

This dissertation addresses an age-old topic, but introduces some different insights. Overall, it is a sound piece of research that satisfies the requirements of a course work masters. Her topic is interesting in the context of a large-scale infrastructure project and the research questions are carefully formulated. The research method is appropriate and adequately described. In view of the (not unexpected) difficulties encountered with respondents in the field, she has made effective use of the sources that were available.

The theoretical framework appears to cover most of the relevant literature; and is written in a coherent way. The description of the case study is clear. It presents a complex and fascinating set of stakeholders and daunting challenges for Planners attempting to mediate between macro, national scale infrastructure needs on the one hand, and on the other, social justice in communities where the prevailing laws and practices militate against women and the poorly educated.

The findings are reported in chapter 4. These provide a valuable insight into dynamics within and surrounding the participation process. In the course of this chapter, she unveils an interesting array of issues, many of which are about power relations. This makes the topic difficult to research fully in the context of an MTRP dissertation. However, while not achieving much analytical depth, she has produced a useful set of insights that will be of value to other researchers in this field. The conclusions and recommendations have been dealt with in a systematic, yet thoughtful manner.

Community participation in planning: An assessment of phase 1b, stage 1 of Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) Resettlement Programme by Matlhaku Sakoane

This is a competent dissertation. The theoretical framework provides a sound basis for the undertaking of the case study. The latter is handled with insight and sensitivity and interesting conclusions and recommendations emerge from the study.

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

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**COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING:
AN ASSESSMENT OF PHASE 1B, STAGE 1 OF LESOTHO
HIGHLANDS WATER PROJECT (LHWP) RESETTLEMENT
PROGRAMME.**

**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
MASTERS DEGREE TO THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, HOUSING
AND PLANNING.**

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A list of abbreviations and acronyms

ALC	Area Liaison Committee
CBOs	Community Based Organisations
CALC	Combined Area Liaison Committee
CLA	Community Liaison Assistant
CPU	Community Participation Unit
CRTT	Compensation and Resettlement Task Team
DDC	District Development Committees
DLHUD	Department of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
DPE	Development for Peace Education
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ESSG	Environment and Social Services Group
FOB	Field Operations Branch
FOT	Field Operations Team
FSL	Full Supply Level
GoL	Government of Lesotho
IRC	International Rivers Network
JPTC	Joint Permanent Technical Commission
LHDA	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority
LHLDC	Lesotho Housing And Land Development Corporation
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
PIO	Project Information Office
PIP	People's Involvement Programme
RDAP	Resettlement and Development Action Plan
RDP	Resettlement and Development Programme
RDS	Resettlement and Development Study
RSA	Republic of South Africa
TY	Teyateyaneng
VDS	Village Development Committees
VWS	Village Water Supply
WCD	World Commission on Dams

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Mine is a humble profession...

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Community participation as a concept has evolved over time, and has been defined and interpreted in a number of ways resulting in contention, and a lot of Grey areas between community participation theory and practice. There have been many levels at which community participation has been used to justify a variety of interventions in the name of development, and in the processes either challenges or reinforces the status quo.

Today, community participation is a requirement in any developmental activity. Broad community participation in policies, development, combined with greater accountability, is essential to achieving sustainable development ... in individuals, groups, and organisations; and need to know about and participate in environment and development decisions, particularly those which can affect their communities (Agenda 21).

However, while there has been a growing emphasis on transparency and participation in decision-making involving large dams, especially from the 1990s, actual change in practice has been slow. (World Commission on Dams Report, 2000:176). It remains to be neither open and inclusive as through the 1980s and before. Furthermore, big infrastructural water projects are a subject of intense debate due to their negative effects - be they socio-economic, political or environmental of these undertaking. The resettlement issue forms a major socio-economic concern. On the other hand, these projects have the potential to enhance regional water management and peoples' lives in particular, in developing countries such as a Lesotho. Fortunately, from the experiences recorded in the World Commission on Dams (WCD) Knowledge Base, there are recent examples where participation has been shown to reduce conflict and made outcomes more publicly acceptable. (WCD Report, 2000:177).

There is no blueprint but some techniques and methods on how community participation may occur; as a result it is of interest to find out how Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) Resettlement and Development Programme planned for community participation and if it had achieved its objective. In the LHDA resettlement programme, what was the meaning of community participation and what did it seek to achieve? To what extent was the community involved in the planning, implementation and completion of the programme?

1.2 Research Topic

It is within these contexts that community participation in Planning is studied through the assessment of Phase 1B stage 1 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) Resettlement Programme.

The study is thus entitled, Community Participation in Planning: An Assessment of Phase 1B, stage 1 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) Resettlement Programme.

1.3 Research Problem

The problem is, it is difficult to achieve effective community participation due to power imbalance and diversity. In order to achieve the objectives of the project in time, planners often assume a community to be homogeneous and the views of the key community member to represent the whole community's interests. In addition, planners lack the skills to unpack the power imbalances and diversity and act on their implications.

1.4 Research Question

How was community participation ensured in Phase 1B, stage 1 of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project Resettlement Programme, and was it effective? How were the issues of power imbalance, and diversity addressed?

1.4.1 Subsidiary Questions

1. How was community participation defined in this study?
2. What was the purpose of community participation?
3. Were the affected communities involved?
4. Who else was involved? (Stakeholders)
5. What members of the household were involved? (Gender, children and the elderly)
6. What were the diverse needs of the Community?
7. At what stages of the programme were the communities involved?
8. What was/is the power structure of the community?
9. What mechanisms were used?
10. Were the affected communities given necessary information?
11. How has power and diversity affected the mechanisms?
12. What legal framework was used?
13. Has the legal framework impacted on the power relationships?

1.5 Hypothesis

While Community participation occurred in the LHWP Resettlement programme, it failed to meet the interests of all affected communities because of lack of understanding of the complexity of communities; the power structure, and diversity of needs and interests.

1.6 Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the study is to provide a critical lens through which planning practice can be examined. It explores how genuine community participation can be achieved in the contradiction between collective solidarity necessary for community level organisation, and the intense individualism generated by different needs and aspirations, and survival strategies. It also views this in the context of unequal power relations. Is effective community participation actually possible, after all? It further intends to examine how planning can contribute through resettlement, going beyond physical re-location of affected people to activities undertaken to prepare affected households for re-location, integration into new communities, and the empowerment strategies that encourage self determination and self reliance essential for sustainability, and come up with recommendations.

The study seeks to uncover the micro power, informal power as well as identify the visible power and its impact on the effectiveness of community participation processes.

It seeks to inform future planning practice with regards to challenges of community participation in the face of diversity of needs and interests and identify what values and ideals are required to deal with them.

1.7 Research Methodology

The investigation into the study involved the confirmation from the department that the research is done for academic purposes. It followed the procedure of seeking permission from the chiefs to interview people under their jurisdiction. Since this is qualitative research, it involved informal and unstructured discussions with Mr. Makhetha, a member of Compensation and Resettlement Task Team (CRTT), and some members of the community, to get a broad picture

of what happened and the current state of affairs. My experience while working for LHDA on this programme was used. Furthermore, in-depth structured interviews were undertaken to get opinions from stakeholders. The list of the respondents was compiled. It included :

- two members from each of these groups;
- Two members of CRTT;
- Two Community Liaison Assistants (CLA);
- Two Area Liaison Committee (ALC);
- Head of NGOs;
- LHDA Official who worked with the consultants;
- Resettlement Officer;
- Assistant Resettlement Officer;
- LHDA Land Use Planner;
- Maseru City Council Senior Town Planner;
- Policy, Development and Planning manager; - was involved in the formulation of Community Participation Strategy
- Mohale Field Operation Branch (FOB) manager at the time of stage 1 resettlement;
- The current Mohale (FOB) manager; and
- members of the affected community

Focus groups formed the primary source of data. They were held at Ha Koporale in the highlands, at Nazareth in the foothills and at Ha Matala in the urban area near the Maseru City centre. Ten members were intended to form each focus group but this was not the case in the foothills, less than ten people were interviewed due to lack of cooperation. They had grown to be mistrustful of strangers who might come to help due to negative past experiences. It is important to mention that the normal procedure of seeking permission from the chiefs to interview people under their jurisdiction was undertaken.

In Ha-Makotoko there were funeral preparations and people felt that it would appear as if they had no concern for the diseased family. The researcher talked to two members; a member of host community as well as the member of the affected community. In Nazareth, people pointed out that they had been responding to researchers' questions and cried out their grievances that nothing had ever been done. As a result the researcher talked to three people.

Focus groups included women, males, youth and the aged. Children did not form part of the group as would have been appropriate given the intention of the topic, but were contacted separately on account of the prevailing norms and customs. Further details on this will be given in chapter 3.

The lead questions used in focus groups involved the inquiry into the proceedings of the Resettlement and Development Programme since its introduction to them; what form did community participation take (meetings)? Who was invited? Was there an interpreter? What issues were discussed? Were women issues included? How were decisions reached, and conflicts resolved? Table 1.0 illustrates how the subsidiary questions seek to answer the research question through the application of specific research methods.

Focus groups were important in the study as they provided a basis for participants to share their views. The interaction in focus groups enabled the researcher to get the range of opinions participants have, got a clear view of how others think, talk and uncover sets of circumstances that led to one response than another. They served to remind participants of interests and direct their attention to issues they did not have in mind, especially those concerning other stakeholders.

The secondary source of data was the Phase 1B, stage 1 Resettlement and Development report, preliminary research documents, minutes of meetings held and reports on workshops conducted.

Table 1.0 - Thematic Questions

Question	Purpose/ towards the research question	Research Method
How is community participation defined?	Determine the various ways people understand community participation and its subsequent goal and effectiveness	Primary: Interviews Secondary: perusal of policy statements
How was the power structure of the community?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Seek to unpack power relations.• Determine if there were negotiations.	Primary: Interviews, focus groups Secondary: reports

1.8 Key concepts

1.8.1 Community

A community means different things in different contexts, to different people. For example, it is a term used glibly by planners to make sense of their world assuming homogeneity. Generally, a community is an identity-based group. It is a group of people characterised by a common element/s although there are differences within.

In this study, a community is such because a group of people shares a territory and is commonly affected by the commencement of the construction of Mohale Dam, including resettlement arising from construction of advance infrastructure such as roads, camps, etc. Within a community, there are a number of communities as there are a number of relational webs within which people live. There are young, old, middle-aged people who interact differently with each other. Furthermore, there are educated and uneducated people who relate to

each other in a certain manner; land poor families and those who have access to land.

1.8.2 Power

Power is the capacity to influence. It is getting others to do as one wishes and getting what he/she wants. It might include coercion. People's lives are embedded in power relations, hence power is every where i.e. in the family, between friends etc. There are also different forms of power, however for the purpose of this study, much emphasis is placed on the planners' expert power. Planners can encourage technical inquiry about available strategies and employ diverse analytical methods of project and policy analysis. They can also encourage explicit value inquiry; of costs and benefits, obligations and responsibilities, charters and mandates, goals and values to be respected, or defended in a planning process. They can further learn about social identities such as peoples' worries and fears, hopes and loyalties, and commitments and self images. Power and power relations within community structures also form the focus of the study. It is further of vital importance to look at the interplay between 'expert power' and 'community power'.

1.8.3 Diversity

Diversity refers to social dynamics in terms of interests, values, needs and aspirations, possessions and the distribution of power. It also manifests itself in the relations through which people pursue their ways of living and their choices or lack choice. It also encompasses goal incompatibility among the stakeholders. It is a reality of difference. Human beings by virtue of age, gender, socialisation and individual experiences are different.

1.8.4 Resettlement

Resettlement is a physical relocation of communities. In dam development, resettlement occurs due to land submerged and otherwise affected by a project, and generally requires displacement of individual households or even villages. It creates significant uncertainty and anxiety among people living in a project area. The resettlement process is important in planning, and in community participation exercise in particular, as it involves emotions and feelings which need not be ignored. It is recommended that resettlement should be complimented by rehabilitation of livelihood.

1.8.5 Community Participation

There have been many definitions of the concept over time arising as it is developed. In the 1950s and 1960s, community participation meant community's involvement in an already agreed purpose. Communities were seen as contributing to and supporting national development initiative, and not necessarily as being instrumental in determining its content or direction. Since the 1970s, there has been a range of the meaning of participation in development.

In this study, community participation is defined as an active process by which beneficiary or client groups influence the direction and execution of development project with a view of enhancing their well being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish. (Paul, 1987). In the Lesotho Highlands Water Project context, how was effective community participation pursued in the heterogeneity of client groups, and the organisation (LHDA) leading the community participation process?

1.8.6 Effective Community Participation

In this study, effective community participation is a participation process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them. It is community participation beyond the identification, execution and maintenance of projects. It is at the level of collaboration and ownership. This implies the leveling of the 'playing field' as different stakeholders have been exposed to and experience development in different ways, and do not necessarily come into the process on an equal footing and with access to the same decision-making resources.

It therefore requires the explicit analysis of how different power holders may and use their influence to achieve their own interests, and the implication of that on other stakeholders' interests. It involves the partnership built upon the basis of dialogue among the various actors, during which the agenda is jointly set, and local views and indigenous knowledge deliberately sought and respected. This implies negotiation rather than dominance of an externally set project agenda, thus people become actors instead of being beneficiaries.

1.9 The general description of the case study

The phase 1B scheme area is situated in the central Lesotho Highlands, on land under the custodianship of two chieftainships (Thaba-Bosiu and Matsieng), and spanning three Districts (Berea, Maseru and Thaba-Tseka). The jurisdiction of both Principal chiefs overlaps district boundaries. The Mohale inundation area is situated in Maseru and Thaba-Tseka district. Figure 1.0 shows these districts.

1.9.1 Justification of the choice of case study

The construction of reservoirs for the purposes of harnessing and optimising use of water resources is practiced world-wide. As in large dam projects elsewhere

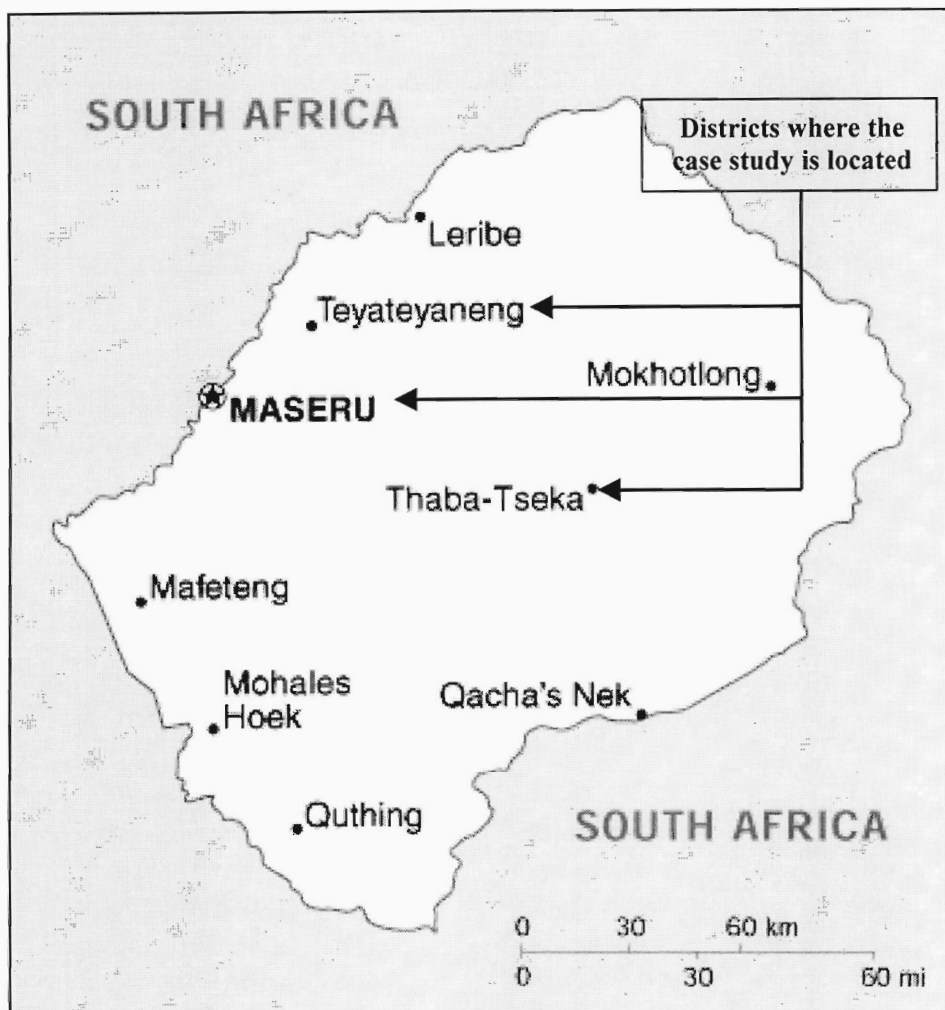
in the world, the impacts of Mohale Dam included unavoidable resettlement of people. However, measures were taken to make resettlers adapt to the new situation. Figure 2.0 indicates the Phase 1B Scheme area and resettlement receiving areas.

The WCD Report (2000:176) stipulates that results from the Cross-Check Survey indicate that while participation has been a growing requirement in the planning documents of large dams, of the 34 dams that involved resettlement of displaced people, only 7 required participation as part of the decision-making process. The stage 1 of the LHWP programme is a suitable case study as it planned for community participation of affected people in decision-making.

It is completed and it is therefore possible to assess whether objectives of community participation have been achieved or not, and consequently whether the programme was a success or not. The programme was completed in 1998, giving ample time for people to have resettled and regained their livelihood through development initiatives.

The case study encompasses most issues that the planning profession deal with. In Planning Practice also, like in various activities including large dams projects, community participation is a requirement in its planning documents. How community participation in Planning has contributed through resettlement; going beyond physical re-location of affected people, to activities undertaken to prepare affected households for re-location, integration into new communities, conflict resolution, and the empowerment strategies that encourage self determination and self reliance essential for sustainability, is of interest to examine.

Figure 1.0: Districts where the case study is located.



(Source: Lesotho fact book on the Internet)

Figure 2.0



1.10 Chapter Outline

The dissertation comprises five chapters

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter provides the motivation behind the research topic. The research problem, research question and subsequent sub questions are stated. It further includes the research aim and objectives, research methodology and hypothesis.

Chapter two: Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework deals with the conceptual perspective and literature review that informs the study. The study of community participation is within the context of Resettlement and Development programme of a large dam. (LHWP).

Chapter Three: Introduction of the case study

The chapter introduces the case study and the inherent community dynamics. The different role players and community's organisations are identified (Gender and stakeholder analysis findings), as well as the community's power structure. The organizations' culture is looked into. It gives a brief history of how the programme came to be.

Chapter Four: The assessment of community participation in the Phase 1B, stage1 of the LHWP Resettlement and Development Programme.

This chapter firstly summarises the LHDA community participation policy and strategy that was used to guide the programme and any other document that informed the community participation processes. It then tells a story, narrating the way power has been used in its many guises such as in language, threats, negotiations and hierarchy of order. It identifies the diverse values, needs and

aspirations within the programme. The extent at which the community participation policy and strategy was implemented, and responded to the imbalance of power and diversity of needs will be assessed.

Chapter Five: Recommendations and Conclusion

The final chapter highlights issues that stand in the way of desired effective community participation. It looks into the potential of collaborative planning processes in shaping a new rationality for planning that is representative of broader diverse concerns, and the role of power in determining the outcome of that process, in the context of the case study, thus contributing in an attempt to bridge the gap between theory and practice. It responds to the hypothesis, and the author's recommendations form a conclusion of the study.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

There are a number of theoretical positions that inform a broad subject such as community participation, drawing from modern and postmodern philosophy. While philosophy investigates those aspects of the human condition that could not be otherwise; that are so basic they are ordinarily not even made aware of, writers such as Sandercock, Forrester etc. borrow from it, to engage in politics matters that might well be other than they are. They are concerned with problem solving. The aim of this chapter therefore, is to locate the research topic within an appropriate theoretical framework.

It firstly looks into both modern and post modernism environment within which planning occurs. Then explores a way of reaching consensus and moving forward, through collaborative planning where the role of a planner is clarified, and including insurgent voices, as well as accommodating power and diversity through participation methods. It then looks specifically at collaborative planning in community participation on dam projects; the particular problems and challenges inherent. It then concludes by reflecting the main points, and indicating their relevance in the case study.

2.2 The environment within which planning occurs - modernism vs postmodernism

Planning is essentially a modernist enterprise. It seeks to understand reality. It looks into the problem of knowledge; into what really are facts and values. It looks into the relationship between mind and body, and between individual freedom and norms of society. It studies ethics; what is considered good and right, and just. Planning is a learning process through progressive and

cumulative knowledge, and the knowledge provides basis for action to achieve human progress.

In the modernism era, planning was regarded as a science where goals/ends and means (programme of action) were grounded in scientific analysis, which only trained officials could do. Value-neutrality was assumed. Decision-making tended to be a result of a series of actions, thus ordered. (Burke, 1979:14). In postmodernism that conceptualisation is challenged. It maintains that there is no universal timeless truth to be revealed by professionals through scientific research. Success in influencing decisions seems not to be related to the worthiness of a decision but to the politics of choice. (Burke, 1979:15). As a result, not only 'scientists' are capable of engaging with planning.

The presence of some procedural step-by-step guidelines on how community participation may occur, and decisions made illustrate the modernism paradigm. The absence of a blueprint on how to conduct participatory processes demonstrates postmodernism paradigm in its many guises. A number of groups vie both with one another and with the planning organisation to influence decision choices. There are different ways of constructing answers to problems. It represents messiness. While during modernism era, the method of community planning was defined and understood, it is now confused and frustrating.

In participatory processes, the details presented are often claims about value, about what one group is worried about, wants to gain, is afraid of, wishes to protect, or cares about enough to put on the table for discussion. (Forrester, 1999:133). Planners too, in giving advice to decision-makers are never neutral but their decisions are taken from pre-structured agendas influenced by wealth and organisation, by class, gender and language. (ibid).

Diversity and fragmentation is embraced in postmodernism. Nevertheless, postmodernism would not displace modernism as planners still need those basic guidelines to kick-start their projects. Planning activity still maintains the substantive ordinary and familiar conception of planning, of fact-finding, study, examination of alternative courses of action, and the proposing of solutions. In terms of participation it is traditionally perceived as a set of legal or procedural requirements involving due notice, ensuring that meetings are open to the public, or providing forums for public comments.

They need to have an idea where to start when engaging with communities especially in many participatory settings, where a great deal is fluid and unclear. Information is not perfect, some people pay more attention to some issues than others, and some have more time at some points than others. (Forrester, 1999:143). Furthermore, values are plural, diverse, and incommensurable, not simply expressible in terms of some underlying and unitary value such as money (ibid.). A working strategy is necessary to offer some guidance.

The notion of power is placed within the structuration paradigm, where the underlying values and aspirations are identified. These need not be taken for granted. Planning has come to be conceived as part of a political process in which the planner intervenes in a set of existing or newly constructed social networks for the purpose of achieving planned social change. This intervention generates a process of planning that is collaborative. (Burke, 1979:16,17).

2.3 Reaching consensus and moving forward

In a postmodernism era, where planning is no longer a domain exclusive to technical planners, what power do professional planners have? Through the application of communicative rationality in leading participatory processes, they bridge expertise and participatory processes. Expertise entails the ability to arrive to decisions of high quality. They should remain sensitive to issues of

design and economic analysis and become increasingly conscious to issues of power. They are faced with the task of determining who should be involved, how they should be involved, what function communities should serve and how to adapt to a participatory processes that involve a wide range of interests and groups. (Burke, 1979:14).

This rationality is positioned in-between modernism and postmodernism, and tension between market driven projects and participatory processes. Communicative rationality argues that planning is about communicating ideas however following some steps. It also explains that reasoning is not scientific and everybody can reason and develop contextual and contingencial truth, and negotiated rationality.

Unlike in modernism, when planners could work in isolation and expect decision-making body to accept their work with gratitude and implement it straightforwardly, today planners work in between interdependent and conflicting groups, in situations calling for more mediation, facilitation, and collaborative problem solving. (Forrester, 1999:81). Forrester cautions that in community participation processes, confusion should be expected as various stakeholders often have different backgrounds and education, different languages and also because the other group's proposals are likely to be internally conflicting and not fully worked out ideas. Their expertise work in industry where efficiency is a guide, but it is inappropriate in communities where the competing guides of the common good and maintaining a job are the rule. (Burke, 1979:26). Therefore the shared decision-making between communities and planners that reflect the preference of community-planner planning team should be recognised. (ibid:76).

Critical pragmatism takes communicative rationality further by telling planners how to act given the outcome of ideas. It looks into the network of power relationships and searches for ways to put human desires and creativity into practical use. It emphasises solidarity based on shared inquiry and common

purpose. Its concern is with building and extending social solidarity while respecting difference. According to critical pragmatists, solidarity does not arise out of sharing something common but of coming to understand the different communities; the way they look at the world, but still different. Was there tolerance in community participation in phase 1B stage 1 of LHWP programme?

Structuration relates to power that shape peoples lives and present both opportunity and constraints. The stakeholders' underlying values and aspirations are important in understanding the problem in its context, thus understanding power relations. Power can be viewed positively or negatively. It may be defined as the ability to exercise one's will even over the opposition of others. (Burke, 1979:101). It can also be used to persuade others to agree to a decision. Regardless, power is transformative in the sense that in changing the rules, flow of resources and mode of thought about things can change the structure. (Healey, 1997:58). In participation, there are underlying structural forces that led to the reality people find themselves in. However the question is, what is the purpose, planners undertake community participation? Is it to facilitate structural change or to increase one's ability to control his/her own destiny within the confines of existing structures?

Flyvbejg (1998) using Foucault for philosophical guidance pays attention to the dynamic relationship between rationality and power- empirical depth as well as detail required to develop our understanding further. He argues that power constitutes rationality, and this rationality is context-dependent and also not constant over time. According to him, power not only define a given interpretation or render a given reality authoritative, but more importantly, power defines physical, economic, ecological and social reality itself. It suppresses that knowledge and rationality for which it has no use. In community participation, those that have the ability to facilitate or suppress knowledge are more powerful than others that do not.

He further argues that the absence of rational arguments and factual documentation in support of a certain action, may be an important indicator of power than is arguments and documentation. This leads to critical reflection about the appropriate processes for learning and deciding, such as assuring representation for all major points, equalising information among group members and creating conditions within group processes so that the force of argument can be the deciding factor than individual's power in some pre-existing hierarchy. (Sandercock, 1998).

2.3.1 Communicative/collaborative planning

Communicative planning recognises the diverse views about a problem and acknowledges that there are different individuals with different interests, values and aspirations in society. Diversity could also be explained in terms of unequal access to possessions and distribution of power. It further manifests itself in the relations through which people pursue their ways of living and their choices or lack of choice. It encompasses goal incompatibility among stakeholders. Human beings by virtue of age, gender, socialisation and individual experiences are different. They are unequal and only some are born with qualities that enable them to compete successfully under free market conditions. (Hendler, 1995:31). This reality of difference poses challenges nowadays as people engage in multiple relationships and often the demands of the relationship conflict with the demands of others. They categorise and classify one another particularly those they see as different in some way. (Healey, 1997:98)

However, through the social context, they develop interests in, and ways of collaborating to do something about the problems they face as they co-exist in shared spaces. (Healey, 1997:98). Reason (1994:32) endorses this and argues that different aspects of participation may coexist in an individual and in a culture, occurring together in different patterns at different times and in different places. An individual may act impulsively in one situation than another, angrily in one

instance and not in another, foolishly on one issue and knowledgeably on another.

Any planning exercise therefore, must attend to the dynamics and diversity of the way people live in places and find ways of working together. In this social learning that occurs between communities and planners, as they adapt to a constantly changing environment, planning should also support and enhance the individual's own development as a person in the course of transforming action itself. (Burke, 1979:15). This is important because the development phases of a group can be seen in terms of dialectic between seeking membership and asserting individual identity. (ibid:33). Group membership strategy as a result could be used, as individuals tend to be influenced by the groups to which they belong, and readily accept group-made decisions than lectures or individual exhortations to change. (ibid:93).

The basis for collaborative planning and consensus building can be achieved through argumentative dialogue and communication. This brings memory and hope, fosters and changes identity, confidence and competence, appreciation and respect, acknowledgment and the ability to act together. (Forrester,1999: 116).

It calls for all forms of reasoning as a basis for action; (a) instrumental technical reasoning which is about the establishment of objectives and mechanisms to achieve a specific goal; (b) moral reasoning; and (c) emotive reasoning which is driven by belief and aesthetic sense. The use of imagination as it evolves through sensation, image, dream and story has immense possibilities. (Reason, 1994:35).

Understanding these values and aspirations is worthwhile investing time studying, because it is a difficult to do, but once it is done right can be a key to successful community participation. These elements are crucial in the case

study where communities have been physically relocated. Resettlement as it relates to water resource development is often seen as a problem because in addition to having to resettle communities, their agricultural land, grazing land as well as other natural resources, and valued sentiments such as graves, are lost and have to be compensated for. Furthermore, often resettlement is not taken easily by the affected communities, particularly the elderly.

This emotional and psychological trauma is something they could experience but could not fully express, and is not easily compensated for. As a result community participation processes should be conscious of them. In formulating the community participation strategy, planners are not just describing facts or simply prescribing values; they are searching for possibilities of agreement and consent, for others' support, and a solution that would make sense to others as well as themselves. They are actively mediating the discourse among the rhetoric's of passion, reason, and power. (Hendler, 1995:212).

2.3.2 Conflicts, negotiations and planners' role

One important aspect of collaborative planning, in the process of reaching consensus, is conflict resolution. There are often conflicting views between planners and communities about good societies and good environments. Discussions between planners and all stakeholders should be held to identify where some agreement can be negotiated and where conflicts will never be removed and what to do about that situation.

Some agreement is likely to be negotiated where there is more or less equal distribution of power than where there is not. This pattern of negotiations is provided by the Bargaining model, advocated by the Kennedy School in policy analysis. Where planners have more overt power, they do not have to defend their actions, and power is unlikely to be used when there is little or nothing to be gained from exercising influence. (Burke, 1979:239). The actors to whom power

is directed also look at the benefits and losses that they might ensue by agreeing or refusing to come under control. In the same vein, in cases of unequal distribution of power, powerful actors definitions of problems and solutions, of expertise and status, of power and powerlessness perpetuate relations of dependency and hopelessness. (Forrester, 1999:130).

Hoch in Forrester (1999) brings hope as he mentions that planners in most cases have a role of mediating between proponents and opponents who are interdependent, affecting each other by action or inaction, and thus engaging in negotiations. They should not claim neutrality as an ethical principle as this would be working to the advantage of the group in power. They should instead act like 'critical friends' who care enough to listen for more than what has been said, wonder about what has been missed, engaged and collaborative enough to help, yet detached and independent enough to carry forward their own projects. (Forrester, 1999:190,196).

In negotiation processes, groups can learn how their wants, interests and priorities can shift and evolve. (Forrester, 1999:63). The quest for understanding requires asking and listening, correctly interpreting the other's language, putting oneself in the other's place and learning from both acceptance and refusal. (ibid.). The willingness to resolve the issue among groups is possible only if each is aware of the relative strength of others. (Burke, 1979:136).

All stakeholders must be firmly committed to the objectives of the community participation plan. In this learning process about other groups, including the oppressed, victimised, and traumatised, attention should be paid to their historical backgrounds and entanglements, their historically rooted aspirations, and their interpretation of needs and senses of self. In conflict situations, when distrust is high and confidence low, this is missed. In projects that are to meet immediate deadlines this is omitted as there is rushed interpretation. The form community participation took in the case study will be seen.

Conflicts also emerge within communities as those who have power (the capacity to influence) dominate and influence decision-making, and exclude those without from gaining the scarce resources. Since the exercise of power is not a unilateral process but one that involves a transaction between the actor employing influence, and the actor being influenced and the effect of organised efforts on influencing decisions, the latter may resist and that is where conflicts emanate. There is a network of power within which we live as everyone has power in relation to each other. The source of which may be personal characteristics, intelligence, expertise, a likeable personality and friendship networks. (Burke, 1978:37).

In understanding conflicts, forces which clearly structure relations of power help identify the potentially powerful actors, interests and groups. It also helps in uncovering deeper structures of power embedded in planners thinking and acting. (Healey, 1997:113). Such power may portray itself in language planners use; the frames of reference, words, phrases, expressions which have different meanings to communities. What is considered to be the truths of planning depend on power relations. As a result, attention should be paid to the alienating power of conceptual language. (Reason, 1994:33). The very language we use in posing and discussing problems can be politically selective, inclusive or exclusive and influence negotiations. (Forrester, 1999:87-88). Not only matters of translation is reflected but status, power and deference. (Forrester, 1999:188). The relatively silent, less vocal and more timid speakers are prone to being overrun by more aggressive and articulate speakers. (ibid.).

It therefore calls for self-awareness and self-reflection. (Reason, 1994:33). Planners have to be aware of the inherent specificity and untranslatability of systems of meaning. They should understand the basic narratives conventions for constructing individual and collective identities, and the officially recognised vocabularies in which claims are pressed; idioms for interpreting and communicating individual and collective identities; and paradigms of

argumentation accepted as authoritative in resolving conflicting claims. (Forrester, 1999). Ash in Reason (1994) argues that planners should allow themselves a direct experience of feeling the presence of the world, and re-vision their way of thinking, thus changing their experience of perception to overcome the shortcoming of the use of language.

Conflicts may result in change as it acts as a consciousness-raising mechanism. It provides a means for preserving and maintaining the identity of groups and creating group cohesion. (Burke, 1979:135). Conflict as a means of change requires considerable energy and commitment on the part of those engaged in it. The change is effected due to persistent inability to redress the unequal distribution of status, power and resources, causing frustration, and the awareness to address it. (ibid:136).

In this study, much emphasis will be placed on the planners expertise as a source of power. By virtue of their professional knowledge, they have power as power resides where technical knowledge and relevant information are to be found. Planners in their daily practice, regularly and selectively shape what parties know or believe about cases, how they defer or consent to norms, and how they develop or lose trust in the identities of others. (Forrester, 1999:202) Attention will also be on power within the affected community, how power and power relations have manifested itself among various structures in the community, as well as on planners' power.

Collaborative planning requires that planners give people a lot of credit at the beginning and find out from them what they really want. They should not assume the best possible for the people as they usually do not go for the best solution but that would just do. The group brainstorming serves to re-mind them of their concerns, brings into new focus values they have, obligations they wish to honour and interests they wish to satisfy. (Forrester, 1999:136). Trust and openness should be forged right from the start to enhance responsive talking and listening. The role of the planner is not to weaken groups resolve or let them

back from substantive commitments, but to inform preferences by probing and asking questions such as, what about this? Did you try this? Could we do this? In the process new roles, new groups and thus new identities may be formed, along with accompanying norms, rules, agreements, or conventions that articulate how the participants may work together. (ibid:142). Without these, participants may be confused or threatened or shy to participate, sharing what they know, signaling important concerns to others, warning and showing them new options. Hendler (1995:34) argues that in agreeing on the rules of the game, people will know how they are likely to succeed or fail in it, thus accepting the uncertainties that shape the future. In argumentative collaboration, from the reasons given, planners learn about what others want or believe and from the way they talk and act, from their style, they learn about who they are and the sort of character one has. (Forrester, 1999:131).

They should discourage participants judgement of whether each other's perspective is true or not, but rather hear it and understand the feeling and what it means for the group, however mindful of power relations. (ibid:146). It is the acknowledgement and recognition of the other in their uniqueness that allow for compromises and give-and-take, as Reason (1994:31) points out that opposites co-define each other. It is not just to be tolerated, but given value by dominant culture. This entails the need and the right to give expression to difference in the public sphere, where the individual voices claim to be different within an inclusive society. (Sandercock, 1998:)

Planners themselves need to understand their own emotions of fear and suspicion, anxiety and resentment, compassion and generosity, not as brute facts but as 'modes of vision'. (ibid.: 203). In communities in which there is little sense of understanding or control, planners need to retreat to therapeutic self-actualisation to find meaning in their lives and work. Planning should also challenge the assumptions of the way power is structured in local communities. (Burke, 1979: 83).

It is not always easy to arrive at a solution that takes all interests and values perfectly into account, and there are times when some interests have to be subordinated to others. Planners have to make the holders of the 'rejected' interests feel that they are aware of those interests, that those interests are as important but could not be satisfied because of the given reasons. Forrester (1999: 107) terms this 'diplomatic recognition'. However, in doing this, they should not get tripped up by power relationships, but draw upon relations of trust, sincerity, comprehension and legitimacy.

Sandercock (1998) recommends that planners respond to challenge of difference, and to allow for difference in their practice should be guided by principles such as social justice, citizenship and shared interest. Social justice refers to the loss of freedom for some and is made right by a greater good shared by others, where this unequal distribution of power is to the benefit of the least advantaged. Hendler (1995:56) cautions that the goals individuals express politically should not be accepted uncritically, and that the individuals need to be aware of the social institutions in order to revise his goals. The planner's role is to raise recognition of individual own unconscious distortions and to arrive at goals that reflect their true interests. The planner should be a critical listener, as people do not always say what they mean, and listen to details and unintended details, and bring to the open hidden agenda.

2.4 Community participation – a messy reality

Understanding communities is a very complex process as people are simultaneously members of many communities and to assess the implications of affiliation with one another by locating it within the dense pattern of the entire set is challenging. Where communities overlap and where they are located in a shifting and amorphous field, it follows that they cannot fully control their own discursive order. Power relations are not static; they are continually shifting therefore what counts as reality also is shifting. Healey (1998:118) in explaining

an institutional approach to power relations focused on the way the relational webs within which people live distributes power among them and give access to material, social and cultural resources. In this manner, diversity is generated by differences in the richness of the webs people have access to.

In the case study, there is a mix of young, old and middle-aged who interact differently with each other. Furthermore, there are men and women, widows and widowers, friends, relatives and enemies, educated and uneducated people, land poor families and those who had access to land etc; who relate to each other in a certain manner. All these groups had different concerns and influence on each other regarding decisions about their resettlement.

In addition, Mandelbaum (1996) argues that communities are incommensurable, that is, their stories, discourses and languages are not understandable to others. They are faced with so much diversity that they no longer even know how to communicate with each other. It is difficult to get a sense of the diversity of 'lifeworlds' (the social context in which individuals construct meanings and preferences.) in which people live these days. It is because the lifeworld is not a coherent set of mores, expectations, perspectives and strategies. (Healey, 1998:96). This is a challenge in collaborative planning regarding how an overlapping consensus could be reached in the circumstances.

Community participation provides a forum where participants learn what others care about and concrete details and issues whose evolution and revolution will shape what they themselves do in the future, whom they can become tomorrow and what they may hope for today. (Copley, 1993). Community participation is therefore a basis for some level of certainty and control in an era of postmodernism.

Community participation can be interpreted in two broad and distinct areas of development, as a means and as an end. The distinction between these is

neither clear-cut nor mutually exclusive but represent two different purposes and approaches to promoting participatory development. As a means, it is a technique used to support the progress of a project. It is a mobilisation to get things done which may be state directed, top down sometimes even enforced to achieve specific objectives, or bottom up 'voluntary' community-based to obtain larger share of resources. (Copley, 1993:36).

As an end in itself, means the empowerment goal of those involved is assumed. In this sense, it is seen as an instrumental value, as a means of empowering certain groups so they obtain a fair share of public benefits. (Hendler, 1995:73). It is the process by which outcome is meaningful in development. Closely linked to the latter is the idea that community participation is an approach with which power is transferred from planners to the public. There are eight possible results of participation on a range from negative transfer of power to complete transfer of power; from manipulation to community control. (Arnstein, 1969: 217).

Both community participation as a means and as an end is used at different levels in participation processes. No organisation has a monolithic approach to participation. However, where much orientation lies, should be made clear. For example, if the orientation is towards empowerment, it is essential to adopt a process whereby participation as a means has the capacity to develop into participation as an end. (Copley, 1993:36). Wherever possible, participation rather than consultation should be the practice. (Mythen, 2001:62). In the LHWP resettlement programme, was community participation more of a means or an end?

Following this, community participation is often debated between those who emphasise the 'delivery' and 'quantitative' sides of community development as well doubting the ability of communities to think strategically, and those who lay stress on 'process' and 'local community decisions'. Consequently the principles behind community participation and the level at which participation is done will be

different. However, both arguments are relevant in the case study, and it is imperative to find a middle ground.

2.4.1 Community participation methods

Participatory methods such as Stakeholder analysis, Local Level Information Gathering and Planning, Project/Programme Planning and Multi Stakeholder Collaboration may be used at the early stages of community participation processes. Stakeholder analysis helps planners clarify how an activity will affect people's lives as well as identify groups which may have been overlooked but who will be affected by the development activity. Local Level Information Gathering and Planning focuses primarily on local people's views, how they perceive their conditions, their lives and how to change them.

Project/Programme Planning demonstrates the more traditional models of planning, and Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration is where a cross-section of stakeholders work together on a particular issue to identify common ground for action. It provides a model for identifying requisite and influential actors in the adoption of the plan. The power of an interest group is the conviction of its case and the influence of its members on community decisions. (Burke,1979:80). However, interest groups do not have equal information and equal access to information. They also do not have the same capacity to articulate issues, to utilise financial resources, and to organise representation. The Issue-centered organisations (NGOs) act as watchdogs over planning agencies' activities, safeguarding interests of the powerless. (ibid:84). The form of stakeholder analysis used in the case study will be looked at.

Ideally, gender analysis should not be a separate participatory method but should be an integral to all participatory methods. The purpose of gender analysis in the context of community participation is to understand gender differences in access to resources and how such differences affect the participation of women in the

programme, in order that appropriate measures can be taken to ensure that they are not excluded. The key concern is not just to provide a conducive forum to enable women to express their opinions, difficulties and needs but to encourage them to analyse and understand their own relationships with men and related position in society.

The starting point for gender analysis for women to identify their own roles and how they manage them on the one hand and the roles of men on the other. Men should be asked separately to identify gender roles. Women's triple role of productive, reproductive and community management should be recognised. It is further important to distinguish between practical gender needs and strategic needs. Practical gender needs refer to what people need to fulfil their established roles and responsibilities. For example, the need for a reliable, accessible water supply to assist them in undertaking their domestic tasks. A strategic gender need refer to an attempt to change one's position. For example, women's education, legal status, access to resources and cultural attitudes towards them. Strategic gender needs may not be readily identified by women themselves, the facilitation of a process by which they come to do so is a crucial part of gender analysis. (Modiga, 1999). What practical gender needs were identified , and what was being done to ensure that women realise their strategic gender needs in the LHWP resettlement programme?

Hendler (1995:107) indicates that since planning is inherently political, the boundaries between the personal and the political are merged for women. They are generally interested in extending the range of modes of action in planning. They are particularly interested in holistic approaches to problems and cooperative problem solving. They often cope with adversity by creating an interlinked world of household and community. They are also highly sensitive to the potentials of the misuse of power and of arbitrary claims of correct answers. To them, process is extremely important. The already established separate spheres for women and men enable men to exclude women's contributions to

public life. (Hayden in Hendler, 1995:111). It is therefore important that this feminist sensibilities be incorporated into community participation processes. In addition, planning should make recognition that men and women's lives, needs, and thoughts are of equal importance.

Stakeholder analysis should deal with young people participation particularly now that the increasing number of people advocates the inclusion of children in decision-making, especially since the United Nation's adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989. This means recognising that they are important actors in their own communities, that they are 'experts' on their daily lives and local conditions, and their insights, energy and creativity should be fostered and supported rather than ignored. (Driskell, e tal. 2001).

They should be treated as partners in the development process rather than as victims in need of help. (ibid:86). The young people participation has potential in collaborative planning. It is only by understanding and building upon this rich human and cultural capital that the dynamics of successful development can be fostered. (ibid:78). Although they may be aware of differences in community such as different religious affiliations and places of origin, they make little or no distinctions in their play activities and their friendships. (ibid:81). This is important in the case study as it is for children to acclimatise and resettle in their new environment.

It is therefore critical to know what works for the children in each community and what does not. This type of understanding can be gained through an inclusive and participatory evaluation that involves residents of all ages, children as well as adults, in identifying 'resources for resilience' as well as issues for action. (Driskell, 2001:89). The commitment to participatory principles from every level of organisation involved, from the funding agencies to project staff and residents themselves is required, in a real long-term development and sustainability of their community (ibid.).

The stakeholders have conflicting claims and values and community decision that is taken, effect change that is often resisted by some. The achievement of planning objectives therefore, requires strategies that overcome the common resistance to change. (Burke, 1979:29). The objectives in turn, will be determined by resources and the organisational character of the planning agency. Thus, the relevancy of a strategy depends both on an organisation's ability to fulfill the requirements necessary for the strategy's effectiveness, and on the adaptability of the strategy to an organisational environment. The ability of LHDA to meet the community participation strategy requirements, developing self-confidence and self- reliance, and the strategy responsiveness to LHWP environment remain to be seen.

2.5 Community participation in dam construction projects

Community participation in dam construction projects has been a subject of much controversy. The absence or inadequacy of the strategy has attracted non-governmental actors to protest against large water projects, among other reasons. "...An estimated 30 to 60 million people worldwide have been forcibly moved from their homes to make way for major dam and reservoir projects. These 'reservoir refugees' are frequently poor and politically powerless; many are from indigenous groups or ethnic minorities. The experience of more than 50 years of large dam building shows that the displaced are generally worse off after resettlement, and more often than not they are left economically, culturally and emotionally devastated". IRC and Human Rights in China Joint Report, 1998:1).

Resettlement problems of the Three Gorges Dam in China reflect the destruction and potentially destabilising effects of suppression of the voices of ordinary people and of routine restrictions on the freedom of expression and association. The problem is assessing the programme is the false figures given by local officers in impressing their superiors that the programme is successful. Another problem relates to farmers. They are the ones that lose most as they lack basic

information and consultation about their future, and the promise of non-agricultural jobs proved illusory. The prospect of finding industrial jobs has dimmed for many rural settlers as local industries have hired all the people they need. Despite government propaganda that the dam's construction and its impact will improve people's lives, old lessons seemed unlearned as popular resistance, official mismanagement and the resulting slow pace of resettlement is still evident.

In the LHWP, it will be seen how resettlement problem was attended to, whether also no meaningful participation of affected communities, in the planning, implementation and rehabilitation of the programme took place, governed by negotiated agreements and people's rights, especially the economically and socially marginalised. This is important in the years of intensifying controversies over the construction of large dams, mainly in developing countries that led to the creation of World Commission on Dams (WCD) in February 1998. (Brauer, 2001:3). The controversies among others, are based on the premise that past world experience had shown that many problems connected with the building of large dams were the result of inadequate community participation. In the case study, the destiny of the two later proposed phases is to be decided upon.

The commission respects the human and social rights of all the people affected by dam projects while at the same time minimising the technical, environmental economical and financial risks. (ibid:3). All stakeholders, NGOs and activists by cooperating with the WCD in the process which led to the report have proven that dialogue is a way to success. (ibid:3). This yields an important lesson regarding integration of social and technical concerns in community participation processes in dam projects such as LHWP, and inclusive community participation.

In community, there is not only difference but solidarity too. The solidarity is the result of mutual independence among members and the imposition of power. When individuals become that they experience and share vulnerability as they

are subjects of authority, this becomes a source of resistance and strength, hence solidarity. They may bond when they are less positioned and face threats of economic ruin, physical displacement, social invasion or political domination. In the case study, affected communities may bond due to the reality of physical displacement.

Solidarity transcends into the need to be involved in community participation processes to affect the direction of development outcome as it is assumed that strength lies in numbers and unity. In addition, co-operation is not merely an actual or potential attribute of human nature, but constitutes human nature. Human beings are not human without the extended socialisation of the young and the mother-child relationship. (Reason, 1994:38).

Planners themselves are subject to authority and conspire with their fellow colleagues when threatened by the actions of their superiors. However, Hoch (1996) points out that power relations can undermine solidarity. It may create dependence and counterdependence and can not develop collaborative relationships in the longer term. (Reason, 1994:). As the result, other than identifying with only the powerful members of the community, and protocols of professional expertise, planners might consider identifying with the powers of the weak, colleagues, neighbours and citizens as a whole. (Hoch, 1996:42). This will help bridge the gap between theory and practice.

Planners, although advocating for community participation, are also gate-keeping their profession. The conclusion that community participation is the prerequisite to the objective of empowerment may not be forthcoming in practice. This may happen because empowerment of communities is advocated without paying attention to the real consequences of empowerment in the context of specific projects. (Copley, 1993:36). As a result those who have power may hinder empowerment to secure their privileged access to resources, and act as barriers to the establishment of genuine partnerships. Community participation is often

perceived as a threat to corporate decision-making or the mandates of elected members. (Mythen, 2001:63).

If people can have maximum control over their development processes, they may not need them and will lose their jobs. Planners are aware that once community control is achieved, most resources will be channeled to civic-run initiatives, forcing competent professionals to move from the agencies if they wish to influence development. (Friedman, 1993). Most often they do not want to move from the agencies and they themselves hinder community participation. "...It fears a thousand of tiny empowerments, because it fears its professional death". (Epstein 1994, in Sandercock , 1998:129).

Planners need to abate their fears because their technical expertise will continue to be required in the same manner that it was, in the late 1960's when the planning profession was challenged. They should therefore concentrate their efforts to facilitate effective community participation that influence implementation. The more locally based, participatory process for achieving a socially just policy may be the only real leverage for building new interpretive communities capable of changing social inequalities. (Hendler, 1995:138). This calls for optimistic, committed, and active planners to take on the challenge.

Another issue in participatory processes relates to the question of inclusion and exclusion. These two issues test processes by the extent to which they include all interests and the extent to which beneficiaries of development are represented or merely spoken for. (Friedman, 1993). Group organisations have varying levels of articulation and the project or programme could not therefore, get the same degree of participation and in most cases is liable to find itself riding the political needs of the most powerful group. (Merrifield, et al. 1993). Judgements have to be made about who is to count as 'affected' party, about who is to be represented and who is to participate. Planners have to consider general appeals to inclusion and representation in collaboration, joint problem solving

and dialogue. They need to think about both formal rights and entitlements, i.e. if one is within the the programme project or boundary.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion:

"Participation ...honours the basis right of people to have a say in forms of decision-making. In our view, institutions need to enhance human association by an appropriate balance of the principles of hierarchy, collaboration, and autonomy: deciding for others, and for oneself...Authentic hierachy provides appropriate directions by those with greater vision, skill and experience...Collaboration roots the individual within a community of peers, offering basic support and the creative and corrective feedback of other views and possibilities.... Autonomy expresses the self-creating and self-transfiguring potential of the person...The shadow face of authority is authoritarianism; that of collaboration peer pressure and conformity; that of autonomy narcissism, wilfulness and isolation. The challenge is to design institutions, which manifest valid forms of these principles; and to find ways in which they can be maintained in self-correcting and creative tension". (Reason and Heron, 1995).

The chapter has described the policy process, how social change is implemented, and how the good intentions of planning may be misused, as well as the number of obstacles inhibiting effective participation. It has explained how planning as a profession and a social action relate to other social and economic forces in society and history, and how grass root participation affects change in planning environments. It has shown that persuasion and audiences are at the core of planning. There is hope that collaborative planning in the midst of conflicting participants, as planners act as 'active mediators' can build 'new interpretive communities'. The next chapter provides the arena that illustrates all these elements and potentiality.

Chapter Three: Introduction of the case study

3.1 Introduction

The chapter introduces the context of the case study, proceeds to define the case study, and the community dynamics. It reflects the nature of participation in planning; its legislative; controlled; interest-group; and a shared decision-making characters.

3.2 Background to the formulation of the Stage 1, Phase 1B of the LHWP Resettlement and Development Programme.

The anticipated water shortage in the Gauteng area in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) led to the commencement of discussions between the RSA and Lesotho in mid 1960s, regarding the sale of water and transfer of Lesotho water, as a result of RSA annual water demand of 3.8%. Projections to the year 2000, indicated that Gauteng Province would accommodate nearly 42% of the urban population of the RSA, and would generate 56% of all industrial and 79% mining output in the RSA. (Phase 1B LHWP EIA Report, 1997: 6). Lesotho stood to benefit financially from the sale of its water as well.

After evaluation of more than 2 000 variations amongst several main alternatives, the final proposals for the transfer of water from Lesotho to supplement the Vaal Dam were endorsed in 1986, and the LHWP came into being through the signing of a treaty on October 24th 1986 between the two governments. (ibid.). The treaty covers only the first two phases, Phase 1A and Phase 1B, of a multi phased scheme. Both the RSA and Lesotho will benefit directly from the project. RSA will receive a much needed reliable supply of high quality water and Lesotho will benefit financially from the royalties through the provision of the water, and the money saved through the production of its own electricity supply. (ibid.).

In terms of Article 15 of the treaty, it is stated that the governments of Lesotho and South Africa will:

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

These requirements are reflected in s. 44 (2) of the LHDA Order, 1986, which states that the Authority shall:

'-ensure that as far as reasonably possible, the standard of living and the income of persons displaced by the construction of an approved scheme shall not be reduced from the standard of living and the income existing prior to the displacement of such persons;' (Resettlement and Development Study, Technical report R3, 1996: 2-2).

A Compensation Policy and Rural Development Plan was formulated to address the social impacts created by the LHWP i.e., the loss of houses, agricultural fields, gardens, rangeland and trees. The former is concerned with compensation for the loss of individual and communal assets, while the latter aims at providing the affected communities with an alternative and sustainable means of livelihood. (inter alia, through the provision of training in rural skills and the introduction of income-generating and rural development projects.). (ibid:7). The stage 1, Phase 1B Resettlement and Development Programme is a subsidiary plan to this objective.

It is also a response to the number of environmental issues that surfaced during the implementation of Phase 1A. In the planning of the various components of Phase 1A, minimal consideration was given to the environmental and social

aspects of the project. During that period, LHDA was dominated by an engineering philosophy and the environmental interest was in its infancy. (ibid.) In its early stages, little consideration in terms of participation and alleviation of negative project impacts, was given to local people who would be most affected by the project. The people of the area had no opportunity to meaningfully participate as they were never kept informed, and there was no forum in which they could express their views. (ibid:8).

In terms of socio-economic development, Phase 1A experienced a population flux as people outside migrated to the project sites for jobs, and to establish other secondary economic activities, resulting in uncontrolled and disorganised development. (EIA LHWP report, 1997:8). Conflicts emerged as the local people experienced lack of project jobs, and felt that for all the disruption that the project causes to their lives, the provision of jobs would be a just compensation. In addition, the compensation program was slow in delivery of its services and lacked a direct service for the processing of claims. With regard to rural development, the planning of the program was late, was implemented centrally and was slow to show meaningful progress.

The Phase 1B resettlement and development programme is therefore expected to incorporate participation of local people. Interested and affected parties will be given the opportunity to provide input, -in the environmental assessments-, and the host communities, as well will be involved in the preparation of the resettlement and development plan. To address the concern of local people in relation to jobs, in Phase 1B all contractors will be required to give semi-skilled and unskilled jobs to the local people. To ensure that compensation is timely, the resettlement and development programme is to be implemented in advance of the beginning of construction. The rural development programme was being planned and is to be implemented in co-operation with the people of the area. (EIA LHWP Report, 1997).

3.2.1 Definition of the case study

The Phase 1B Resettlement and Development Programme comprises the Resettlement and Development Study and the Resettlement and Development Plan. The former included socio-economic survey and the latter; public participation, resettlement and compensation policy and options, replacement housing, infrastructure and development proposals. With regard to public participation, a People's Involvement Programme was initiated when Resettlement and Development Study (RDS) was first conceived. A resettlement and compensation policy and options offered a range of resettlement locations and compensation options. In Lesotho, there are no standard compensation rates to be followed and LHDA land compensation rates are said to be relatively higher than the other organisations such as Lesotho Housing and Land Development Corporations (LHDC). (Land Policy Review Commission Report, 2000).

Issues around replacement housing included peoples preference's for particular types of houses, for example, traditional stone and thatched rondavels, rectangular house build of cement block with a corrugated iron roof, etc. Another issue relates to a range of artisan skills, building, masonry, carpentry, and thatching, available locally in the receiving areas and the policy was to employ them so far as possible in the resettlement programme as well as use the plentiful local stone as a building material.

The infrastructure development plan has been formulated to ensure that infrastructure in the host communities has the capacity to adequately support both the existing community and the new arrivals. The programme concentrates on four main types of infrastructure, namely; roads, schools, community centres and water and sanitation; and it proposes labour intensive construction methods where feasible.

The development activities envisaged in the Resettlement and Development Action Plan (RDAP) included crop and livestock production, forestry, tourism and income generation. The only aspect that has received a concerted effort in support of it has been the income generation component. (Stage 1 Evaluation & Resettlement and Development Implementation Programme report, 1998)

The Phase 1B scheme area is large, covering 150 000 hectares, and people are to be resettled in three groups. The stage 1 of the programme involves the resettlement due to pre-construction (September 1996 - March 1998) works. It addresses the villages most severely affected by the tunnel and dam wall. The effects included physical disruption of the villages, and noise and dust due to proximity to the works. It also included households who might have expressed request to be resettled early. Figure 3.0 shows the main project area and resettlement areas.

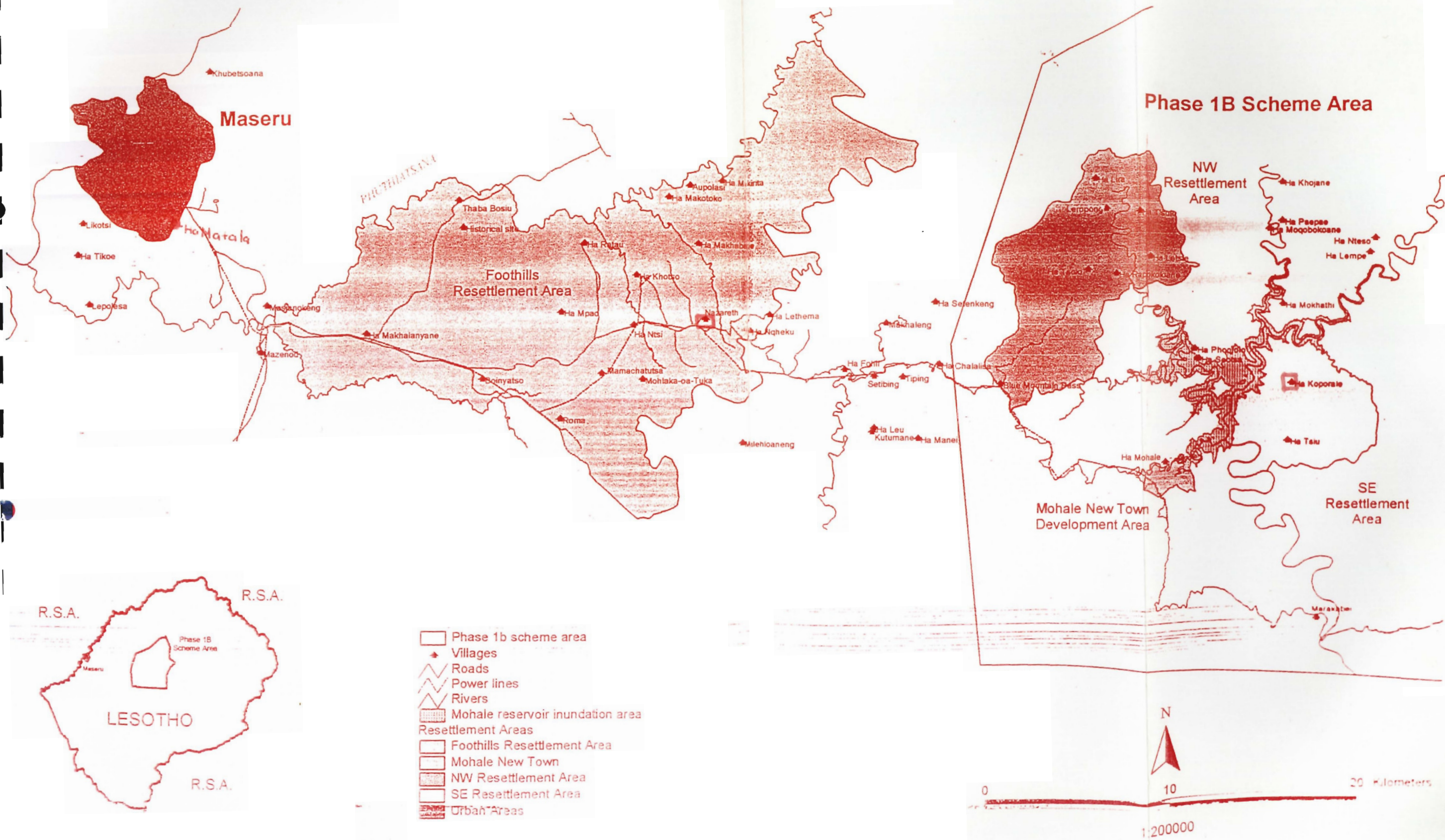
The second stage involves pre-inundation (April 1998-December 2000) works. It includes severely affected villages either through being wholly or partially inundated or hazardously close to the water Full Supply Level (FSL) and liable to extensive land losses

Post-inundation forms the final stage. It is scheduled to take off in January 2001 and end in August 2003. It comprises nine worst affected of the remaining villages not included in stage 1 and 2. While they are close to the reservoir and liable to severe land loss, they are not recommended for resettlement, and encouraged to remain in situ. However, the final decision will be made when the full impact of the reservoir and mitigating effects of proposed roads and bridges is assessed. (LHDA resettlement and Development Study, 1996:20).

There were altogether 99 households that had to be resettled before the construction of Mohale Dam and associated Tunnel (stage 1). They were either in the dam or tunnel contractor's way. (LHDA Report, 1998:1). Their

displacement was virtually unavoidable and they were given the chance to choose their destination area. They could choose to be relocated, that is remain in the scheme area or resettled in other highlands areas; in the foothills of Ha Ratau area; in Maseru, Teyateyaneng (TY), or other urban areas; and in other lowlands areas. (Resettlement and Development Study, 1996:13). The most popular destinations were the foothills (44%) and the scheme area (37%).

Figure 3.0
Map A-10 Potential Resettlement Receiving Areas



The reasons behind the preferred options are largely agricultural and social (ibid.). The foothills of Ha Ratau were especially popular because it is within the same Thaba-Bosiu Chieftancy they belong to and would be welcomed in the area, and has benefited from a major integrated rural development programme. Resettlers would also take up the currently uncultivated arable fields. (ibid.). As a general guide, it was decided that conditions should not be created where individual choices could compromise the viability of the community, as a result group or village relocation or resettlement was encouraged. However, this did not preclude individual choice completely. Where it was clearly in a household's interest to be resettled and there was no detriment to the community, then resettlement was carried out.

The affected households were to be compensated for the losses directly incurred as a consequence of the project construction activities. For the individual households, these losses can be categorised as buildings, arable land, gardens, trees and disturbance, communal resources (grazing, brushwood, medicinal plants, wild vegetables and useful grasses) and graves. For the communities they include access to -, schools, clinics, churches and services. The former is addressed through a compensation policy, the latter through a development programme as part of the resettlement and development plan.

The reservoir will seriously restrict movement through the scheme area. A major impact will be the reduction of total number of households in the area from 1 500 to 1, 280 (15% reduction). However, there had been local movement of households relocating within the scheme area, and this has increased the pressure on certain parts of the area, notably surrounding Ha Koporale.

Although the traditional livelihood of affected communities is disrupted, the increased cash economy created through the provision of job opportunities is to substitute the impact of disturbance, and improve livelihoods. A compensation and resettlement package was to be worked out in consultation with individual

households. A joint community/LHDA team, Compensation and resettlement Task Team, comprising representatives of the community and of the resettlement and compensation division of LHDA, and an official recorder were to be set up with the primary responsibility for reviewing each individual household circumstances and agreeing a compensation and resettlement plan incorporating:

- A site for relocation
 - The extent of the households losses
 - A compensation package including housing re-establishment grant, and compensation for individual losses in the form preferred by the household; and
 - An income restoration plan, introducing various income generating activities.
- (ibid.)

Compensation preferences were to include cash annuity, cash lump sum, 'ma-line' (rental row houses), grain, and land-for-land. (Resettlement and Development Study, Technical Report R3:2-8).

As a planning framework, the scheme area was divided into seven smaller planning units described as Development zones. These are essentially geographic units which, although demarcated by specific physical features, coincide with the areas covered by the seven Area Liaison Committees. They have the advantages -, of being manageable in terms of size, and they also provide a direct link between planning and consultation thereby enhancing the effectiveness with which planning responds to local views. (The Resettlement and Development Study, 1996:19). The individuals find it easier to identify with smaller groups than with large organisations. (Morgan, 1993).

3.3 The community overall structure

The kingdom of Lesotho is governed by chiefs. An appropriate structure would review the existing structures and institutions of the chieftancy and its hierarchy of principal chiefs, chiefs and headman, and the District, Ward and Village Development Committees (VDCs). Chiefs inherit their position, and VDCs are legal structures at village level created by order No. 18 of 1991 and amended by Act No. 7 of 1994. (Community Participation Strategy, 1997: 26). The VDCs report to District Development council. (DDC).

Traditionally, land administration was the sole preserve of chiefs who allocated and administered land on behalf of the King. Since independence, however, the democratic change had grown over the years to the extent that powers of chiefs over land allocation and administration have been gradually eroded and replaced by elected VDCs. The contributing factors to the change is the fact that chiefs were seen as corrupt and uncaring simply because their positions as hereditary chiefs were unthreatened. Most of them are reputed to be alcoholics. As a result of their inability to perform their required duties they often step down and their wives take over their duties. (Land Policy Review Report, 2000: 88). It was found that both chiefs and members of VDCs take bribes.

The VDCs are criticised for being elected along political party affiliations and thus lose credibility in the eyes of other members of the public. (ibid.). The change has resulted in conflicts and tensions between the two groups that have compromised land, and range management and grazing control. (ibid).

The District Secretaries are the heads of government at the district level. They have powers to enforce through law enforcing agents within their area of jurisdiction. (District). Communities look upon them as a mediator whenever they have grievances against each other or the institutions be it; government or traditional.

Community based organisations such as burial societies, and school committees in their many forms represent some organised effort. Then there are individual men, women and children. It will be seen if the structure had any influence in the outcome of decisions with respect to case study.

3.4 The Institutional arrangements

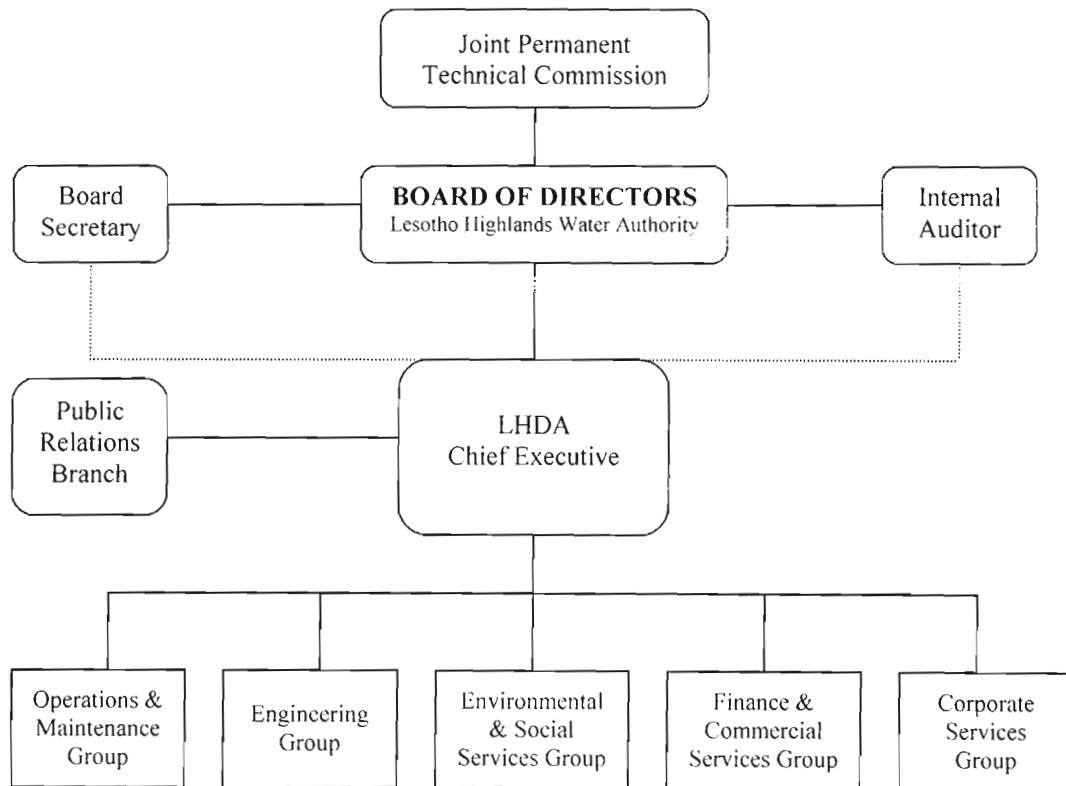
The LHDA was created by the Lesotho government to implement the Lesotho Highlands Water Project. Its mission is to:- efficiently and effectively implement and manage on a sustainable basis the LHWP in accordance with the Treaty and the Order to the benefit of the people, the environment and the economy of Lesotho. It aims to achieve sustainable development in the project area through the Community Participation Unit (CPU) which deals with community participation issues. It also provides continuity and improve co-ordination of the participatory process at community level through Field Operation teams such as Mohale team, and it seeks to facilitate the active participation of all community members with a view to empower them, to determine and undertake development in their own areas through -, the process of consultation with the NGO community.

It is also aimed at proving a two-way communication process with the affected communities so as to ensure the regular dissemination of information to and from these communities. (Community Participation Policy and Strategy, 1997).

LHDA comprises the Joint Permanent Technical Commission (JPTC) at the top of the structure. This is an organisation created by the governments of Lesotho and the RSA. It has advisory and monitoring powers relating to the activities of LHDA where these activities may have an effect on the delivery of water to the RSA. Then there is LHDA Board that visits affected communities to get first hand information of their views about the project. Following the Board, is the LHDA Management and Staff that ensures clear policies and work towards the achievement of organisation's goals and objectives, respectively. Finally, there

are LHDA Consultants and Contractors who are engaged for special assignments. (ibid.). Figure 4.0 illustrates the organisation structure.

Figure 4.0 LHDA Organisational Structure



Source: LHDA Annual Report 1996/7 -p 2

3.5 Community Dynamics

3.5.1 Stakeholder analysis

A stakeholder analysis was done and the following table illustrates the identified stakeholders in the context of the case study.

Table 2.0: Stage1 Resettlement and Development Programme stakeholders

Type	Description
Affected Communities	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Affected villages (households/ individuals)2. Specific social categories, e.g.<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Children and herd boys• Women• Landless households• The aged• The disabled• Job seekers3. Project-related liaison groups; e.g.:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community Liaison Assistants• Liaison Committees
Government and Administration	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Local/Regional, e.g.:<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Village headmen/area chiefs• Principal chiefs• Local government (e.g. Village Development Councils)• Regional government (e.g. Ward/District DCs)• GoL (e.g. agricultural extension officers)• District Secretaries• Town councils/municipalities

	2. Regional/National, e.g. Ministries of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agriculture (Field Services, etc) • Local government (DLHUD, VWS, etc) • Works (Roads Branch, etc) • Members of Parliament
Non-Governmental	1. village water committees 2. school committees/teachers associations 3. religious organisations 4. youth groups 5. other CBOs (e.g. grazing committee) 6. NGOs
Lesotho Highlands Water Project	Project Area: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. LHDA Field Operations Teams 2. Other LHDA field staff (e.g. construction) 3. Consultants/contractors 4. LHWP workers/organised labour Head office: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. LHDA Board 2. LHDA Branch/Section management; e.g.: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resettlement and Compensation • Development • Public Relations • Field Operations • Monitoring and Evaluation 3. Other LHDA Head Office staff 4. Joint Permanent Technical Commission
International	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Government and South Africa 2. World Bank 3. Panel of Environmental Experts 4. Other donors/development funding agencies

	International NGOs
Other	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. potential private sector investors (e.g. tourism operators) 2. tourists 3. researchers (academics, students, etc.)

Source: Community participation policy and strategy, 1997)

All these stakeholders have an interest in LHWP resettlement and development programme and have different needs and roles to play. The participatory mechanisms applied will be looked into in chapter 4.

In addition to the above analysis, the findings of the socio-economic survey indicate that the majority of affected households are under-resourced and financially poor. This status is reflected in:

- Low general educational levels, with less than 25% of household members having completed schooling above Standard 6. A higher proportion of 43% males, five years of age and above, have no formal education compared to 13% females. On the other hand, 36% females in the same age groups, have completed seven years primary education compared to 13% males. Educational attainment of females is consistently higher up to high school (Form 4-5). The literacy rate is 65% for those 10 years of age and above, and this is lower than the national average.
- Less than one-third are economically active
- Nearly half of the households (47.6%) rely on cash income in one or other form from the LHWP, including compensation. Other sources of income include remittances from RSA (30% total reported annual cash income); local wages/salaries (12%); sale of livestock (11%); sale of home-made beer (5%), remittances from Lesotho (3%); land based incomes, mainly agriculture (19%). Most households depend on other income in kind, particularly their own produce and communal resources such as wood. A substantial cash

income is derived from the illegal sale of marijuana, and this income is lost on resettlement. Many people have abandoned their traditional lifestyle for the sake of project jobs.

- 29.6% of the households have no access to agricultural land, however the authorities in the receiving villages have an obligation to provide every male resident with land for farming; and
- there are high levels of food insecurity, with 63.1% of households stating that they went short of food at some stage of the year. Those who lost their ability to grow their own food were to be compensated and one choice of compensation was to be replacement of arable land. Crop production improvements would have been introduced to the general area to increase crop production on those lands in the area that are not affected by the project. (Draft LHWP Participatory Monitoring & Evaluation Programme final report, 2000, LHWP Phase 1B EIA Report, 1997).

The inheritance system and discrimination against women has an important bearing on the compensation aspect of the resettlement and development programme. Section 11 of the Laws of Lerotholi which forms the cornerstone of inheritance of land in Lesotho provides as follows:-

"11 (1) The heir in Basutoland shall be the first male child of the first married wife, and if there is no male in the first house then the first born male child of the next wife married in succession shall be the heir.

(2) If there is no male issue in any house the senior widow shall be the heir, but according to the custom she is expected to consult the relatives of her deceased husband who are her proper advisers."

What has happened in practice then is that the Basotho Nation being patrilineal as they are, only the eldest sons inherit their fathers' fields and where none exist such lands revert to the chieftainship for reallocation upon the holder's death. Daughters cannot, in law, inherit family land and this is often justified on the

ground that they will soon get married and hence move to their husbands' villages and become part of new families. Yet the irony is that, in practice, married women still do not get access to land because they are 'minors'. This has the implication regarding compensation for the loss of land rights, payable to the farmers who hold rights of cultivation over the land.

Although an attempt has been made as per the Land (Amendment) Order 1992 Section 5 (2) to improve the widows' access to similar rights to her deceased husband, they are still discriminated against. Unlike a widower who is fully entitled to hold title to land even after re-marriage, a widow loses such title upon re-marriage simply because she happens to be a woman. (ibid.: 80). Similarly it seems quite discriminatory that widows alone are, in terms of customary law, obliged to consult their late husband's younger brothers in the use of their properties. (ibid.).

It is obvious then that women are marginalised and discriminated against in a blatant way simply because they had the misfortune of being born women. Land Policy Review Commission Report, 2000:76-77).

Although the Constitution of Lesotho guarantees freedom from discrimination in the following terms:-

"18 (1) Subject to the provisions of subsection (4) and (5) no law shall make any provision that is discriminatory either in itself or in its effect.

(2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (6), no person shall be treated in a discriminatory manner by any person acting by virtue of any written law or in the performance of the functions of any public office or any public authority.

(3) In this section, the expression 'discriminatory' means affording different treatment persons attributable wholly or mainly to their respective descriptions by race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status whereby

persons of one such description are subjected to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of another such descriptions are not accorded privileges or advantages which are not accorded to persons of another such description."

Subsection 4 (c) has perpetuated discrimination against Basotho women in the following terms:-

"(4) Subsection (1) shall not apply to any law to the extent that that law makes provision -

(a) ...

(b) ...

(c) for the application of the customary law of Lesotho with respect to any matter in the case of persons who, under that law, are subject to that law." (ibid.)

It makes customary law an exception thus perpetuating discrimination against women on the pretext that it is 'customary' to do so.

In addition, Section 19 of the Constitution of Lesotho guarantees the right to equality before the law in these terms:-

" Every person shall be entitled to equality before the law and to the equal protection of the law".

However, this law is sacrosanct and is not observed at all times in terms of sex. (ibid)

On the positive note, Lesotho ratified an international treaty known as the United Nations Convention On Elimination Of All Forms Of Discrimination Against Women in 1995. The preamble to that Convention, states that discrimination

against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, and is an obstacle to the participation of women on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries. It furthermore hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family as well as making more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries. (ibid.).

The Commission observed a drastic change of attitudes in the members of the public throughout the country, to the effect that discrimination against women in Lesotho in so far as inheritance to land is no longer justified in an open democratic society. (ibid.). How pronounced was the change of attitudes regarding women empowerment in the case study? Did the resettlement and development programme have to deal with the mismatch between patrilineal customs and the adoption of the United Nations' treaty?

The typical Basotho village is divided spatially into two realms; that of the women (the houses) and that of the men (the cattle kraals). The men are involved in politics and work for the chief. The women's responsibilities traditionally were, and to a great extent still are, agricultural activities. In addition to cooking, collecting water from natural springs and raising children, making crafts, plastering houses, and making beer, women take food to men in the fields, weed and harvest. Ploughing, planting and also harvesting is men's responsibility. The women rule the house but men make the decisions. Men play a dominant role in matters of government and ownership of wealth. (LHWP Phase 1B EIA Report, 1997:27). As a result, a household is a primary unit of village society and the household head is the legal and customary representative. The extended family/homestead form the building block and fundamental social unit. (ibid.).

In Basotho's culture, children are not supposed to actively discuss and debate issues with the adults, on the premises that they would be disrespecting the adult group when they answer back. Their responsibility is to listen and take the

decisions made on their behalf by adults, as it is believed that adults are in a better position to make informed decisions for a child. This is the reason the researcher did not have children in the focus groups, complying with the norm.

Essential as the decisions may be, they fail to accommodate the 'participation clauses' of the Convention on the Rights of the Child or the related agreements of agenda 21 and the Habitat Agenda, as _they fail to acknowledge that children are also important actors in their communities. (Driskell, e tal, 2001:79). Lesotho also ratified these agreements. How did the LHWP resettlement and development programme meet these obligations? Is collaborative planning possible where there is tension between customary practices and the ideals for inclusive participatory processes? How should a planner manage this role conflict?

Despite these dynamics, there is one character of the highlands people of Lesotho that sets them apart from other people. They are proud people who have always considered themselves different from their fellow countrymen in the lowlands. They have a unique culture developed as result of the harsh climate including exposure to snow, severe cold, hail, high winds, lightning, veld fires and flooded highways threatening the lives of the people and their property, terrain and remoteness from modern facilities, services and amenities. (LHWP Phase1B, EIA report, 1997).

Economic independence and self-reliance are strong characteristics. They have a strong sense of belonging due to their extended family networks, a strong ties of kinship and a vibrant social and cultural context in which interaction with community members is an integral part of their daily life. Resettlement and development programme has to mitigate against cultural loss identity and changed social interactions. This situation is more pronounced in instances where people resettled at the lowlands where the lifestyle and culture are different.

3.6 Conclusion

The case study represents different individuals, groups and organisations connected to the programme and their stock of power, interests, motives, attitudes are not the same. The programme comprises a number of projects and people have varying interests in each one of them. The legal framework which should guide the programme is not without contradictions, and it is not surprising that there can never be a single method to community planning. However, in this postmodern abyss, there is hope as there are some common community characteristics and interdependence that forms a basis for shared decision-making.

Nonetheless, developing collaborative processes is a deliberate and dynamic process. The friction, difficulties and challenges in the process provide avenues for practice. The planners' story telling in the next chapter is not just case histories, but windows onto the world of planning possibilities. They teach by showing complexity and detail and specificity, that inform judgement, enrich perception and heighten sensitivity.

Chapter Four: Analysis and Presentation of Data

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the context within which community participation took place; the findings of the process and the analysis. It tells the story of the nature of social planning and frustrations inherent. At face value community participation is an easy undertaking which can be done by everyone, but in actual fact, it is not. There are many issues, and a number of relationships the planner have to understand to make sense of his work, and in order to really engage in effective participation.

There are different role players in participatory processes and to assume that one good method employed by one group, who have different obligations to meet, is problematic. For example, the consultants' role of undertaking Resettlement and Development formed their only mandate, and the NGOs' role, was to ensure effective participation, as opposed to LHDA who had to implement the programme. Conducting a study or guiding and eye-keeping, is different from acting. Collaborative planning, was therefore crucial to review each other expectations of what community participation could achieve.

The chapter therefore gives the summary of Community Participation Policy and Strategy as a guiding document towards community participation processes. It then articulates the extent to which it had been implemented, through its objectives and strategies, and by explaining the form which community participation process took; looking at diversity, and power in resettlement, and development projects, and then the interplay between the two concepts.

4.2 Summary of Community Participation Policy and Strategy

LHDA Community Participation Policy and Strategy was formulated as a response to the failures in the implementation of Phase 1A, and is applicable to all LHDA programmes. It commences by defining the concept participation and the approach used in defining it. Questions such as who, why, how and when should or must participation occur are attended to, consequently the levels of participation from information dissemination, consultation, collaboration / partnership to ownership.

It assumes the nature of the project under consideration, or the stage in the project cycle as the determining factor to these questions. It recognises differences between levels of participation but makes notice that all have a common denominator; namely that participation is relational. This means that, it involves a set of actors who, as a result of a development of a dam, in this case, stands in a particular relationship to each other for example, as project proponents, implementing agents, beneficiaries, interested observers, and sometimes as victims. It therefore adopts the World Bank definition since it points to this relational aspect of participation; as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them.

Since participation is context-specific, the strategy identified the range of stakeholders who may have an interest in the LHWP; the different components of the LHWP and the different levels of participation appropriate to each component; and the range of LHDA participation planned e.g. public relations, consultations and community outreach. Table 4.1 below indicates levels of participation in the LHWP.

Table 4.1: levels of participation in the LHWP

Project component	Information sharing	Consultation	Collaboration	Ownership
Technical/engineering aspects	✓			
Siting of associated infrastructure(e.g. roads)		✓		
Labour/recruitment issues		✓	✓	
Compensation policy and procedures			✓	✓
Resettlement/development infrastructure			✓	✓
Household/community development initiatives			✓	✓
Environmental care/optimisation initiatives			✓	✓

Source: Community Participation Policy and Strategy:8

The planned LHDA participation initiatives include Environment and Social Services group (ESSG) then called Highlands Services Group, and Public Relations Branch. The ESSG through its Branches and Sections is to contact with the affected communities in particular and this contact should be ongoing and proactive. The Field Operations Teams should collaborate with communities and co-ordinate the input of other Branches/Sections (e.g. Resettlement, Development and Public Health) to enhance the re-establishment and development of affected villages and households.

The objectives of the Public Relations Branch are somewhat different but complementary to those of ESSG. Its mandate is to promote the LHWP amongst all stakeholders through the provision of project information. The chief mechanism through which is achieved is the Information Centres. The Community Participation Unit co-ordinates information requirements and dissemination to the affected communities, local government structures, CBOs and NGOs. The Branch also uses the strategy to co-ordinate the interface between construction staff and local communities.

The prime concern of the community participation strategy is on affected villages (individuals, households, CBOS etc;) in the myriad of stakeholder groups and interests. The affected village as a whole is to be considered, both affected and unaffected households owing to the relational webs within which people live. It advocates the use of existing democratic local government structures as the focal point of the participation process.

The Strategy is mainly concerned with participation at the level of collaboration, and community ownership. This means that the 'playing field' has to be leveled, because different sectors of society have been exposed to and experience development in different ways, and do not necessarily come into the process on an equal footing and with access to the same resources. The provision of a two-way communication process with the affected communities so as to ensure the regular dissemination of information to and from them is highly regarded.

In terms of objectives, the strategy intends:

1. To facilitate participation of the affected communities in the LHWP through capacity building initiatives (training and support programmes; empowerment).
2. To support the deployment of field operations staff with the necessary skills in community participation and development.

3. To provide a two-way communication process with the affected communities so as to ensure the regular dissemination of information to and from these communities.
4. To facilitate the participation the participation of GoL, NGOs and other interested parties in the LHWP, and their collaboration in promoting sustainable development in the LHWP area.
5. To assist in co-ordinating the range of current and planned LHDA participation/outreach initiatives.

The objectives are to be achieved through the following strategies:

Formulating and implementing programmes for the enhancement of/support to the participation structure. This would include:

- Capacity-building opportunities (training and support programmes) for community members
- Training programmes for field operations and public relations staff
- A programme for the regular dissemination of information to affected communities and other stakeholders
- A programme for LHDA-NGO collaboration
- 'induction' programme for contractors and their workers
- programmes for the co-ordination of the activities of the Environment Social Services Group (ESSG). (Community participation Policy and Strategy, 1997:18)

Attention is paid to the fact that the strategy should consider those stakeholders who are working with the communities around development issues i.e. NGOs, and ensures that field operations staff is equipped with the necessary skills in community participation and development. These include principles of community development (including the role of the community development worker, record keeping and report writing), community communication, participatory rural appraisal, group dynamics and group work, collective decision-making and problem-solving mechanisms, conflict resolution and negotiation,

and leadership and facilitation. The strategy illustrates community participation enhancement action plans.

It recognises that the strategy should play a leading role in assessing the information requirements of affected communities, and in co-ordinating information dissemination to affected communities from other LHDA Branches; and assists LHDA Public Relations Branches in co-ordinating information dissemination to stakeholders such as Members of Parliament.

The strategy has extensively identified issues under each stakeholder that may influence the project, providing foundation and strategy for their participation. It has further advocated strategies to be used given the issues.

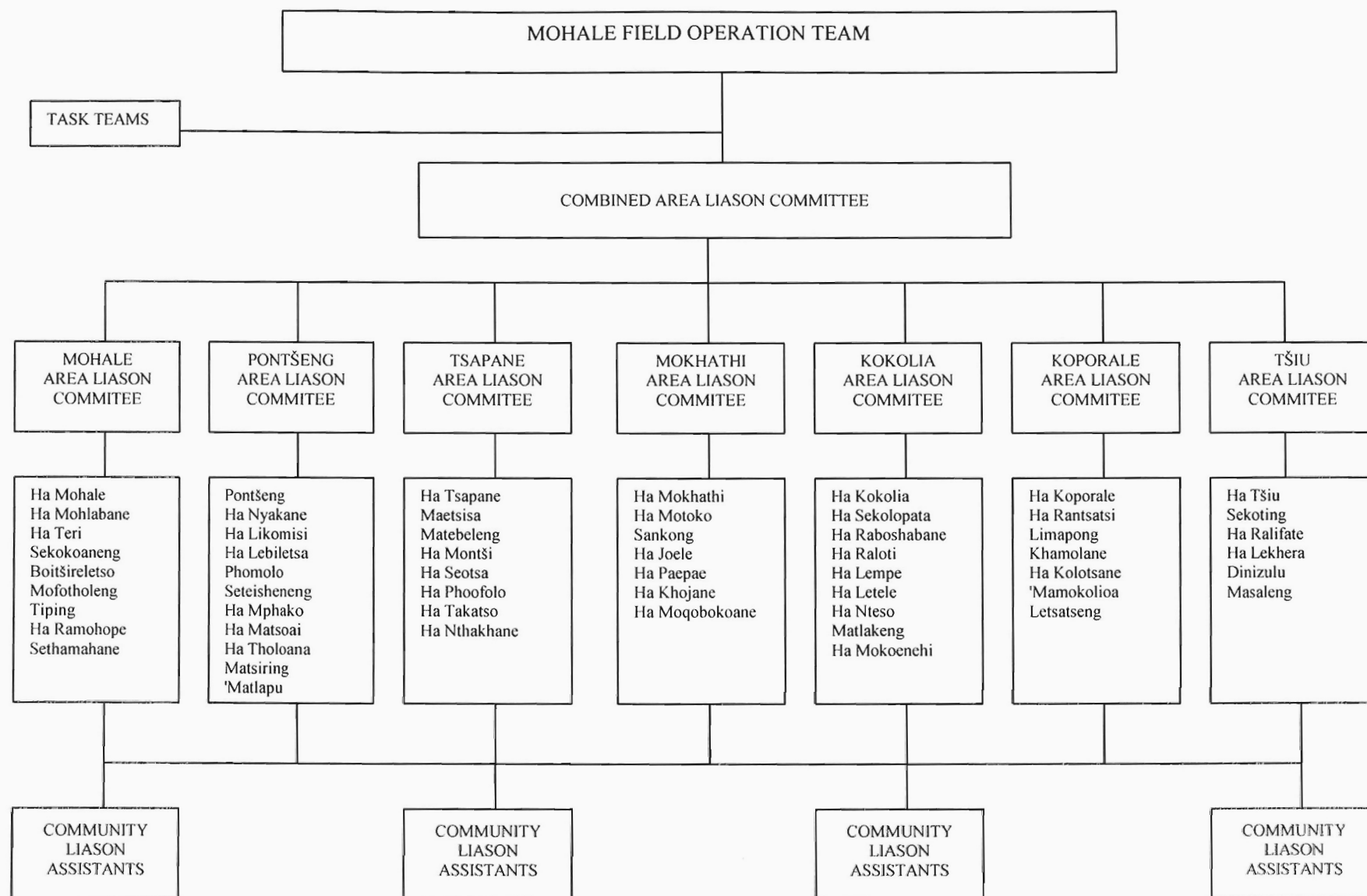
Before projects could be implemented, there should be organised staff, as a result LHDA put in place its participation structure. Field Operations Team (FOT) comprises a key mechanism through which LHDA intends to achieve aims of community participation. Each FOT consists of, inter alia, a Team leader, a Community Participation Officer, a Compensation Officer, a Resettlement Officer, a Public Health Officer and an Agricultural Extension Officer. However, in stage 1, the team was incomplete. It is the LHDA first line of contact with the affected communities, and (a) ensures that two-way communication takes places in a structured and systematic manner; (b) that grievances, concerns and suggestions are promptly attended to; and (c) that decision making processes (needs identification, planning, etc.) include all relevant stakeholders (i.e. also people located in remote and impoverished areas and those disadvantaged by circumstances beyond their control).

The task teams such as a Compensation and Resettlement Task Team established in Phase 1B to assist the households affected by Mohale Dam in selecting compensation and resettlement options, are established from time to time to undertake specific tasks on behalf of FOTs and the affected communities.

Where necessary, the strategy proposes the establishment of Project/Contract Steering Committees. These have representation from, inter alia, LHDA, the JPTC, affected communities, relevant GoL Ministries and NGOs, and meet periodically to assist with the resolution of coordination problems, the assessment of implementation progress and the procedures and project monitoring. These lead to the assumption that explains poor coordination performance.

Two mechanisms were proposed to support the active involvement of communities in LHWP activities; namely a system of Community Liaison Assistants and Community Liaison Structures. In the case study Area Liaison Committees and Combined Area Liaison Committee were established (CALC). The system of CLAs was first introduced in the Resettlement and Development Study undertaken for Mohale Dam. It consisted of eight CLAs, operating in teams of two and responsible for regular contact with designated number of villages and the dissemination of information to and from these villages. See figure 5.0 below.

Figure 5.0: Community Liaison Structure



The CLAs are to be selected from the affected communities to facilitate communication between the communities and the implementing agency, and to ensure that community concerns are properly reflected in the final plans. Their role also include negotiation, particularly where individual and community interests do not coincide with those of LHDA i.e. levels of compensation losses, decisions concerning location and alignment of new infrastructure. A training plan, covering similar topics to those offered to FOT staff is to be prepared for CLAs, responsive to their changing position and needs, therefore have to be updated and applied annually. The strategy recommends a formal Constitution for the community participation structure, listing terms of reference, responsibilities, support requirements, reporting mechanism, etc. The ALC and CALC were to facilitate the structured and collective participation of the affected population in resettlement and development planning. The responsibilities of a Community Participation Officer, and operational procedures for Community Participation Officers are stipulated in the strategy.

In terms of external co-ordination, the strategy finds it necessary to give particular attention to the information requirements of those stakeholders who interact with the affected communities on a regular basis, for example, MPs, NGOs, etc. A separate plan for collaboration and information dissemination to and from these stakeholders is recommended. It also recognises that it is of particular importance to continue with the process of NGO consultation and to develop it into a programme of real collaboration in the LHWP. This is the partnership called for in planning practice.

The strategy makes reference to the establishment of a programme for monitoring of the community participation process. Ongoing monitoring should take place through the analysis of field records (such as FOT field reports, CLA reports and Liaison Committee minutes). This should be supplemented by the periodic, formal monitoring of stakeholder reaction to the participation process. The results of the monitoring exercises should be evaluated and corrective

actions implemented where necessary (e.g. adjustment of strategies; diagnostic studies). The NGO should be invited to provide independent monitors to participate in the monitoring programme.

The following human and financial resources were required to implement the strategy, a Community Participation Co-ordinator and Assistant Community Participation Officer based in Maseru; and payment of CLA honoraria, payment of allowances for the attendance of liaison committee meetings, training and workshops and Head Office support respectively.

4.3 The Community Participation Process

In the beginning when the news about the construction of the dam and the consequent involuntary resettlement were broken to the affected communities by LHDA staff, people were shocked and some were adamant that they were not going anywhere, and to others, the idea of their villages covered with water was a fairy tale. They demanded a talk with the Prime Minister at the time, Dr Ntsu Mokhehle. He was sick and the then Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Mosisisli and some members of the cabinet addressed the communities. They took a considerable number of affected people on a tour to the Phase 1A (Katse) area to see for themselves that the dam was built and people had resettled. On their return home, they told the rest of the communities that the dam construction is indeed the reality they are faced with, and the people better understood.

The Resettlement and Development Study by Hunting-Consult 4 Joint Venture then kicked off. It was commissioned in June 1995 with the awareness that while the construction activities proposed for Phase 1B would have an enormous physical, social and economic impact on the Mohale communities, with foresight and sympathetic planning these impacts could be lessened. The CLAs were employed and they strive to establish:

- a thorough understanding of the socio-economic status of the affected communities;
- quantifying all of the impacts on the communities and community resources;
- setting up and maintaining an effective public consultation process;
- Formulating policy and procedures for compensating households and communities for loss of resources and means of livelihood;
- Identifying resettlement and development options; and preparing a flexible and robust development plan. (RDS, 1996:3).

They sought to identify negative impacts that the LHWP Phase 1B, would have on the socio-economic component of the scheme area, so as mitigation solutions could be provided, as bound by the provisions of the International Treaty between the Kingdom of Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa. Much later, after the study, two CLAs from the foothills were added to the list.

The ALCs were elected by communities through a majority vote. Two members represented each village and it was recommended that they should comprise a male and a female because of safety consideration for females, addressing the strategic need of the women. They represented the views of villagers, particularly with respect to communal issues or specific grievances, and also provide a communication channel facilitating the participation of the affected population in the resettlement and development planning process. Decisions were made through the committee. It would call a meeting 'pitso' where people made decisions. The ALCs met twice a month before the CALC meeting at a village located at the centre of all villages.

The CALC fulfilled similar functions to the ALCs, except that it represented all villages in the scheme area and consequently emerged as the principal body representing affected communities, in both resettlement and development planning in negotiation of compensation with LHDA. It consisted of four representatives from each ALC, area chiefs or headman, VDC chairpersons, and

the chairperson of Development for Peace Education (DPE) committee and an NGO supported committee. A Project Information Office (PIO) presented a venue where people from the affected communities could find information on the project, put forward queries and lodged complaints. Here, they could find explanations to what ever they did not understand about the project that was discussed in meetings.

The participatory tools in RDS included, small groups discussions and house to house interactions. The consultants stayed at the village and interacted with the affected communities on a daily basis and learned their ways of life incorporated their views into the plans. The consultants completed their study and handed the RDS report with Resettlement and Development Plan to LHDA who approved it at the end of 1997. It then interpreted the plan through FOT, and went back to the communities to confirm their needs at the time of implementation the plan, in 1998.

4.3.1 Outcomes

4.3.1.1 Resettlement

In terms of resettlement, no new resettlers were allowed into the scheme area; into affected villages. The affected communities participated in selecting the location of their future homes. They were given the opportunity to see the various destinations before they could make a choice. They were also given time to change their preferences a number of times.

This enabled the settler family to locate a suitable residential site and for LHDA to arrange with the local chief and VDC for its allocation. If the site has to be bought, LHDA pays for it and the transfer to the settler family is ratified in the usual way, complying with the Land Act of 1979. Public gatherings and house to house consultations were used to provide information and register households

preferences and property, and measure size of houses, respectively. Where the son about to get married, was given a house by the head of the family, that was regarded as an independent household. This was not the case for unmarried women or divorced woman, living in a separate house. This is the example of bias practices endured by women. In these people's concerns were listened to, some views were taken into account because they were said to be well founded, others rejected on account that they were not justifiable. However, LHDA did not resolve cases where there were disputes over property ownership. This was left to the family and the chief.

In public gatherings, the meeting would be opened with prayer, the chairperson would explain the agenda, and would then allow time for questions and clarification. People who had something to say would indicate by the raise of hands, and would be selected by the chairperson. Few people would speak up, and some often ask questions outside the scope of the day, and most people would grumble when told that those questions would be answered in another forum, and would not want the meeting to come to an end. This is an example of lack of trust, and lack of understanding of the way the formal organisation works.

Some simple designs were elaborated and offered to households to make a choice of the one, each preferred. The household further had a choice to either build his own house with support from local artisans, or directly employ a local contractor from the receiving village or the local or general building contractor employed by LHDA could build the house. However, all buildings were to comply with the South African Standard Building Regulations, constructed in stone or cement blocks with thatched or insulated iron roofs, steel windows, plastered walls, gutters, downpipes and concrete floors with PVC tiles. (RDS, 1996:23). This last option was not common. The people were to make a choice between a gas and coal stove.

The households were invited to select a site in a residential layout, thus choosing its neighbour. They informally agreed among themselves while still at the scheme area, who their neighbours would be. As a result one had a chance to avoid a neighbour who, for example beat up a wife, or to maintain a neighbour whom they help each other in times of need. LHDA arranged site visits, allowing the households to inspect the foundation of the house, and a completed house to ensure that it was what they had chosen.

4.3.1.2 Development and Compensation

The task of resettlement, compensation and development is complex. The various sectors and components are inter-dependent. The resettlement and development plans have been presented in separate sections but in practice are closely related and even inter-dependent in some instances. There are more important linkages between the compensation and development programmes. The Phase 1B compensation is largely cash-based, while maintaining a small and optional element of commodities - grain, pulses and saplings. Emphasis was put on the usage of the term, 'compensation' as opposed to 'payment'.

The most popular form of compensation for loss of land in the Phase 1B area was by annuity paid over a period of 50 years, as land-for-land compensation did not occur. LHDA officials looked everywhere but in vain as there is a shortage of arable land in the country. In measuring the size of the fields, the chief sent one of his messengers to accompany the LHDA field officers, and an individual member of community would then see his/her field on their maps. There were complaints regarding the size of the field or that one's field appears under another person's name. The exercise would then be repeated in the presence of the complainant.

LHDA then generated the annuities for each of the recipients by investing a sum, related to the productive value of the land. It was the form that was likely to

provide the most secure and regular source of income for those losing their land, though it was also recognised that some households might wish, and had capability, to invest their compensation entitlement in an enterprise other than an income-bearing fund.

The compensation recipient who was able to present to LHDA or its authorised representative a convincing investment plan to withdraw a part or even in exceptional circumstances, the whole of his or her entitlement as a lump sum, was allowed to. This might include agricultural, industrial and commercial enterprises that had the potential for providing a return on investment, however carried risks as most people in the scheme area had little or no experience as investors or entrepreneurs and the climate for investment in most enterprises in Lesotho is adverse.

Unless the recipient chooses otherwise, the annuity was recommended as the standard compensation for the loss of arable land. 'Ma-line' (rental row houses) had so far emerged as the only investment endorsed, other than a fund that generated annuity.

4.4 Analysis

4.4.1 The implementation of the strategy

4.4.1.1 In terms of the structure

A people's Involvement Programme (PIP) was established as set out in the strategy and was expanded to become the focal programme for all LHWP Phase 1B activities. The structure consisting of CLAs, ALC, CALC and Project Information Office formed elements of the programme. The CLAs were supervised by a Community Liaison Coordinator, to support affected individuals, households, institutions and organisations. The ALCs were trained in stages to

understand what participation entailed. In terms of the process, all LHWP-related access to the affected households were co-ordinated through Field Operations Branch office. This proved to be inadequate hence the establishment of the Steering Committee, and Ombudsmann were proposed for stage 2 of the resettlement programme.

4.4.1.2 In terms of its objectives

At the time of stage 1, the Field Operation Team as well as CRTT were not complete. FOT did not meet its objective to co-ordinate the input of other Branches or Sections. This finds expression in the lagging behind of development whereas resettlement and development should be at par with each other. The interviewed communities mentioned that in the beginning LHDA and CLAs, made regular contacts with them, but with time this changed and they see less and less of them. However when they demanded the compensation as agreed and stipulated in the policy, they were told that the policy had been reviewed, resulting in some changes. The changes were made without their consultation, as the result they argued that the decisions were imposed on them.

The CPU was also not in place at the time and its assumed function of co-ordinating and disseminating information requirements to stakeholders, was not accomplished. Where necessary, the Steering Committee was proposed for Phase 1B Resettlement and Development Programme but it was not established. (The researcher does not know the reason). These lead to the assumption that explains poor coordination performance. In addition, not all field operations staff was supported with community participation and development skills as required by the strategy. This was due to lack of field staff at the time of the training programme.

Although the strategy aspires to the involvement of NGOs in a collaborative manner in the LHWP, and a Memorandum of Understanding for LHDA-NGOs cooperation was drawn, it had proved unsuccessful, as it was not kept to. There had been ongoing serious conflicts between LHDA and NGOs. However, their intensity had lessened.

The payment of CLA honoraria, and other community representatives meeting allowance as a support mechanism was offered by LHDA. The latter was recently done away with.

With regard to income generating opportunities, people complained that in few cases where people were allowed to establish spaza shops, since they get saturated quickly, LHDA bought the commodities, thus pocketing the left over money 'change', and generally concluded that LHDA staff enriched themselves with their money.

4.4.1.3 In terms of effective community participation

It is an effective working document in as far as it identifies the stakeholders and pays consideration to issues that can have a negative influence in the publicity of the project. It was further canvassed with the communities and staff through workshops. More importantly, it has been translated into Sesotho language, to increase its coverage to local people.

It ensures that the same message is delivered to the communities through Field Operations Teams, thus enhancing trust and avoiding confusion and obstructionism. The proposal of CPU of the responsibility of coordinating information is important in collaborative planning where the uniformity of information determines the success or failure of participatory processes. The recognition of its leading role in assessing information requirements of stakeholders points to the importance of information in sustaining community

participation, where interest in the project must be kept alive; hence right and understandable information must be given at appropriate times.

Its recommendation that existing democratic local government structures be used in community participation is important as it has the capacity to earn the project free, indigenous people's prior and informed consent, guided by their customary laws and practices, recommended by the World Bank Commission. This led to the establishment of ALCs and CALC structures, that helped organised participation, bringing together issues of individualism of villages and solidarity of all affected villages. The objective of the strategy to ensure two-way communication between LHDA and the affected communities is crucial and without which the participatory process could be compromised. Its concern for participation at the collaboration and ownership level implies the creation of opportunities for capacity building and empowerment.

The strategy has further identified issues that may impede on the community participation process, thereby reflecting one's strengths and weaknesses. This is essential in collaborative planning with regard to the way decisions are influenced. Furthermore, through the given strategies to deal with the issues, it has attempted to give everyone a sense of direction in community participation process. The affected communities' input consideration in the resettlement and development study, and in the formulation of policies and strategies such as the Compensation Policy constituted a sense of partnership into the process. All in all, the strategy was largely carried out as set out on paper.

An element of tolerance and sensitivity to the disruptive nature of dislocation from the location one has resided for many years, or generations was illustrated through giving people a leeway to change their preferences a number of times, which actually caused delay in the implementation of the project. The confirmation of affected people assets, interests and values during the implementation embraces the reality of changing needs and perceptions.

4.5 The mismatch between the strategy and implementation

However, the problem lies with the actual implementation of the strategy. This is not uncommon as there is often a gap between policy and practice. Strategies cannot be specific enough to guide contextual participation in complex communities. The LHDA Policy, Development and Planning Manager who was involved in the formulation of the strategy gave some insight into this situation. She said, the person writing the strategy has some inspirations and ideas which he/she feels the implementers have not really paid attention to, or understand and interpret it the way he/she meant it. On the other hand, the CRTT Team Leader as the implementer of the strategy pointed out that formulators of the strategy are often not in grips with the transferability of the strategy into practice, and their work end up including too much romanticism.

The affected communities doubted the openness of community participation processes as well as the seriousness with which their input was considered. They complained that the changing of LHDA officials is a strategy employed not to attend to their grudges, as the person they were used to and have held discussions with would be transferred to another position. The new one would not really understand what was discussed and the solutions arrived at. He/She would usually come up with the different approach to problems and would not embrace the agreed strategies. They considered this a trick not to implement the shared decisions.

On another flip side, there were a number of projects i.e. resettlement project, development projects, etc; LHWP is engaged in with the affected communities, and each project team often held meetings separately with the communities, because of different issues and procedures involved.

The people felt that the team should comprise of various project representatives so that it could be in a position to answer their diverse questions. This indicates

community lack of understanding of the culture of corporate (a parastatal) organisation, and trust towards LHDA, and lack of Sections coordination on the part of LHDA. As the result, the number of people in the area was and is still living in concern for the future and the unknown as the project proceeded. They have the feeling of loss of power and control, and unfulfilled rising expectations. Another example of peoples' lack of trust on LHDA, and understanding of the way the formal organisation works, is the meeting procedures and the power the chairperson has in guarding against undue interruptions, and managing the time allocated to the meeting.

The communities also complained that the construction staff did not consult with them and solicit their input. For example, the water supply at Ha Makotoko (receiving area), the community there had advised that there is no adequate water at the points the water stand pipes were located, but the contractor did not listen to them, and the resettles encountered problems of shortage of water.

Although choice and flexibility was offered in terms of design of houses, resettlement destination and form of compensation, it did not always guarantee approval. For example, the people were not allowed to make changes to house designs, such as the positioning of the door. However, some respondent, a CLA and member of ALC, mentioned that she insisted on the different design as could be seen that her house was different from others. She had demanded a small living room because she told the contractor that she does not have enough property to fill the room, but needed a bigger bedroom because she had many children. She threatened not to occupy the house if he did not do, as she said. Not all people had this influence. Furthermore, an Assistant Resettlement Officer mentioned that resettlement destinations beyond T.Y in the north, and Maseru in the south were not approved. The full dispensation of annuity was done only when one has met the set requirements.

The payment of CLA honoraria compromised the objectivity of some of the CLAs as they are paid by the LHDA and not by the community. They were more accountable to, and obliged to meet the LHDA interests and did not mediate without partiality. They were not elected by the community as the strategy advocated. They were appointed by the consultant, (Hunting-Consult 4 Joint Venture) through formal application. The requirements for the job included C.O.S.C qualification, a person who could understand English and had good communication skills, and the member of the affected community.

The payment of allowances for the attendance of the liaison committee meetings was recently curtailed since the appointment of new Field Operations manager, on account that full participation should entail ownership and community voluntary work, and this had caused dissatisfaction and poor attendance of committee members. On the other hand, the allowances were a source of jealousy among community members, and a source of mistrust between these community representatives and community members. It was assumed that the allowances were LHDA bribe to community representatives, so that LHDA could achieve its objectives at the expense of the communities' interests.

4.6 Community Participation in 'diversity' and 'power'

4.6.1 Diversity

It is important from the outset to mention one area of diversity; that the ease with which the researcher conducted the study depended on the respondent's ability to express himself/herself, and the level at which he/she is accustomed to participatory issues. For example, it was much easier to get views, opinions and information from the CLAs. She was also fascinated and influenced by the feelings the respondents reflected as they expressed themselves, carried themselves, and had a way with words as they responded to her questions, differently. She was therefore influenced by them. However, this does not serve

to excuse the researcher's lack of skills in getting different views, emotions and opinions from the respondents.

The socio-economic impacts of the Resettlement and Development Programme were two sided. Employment opportunities led to improvement in the well being of local communities to some extent but had also generated conflicts. Similarly, improved access had been advantageous for local communities but had also resulted in social disturbance. There were advantages in using concentrated village sites for resettlement, so that services could be economically provided, however there was no reason settlement had to be consolidated in other areas than interspersed in existing villages, hence the representation of both patterns.

There were a number of beneficiaries of the LHWP as has been shown by the stakeholder analysis. They could be categorised in three groups, namely; those directly affected by the reservoir, those indirectly affected (host communities), and the nation as a whole. Within each group some further distinctions could be made. For example, there were families in the scheme area, eligible for resettlement and there are families who were not, land poor families among people who were directly affected by the reservoir and more vulnerable community members than others i.e. the aged. Other differences relate to already mentioned choice of destination, type of houses preferred, and compensation preferences.

The host communities did not have the same endowment of resources and services and the lifestyle was different. For instance, the availability of arable land for the resettlers in the foothills was not the same, and the lifestyle in Maseru urban area was different from the one in the foothills and in the highlands. These were mainly the determinant factors in the selection of destinations. The communal compensation provided through the development programmes, undertaken in host communities depended on value of communal assets lost by affected communities in each village and was not the same.

Very often the benefits to the nation were not immediately evident, and individuals and communities may experience development at different times, and do not share equally in these benefits.

In the case study, affected people did not participate to the same degree. Some community members work outside the scheme area and were not always there, to influence decisions. They participated through their spouses left behind. Some women working and staying in urban areas showed no interest in the process and pointed out that their husbands were the ones attending meetings.

The committee members had a better understanding of the process through regular contact with LHDA, NGOs and affected communities, and training. The chief's host communities campaigned for resettles, and did not stand the equal chance in convincing and attracting the resettles. The people are familiar to their Thaba-Bosiu Principal chief and he stood a better chance of winning the majority. In addition, some chiefs are better public speakers than others.

Not all people had resources such as livestock and land, and the keen interest, and expectation of the outcome of participation in related issues was consequently different. People with resources wanted the best deal regarding compensation for their resources, while the ones without, hoped for whatever little settlement would be given them. Also, people were at different stages in the life cycle. For example, young families main concern and interest was the schooling of their children, and mature families' worry was food sustainability, as they had lost their fields.

CBOs had different years of establishment, strength and sustainability, thus their chances of dissolving due to the disruption introduced by the project was not the same. Some did not even had the constitution required in any transaction, i.e. banking.

The degree to which NGOs, LHDA officials and government departments interact with the affected communities was not the same. For instance, the LHDA financial section only worked with affected communities when they issue out cheques, while the ESSG work with them practically on a daily basis. However, within ESSG, there is difference in the length of time and manner of interaction with the local people. The government officials came occasionally to facilitate workshops.

Furthermore, the affected people experienced the process differently. To some, it was no longer open and they wanted to disengage with the process. They just wanted their compensation money. To others, it was no longer transparent, however they were still hopeful that NGOs and LHDA would make things right. A number of committee members felt that they would not despair, but would put some more effort to effect change.

4.6.2 Power

Initially, the people had some influence to the direction of smooth participation, that led to the talk with the members of the cabinet, however they did not have power to stop the construction of the Dam as it was a top down decision. They had power in relation to each other as they convince and talk each into believing that maybe the project/programme was not totally a bad initiative; that what were to happen to them, happened to Katse people as well, and they too would survive the ordeal. They would accrue some benefits, and they still have each other to lean on. They could resettle as a village, if not, they would still interact through CBOs meetings and functions, funerals and celebrations.

They also had power to influence the outcome of the original Compensation Policy. Their views were incorporated into the policy that was technically drawn up by LHDA. They could also lodge complaints and queries with the CLAs, and ALC and LHDA office in Ha-Mohale. Where necessary, they were allowed to sue

LHDA in the courts of Law. Very few people took this route. Heads of the households (men) had the power to determine where the household would resettle or relocate. LHDA only considered the male heads' decisions.

LHDA has the power to implement the LHWP. It is entrusted with the responsibility for the implementation, operation of part of the project situated in the Kingdom of Lesotho. It is the driving force behind community participation process. In the Phase 1B, stage 1 of RDP it had the power to coordinate resettlement and development projects and liaise with various stakeholders. It determined who gets what (compensation and information), when and how. It had influence on what people regard as possible to achieve. It employed consultants to carry out some special tasks, and approved decisions and proposals. In some cases it approved the decision and not the strategy, for example, implemented what was proposed but in a different way. It had supervisory power over the contractors however, it did not put this influence into effect, reflecting tension between technical freedom and participation.

LHDA field officials acted as planners who had power to facilitate meetings, dismiss some views and grudges as unfounded, and take up some others. They had power to answer questions and offer clarifications where they could, and presented to the management body (Section managers), issues they could not respond to.

Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have the legal power to operate in Lesotho. Lesotho Council of Non Governmental Organisations (LCN) is an umbrella body of one hundred and nine (109) NGOs. Of this number about eighteen are working or planning to work in collaboration with the LHDA in the implementation of the project. Their activities can be classified into three groups which are: a) advocacy, lobbying and monitoring a specific cause; b) creating awareness about individuals' legal rights and; c) service delivery and community capacity builders encouraging bottom up planning. Different groups have

different characteristics that produce a variety of strategies of influence, however NGOs are not particularly influential in LHWP activities, as would be discussed in the following section.

The principal chief is the head of traditional administration at the ward level. As a direct descendent of the founder of the Basotho nation, Moshoeshoe 1, he commands respect among local communities. His word in most cases is regarded as final at this level. He is traditionally regarded for all the activities in his area of jurisdiction. As a result new issues were discussed with local communities through their sub chiefs and Principal Chief. They are the 'eye' over shared community property, and mediators in any conflictual situations including family problems i.e. a chief can settle disputes where a husband beat up a wife.

Members of Parliament as part of the ruling party, as well as the opposition parties in Parliament, have power to determine the success or could unintentionally generate the animosity towards the project if not well informed about the LHWP project. However, they were reported not active in the programme. The assumption that can be made is that the project did not form a political issue as the World Bank approved its progress, contrary to the NGOs' view.

The government departments and the affected people in general have influence in the publicity of the project, hence LHDA should ensure that accurate information is readily available to them. Children in particular are often quick to imagine things, turn their imagination is eventually regarded as facts. They also have the capability to make best use of every situation. Coming to a new place, they would soon make new friends, find new playing niches and become happy.

4.6.3 The interplay of power, and diversity in community participation

In the planning stage, when the planning was characterised by lack of 'buying into' the project, many meetings were held to change peoples' mindsets, selling the already product. The officials did not question the credibility of this exercise in fear that they would lose their jobs. People were persuaded through promises. The affected people recalled promised 'heaven and earth' so they say. They say they were promised high standard of living, electricity, lot of money since LHDA had money, improved roads and services. They were told that an individual who had one house, an additional one would be added. The old people were promised blankets and nice food. This illustrates the persuasion power planners sometimes have to resort to, to get things done.

Although, in the formulation of the compensation policy, people views and needs were respected, the consultants were criticised for advocating the people's preferences without injecting their views. It was therefore seen necessary to review the policy. This reflects the tension between the balance of power in collaborative processes, and the use of technical knowledge in determining the realm of the possible.

The land-poor households derived their livelihood from sharecropping, and it was agreed in the compensation policy that they too should be compensated in the form of income. This was calculated through the establishment of household income threshold, below which no household should fall. This is an illustration of how people ensured livelihood for all community members, and how consensus was reached in collaboration where people individualism had the capacity to embrace solidarity.

Men of the households are final decision-makers regarding any household matters, and the compensation was paid to them and might have been at the expense of the family. The basis for this is that compensation is given to the

owner of property, and not to the person who looks after the property. There were cases where the man wanted to settle in one place while the wife has another destination in mind, and the decision taken would be the man's. However, women might have given them advice, as normally men would listen to their wives, and would then rush out to the kraal to think. On coming back they would have accepted and embraced women's advice, but would phrase the same solution differently from the way the women had put it.

Household educated women often had more influence in household decisions than their uneducated counterparts. Such households also made informed decisions; in terms of future welfare of children, and the family, comparatively. LHDA staff did not interfere with the negotiations within the household. It was left to the household to make decisions on where they wanted to relocate or resettle. They only contacted the household head to register the choice. The children interviewed mention that their parents did not ask them where they would want to their new home to be, and the ones who their families relocated, showed their desire to have gone to the foothills. Some asserted that they were happy with their parents decision as they believe they know what is best for them. The children in Maseru area said they were happy to have resettled but miss their friends in the highlands and foothills.

The people were asked to indicate the design type of houses they would like to have. However, more or less similar prototypes were built. Some complained that they did not choose the 'school hall' built for them, but a different design. Most Basotho want to feel unique and have a house different from others in some aspects. On expressing their dissatisfaction the contractor building the houses told them he was given the plan by LHDA to use. Others were happy with their houses saying they were exactly what they have wanted. People also indicated that they did not like to share the fence dividing the household compounds, in fear of being bewitched. They would have preferred a bigger passage between sites. Those who chose a gas stove ridiculed the fact that they

were in bad faith, not shown how to operate the stove, nonetheless were scornfully happy they fiddled until they figured how, themselves.

The houses built were of the same size (floor space) as their original. In some instances one would want a bigger house although his/her house was small, or many rooms of which it was not feasible. As the result, extensive explanations would be made. LHDA Mohale field staff, advised people on the best form of housing option. For example, that the traditional thatched roofed house was better than corrugated iron roofed house as it maintains heat in winter and is cool in summer thus, cost effective. And that it was preferable to have slanting roofed iron sheets house to flat roofed house to protect the sheets from sun and rain, resulting in leakage, and the walls of the house, from exfoliation. However, people largely chose otherwise, induced by modern practices. This indicates the idea that people do not always choose the 'best' solution, and that in collaborative planning the planner could not force 'best' decisions on people.

In the same manner, the affected communities were advised about the different lifestyle in Maseru, however there were people who chose to resettle at Ha Matala, close to services and employment opportunities. However, they chose a site where they could see the Thaba Putsoa range (which bordered their home place) would sooth away their loneliness, for their original homes. The site is also close to the woods where they could still fetch some wood to cook as they were accustomed to, and they were mainly a lineage so their community well being was to a large extent intact. Those who chose the foothills did so mainly because of more or less similar lifestyle to theirs. They could still practice agriculture even if it was sharecropping. The one who relocated to other villages in the highlands, mainly had concern to their livestock since if they resettled, they had to leave their livestock with people in the highlands as people who resettled did. They also minimised the level of change in their lives.

It is important to mention that Ha Matala was the only location which many of the development initiatives promised had greatly been met. For example, the roads were tarred and there were on site taps. The people relocating in the highlands, foothills and Maseru urban area were promised the same development, except for the higher disturbance allowance of R12, 000 in Maseru, while the other groups had R6, 000, since they did not have any communal compensation. Communal compensation is used to improve the host facilities such as water. In Maseru, there were no shared facilities. The high level of its ALC articulateness and lack of fear in voicing the community's needs and interests, and in influencing and demanding the fulfillment of made promises might explain the advancement.

Although, people were not eager to resettle or relocate, they were urged to make their final decisions. The chief of Ha Tsapane, took time deciding where he would want to go, and was the last to resettle. This shows difference in the stock of power people have, and the resultant pattern of influence.

The main conflict issue rested on compensation. The people were given a certain amount of their annuity on a yearly basis. The amount each household got was private. An agreement between the people and LHDA was reached with respect to that issue. The people considered income a private issue, and LHDA minimised conflicts which would arise as people would argue that their land value had always been higher than another persons', by referring to the volume of harvest or mere eye look at the size of the fields. However, more technical methods were applied to arrive at the value of the fields. This and the overall manner in which the compensation policy was formulated points to the compatibility of expertise and local knowledge in collaborative planning.

However, detail issues were discussed later, during the implementation stage. They included an individual 10-year period fallow field, which by law has to be given back to community property. The community accountability was depended

on, to verify such fields but people were reluctant to give each other away. However, from the kind of grasses that grew, LHDA and the community could see if it had lain fallow for long. Another issue related to whether a marijuana field should be compensated to maintain the people's standard of living, or not. No matter how thought off, the policy was, there were issues that arose that were not covered in the policy, that called for shared decision making, reflecting the interactive and uncertainty nature of community participation processes, and planning.

However, the administration of annuity posed the main problem. To have all or a large part, of the annuity, the household had to prepare a viable business plan and people had no idea how to draw one. They were free to approach the LHDA for assistance and discuss the idea they had in mind. When the idea was not approved, that caused discontent.

The people argued that they needed the money for day to day living and the money had come once a year and had not been enough to live on (ranging from R200. to R1000. / household), for the whole year. They were angered by the notion that it was said, the reason they could not be given their full amount was that the money was a large sum, though the money they received annually was very little. They pointed out that their standard of living had deteriorated due to the LHWP. They used to practice agriculture and had some food, and grown marijuana. If they could not, they would lease out the field to have money to take children to school, now their children were not going to school because of lack of money (tuition fee).

LHDA took this measure to ensure that people had some income to live for years (50 years) to come as their fields would have provided this security. However, people felt that the only solution to the compensation conflict was for them to be given all their compensation, and use it as they wished and broke ties with

LHDA. This relates to the ineffectiveness of the way information was given, such that different interpretations were made.

The more peoples' interest on compensation than on development was the result of more emphasis on compensation in the beginning when people were captivated to the project. The development was not totally neglected but people were interested in compensation than in development. As had been mentioned, people choose what they want to hear. The sum of the compensation seemed a lot to live on, and attention was not paid to proposed development initiatives hence the slow pace of development aspect. That had resulted in resettlers' lack of participation in activities such as communal gardening, poultry, and sewing and knitting in their new homes. It had caused dependency syndrome whereby people had looked up to LHDA for their livelihood. The development activities were mainly undertaken by members of the host communities.

Different issues appeal to people differently, and receive different levels of calculation and judgement. One respondent gave an example of a graduate offered a scholarship together with attached requirements to fulfill, to study in Overseas. The graduate would excitedly take the offer. When in University, he would receive a letter reminding him of the scholarship obligations, and would keep complaining until the sponsor hold many discussions with him/her. Only then, would understand the full implications of having accepted the scholarship.

In the case study, the compensation aspect appealed to people more than the development dimension, as a result much emphasis should have been placed on development. It is important to have maintained regular contacts and discussions on this issue. However on the flip side, that would have compromised the interest, people were beginning to have towards the project. Recently, people were beginning to realise that the compensation is not enough to earn them a living, hence they were provided with development activities to supplement their compensation income. They were learning the hard way.

In the same manner, in LHDA executive meetings, where the Mohale Field Operation officers reported to, were not interested in the details of the community participation process, but wanted to know the milestones reached or the reasons not reached as planned, and the ongoing plan of action. Similarly, the committee (ALC) polished the issues to be presented in the CALC meetings. Sometimes people would write angry, insulting letters to LHDA, and the ALC would feel that was inappropriate, and would present the issues, and suggestions in a more friendly and acceptable way. They would mention though that the individual person who wrote the letter was very angry and requires immediate solution.

Issues were resolved by means of both negotiations and persuasion, and majority vote as the last resort in CALC meetings. The meetings began and ended with prayer. The chairperson would lead the proceedings by firstly opening the floor to attend to pending issues from the last meeting. Then current issues would be debated and resolved and where necessary a plan of action would be drawn. Minutes would be written by community representatives, who had no formal training in minutes writing, as a result they might have included intended as well as unintended details, and omitted some relevant information. Like every recorded minutes, they were summarised, therefore pale in comparison to participants' actual voice and style as they present themselves and reveal their concerns. The CALC meetings were the monitoring mechanism for ensuring that a follow-up on issues discussed is actually made.

The CALC community representatives would come and report back to the people the resolutions reached. The people complained that sometimes the representatives would only give feedback on some and not all of their issues. Usually LHDA would say it had heard their problems and would be attended to, but nothing would ever be done. The lack of implementation led to the conclusion that CALC community representatives had little success, influencing decisions. These were in accordance with the unfulfilled promises. Sometimes when people got angry they would be told that the promises were unreasonable

and the people who made them did not realise their impracticability. They also mentioned that when they demand what had been promised to them, they were called names such as 'bo ahlama o je' meaning they wanted to be spoon fed; they wanted LHDA to do everything for them, and did not take charge of their lives.

Another tool used for monitoring LHDA performance regarding the Treaty and Order requirements was the World Bank Officials. They would come periodically to the affected people to get their views and opinions with regard to their lives and the project. There would be an interpreter. The people complained that since they could not understand the English language used, they are not sure if the interpreter would be saying their views and opinions.

The NGOs also ensured that the LHDA meet its responsibilities, and had earned people's trust. It also empowered the affected people to articulate their views and needs to have direction. They helped them to be precise on what they wanted. They made a follow up on the pending compensation such as disturbance allowance whereby the people had only been given half of it. There was a point of difference between NGOs and LHDA on this role. While the NGOs described it as the empowerment of the less powerful communities, LHDA perceived it as the encouragement for people to complain, and demand the impossible.

That emerged from the difference in the conceptualisation of community participation by the two groups, and there has been lack of acceptance of the LHDA People's Participation Programme by the NGO, and this has given rise to occasional conflicts between the affected people and LHDA. The NGOs argued that the empowerment of the affected people should form the key objective of community participation process, and believe that LHDA did not hold the same principle. According to them, LHDA was mainly concerned about the progress of the project and its completion at the expense of empowerment, unhidden agenda

and transparency. It reduced empowerment to mean 'being heard' without paying attention to the value and wisdom of what was being said. They had their own structure running parallel to the LHDA's.

They argued that one could not put a time frame to community participation as it is a process not controlled by people. On the contrary, LHDA placed it within a logical framework i.e. that within a certain month, particular aspects should have been achieved, on recognition that they could not bring everyone on board. On the other hand, NGOs interacted with the communities stage by stage, and although empowerment is not something that is tangible and easily assessed, they believed that the affected people were more articulate and aware of their rights than their fellow men and women not affected by the Mohale Dam construction, and the committees were dominated by women.

Some interviewed LHDA officials applauded the job done by NGOs, as they pointed out that some of the issues community representatives presented in CALC meetings were clear and well thought of, through the teachings of NGOs. Indeed, the affected communities when asked about their awareness of the measures they could take given their complaints, they responded saying if they sue LHDA, that would involve a lot of money they did not have. Some of the LHDA staff mentioned that NGOs did draw their attention to their flaws, and that it was not possible to cheat the people, even unintentionally, but also were not happy that, the NGOs made it their priority to find something wrong with LHDA and expose it to stakeholders so as to taint LHDA.

The NGOs admitted, that they had not yet made a breakthrough to the children as hoped; they were still considered to have no opinions in participatory matters. They said they were criticised for not abiding customary law, as they sought to empower the most vulnerable groups in the community.

They object to the LHDA participatory tools of public gatherings on the ground that one cannot get the diverse views of all members of the community. Few people give their views and it is taken to be the whole community's. With respect to the people's culture, that was a constraint to open, inclusive community participation, it was impolite to disagree with the father-in law and say what he was saying was not so. They argued that initially, people would be afraid to ask questions. They would see LHDA Officials 'fit in their jeans, with caps'. However, they agreed that now that perception is changed. They advocated that field workers should stay in the villages from the inception of the project until the end. They pointed out that the LHDA only practiced this exercise only 4 years ago.

They insisted on the initial understanding that ALCs would employ an individual who would act as a link between the committee and LHDA, and the legalisation of CALC would be a completely community based structure, with elections, and supported by LHDA in terms of training and payments. They argued that as it was, LHDA was losing touch with the affected people. The need to have a workshop where all stakeholders might have the same understanding of community participation process had been identified by both groups but had never materialised. It also seems as if the definition of empowerment concept needs to have been discussed. Collaboration did not happen.

They were supposed to hold meetings together, however most of the time this did not occur. The NGOs perceived LHDA as a 'big monster', as all powerful in which case, negotiations were not possible. When each one hosted a meeting with the community and invited the other, the other would choose not to come, or would not invite him. The other would then come uninvited and disguised, and would speak out where he felt that the truth was not being told. In other cases, they would avoid to share the same meeting, such that when the one hosting a meeting, saw the other approaching, he would call off the meeting and disappeared.

The people complained that after they had been resettled the LHDA staff was reluctant to come and hear their complaints. Also, the CLAs did not meet with people to solicit their opinions, as before. They mentioned that although the NGOs were on their side, they came late, a lot of damage already done.

4.7 Conclusion

The respondents' story telling did not only describe events, establish debating points, or even clarified underlying interests, but helped clarify relationships of differences between the stakeholders. It indicated that barriers are real and high, even though invisible on the surface in community participation. It described the nature of collaborative planning, that it began with sets of interests, and senses of possibilities all informed by yesterday, but not yet informed by today's, experience. The meetings therefore had to be guided by some shared sense of rules, structure and process, agreed upon from the outset by all involved to ensure safety, and confidence to participate.

However, this requirement was not met; it was not explained adequately to communities, as a result no consensus was reached, and the affected people interpreted the process as the obstacle to freedom to participate. It showed how customs and norms that are contrary to gender rights, could work to the advantage of collaborative planning. And how participation could be an important vehicle of social communication to improve social relations.

It demonstrated the various stakeholders' emphasis and interest in different elements of community participation process. It drew attention to sensitive issues of people's fears, anger, suspicions and distrust to the innocent and well-meaning activities of LHDA community planners. It showed sensitivity to maintaining structural power relations in line with customary practices. However, in effective community participation, planners need not be afraid to ask fundamental questions that brings to the fore and challenges the power structure

itself. It also pointed to the sour relationships that emerged when collaborative planning simply did not occur, and agreements not abided. However collaborative planning was possible, by principles of unity in diversity if those involved had negotiated in good faith.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The chapter responds to the hypothesis of the study. It yields some important lessons regarding the potentials and limitations of community participation in stage 1, Phase 1B of the Resettlement and Development Programme. The reflections upon the comprehensive process of community-based planning that had been proposed originally, which would have built upon existing strengths and addressed needs, and what went wrong, point to a number of lessons that may have value for others who are involved in planning and development processes. These lessons are applicable whether one working at the local, regional, national or international levels, and whether within a governmental, non-governmental or multi-lateral setting.

The recommendations relate to skills required, approach and methods, as well as perceptions of what communities are.

5.2 Responding to the hypothesis

It is beyond a shadow of a doubt that LHDA engaged in community participation process in the programme. It sought public acceptance, undertook stakeholder analysis, formulated a multi-disciplinary planning team that led the programme, and multi-stakeholder committee where decisions and negotiations were made. Funds were given, and staff and community representatives training was offered, and also the final monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the programme was done with surprising frankness, and the admittance of LHDA on its mistakes.

The workshop participants considered both the strengths and weaknesses of the process and its outcomes, recognising and valuing success while always

searching for better ways to do things in the next stages. They recommended the establishment of Steering Committee and Ombudsman in stage 2. The original compensation policy expressed power relations within the community, and the outcome of the complex set of interactions between groups and interests within resettlement and compensation programme. The Phase 1B EIA Report indicates that the Environment and Social Services Group is more responsive to people's needs, has the ability to identify issues at an early stage, is more adept at problem solving, and is more proactive than was the case in Phase 1A. However the question is was the process effective?

Most of the interviewed people argued that from their standpoint it was effective. Yes, in terms of the time period given to the process, the involvement of people in decision-making through the locally elected committees, resources and information, and in adhering to the community's customs and procedures before the affected people could be addressed. In addition, the incomplete Field Operation Team and the understaffed CRTT did an excellent job under non supportive conditions. Most of the interviewed LHDA officials and affected people defined community participation as stipulated in the community participation policy and strategy, reflecting the effort undertaken in ensuring the same understanding of the concept. However, this did not extend to NGOs, hence a slight difference of conception of community participation in terms of emphasis. The NGOs believe the empowerment end goal should receive more emphasis than was the case.

Furthermore, from deeper scrutiny, contrary observations could be made. The failure to provide a transparent process that included effective participation had prevented affected people from playing an important role in debating the project and its alternatives. As a result, they were unable to assist project planners to provide a development response that met their needs and allowed them to the benefits to be derived from the project, hence the dependency syndrome. The appealing objective of self-confidence and self-reliance was not achieved. It did

not achieve much success in its endeavor to minimise discontent and provide living conditions and a socio-economic environment to people directly affected by the dam.

It is not without the recognition that decision-makers were faced with the dilemma of how to reconcile competing or conflicting rights and needs, since it is difficult to weigh cultural value against other aspects in assessing the pros and cons of a project. However it was up to the people concerned to make necessary choice through collaborative planning, where they might have realised that they could not live off historical values alone, but needed benefits that the project brought along.

Although the stakeholder analysis was carried out, and identified existing rights and those who hold them, identified those at risk through vulnerability or risk analysis and embraced the establishment of the leveled play field for stakeholder involvement, it failed to understand and address potential factors that might hinder their involvement. The effectiveness of participation was largely impeded by cultural constraints, dominated by the patriarchal structure on the land and decision-making. Although the practical needs such as water collection points, were identified, nothing much was done to change women and children status quo. The power imbalances were therefore not addressed.

The integrity of community processes should have been guaranteed through assurances that they would not be divided or coerced, recognising that differences and internal conflicts might arise. However, lack of NGO/LHDA collaboration compromised the recommended integrity, as conflicting ideas were spread on communities, and failure of LHDA to fulfill its promises communicated through CLAs and ALCs, caused coercion in community, particularly between community representatives and the community.

Although the opportunity whereby the NGOs represented the affected groups was provided, they came late in the process and were limited in scope, as they did not have resources. The level of affected community capacity building at the time of the planning of the implementation stage 1, to make informed decisions is questioned. At best, what could be deduced to have been the case is not shared decision-making but rather, information sharing and agreeing to the well - presented top down decisions. The acceptance could be said to have been gained through lack of alternative to deny the national project.

The negotiation processes took place, suggesting more or less equal stakeholders' opportunities to influence decisions. However, negotiations should also result in demonstrable public acceptance of binding and implementable agreements and in the necessary institutional arrangements for monitoring compliance and redressing grievances. LHDA response of " we heard, we would address the issues" to peoples' grievances through their representatives did not result in peoples' acceptance and was not implementable. Furthermore, all CALC members should have shared a genuine desire to find an equitable solution and agree to be bound by the consensus reached. The agreement that the compensation policy was the guiding document in the programme was not honoured by LHDA, which when the policy was reviewed did not consult the affected communities. Also the Memorandum of Understanding between NGOs and LHDA was not adhered to, by both parties. These represent lack of open, unhidden agenda and sustainable processes towards the end, which are attributes of effective community participation.

5.3 General Conclusion

It is seen that although community participation occurred and was effective in terms of some criteria, it was not effective in terms of understanding the implication of unequal power relations, and diversity of needs on the credibility of the programme. The study has shown that effective community participation

requires more than a set of participatory methods, but also an understanding and commitment to participatory principles from every level of organisation, and various stakeholders involved. The fact that LHDA although set out to achieve effective community participation, failed to support this local participatory initiative illustrates the extent of the barriers to translating the rhetoric of participation into actual practice.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Approach

Although philosophers have long discredited the claim that 'values' and 'ends' cannot be discussed rationally, it is of great importance to learn about what we want, if we are to interpret the world as well as interpret it. If effective participation is what we want, we are to shape the study and practice of public deliberation and public dispute resolution. Public deliberation refers to conversations that involve not only evaluation and efficiency, but a careful exploration to learn about ends (including goals, mandates, obligations, hopes) and what these means in a given case. It also makes cognisance of other stakeholders even as they might propose to what planners seek to achieve. Apart from being scientific and professional, the process must be transparent, participatory and democratic, in the best meaning of governance.

Good planning theory should clarify how public deliberation is possible and not just refer to role conflicts within. Research and action should be integrated as they are interdependent, and none is viable without the other. Social science research and theorising offers intellectual resources which assists understanding the structuring processes which enter into planners' daily lives. It helps understanding their dynamics, and chances of challenging them, or using them to their advantage.

With regard to conflict resolution, in a political environment where planners act as the mediator, they do not mediate in a neutral fashion. It is recommended that their basic responsibility is to use skills, position, and power to further the empowerment of the powerless. In this way, power gets to be used productively, and is not seen negatively. When people feel a sense of empathy and are vulnerable, to exploitation by people in positions of power, the planners' task is to help them with information systems and training opportunities. Their empowerment is a process fed by information, knowledge and experience, that bring them confidence in their own abilities. NGOs acted as mediators in this regard.

LHDA Officials gave directions through the application of technical knowledge to support arguments, contributing to deliberate policy, and design conversations rather than depoliticise issues, in the selection of best option for the less advantaged. For example, they encouraged relocation, or resettlement to the foothills, other than in urban areas, having comparatively assessed different standards of living. Planners have to guard against elitism in participation as was done in the case study. Chiefs did not have influence on people's decisions.

Planners must make an effort to find out what the people really want since it is not always that they will say what they want, or know what they want, or do not know how to tell them. To find out, they need time hence initial stages of the project should be longer, incorporating peoples' capacity building and exposure to available options. This involves giving them respect, and appreciating when they have seriously considered their circumstances and needs. However, there should be an agreed time schedule within which people's empowerment is done, and within which people's concerns are responded to.

What empowerment seek to achieve should be understood by all stakeholders, to avoid rhetoric community participation, and conflicts. Whether it is empowerment for local communities to assume certain functions, or only to give

communities more space to participate in the decision-making, or a transfer of more control in the administration of the resources provided by the organisation. In the LHWP Phase 1B, stage 1, Resettlement and Development Programme, empowerment referred to collaboration decision making and stakeholders' ownership of the programme. It should have encompassed all the above aspects, however, communities were given space to participate but this did not to a large extent, transcend into assumption of development functions nor transfer of more control in the administration of resources provided by LHDA.

Providing alternatives, is to let people make decisions. Planners must virtually come to some sort of decision themselves, but must be ready to be convinced that it is not right. They should indicate which alternative is better and which is less good, giving arguments in concluding as such. They must realise their own limits and be ready to be convinced that their decision is not right. This will help reduce their frustrations. They must have respect for the norms of community but also the readiness to diverge from the norm where required by context, i.e.:

- Recognition and practice should genuinely reflect the fact that men and women lives, needs, and thoughts are of equal importance
- Provision for children to make decisions that affect them

5.4.2 Skills

Planners therefore must seek to learn as they go by asking questions, be able to distinguish deeper concerns from more superficial rhetoric, so they must listen perceptively and come to see issues anew. They must pay attention to product and process, to arguments and argumentation, and they must do this in the face of institutional rivalries, uncertainty, and conflicts about what ought to be done. These colour planning profession. They must therefore manage rules and also foster arguments, have overlapping skills of negotiation, mediation, facilitation, and consensus building.

Often planners are elected as project managers and they are required to plan, organise, co-ordinate and integrate various elements of the project within a given timeframe. They also engage in team building of personnel from a multi-disciplinary background. They therefore, should have communicating, negotiating, mediating and more importantly, motivating and counseling skills, towards the team members and the client. These leadership skills are required in any collaborative community participation process. They should act as 'critical friends', facilitate confrontational argumentation, and open their minds and ears to listen in order to understand the underlying values and aspirations, that structure relations of power. This helps uncover the less visible, deeper structures of power embedded in thinking and acting.

The researcher learned the following prerequisite qualities/skills from the respondents involved in the community participation process.

- Patience - there are different personalities one has to deal with
- Humbleness - Never get angry
- Tolerance - some people do not grasp things as quickly as others
- Ability to cultivate excellence - the planner has to meet deadlines, so he/she should identify the person of average intelligence or even below who understand the issue discussed, so that the rest could see that the subject is comprehensible, and so that the former could explain to others what has been said.
- Persuasiveness/ romanticism - the planner has to find out what makes a 'difficult person' tick through his/her neighbours, and approach him/her accordingly. For example, there was a man who would not allow the CLA into his house. The CLA, found out from the neighbours that the man because of her notes associated her with Satanism. She then left the notes and he would talk about God and she would respond but also would talk about the resettlement programme.
- Experience - Although rules and procedures are important, the planner should apply his/her previous experience in order to break through to people.

- Nobody is wrong in community participation process - Participants may come to see that what seemed unimportant is important, what seemed not feasible is feasible after all.
- Give communities some tasks to do i.e. organise interest groups
- Maintain a regular contact with clients - A planner should sometimes pay a visit to the client just to see how they are doing, with no particular agenda to discuss.

5.4.3 Methods

The participants in the final review of stage 1 Resettlement and Development programme comprising of Community representatives from the Highlands, foothills, and lowlands, LHDA, NGOs, and the Development Bank of Southern Africa, made some recommendations on how effective community participation might be achieved. They recommended that three meetings of such kind should be held three times a year, thus ensuring regular monitoring of the projects, and giving time to ensure follow-up. They suggested that contractors responsible for construction should not be paid unless the houses have been completed to the satisfaction of house owners. They advised that clear-cut-off dates should be set down on paper and issue notices to the communities on deadline for completion of half-built structures, which areas should not be cultivated and deadlines for cultivation, and final decision for the destination preferences. They also asserted that it would be appropriate to provide training before resettlement so that people could build houses themselves.

However, firstly communities should be educated to understand the criteria for assessing projects such as the agency, the cost of the solution, the sequence of work required, the time required for the design and execution of the construction work, the technical complexity and the contributions from each party. Although up to date there is a problem of identifying the need, and often people do not

really know what they want, the planner must be very careful to be sure that they really do not know.

The learning process should be facilitated through:

- A setting that is locally participatory friendly, i.e. people seating down in the open space, or under a tree, the planner seating down among them, as part of them, and not isolate himself/herself;
- Brainstorming, and grouping of ideas;
- Coming up with a question that is relevant to all people, and break people into small groups to answer the question. This is particularly done when the planner anticipates that there may be a problem of listening to each other, due to diverse opinions. The answers express power. Then discussion and negotiations can take place to reach consensus or compromise;
- One to one consultations to deal with specific individual problems; and
- Creating awareness of the coming next activity.

5.4.4 Perception of what communities are

Planners, as they work towards the end, should strive to achieve an ideal community; which is the inclusive, the learning, the sustainable, the just, the liberating community. The community becomes more than a local habitation, but offers an end to work towards; and the means to foster it, to express fully a common memory, a shared practice, and shared values that project a common future. The democratic political process is greatly improved if bargainers can transcend their immediate perceived interests in favour of some form of principled accommodation rather than relying on raw power.

In conclusion, planners can achieve ideal community and effective community participation only if they have 'professional humility' to enhance perception and understanding. They should fulfil the human need of dignity by giving people

recognition that they are capable of making decisions and assuming the responsibility for the decisions they have made. Once participation is denied, humanity is left drifting, open to the terror at the meaningless and contingency of being. They should expect confusion in community participation, because issues are complex, and difference characterises reality. Planners' accounts can be expected to be ambiguous, non-systematic, long on symbolism and short on analysis, and hardly adequate to the political complexity and richness of their practice. However, in collaborative planning, these issues can be explored as they arise, with 'professional humility'

But do we as planners, have this humbleness?

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