at Molikaliko. They simply collect the money from the rental. Some people around here rent out part of the homes, maybe a room, and continue in occupation of the other room.⁴⁷

For those fortunate to have a large number of apartments it would be possible to rent out a room for R150 a month and to earn up to or more than R1000. Although it seems the rule about shop owners being compensated was bent a little not all of the families have apartments.

There are still possibilities of using the gardens provided in compensation to plant vegetables, and the issue of gardens will be discussed below.

⁴⁵ Panos interview 11, Mokete (male).

⁴⁶ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

⁴⁷ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

Solidarity and division

Although the women speak of disappointments, broken promises, and of the stark feelings of loss, there is also strong acknowledgment of the feelings for each other, and of the elementary forms of solidarity which have made survival possible. For those leaving behind kin and a village called 'home' there is a constant movement of people between town and countryside either to carry out essential rituals or to access services in the towns. As the women of Makhoakhoeng, which they affectionately give the same name as their beloved village Likalaneng, explain there may be a feeling of loss but not of nostalgia.

Most of us here are a family unit. We come from the same village and we are in some way or other related. A feeling of nostalgia does not really arise therefore. We travel to the home of origin whenever necessary such as when we have to perform some traditional rituals. When my daughter was due to give birth and needed to be with me she came here to me.⁴⁸

While most of these bonds are based on kinship ties, there are also the links of reciprocity and neighbourliness among those based in the towns. In Thetsane, which is in many ways a village of mountain people within Maseru, the women with many apartments are regarded as much better off, but there is not jealousy from those who don't.

Those among us who do not have apartments manage, when our brothers and sisters live, we also live. I will not go to bed hungry when they have apartments.⁴⁹

It is these common feelings of solidarity combined with a keen sense of injustice which has led to the interaction among themselves and with civil society organisations such as the Transformation Resource Centre (TRC) which has made possible mobilisation around the displacement issues. This, in turn, has resulted in the Ombudsman eventually responding with a full-scale inquiry into the conditions of the people displaced by the dams which attracted large numbers of displaced people to give evidence and which largely found in their favour.

Unfortunately it seems that with the demise of the Highlands Church Solidarity and Action Centre (HCSAC), which previously kept the people around the Katse dam in touch with national and international agencies, none of the pressing questions relating to their plight was presented to the Ombudsman. Their perceptions are exceptional:

We have only gained by falling ill, dying, losing children through suicides - whenever I am angered by this husband of mine I just go to dam, jump in and I die. One man did that after having a fight with his wife. A girl drowned herself when it seemed she had misused her school fees.⁵⁰

Despite a beautiful landscape the social conditions at Bokong seem exceptionally depressed with a very palpable sense of despair among the people.

Housing

Nothing is more important to those being resettled than a roof above the heads; a decent house within a well serviced plot. The housing produced by the LHDA is somewhat different to that

⁴⁸ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

⁴⁹ Focus group 5, Ha Thetsane.

⁵⁰ Focus group 8, Bokong.

of traditional Mosotho rural dwellings or of typical municipal housing; the houses are built in cinderblocks and look grey and drab, the roofs are shiny unpainted corrugated iron, and a rainwater tank abuts a corner near the eaves. Houses made from concrete blocks are generally, and unfortunately, admired by rural people in Lesotho as a symbol of modernity; these grey walled buildings appear aesthetically not a scratch on the beautiful traditionally built stone built houses.

The household possessions of the resettled are very modest indeed; at most two beds in one of the bedrooms, blankets for the children who sleep on the floor (some have mats), few with tables and chairs, no lighting apart from candles (with the exception of houses with electricity in some urban areas), no internal heating, and clothes stored in metal trunks. There are no televisions in evidence and very few have radios. The interior of one of the rooms is often taken up with the *sabu-sabu*, the very large bales in which the whole unmilled (generally yellow) grain is stored. An appetite for yellow maize seems to be a mountain characteristic; certainly in the lowlands (and in one author's experience in Zimbabwe) yellow maize is spurned as cattle feed and inferior, but among the mountain people it is preferred. In addition to the maize there is often a sack of *mabele* (sorghum) which can be ground and used as a breakfast cereal or to brew local beer. Apart from some cooking oil and dried beans in some houses there is not much other food stored. Diet seems monotonously yellow maize with occasional beans.

Although the people generally appreciate the strength and durability of the houses which are made with concrete floors and blocks, they complain repeatedly of cracks and that these houses are very cold in winter and colder than traditional houses 'the cement in the houses makes them very cold'.⁵¹

Ha Makhalanyane provides an illustration of the situation of people in the towns; it is located at a growth point along the main road to Roma, at the turn-off to Thaba-Bosiu. It is on flat land that looks bare with neither a tree nor a mountain in sight. The settlement is a cluster of seven houses including two rondavels. The houses differ in size ranging from a single room to those with 4 rooms. There are also four blocks of apartments, *malaene*. All yards are relatively the same size and they all have a small vegetable garden (no vegetable were growing at the time of the visit.) The houses are of the same style of other LHDA sites visited. Inside the floors are tiled with vinyl and the walls are water painted. The houses are not connected to electricity or a water pipe; the residents draw water some 2-3 km from the settlement village. The houses but not the 'for rent' apartments have coal stoves but these are not used.

The housing seems uncolourful but quite adequate, particularly in comparison with the RDP type houses in South Africa, but the people are not always happy. One of the main grievances is that the housing in the rural areas has not been precisely replicated in the urban areas as promised. What appears to have happened is that the houses on modest plots have been enlarged to provide additional space rather than separate rondavels as demanded by the people. The somewhat enlarged square house is seen as totally inadequate as the rondavels traditionally have provided separate space for parents and children which is not achieved by houses without inner doors.

The grievances linger over time. A number of those resettled complained that the LHDA ignored their desires and went ahead without their agreement. The Ombudsman responded by urging the LHDA to break down buildings if necessary to provide the separate rondavels.

⁵¹ Focus group 8, Mapeleng.

The relocatees have already been traumatized by the relocation, and living for the rest of their lives in a house which is not acceptable to them can only distress them all their lives (Ombudsman, 2003:8.12.6.2).

It is uncertain whether the LHDA complied. Certainly housing issues, such as heating, cooking, and the attached gardens remain a major point of grievance.

Land and gardens

For the mountain people life does not seem possible without fields, gardens, domestic animals, and the use of the grasses, medicinal plants, and access to copses and woodlots. This they have lost to a lesser or greater extent; the people affected by the dams have lost fields and grazing land, and those in the towns virtually all access to natural resources.

In the conditions of a mountainous country with little arable land, experiencing acute land shortages and overgrazed mountain ranges, it was always most unlikely that the promise in the compensation regulations 'land for land'⁶² would be at all feasible. While the initial commitment is "to endeavour where possible" to provide alternative land and there is even a commitment to reclaim land for agriculture by moving soil⁶³ in subsequent clarifications on procedures there are references to all the legal impediments in reallocating existing arable land. Quite apart from the loss of land to the rising waters, construction of roads, and other infrastructure, there is the loss of arable land to local communities in the areas to which the people were resettled. The area of Thetsane, although adjacent to the industrial area of Maseru, was itself previously land used for urban agriculture.

Taken as a whole the 'land for land' policy has not been implemented and instead people have been paid compensation for losses. The dams have involved substantial losses of arable land to those affected, and to complete loss of land among those displaced, even those who continue to live in the highlands.

⁶² Kingdom of Lesotho. Compensation policy. 1997 (As Refined in October 2002), Clause 11.2.1. The full clause reads:

11.2.1 Land For Land

This option is subject to the introduction of legislation by GOL to modify the land tenure arrangements.

- 1) Where arable land, greater than 1000sqm, is acquired by the project, and the affected household wishes to be compensated with land for land, LHDA shall endeavour where possible to provide alternative land in a place acceptable to the affected family.
- 2) The land rights granted to a family compensated with land for land shall provide security of tenure at least equivalent to that which the family held over its previous fields.
- 3) LHDA shall, where feasible and cost effective, reclaim land for agriculture through such means as reinstating a spoil dump for agricultural purposes or moving soil from a reservoir basin to a higher terrace.
- 4) Where LHDA requires part of a field, and the remainder of that field is less than 500 sqm in area, LHDA shall, if the landholder agrees, acquire and compensate for the entire field.
- 5) Where the field-owner whom the land was acquired wishes to continue cultivating the remaining portion, LHDA shall normally permit him or her to do so. This shall not affect the amount of compensation paid to that person.

⁶³ Clause 11.2.1.3.

Table 11: Access to arable land

	Frequency	Percent
No land	29	42.0
No land-urban area	8	11.6
Lost some land, compensation received	27	39.1
Fields available	5	7.2
Total	69	100.0

The table above gives some breakdown of the different components of access to land: firstly those living in the highlands or lowlands with some reasonable expectation of being able to make use of the land (42%) and those in the urban areas where there could be less expectation of having such access (6%). The categories which follow involve those who either were seriously affected but did not lose fields (7%) and the larger number (39%) which experienced substantial losses of land but who were not completely landless. All this adds up to a picture of generalised land loss which was not and could not be made up by 'land for land' policies.

In the Lesotho context land is owned by the male head of the household and not by women apart from widows who inherit from their husbands or who can request land on behalf of their households. Young men can lay independent claim on the land before marriage. As a woman explained in relation to child rearing:

If you had a boy-child of about 15 he is already independent, he has his own plot, so you do not support him. He is able to buy clothes for himself. You concentrate on the little ones.⁵⁴

The interest of women is largely in having gardens which can help support the household. The LHDA has made fairly strong commitment to providing displaced people with gardens, even to the extent of proposing creating gardens by earthmoving and landscaping.⁵⁵ It appears that there was a change in policy on gardens, reducing compensation available to displaced people. According to a well informed critic:

Many affected people grew vegetables in plots of land that approached the size of some fields. The compensation rate for a hectare of garden land is about 20 times as much as the rate for a hectare of arable land. Fearing to set a precedent which could call the compensation policy's land valuation into question, LHDA officials arbitrarily decided that no piece of land which measured more than 400sqm would be classified as a garden and would therefore receive the arable land compensation rate (Hoover, 2001:32).

⁵⁴ Focus group 5, Thetsane.

⁵⁵ 11.4 Compensation for Gardens

- 1) Where LHDA acquires garden land it shall ensure that the replacement residential site includes a cultivable area of equivalent area or equal in productive value to that of the previous garden. LHDA shall in any case provide a minimum of 300-sqm. of garden land for each resettled household.
- 2) If a suitable garden land at the new site cannot be found LHDA shall investigate the feasibility of creating gardens by earthmoving and landscaping. Wherever feasible and cost effective, gardens shall be created by these means
- 3) Only when these possibilities have been exhausted, and where there remains uncompensated garden land, then LHDA shall offer compensation for the loss of garden production in the form of an annual cash payment or lump sum.

The displaced people complain vigorously that the gardens they have been allocated are far smaller than those they had previously. Part of the problem appears to be in the measurement; there are numerous complaints that the sizes were not mutually agreed and secondly it is not clear whether the garden is the entire area of a plot (minus the house itself) or the area which can be used as a garden.

The table below summarises the position; a number of those with small gardens are those who either did not lose their gardens and continue to live in the highlands or those who were resettled in areas where it was possible to be allocated gardens which were a little smaller than the size of their original gardens. Those which were regarded as 'very small' were considerably smaller than the 300sqm guaranteed in the compensation regulations. During a visit to Ha Ntsi one garden was in the region of 8x10m (80sqm) and another 4x6m (24sqm).⁵⁶ Many garden areas in the urban areas were either taken up for other activities (such as a well built drain to take grey water) or the size of the very small gardens (about 4x6m).

Table 12: Size of gardens

	Frequency Percent	
Very small	23	35.9
Small	37	57.8
Bought own garden	1	1.6
None	3	4.7
Total	64	100.0

In one instance a better-off widow had bought her own garden from the compensation she had received although she complained strongly about the quality of the soil. The 3 households without a garden is a conservative figure as some households have used the ground which may have been available as a garden for other purposes. These families in Ha Moloï are situated on a very steep incline on rocky ground which meant that even digging the refuse pit was a strenuous activity.

Clearly the compensation regulations guaranteeing all households a garden not less than 300sqm have not been carried out in many instances.

As much as the size of gardens there are complaints over the quality of the soil. The table below presents the attitudes of those who were displaced (not those affected) and have gardens to the quality of the soil.

Table 13: Gardens: quality of soil

	Frequency Percent	
Good soil	6	16.2
Poor soil	26	70.3
Promised good soil, not delivered	5	13.5
Total	37	100.0

⁵⁶ Field notes, 18 October 2003, in the second household the ground available was limited by a traditional kitchen/outhouse built by the family to cook and keep themselves warm during winter.

Most feel that the soil is poor while others feel let down by promises to deliver good soil which were not carried out. A number are quite outspoken about the matter as is this woman of Thetsane.

This soil is not soil that can produce vegetables. They say I can plant here, but I say what can I do with this *sekaka*. This is granite. You can't even dig it with a pick.⁵⁷

This woman places a high store on growing food and is forthright about her life having been destroyed by the change.

How can I dig it and what can I do to it; let's just say you have murdered me and have done a good job of it.

Those in Maseru find that the crops can be grown but are easily damaged.

Crops such as cabbage and other garden vegetables were very easily subjected to frostbite. The opportunity for us to have better vegetable gardens does in fact not present itself here.⁵⁸

Despite this a displaced household on the outskirts of Maseru surprisingly reported that they had been able to harvest two to three bags of maize from the modest garden provided but most have not ventured to plant maize on their gardens.

In the mountains traditional healers feel that the medicinal plants maintained in new gardens are not the same as those growing wild as the habitat is not the same and there are doubts about its quality.⁵⁹ What is clear is that medicinal plants such as *sutherlandia* grow in natural abundance in the area around Katse.

The alternative is for displaced families to engage in sharecropping, a practice which does not appear in the compensation regulations and yet which is the only practical way in which these families can engage in agriculture. Sharecropping involves two parties working together to plough, fertilise, plant, weed, harvest and shred maize; the one party providing the land, and the other the seed and fertiliser as well as arranging for the labour to weed. The crop is divided equally between the parties. The arrangement, which seems to have every potential point for disagreement, is apparently never disputed and is the only way in which the displaced can gain access to land, but it does require resources on the part of the applicant.

The compensation policy has tended to accentuate the differences in wealth and resources between the people. The landless living in the mountains, for instance, practiced sharecropping with families who owned fields but unfortunately this was not considered in the calculation of compensation. The people from Ha-Takatso state that their village had fertile *selokoe* loamy-soil yielding a good crop which did not have to be enriched with fertilizer. The landless engaged in sharecropping but the yield produced by their labour only entered into compensation to benefit the landed. In conditions of real need kin solidarity has waned.

We got nothing... no cash or crop compensation. I used to survive on share cropping with my relatives who owned fields, now they have received money for their lost fields, which they do not share with me. I want to tell you that the value of their

⁵⁷ Matsolo, interview.

⁵⁸ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

⁵⁹ Focus group, traditional healers, 10 September 2003.

produce per year was calculated based on the number of bags that they used to harvest-while practicing sharecropping with us.⁶⁰

Other communities which moved to new locations in the mountains found that there are local climates which can be very different. While the people of Likalaneng lost productive land, they found that much of the remaining land available to them was not productive because of the cold.

There is no crop farming here it is cold here, really cold; plants here do not thrive, they quickly become frostbitten.⁶¹

The problem of developing a more self-sufficient existence is a problem even for those affected who could access some land in the mountains. It seems that even the desire to cultivate the land, the expression of demand, is affected by the general conditions of impoverishment. One of the reasons there is not more demand for land is that there is not the draught power to cultivate.

Why is it that you do not have a field?

Even if the chief were to show us virgin land to break we would be able to because we do not have animals. So we have never asked for land.⁶²

Although there is a general complaint among administrators that the affected and displaced adopt a dependency and complaints culture, it is very evident that the losses of land and cultural changes fiercely accelerated by the advent of the Project have lessened the ability of the people achieve self-sufficiency and independence.

Impoverishment

The overwhelming majority of women feel that they have been impoverished by the LHWP and its impact on their lives. In contrast to their present conditions they contrast a life in the villages which is democratic in an intense local way, in which they were common pleasures and toil, and a rugged sense of equality. This is confirmed not only in their narratives, the observation of current economic activities, the reservations of the World Bank consultant, but also in the investigation by the Ombudsman.

Almost all resettles complained that the compensation rates were very low. It was their feeling that their standard of living was far lower than before resettlement as the amounts of compensation for their lost assets were too little to keep them going for one year (Ombudsman, 2003:2.0).

In the survey of opinion conducted through the focus groups and in individual interviews not a single person felt they had the same standard of living as before. Despite this a number felt that they had made the right decision by coming to the lowlands. The general sense was that there was not much that could be done in relation to the forced relocation, it was not specifically mentioned, rather formed the general backdrop to their lives as part of a hostile overwhelming force equal in power to a natural catastrophe. The LHDA and the dams themselves appears in their narratives as impersonal, powerful and unstoppable.

⁶⁰ Focus group 4, Ha Seochlana.

⁶¹ Focus group 7, Likalaneng.

⁶² Focus group 8, Bokong.

The table below is an attempt to provide some idea of the range of experiences of dispossession and what alternatives may exist.⁵³ Categories are developed which try to distinguish between the expectations of those in the mountains and lowlands, those with some prospects or none, and to mark those households who may have external support apart from compensation.

The overwhelming majority are impoverished and do not see any prospect for employment, a very small minority of those displaced have been employed in one case with the Project, in another in a garment factory. The impoverishment of many has been deepened by the loss of livestock through the cold, insufficient grazing, or stock theft; somehow all these factors operated at about the time of the move or soon thereafter against those hoping to hold on to some portable resource. Without livestock many felt there was no point in asking the chief for land. In the mountains some are engaged in projects in and around Mohale, but most of those are not. Despite feelings of dispossession some displaced communities state that the local authorities see them as having being adequately provided by the LHDA and they are expected to pay upfront to meet school fees and services charges.

Adversity has led some in the mountains to strive for survival through their gardens and to make the best of the resources they have available.

Table 14: Poverty and its alternatives

	Frequency	Percent
Employed	2	2.9
Impoverished, see no possibility of employment	29	42.0
Lost livestock--robbed or through cold weather	11	15.9
No project	2	2.9
Poorer; but regarded by hosts as having money	11	15.9
Some rental income	8	11.6
Some resilience and gardens	5	7.2
Son employed	1	1.4
Total	69	100.0

While most accept that impoverishment is a terrible inevitability with the coming of the dams, some are outraged and others desperate.

The LHDA apparently is providing some kind of public works to provide welfare in the Katse area for those in greatest need, but excluding young women. The women of Bokong feel that they have been failed and that the young mothers are having the hardest time.

The Project has left us very sickly. Now when they bring donations we are discriminated against as preference is given to the disabled and the old. We are now confused as to whether because we are young we have rain falling especially for us.

We were made to work very hard, digging the ground and working like men to receive some donations. Even today we have not received anything. We did this in the quest for a livelihood. We were trying to guard against our children's starvation. But

⁵³ Not every category is entirely consistent as some overlap e.g. those losing livestock may also now be living in the mountains and have no project.

because we have been discriminated against, we starve... We are worried how we are going to survive.⁶⁴

Questions which probe the extent of poverty and its effects on their lives gets the following emphatic response:

Do you see how poor we are? We are really poor!⁶⁵

There is a sense of desperation among these women, of mutual humiliation, suicidal moods, and abject misery. In one concrete analogy the piercing desperation of family life is illustrated.

Chorus: There is no 'papa'⁶⁶; in the home you hear the wife saying to the husband: 'Go and find work!!' In response the man says: 'You too can go and prostitute yourself at the project' and the fight goes on forever between the spouses.⁶⁷

The struggle for alternative livelihoods does not always touch such depths of bitterness, but there is a real sense that there has to be some form of economic upliftment. The majority of women are not economically active and yet need additional resources to bring up their children.

It is a desired attribute of the life of human being- any human being, male and female alike to be constructively engaged in manner that keeps his or her body and mind working. This may or may not necessarily for the generation of income. Basotho women in the rural areas have made use of various species of grass, clay and stone to produce useful objects in their day-to-day lives. Grass known as *mohlomo* is used for thatch roofing of huts across the country. *Leloli* and *moseeka* are other species of grass used are use for the making of brooms, sun-hats, and baskets. The baskets come in different forms and shapes: These may be *lithebe* a form of grass tray like object; *liroto* which comes in the form of a big bowl or fruit basket and *lithoto* which is a type of silo for storing grain.

Another form of grass *letsiri* is used by the people to make ropes instrumental to the making of the other products mentioned. Clay is used for the making of clay-pots. The making of clay pots as a cultural artifact is a predominantly female activity. The clay pots are useful in a Sesotho home for the keeping of home-brewed beer, sour porridge known as *motoho* and sour milk known as *mafi*.

Destruction of these rural livelihoods without the provision of a equally useful alternative means that the groups who relied on them may well mean destruction of these people who are intellectual memory of the nation.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Chorus of women: Focus group 8, Bokong Ha Khenene.

⁶⁵ Focus group 8, Bokong.

⁶⁶ Mealie meal.

⁶⁷ Focus group 8, Bokong.

⁶⁸ Concerns of the women resettles at Ha-Ntsi resettlement area.

Table 15: Economic activity

	Frequency	Percent
Not economically active	41	59.4
Economically active	26	37.7
Economically active: employed	2	2.9
Total	69	100.0

Despite the LHDA's promise of projects to engage the women there has been a delay in providing such alternative livelihoods which is causing great disappointment. Apparently the LHDA is insisting that the women form cooperatives rather than start LHDA-led projects. This is not a welcome policy as there is not great communication among the various communities of the displaced and the responsibility is placed on the disorientated and poor to initiate business plans, approve constitutions and to think of economically rewarding activities.

Faced with the difficulties of organising these cooperatives the women feel that the LHDA is shedding its responsibilities and holding on to a capital fund which should be coming to them.

Water scarcity

In the midst of poverty, access to the basic services can make a considerable difference in the conditions of life. Unfortunately in relation to water, the subject of the entire project, there is evidence that access has considerably worsened both in the lives of affected and displaced households.

We are unable to perform our cultural practices anymore. We have been relocated at a bad area. They promised us that they were going to improve our lives; they said that they would install water pipes and connect electricity for us. They said we would enjoy it here, but we are a lot worse off than we were before we came here. They said they would give us a lot of money; *bokhothokhotho*, they called it.⁶⁹

None of the households have direct household connections with taps inside the house, and the best level of service is that available to the women of Thetsane who have yard taps readily accessible for themselves and those living in the one-roomed apartments. For most of the households in the urban areas the water services are distant from the houses and the best facilities are those available to a small village which accesses a well.

The last two issues of concern is the culture shock and perpetuation of marginalisation that the people who been subjected to relocation from the rural to the urban places are going through. First the culture shock. Water is a resource normally accessible in most parts of Lesotho from wells, rivers and streams without charge. In the urban area water is provided by the Water and Sewerage Authority [WASA] and in places such as Makhokhoeng and Ha Ntsi the resettles have to pay for water and electricity supplies. This is quite new to them, and they have to undertake this without much of a cash resource.

⁶⁹ Focus group 4, Ha Seohlana.

Table 16: Water scarcity

	Frequency	Percent
Yard taps, pay for water	10	14.5
>1km from residents	13	18.8
Well, fairly accessible	10	14.5
Scheme working	14	20.3
Scheme not working, use spring	22	31.9
Total	69	100.0

There is an irony of sorts in that a Project set up to provide better access to water for South Africans is causing greater difficulty to Mosotho who are experiencing water scarcity. Altogether some 50.7% of the women participating in the research have very problematic water sources either in schemes not working at all or in having to walk up to 3 kilometres to get water. The loss of access to river water has forced people to access considerably poorer sources by quantity and quality.

In many ways the Project itself has led to deteriorating conditions. As a woman of Likalaneng reported that the water sources have been damaged in road construction:

We are digging furrows up the hill trying to establish a water system for the village. The project destroys our wells as the road runs where there used to be wells. Some sources dried up and they have also dumped huge boulders on top of the wells.⁷⁰

In Thetsane there are yard connections but the women say that they need 'lines' (rooms to rent) to meet the tariff, there are also problems of continual interruption. The women experience the same difficulties as those of other Maseru people who seasonally have periods of water restrictions and breakdown in services.

These pipes of theirs ran out of water sometimes. We have to buy water on that side from the people who have boreholes. We are not satisfied with the project at all.⁷¹

In the poorer areas of the city there women are often seen carrying water on the heads either because their areas are not served or because of breaks in service.

Through an engagement with women as individuals and in groups, and in transept walks the sources of water could be assessed. Although the LHDA houses are supplied with rainwater tanks at some expense, the people regard them as holding dirty water and generally do not use them for drinking purposes. Part of the problem is that although the tanks are often properly situated there is a wide opening at the top for the pipe bearing roof water from the gutters allowing dust to blow in. At times the pipe has not been properly attached and rainwater flows freely around the foundations.

In Ha Makhalanyane there is no water project available and people use existing water services far away.

⁷⁰ Focus group 6: Likalaneng.

⁷¹ Focus group 5, Ha Thetsane.

There is no water here...the water [running off the roof] is not good for drinking because the tanks fill with dust. We draw water from community tanks in the village, for which we pay M2 per month. Water supply is irregular.⁷²

But even this facility is not assured and through their poverty they have to have recourse to streams.

All problems considering, the worst is that of water cuts, which leads us to drink water from streams because we do not have money to buy water from those who have boreholes.⁷³

Families have taken to storing water in good times to deal with the continual uncertainty in supply, and number of large plastic containers holding 200 litres each were visible in the homes.

At Ha Moloi the people already had a well situated in the centre of the village which they say never dries up, this had always been available and so in relation to basic needs the Project had not brought any improvement.

The people of Bokong lost their access to the river which was inundated by the dam. Although there is water in abundance in the Katse dam the people do not make much use of it except for washing clothes.

We do our laundry at the dam-site. Some of us are even afraid to do this, as an alternative we draw from the spring, harness the water and do our laundry. We are scared we might slip off the steep shores of the dam into the dam itself.⁷⁴

Although the settlement was provided with reticulated water, this project has broken down some time ago, nobody could say if the project could be revived, and the community has had to improvise its own source.

We have a *khampoto*⁷⁵, big drum into two and fixed into a natural spring. There is sometimes plentiful water from the source and it is clean most of the time.⁷⁶

Others complain that the quality is not good; in addition it is a good distance away from many of the houses.

If we were to bring water from our houses you would see it is disease only for us. We draw from there, from inside a *khampoto*; sometimes the water is clear and sometimes it is dirty and black.

The people of Mapeleng have lost a source of water in the inundated river but not had a replacement with rainwater tanks or a water project and the existing sources are under pressure. They have dug a pit adjacent to the stream to access water some distance from their village.

⁷² Focus group 3, Ha Makhalanyane.

⁷³ Focus group 3, Ha Makhalanyane.

⁷⁴ Focus group 8, Bokong Ha Khenene.

⁷⁵ A *khampoto* is a Sesotho name for a crude pot made from cutting a big drum into half and it is used for cooking.

⁷⁶ Focus group 8, Bokong Ha Khenene.

Water is the most problematic issue because the springs downhill have dried up. We now survive on one source... This village and the one over there collect water on horseback or donkey in the stream down below. We have dug at the side of the stream so that we can at least drink.

People draw water from there... it is dirty... it is very dirty.⁷⁷

Apparently in drawing water the sediment is disturbed and the water muddied.

Taken as a whole all of the communities are suffering water shortages and are water stressed; there is little available and what is available is uncertain. Through their poverty they are totally dependent on often precarious public supply. They have either had no improvement to their existing water supply or the improvements projects implemented by the LHDA have collapsed leaving no lasting benefit. In the mountains people have suffered worsening water conditions as they have lost access to the rivers, the dam waters are either dangerous to access or remote and dirty, and the schemes which have been put in place have failed. In the towns there is somewhat more certain quality of water but no really reliable supply and breaks in service tend to be expensive for households which have to pay more for access during difficult times.

The rainwater tanks are a definite improvement in providing some greater certainty in supply for those displaced in Phase IB and were not made available to the people displaced or affected in and around Katse. They are, however, at times poorly installed and have some poor aspects in design allowing dirt to blow into the opening. The people with tanks who were interviewed consider that all rainwater flowing off dusty roofs is dirty, but the tanks do give some greater access in the houses themselves (on-site). Mosotho have a benchmark of clean flowing streams nearby their homes as a benchmark and unfortunately the alternatives in the depleted villages of Katse or the communities in Maseru come nowhere near such accessibility or purity.

Significantly for many of those displaced there have been improvements in sanitation. Sanitation has been an area of social improvement in which there has been considerable progress in Lesotho and the houses of those displaced from Mohale are provided with well built VIPs, although there was no successful provision for handwashing facilities.⁷⁸ The people around Katse complain that they were not provided with similar facilities.

Electricity

The promise of the LHWP was that the improvements in the electricity grid would create the possibility of electrification to remote rural communities and ending dependence on difficult or unreliable sources of energy. The results have not been rewarding; in short the affected and displaced people in the mountains are not connected and only some of those in Maseru connected because they are in communities already served.

There are powerful and extensive grids available at each dam for construction and operations, but none of the affected or displaced communities have been supplied. There is a long history to the saga. The whole process involved in rural electrification is covered comprehensively in Hoover (2001:40-41) who accounts for the problematic planning and provision through the poverty of the people. Although there had been efforts made in Katse for mains supply to be installed the project had stalled.

⁷⁷ Focus group 9, Mapeleng.

⁷⁸ In visits to Ha Moloi it was evident that there was some intention to attach a receptacle outside the VIP as metal supports were provided. Nobody, however, knew how this would be done.

Unfortunately for the project, the average affected household spent only \$2 (R16) per month on fuel, far less than the \$12.29 (about R100) per month that they would need to pay for electricity and appliances.

The consultants concluded that rural electrification could take place only under the following circumstances: 1) if low-voltage distribution lines to the villages were grant-funded; 2) if the LEC changed its tariff structure to allow for load-limited, flat-rate usage; 3) if a credit facility was put in place to help consumers pay for connection fees and new appliances; and 4) if, in the interest of cost-efficiency, each participating household installed an expensive "heat storage cooker" (a pilot project to test the cooker estimated the cost at \$400 (R3 200) per unit).

Unfortunately, the low density of the villages and the even lower density of people able to pay for the scheme increased connection costs prohibitively.⁷⁹

The Lesotho Electricity Corporation followed the logic of profit and were not prepared to provide any subsidisation of the connections and service, and neither was the LHDA prepared to take up elements of a subsidy; on this basis no connections were made.

The people relocated in the towns have had a somewhat better prospect and 10 of the households participating in the research from urban communities have had pre-paid meters installed.

Table 17: Electrification

	Frequency	Percent
Pre-paid	10	14.5
None	59	85.5
Total	69	100.0

Even here electricity meets lighting needs but not cooking or heating because of the prohibitive cost. As in the case of poor communities in Southern Africa there is a mixture of fuels: wood, paraffin, and electricity when available; which is highly inconvenient to households, dirty and dangerous, and often more expensive in the end.

The people of Makhoakhoeng are very pleased not to be faced with high connection charges on arrival in Maseru and it seems as though the LHDA paid the installation of meters and the first credits.

Here we even have electricity--when we first came here we did not have to pay for the electricity, it was provided free, but I know that even at that stage someone was paying for it.

Now we pay for our own electricity. One has to be careful with the level of use, and I know that if I am extravagant, the electricity credit will go down fast, so I am careful.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ The USD figures are followed by equivalents in South African rands at the rate of R8 to the USD which was more or less the figure at the time of publication.

⁸⁰ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng now known as Likalaneng.

Other households located in urban areas are not so happy. The people of Seoehlana, a few kilometres away, are angered by not having any possible access and say that the promises made to them have not been met.

All in all the water and electricity services are an indicator of what treatment is being given to displaced and affected people. In some way there is improvement in basic needs (particularly in relation to sanitation), but especially in the key area of water provision there are very evident deficiencies.

Health facilities

Although it was difficult to get a definite response from many of the participants in the research in relation to their general health (and there is sensitivity to discussing HIV/AIDS) it is clear that some of the communities of the affected and displaced have had their health undermined by the impact of the move and construction. They express a range of opinion about their health, a small minority feeling that their health conditions have improved while most feel their health conditions have not improved and some assert strongly that their life conditions are extremely stressful and unwholesome. Generally health conditions appear worse in the Katse area than in Mohale and again in Bokong the people are emphatic that they are facing a sharp deterioration in their life and health.

Despite the fact that health support cannot be directly measured by access to health services, this does provide some indication of what support the people are being given by the LHDA or the state. In most cases the displaced share the same facilities as their host communities; but there are additional health facilities provided at the dams administration centres which are intended to benefit those affected or displaced. None of these facilities are free and the private clinics, which are at times preferred because they are more accessible, are very costly.

Table 18: Access to health facilities

	Frequency	Percent
Same as host	22	31.9
Private hospital nearby	7	10.1
Outpatient Mohale hospital	11	15.9
Private clinic R50	7	10.1
Spie health centre R15	18	26.1
Government health centre R104		5.8
Total	69	100.0

Since the communities of the displaced are not particularly large in the urban centres, health practitioners do not have a particular memory of their typical complaints and illness. When questioned⁶¹ they tend to answer that the Mohale people do not have any significant differences from their host communities and to a large extent this is what the people themselves feel. The difference comes in the case particularly of Bokong and Mapeneng where the people feel particularly stressed and generally in poor health.

In Bokong there is mention of a low sense of self-esteem and a feeling of hopelessness. Family conflicts were linked to the possibility of suicide in the dam the banks of which are

⁶¹ The researchers rang clinics and hospitals near displaced communities in and around Maseru in November 2003.

generally steep and in many places cliffs. Unfortunately this seems to attract the possibility of suicides.

Even children from the lowlands will commit suicide at Ha Katse, even our children after being punished will want to jump into the dam. If you have a fight with a spouse he thinks of going to the dam. One Ntate (father) from Matebeleng did this after being angered by his family, he came to the dam and drowned himself. He came, undressed and jumped in.⁶²

In a small community such as Bokong such incidents must form a harrowing memory and act to depress the resilience and spirit of the community.

In addition to repeated mention of suicide by those coming into the area from the lowlands and amongst themselves, the Bokong women also constantly refer to their poor health and impoverishment and that the nearby clinic is expensive. The children show evidence of stunting and families mentioned lasting ailments affecting their children.

Heating and cooking

The heating of dwellings is as an important a task for women as the provision of all means of livelihood for a household. Heating and cooking is an essential aspect of social life in rural communities. Social interaction in the rural areas takes place around a fire made on the open hearth in the evenings. The family sits around the fire where cooking is done. The hearth is not only a place for cooking and bodily warmth, it is also a place where stories are told to the children and all experiences shared. The women who have been resettled are complaining of the loss of *meru* (forests).⁶³ The loss of forests has had a significant rippling effect in the lives of the affected people. Firstly the people lost a source of making a lasting fire for cooking and for warming up the house. Secondly, this has meant the loss of a significant source of income for the young energetic women who, before losing the forests, collected the wood for the richer members of the village, for a fee.⁶⁴

The heating of houses is a particular point of contention. In the often biting cold of Lesotho winters heating is a problem; most people sleep directly on the concrete floors without the benefit of any heating. The resettlement policy for people displaced from Mphahle (and later also applied to those people to whom special provision was made in Katse) provides for the installation of coal stoves inside the newly constructed houses. If people prefer, gas stoves can be provided as an alternative. The coal stoves were evidently anticipated to provide both a facility for cooking and warming the houses; but unfortunately they have not succeeded.

⁶² Focus group 8, Bokong.

⁶³ The complaint about loss of *meru* was made in all the 9 focus groups covered in the study.

⁶⁴ The women of Bokong in particular mentioned that one of their sources of income was collection of wood for sale to those who can not collect for themselves.

Table 19: Heating

	Frequency	Percent
No firewood	9	13.0
Open fires, use wood	23	33.3
Fires from brushwood	36	52.2
Unsure	1	1.4
Total	69	100.0

In almost all of the houses visited in the nine different resettlement areas, the coal stoves were a *non-starter* to put it mildly.⁸⁵ The women find the stoves not of much use. In their own words: 'The smoke from the stoves blows back into the house when the stove is burning'. At the Mapeleng new settlement village one woman said she had removed the stove from her house, a woman at Ha Moloï showed the researchers that her husband had put cement around the joints between the base and the top of the stove in an attempt to arrest the smoke problem. Clearly the stoves have not worked as a compensation measure to indemnify the women of the areas affected by the project against cold and to provide cooking facilities. In some homes women use the stoves as a table on which to place their kitchen items.

Most households have constructed traditional heaths either in small rondavels away from the house which serve as kitchens and places of warmth in winter. Others simply use open fires. Unfortunately in none of the houses visited was there evidence of any coal and it is not clear what arrangements had been made as there does not appear to be any coal available in local stores. The use of firewood is increasingly a problem; the natural woodlands and copses of Lesotho are depleted even in the most remote mountain areas. Accounts of early travellers and evidence of surviving vegetation show a dense grassland in the lowlands with open woodland and riverside willow thickets along major rivers. The highland scarp slopes, sheltered kloofs and hollows supported dense woodlands with species such as *Podocarpus latifolius*, *Cussonia spicata*, *Euclea ramosa*, *Ocotea bulleia* and *Aloe capensis* (Marake, 1998: 7). In the subsequent period there has been vegetation degradation within different ecological zones marked by deteriorating grazing ranges and few surviving forests in the mountains. Even these are in a state of depletion; the highlands are heavily grazed and the natural habitat under stress. The landscape is starkly beautiful but bare.

One of the effects of the dams has been to inundate what forests there were, and despite a program of growing woodlots throughout the highlands in the 1980s, these are not much in evidence near the communities of displaced people. In the mountains, particularly around Katse, there are hardly any trees visible. The women have to rely on brushwood from shrubs which is hard to find and very quickly consumed by the fire. They are now without their familiar means of cooking – the open hearth is often away from the building, they do not have the forests they used to, and the coal stoves are to them as good as nothing at all.

Although cooking with wood generally also includes heating in traditional homes, cooking has now generally become a separate, and less sociable, activity. In all households visited, the women have come to use alternative facilities to those of coal stoves such open fires, paraffin stoves, or gas cookers. Paraffin stoves appear to be cheap, but are often of a cheaper and

⁸⁵ Quite why the coal stoves are such a failure is difficult to understand. Similar stoves seem to work quite well in lodges around the Sani Pass; possibly the LHDA are of an inferior design or the flues are too wide. Certainly all the houses where coal stoves have been attempted have blacked ceilings.

dangerous design.⁸⁶ Gas is clean and efficient, but certainly more expensive.⁸⁷ One or two households in and around Maseru are now considering installing electric stoves.

Table 20: Cooking facilities

	Frequency Percent	
Coal stoves not used, open fires or paraffin	66	95.7
Gas stove, installing electricity	1	1.4
Gas stove	2	2.9
Total	69	100.0

All in all heating and cooking is becoming an increasingly difficult activity and a burden to the affected and displaced women struggling to provide for their families. The compensation policy has not provided the promised relief.

Dependence and resentment: attitudes to the LHDA

Central to all the women's preoccupations, from heating to family conflict, is the commanding authority of the Lesotho Highlands Development Association. It is often reported that there is a dependency culture developed among those displaced, that they are incapable of building an independent life, and that they have become the wards of the state. A LHDA consultant has produced a document which, in the language of developmentese, complains, "affected households have begun to exhibit sustained symptoms of a dependency and complaints culture which weaken the ability of the LHDA to focus on broad-based sustainable development initiatives to enhance quality of life for impacted communities". A World Bank staff member echoes this opinion.

People have become dependent on LHDA. The problem is how to get them out of the 'project affected people' category so they stop acting like project-affected people and just become citizens (Both quoted in Hoover, 2001: 33).

There is, no doubt, a sense of dependence on the LHDA inevitably brought about the displacement of hundreds of families and deleterious effects on many thousands more. The compensation paid out on land and gardens on an annual basis for 50 years, promises of the provision of services after displacement, welfare activities etc, mean that the people are constantly having to return to their 'father' to survive. There is a long history of project failure in Lesotho (as in other countries) which has been explained by Ferguson (1990) as the result of unforeseen outcomes working behind the backs of the most well meaning participants. The underlying logic of projects is not contained in the rational discourse of development planners. This ignores the issues of power and inequality (the essential 'politics') as the general drift of local and international interventions is towards the consolidation of bureaucracy (the 'anti-politics machine').

⁸⁶ The type of paraffin stoves in homes of the displaced are actively discouraged in South Africa.

⁸⁷ One household in Ha Ntsi had a gas stove installed instead of the coal, and the son who is employed on the mines felt he could meet the cost.

Projects mostly sink or sometimes swim but the bureaucracy lives on. Although not planned and anticipated, the benefits of projects fall not to the poor rural populations to which they are formally intended, but to the bureaucracy which gradually extends itself into and throughout society.

Thus appears a world in which development appears both unstoppable and also counter to the interests of the people. In this world the voice of the critic, the impoverished, and the disabled is stilled by the quiet and inevitable growth of centralised power and the techniques of depoliticisation. Against such a logic there is the perspective of political economy which provides a greater logic of economy and private interests in which development is governed by the interests of powerful multinational companies, compliant governments and national elites enriching themselves while also presenting a 'depoliticised' view of necessary development. This is an alternative stark view which incorporates bureaucratic interests and logic within an important, if minor, orbit. Development is here supremely logical as it works within the realm of what is possible, or more precisely, what the greater interests of the world find possible.

Many of those affected are not really stilled and see the process of development as against their interests, cruel, destructive, but inexorable. The Lesotho Highlands Water Project is seen by those who have suffered its consequences as a colossal malevolent development which would inevitably reach everybody and every thing as surely as the rising tide.

There are some who have not moved. They are those still living near the waters but further up there. There is so much water it will sooner or later reach them where they are.⁸⁸

It has taken our fields, it has taken our woods from the forests that were growing on riverbanks, it has taken the *lengana* (cannabis) that we used to collect. All these are no longer there which is causing difficult life.⁸⁹

At times the analogies are biblical and poetic:

We have been befallen by the great flood, that one of the water of old which we hear of when we are told; it has come to us; it has taken us, the great flood of water.⁹⁰

'Development' appears faceless and relentless, demanding to have its way; its effects pitiless and destructive of solidarity and society itself. Summed up in a few words the women say:

This dam is very cruel.⁹¹

We are separating from our friends, these ones who were looking after us, those of the village whom we are now separating from, [who would say] "Grandmother, take some porridge". Now that it is that we are separating, it is cruelty.⁹²

A woman regarded by others as a 'wealthy widow' as she inherited her husband's estate without contention from his family as he had no brothers, found that her inheritance was shattered by the move from the mountains to Maseru. In a process probably typical of those

⁸⁸ Focus group 1, Makhoakhoeng.

⁸⁹ Focus group 8, Bokong.

⁹⁰ Panos interview 12, MaSeipati.

⁹¹ Focus group 8, Bokong. Woman discussing drowning of people attempting to cross the dam.

⁹² PANOS interview 12, Maseipati.

who had livestock, she found that the market was suddenly flooded everyone selling up, and that her arrangements to maintain her stock were precarious.

Aw...now goats, sheep and donkies still remain behind. I tried to sell them but there were no takers. How could you sell when everyone was coming to the lowlands, everyone was trying to finish off their livestock to prepare for relocation. Just see if this was something we were ready for!

When I think of the cruelty to my animals and their misery! I could not even complete selling them. I have cows at St Michaels and in the Maluti at Ha Marakabei.⁹³

Against this theme of implacable momentum the government and the local chiefs seem weak and indecisive. Promises are made but not believed. The extreme form of scepticism is evidenced in an interview conducted at the early stage of the Project. 'Mamokhantsi Romokoatsi, who has four children and no husband, was directly affected by the construction of the project and didn't expect any of the promises of government to be met.

She lost one of her three fields during the early implementation stays of the project and was very concerned that she would not be compensated for her field. Even if she were compensated, he felt her children would not receive any further compensation when she died.

I know how the government works. They promise people a lot of things and when the time comes to do something about their promises, they are nowhere to be found. I know that when the Thaba Tseka town started, people whose fields were taken to build the town were promised heaven on earth.

I tell you, my child, even today those people have not received a penny from the government. Therefore there is nothing that can convince me that the government will pay me for my field. Perhaps it is too early to tell.⁹⁴

If there was scepticism about government at the early stage of the Project, in later interviews and statements there is very little mention of government and more focus on the LDHA itself which is seen, at times, of having something of the status of a government within the government and the decisive agency.

The LHDA itself and its officials in the eyes of the displaced do have a public persona which is not always appreciated. The rhetorical question and answer session given by a official remembered below gives something of the flavour of interaction between the LHDA and the people as seen by those displaced.

They say: 'Did you have a fence?' --You did not have a fence!
'Did you have a water pipe in your garden?' --You collected water from a well!
Nasty words.
They make us unhappy and they show poor upbringing.⁹⁵

This abrasive exchange gives an idea of an official contrasting the previous life with the benefits provided by the LHDA. Even among those who appear relatively well off in the eyes of their neighbours, such as the respondent above, also have an extremely critical view.

⁹³ Interview with Matsolo.

⁹⁴ Personal interview with 'Mamokhantsi Romokoatsi, 1988. Thoahlane, 1991.

⁹⁵ Interview Matsolo.

Although it may be true that there is a tendency for complaint rather than self motivation, it is also true that this is to be expected from people who have been displaced and who are still, in their own words, trying to find their feet in a new situation. The grumbles are at times loud particularly in relation to the failure of the LHDA to get moving in alternative livelihoods through projects. They feel they were bribed to move and deceived.

We did in fact refuse to move. They promised us, nicely, that why do you take money from here? We will give you money on the first day of your arrival, they even called it *bokhothokhotho* [lots and lots of money]. When we got here, the following morning they had put containers of water out for us. This made us think that we are dealing with good people. Well, that was only deception. That was the only thing that we got. After that things changed. Now when we ask for compensation they say, what do you want it for?⁹⁶

We still have not received compensation in full as promised by the Highlands Project people. What they have given us is but *chenche* [small change].⁹⁷

Our future is uncertain because we have not been trained on things that would sustain our lives once compensation comes to an end. The project had initially promised that we would be trained on self-reliant projects that would include income generating activities. Nothing is happening.⁹⁸

[I get] compensation for my one field for the produce I used to get out of it. They promised us we would get it during the sixth month of each year but we get it much later than that each time. This is frustrating.⁹⁹

In field visits there was very clear evidence at times that there were unresolved problems which should have been attended to such as the problem of the coal stoves. The Ombudsman had also identified this problem, commented extensively, and urged the LHDA to intervene and improve conditions, but the problems still persist unattended. In addition there was a welter of individual complaints which appear to be justified: an incompleting repair here, the pole for a lightning rod on the ground and not erected as promised, mats promised because the concrete floors are so cold and not provided, etc.

Some of the statements are vigorously and vividly expressed.

We have been relocated at a bad area. They promised us that they were going to improve our lives; they said that they would install water pipes and connect electricity for us. They said we would enjoy it here, but we are a lot worse off than we were before we came here. They said they would give us a lot of money; *bokhothokhotho*, they called it.¹⁰⁰

I do not want to go away from this village, but because of oppression, we will leave, because of oppression.

The women of Bokong are particularly bitter because of what they say is the hard attitude of the LHDA towards people who have to be rescued or bodies recovered. An incident in which a helicopter crashed into the Katse dam drowning the pilot and a leading official of the LHDA

⁹⁶ Focus group 4, Ha Seohlana.

⁹⁷ Focus group 3, Ha Ntsi.

⁹⁸ Anna Moepi, WCD statement.

⁹⁹ Focus group 3, Ha Makhalanyane.

¹⁰⁰ Focus group 4, Ha Seohlana.

in May 2003 did not unite the people of Katse together with the grieving officials who came to the scene. Instead it highlighted the contrast between the expensive concern of the LHDA for leading officials and their distant attitude to the deaths of ordinary people.

Those who fell into the dam from a plane have been recovered because they were part of the Project, but as for us, because we are Basotho and are darker in complexion they do not care for us. That rescue gave us pain: some bodies are recovered from the dam and others not. They refuse to come to the rescue of the children; they say that parents should pay R1000 each to finance a rescue operation; where would one find such an amount?¹⁰¹

The exchanges are heated and unmerciful; in the recovery of the bodies and the helicopter a diver also lost his life; both of those who drowned were Basotho citizens like them.¹⁰² Somehow the association with the LHDA puts them in a white and foreign category in the eyes of the affected.

Negotiations and entitlements: the Ombudsman's inquiry

The relationship between the LHDA on the one hand and the affected and civil society groups is generally conflictual, distant and occasionally tense. The LHDA is generally defensive and conservative in appearing in public platforms to explain its position. This has been stated by its critics and, also increasingly by expert consultants employed by the World Bank. In the Environmental Impact Assessment it is argued that the LHDA is "defensive, somewhat adversarial and suspicious". Other terms used were "dominated by an engineering philosophy" rather than socially orientated and lacking "client focus", not "proactive" and not "customer orientated".¹⁰³ These comments were made in an earlier assessment and have been said to have brought about change and reformed attitudes over time.

On the one hand the people complain of numerous promises unfulfilled, identify the LHDA with South Africans, or are frustrated with their situation, on the other the LHDA officials, overwhelmingly Mosotho, often feel under unjustifiable attack. They complain the resettled people appear to be utterly dependent on them and only concerned with deepening the compensation they receive.

This impasse was bridged for a period with a full-scale investigation into the conditions of resettled people by the Ombudsman, Sekara Mafisa, who received 'tens' of complaints from those displaced from Mohale, drew up a scope of enquiry into the Treaty, and started hearings from December 2002. Although issues relating to Katse were not excluded, no evidence about conditions there was led and the remarks made about it were solely of the nature of a negative precedent from which lessons should have been learnt.

After an investigation spanning 9 months involving a total of 172 witnesses testifying and the inspection of 26 resettled communities, the 151 page report was presented early in August 2003.¹⁰⁴ The witnesses complained of delays in receiving their disturbance allowance,

¹⁰¹ Focus group 8, Bokong.

¹⁰² The pilot, was Lieutenant Lererileng Maloi, and passenger Sethunya Nthako, the engineering manager of the LHDA.

¹⁰³ Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997: vii,8.

¹⁰⁴ Thabo Thakalekoala. Ombudsman releases report on Lesotho Highlands Development Authority and affected communities.

<http://www.probeinternational.org/pi/index.cfm?DSP=content&ContentID=8116by>

minimum threshold, cash for arable land or delivery of grain in those cases where grain was provided in compensation.

They stated that compensation rates resulted in a far lower standard of living than before resettlement and came late. They demanded interest on the outstanding amounts due to them. The new gardens were 'hopelessly inadequate' and they had been misled to believe their gardens would be provided in addition to their plots. The policy here was worse than that applying to the displaced Katse people. A particular grievance was the lack of compensation for communal assets; the LHDA had required them to form cooperatives as communities to access funds. This appeared as an excuse to avoid payment.

The compensation for the produce of arable land was meant to arrive in June but was invariably late and they did not get any interest on their moneys. In addition they wanted cash to compensate for their seasonal produce of pumpkin, peas, beans, and other vegetables. They demanded an accumulated lump sum in payment here, and complained that the LHDA demanded a business plan and quibbled when it was submitted. Finally they demanded that compensation should be paid for the lifetime of the dam and not be limited to 50 years so their great grandchildren could enjoy the benefits (Ombudsman, 2003:Part 1).

In responding to the complaints, the LHDA often conceded liability and referred to its internal problems. In the report the Ombudsman found substantially in favour of the complainants. He found that the documentation of compensation policy had only become available in 2001 and that there was considerable confusion about its terms. Very significantly he concluded that it was probably illegal for the LHDA to spread compensation over a lifetime or longer.

Both the Act and the Order clearly envisage a once-off lump sum compensation (see sections 43 and 44-45 thereof respectively). The spreading of the payment of the compensation over a period ranging from ten to fifty years is a matter that was decided by the relevant authorities for, probably, the benefit of resettles. It does not seem be provided for under the above Acts of Parliament (Ombudsman, 2003: 5.7.3).

He further found the houses had often been built not to the sizes of prior assets recorded in the Blue Cards, rondavels (separate huts) had on occasion been reduced to somewhat larger houses, and the stoves had blackened the houses and were no longer in use. In relation to the permanence of occupation it was not clear what status there was to the title documents provided.

The LHDA responded to many of the complaints and demands by arguing that it was not responsible for conditions particularly in the urban areas. The size of plots was governed by legislation or by municipal byelaws. It was not responsible for construction of roads to communities, this was the task of municipalities. Where there were less than 6 resettled families it was not responsible for water supply, footbridges, or public lighting.

The Ombudsman: recommendations for change

The Ombudsman's recommendations largely supported the complaints of the displaced but not their demands (if it is possible to make a demarcation between the two). Generally the complaints centred on the gaps and defaults between policy and practice, the demands human needs outside the established policy/statutory field. On the defaults in terms of the compensation policy he recommended speedy reaction from the LHDA, often setting time limits for action to be taken. The language here was quite firm:

I am of the view, in general, that where LHDA has violated the law, breached the contract or acted negligently e.g. failure to pay interest or failure to build rondavels, etc, and loss was suffered by complainants LHDA must make good the loss. LHDA cannot make fault and benefit from it (Ombudsman, Part 7).

A series of recommendations are made which accept the validity of a number of complaints:

- Interest should be paid on delayed payments,
- All documents should be available to the resettled people, translated and explained,
- A water scheme should be made available to particular named communities,¹⁰⁵
- The stoves which were inoperative and defective should be replaced,
- The very polluted stream near Thetsane should be investigated,
- Electricity should be provided in named communities, and probably most importantly
- Rondavels should be provided according to the rules and if necessary the houses should be rebuilt (Ombudsman, 2003:Part 8).

These are the more robust recommendations which often mention particular communities and individual families with deadlines set for changes to be made. There was another set of recommendations which were rather more modest and cautious and which, while sympathetic, didn't take up the proposals of the complainants:

- The compensation for loss of communal assets should be spent on essential services in resettled communities and additional support should be provided through cooperatives,
- The LHDA should review the situation of gardens 'justly',
- The grain compensation should be provided in August and cash payments should require business plans.

On the big questions such as the level of compensation paid he did not express his views explicitly; on gardens he left the matter open to the LHDA's judgement, on the question of life-long guarantees of compensation he was silent.

Although he did suggest that the Lesotho Water Commission should start undertaking its responsibilities, he also did not make reference to the other agencies institutions which should take responsibility for the well being of those resettled such as the Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue Fund (LHWRF) in which a proportion of the proceeds of the sale of water is placed.

Instead proposed firstly that there should be a more sympathetic attitude from the LHDA, and secondly that there should be a forum for the displaced people and the LHDA at which the rates could be discussed and revised. He evidently found the LHDA's attitude to the resettled unsatisfactory:

We recommend that the LHDA field staff adopt a more positive attitude towards resettles. We recommend a more [com]passionate and accommodating approach to them given their station in life and the circumstances they have been placed in. A public institution discharging public functions must project a proper image in its interaction with the public it serves. LHDA must ensure this (Ombudsman, 2003:8.20).

On the other hand the resettled should acknowledge that rights are accompanied by duties. Secondly he made a broad proposal that the Ombudsman's office through its hearings could

¹⁰⁵ These include Ha Seochlana, Ha Ratau (Matebeleng), Thuathe, Ha Tsolo, Ha Ntsi.

be a forum for the involvement of communities 'truly and in earnest' with the LHDA to revise the compensation rates (Ombudsman, 2003:8.3).

The rules of compensation, although not negotiated, are something like a collective bargaining instrument and the displaced, when properly constituted, a negotiating party. The Ombudsman proposed that the stakeholders (LHDA, the Lesotho Water Commission, the displaced people and the NGO's) should engage in mutual cooperation to solve their problems. This would involve a change in attitude all round:

The proposed dialogue can only be achieved if LHDA, displaced people and NGO's (TRC in particular) abandon the existing perceptions and prejudices towards one another. The battle lines must be dismantled and daggers returned to their sheaths. If this situation could be attained, then a climate would have been created for a brighter future and the implementation of the Ombudsman's recommendations would be effected without difficulties and in a spirit of harmony and cordiality. (Ombudsman, 2003:Part 8.31.3-4).

The situation is somewhat analogous to that of collective bargaining in the current globalised era; of an established power, the employer, with a range of employees, some permanents, others on short term contracts, and a range of various kinds of casuals who have some entitlement. The entitlements of those displaced which are to last for up to 50 years are recorded in "Blue Cards"¹⁰⁶, a curious terminology which is identical to the old "Blue Cards" of the Unemployment Insurance Fund in South Africa.

Those who are sceptical of these processes appear to be justified by the lack of progress on the issues to which 'due speed' was attached to their resolution. As one of the better-off members of the Thetsane community forthrightly expressed herself in relation to the troubled issue of gardens:

We have failed, we were defeated at the ombudsman; he has done nothing less than lighten the chain around our necks.

After making our appeal there was no response ... we are prisoners. [We can now be told] "Because you did not want to discuss problems between us, you went to the Ombudsman so now the judgement has been passed"... When you make your argument they say "The Ombudsman has said"... "Read the document", you hear... When you read the document you find that the gardens about which we were complaining have not been responded to.¹⁰⁷

In the period since the publication of the report there has been a pause in discussion and negotiations, which has led the displaced to report that nothing has changed.

Who benefits? Power and corruption

The problem which arises is essentially one of power; the ability of people to enforce decisions in their interest. Despite specific recommendations and even deadlines, the position with the stoves (which appears to be one of design as much as decay) has not been improved in any of the communities revisited, the size of the gardens is also unresolved, water supplies have not been provided to the two named communities visited, electricity is not available, etc. Although there is something of a new attitude and better communication, the resettled and the

¹⁰⁶ Ombudsmans Report, Part 2.9.3.

¹⁰⁷ Interview Matsolo.

TRC do not report a substantial improvement which would allow the renegotiation of the compensation rates and other matters.

While the displaced have been preoccupied with basic social need, there has been a contrary development over the past decade of the powerful making use of additional resources provided by the LHWP in their own interests. The Project has become characterised by misuse of funds by politicians and outright corruption by both its chief executive Marphusa Sole and the multinational companies which have been contracted to build the infrastructure. The LHDA became an instrument in their mutual arrangements. Deals were made even in relation to the contractors appointing officials within the LHDA. In an extraordinary revelation during the trial of Acres it turned out that its employees were occupying key positions, one individual even signing invoices for the company and then authorizing payment for the same invoices as the Assistant Chief Executive of the LHDA (McClern, 2003)! With these relationships and the capture of the LHDA by multinational companies tendering for its contracts, it is hard to imagine that the interests of the poor would take priority. Curiously the risk of these eventualities: bribery, corruption, and the creaming off of benefits by the rising middle class are not even considered as remotely possible in the appraisal of the LHWP made by World Bank consultants and are not even mentioned hypothetical risk in footnotes (World Bank, 1998:21 Critical risks).

While it is a tribute to the Lesotho judiciary and state that these matters have not been passed over (as in many first world and third world countries) and instead the country has set an example by energetically pursuing an investigation into the misuse of power through to the prosecution and sentencing of the parties; the corrupt practices which have been revealed simply confirm in the minds of those displaced and affected that the whole Project was managed in the interests of the powerful.

In the minds of the poor there is a simple equation between power, appropriation and impoverishment as the funds do not reach the people.

The money came from the World Bank but they, the leaders, took all of it. We got nothing, none of it came to us, they have eaten it. We are poor, more poor than before.¹⁰⁸

In general it is clear that the beneficiaries have been Lesotho's tiny group of wealth families and the rising educated middle class. In addition to their employment as higher paid officials, professionals, and managers, which is well remunerated (at considerably higher salaries than the public service) there is substantial evidence of wealth which goes well beyond salaries. During a visit in November 2003 there was the show of luxury cars for sale outside a leading bank; only three of these could be afforded by the wealthy of Frankfurt, Germany.¹⁰⁹ A review of the Project concludes:

While the project has increased the fortunes of the nation's elite, the majority of Basotho were not able to cash in on the LHWP.

The trial of the former Chief Executive, Marphusa Sole, exposed bribery and fraud in an extraordinary web of intrigue, special agents, awards of tenders for bribes, and money laundering. Sole was appointed chief executive of the LHDA in 1986 when the dam project began¹¹⁰. According to sources in Maseru he had a distinguished academic record in

¹⁰⁸ Man at Bokong who pointed to the LHDA offices at Katse, field notes, 23 November 2003.

¹⁰⁹ In conversation with a German tourist at the time.

¹¹⁰ The Lesotho Highlands Development Authority Order, 1986, commenced on 24 October of that year.

engineering in Canada and seemed well qualified in his responsibility to manage the LHDA and award contracts to foreign construction companies. After a trial initiated in 1999 in which a considerable effort was made by the prosecution to trace the bank accounts and transactions involved, Lesotho's Judge Cullinan found Masupha Sole guilty in May 2002 of receiving nearly \$5 million worth of bribes over the course of a decade from companies involved in constructing the project (Hawley, 2003). He was sentenced him to 18 years in prison for the considerable booty he made from his position and the companies involved were themselves also subsequently prosecuted and found guilty.

The mutual bribery and corruption between third world adjudicators of tenders and multinational companies has raised many questions over the direction and control over the LHDA as well as the funding of these companies by International Finance Institutions (IFI). According to the evidence presented in court many of the IFI must have known about the corruption and yet made public funds available; the World Bank had equivocated in the case. In the face of the evidence and convictions the most recent World Bank review limits itself to the following: "Bank assistance in the evaluation of bids was considered helpful by LHDA" and that procurement policies were being evaluated (Hassan, 2002: 106 Appendix). According to a press report early in the court case when the allegations first came to light, the World Bank, which lent about \$140 million for the project, suggested that no action should be taken for fear of undermining the scheme.¹¹¹ Specifically it argued that the tenders for the contractors with experience in Katse were lower than those who were not because they had not dispersed capital equipment and expert staff and, implicitly, that these should be preferred and that the Phase IB should proceed (World Bank, 1998: Annex 4A).

The multinationals and Sole worked the bribery through the use of intermediaries who worked as special agents employed as 'consultants' to promise rewards in exchange for the certainty of winning the tender. A complex network of financial transactions, all unrecorded and unaudited, obscured the deals arrived at. These consultants who conducted work which was not reflected in their contracts and had open access to Sole were described by the company as something like undercover agents having an 'intelligence function' and undertaking a 'sensitive task' which should not be documented. The lack of records and verbal arrangements gave the companies 'deniability'; they could, and did, argue that the bribes were something undertaken by consultants and had nothing to do with them. All evidence was thus circumstantial. In the case of Acres International, a Canadian company, the judge did accept that there was a logical connection between each payment to their agent and the funds received by Sole and found the company guilty of bribery. The witnesses including executives were 'deliberately untruthful' and evasive (McClean, 2003).

Figure 6: Names of companies charged

The companies charged are Acres International (Canadian); ABB (Swedish/Swiss); Dumez International, Sogreah, Spie Batignolles, Cegelec, and Coyne et Bellier (French); Lahmeyer International (German); Universal Development Corporation and Electro Power Corporation (Panamanian); Associated Consultants and Project Managers (Lesotho); and Sir Alexander Gibbs and Partners (British).

The international consortia charged are Highlands Water Venture and Lesotho Highlands Project Contractors. International companies in the consortia include Ed Zueblin (German), Impregilo (Italian) and Balfour Beatty (British).

According to the IRN, 'many of the companies are no strangers to allegations of corruption'.

¹¹¹ Chris McGreal, 4 July 2001, Taking Multinationals to Task, The Guardian Weekly.

The bribes which must have been reflected in higher contract costs than otherwise would have been obtained for the 'successful' contractors, were an indication of the weak form of governance over the LHDA. To some extent the intense interest in the court cases, the public exposure of the chief executive, and the outcry of civic organisations has enforced greater care in the administration of the LHDA, but it has also reinforced a certain defensiveness.

The controversies certainly did not accelerate interest in using what instruments already existed to boost the prospects for the displaced, affected and the rural population generally. The Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue Fund (LHWRF) was established in 1992 initially with import duties and later water royalties with inflows averaging around \$45 million per annum in the second half of the decade. This was an enormous accumulation of funds which could have led to the creation of poverty reduction projects on a large scale and large-scale, even if temporary, rural employment. However, according to the NGOs in a letter written in 1999:

The fund has been and continues to be a tool of opportunistic politicians. Although the committee designated to select projects to be supported by the social fund has not met even once yet, money from the fund has been used to support ill-conceived projects built by workers hired according to political party affiliation.¹¹²

This was confirmed in a World Bank report, which reported that the 'use of the funds became highly politicized and lacking in transparency' (World Bank, 2001:10). In short the funds collected to provide some rationale to the claim that the LHWP was leading on to development throughout the country and alleviating poverty were corruptly being used to promote political ambitions and the use of the Fund seems to have been stalled.

Surprisingly the LHWRF or the Social Fund¹¹³ which followed were not even mentioned in the Ombudsman's report, despite existing for the precise purpose of improving the lives of those most affected and the poorest of society from the revenues raised by the LHWRP. This is some indication of the obscurity into which the rural development program for resettled people has fallen. There is extraordinarily little information about the subsequent re-launching in 2002 of development funds fed by revenue from the LHWP. According to one of the very few studies examining the question the LHWRF became transformed into a micro-credit institution:

In February, 2001 the Government of Lesotho officially launched the Lesotho fund for community development (LFCD) as the formal social Fund, eventually to become the micro-credit institution, entrusted with the task of community rural development finance in the 21st century in Lesotho (Mashinini, 2002).

While the original intention of the LHWRP was to promote economic diversification and development through projects involving the public participation of the rural poor, it was also tasked with providing additional revenues to government on a long term basis.¹¹⁴ Among other things these confusing goals led to the LHWRP becoming something of a source for dispensing favours to the politically loyal rather than a support to those impoverished by

¹¹² Letter to Washington Post, 15 September 1999.

¹¹³ Such is the confusion about the fund that its very name is not clear; it is variously described as the Lesotho Highlands Water Development Fund (LHWDF) by Archer (1996), as the Lesotho Highlands Revenue Fund (LHRF) in World Bank reports, and as the Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue Fund (LHWRF), by Mashinini (2002). All this uncertainty appears to signal a lack of concrete concern with the lives and development prospects for those displaced by the dams.

¹¹⁴ Legal Notice No.82 of 1991.

displacement. Its projects became so notorious for graft and corruption that they were given a special name by the communities:

From the quality of these projects, work and reports related to financial mismanagement in their running, "fato-fato" (LHWRF poverty alleviation projects) are a clear indication of the lack of proper mechanisms to distribute the inflow of money generated by the LHWRF (Moeti, 1996:79).

The new LFCD has a different mandate, that of providing micro-finance rather than public works, but appears to be equally vulnerable to similar difficulties experienced by the LHWRF. A seasoned observer of rural development projects warns that the LFCD should beware of being unprepared technically, should ensure its decisions are depoliticised, should be more autonomous from government, and should avoid running into conflicts between Village Committees and chiefs (Mashinini, 2002). Its relatively modest current operations, indeed obscurity, did not promise community participation and financial sustainability. Whatever the intentions with the new fund it is clear that the interests of alleviating the poverty of those displaced by dams has become entirely separated from the objectives of the funding agency.

All in all the Project and its revenues has been visibly misused by the key individuals and groups to enrich themselves and promote their interests. In the same period substantial numbers of rural people have been uprooted and resettled without much prospect of reaching the same level they had previously attained. For a section of this community there has been deep impoverishment and more concretely a level of social disorganisation which has considerably disturbed their lives and certainly led among some communities to ill-health and severe social problems. A tiny section of Lesotho society has benefited enormously from the Project, while large numbers struggle to maintain their past living standard and insist they are under worse conditions than before.

What future for the LHDA?

Despite the appointment of a new chief executive, Liphapang Elias Potloane, who has had considerable experience in business and with South Africa's Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, people close to the officials of the LHDA report there is nervousness and even paralysis within the bureaucracy.

Because there is doubt about whether Phase II will go ahead, nobody acts decisively as they may be stepping out of line. Everyone is worried for their job.¹¹⁵

Since the height of construction of the Mohale dam there has been a decline from 700 to 400 in the workforce. A human resource study started in October to report early in 2004 on the 'restructuring' necessary after construction work has been completed. A Lesotho newspaper reports a study that the 'transformation of the organisation is not expected to have negative impact on the employees of the LHDA since many of them will be retained'.¹¹⁶ This statement implies that some retrenchments will have to be announced if there is no agreement between the Lesotho and South African governments to proceed with Phase II.

In this climate the organisation is obviously not wanting to undertake new commitments such as raising the level of compensation. It is precisely this question which was uppermost in the mind of many of the activists among the resettled who were determined to have their say and

¹¹⁵ Personal communication.

¹¹⁶ Mopheme – The Survivor, 4-10 November 2003, Is LHWP's Phase II coming or not?

get renewed commitment from the LHDA before construction in Mohale was completed and it 'goes away' in the words of one displaced woman.

In the struggle to improve their lives the women are driven to make further demands on the LHDA as the following quotation provides evidence:

We wish that the Project could construct a better road around here and reclaim the gullics, which continue to deepen. We also wish they could provide us with water pipes and also with electricity.¹¹⁷

Equally the LHDA must feel these elementary demands as relentless pursuit and, particularly at this moment, be reluctant to become engaged in long-term commitments.

Gender, loss and social intervention?

From an initial analysis is apparent that women were not consulted by LHDA; that men attended meetings and negotiated over conditions. Women have only been consulted as widows and as land owners and not as wives and mothers. Additionally women have largely had to carry the burden of HIV/AIDS; "every weekend we attend funerals", say the women of Bokong. The alternative livelihoods for women organised as a compensatory mechanism through LHDA are hardly developed; and there is deep resentment over its insistence on women first forming cooperatives. At the same time it appears that women combine more readily, share burdens; and that older women take on children of their daughters; in short that the homesteads survive in some way. But what is also apparent is that the men are unemployed and yet largely absent from the homes.

Although there could be some bias due to the emphasis on interviews with women to assess the impact of the dams on them, the inescapable conclusion is that women are at the centre of the family, providing emotional support, sustaining what resources are available for survival, maintaining hearth and home. The struggle of mothers to maintain their families in conditions of displacement is a story of drudgery but also of courage and resourcefulness and invites the illustrative analogy of the psychiatrist, R.D. Laing.

My family was like a flower. Mother was the centre and we were the petals. When I broke away, mother felt that she had lost an arm. They (my brothers and sisters) still meet round her like that. Father never really comes into the family in that sense (Laing, 1971:6).

There are two sides to the family here; the dispossession and marginalisation of men who are losing their traditional role and economic function, maintaining their authority in making the big decisions, but not gaining a new purpose and new authority; and women who have to provide emotional sustenance, the domestic order, and increasingly responsibilities for areas in which she is not accorded authority.

In the domestic domain there have been undoubted additional problems for women and the compensatory mechanisms have not operated satisfactorily.

The mobilisation around the Ombudsman's enquiry, which involved hundreds of displaced both in providing evidence and in attending the hearings, brought the people together to

¹¹⁷ Focus group 4, Ha Seohlana.

clarify their perspectives and sharpen their demands. Equally the representation of the displaced at international conferences has raised their sights and provided new platforms. In this process many women, such as Anna Moepi, have spoken directly for themselves and played a leading role.

Anna Moepi is unmarried and without children and many other women certainly have ideas but feel overwhelmed by the demands of raising children in conditions of poverty. A mountain woman complains that she has lost control over her children, lost their support within the home, and feels incapacitated by their advance in education.

[Being a woman] I feel that it is difficult. It is a hard life, much harder than when I was a child. When I was a child, I did not have many problems that I am thinking about... There are many I agonise over. If there are no matches they ask me for them, if there is no soap they asked me for it, when the children are hungry they want food from me.

These kids like to go out. They don't even care if they are late or not. In those old days...we used to return home when the cattle came home from the veld (range) and prepare supper. But now these children don't care, you have to cook yourself or you will not eat.¹¹⁸

Within the Lesotho family there is increasing pressure also on the men who find it increasingly difficult to get work in South Africa as a 'traditional' migrant and find there are no prospects within Lesotho itself. A man with employment in South Africa (usually on the mines which pay very low wages by South African standards) earns the term 'rich' by his neighbours as his family will be able to afford paraffin or buy gas cylinders and some of the better things in life. But the overwhelming majority of the men appear unemployed and, as their families, totally dependent on the proceeds of compensation. These are not the happy ingredients for a successful relocation.

In conditions of poverty there are increasing reports of conflict within the family, abuse of women, violence against women, and also of depression among men. The women of Bokong, a relatively remote area, report that divorce is becoming common and mutual verbal abuse and feelings of suicide not unusual. Many men feel and know that they have lost authority over their wives. As one man has put it:

I see that the love that had no boundary in it, because now this woman, when I say that I love her, I now say 'This is your house, here you shall do each and everything (that you like)'".

Parents have lost authority over children:

I find that the fathers have failed to rule.¹¹⁹

Many women sense the same phenomenon of male demoralisation with their husbands 'out of sorts' and show simultaneously both some acceptance of their subordination and resentment at their humiliation in not having the power to decide vital matters for the family.

These days my husband is not the same as before. Sometimes he even asks why I don't follow up the case myself instead of just leaving him to do it. But what can I do

¹¹⁸ PANOS interview 26: Mampaleng.

¹¹⁹ PANOS interview 11, Mokete.

he is a man and I am the woman. I was not even there when he signed some of the papers. This is not my property, I have no say in whatever concerns me.¹²⁰

It is not clear what division of income there is in the family; as the owner of the land the men are paid the monetary compensation. There was curiously little response in individual interviews and focus groups on the question of how the money was spent; in the few responses women have mentioned that men had the opportunity to entertain other women. In the one case where a older man was interviewed he stated that he had put the lump sum compensation for the loss of land in the bank and was drawing the interest but that this was very little to live on.¹²¹

In general the senior male appears peripheral to the family and is not often mentioned. In the various interviews and focus groups 'husband' is mentioned 80 times but mostly by older women and hardly at all by younger women; 'men' (including 'man') is mentioned 99 times. Both concepts are mentioned only as a fraction of those of 'children'.¹²² With both concepts 'husband' and 'men' the older women give a positive or neutral (e.g. men plough or go to the mountain) mention, while the younger women tend to give a neutral or negative mention. In all cases men are not associated with children or mentioned in a supportive role in relation to the household or to the women. This implies that men do not have an active role in giving a positive direction to the family and that domestic management is not a partnership. During visits to settlements the men were mostly absent although not employed.

Divorce and social dislocation

Increasingly the question of separation and divorce is appearing, being mentioned in discussions and cases which were presented. Curiously marital discord is mentioned by two mountain focus groups and not by those in the towns. Although the relationship between man and woman often appears difficult, the processes leading up to separation and divorce occur very unevenly and not one looked to by women as a solution to their problems. In the crisis of family relations there are many poignant narratives which show the new extremes to which men and women are driven in conflict around love and money. While in many homes there is apparent marital harmony (although often with the absence of men), in others there acute tension particularly when women resolve to seek employment.

The often bitter exchanges demonstrate that the traditional Mosotho family relations are disappearing, but not on the basis which men and women wish for themselves. The contradictions and tensions invite comparison with period early in the previous century described by a leading social observer in the following terms:

The waves of the sexual crisis are sweeping over the threshold of workers' homes, and creating situations of conflict that are as acute and heartbreaking as the psychological sufferings of the 'refined bourgeois world' (Kollantai, 1921).

In Bokong there appears to be great unhappiness--the women mentioned that there was extensive family conflict which could lead to separation and divorce.

Chorus: Yes there are many. If I tell him that I am going to look for a job, the husband sometimes refuses permission, but seeing as the situation is desperate I just

¹²⁰ Interview with teacher, Mampolokeng.

¹²¹ Interview Ha Moloi, October 2003. He complained he had not been compensated at all for his garden and had documentation showing his situation, but not a blue card.

¹²² By way of comparison 'child' and 'children' are mentioned 262 times.

go, how would we survive? Some are cooperative and do allow you back, some do not. Sometimes due to separation the man goes astray.¹²³

The conflicts appear to be over material questions such as women having to seek work; matters of patriarchal control rather than emotion.

Other instances are mentioned elsewhere where there are high levels of domestic conflict. There was mention of a case of divorce in Likalaneng which exposes some of the trauma and impoverishment associated with divorce.

I lived with my partner very well and we had oxen the two of us. Do you know that he took them all when we separated...off he went to Maseru. I remain behind with the children and I continue to sit at the *sepatla* (market) and from there I went to sell traditional beer. I still subsist by selling beer.

The divorce would have involved the loss of the LHDA house and place full responsibility for bringing up the children on the mother as the husband is entitled to what moveable property there was then as well as the bridewealth.

He took the cows that we had both worked for and ate them in the [adjoining] village. I survive by scrounging around, with these children that I have. Luckily two or three got married and got some animals¹²⁴ but he also took them saying that they are his children.¹²⁵

In those families which reach the point of separation the women are evidently at risk of losing what property they possess and to get none of the *bohali* (cattle etc paid as bridewealth) despite what effort they have made often single-handedly in raising the girl children.

While the exact dimensions of divorce among those displaced or affected is not clear in relation to access to gardens, to the yearly grain compensation, and whether they are then regarded as separate beneficiaries; the general point is that women's interests are not safeguarded in a system in which all negotiations take place between the head of the household (regarded as the husband) and the LHDA. It is unclear in what way the access to the entitlements on the Blue Card are handled to ensure that the husband does pass on the benefits provided in compensation both to his wife and his children.

What is clear in interviews is that in matters of choice in relation to where the family will relocate, the man decided and the women felt she had to follow. The question of consultation of women by men was mentioned in its absence and not in its presence as the following passage illustrates:

As for you, you had feelings as to where you could go?
As for us we are like children, children truly...
It depends according to the way ntate (husband) has seen it?
Yes, how he sees [things]...I do not know; we just running [behind him].¹²⁶

Here is the complex of emotions which in the short term is hindering women from intervening in matters directly affecting their lives while building up a smouldering sense of impaired dignity and anger.

¹²³ Focus group 8, Bokong.

¹²⁴ As the bride price, lobolla.

¹²⁵ Focus group 7, Likalaneng.

¹²⁶ PANOS interview 18, Mathabo.

The seasoned women of the community are somewhat reluctant to give out information which may reflect poorly on their neighbours or criticise the men.

We shouldn't be talking about others. This is gossip and we should not gossip about others.

On the other hand she did dispense this summary, if somewhat caustic, wisdom:

The women are happy as they are able to build new houses and the men are happy to have more money and get more beers and pick up more attractive women.

It is regarded as an unquestioned if a somewhat distasteful truth that the men would use the cash compensation largely at their discretion.

Two perspectives

In reviewing the prospects for those who would be resettled from Mohale the World Bank researchers made the following prognosis:

Not all the land of all the villages to be inundated will be lost (some is above the eventual water line), but some *alternative farm lands* have already been identified in the host communities, where there are informal markets for farmland or rights to sharecrop. All resettlers, in addition to being resettled or relocated, will get *high quality dwellings* in their preferred styles with *equivalent floor space* and upgraded construction materials. They can choose "owner construction" or the use of local contractors or cooperatives to obtain lower-cost housing solutions with relatively high building standards - with any cost savings accruing to the households.

Houses will be built with heat retaining material or have *heating devices* supplied, and will be accompanied by *home garden plots*. *Upgraded water supply and sanitation will be provided*. Direct compensation at replacement cost will enable those being moved to replace kraals and other structures. *Host communities will benefit from additional schoolrooms* or schools, clinics, *water supplies*, sanitary facilities, other service facilities, access roads, and some of the *training programs* for income generation. *Access roads* will also compensate for lost access due to the reservoir (World Bank, 1998:13).¹²⁷

This somewhat idyllic presentation included the promise of 'land for land', equivalent floor space, equivalent garden plots, proper heating, upgraded water supplies and sanitation, improvements for host communities and training programs. For those who remained there would be access roads to reunite communities. None of these provisions have been met in full; the research did not uncover land being made available to the displaced, there are disputes over the size and type of housing provided.

In Annex 1 of the World Bank Project Appraisal Document specific project outputs are set out which set out specific objectives in some detail both in relation to host and resettled communities.

¹²⁷ Highlights by authors.

Figure 7: Infrastructural commitments, 1998

Host and resettled communities provided with adequate infrastructure

- * 3 multipurpose development centers (clinics, workshops etc.) by 09/03;
- * 80 classrooms by 12/03;
- * 300 latrines at 15 schools by 12/00;
- * 4 bridges by 12/00;
- * 100km roads-9/03 (32km-9/00) sustainable maintenance
- * Water supply and sanitation for all resettled and host villages at 30l/pp/day and 1 latrine per 1 hh: 22 by 9/00, 48 by 9/03
- * 44 water minders trained and committees established by 9/00 and 96 by 9/03;
- * Actions per detailed timetable in Resettlement and Development Action Plan.

World Bank (1998): Annex 1, Page 6 of 11.

While it is difficult to know whether the broad objectives in roads, bridges and classrooms has been met, and latrines certainly have been provided to the resettled, there is disbelief and astonishment about the remaining outputs. Water in particular is a sharp grievance. There are numerous and heated complaints of no water projects either being built or those which were built no longer functioning. In the capital the women are dependent on municipal or private supplies of water and there have been no specific projects to meet their requirements; in the rural areas visited only one was served by a project. In Bokong the water project is no longer operational, in Mapeleng there was no project in the first place. There is no knowledge of water minders or committees among communities in Katse or Mohale.

As importantly host communities have not benefited with additional facilities in water, sanitation, classrooms, or clinics. For the vast majority of the women there are no training programs.

In relation to the outputs set out in relation to the Rural Development Program there is even greater disbelief. With the exception of outlying areas around Katse who were reported to have had some projects and training and the few women involved in Mohale itself, none of the women reported any initiatives. What they did report was that it was, from their perspective, virtually impossible to make any livelihood gains from their gardens or in accessing finance from the social fund.

Figure 8: Rural Development Program commitments, 1998

Income Restoration and Development

- * 270 business plans developed by 9/00, with 365 by 9/03;
- * 400 annual job equiv. on project by 9/00; 400 by 9/03;
- * 180 hh in trained courses by 9/00 and 290 by 9/03
- * Established credit facility for 50 hh by 9/03
- * Ag. Ext. service in place by 9/01
- * Ag. input centres est. by 9/01

World Bank (1998): Annex 1, Page 6 of 11.

There could hardly be a sharper contrast between this presentation and the narratives of the women, we could be talking of two completely different worlds. These are not accidental and casual reflections, but a weighing up of their condition which, in the detail and depth of feeling show how lives have been wrenched around, distorted and impoverished.

As for this land, I liked it with all my heart....I like it because I was eating and getting full, I was ploughing and planting each and every single crop. This place where I am going, what am I going to eat? Who will give me a field? Who gives me a field there I am going? I was ploughing and eating, I told you when we started off here, saying that I was ploughing and planting each and every crop. I am saying this place where I am going, the one who is going to give their field to plough, who is it?...Ache, I feel that the beat of my heart will be in the direction of this place where my life was.¹²⁸

The forced resettlement, loss of resources, estrangement from relatives and neighbours and from a stunning landscape and environment that was a very vivid home has had deep psychological effects. More than that, in the detailed interviews and field visits it was clear the material compensation for such bereavement has been nowhere near the promises made.

As a woman of Bokong relates:

'Me (mother), our lives have changed. We now live under more severe hardship worse than we ever did before the Project ever came into our lives. Our houses have become things that fall apart, we now have no water, we do not have toilets, we no longer have firewood, and we lost the wood with which we cook for the children.

Many things including herbal medicines that we need to cure ourselves from damaging the health of our children, from accidental pregnancies, have now been eroded away by the dam waters.

We really do not know where to seek help. Our animals have lost grazing land. We used to cut *mangana* (reed-like grass) from the riverbanks to roof our houses, these are no longer there; the waters have swallowed them. We used to collect firewood and sell, to be able to buy *papa* for the children. All these are no longer there.¹²⁹

The LHDA conducted an examination of these very conditions to ensure that the Mohale people did not have the same experience and made the promise that "people will be at least as well off, if not better off". This statement seems misplaced. To take the promise of 'land for land' alone no resettled people were encountered who had fields and even the promised small gardens are often much smaller than stated or not available at all. Improvements in the soil itself promised to a number of communities who were told that top soil would be trucked in, have not materialized.¹³⁰ The Ombudsman concludes in relation to Thetsane as follows:

The houses appear to have been constructed on a quarry fill with the result that there is no suitable land for gardening. The promised cultivable soil has never been trucked in by the LHDA (Ombudsman, 2003: 11.1.2).

Although the housing is sturdy and generally well finished (although the people complain of cracks) and there is (by South African standards) good sanitation, there is no heating during the bitterly cold Lesotho winters and the concrete floors on which people, particularly

¹²⁸ Panos interview 12, MaSeipati.

¹²⁹ Focus group 8, Bokong.

¹³⁰ Complaints in a number of communities visited and mentioned by the Ombudsman.

children, sleep readily absorb body heat. Cooking facilities have had to be improvised as the coal stoves do not function without smoking out and the house and blackening the ceiling and walls. Electrification for most has not materialized.

Among the people themselves there is a reordering of social life, although there are typically tensions with host communities and in some areas real problems of access to villages now separated by dam waters which were previously a walk away. The Ombudsman's enquiry gave the displaced communities the opportunity of self-organisation and expression, although the most articulate are disappointed by the results. But in a wider frame the resettled are struggling to build the links regarded by the LHDA as necessary to establish cooperatives to gain the social benefits to which the communities are entitled. There are constant complaints of dependence on welfare, but no long term programs in place to enable the people, particularly women to assert economic independence through new livelihoods.

The question is how long the displaced and affected will consider themselves a distinct social group. Colson found that the social phenomena associated with resettlement were critical for a period but that finally broader *national* social change tends to overlay the specific issues of displacement.

Some proposals and recommendations

The method which has been adopted in this study is to record the voices of the women, gather data about their basic conditions, and to analyse the changing environment in which they live. Their often outspoken statements in a sense speak for themselves and create a counterweight to the voiceless imposed by the pressures of impoverishment and social disorganisation brought about by resettlement. The task of this research is to analyse these statements against observed conditions and search for the points which will bring social need within the range of possibility.

Many necessary points and proposals have been made time and again—by the people, other researchers, and the Ombudsman; the need for new stoves, electrification, more accessible health care, the compensation grain to come on time, gardens provided at the size set out in the rules, new livelihoods developed, and new ways of resolving the issues of conflict between the displaced and the LHDA. The points which are recorded and expanded on here, are not necessarily new discoveries. Similar points have been made in the past, the advantage, hopefully, has been its research rigour and a reasonably large grouping of women participating in the research which has provided a convincing sample of the women in different contexts.

The foremost researcher into the LHWP and water services in the heartland of South Africa, the Gauteng Province, Professor Patrick Bond assesses the entire project as characterised by gigantism and dogmatism of the World Bank, dominated by "mega-dam construction interests, corporate corruption and a profound failure to redress existing resource inequalities". After examining the history and operation of the project both from the supply (Lesotho) and demand (South Africa) side he concludes that "the LHWP is costly, corrupt, poorly designed, badly implemented, economically damaging, ecologically-disastrous and distributionally-regressive megaproject" (Bond, 2002:19, 130-131). In the regional geopolitics in which it was constituted the maldistribution of wealth and the plight of the Basotho highlanders were unlikely to be given serious attention. From this perspective the ongoing problems of compensation and resettlement are seen as typifying the compromised nature of the development of the LHWP infrastructure and its governance structures and an

argument for its complete revision. There has been no review of the project as a whole: its ongoing ecological and social destruction, the systematic corruption and malgovernance of the past years on the one side and on the 'demand' side the enormous use and waste of water by corporations and the 'hedonistic' suburban elites. In this context the position of women is presented as the historic result of their superexploitation in reproducing cheap labour for South Africa and redress for displacement and the deprivations of the past improbable if not impossible from the current project, corporate and political leadership.

This researcher has been tasked firstly to appraise the general socio-economic conditions of women displaced or affected by the dams and to make recommendations for UNIFEM and related partners to take forward in relation to best practices and solutions. These recommendations could then be taken up with policymakers and relevant stakeholders as a way forward.

In policy research there is the difficult question of making strategic recommendations which both capture the just demands of the aggrieved and set these in an existing framework to be met fully without either confirming an unjust policy framework or justifying a manifestly insensitive bureaucracy. This issue has to be raised as the points about the conditions of the affected women have been made often before, but can and are repeated here. In addition, specific recommendations are made to give women a greater ability to present their insights, organise themselves, make their demands to bring about change within their lifetime. At one level the women are quite capable of making their case as is shown by the spirited individuals and groups who speak not only for themselves, for women generally, but also for all displaced and affected people. At another there are formidable obstacles in isolation, very poor communication among the displaced, a lack of resources, and a not always sympathetic social environment. There are relatively few platforms for women to present their case.

The women and this researcher have to work on the basis that repetition of key points and grievances can eventually bear fruit as in the biblical quotation below which represents a psychological truth rather than an ethical purpose.

"Suppose one of you has a friend, and goes to him at midnight and says to him, 'Friend, lend me three loaves; for a friend of mine has come to me from a journey, and I have nothing to set before him'; and from inside he answers and says, 'Do not bother me; the door has already been shut and my children and I are in bed; I cannot get up and give you anything.' I tell you, even though he will not get up and give him anything because he is his friend, yet because of his persistence he will get up and give him as much as he needs" (Luke 11:5-8).

Persistence and constant repetition may bring something of a resolution particularly if the women themselves are able to organise themselves into a social movement to press their demands and legitimate expectations.

Women's empowerment and emancipation in the context of the changes being brought about by the LHWP involve the following three considerations:

Firstly, meeting the needs of the family within the domestic sphere to reduce the time spent by women in drudgery and exhausting work. These would include all the questions of adequate housing, water supply, cooking facilities and fuel, heating and lighting, electricity, road access, etc. Many of these issues are regarded by the displaced women as highly problematic as it falls to them to serve the family by ensuring a warm and well functioning home and resources to achieve this are in appropriate or declining in availability.

Secondly, their place within Mosotho society; the question here is what points of existing culture and social norms women can build on to represent their needs and those of their children.

Thirdly, there is the wider context of constitutional and human rights, of women's participation within the nation and the world. The rights of women are increasingly being entrenched through legislative enactment and judicial pronouncements. Despite this there are major questions still in relation to land rights which would help women secure both productive use and ownership. Lesotho has adopted the CEDAW convention which aims to strengthen the ability of women to exercise their rights in political and public life and in participation in education and employment. It specifies the need to extend social services and to allow women to engage in public life and work.

In discussion with women themselves there is a strong desire not only for their rights in terms of the compensation policy as members of an affected family to be recognised. They also want their right to be consulted and to participate in decisions affecting their lives should be recognized by their husbands and by the agencies bringing about their resettlement. As has been mentioned above, where men are regarded as the sole channel of communication and negotiation with the family, basic household needs can be overlooked. Certainly if women had been directly involved the questions of water and electricity would have had greater priority.

At times the weak involvement of women in the community and consultation within the family is strongly expressed in tones of real resentment at the current lack of consultation. Women complain at times that their husbands kept them in the dark about where the family would be relocated; as they compared themselves to children "...we were just running behind our husbands"¹³¹ trying to find out what was happening. Others complained vocally that they were not consulted by the LHDA, and here the responsibility for women's powerlessness is attributed to officials using the male heads of households to get agreement. The women state that the changes agreed were not in their interests.

In discussion with the women concerned and with Lesotho lawyers who are involved in advocating women's rights the first emphasis is on exploring and exhausting customary practices recognising women. It is proposed that all customary entitlements of women should be observed and the elements of traditional society providing women's rights should be drawn on first and possibly expanded. The emphasis then turns towards the utilisation of the various clauses of the constitution and conventions such as CEDAW. This emphasis appears conservative, tending towards utilising customary practice to the full rather than firstly actively contesting women's rights as individuals in society. There are, however, wider considerations in mind; keeping the family together after the stress of relocation, awareness that divorce severely disadvantages women in Lesotho, and concern to maintaining relationships between families as a solution to the problems associated with resettlement. At the same time there is, undeniably, increasingly violence against women (Thabane 2001).

These are the considerations to bear in mind in putting forward ideas and proposals to improve the lives of women directly affected by the dams.

The following recommendations are made firstly to ensure that the perspectives and demands of women are adequately represented, not because they are necessarily fundamentally

¹³¹ Some slight editing has been made of the response to shorten it for this report. Thabane (2000: 641) makes the point in relation to this quotation that the woman did have greater authority than is apparent from her quotation but her statement does capture some of the humiliation experienced by the lack of consultation from the LHDA.

different from those generally made by displaced people as a whole but because they are largely responsible for the survival of their families and have the right to represent themselves.

Firstly there should be support given to displaced women to represent themselves in a women's organization.

Women are often reluctant to identify issues in gender terms, the voice of women is still largely unheard and there continues to be reluctance by women to speak on their own account. This is to the disadvantage of their families as the issues they raise mostly concern family wellbeing rather than personal interests. But there is increasingly a determination (shown particularly by the desperate women of Bokong) to speak out for their families, communities, and themselves. As mentioned above many women have strong feelings and definite ideas, but feel constrained by the attitude of their menfolk and by the practice of the LHDA and the authorities of consulting the men. This is justified as the men are regarded as the head of the household, but the Mosotho customary law also includes the notion of men consulting their wives, and women should be empowered to participate directly in matters affecting their lives and the future of their families. In addition there are the considerations of constitutional rights and, in addition, those accorded by Lesotho approving CEDAW which provides a wide range of entitlements to women. These need to be assessed against current practice within the field of resettlement policy.

To avoid relations of dependency, funding support for women's organisation should not come directly from the LHDA, but from a general funding body with support from the LHDA as one component. International funding bodies should give sympathetic support to such an initiative, but the critical question is that of the women themselves resolving to organise themselves under democratic principles.

Secondly, the LHWP must be compelled to consult affected women directly in all aspects of the changes taking place in their lives.

The women stand to gain most by the LHDA meeting of the general demands of the displaced as these relate directly to the survival of the household. Proper housing, ample gardens, adequate heating, the necessary facilities for cooking would work to free women from much of the drudgery they now have to undertake. This is provided in policy but in practice there are difficulties in achieving these objectives; the details have been given above. What is not clear is whether the resettlement officials of the LHDA and the social departments of government are recognising the right of women to represent themselves in the on-going representations about key interests of the resettled families.

The Ombudsman's intervention created the opportunity for many women to speak for those displaced and the report explicitly opened the possibility for a forum at which issues could be tabled, discussed and resolved. In the subsequent period, however, such a forum has not been established and many of the grievances which were aired and which the LHDA said would be resolved are still in dispute. Most of the issues at stake; water, electricity, heating, cooking, gardens, etc, affect women directly and in these conditions it is essential that the LHDA negotiate both at national and local levels directly with women. For too long these issues have remained unattended and unresolved. Unfortunately that stakeholders conference held on 31 October 2003 has not resolved the fundamental issues listed above. Although the Chief Executive said that the LHDA is transparent and appreciated evaluation to correct mistakes, he also acknowledged that "we [have] dragged our feet as far as compensation to the communities is concerned". Many of the fundamental issues of resettlement, such as ready

access to safe and reliable water supplies, are still at stake. The irony is that this is being provided for South Africa but not for those who were forcibly resettled.

Thirdly there must be particular attention paid to encouraging more gainful livelihoods for the displaced women.

The question of new livelihoods is one of the issues which has generated most heated comment; women in particular feel let down by the LHDA in this respect. There are complaints about the inadequacy and poor quality of the gardens which were meant to be a primary source of family support. The promise of projects to replace the livelihoods lost through the dams has not been realised and the women are acutely aware that they are in an impasse. The LHWRP, after being suspended because of maladministration and after six years then re-launched as the LCDF, was meant to provide the prospect of new livelihoods for displaced people. The administrators of the new fund, however, do not appear to have this as one of their objectives and few of the displaced and affected people mention participation in rural development schemes or mention assistance from this Fund.

Part of the problem is that the LCDF is a micro-financing body which requires a level of business planning and formal organisation before providing finance. The resettled women, many of whom have not had the same opportunities of education and who have considerable problems in organising themselves in their new locations, do not readily have the skills and organisation available. Attempts to access funds for community development have, apparently, been met by argument from LHDA officials that cooperatives representing entire communities of those displaced should be formed first. This seems, at this stage, well beyond the capacity of the women and initiatives lapse and fail. Although the promise of new livelihoods present in the policies of compensation should provide some alternatives to the inertia, this promise has not been realised except by the few. Most have to take the prime responsibility for rearing children and this generally entails having to sacrifice the prospect of essential earning for family survival. Officials often complain about dependency on the part of the people on the LHDA, but it appears extraordinarily difficult for women to access the funds which were intended to assist them out of this dependency.

When he inaugurated Phase 1A of the LHWP, the then President, Nelson Mandela, made the following statement:

It is ...a great joy to know that as South Africans use the water from Lesotho, the income from the royalties we pay will flow into the Lesotho Highlands Water Revenue Fund to fund rural development all over Lesotho (Mandela, 1998).

Unfortunately, for all the reasons mentioned here, the revenues from the LHWP are not reaching those displaced and affected by the dams who deserve special attention nor the rural poor generally. The Rural Development Program has been marked by confusion, corruption, and poor administration and its relaunch doesn't promise a new beginning.

The delays and confusions relating to the rural development program have dragged on too long. Few of the displaced and affected are currently involved in development projects and the LHDA needs to acknowledge this is a major failure and to remedy the matter by providing a public works program for displaced people, skills training, and professional and technical assistance to women wanting to access micro-finance. The insistence on women first forming cooperatives should be reassessed as many women may wish to associate in other ways, and see this policy as simply yet another obstacle to receiving the benefits to which they are entitled.

Fourthly there has to be urgent attention given to water and health conditions.

Among all the concrete grievances of the women in relation to maintaining their families two vital points stand out for immediate remedy. The first is the unconscionable problem in water supplies to the displaced and affected communities despite the promise of a service "at least equal yield, quality and convenience" to both affected people and host communities. In visiting the various communities there was only evidence of one water project having been established by the LHDA and that was not functioning. Certainly provision at the WATSAN standards of 30 litres per person per day is not being realised; in Katse communities and in the capital women are readily seen carrying a bucket on their head over long distances to and from the water source. There are angry complaints especially in the Katse villages that the water quality is very poor indeed. The water scarcity experienced by the communities has to be resolved.

As urgently there is a need for need to prioritise the HIV/AIDS intervention within affected and displaced communities. As part of the Environmental Impact Assessment there was a warning that there would inevitably be an increased incidence of HIV/AIDS and higher rates of death at an earlier age (Kingdom of Lesotho, 1997:xi). The reports from the focus group conducted at Bokong is one of desperation and despair. A deliberate socio-medical intervention is urgently needed in the affected Katse communities and in other affected communities to improve the standard of living and to introduce antiretroviral therapy in Katse as part of a sustained proper health intervention.

Finally there should be democratic control over the institutions set up to manage water resources.

Many of the problems troubling those displaced and affected are a result of the failure of democratic control over the institutions meant to operate in the interests of the people. If the LHDA was genuinely under democratic direction the extensive corruption in tendering and delays and confusion about compensation and the rural development program would not still be at issue. The LEDA has been set up by act of parliament as an independent authority with a board of directors appointed by the Minister of Natural Resources and does not appear to have a formal reporting system to parliament but to the institutions set up by the 1986 Treaty. The LHDA is at times described as being a 'state within the state'; with a better educated and much better paid personnel not amenable to regulation and control by parliament nor by the central state bureaucracy.

The state itself appears as a blunt instrument in the direction of institutions and resources. The World Bank itself has made the following unflattering assessment of the state and the impact of weak institutional capacity for growth:

Inefficient government bureaucracy and limited absorptive capacity for external assistance impede Lesotho's efforts to sustain broad-based growth and reduce poverty. Inadequate administrative and institutional capacity in many central government agencies appears to have seriously impeded policy formulation, coordination, and implementation for long-term development. Data management systems are weak, raising concerns about the timeliness and reliability of data about national accounts, poverty, and society (Hassan, 2002: 9).

With this history of weak governance it was highly unlikely that the state itself could turn its semi-autonomous body to the tasks it had neglected. As it turned out, sections of the LHDA

itself were even appointed by the multi-national company contractors and virtually ran the organisation for a period.

It seems unconscionable that the LHDA can continue as an autonomous authority beyond democratic control after its long trail of corruption and malgovernance. Even if there are reform initiatives taking place in the post-Sole administration it is also true that there are deep problems within the bureaucracy evidenced by the failure both to provide water services as promised to displaced communities and to implement the Rural Development Program. There has been no real progress in the latter task even though there have been directives from the World Bank, recommendations from investigations, and complaints from the people themselves.

The question is what kind of democratic control can be exercised and how the displaced and affected can participate to ensure their interests are not passed over. The stakeholders forum is an attempt to draw in the displaced, but in the current state of inadequate organisation and support and considerable disillusionment among the aggrieved, the articulation of their grievances does not appear to be taking place. The people of Katse particularly seem to be left out of all current discussion.

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