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THE IMPACT OF THE GWEMBE TONGA DEVELOPMENT PROJECT ON THE GWEMBE PEOPLE

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

MASTER OF ARTS BY COURSE WORK AND RESEARCH REPORT

In the Graduate School for the Humanities, Social Sciences and Education in the faculty of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand

October 2008

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to investigate the impact of the Gwembe Tonga Development Project (GTDP) on the Gwembe Tonga (GT) people. The GT people were displaced in 1956 to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam that would increase the electricity supply to the mines in the Copperbelt and farmers. The number of people displaced was 57, 000 and they were not adequately resettled, rehabilitated and compensated. The GTDP was created in 1996 with the main objective to mitigate the negative impacts that the GT people have endured from the time they were displaced to date.

A review of international literature on dams has indicated that dam constructions have led to displacement of the poor and marginalized people. Over 40 million people have been displaced worldwide. As shown in the literature review, are case studies that demonstrate the impacts of dams on people. In this study there six countries that have been listed namely India, China, Lesotho, Togo, Mozambique and Zambia. The people in these countries have experienced similar problems in terms of inadequate compensation, resettlement and rehabilitation. It is also noted that these dams leave a negative impact on the local community and environment.

Development projects are equated with a general process of modernization where developed nations' ways of conducting its affairs have been adopted by the developing countries to boost their economic development. This study has also looked at the developmental theories that the developing countries have adopted for economic transformation of both natural and built environments through construction of projects such as dams, roads, irrigation systems, pipelines, and energy resources, aimed eventually at generating and supporting both agricultural and industrial growth, and with them, increased national incomes. These large-scale development projects frequently make references to benefit the general population but experience has shown that the social costs of these projects are often borne by the indigent rural communities.

To investigate the impact of the project a qualitative study was conducted to understand the peoples' way of life and data was collected by means of interviews, document analysis and observation techniques.

Both the finding of the literature and the qualitative results were analyzed with the aim of proving whether the GTDP has had any impact on the GT people in terms of improving their social and economic livelihoods. The key findings of this research were that the GTDP had implemented some of their objectives aimed at rehabilitating the clinics, constructing dams, reticulating the water works, building schools, capacity building, HIV/AIDS awareness programs, electrification and improving the agriculture sector through community participation.

The overall GTD project has tried to improve the livelihoods of the people. However, due to financial limitations the project came to an end in September 2006, with some objectives not being implemented such as the construction of the Bottom road, electrification of most houses and implementation of adult literacy programs.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other University.

Brenda Lulu Musonda

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29th October 2008

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All Glory goes to God almighty with whom all things have been made possible.

My appreciation goes to Dr Samuel Kariuki, my supervisor, for intellectual guidance.

I thank Zesco Ltd for providing me with relevant information without which this thesis would not have been completed.

I would also like to thank my parents for believing in me when no one did and my brothers and sister for the support.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

DIDR	Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
GT	Gwembe Tonga
GTDP	Gwembe Tonga Development Project
GTRP	Gwembe Tonga Research Project
ICOLD	International Congress on Large Dams
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
LHDA	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
WCD	World Commission of Dams
WV	World Vision
ZESCO	Zambia Electricity Supply Cooperation

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

The construction of large dams has resulted in the displacement[1] or resettlement[2] of many millions of people across the world. While a number of those dams may be seen to have achieved the main goals for which they were constructed (such as the provision of hydro-electricity, or irrigation), they have also been instrumental in causing severe socio-economic hardship for those people who have had to move to make way for those dams (De Wet, 2000:1). Cernea (1997b: 11) has also stated that the core problem in involuntary displacement is people's loss of livelihood and potential impoverishment. When communities are forcibly displaced, the existing production systems are dismantled. The early dams constructed in the 1900s were easily justified on the grounds of technical feasibility and on the argument that they were vehicles for industrial, and hence, economic growth. Social costs were never internalised in the appraisal of large dam projects (Oud and Muir, 1997:20).

This study explores how the Gwembe Tonga Development Project (GTDP), as a way of mitigating the negative impact of the Gwembe Tonga people who were displaced during the construction of the Kariba dam in 1956, has influenced the Gwembe Tonga people in terms of improving their livelihoods. It looks at what projects were implemented, whether the people have fully participated and if their ways of life have improved.

The Kariba Dam was constructed in 1958 to intensify copper mining activities in Northern Rhodesia between 1920 and 1945. The rapid expansion of the manufacturing sector in Southern Rhodesia brought about a need for a cheap and stable source of

[1] When people lose, through imposed expropriation their house, or the land they own, or both. They are compelled to yield the 'right of way' to the development or environment project has usually been defined as those situations (Cernea 1997).

[2] Loss of physical and non-physical assets, including homes, communities, productive land, income-earning assets and sources, subsistence, resources, cultural sites, social structures, networks and ties, cultural identity, and mutual help mechanisms and Involuntary resettlement Development project results in unavoidable resettlement losses that people affected have no option but to rebuild their lives, incomes and asset bases elsewhere.

electric power in the two countries. The copper mines of northern Zambia were developing at a fast rate in response to a strong demand for minerals worldwide and high copper prices on the international market. At that time, the copper mines were being supplied with electricity by a number of small coal-fired power stations on the Copperbelt of Zambia. The construction of the dam led to the displacement of 57,000 Gwembe Tonga people in the Zambezi Valley who were forcibly removed to pave way for the construction of the Kariba dam. This was the biggest man made dam in the world during that time, and it was funded by the World Bank.

The Gwembe Tonga people were marginalized in terms of participation in decision-making regarding what would happen to them and in the construction of the dam. As a result, they were forced onto infertile land, separated from their families and left to manage for themselves with no or little compensation for their losses and promises of infrastructures such as schools and clinics. Thus, the World Bank came together to find ways to mitigate the mistakes created during the construction of the dam in 1958.

In 1958, two years after the GT people were forcibly relocated in 1956, two anthropologists, Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder, conducted a study to investigate the social change and adaptation of the GT people. The study was called the Gwembe Tonga Research Project (GTRP). Although the core focus has always been on social and socioeconomic issues, significant components have been added in the areas of nutrition, growth, development processes, and demography. Their lives have been studied in order to understand how their social and economic lives have been affected from the construction of the dam. This research project led to other books being written in relation to the lives of the GT people such as “Long-Term Research in Gwembe Valley, Zambia.” Colson and Scudder (1978) examine the experiences of the people affected by the dam and examination of the impact at the flooding by building Kariba hydroelectric dam and how they have adjusted to life in new areas. Colson (1971) illustrates the initial period of upheaval and sense of dislocation, which lasts approximately five years. Her research show that communities were hostile to the government, that local leaders associated with the resettlement project lost their legitimacy, and that local rule is accomplished more by

force than by consent and religious beliefs and practices are questioned. The GTRP is one of the longest and most systematic long-term studies in Africa in relation to dam displacement.

The GTRP has led other organisations to try and help the GT in mitigating the negative impacts. For example, the World Vision (WV) has had projects in 1983 and 1992 when there was drought in the Gwembe valley. They supplied food by food for work, purchase of food and free distributions as was deemed appropriate. Beneficiaries contributed labor in the off-loading of commodities and improvement of the physical environment in civil-works projects.

The GTRP data, including field notes, interviews, census forms, and a variety of diaries kept by local people indicate that, compared to other periods in their history, Gwembe people lived relatively comfortable and materially secure lives during the 1960s and early 1970s (Scudder 1993: 12). Since the 1970s, the Gwembe population has experienced fluctuations in their quality of life, including access to basic food, access to cash for purchasing necessities and luxuries (such as soap), quality of education, and provision of medical services. All of these socioeconomic changes result in limiting people's coping strategies, conditions that can then exacerbate pressures on environmental resources.

The work carried out by Colson and Scudder led the World Bank to revisit its social policy aiming at improving the handling of compensation and resettlement issues especially in the dam construction. In 1994, the Government of Zambia (GRZ) promulgated the Energy Sector Reform Programme. This included, among other things, the resettlement of Gwembe Tonga people during the construction of the Kariba dam and this led to the formation of the Gwembe Tonga Development Project (GTDP) in 1996. This program was formulated following recommendations arising from a number of studies commissioned by Zesco (Electricity supplier) and the World Bank, which indicated the needs of the people who were affected by the Kariba Dam and now were relocated in the Gwembe valley. The result of this study led to the conceptualization of the current Gwembe-Tonga Development Project. The project was implemented in 1998 and the aim of the GTDP was to mitigate some of the negative impacts on the resettled

people (who have been living in Gwembe valley), their hosts and the physical environment by improving the resettlement area's infrastructure and building the skills capacity of people living in the area The information about the quality of life that had been used in this report was obtained by the data collected by the GTRP.

1.2 Aim and Justification of the Study

The central aim of this study is to assess the impact of the GTDP on the GT people. Not only is development-induced displacement a widespread and growing phenomenon, but evidence also suggests that while the benefits of development are numerous, the cost is being borne disproportionately by the poorest and most marginalized populations (Robinson, 2003:10). According to Robinson (2003:16), dams in most countries affect the indigenous people who are displaced and rarely receive complete and adequate information on the dam project, the nature and extent of displacement and provisions for resettlement and reconstruction. Large dams have also resulted in negative social impacts, which reflect a failure to assess and account for displaced and resettled people, as well as downstream communities. Mitigation, compensation or resettlement programmes were often inadequate. With this background this study seeks to understand the extent to which the GTDP achieved its purpose and benefited the people as a whole in terms of their participation in the implementing stage and the enhancing their livelihoods. The research also attempts to assess the impact of GTDP and public participation of the GT people during the project and to examine whether the GTDP has worked in collaboration with the people and what impact it has had on the people.

The study seeks to examine the extent to which the GTDP as a project has contributed to the empowerment of the GT communities in terms of social benefits.

The central questions that this research attempts to address are:

- To what extent has the GTDP fulfilled its objectives?
- To what extent or level of participation did the GT people get involved?

- Were all the projects implemented and if not, why?

The analysis will be done against the background of international case studies of dam experiences worldwide in relation to resettlement, rehabilitation[3] and compensation and how the GTDP has tried to mitigate these problems of the GT people in Zambia. The aim of this study is to demonstrate if the GTDP program has achieved its aim to address the negative impacts of resettlement through rehabilitation, compensation, health and agricultural issues, which came about following the construction of the dam in 1958, and the impact it has had on the GT people.

The core objective of the GTDP was to provide the relevant social and economic infrastructure so that most of the people would be able to engage in sustainable and productive activities. The GT people were displaced from the Zambezi valley to the Gwembe valley with little or no infrastructure.

A World Vision Zambia evaluation analysis shows that most of the community development projects have failed to sustain or become self-reliant. Moreover, the community has failed to continue running the project after the World Vision support ended. Some factors which should have been worked out in order to stop this trend of projects collapsing were not done despite support being meant for a specified period with the objective of making the project become self-reliant (Sakala 2004:8). Given the arguments of the study it seeks to investigate to what extent the GTDP will maintain or sustain the programs and infrastructures once they have been handed over to the GT people.

To compensate them for the relocation and to mitigate the negative impact that had arisen from the construction of the dam, the GT people were promised a number of facilities such as the rehabilitation of clinics, reticulation of the water system and electrification of the area. Some initiatives were undertaken using the resettlement fund created by the Federal Government (Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Malawi) during the construction of the dam to try and reduce the disruptions. However, it is evident that the

[3] Re-establishing incomes, livelihoods, living, and social systems

relocated people and other affected people were not an integral part of the planning and management of those initiatives. Many of the displaced people were not recognized as such, and therefore were not resettled or compensated. Where compensation was provided, it was often inadequate and where the physically displaced were enumerated, many were not included in resettlement programmes.

Colson (1960) and Scudder (1985) noted that a number of initiatives were made towards the Gwembe Tonga rehabilitation program but the management process of the initiatives had very little participation and involvement of the affected communities. More findings of a survey conducted on community projects in the Gwembe Valley revealed that misunderstanding, lack of skills, poor implementation, lack of funds and negligence towards work were the major problems associated with previous community projects in Gwembe Valley. Important factors for project success were found to be good leadership, community awareness and the presence of external assistance (Limbwambwa, 1998). The creation of the GTDP with regards to past experiences led to the participation factor being included in the project.

The objective of the GTDP has been to mitigate the negative impact of the Kariba dam construction on the affected people by offering them an opportunity to engage in more productive activities. This was to be achieved through the provision of physical, social, economical infrastructure and agricultural services. These infrastructures were boreholes, dams, water treatment, agricultural development, clinics, electrification, schools, land conservation, community participation, road rehabilitation and flood control.

One of the inevitable consequences of the construction of big dams is the large-scale displacement of people with the promise that they will be settled elsewhere. The bulk of those displaced are from the poorer strata of society (Thukral, 1992: 51). When the GT people were displaced in 1956 they were promised that they would be compensated in terms of infrastructural improvement and monetary terms. The promises that the government had made were not seriously followed despite the problems that the resettled communities faced in their new locations. This includes the electrification of the

Gwembe Valley, which was never achieved. Diaho (2004:1) has illustrated that for displaced people, no amount of money for compensation can replace their losses. According to the WCD (2000:1) displacement or the involuntary and forced relocation of people has come to be acknowledged as among the most significant negative impacts of large water resources development projects such as dams. Lives change and usually not for the better. De Wet (2000) also adds that compensation is often based on the amount of land owned. Landless households are typically not compensated nor are people compensated for loss of income or subsistence derived from communal holdings such as common grasslands and forests.

The majority of the displaced people belong to poor and marginalised communities and within them the women and children experience vulnerabilities. According to Thukral (1992:56) project authorities do not consider the problems of displacement and rehabilitation as important parts of the developmental project. Their primary concerns are engineering specifications and electricity. Development projects that displace people involuntarily generally give rise to severe economic, social and environmental problems.

1.3 Chapter Outline

This report is organised as follows:

Chapter One: This chapter outlines the core aims and rationale of the study, and a brief background of the GTDP. In addition, it states the primary and secondary research questions the study seeks to explore.

Chapter Two: This chapter presents the literature reviews within the context of the study objectives. The literature framework looks at case studies of dams constructed in different parts of the world such as India, Lesotho, China, Togo and Zambia. From the review it demonstrates the common problems that the people experience when they are displaced. The people in all these cases have been inadequately compensated, resettled and rehabilitated. The chapter also critically analyses the overview of how the people

displaced have been inadequately compensated, resettled and rehabilitated during dam construction and, in the case of Zambia, how the displaced people were compensated and how the GTDP came into play. This chapter further explores developmental theories and participatory development, which have been adopted in the dam construction.

Chapter Three: This chapter outlines the methodology of the study. This study used qualitative research as a broad strategy of collecting and analysing data. The qualitative research techniques used were interviews, documentary technique, observation and sampling. The chapter outlines the limitations of the study.

Chapter Four: This chapter presents the findings and analysis covering the southern part of Zambia where the people of the Zambezi valley were displaced to the Gwembe valley. In addition, it shows how the GTDP has had an influence on the Tonga people. It outlines what the GTDP has accomplished through its objectives and the different expectations that the people have had. Moreover it answers these expectations have been in line with what the project had indicated.

Chapter Five: This chapter presents the conclusion and the significance of the findings. It reiterates the cardinal outcomes of the study in view of other similar arguments made in the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Introduction

> We have been forced to move against our will without knowing when or where we would be going, and without a way for our concerns or objections to be heard. We have not been treated with dignity, or with respect for our customs, our ancestors or our children. We have shouldered the burden of large dams, but we have enjoyed very few of the benefits. In short, large dams have been devastating to many of our communities (Maphalala, B. 1999).

Different dams have been constructed around the world for many years to be used for different reasons as a means to manage floodwaters, harness water as hydropower, supply water to drink, irrigate fields and for industrial purposes. These reasons are usually as a result of government decisions, which the people have no option but to obey. One of the inevitable consequences of the construction of big dams is the large-scale displacement of people with the promise that they will be settled elsewhere. The bulk of those displaced are from the poorer strata of society (Thukral, 1992: 51). The dam construction process, of which this review consists of, is but a single element, it is testimony to the suffering endured by millions of people around the world displaced or otherwise negatively affected by the construction of dams. Millions of them live in poverty and misery and are worse off compared to their pre-settlement period.

There is a corpus literature on dam construction and how they have caused socio-economic and environmental problems to many countries of the world such as India, china and Lesotho. The reason for this is that dams raise the natural level of rivers or lakes, leading to flooding lands previously settled, farmed or periodically grazed especially the huge lakes formed by the Kariba, Volta and Aswan dams have forced the resettlement of between 50, 000 – 80, 000 people in each case (WCD, 2000:2). The

majority of large dams are concentrated in a few countries with China, USA, India, Japan and Spain accounting for more than three-quarters of all large dams worldwide.

A review of literature shows that over 400,000 people have been resettled as a direct result of dam construction in Africa. The major examples are represented in tabular form as follows:

Table: 1 Major Instances of Dam-Related Resettlement in Africa

NAME OF DAM	NUMBER RESETTLED	DATE OF MOVE
Aswan high (Egypt)	100, 000	1963 – 1969
Cabora bassa (Mozambique)	25, 000	1974
Kainji (Nigeria)	44, 000	1967 – 1968
Kariba (Zambia/Zimbabwe)	57, 000	1958
Kossou (Ivory Coast)	75, 000	1970
Manantali (Mali)	10, 000	1986-1987
Nangtebo (Togo/Benin)	10, 600	1987
Selingue (Mali)	15, 000	1980
Akasombo (Ghana)	80, 000	1963

(Source: Scudder 1973: 206[4], World Bank 1993:5, De wet 2000:6)

Approximately two-thirds of existing large dams are located in developing countries, which has led to escalating of conflicts around social and environmental issues and physical displacement of 40 to 80 million people globally (World Commission on Dams 2000:11). They have also caused severe socio-economic hardship for those that move and make way for the projects. The creation of man-made lakes in Africa has been responsible for the relocation of large numbers of people. Many dams in Africa have been built in terms of a set of national goals such as national security, threat of epidemic disease, environmental degradation, urban redevelopment and environmental alternation as a result of engineering projects. Thus it has been assumed that it is unfortunate but

[4] Scudder created this table that has been used by the WB and De wet

unavoidable that some people should suffer in the process once the policy decision has been made.

Six cases studies on dam construction; resettlement and the impact of the dam have been included in this section. In addition old dams like Kariba dam in Zambia and Cabora bassa in Mozambique and the new dams like Lesotho highlands and Nangbeto dam in Togo. Further adding the dam which is currently under construction and will be completed in 2009 the three gorges in China. However, all these dams have experienced and caused the same problems and impacts on the local people despite the fact that they were constructed in different years. These case studies will examine how the local people have been displaced, how they have been compensated and what impacts the constructions of the dams have had on their lives.

2.1.2 Dam Construction and Impact

2.1.2.1 Cahora Bassa (Mozambique)

The construction of the Cahora Bassa dam was undertaken during the period when the Portuguese colonised Mozambique. The colonial authorities insisted that Cahora Bassa would foster human promotion through an improved standard of living for thousands of Africans who live and work there (Isaacman *et al*, 2000:598). The construction of this dam came about after the Portuguese saw the symbolic power of the Kariba dam as well as its economic potential, which captured their attention.

In 1969, Lisbon signed a $515 million agreement with ZAMCO a South Africa dominated consortium with partners in Germany, France, Italy and Portugal to build the dam (Isaacman *et al* 2000: 605). When the dam was constructed in the early 1970s it attracted a lot of international attention. Engineers and hydrologists praised the dam's technical complexity and the skill required to construct the world's fifth largest hydroelectric power installation.

The objectives set for constructing the dam was to expand irrigated farming, stimulate European settlement, increase mineral output such as coal, iron, copper and titanium which were mined in Tete, facilitate communication and transportation through out the strategic Zambezi valley and reduce flooding. Moreover to provide electric power to South Africa bringing Mozambique much needed hard currency that would help develop the impoverished country (Middlemas 1975:20). The colonizers presumed that increased economic activity would have a trickle down effect on subsistence African cultivators living in the Zambezi basin. Officials expressed confidence that the riverine communities would benefit from the introduction of new farming techniques, new markets for their commodities and new job opportunities (Isaacman *et al* 2000:605). During the feasibility studies the Portuguese government commissioned an external team of environmental scientists but disregarded their dire predictions of the ecological and human costs. They ignored reports of the potential problems of relocating African peasants who were to be displaced by the flooding of the dam. Even with the social experiences caused by the construction of the Kariba Dam to the Gwembe Tonga people the Portuguese colonial government of Mozambique still went ahead and constructed the Cahora Bassa dam on the same Zambezi River in 1972. The planners of Cahora Bassa dam in Mozambique maintained that the long-term benefits of the dam would far outweigh any short-term disruptions in the lives of the riverine communities' from which a total number of 25,000 were displaced.

The governor of Mozambique emphasized that the problems of relocation would be purely technical, as they had constructed modern villages for the people to be displaced but he had underscored the need to select fertile land with adequate supplies of water. He had expressed confidence that the Africans would experience a social transformation and elevation in the quality of their lives (Isaacman *et al* 2000:22). The Portuguese began to evict the peasant communities in 1972, two years before the actual impoundment of the river. Local authorities, facing the pressure of construction deadlines, rarely even bothered to pay lip service due to the notion that peasants should be persuaded to move voluntarily. Occasionally, they brought loyalist chiefs and Tawara (spirit mediums) to the proposed sites. But when the indigenous authorities found these locations wanting, their

concerns were ignored *(ibid).* More often the administrators, accompanied by police or soldiers, simply informed the chiefs and their followers that they had to abandon their historical homelands. Even when they did not want to leave they would be forced to do so. Although the degree of force differed from one area to the other, the actual settlement process was quite the same.

Impact of the Dam

The confidence that the governor had expressed about the plan turned out to be unfounded as the people to be displaced went up from 25,000 to 42,000. The overwhelming numbers of displaced people were women and children. These people were regrouped into modern villages called 'aldeamento' as part of a vaguely defined community development scheme. A typical aldeamento contained between 1,000 – 1,500 residents. The original plans for each village was to include a school, health clinic, water pumps, mills, warehouse for food, social hall and football fields. However, few of the villages had all or even most of these amenities.

The land that they had to cultivate on was rocky, hard to work and not very fertile, therefore leading to food shortages and malnutrition. Many were left feeling that they were given much less than they were entitled. Food insecurity and hunger were thus an integral part of the displacement process. Although the intensity scale and duration of the food shortages varied, Government famine programmes, which provided beans, maize, sugar, salt and other basic commodities to supplement the meager diets of the peasants did not always alleviate the hunger. When the state rations proved insufficient, residents were forced to collect roots, tubers and a variety of wild fruits to survive *(op cit).* Apart from food shortages sickness and death rates increased especially among the very young and old. In its existence displacement has been a companion of development (World Bank 1993).

It is evident from the above that what the governor had told the people about the impact of the project on the locals proved to be wrong as the number that was to be displaced

increased, plus the area where they were located was not conducive for farming since the land was rocky. This led to food insecurity and to the young and old dying from starvation. The people also suffered from diseases caused by lack of food and there was an increase of malaria, which was as s result the dam.

The social services that the government had promised to fulfill did not come to pass in most of the villages; this led to the locals having poor lives. The women suffered the most in terms of having to till land, which was hard, having to travel miles to draw water, and the social services that would ease their lives were not implemented. Above all the local people did not participate in the resettlement policies, the government only consulted the chiefs when there was need to inform the people to move to the already chosen places.

2.1.2.2 Lesotho Highland Water Project

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP), the largest infrastructures project ever constructed in Africa. The project is a multi-dam scheme designed to export Lesotho's water to South Africa's industrial centre of Gauteng Province and to provide hydroelectricity to Lesotho. Lesotho is one of the poorest countries in the world and has only one natural resource - water. The Republic of South Africa has taken advantage of its high altitude and its gorges and valleys to build dams cheaply and transfer water through tunnels by gravity. The Katse dam, which is the main reservoir, is the highest man-made reservoir in Africa.

In the mid 1960s the governments of South Africa and Lesotho started discussions regarding the sale and transfer of water from Lesotho to South Africa. After the evaluation of more than 2,000 variations amongst several main alternatives, the final proposals for the transfer of water from Lesotho to the Vaal Dam was endorsed on October 24th 1986 with the signing of the LHWP Treaty (Lesotho Highlands Development Agency, 1997). The Treaty provided for the establishment, implementation

and maintenance of the Project[5]. The World Bank and several other financial institutions provided more than $4 billion dollars to finance the project, and companies from at least nine different countries were involved in the dam's construction. Work began in 1986 with the construction of an access road linking the Katse dam site with the South African border. Phase 1A, consisted of the 182 metre-high Katse dam on the Malibamatso river, the 72MW Muela dam on the Nqoe River (45 kilometres north of Katse), 82 kilometres of water tunnels, and 200 kilometres of access roads at an estimated total cost of $2.5 billion. Phase 1B of the project, due for completion in 2003, included the $1 billion Mohale dam on the Senqunyane River and the Matsoku wier, with about 35 kilometres of associated tunnels connecting the new reservoirs to Katse dam.

The LHWP was considered to be a vehicle for economic growth and once they produced enough electricity Lesotho would no longer be dependent on South Africa. The project has both benefits and serious negative socio-economic inputs to both the Lesotho communities and the RSA communities but also has serious negative socio - economic impacts. The aggregate benefits to both countries is said to have a net present value of about US$ 1 billion for initial phases 1A and 1B. This is said to be the difference in cost between the Lesotho Highlands Water Project and the next cheapest scheme for augmenting the Vaal River (the Orange Vaal Transfer Scheme). The Project royalties (sale of water) to Lesotho was to make US$ 55 million per annum. For phases 1A and 1B will account for 25% of Lesotho's total annual export revenues, and 14% of the Governments' public revenues over 50 year period. In addition to royalties, benefits for Lesotho include infrastructure components like roads and telecommunication facilities that will increase access to services related to health, education and trade. In a country where unemployment is rife some plus or minus 3000 temporary jobs were created. It must be noted that this was not necessarily a long-term benefit.

[5] The basis of the Treaty is the delivery of high quality water to South Africa through the first Phase of the Project. The Treaty does not cover further Phases 2, 3 and 4 (Lesotho Highlands Development Agency, 1997).

Impact of the Dam

People who were residing in the highlands of Lesotho were a proud people who had always considered themselves different from their countrymen in the lowlands. These people had a unique culture, developed as a result of the harsh physical conditions that the highlands presented to any group that attempted to develop a livelihood from this environment. They were a fiercely independent, ingenious and possessed the capacity to survive in a harsh physical environment (Hunting-Consult 4 Joint Venture, 1996:1-1). The project displaced about 27,000 people, which is approximately 1.5 per cent of Lesotho's population that was negatively affected by the project. Phase 1A displaced and resettled nearly 20,000 people. Some were affected by impounding, while others were affected by construction of access roads and power lines. Phase 1B displaced and relocated approximately 7,000 people by December 2003 (Hoover, 2001:2). People whose houses happened to be in the way of the power lines have been equally relocated and resettled elsewhere.

The LHDA used the participatory approach and the resettlers had participated in the decision to resettle as required by the World Bank Guidelines though participation of the resettlers at decision-making stage had not initially been on the agenda and the local people were not consulted. The Lesotho Highlands Water Projects had designed a 'People's Involvement Programme' to emphasize local committees to negotiate favourable resettlement conditions. This gave the villagers a chance to participate in the project especially on how they will be compensated and resettled. The villagers were resettled in the foothills and lowlands that are urban and peri-urban areas around Maseru (World Bank Project Appraisal Document, 1998). The villagers were given choices of where to be resettled, but the only places available were areas in the lowlands where the environment and the living conditions were totally different from the highlands way of life.

It has been noticed in the Lesotho Highland Water Project that there has been a terrible loss of both arable and grazing land, as well as resettlement of households of over 24, 000

people. The construction of the dam has been done in the name of development and offering business opportunities for South Africa by supplying water at the expense of the local people in Lesotho. The creation of two reservoirs out of five and infrastructure in Phase 1A has taken about 2 300 ha of arable land and 3 400 ha of grazing land (LHDA 1997). This is a serious negative socio-economic impact because Lesotho is an agricultural economy and the Basotho people depend on land. Apart from losing their land they also lost their livestock. The families that had opted to resettle in the lowlands, more especially in the urban areas, were forced to sell their livestock for the reason that there is no grazing land in the urban areas. The compensation and resettlement scheme have been valued at US $40 million over a period of 5 years when the project will still be on going. Though the resettlement is being done with no respect for human rights as no social impact assessment was carried out in the host communities. This resulted to severe conflicts between resettled and host communities when the resettled people arrived. The resettled people have a lot of complaints about their life style and have had a serious threat to food security and livelihoods of the Basotho nation because they are presently made to live on small handouts of grain and pulses as compensation for their losses but this will not last forever. The people are complaining about what will happen when the handouts stop without proper rehabilitation, leaving them economically un-empowered. The experiences that they are going through are basically the same problems that are experienced in the wake most dam construction projects with weak rehabilitation policies/programmes (Diaho 2004: 4).

The topography of the Lesotho highlands where the LHWP is constructed is desolate, rugged and mountainous. The highlands are embodiment of rural Africa – beautiful, but underdeveloped (LHDA, 1997). This area was considered to be underdeveloped but it was the home for the indigenous people and they were displaced to bring in development. The benefits of this project has been positive to the country by creating new infrastructure and receiving royalties from the South African government but negative to the people that have been displaced who have lost their land (*ibid).* Most of the infrastructure (schools, clinic, roads and houses) built has been for the people who are working for the dam and the indigenous people have been displaced.

2.1.2.3 India, Sardar Sarovar

Independent India's first generation of leaders considered hydroelectricity projects as temples of modern India. So strong was the pro-dam bias that the interests of project-affected people were not regarded as mitigating issues to the planning of these projects. The Sardar Sarovar project is but one part of Narmada Valley Project (NVP) which projects the construction of ten major dams on the Narmada and twenty others on its tributaries. The project also plans another 135 medium and 3, 000 minor dams (Oliver-Smith 2001:93).

In India, one study calculated that 2 percent of the total population had been displaced by development projects in the first forty years of the country's independence (1951-1990). Dreze *et al* (1997:26) also states that millions of people have been displaced by development projects in India since the year 1950. However, less than 25% of the displaced people have been resettled and rehabilitated.

The Indian government had been studying development of the Narmada River basin for several decades since independence. Full-scale construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam did not begin until 1987, overseen by the Narmada Control Authority (NCA) and funded initially by the World Bank. The Narmada River is the fifth largest in the subcontinent of Asia. It rises in the Western Ghats, and flows from east to west through a relatively narrow valley, averaging about 100 kilometres in width, 1300 kilometres to the Gulf of Cambay. The dam site is approximately 95 kilometres from the coast and is located on the eastern fringe of a north-south range of hills that mark Gujarat's border with the other two states (Scudder 2003:2).

The objectives of the dam were to increase the net value of their agricultural production by constructing the dam that would cover about 1.79 million hectares of land with water. Drinking water would also be made available for a population of 3.8 million and 147 towns in Gujarat and also generate 1,450 MW of electricity. For these objectives to be implemented, 248 villages with an estimated population of 66, 593 people were to be displaced. An amount of $3 billion was to be used for the project and the World Bank

provided a start-up loan of $450 million in 1985 with a further $350 million for construction works (Dreke *et al* 1997:145).

Unlike other dam building in India in which oustees were given cash for this loss of land in this case people would be better compensated and rehabilitated (Scudder 2003). In the initial stage oustees would be given monetary compensation and later agricultural land was to be included as part of the rehabilitation package. The essential principle established by the project was 'land for land' that is displaced families would receive land of their choice equivalent to their loss or a minimum of 2 hectares. However, the notion of complete rehabilitation covering social, cultural and economic dimension of the oustees lives has only recently entered the debate and it is for this reason that they decided to do both at the same time. Each family was to receive grant-in-aid money for resettlement, money for implements and drought animals and housing plots. Each resettlement village is to be provided with a primary school, a meeting place, a dispensary, a seed store, a children's park, a drinking well, link road and a village pond *(ibid).*

Impact of the Dam

Caufield a researcher visited households from Gadher – one of Gujarat's 19 villages requiring resettlement. The 1993 experience influenced her that the opening chapter in her book deals with the Sardar Sarovar people including the experiences of Gadher villagers told by a Nigam official that Garher had already resettled; she nonetheless went to the old village site with a Non Government Organisation (NGO) representative. There she found 50 families that had so far avoided resettlement as well as approximately one third of those who had been previously resettled to over 30 different sites but had returned to their old village. They had returned because of intolerable conditions in the resettlement colonies, ranging from barren land to polluted drinking water and outbreaks of cholera (Scudder 2003:30). Those returning from the from one of sites created for the resettlers, explained how they had been moved unfairly having previously accepted another site with better land and where the authorities had told them a school and health clinic would be supplied as well as water supplies, electricity and roads. On arrival,

however, all they found was barren, waterless land and temporary housing. They returned to Gadher after two years because they could not feed themselves at Timbi and they had no place else to go. It was hard to tell that there had ever been a settlement at Timbi. The people had taken everything with them, including the sheets of tin under which they had lived for two years. The only evidence of their stay was a few blackened firestones, scattered among the weeds because the government had never supplied any of the amenities it had promised, there were no roads, no electric poles, no school or clinic, no well or hand pump to mark the site of what had once been not a village exactly; more a refugee camp (*ibid*).

After the people had returned to their previous home the government tried to give the people cash as a form of compensation as they claimed that they had no land to give the oustees when they had promised to compensate and rehabilitate.

The Indian case of resettlement and rehabilitation has been different to the rest of the world. In India the issue of tribal and non-tribal societies emerged when the process of designating tribes began during British rule. The British believed that the tribal groups had a distinct identity that marked them out of the rest of Indian society and anthropologists argued that tribal people were just poorly integrated part of mainstream Hindu society (Dreze *et al* 1997:105). Tribal people are basically the indigenous or native people whose culture is based on lower level of technology and quality of life. This concept of superior technology being brought to them shows that they are considered to be of lesser class and it is with this reason that they cannot even participate in the resettlement programs and were just informed that new sites have been created for them. It has been known that most of the tribal people are settled in the hilly areas that are usually turned into dams (Thukral, 1992: 23).

The tribal Indians have gone through a lot when being displaced without any explanation from the government because they would not understand even if they explained to them because the project planning process nor the technical aspects of the land assessment or cost-benefit analysis as they were not educated.

They were never consulted from the beginning of the project and this led to protest by the tribal people. The protest against the dam appeared shortly after the Narmada Water Disputes Tribunal final report in 1978 *(ibid)*. Organized by a leading Congress party politician, major protests and rallies protested the issue of displacement in the region of Nimar in Madhya Pradesh, where large numbers of people were facing resettlement. The Nimar Bachao Andolan (Movement to Save Nimar) was largely supported by merchants and farmers. However, in 1980 two voluntary organizations started working with the populations to be impacted by efforts to improve resettlement conditions to land. Although they had only some limited successes, they constituted the initial steps toward the formation of a people's movement. A second stage of resistance developed in 1987 after the Indian government gave clearance for accelerating work on the project and slightly more than 2000 families were displaced and resettled. The government neither informed nor consulted the affected people because it believed that the tribal peoples would not understand the issues even if they had the information *(op cit*). By the late 1980s it was clear that the government of India and the state governments were not willing to establish a coherent policy for compensation for a variety of losses to be incurred by the people. There was little certainty regarding the availability of adequate land for those to be resettled and the visible misery of those that had already been resettled and little prospects of resolving the issues led to the opposition of the dam to be built.

2.1.2.4 China "Three Gorges"

China has built almost half of the world's estimated 45,000 large dams and remains one of the most active dams building countries today. Over 22-24,000 dams in China are considered large dams by the definition of the International Committee on Large Dams (ICOLD), that is dams over 15 meters in height from base of the foundation in the river (Fuggle *et al* 2000:1). China has a long history on hydraulic technology projects, which can be traced back to 598 B.C. when Qebei Dam was built in Anhui Province (Fuggle *et al*, 2000).

The original idea of constructing a huge dam in the Yangtze River cannot be attributed to Mao or to other Chinese leaders after 1949. As early as 1919, in his article entitled *A plan to develop industry*, Sun Yat-Sen mentioned the possibility to build a series or large dams in the Yangtze with the purposes of flood control and electricity generation (Dai, 1994:231). During the 1930s, under the Guomindang Party government, several studies were undertaken to check the feasibility of constructing a large dam in the upper reaches areas of Yangtze River. In 1944, an American dam expert of the US Bureau of Reclamation, J.L. Savage, was invited to do field research in order to survey the location of the future dam and to draft a preliminary project. However, the deep economic crisis and the upsurge of the Chinese civil war caused the abandonment of the project by the government of Chiang Kai-Shek in 1947 (Dai, 1994:232). A severe series of floods in the Yangtze River in 1949 made the recently established communist government strengthen its politics towards the great hydraulic projects to control floods, planning the massive construction of large dams, dikes and sluices for the forthcoming decades. Although Mao suggested the construction of the dam in 1953, the main event, which aroused the government to resurface the plans for building a large dam in the Three Gorges, was the tremendous floods on the Yangtze in 1954, which caused over 30,000 deaths (*ibid*). One year later, planning activities began, with the collaboration of Soviet experts, and the Yangtze Valley Planning Office was established in 1956 to conduct specific design and feasibility studies for the Three Gorges Project.

After several decades of planning and deliberations, the Three Gorges Dam (Sanxia Daba) in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River (Central China), is near completion in 2009. It is expected that this mega-dam will harbor the largest hydropower plant in the world. The hydropower, viewed as a cleaner source of energy compared to coal, which has been used in China and has reportedly polluted the environment. Large plans to develop the hydroelectric resources were launched since the 1990s, aimed to increase the proportion of energy generated and also contribute to flood control in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River, the long record of floods in the river, has caused many human deaths but also enormous economic losses, appears as a strong argument to build the dam. The worst floods in the twentieth century occurred in 1931 and the last

great flood in the Yangtze River occurred in 1998 which caused more than 3, 000 deaths, affected about 200 million people, inundated more than 20, 000 km of cultivated land, and caused a total estimated loss of 25 billion euros, without taking into consideration indirect losses (Ponseti and Lopez-Pujol 2006:11). The construction of the dam will also solve the energetic scarcity of the region, and will improve the river navigability.

Impact of the Dam

Criticism of the project has been widespread, including its technical feasibility, negative environmental impacts, destruction of cultural landmarks and archaeological sites, government corruption, lack of transparency and the displacement of such large numbers of people without their effective participation and, potentially, without adequate compensation. Its construction, however, would also imply a series of severe negative consequences, such as the loss and fragmentation of many habitats and other effects on the wildlife, the loss of many archaeological and cultural sites, and forced displacement of more than 1 million people. Resettlement practices in China have been clearly unsuccessful until the 1980s; due to the lack of comprehensible plans for manage the relocated people. Large dam projects have been traditionally focused on the construction stage, paying only little attention to the resettlement issue. The consequences of resettlement have taken three forms, which are ecological impoverishment, social instability and environmental degradation. Moreover, the principal method of compensation consisted in just paying an amount of money that the house and land were worth, with no any further consideration about the new livelihoods of migrant people. While others were promised land for land compensation as a major development strategies in relocation schemes allowing the majority of rural migrants to engage in farming activities.

Locally resettled people were uprooted from a relatively flat and fertile area to steeper and infertile hillsides and upland area, which are already overcrowded. In upland areas the need for food and fuel made people cultivate steep slopes and destroy forestry and grass land increasing water runoff and soil erosion dramatically. On the other hand due to the floods of the river valley migrants' lost rich land to the reservoir this was the source

of income. As a consequence, about two thirds of the officially 10 million of relocatees in China due to dam construction are currently living in a situation of extreme poverty (Challman, 2000: 15). However, some improvements in the resettlement policies were introduced from middle 1980s, and the so-called 'development-oriented' resettlement policy, gradually developed through the pilot relocation experiences performed in the Three Gorges area since 1985 was endorsed in 1993 to serve as the guideline of the Three Gorges Dam resettlement process[6]. This policy was initiated to improve the livelihoods and living standards of the resettled population by means of local economic development, the construction of new infrastructures, the improvement of sanitation and the whole health system, and the investment in education and training, instead of mere compensation. In recent years, the implementation of this policy has given some examples of successful resettlements in China, such as the World Bank funded projects of Shuikou Dam, in Fujian Province, and Ertan Dam, in Sichuan Province (Fuggle *et al*, 2000).

After the Three Gorges Dam reservoir filling in 2009, Some 365 towns in Sichuan and Hubei provinces will eventually be inundated by the reservoir and 1,599 industrial, mining and other enterprises will have to be relocated. Additionally, an estimated 31,000 hectares of farmland will be lost to the reservoir in a country already suffering from a severe shortage of arable land[7]. The amount of 1.2 million people to be displaced is a question still under dispute with the number of towns to be submerged. In 1991, before submitting the project to the People's National Congress, the estimated population to be relocated was only 725,000, a deliberate underestimation to help the project's approval. After the project passed in 1992, the authorities announced that the total figure of population living in the area to be inundated was of 846,200, which, considering the natural population growth, could reach nearly 1.2 million in 2009 (Heggelund, 2002:3). However, independent sources raise this figure to 2 million and even more. The calculations do not include many subsistence farmers living downstream of the negative effects of the Three Gorges Dam construction. In 1993 the first groups of people were

[6] http://www.mtholyoke.edu/~lpohara/Pol%20116/social.html. The Three Gorges Dam Project. 24/03/07

[7] http://www.irn.org/programs/threeg/index.php?id=archive/020319.msexposed.html. 24/08/07

resettled to make way for the construction of the dam. Although China has significantly improved resettlement performance in the last decade, being one of the most advanced within the developing countries framework (Heggelund, 2002).

Many concerns remain about the Three Gorges Dam relocation policy, mainly related to the huge amount of people to be moved and the limited environmental capacity of the reservoir area. Even with the new policy of resettlement the first group to be resettled discovered that their compensation funds earmarked for their resettlement had been diverted for other dam uses (Jing 1997:65). Far more problems have been reported by scholars and journalists, in one incident government officials had to be protected by police on an inspection trip to villages where the resettlers were resentful of the government's secretive ways of distributing compensation. In view of the fact that different methods were used to calculate how much a resettled villager from each locality could get compensation figures were kept secret by resettlement officials (Jing 1997:68).

There is a major concern about whether it will be enough farmland for the peasants to be resettled. At present, a large percentage 87.3% of the population in the Three Gorges are peasant farmers who cultivate about 40% of the land in the region; however, 60% of this land is located on mountain slopes and more than 30% in slopes which are steep (Heggelund, 2002:4). Most of the land in the reservoir region cannot be farmed because its steeper slopes (nearly 80% of the land is mountainous) but also due to the huge erosion problem. Moreover, opening new farmlands in mountain slopes with gradients being more than 25° is now prohibited by law, which puts more pressure over the current available lands. A situation that will be worsened by the inundation of 25,000 ha of farmland, which accounts for nearly three percent of the total Three Gorges Reservoir Region farmland (Fuggle *et al*, 2000).

Though the people have not really been resettled yet other risks that the Three Gorges Dam resettlement process faces are more related to psychological and social issues. Moving from one place to other leads to a different life and having to adapt to the new life. The rural people have had to change their lives to urban living that has been different

in terms of farming to look for employment, which they do not have qualifications for. Since the dam has not yet been completed there is little evidence that shows the positive and negative impact of the dam so far.

2.1.2.5 Nangbeto Dam, Togo/Benin

However, despite many negative reports on dam construction projects there are a few successful resettlement programs like Nangbeto. The reservoir and resettlement areas were entirely within Togo though the power is shared with Benin through the bi-national power company; Communaute electrique du Benin (CEB). The World Bank's assistance was approved in 1984 and the project ended in 1992. Togo's Nangbeto Dam illustrates the importance of understanding and articulating program objectives for resettlers' rehabilitation and income restoration right from the start. The Togolese government's implementing agency performed beautifully in planning and executing relocation of displaced families (Picciotto *et al* 2001:117).

Impact of the Dam

The dam and reservoir affected 34 villages and approximately 10,600 people and the dam had the lowest ratio of hydropower to land flooded or people resettled of any dam in the world (Picciotto *et al* 2001:118). The villagers participated in designing the program, constructing the houses and selecting village sites and household plots within the village (World Bank, 1998: 16). For the Nangbeto in Togo/Benin, villages formed committees to supervise their own resettlement and of these 21 villages that lived near the river were relocated about 30 kilometers to their new villages. These people lost both their homes and land. The people moved to their new houses within two months of their harvest and in time to prepare their fields for spring planting and before the construction of the dam and were also compensated in monetary terms for the loss of property such as granaries, kitchens and trees, though it took the World Bank three years to pay them. Since land belonged to the government they were allocated new pieces of land in their new

settlement. Basic services such as clinics, water pumps, schools and other community infrastructures that have provided higher standards than for most of Togo.

The remaining villages of 13 were considered to be short move resettlers as they only lost their houses and moved a few kilometers back from the river to make space for the reservoir. The resettlement process experienced no force, coercion; adverse or hostile reaction from the people and food aid was provided to ease the transition. The resettlement zone was sparsely populated and the soils were fresh and provided relatively good yields.

Nangbeto serves as a successful instance of participation. Villages formed committees to supervise their own resettlement; the resettlers 'participated in designing the program, constructing the resettlement houses and selecting village sites and household plots within the village' – were in some cases allowed to participate in ways in the planning of resettlement. Thus meetings were held with community representatives and as at, Lesotho and Nangbeto, the wishes of those to be displaced were taken into account where possible – notably around issues such as moving as a community, and selection of sites and fields.

2.1.2.6 Kariba Dam, Zambia

For years, the Gwembe Tonga people had lived in relative isolation along the Zambezi River, where escarpments nearly 200 feet high were effective barriers of what were then the Northern and Southern Rhodesia, now Zambia and Zimbabwe, respectively. In the early 1950s the two countries decided to use the flowing waters of the Zambezi River to create hydroelectric power plant, which would supply electricity to the growing cities of Zimbabwe (formerly Southern Rhodesia) and especially to process copper from the mines in the Copperbelt in Zambia. This resulted in the construction of the Lake Kariba Dam, the largest man-made Lake of its time, covering an area 120 miles long and 30-40 miles wide.

The Gwembe Tonga people, before the dam was constructed lived along the shore of the Zambezi River and their economic activity involved gardening, fishing, cropping,

keeping cattle, and using wild plants and hunting animals. The community used to cultivate two crops per year. In the rainy seasons, they planted on the high ground free from seasonal flood and in the dry season they planted the second crop behind the receding flood. This ensured household food security even with meagre yields at each harvest. The river played an important part in their lives providing water, and communication and trading possibilities. The Tonga identified strongly with the Zambezi River, calling themselves “Basilwizi”-- the River People. They had rain shrines all over the river system where they carried out ceremonies called “Malende” or “Mpande”. This was to ensure sufficient rain and good harvests. Some narrators, however, describe how the shrines were sub-merged in the waters of the Lake, “because there was no way the shrine and some spirits could be carried with us”.

The Kariba Dam project was financed from a number of local and international sources, including the World Bank, which provided a sum of $80 million in 1956. A World Bank team visited the project site in March 1956 and prepared their report, June 1956, which recommended the provision of the loan to the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Chalo 2000:47). This was used to measure its performance and contribution to development by assessing growth and revenue generation function rather than sustainable development. The British believed that constructing a dam would lead to economic development in form of electricity and improve the standard of living.

Prior to the construction of the dam, consultations on the Northern Rhodesia side were carried out through the Native Authority (Chiefs were members) at district level. These discussions were initiated in 1951 and the decision to construct the dam was reached in 1954. During the discussions, the affected communities did not approve the construction of the dam because they knew they would have to move to higher ground and leave behind their fertile land for cropping and grazing: and burial sites for their ancestors. Since the colonial government was merely informing them, it went ahead with the construction of the dam. The construction of the biggest man made dam led to the displacement of 57,000 Gwembe Tonga people in the Zambezi Valley who were forcibly removed to pave way for the dam and were promised a better life by being adequately

compensated but this was not the case. Project authorities forcibly removed the Gwembe Tonga from the river valley and dumped them in the Gwembe valley that was dry, infertile land a hundred miles from their old villages. In some instances, soldiers killed those who refused to leave their homes. The communities received minimal compensation, and in the intervening years they became increasingly impoverished (Hanyona 2005). Mortality rates increased, and crop failures became rampant causing poor socio-economic problems and leading to poverty (Chalo consultants 2000: 10).

Many promises were made to the people by the colonisers such as: compensation for displaced people- infrastructure improvement (all weather road network, good drinking water facilities, clinics, animal health facilities) schools – primary and secondary and to electrify their houses. With all these promises none of them came to pass as they had concluded that not only was there insufficient time to plan and implement a credible resettlement programme for these people, but insufficient resources were made available for the task as only 650, 000 British Pounds were allocated and that was for the 57, 000 people (Chalo consultants 2000:32). There was no compensation on the loss of animals that had drowned during the flooding of the dam and those that had remained behind or attacked by the wild animals.

During resettlement, men and livestock walked on foot to higher ground closely pursued by the swelling dam water while some vehicles were provided for transportation of goods, woman, children and the aged. Many of the livestock were lost in the process due to drowning and/ or being devoured by predators on the way. Involuntary resettlement has also led to environmental degradation and socio –political deterioration due to bad planning and execution by the developers. During the resettling of the Gwembe Tonga people more attention was paid by the authorities to the rescue of wild animals from the Zambezi Valley than to the welfare and development of the resettled people. Even today, one finds in Kariba a Monument to “Operation Noah”, the rescue operation for wildlife, but no Monument to the resettled Tonga. The story of their relocation remains neglected (Hanyona 2005).

The resettlers also recalled the traumatic experience they felt when the Dam separated them from their relatives. Several narrators say they lost contact with their relatives on the other side of Lake Kariba. Some Tonga narrators recall the resettlement as a traumatic experience as they were insufficiently compensated *(ibid).* Many express a sense that any disadvantages of resettlement are outweighed by the cost, especially the loss of fertile land.

The social consequences of the project were not seriously taken into consideration as moving meant that ancestral graves and ancestral shrines held so dearly, were to be buried under massive waters of the lake. Communities of the Tonga people were invariably fragmented and randomly atomised, tearing asunder kinship and social network and traditional support systems. The families were broken up as some of the people crossed over the Zambezi River and have lost ties with the families who are in Zimbabwe today. The Gwembe Tonga people had to continue facing the negative impact in cultural, economic, and health terms, which have led to unemployment, debt – bondage, hunger and cultural disintegration and the mostly affected ones were the women and children. Who were to build new houses, find nearby rivers to draw water from and also trying to adapt to the new surroundings that they were displaced to. They were also promised a number of facilities to mitigate the negative impact arising from the construction by compensating them for the relocation. It became evident that the relocated people of Gwembe-Tonga and other affected people were not part of the planning and management of those initiatives and the people felt that the money was limited, late in coming and that there was no community input in decision making of the dam and resettling of the people.

Some initiatives were undertaken using the resettlement fund created by the Federal Government (Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Malawi) during the construction of the dam to try and reduce the disruptions. However, it is evident that the relocated people and other affected people were not an integral part of the planning and management of those initiatives. Many of the displaced people were not recognised as such, and therefore were not resettled or compensated. Where compensation was provided it was often inadequate, and where the physically displaced were enumerated, many were not

included in resettlement programmes. Many still mourn the loss of the rich alluvial river soil and battle to produce crops in the higher sandier areas. For the most part, the move was a severe disruption of their way of life and compensation minimal had to depend on hand outs from the government and donors.

The general conclusion is that not only was there insufficient time to plan and implement a credible resettlement programme for these people, but insufficient resources were made available for the task as only 650 000 British Pounds were allocated (Chalo consultant, 2000:23). After being resettled the people did not know how much was lost for the dam to be constructed in terms of fertile land and emotional attachment. The resettlers recall the traumatic experience they felt when the dam separated them from their relatives who were on the Southern Rhodesia side. When the people were being relocated, their former colonial masters overlooked the separation of one tribe and community into two separate countries. Several narrators recall the resettlement as a traumatic experience as they were insufficiently compensated (Hanyona 2005). Many express a sense that any disadvantages of resettlement are outweighed by the cost, especially the loss of fertile land.

Impact of the dam

Many development projects that require involuntary displacement of people generally have adverse economic, social and environmental impacts on the displaced people. The people did not want to move to a new place, as they knew the impact it would cause on their livelihoods. The resettlement plan aroused the Tongas' anger and caused strong anti-government feelings. "We did not fight to remain because we saw that it was useless and we were the losers in the fight", says one narrator named only as chibbiya *(ibid).* Though some were prepared to fight and even die for their land. In June 1958 for example, a group of people in the Chiefdom of Chipepo stoned a district commissioner. Three months later, in the same area, anti resettlement protests culminated in violence when a group of men armed with spears, pangas, knobkerries and shields attacked a police party. In return, the government police opened fire, killing 8 people and injuring

32, these were some of the negative impacts that the communities at the advert of dam construction *(op cit).*

Where compensation was provided it was often inadequate, and where the physically displaced were enumerated, many were not included in resettlement programmes. Many still mourn the loss of the rich alluvial river soil and battle to produce crops in the higher and sandier areas. For the most part, the move was a severe disruption of their way of life and the compensation was minimal. They had to depend on handouts from the government and donors. Colson (1960) and Scudder (1985) noted that a number of initiatives were made towards the Gwembe Tonga rehabilitation program but the management process of the initiatives had very little participation and involvement of the affected communities.

First of all, the communities thought that the resettlement period was too short to properly and respectfully transfer their goods and cultural traditions to their new homes. The site for the resettlement was invariably selected without consulting the people and was not given a choice or preference of where they would like to settle. The area where they were resettled was already occupied by other people who were forced to share the little land that they had. Forcefully resettled to a place called Lusitu - now a desolate 3,600 kilometre square stretch of 58,000 inhabitants who tended to some 38,000 goats and 30,000 head of cattle. Secondly, territorial authorities to force co-operation used violence for the Tonga people to move as they had refused to leave their land. Thirdly, compensation for resettling was insufficient. No compensation could amount or replace what rich land and culture that they had lost. Regarding issues of human and environmental health, the proliferation of water borne/ related diseases such as malaria worried the communities. Also, the loss of diversity of food base was another concern as they had left gardens full of unripe and un-harvested crops and their livestock was lost which meant that their lost their wealth and in turn remained with little means of negotiation to obtain food. People in areas from which resettlement are to take place thus become poorer, even before they are moved. Resettlement in the absence of active development initiatives is this likely to become impoverished (De wet 2000: 5). The loss of fertile and

manageable soil for farming due to the resettlement rounded off the list of negative impacts.

Forty years down the Gwembe Tonga people are still waiting for these promises to materialize although the current government has attempted to trickle down some handouts in form of food, fertilizer and seeds. The Tonga people have gone though a lot to sustain themselves as the dam construction brought more harm than good to the people. The impacts that they have gone through are inadequate resettlement program, no or less compensation paid and social services not adequately prepared. They are still considered to be environmental refugees and that is why the Zambian government and the World Bank decided to come together and try and rehabilitate the social and economical lives of the people.

Rehabilitation can be envisioned as a process that would reverse the risks of resettlement (De wet 2000:9). In 1994, the Government of Zambia (GRZ) promulgated the Energy Sector Reform Programme. This included unresolved issues from projects undertaken before the promulgation of this Act. One such issue was that relating to the resettlement of the Gwembe-Tonga people. Based on that, a study was commissioned entitled "The Development Strategies and Rehabilitation Programmes for the Peoples Affected by the Construction of the Kariba Dam" in 1996. This led to the formation of the Gwembe Tonga Development Project (GTDP) in 1996 itself (MBB Zambia 2002:7). This program was formulated following recommendations arising from a number of studies commissioned by Zesco (Electricity supplier) and the World Bank, which indicated the needs of the people who were affected by the Kariba Dam and now were relocated in the Gwembe valley. The result of this study led to the conceptualization of the current Gwembe-Tonga and Development (Environmental Mitigation) Project, which is a component of the Power Rehabilitation Project (Zesco). The aim of the GTDP was to mitigate some of the negative impacts on the resettled people who have been living in Gwembe valley, their hosts and the physical environment by improving the resettlement area's infrastructure and building the skills capacity of people living in the area. Out of

the needs, which were identified, the following were selected for implementation and these led to the objectives that were to be completed by the project:

- Rehabilitate/upgrade three rural clinics and construction of two clinics complete with provision of water and electricity
- Development of both rain fed and recession agriculture out growers schemes, support to existing irrigation schemes
- To construct six dams and four weirs
- Drilling of 30 boreholes
- Land conservation (especially in Lusitu and Siameja area)
- Upgrading of one school
- Flood control/pilot water harvesting scheme
- Rehabilitate Lusitu and Sinazongwe water works and distribution systems
- Rural electrification of the entire lakeshore
- Building capacity in the beneficiary communities for community mobilization and participation.

The project funds were jointly sourced from the World Bank and the Southern African Development Bank in forms of commercial loans by government and Zesco Limited, the implementers of the project on behalf of the Ministry of Energy and Water Development. The amount needed to facilitate the project in its first phase was US$12.7 million and what was required was to improve the health, energy and water sectors. The money was not provided until 2000 and the budget went up to US$26 million (Chalo 2000: 45). After being implemented in 1996 the project had finally come to an end in September 2006 the project has been said to have achieved most of the objectives that they had set.

The most systematic study of dam resettlement to date is that carried out by Colson and Scudder among the Gwembe Tonga people in Zambia. It is with this information that they had noticed a number of commonalities amongst populations undergoing dam resettlement. This will be illustrated by the information showing displacement and involuntary resettlement especially from the 1950s to the 1970s, as this was the period

when most dams were constructed without environmental and social impact assessments. Today the World Bank has developed a series of EIA publications with the most significant being the World Bank 1991a and 1991b: Environmental Assessment Sourcebooks[8]. The purpose of the World Bank's policy and procedures for EIAs are to ensure that development options under consideration are environmentally sound and sustainable and that any environmental consequences are recognised early and taken into account in project design (World Bank, 1991a: 2).

The present study aims to ascertain to what extent the project has obtained the objectives that have been listed and how this has impacted the GT people. The GTD project officially ended in 2006 and was handed over to the GT people.

2.1.2.7 Overview of Dam displacement

Dams have been built for thousands of years - to manage flood waters, harness water as hydropower, supply water for drinking and the industry, and irrigate fields. Today, there are over 45,000 large dams in the world; one third of all countries rely on hydropower for more than half their electricity supply, and large dams generate 19 per cent of electricity overall. In addition, some 30 to 40 per cent of the 271 million hectares irrigated worldwide rely on dams (WCD 2000: xii). Countries have constructed dams to manage floodwaters, to harness water as hydropower, to supply water to drink or for industry and to irrigate fields all for economic development. In the process the construction of large dams has resulted in the physical displacement of millions of people. Most of these dams are found in developing countries and not all have caused negative impacts as shown but the reason of construction has been for clean power, as they do not emit any gases like coal. It is cheap to construct dams because once you construct the dam it has a life span of over 50 years and they can control floods, though advantages are overweighed by the disadvantages in terms of displacement of people and destruction of the environment. Not only is development-induced displacement a widespread, and growing, phenomenon, but also

[8] World Bank 1991a: Environmental Assessment Sourcebook; Vol. 1: Policies, procedures and cross-sectoral issues. World Bank Technical Paper 139, Washington D.C: World Bank (Environmental Department) and the World Bank 1991b: Environmental Assessment Sourcebook; Vol. 2: Sectoral guidelines. World Bank Technical Paper 140, Washington D.C: World Bank (Environmental Department).

evidence suggests that while the benefits of development are numerous, the cost is being borne disproportionately by the poorest and most marginalized populations (Robinson, 2003:10). According to Robinson (2003:16) Dams in most countries affect the indigenous people who are displaced and rarely receive complete and adequate information on the dam project, the nature and extent of displacement and provisions for resettlement and reconstruction (Robinson, 2003:16). Large dams have also resulted in negative social impacts, which reflect a failure to assess and account for displaced and resettled people, as well as downstream communities. Mitigation, compensation or resettlement programmes were often inadequate.

This is evident with five dams illustrated as most of the people live in isolated and hilly places that are far from other communities. Displaced and affected people normally have no role in generating baseline information or in developing resettlement plans. As a result the local people cry out for their original place of residence where they collected clean water for cooking and drinking water from rivers that never run dry and land that was rich for cultivation. The people displaced by the Kariba, LHWP, Cahora Bassa and Sarvar Savorar were all promised new infrastructures that would make up for their loss of water, land, health and schools though a few of the services were implemented. The indigenous and tribal peoples displaced by large dams seem to experience higher levels of landlessness, unemployment, indebtedness, sickness and hunger due to non-participation in the projects and the implementers not fulfilling what they had promised the people (Asmal 2001). The overall impact of the affected communities face can be categorized into 4 themes namely; resettlement, rehabilitation, compensation and gender impact on women.

Resettlement

It is evident with the above discussion those who were resettled rarely had their livelihoods restored, as resettlement programmes have focused on physical relocation rather than the economic and social development of the displaced. Resettlement imposed forces and conditions on people that may completely transform their lives, evoking profound changes, in environment, in productive activities, in social organization and interaction, in leadership and political structure, and in worldview and ideology.

Resettlement may mean that people may be relocated in a new place, where they may have little first hand knowledge and experience. Most the people who have been displaced have lived their lives on highlands and they are displaced to low lands and this has changed their way of life as in the cases of Kariba, Lesotho, Cahora Bassa and Sardar Sarovar dams, they were resettled to land which proved difficult to cultivate and led to food insecurity and water shortages. People lost their lives through starvation and depression.

Uprooting people from the environments in which the vast majority of their meaningful activities have taken place separates them from the context on which much of their understanding of life and their sense of identity are based. Resettlement sites are invariably selected without reference to availability of livelihood opportunities, or the preferences of displaced persons themselves. Sometimes even temporary shelters are unavailable and the first few months in the new site are spent in the monsoon rains under the open sky. House-sites are often much smaller than those in which the resettled people lived in the village, and temporary structures where they exist are made of tin or other inappropriate material and design. This has been highlighted by most of the dam construction of Kariba, Cahora Bassa and Lesotho highlands where in some cases like Kariba people were left to find their own materials to construct their houses. Even with all the problems that the resettlers have experienced the women have often been more discriminated against in the provision of land in resettlement. The lack of title deeds for land has been a major problem as women are considered to be second citizens meaning that property like houses, land and decision making are all considered to be for men. All land and other related assets that are part of the resettlement must be in the joint name of the male and female heads of the family. Similarly widows and adult single women must also be given the option of land-based resettlement in order to provide them with a sustainable resource. Women headed households must also receive additional support for land based resettlement.

Most of the dam constructions have shown little participation of the local people in the resettlement and rehabilitation of their lives. Participation of the affected people has been superficial or treated as unimportant by those responsible for the projects. Real

participation implies the capacity to influence or even modify decisions at the beginning of the project. However, their lives are completely controlled by the project implementers who choose where they should be resettled. There are cases that illustrate how the local people were not included in the implementation stages of projects such as the Kariba, Sarvar Savorar and Cahora Bassa dams. However, LHWP (Lesotho) and Nangbeto (Togo) have tried to include the local people in the projects by participation during the resettlement period. The negative experiences of resettlement have led to most countries having to resort to rehabilitation as to improve the lives of the people that were resettled by constructing facilities and improving their livelihoods.

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation is really an outcome of resettlement that is conceived not as physical relocation or mere restoration of incomes but as development. That is why the oustees should not only be able to sustain but also improve their living condition from what it was before being resettled. This requires much more than simple monetary compensation or allotment of agricultural land and introduction of development activities. It is with this knowledge that researchers have noted that displacement creates a new social community. The Nangbeto dam proved that it is possible to have a good rehabilitation program. After the displacement of the people by the Kariba dam the government has tried to rehabilitate the lives of the people by improving the infrastructures and the way of life. While the lives of the Indians (Sardar Savorar) has changed for the worst as the resettlement and rehabilitation policies are not well formulated to make an impact on the lives of their indigenous people.

Development projects, particularly those that involve resettlement, can inadvertently catalyze a shift in cultural consciousness among small subordinated groups, bringing about a process of political socialization that enables them to articulate more clearly their interests and identities for themselves and for others in the defense of their culture. Although the damage they inflict can threaten the existence of subaltern groups, development projects, even those that fail economically, given a degree of accountability, can sharpen local identities through the oppositional process and resistance and further

the political development of subaltern groups. As such, development projects can produce inadvertent positive outcomes when they stimulate the development of civil organizations that are able to resist state excesses in its efforts to transform local systems (Smith 1996:47).

Compensation

Compensation has been distributed in varying forms depending on the agreements with the resettlers or what is thought to be the best for them, especially if they participate in projects. There is usually cash compensation and land compensation in addition to construction of houses, clinics, schools and other infrastructure that would benefit the communities. Both methods have shown evidence of being problematic. Compensation issues of Kariba dam, Lesotho Highland, Sardar Savorar and China all show that the locals were not happy with how they were compensated and how inadequate their payments were. As the literature has shown most of the compensation issues that have arisen cannot be compared or valued to the land, traditions and culture, which were inseparable from the river, and they have failed to prevent the fragmentation of communities, which the planners have overlooked while planning for the resettlement. Women are left worse off than men, as compensation payments are usually paid only to the male heads of households. Women may also be affected disproportionably because of their greater dependence on common property resources such as grazing lands and forests. Common property is rarely eligible for compensation and rarely provided at resettlement sites. Colson (1999:32) also states that in the Kariba dam resettlement exercise officials planned initially to allocate land to the heads of households (characteristically assumed to be male) as apparently has been the common practice in most resettlement schemes.

Making reparations to displaced people requires considerable political will, not just from national and regional governments, but also from international development and infrastructure financing agencies as well as government of the industrialized countries. The World Bank has participated a lot in these projects and that is why during compensation it has to play a role as it finances the construction of dams as shown in the

case studies of all the dams apart from the three gorges. It is hard to see how the massive human costs of the projects they have financed will be mitigated if they do not commit to underwriting some of the costs. An international fund may need to be created, with liberal contributions from governments of both the global north and south, and international funding institutions (India report 1999:46). Having being impoverished in the name of development, it is only just that the needs of people displaced by development projects are given priority in the provision of resources. While the financial requirements would be significant, it is important to consider this an "investment" in long term social and economic development – a basic right of vulnerable communities, and one which can only increase in the long run. China was perhaps the first country to attempt to systematically address the problems faced by the reservoir-resettled people, beginning with new policy and institutional initiatives in the early 80s. In 1986 China's Ministry of Water Resources and Electric Power launched a 1 900 million reservoir resettled people across 46 resettlement areas in the country. The Zambian government also started to address the problems caused by the construction of the dam and it began in 1996. The government and the World Bank worked out a budget that amount to US$ 26 million to achieve its objectives

Involuntary resettlement is often disruptive and traumatic to the affected people. People who are forced to leave their habitual residences against their will tend to suffer psychological stress, which is a result of the trauma of moving to a strange place, grief at the loss of a home and anxiety for the future. Uprooted people also suffer socio-cultural stress that results from the failure to pay attention to the need for communities to remain together, the lack of economic sustainability after resettlement and the disruption of cultural activities as a result of displacement.

The magnitude of the population displaced and absence of rehabilitation measures, neither the central government nor the state governments have enacted effective legislations to amend the situation. This has been noted when women are being displaced as they usually never compensated adequately.

Gender in Resettlement

Gender is a powerful social and cultural construct determining the ways in which social relations are structured between men and women. It constitutes the entire ambit of relations that govern the social, cultural and economic exchanges between women and men in different arenas from the household to the community. Men and women react in different ways to the problem of displacement and resettlement. Koenig (1995:22) argues that the particular effects of involuntary resettlement on women have been relatively ignored, beyond the general recognition that women suffer more than men from the problems of resettlement projects. A number of authors (Koenig 1995, De Wet 2000, Mahua 2003) have discussed the gender issue in resettlement and many of them have concluded that at the end of the day women are far worse off on the settlement scheme than in their traditional societies. Koenig (1995:93-95) as well discussed experiences of women in Burkina Faso resettlement schemes. He found that authorities of this particular scheme ignored women's previous control over fields and their own labour thus they ended up being depended on the gifts from their husbands or male relatives.

Research has also shown that gender data is not collected and based on the data from WCD process concluded that almost all institutions that have evolved around displacement have been designed with total disregard for gender justice. While resettlement seems to harden men's control over resources, to women's detriment, (as in Aswan, Kariba, Manantali and Akasombo), the other side of the coin is that resettlement, and the movement of communities out of relative isolation, into wider socio-political contexts, open out social opportunities for women. Thus, Nubian women who were displaced by the Aswan dam in Egypt enjoyed greater opportunities for employment, education, participation in community affairs, and travel (Fahim 1983:54).

Women are left worse off than men, as compensation payments are usually paid only to the male heads of households. Women may also be affected disproportionately because of their greater dependence on common property resources such as grazing lands and forests. Common property is rarely eligible for compensation and rarely provided at

resettlement sites. Colson, (1999:32) also states that in the Kariba dam resettlement exercise officials planned initially to allocate land to the heads of households (characteristically assumed to be male) as apparently has been the common practice in most resettlement schemes.

Women and the older generation generally suffer greater stresses in trying to cope with the changes brought about by resettlement, particularly the stress that arises from being uprooted from homes, property and other losses of cultural or religious significance (Young 2004). This is what happened during the construction of the Cahora Bassa dam. Allegations about mishandling of resettlement and blame for damage to the environment are among other reasons that led to the bank to create this policy. Among development assistance agencies, the World Bank led the way in the 1980s in establishing a resettlement policy to mitigate the impact of involuntary relocation (Picciotto *et al*, 2001: xi).

2.1.3 Theoretical Framework

Social thinkers (Todaro 2005, Swanepoel 2000, Webster 1990) agree that development can never be defined to universal satisfaction. The term is usually used to describe the process of economic and social transformations within society. According to Todaro (2005:87) development should be perceived as a multi-dimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of entire economic and social systems. Development is about people, their needs and their circumstances. For this simple reason development can never rely on predetermined long-term plans and goals (Swanepoel 2000:72).

Development involves radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures, as well as in popular attitudes and sometimes even customs and beliefs. The state plays a very peculiar role in development (Todaro 2005:88). Third world governments have tried to play a far too impressive role in development. Their position and capacity have not allowed them to play successfully. The ideal situation is that the

state will be the supporter of development. If the state is to be the supporter of development, someone else has to be the initiator and the manager of that development. Ideally the people themselves should fulfill this role though at times the government through its ministries can have initiators and managers of the project. This means that development should be localized. Development planning, development decisions and development financing cannot be the same for the whole country, as local circumstances will determine local development (Swanepoel 2000: 100). The local people therefore take responsibility for development. The government should be able to support their initiative by an enabling policy and providing expertise, some infrastructure and some finance.

2.1.3.1 Development Theories

Development theories can be traced from the 1950s with the introduction of modernization theory and the theories considered as development with progressive transition from a traditional to a modern society that required a change in the values, attitudes and norms of people (Webster, 1990). By adopting the modernising processes of industrialization and an economic system of capitalism, backward and 'underdeveloped' societies could gradually abandon their traditional values and move towards a system of modernity. The idea of "Development" has been mostly materialistic and objective and with all the responsible instruments combined together to bring about development mankind is still groping in the dark for the ideal set up for the same. As current approaches to development still favor the frequently large-scale transformation of both natural and built environments through construction of such projects as dams, roads, irrigation systems, pipelines, and energy resources, aimed eventually at generating and supporting both agricultural and industrial growth, and with them, increased national and per capita incomes. These large-scale development projects frequently make references to benefit the general public while those who must suffer the costs that these projects entail tend to be quite specific communities. The costs that these communities are required to bear are often overwhelmingly heavy, at times, given current levels of expertise and competence.

In modernization theory, underdevelopment is regarded as an initial condition from which developing countries can escape if they follow the path of economic modernization as embedded in the stages of economic growth. But this has not been the case as most African countries have been exploited by stated by dependency theory, as Swanepeol (2000:22) argues, that instead of promoting diffusion from the core to the periphery, the core tends to exploit the periphery in a worldwide system in a hierarchy of dependence. This dependence is part of a continuous process. Poor countries are drawn into a destructive metropolis-satellite relationship, which is part of the world capitalist system. It is a pattern that occurs on the international, national and local levels. This system promotes the underdevelopment and exploitation of poor areas through unequal terms of trade and other similar measures such as Aid. Aid creates dependency by making weaker governments/countries dependent on stronger ones, thus putting them at a disadvantage in economic and political discussions (Regan 1996:160).

Developing countries are progressing strongly towards modernization approach and they are achieving this through implementation of development projects that are at the end of the day displacing and resettling people to achieve their projects. Suffice to say now that population relocation presents an exceptional opportunity to improve the standard of living of those involved as well as to contribute to national development. With proper timing and planning, new environments with improved social services can be created in carefully selected relocation areas. Sustainable development has generally associated with the improvement of the overall quality of life of the people. Lele (1991) suggests that the two most important components of sustainable development include taking care of the natural environment and sustaining culture. However, this has not happened yet in Africa as the dams have had multipurpose aims that have not included the people being in public participation and relocation.

The original purpose of dams was to improve human quality by providing drinking water and to support economic growth by diverting water for power, navigation, flood control and irrigation. The benefits of dams for bureaucracies who were in the business of getting dams exaggerated flood control and navigation built. Dams were widely perceived as

beneficial, and those benefits are now being questioned. Flaim (2005) states dams achieved exactly what the planners and engineers intended to interrupt large annual changes in stream flows so water would be available all year. Now we look at those realized intentions as negative consequences such as social displacement. Dams are here now; the issue is how to use them and reduce the mitigation that causes displacement of people.

The debate on dams continued to be polarised where the proponents (developers) pointed out to the social and economic development demands that dams are intended to meet, such as irrigation, electricity, flood control and water supply, while the opponents point to the adverse impacts of dams, such as debt burden, cost overruns, displacement and impoverishment of people, destruction of important ecosystems and fishery resources, and the inequitable sharing of costs and benefits. During the early stages of this process, debate and controversy focused on specific dams and their local impacts. But gradually these locally driven conflicts began to evolve into a more general and ultimately a global debate about dams and development. The decision to build a large dam today is rarely only a local or national one. The debate has been transformed from a local process of assessing costs and benefits to one in which dams in general are the focus of a global debate about development strategies and choices (Sengupta 2001).

Development projects are also carried out as an opportunity to heighten growth of their economies, but this is always done at the expense of those who are always negatively affected by these ideas. Bauman (1989: xiii) adds that development-induced displacement and resettlement is the ultimate decision of the state with its monopoly and ambitious engineering projects and the ability to exercise ultimate control over the location of people. According to De Wet (1999), resettlement may take place in a situation where a development project intervention, such as construction of a dam, people who are in the path of the dam are moved away and provision is made for them to move by way of compensation as the move is permanent as where they once lived has been transformed by the dam. So it is for this reason that the government as the initiating agency assumes a degree of responsibility for the people by attempting to improve the quality of the

physical and social environments of their citizens through compensation. Involuntary resettlement has been around throughout history.

Involuntary resettlement has also led to environmental degradation and socio political deterioration due to bad planning and execution by the developers. Cernea (1999) also states that in involuntary resettlement there are two main processes to consider. These processes may be distinct but related. The first involves displacement of people and dismantling of their patterns of economic and social organisation and the second refers to resettlement at a different location and reconstruction of their livelihood and social networks. The two processes are intertwined they should always be treated that way. There is no way people could or should be left displaced involuntarily and left to fend for themselves. This has been seen in most dams constructed in Africa that international and local planners have tended in the past to over emphasise tangible benefits such as increase in power and gross national product as opposed to resettlement or social aspect of the project. As a result affected people feel helpless and powerless. Oliver-smith (1996:78) adds on that to be resettled is one of the most acute expressions of powerless ness because it constitutes a loss of control over one's physical space.

The experience of development projects targeted for developing countries where the majority is poor, rural-based and powerless, the implementers consider the people to be ignorant and not aware of the rights making it easier to move them, as they are less resistant. Developed nations have used development theories like modernization as a tool for marginalisation and disempowerment of poor rural communities. These nations use modernization approach as a benchmark set up for the developing countries in order to attain economic growth. Some writers view development projects as a 'collective effort to fight poverty and raise standards of living of the people' (Ferguson, 1990:9). Conversely, other writers claim that internationally funded projects… whoever they claim to "target" do not make the radical changes in political and economic structure that could alone empower the poor. Therefore, development projects cannot be expected to eradicate poverty as it reinforces the system, which in the first place causes the poverty (Lappe *et al*. 1990:11). Development can be looked at differently as being beneficial to

those who will gain from it, but disruptive and painful to those affected negatively by it. Cernea (1996:188) adds that development, either spontaneous or induced, brings not only benefits but often causes disruption. One type of such social disruption is the forced displacement of populations. This has led to advocates of Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) to agree with the authors who have viewed developmental projects as the measure of impoverishing those who have been displaced and resettled by them. This led to the World Bank to revisit their ideas in the World Bank report of 1991, which reports that, during its first two decades of existence, the World Bank tended to identify development with economic growth. The benefits of growth were assumed to trickle down, the poor automatically benefiting from the creation of jobs and the increase in goods and services. This has proved to be wrong especially in developing countries.

According to Rodney (1982: 8) development comes about when human beings have battled with the material environment; they create forms of social relations, forms of government, patterns of behavior and systems of belief, which together constitute the superstructure, but which is never the same in any two societies. Development projects are equated with a general process of modernization where developed nations' ways of conducting things have to be adopted by the developing countries to boost their economic development. Rodney (1982: 14) also states that since human development has been uneven and from a strictly economic viewpoint some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming wealthier leading to the other countries colonizing the poor countries. Nations use modernization approach as a benchmark setup for the developing countries in order to attain economic growth. The modernization approach is evaluated largely in economic terms and this is a disadvantage for the people whose lives have been adjusted as a result of development/economic projects as they are usually not taken into consideration. Development should be assessed in terms of both the economic growth as well as the level of the standard of living of the poor by having the poor to participate in the projects. According to UNEP (2003), sustainable development is the development that improves peoples' quality of life, while caring for the earth's life support system. Sustainable development is necessary in order to create

better living conditions. Achieving sustainable development will not hinder poor countries from developing. Participation claims to offer an alternative to traditional approaches that failed to engage individuals and communities in the process of development. Sustainable development could be regarded as a dynamic process to gain a healthy, prosperous and stable life for mankind. Undoubtedly, economic development is necessary to ensure the existence of society in general and individuals in particular. Individuals belong to the society and the nature. The sustainability only becomes feasible if the development processes are appropriately considered in the context of economy, environment and culture.

There are enormous needs to be attended in poor regions such as improvement of water and sanitary services, housing upgrading, health care etc, which demand large amount of investments. Considerable improvements can be attained and life conditions improved in a diverse environment even before a complete modernization is accomplished and this should be the first objective of a development strategy (Silveira, 2002:5). Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) has become a formal procedure in most countries to mitigate their negative impacts but it will take more time to make it an effective tool for decision makers.

The participation of resettlers and other affected people in the planning of and preparations for resettlement has varied very significantly on African dam projects, not least because participation and consultation have become over time more firmly entrenched as part of the resettlement process. Over the world, there are many studies about dam related issues including anti dams issues and certainly such studies will be continued. The large dams gradually are on the way towards sustainability. The only way for sustainability of dams is through the participation of the local people by preparing policies of resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation.

The concept of participatory research, as an antidote to these criticisms, has evolved from a number of directions. On the one hand development agencies and policymakers who sought quick access to socio economic data were responding to critiques of trickle down

economic development theory and concerns about top-down development without consultation with local communities (Chambers 1974; Campbell 2002; Hayward *et al*. 2004).

Participatory approaches to development are promoted on the basis that they support effective project implementation and enhance the well being of the poor. In the 1970s and early 1980s, a desire by decision-makers to more effectively incorporate the perspectives and priorities of the local people in decision-making, policy development and project implementation led to the emergence of a number of "participatory approaches" to development. This re-orientation towards greater participation in development by individuals was motivated by the development communities desire to move from an emphasis on top down, technocratic and economic interventions towards greater attention to bottom-up, community-level interventions (Kanji and Greenwood 2001). The growing adoption of a participatory approach to development reflects a continuing belief in a bottom-up approach in which participants becoming agents of change and decision-making. Participation is seen as providing a means through which to enable meaningful involvement of the poor and voiceless in the development process, allowing them to exert greater influence and have more control over the decisions and institutions that affect their lives.

Participation is meant to empower individuals and groups to own their project (Chambers 1996:45). Organizations such as the World Bank have integrated participatory development into their policies and programmes.[9] According to World Bank (1995) participation is a process, through which stakeholders' influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources, which affect them. The promise of a shift from top-down technocracy to bottom-up people-centered development, heralded in the 1970s by such prominent African leaders as Julius Nyerere, has given rise to decades of interventions that espouse the ideas and ideals of participation. Development is the political mobilization of people for attaining their own objectives; it

[9]http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/EXTPCENG/0,,menuPK:410312~pagePK:149018~piPK:149093~theSitePK:410306,00.html

should be a bottom-up approach since all strategies based on a top-down design have failed to reach their explicitly stated objectives. This kind of bottom-up approach should be a participatory development process conscious of exclusions made in the name of development.

Robert Chambers (1974) analysis of rural development project management in East Africa suggests, however, these initiatives raised and indeed continue to raise – considerable challenges. These challenges have led to power imbalance between beneficiaries and development practitioners. The difference between development practitioner (often viewed as a donor) and recipient creates a major difference in power relations, which participatory development may or may not be able to hurdle. Beneficiaries may be more likely to make decisions that please, or that they hope will please, the development practitioners.

Empowerment and participation are becoming fundamental words, not only in development discourse, but also within the mandates of development agencies. Participatory development however is not without some controversy. Participation is not only a broad concept, but in the theory and practice of development it gives rise to questions pertaining to what type of participation is being talked about, and who exactly should be able to participate? Kumar *et al* (2005: 2) argues there are a variety of understandings of what is meant by the term "participation" and its purpose within the context of promoting development. Two broad perspectives on the rationale and objective of engaging in participatory processes emerge: Functional or Passive Perspective view participation as a means of accessing information from a variety of stakeholders so as to support more effective implementation of a project, policy or program and Rights-based or Proactive Perspective view participation as a means of enabling and empowering less powerful groups in society to engage in decision-making and exercise their democratic rights. The objective of participatory development is viewed as being to transform society and achieve more equitable access to and distribution of resources. The GTDP introduced the participatory perspective as a way of enabling and empowering the people as they had over the projects to the GT people.

Participatory approaches involve communities in all aspects and phases of development activities, including the identification of the project to be undertaken, planning, implementing, monitoring and enjoying the benefits accruing from the project. Participatory approaches and methods have become more widespread, with the result that conceptual and methodological problems and issues have inevitably arisen through this process. A range of development institutions with differing objectives, values and approaches now uses the term participation, which has made its use and application even more diverse. There are different levels and degrees of participation identified by Kumar *et al* (2005);

1. Manipulation

Participation is undertaken in a manner contrived by those who hold power to convince the public that a predefined project or program is best.

2. Passive participation

Participation by the local people is by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is based on information provided, shared and assessed by external "experts." Therefore, the information being shared belongs only to external experts.

3. Participation in information giving

This is a one-way approach to participation whereby participation is by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. Participants are informed of their rights, responsibilities and options, but are not given the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.

4. Participation by consultation

This is a two-way way flow of information in which local people participate by being consulted and external agents listen to their views. Although participants have the opportunity to provide suggestions and express concerns, their input may or may not be used at all or as originally intended. The external agents define problems and solutions, both of which may be modified in light of information provided by the participants.

Such a consultations process does not concede any share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on people's view.

5. Participation for material incentives

People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentives. Much on-farm research falls into this category, as farmers provide the fields but are not involved in experimentation or the process of learning. In this type of participation people have no stake in prolonging activities once the incentives end.

6. Functional participation

People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the initiative. Local people's involvement however occurs after major decisions have been made rather than at an early stage in the project cycle. The established groups are dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but over time may become more self-sufficient.

7. Interactive participation

People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives, and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. As local people take control over the decision-making process, they gain a greater stake in maintaining the structures and practices they have established. A common drawback is that vulnerable individuals and groups tend to remain silent or passively acquiesce.

8. Partnership

Through negotiation, power is redistributed between local people and power holders in an equitable manner.

Decision-making takes place through an exchange between equally respected participants who are working towards a common goal and seeking to optimize the well-being of all concerned. There is mutual responsibility and risk sharing in the planning and decision-making process.

9. Self-mobilization/active participation

People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice that they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated

mobilization and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distribution of wealth or power (Kumar *et al* 2005:7).

International agencies such as the World Bank have seen community participation as a means for ensuring that Third World development projects reach the poorest in the most efficient and cost-effective way, sharing costs as well as benefits through the promotion of self help. Previously the World Bank and other International Organizations concentrated on food aid and other handouts, which have led to the people being dependent on aid organisations. This led to dependency on Food-for-work with the Gwembe Tonga people, on the other hand it seemed to have been institutionalised as the acceptable implementation strategy for certain development agencies. The end result had been the destruction of the little self-sufficiency that other development agencies were trying so hard to introduce by use of participatory and integrated approaches to development in the Gwembe valley.

A number of development organizations have been using participatory approaches in Zambia and it was with reason that the GTDP decided to use the same method. The implementation of community participation was aimed at creating a sense of ownership and commitment of the beneficiary community members in the project in order to ensure sustainability of the provided infrastructure.

Empowering is also referred to as the development of skills and abilities to enable rural and urban people (the proposed research report will concentrate on rural people) to have a say in or negotiate with existing development delivery systems. Empowerment implies that people will have the necessary information as well as power and influence to exercise some control over the future of their area. Therefore for the community to participate in their development, empowerment must come first. Cook (1995) argues that the inner power of the people can be stirred by giving them a chance to participate.

Participatory approaches to development quickly evolved throughout the 1980s and into the early 1990s with the introduction of methods such as Rapid Rural Appraisal, Participatory Action Research and, particularly, Participatory Rural Appraisal.

Development of the latter approach spawned the emergence of a myriad of new tools and principles for implementing and understanding participatory development. Throughout this period, researchers and community organizers sought to improve their understanding of insider/local knowledge as a balance to the dominance of outsider/western scientific knowledge (Kanji and Greenwood, 2001:8).

These theories will be used to investigate whether the GT people have been involved in the planning and implementation of the projects affecting their lives and whether the concept of participation was fully applied.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology, the procedure used to conduct the study, and the method employed to analyze the data. The significance of the study is also described.

Qualitative research explores social phenomena about which little can be assumed a priori (Vermeire 2005: 82). Qualitative information provides rich descriptions and a well founded rationale for explaining the underlying behavioural and environmental processes at work in local settings. A qualitative study allows the researcher to trace historical events, their causes and long-term consequences, and derive insightful explanations for all of these. It places persons and their families within this historical picture and shows in a realistic sense how they adapt to changing conditions both culturally (in the form of role changes for example) and socially (like alterations in the family developmental cycle). The key, therefore, is to understand the context in which decisions, actions, and events occur (Yoddumnern-Attig *et al*, 1997: 3).

Qualitative research methods were also developed in the social sciences to enable researchers to study social and cultural phenomena. Examples of qualitative methods are action research, case study research and ethnography. Qualitative data sources include observation and participant observation (fieldwork), interviews and questionnaires, documents and texts, and the researcher's impressions and reactions *(ibid)*. Punch (2000: 3) also states that qualitative research is empirical research where the data is not in the form of numbers. It is defined further as a way of thinking or an approach, which involves a collection or cluster of methods as well as data in non-numerical form.

The research uses a qualitative research strategy because it is a broad approach used in social research that is based upon the need to understand human and social interaction from the perspective of insiders and participants. This method was used because of its exploratory nature and the use of technical data production and analysis that relate to

textual or non – numerical data. It is especially used in grounded theory or ethnography to investigate peoples' understanding of their lives and social context (Becker 2005). The nature of the research was to examine the impact of the GTDP, which was thought best to be carried out through qualitative design as it afforded the opportunity of social interaction. The advantage of this approach was that it allowed a better knowledge of the strengths and weaknesses of such developmental projects and enabled a better understanding of the concept of the project.

3.2 Research Techniques

Case study

Case study is an ideal methodology when a holistic, in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin *et al* 1991). Coolican (2004:134) indicates that a case study methodology looks in-depth at a typical case and involves gathering detailed information about one individual or group A case study is defined as an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1984:23). Though it does not give generalized statistical data, it provides valuable insights. This methodology is believed to be appropriate for the research for a number of reasons and it should as such be motivated. Although case studies can be either single or multiple, single cases are most often used when verifying or disputing a theory. The research used single-case design to avoid misrepresentation and to maximize the investigator's access to the evidence. These studies can be holistic or embedded. The latter occurs when the same case study involves more than one unit of analysis. A case study is useful when there is little knowledge about a problem or an issue as it provides new insights into an area that has not been fully researched. As can be seen with the GTDP, which is a recent programme that ended in September 2006, no research has been carried out to find out how the project has faired in the community. This research was used to evaluate the changes in the communities.

As a qualitative research method, case studies aim to find out what is important to the GTDP and the interpretation of the social and political environment in which it operates.

The study also investigated how the project had impacted upon the people from the time it started to the present. Moreover, qualitative research aims at uncovering attitudes and behaviour of targeted audiences and what motivates them. In this case, the targeted audience was the project staff and community in which the project occurred.

Qualitative research explores attitudes, behaviour and experiences through methods such as interviews or focus groups (Vermeire 2005: 82). Qualitative data focus on interactive processes and is situational based (Neuman, 1997). This means that an interviewer interacts with the interviewees and is able to contextualise the conditions under which the interview is conducted. The European Union (2005:4) speaks of qualitative research as involving the collection, analysis, and interpretation of verbal data. These data relate to the social world plus the concepts and behaviour of people within their own social context. This study is therefore more specifically suited for qualitative procedure since it is mainly exploratory in nature.

3.3 Data Collection Techniques

3.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

According to Gilbert Nigel (2001:125) the use of semi-structured interviews is appropriate for a more in-depth feeling and understanding of themes that may come out in the sessions. This is mainly to elicit rich, detailed material that can be used in the data analysis. The objective is to find out what kinds of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined kind of things. These interviews are used to establish a variety of opinions concerning a particular topic or to establish relevant dimensions of attitudes (*ibid*). Semi-structured questions were used to interview key players in the project including project coordinators, village elders and the villagers. Semi-structured questionnaires usually involve a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered and there is more flexibility around the sequence in which they are asked and the interviewer will allow the respondent to speak more broadly about the topics being discussed (Greenstein 2003: 56).

The questions asked in this research were used to collect primary data. The semi-structured method was used because it would help find out more about the people that were being interviewed. This form of interview allowed the respondents to express themselves better, with a tape recorder being used to record the interviews. The essence of tape recording was to document what the interviewees were saying and this approach allowed the interviewer to freely engage in the conversation without worrying about note taking. The key informants were the project coordinators employed by the government and Zesco Limited. Five of the people were key informants (who were project managers) project liaison officers and a researcher hired by Zesco who were the decision makers of the project.

This research was conducted within one week. It would have been beneficial to extend the period of the research for purposes of acquiring a better understanding of the communities and the projects that were implemented, but this was constrained by limited time and distance, still was able to collect a information from the various stakeholders.

3.3.2 Key Informant

Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. According to the UCLA Research report (2005). The purpose of these interviews is to collect information from a wide range of people including community leaders, professionals or residents who have first hand knowledge about the community. These community experts with their particular knowledge and understanding can provide insight into the nature of the problem and give recommendations. Five key informants were interviewed using the semi-structured questionnaires. These people were interviewed so as to gain knowledgeable background of the project and how the project has operated since its inception. This was also to capture some information that the villagers did not have for instance the finances and the general overview and challenges of the project in all the villages.

This was done through interviews administered by the researcher and a research assistant. A research assistant conversant with the Tonga language assisted with translations though this proved to be difficult in connecting with the interviewee, as there was direct no communication with the researcher. Where the interviewees were able to respond in English, the researcher fully administered the questionnaire. Semi-structured questionnaires were used when interviewing the villagers, so as to give chance to the respondent to talk of their experiences with the project. In addition, all the interviews were tape- recorded to help in a thorough description and analysis of the information received. Moreover, it helped to transcribe everything that they said during the interviews that would have been missed without a tape recorder. During the interviews, the local people were comfortable with using their local language Tonga, since many were not conversant with English. A translator was thus used while conducting the interviews and a camera was also at hand to capture relevant project pictures. Pictures appear in appendix 1 page 140.

To draw the facts together in this study the methods used to collect data were semi-structured interviews and observations. The verification of data from other sources to ensure the authenticity of the findings and was dependent to a large extent on the literature surrounding this subject (books, academic journals, reports, press statement and various other materials accessed from the internet).

3.3.3 Documentary Technique

This technique gathers records of society, community or organization (Punch, 2000). Relevant secondary information was gathered from the University library and recent journals, newspaper, books and government publications have been used to highlight the current debate on the GTDP. This literature was supplemented by primary data from the field.

The Internet also provided useful information, especially the background information of the construction of the Kariba dam and the displacement of the people.

Organizations such as Zesco Ltd and the University of Zambia provided significant secondary and primary information as these sources added strength to the body of the research. However it should be noted that most of the reports that were reviewed basically gave details of how far the project had progressed in relation to the technical assessment. They rarely mentioned the social aspect of the project.

3.3.4 Observation

Observational research findings are considered strong in validity because the researcher is able to collect a significant depth of information about a particular behavior. According to fieldwork provides richer information about social life than most other research methods. Documentary research enables the researcher to go into the filed and observe, therefore having a sense of how things are really done on the ground.

Direct observation was also used. This method consists of systematically observing and documenting something in its natural setting. In direct observation, researchers are silent observers and do not interact with the research subjects or the situation (although interviews and conversations may also take place at a different time during the research period). This method is advantageous because researchers see things that they may not noticed in normal time-bound social interactions. Researchers can also can examine previously held assumptions and see if they hold true in a natural setting.

Neuman (1997: 361) stresses that social life is communicated through the mundane, trivial everyday minutiae. He goes on to say that, people express social information, feelings and attitudes through non-verbal communication including gestures and facial expressions. Greenstein (2003) also states that fieldwork provides richer information about social life than most other research methods as the researcher goes into the field, observes and has a sense of what is happening on the ground. This helped the researcher to see how the people were utilizing the properties that were acquired. During the visit, it was observed that the equipment for pumping water was not in operation so the people

were unable to draw water and they were waiting for the local municipality to report the problem.

Since 1958, researchers have been to the Gwembe valley to research about the aftermath of the Kariba dam and written theses about the lives of the people. Hence, the researcher was warned that the villagers should be treated with caution since they have never trusted researchers. The researcher was told that they had been asked many questions about their lives after the displacement, but nobody had ever come back to ameliorate their living conditions. Fieldwork went smoothly as the respondents were cooperative because the people that were helping out were already familiar with the respondents and the researcher was considered to be an employee of Zesco.

While conducting the interviews, the researcher had a chance to observe the works that were carried out by the GTDP. This proved to be advantageous as it enabled the researcher to compare the data collected through interviews and that which was observed. Apart from having documented material, it was necessary to have direct observation during field visits to the community.

3.3.5 Sampling

Sampling is the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Greenstein 2003:26). Population parameters and sampling procedures are of paramount importance and became critical factors in the success of the study. Non-probability sampling was used in this research. Non-probability sampling techniques involve researchers drawing samples from a larger population without the requirement of random selection (Tansey 2006:9). There are four types of non-probability sampling methods: availability, quota, snowball and purposive sampling. This research used purposive sampling. Unlike the other non-probability sampling methods, purposive sampling does not produce a sample that is representative of a larger population and used in some cases – community or some other clearly defined

and relatively limited group[10]. Purposeful sampling is the dominant strategy in qualitative research. Purposeful sampling seeks information-rich cases that can be studied in depth (Patton, 1990). Respondents are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics, which will enable detailed exploration of the research objectives.

The sample selected for this research comprised of the same composition of the whole study population. For instance, the sample was chosen from the already resettled population and where the projects were being implemented. The study areas were selected to cover relocation areas, within each of the three districts where the people were relocated. In this research, twenty structured interviews were conducted in four villages, which were nearer to Lusaka as there was limited time given to the researcher by the organization (Zesco) that provided transport. The study areas lie within a 200km radius and some areas were not visited due to the topography and bad conditions of the road. This area was chosen because it was closest to Lusaka and the villages visited were the ones in which most of the components were implemented.

The study focused on different communities of the Gwembe Valley who are all receiving help from the GTDP and how this project has affected the people. The population of the study area has increased from the time that they were displaced in 1954 and the people were picked for the study as the project is supposed to benefit everyone in the study area.

The researcher set out to interview as many women as possible in each of the villages visited, but it was later discovered that most women had gone to cultivate their fields, were at home or not near the project sites. Out of the twenty interviews undertaken in Siabbamba, Siambale, Sisyadombozia and Sinafala the researcher only managed to get hold of eight women while the remaining twelve were men who were easier to locate.

[10] Types of Samples -Samples and Sampling. http://ccnmtl.columbia.edu/projects/qmss/samp_type.html

3.4 Limitations to the Study

- There was a need to have an interpreter since the people in the Gwembe Valley speak a different dialect from the one that the researcher knows and English is not commonly spoken, especially among the older generation and women. Therefore, follow-up and probing was difficult since the researcher had to relay the questions through a third party. It was therefore difficult to know whether the questions were asked correctly.
- Transport was a major obstacle as it took time to have access to a vehicle, which was used by project coordinators who were checking and monitoring the water levels of the dams. The project coordinators had to accommodate the researcher and do their own work though finance was another major obstacle. The researcher could not afford to visit the project site as much as it was a cost in terms of fuel and transport. So the number of people interviewed depended on the trips that were to be made to the Gwembe valley
- Penetrating into the community was not that difficult as the people are used to people doing research in the areas, though some respondents claimed to be exhausted from being interviewed from time to time and they could not see any changes in their communities.
- The number of people interviewed was small and the reason being that transport and financial constraints made it impossible to interview more then the twenty-five interviewed.

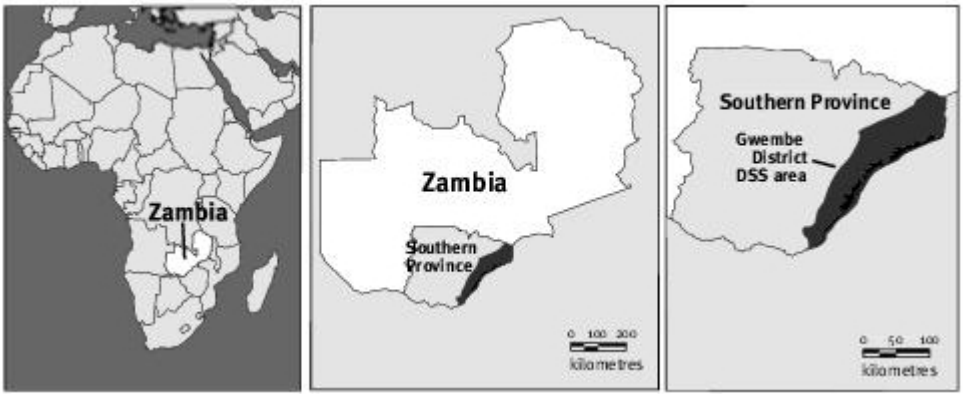
Expected benefits of this study should be able to enrich the GTDP (ZESCO) in the sense that once the results of my studies are implemented, there will be more information of how the project has been received by the communities, whether they have benefited from the development projects and whether the project implementers have delivered as promised.

3.5 Description of Study Area

The study area encompasses four study villages (and other villages are not in the study) each covering an area of several square kilometres. The villages were Siambale, Siambabba, Lusitu and Sinafala. The study area is shown below refer to figure 1[11].

According to the International Development Research Center (1995) the physical location of the Gwembe Tonga study area is located between latitudes 16° and 18°S and longitudes 26° and 29°E in the Southern Province of Zambia. The villages are scattered for 300 km along the length of the Gwembe Valley, a relatively low-lying semi-arid area with an average elevation of about 400–500 m above sea level Rainfall occurs between October and March and is variable. Small droughts and yearly periods of hunger during the rainy season are more common than not. Temperatures range from near 0°C at night during the cold season (June–August) to 40°C and above during the hot, wet season (November–March). Between August and November, it is hot and dry.

Figure 1. Location of the Gwembe Tonga, Zambia



Many of the project components were broken down into activities per district and village. Siavonga District has a population of 58, 932 people and two villages were chosen from this area Lusitu and Siambela. The components of this district were:

[11] The map is from International Development Research Center web site (www.crdi.ca)

- Construction of 2 dam and weirs
- Drilling of 9 boreholes
- Rehabilitation of Lusitu Water works
- Rehabilitation of the road
- Agricultural development: general rain-fed agriculture, recession agriculture and land conservation
- Community capacity building
- HIV/AIDS awareness
- Rural electrification

Gwembe district has a population of 33, 391 people with most of them being subsistence farmers and the villages in this area were Sinafala and Siambamba. The project components for this area were:

- Construction of 1 dam and 1 weir
- Drilling of 9 boreholes
- Rehabilitation of the clinic
- Completion of another clinic
- Rehabilitation of the road
- Agricultural development; general rain-fed agriculture, recession agriculture, land conservation
- Community capacity building
- HIV/AIDS awareness
- Rural electrification

The needs and project components of the GTDP listed above were the felt needs of the communities in the valley. This research looks at the villages, which were in the two mentioned districts.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. 1 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews and the conservations were tape-recorded. Questions were based on issues of the GTDP awareness, impact, benefits, participation and gender sensitization arising out of the GTDP as a project used to uplift the lives of the Gwembe Tonga people who were displaced during the construction of the dam. The GTD project area covered the districts of Siavonga, Gwembe, Sinazongwe and Kalomo all in the Southern Province. The total population that was expected to benefit from the various interventions was about 170, 000 (GTDP report 2006:3). The research explores issues that have arisen from the project in terms of finance and the relationship between the people and the project coordinators.

In this chapter the data collected has been presented and described according to the major questions generated by the research. These were divided into four categories being the socio demography, GTDP awareness, Developmental impact and gender impact. The key informants had a different questionnaire, which concentrated on the development impact and financial aspects of the project.

The scope of this study was qualitative. Therefore, the findings will provide an insight into the dynamics that have taken place from the time that the project started with the findings being based on selected areas. Since the sample size relatively small and was non-probable, no attempt was made to generalize the findings but rather to provide insights on the issues discussed based on the perspectives of the research subjects.

There were 5 key informants who were all employed by Zesco specifically to implement the projects. So, most of the workers of GTDP were Zesco employees which saved on costs of employing outsiders who would have been expensive as these people were already being paid. The 5 informants used started at different times of the project. Zesco employed two in June 1999 specifically for the project, but the other two were seconded

from Zesco to work on the project. The fifth informant was a lecturer from the University of Zambia and was contracted by Zesco to help in the collection of data and information that would help to attain the objectives of the project.

The objectives of the project were arrived at after a research institute called INESOR, from 1994 to 1996, conducted research and consultation by using Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). With this method, it allowed the villagers to fully participate in obtaining the objectives. In the context of PRA, the villagers were involved in community participation and capacity building from the inception of project.

4.2 SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC

The first part of the interview dealt with socio-demographic information of the respondents including name, gender, village, occupation and level of education.

4.2.1 Gender Distribution

Indra (1999) acknowledges that gender is a key relational dimension of human activity and thought informed by cultural and individual notions of men and women. Therefore it is important to discuss the gender distribution of the population in question. In terms of gender, out of the 20 villagers interviewed, 40% were women, while 60% were men. According to the Zambian census report (2000) the population of Southern Province is 1, 212,124 of whom 49.6 % are men and 50.4% are women. Though the population of women is higher then the men it is realized that the men participated more in the interviews.

Table 4.1: Respondents' gender distribution

VILLAGE	FREQUENCY OF MEN	FREQUENCY OF WOMEN	TOTAL
Siabbamba	4	1	5
Siambale	3	2	5
Sinafala	3	2	5
Sisyadombozia	2	3	5
TOTAL	**12**	**8**	**20**
PERCENTAGE	**60**	**40**	**100**

The table shows that there were more men than women used for interviews. Out of the 20 interviewed, 12 were men and the remaining 8 were women. The reason for the disparity was that the women had gone to cultivate their fields and most men were ready and available to be interviewed, as they did not have much to do. The interviews were conducted during the planting season and it is the women's job to plant since the men had already ploughed the fields. Therefore, the men were ready and available to be interviewed, as they did not have much to do.

4.2.2. Educational Level

Table 4.2: Respondents' Educational Level

Highest level of education	Frequency	Percentage (%)
No formal schooling	5	25
Primary education	8	40
Secondary education	6	30
Tertiary education	1	5
TOTAL	**20**	**100**

40% of the people interviewed showed to have acquired primary education but have not gone as far as secondary level. The reason was that in 1964, after Zambia attained independence Chipepo Secondary School was opened and became the first and only school offering post-primary education in the Valley and could not accommodate all the students and the distance for the nearby villages was too far and remained so until the 1990s. According to the census report of Zambia (2000) large segment of the Zambian Population remains uneducated and illiterate, 40% are educated and remaining 60% are illiterate. The problem of illiteracy is more common in rural than in urban parts of Zambia. Similarly, this was evident when one respondent stated that;

> I would have finished school if the secondary school was near but nearest school was about 30km so it was better to herd the cattle then spend the whole day travelling to school and come back tired and still be expected to do other activities after school. If I had finished school my life would have been different and that is why I would want the GTDP to introduce adult classes. (Respondent 2, 13th January 2007)

According to Manuh (1998) in many African countries, parents still prefer to send boys to school, seeing little need for education for girls. In addition, factors such as adolescent pregnancy, early marriage and girls' greater burden of household labour act as obstacles to their schooling. 25% of the respondents were completely illiterate, most of them being the women interviewed. The level of illiteracy remains higher among female than male population in Zambia especially in the Southern Province. The woman interviewed confirmed this;

> I would have gone to school if it were not for me being a woman. I was told to look after my siblings and clean the house while my parents went to cultivate the land and do other business. The reason that I was told that I should not go to school was that I was to get married soon and my husband would look after me so all I needed was to learn how to clean the house and take care of the young ones. (Respondent 16, 17th January 2007)

The remaining had basic education with 5% having obtained tertiary education. From this information, it can be noted that not a lot of people are educated in this area and this has been based on that fact that there are no high schools in this area.

4.2.3. Occupation Distribution

Table 4.3: Respondents' occupation distribution

Occupation	**Frequency**	**Percentage (%)**
Farmer	12	60
Headman	2	10
Housewife	3	15
Teacher	1	5
Student	1	5
Retiree	1	5
TOTAL	**20**	**100**

Farming is considered to be the source of livelihood in the southern part of Zambia. According to the Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, 2002-2004 75% of Zambia's population is engaged in agriculture, largely subsistence farming. This is evident to the results of the respondents that show that the majority 60% interviewed were farmers. These farmers considered themselves to be peasant farmers because they only ploughed enough for their families to consume though minorities obtain jobs in the rural areas. Many young people migrate to urban areas to seek wage labour, and there is some circular local migration to access seasonal wage labour available with large commercial farming enterprises. The other people interviewed were the Headmen 10% and housewives 15%. The women are usually housewives as they do not complete school and the only work they can do is farming and house chores. The other reason for this is that there are no jobs available in this area and have to travel to others towns with the qualifications that they posses. The other people interviewed had the occupation of teachers, students or were retired. The resettlers were promised by the colonial masters when they were displaced that schools would be built for them – primary and secondary but still there is only one secondary to cater for the growing population.

4.3 RESETTLEMENT

The construction of dams has endangered indigenous and rural communities living on ancestral lands and near ecosystems all in the name of development. Studies by Cernea (1996) and Scudder (1999) reveal that resettlement sites are often selected without references to the availability of livelihood opportunities or the preferences of the displaced people themselves. The displaced people have often been forced to resettle in resource-depleted and environmentally degraded areas around the reservoir, which rapidly lost their capacity to support the resettled population.

Cernea (1996) describes how most anthropological and sociological work on migration and resettlement began by providing ethnographic descriptions of development disasters. For example Colson and Scudder, began their academic work looking at dam development in the 1960s at the Kariba dam. Many development projects that require involuntary displacement of people generally have adverse economic, social, and environmental impacts on the displaced people. Homes are abandoned, production systems are dismantled, and productive assets and income sources are lost. Displaced people may be relocated to environments where their skills may be less applicable.

McDowell (1996:17) illustrates that many scholars are now moving away from this descriptive mode towards more policy focused and diagnostic research. Current priorities in resettlement research include rebuilding livelihoods, understanding legal frameworks and refining economic analyses. Scholars, including Cernea, argue that it is necessary to incorporate the risks of displacement into methodological models with objectives for restoring and improving incomes, housing, health care and education services (Cernea 1996b). When interviewing the villagers, it was discovered that none of the risks of displacement were considered for the people as they were simply put into the trucks and transported to relocated areas where no were houses constructed for them. This has been evident in a lot of projects as observed in the literature review in cases such as India, China and Mozambique where people were resettled without their consent and places of

resettlement did not meet basic human standards. The respondents stated that ample time was not given for them to prepare themselves to leave:

> We were given two weeks to get ready to pack our stuff so that they could take us to our new location and when we got here there were no houses for us. Imagine so we had to collect grass and sticks for us to build our houses. With the little money that they gave us we used it to buy some materials for building better houses (Respondent 5, 13th January 2007).

With years of bad resettlement, some conceptual models for planning resettlement have been developed by Colson, Scudder and Cernea. While the Colson-Scudder model describes behavioral responses to resettlement, it does not focus on the environmental or planning dimensions of development projects. Cernea (1996) argues that appropriate rehabilitation programs must incorporate project-planning mechanisms for restoring employment, housing and food security to resettled communities. The government still has not made housing and employment much of a priority. As seen by the objectives set by the GTDP, no housing policy has been set. Since the people were not resettled properly, the GTDP has tried to bring about some rehabilitation programs. One key informant expressed his views about why the GTDP was formed:

> What the government of Zambia is trying to do is to mitigate the negative impact the construction of the Kariba caused the people. The rehabilitation programs, which are uplifting the water system, agricultural incentives, clinics and other things, are going to have an impact on the people and they will know that they have not been forgotten. These people have gone through a lot in terms of being resettled and having their lives changed for the worst (Key informant, 18th January 2007).

The World Bank guidelines (2000) stipulate that displaced people need to be assisted with the move and during the transition period at the relocation site. However, it has been seen that resettlement is imposed on people and the conditions may completely transform their lives, evoke profound changes in the environment, productive activities, social

organization and interaction, leadership and political structure, and worldviews and ideology. In the sense that involuntary migration and resettlement are part of the means or outcome that is intentionally and usually state driven development projects and strategies. The phenomenon of resettlement is therefore fundamentally a political one, a clash of contesting interests involving the use of power by one party to relocate another. Reigning development models promote large-scale infra-structural projects and transform social and physical environments without the consent of the affected party.

The WCD report (2000:4) has shown that the Gwembe Tonga people of the Zambezi valley were displaced so as to pave way for the construction of the Kariba dam. Resettlement sites were invariably selected without reference to availability of livelihood opportunities, or the preferences of displaced persons themselves. Sometimes even temporary shelters were unavailable, and the first few months in the new site were spent in the monsoon rains under the open sky. House-sites were often much smaller than those which the resettled people occupied in the village, and temporary structures were made of tin or other inappropriate material and design.

While conceptual models, like Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR), looks at what happens to resettlement people which includes landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality and loss of access to common property and services (Cernea, 1998:47). The IRR model offers planners important advice for avoiding impoverishment and aiding reconstruction. However, projects are still designed without directly involving locally affected groups. While the dams and resettlement literature is full of case studies from around the world, there are still exceedingly few examples of "successful" resettlement projects where people have been empowered to reinvent their futures. The Nangbeto dam in Togo is one of the few successful resettlement programs (as acknowledged in the literature review chapter 2, page 25) and most programs have not implemented appropriate policies for resettlement.

Since the resettlement took place in 1956 to 1958, it was discovered during the interviewing that most people who were resettlement had either died or elderly. From the 20 interviewed only 20% were the original settlers while the other 80% were the second generation of the settlers.

Evidence gathered by this research has shown that the people were not resettled according to the World Bank guidelines, which stipulate that displaced people should be assisted with the move and during the transition period at the relocation site. According to Cernea (1999:12), resettlement sites are invariably selected with reference to availability of livelihood opportunities, or the preferences of displaced persons themselves. This was not the case of the Tonga people. Little consultation was done regarding their move and that is why they had found themselves in an area that was so different in terms of terrain from their previous site.

The resettlement plan aroused the Tongas' anger and caused strong anti-government feelings. Some were prepared to fight and even die for their land as they were being forced to leave their land. The WCD report (2000: xi) showed how the people reacted when they were told about their displacement. In June 1958, for example, a group of people in the chiefdom of Chipepo stoned a district commissioner. Three months later, in the same area, anti-resettlement protests culminated in violence when a group of men armed with spears, pangas, knobkerries and shields attacked a police party. In return, the police opened fire, killing 8 people and injuring 32.

According to the respondents, 75% claimed that their parents or grandparents told them that they were forced to get into the trucks and to be taken to the places that would not be flooded. 25% responded that they were told to move with no transport provided because they were near the land that they were allocated to. Key issues of concern linked to involuntary displacement are socio-economic impoverishment, human rights, citizen entitlements, and the relationship among the three. Typical adverse effects include the loss of livelihoods, loss of land rights and housing and loss of social networks, all of which contribute to the impoverishment associated with forced displacement. It is also

acknowledged that some of the more vulnerable – women, children, ethnic minorities and the landless – suffer disproportionately from these adverse effects. One lady illustrated how they were moved from the Zambezi valley to the Gwembe valley:

> Imagine being packed into the trucks like cows and we had to leave some of our animals so we did not have means of taking them with us. I didn't even want to leave as I would be leaving the life that I was used to. (Respondent 3, 13th January 2007)

Another man was a young boy when they were being resettled:

> My father told me that he had to walk a long distance so that he could move with his cows, am sure you know that we Tonga's, pride ourselves with cattle, as they never were providing transport for the animals. The cattle indicate to us how much wealth we have. (Respondent 8, 16th January 2007)

Though a removal truck was brought to take the people to where they were being resettled, little information was given about the new area. Furthermore, they were threatened to move and this led to the people to instigate an uprising during the construction of the dam as the dam was considered to be an enemy. In some instances, soldiers killed those who refused to leave their homes. The World Bank had financed the construction of the dam. If the financiers and government had provided for the resettlement plan of the project then all this may not have happened. The World Bank project Appraisal Report of June 1956 did not deal with or consider the issue of resettlement. Instead, resettlement of Africans is mentioned as one of the items under "Federal Hydroelectric Boards Costs" which included, among other things, water rights, wayleave and mineral rights. Good resettlement can prevent impoverishment and even reduce poverty by rebuilding sustainable livelihoods. Socially responsible resettlement is also economically beneficial because the heavy costs of poorly handled displacement extend well beyond the immediately affected population.

This is why even after it has been over 48 years; the people are still complaining because of the nature that they were moved from their land. Many express a sense that any disadvantages of resettlement are outweighed by the cost, especially the loss of fertile

land. This is because the land that they were resettled to is not as fertile and rains are erratic, which led to the land to dilapidate even further. This has been confirmed by Cernea (1999:12) who states that involuntary resettlement has led to environmental degradation and socio-political deterioration due to bad planning and execution by the developers.

4.4 COMPENSATION

With regard to compensation, Mathur (2003:14) stresses that compensation is a critical issue in any resettlement programme. Resettlement efforts will come to nothing if the affected people are not compensated adequately. Compensation has primarily addressed the loss of assets and property and not rights. The basis of compensation has thus been (i) legal ownership and (ii) individual claim. The general practice is to pay compensation for lost fixed assets like agricultural land at the prevailing market rate, calculated as an average of registered sales prices of land of similar quality and location in the recent past. Several authors have provided a definition for compensation. For instance, Shihata (1993: 8) views compensation as what the owner of property, unilaterally acquired by the government, receives in lieu of that property. It can be made in cash or in kind, and is usually based on a standard valuation provided by law. Compensation has largely been understood to refer to specific measures intended to make good the losses suffered by people displaced and/or negatively affected by the dam. Compensation usually takes the form of a one-off payment, either in cash or kind and is principally about awards to negatively affected persons (Bartolome *et al* 1999:4). However, this did not happen with the people whom the Kariba dam displaced because, at that time, the World Bank had no policy on how to compensate. In 1980, the Bank formulated an explicit social policy aimed at improving the handling of unavoidable resettlement operations with the view to avoiding the social and economic dislocation of relocated people. This policy now provides the basic guidelines, which every project the Bank finances must meet (Chalo 2000:44).

Though most of the people interviewed were not part of the people that were resettled during the construction of the dam, 25% of them claimed that their relatives were never compensated and 45% seemed to not know if their relatives were compensated. The remaining respondents 30% agreed that there was some form of compensation that was given either to them or their relatives. According to the Motion Report 2005 it had stated that the general prevailing view regarding the compensation package among the people resettled is that the money was neither adequate nor sufficient with the losses incurred due to resettlement, some people were enterprising and industrious and therefore made very good use of the compensation money. Some bought guns, especially the Grinner makes. Some of the money was used to pay outstanding debts of *lobola* (bride price) and yet others used it to marry their second or third wives, as they were now in a position to pay the bride price.

Since the displacement of the people took place in the 1950s (48 years ago), it was not easy to find people who were present during that period of time so as to interview them and get the true picture. From the people interviewed, 20% were compensated and were the only ones that were part of the people resettled there. It is evident that most people were never given compensation that would be adequate for them to lead a comfortable life. Compensation needs to be aimed at providing the displaced people with an opportunity to achieve a sustained improvement in their livelihoods. Compensation is best given in a form that provides an opportunity to the displaced people to become economically self-reliant and must be consistent with the noble aspiration of the community (WCD 2000:xxi). One man expressed his discontent of the money that he had received as compensation

> I was given 2 pounds as a man and the 5 pounds for the house and that was all that I was given. I was never compensated for the loss of land and animals that I had lost while coming here. The amount was not enough for me to start my life here, as this land here is hard for farming compared to the place we were before. (Respondent 3, 13th January 2007)

The above testimony shows that the people were not compensated according to what was due to them especially after losing the cattle, which was their primary source of livelihood. Compensation issues, as shown in the literature review of Lesotho Highland, Sardar Savorar and China, all show that the locals were not happy with how they were compensated and their payments were inadequate. As the literature has shown, most of the compensation payments cannot be compared or valued to the land, traditions and culture, which were inseparable from the river, and they have failed to prevent the fragmentation of communities. The planners however overlooked all these issues while planning the resettlement. This has also been evident with the Kariba dam people were resettled in areas that were small leading to places being over populated. These are some of the consequences of the compensation issues that have led to the formation of the GTDP. Women and children, as shown in the Literature review, have suffered more by being over looked and are usually not compensated or are given less compared to men. As Colson (1999:32) stated, in the Kariba dam resettlement exercise officials planned initially to allocate land to the heads of households (characteristically assumed to be men), as apparently has been the common practice on most resettlement schemes. The old woman equally expressed this:

> I was a young woman with a child and was only given a 90kg of maize to live on and that was all that I was given imagine I had a child to look after and all they gave me was maize. For how long could I survive on maize? I was so shocked that they expected me to live on a 90kg of maize. It could not even last me for 3 months. So I had to live off my relatives and they helped me to build my house. I did not receive any money but I heard that some were given money especially the men (Respondent 10, 16th January 2007).

This shows that the kind of compensation that was given to the people discriminated towards women who were not compensated in terms of money but only given food to sustain themselves. Women have been affected because of the greater dependence on common property resources such as grazing lands and forests. Common property is rarely eligible for compensation and rarely provided for at resettlement sites. The men were compensated as they were considered to be the heads of their houses. Children are

considered less and never compensated for, but instead are considered to be the responsibility of the head of the house. The headman, who was a child during the construction of the dam, commented about this:

> I was not given any compensation as I was young and where we were living was not far from here so we were told to move when they started filling the dam. Children were not compensated from what I had heard from the other people. We had to move with our things to the new place without any form of assistance from the government of the day. We were being forced to move without any form of compensation even the little money that the other people received could have been useful to us (Respondent 1, 13th January 2007)

It is evident that the issue of compensation was that not all people were compensated and those that were compensated were not adequately compensated. There was no proper *modus operandi* followed to pay the people affected during the displacement. Instead, some people were paid while others were not. As the responses show, the people were never happy with how the compensation issues were being handled, especially regarding the loss of animals. No compensation was given to the people for the animals lost during the resettlement period. Instead, the people missed out on a chance to participate in the economic benefits arising from the transformation of their land resources.

The government tried to compensate the people in 1960 after they were resettled but the compensation policy did not take into consideration the unforeseen losses that would be incurred by the relocated people, or the obvious losses. For example, the loss of the prized alluvial soils was more traumatic because those who possessed riverine gardens did not only lose their chance of cultivating dry-season crops forever, but also many of them lost the opportunity to grow tobacco, which was their age-old commercial and cash crop and crops like maize being the staple food. Unforeseen losses, which the compensation package did not take into consideration, included losses in livestock, which were very serious: somewhere in the range of £48 000 worth of cattle, goats and sheep were lost in accidents while in transit to the areas of resettlement (Chalo 2000:32).

Poor compensation policies led to a few people being compensated and others being left out. With the increase of the population from 35,000 to 170,000 people, the government thought it was wise to rehabilitate the villages and service deliveries. Though compensation and rehabilitation are different from village to village, the present government decided to rehabilitate the villages, as compensation would have meant to provide only to land and property owners who were displaced and to leave out the host population. This would have proven to be unfair to the host population who also had lost land and other opportunities to accommodate the resettlers. As person responded about how they were paid for their compensation.

> I would have preferred being compensated by the government because I would have done better for myself instead of the government trying to build clinics and schools. My family was never compensated and this has caused my family to be poor. (Respondent 5, 13th January 2007).

Another person:

> I think that the government should have paid us the money so that we use it according to what we want to use it for. I would have invested the money into a business venture and realize profit. I would have a better life and afford the things that I would want and send my children to school. (Respondent 10, 14th January 2007).

Nevertheless, rehabilitation provides to all those severely affected by the development projects. The mitigating issues that they had to work on were the Rehabilitation of the Bottom Road, the provision of a clean water supply, electrification, construction of schools, improving agricultural production, provision of technical assistance and health improvement.

4.5 FINANCIERS

The international banks such as the World Bank and other financial institutions readily finance most of the development projects. This has been evident in the Literature review that shows the five case studies of dam construction were easily financed in the name of development, though little money is allocated for the displacement and allocation of people.

Even though the project was initiated in 1996, it became operational in 2000 because the money was not made available until 2000 and the budget went up to US$26 million, but only US$12.5 was provided based on the 1996 budget. Questions on finance were basically targeted at the five key informants and the reason was that it was only the informants who were in charge of financial matters. The respondents or the local community were not given authority over finances.

The key informants all listed down the donors of the project as being the Zambian Government, Zesco limited, World Bank and Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA). The money was allocated according to the priorities set by the overall project and each financier pledged sectors of development of which they were interested in. the amount that was financed was US$12.5 million when the actual money budgeted for was US$26 million and the World Bank and DBSA provided the money to the Zambian government in form of a loan. The project coordinators aired their views concerning the WB financing the project:

> The World Bank and the Development Bank of South Africa loaned the money to the Zambian government when in actual fact what was supposed to happen is that they offer us a grant because the World Bank had financed the construction of the dam. It was their responsibility to adequately compensate the people (Key informant 17th January 2007)

Apparently this changed in 2005 when the World Bank changed the loan into a grant. The respondents indicated that the financiers had pledged money but did not fulfill what they

had promised and this led to projects being prioritized. As the key informant had indicated below:

> The money was not adequate for example while some money was set aside for road design, there was no money set aside for construction and this caused the locals to think that we did not fulfil want was agreed. (Key informant, Project Liaison Officer, 12th January 2007)

According to the World Bank (2005: 12), the cost of the Gwembe-Tonga components was grossly underestimated, primarily because no technical evaluation was undertaken during the appraisal process. There was no financial plan for this component at appraisal. It was, as a result, severely under-funded. The secured financing for the project was inadequate to cover all components. The cost over-run on the rehabilitation component was met through supplemental loans from DBSA and EIB, and by ZESCO through expensive commercial bank loans. The chiefs had expressed concern that Zesco was misusing the funds[12]

> The chiefs have complained that from the money that was collected US$12 million and only US$ 2 million want to minor projects that are not sustainable and the people are still suffering (Let the people talk program 22nd December 2006).

Although the project's efforts at rehabilitation and environmental management for the GT people have been only partially achieved, those components that were financed under the project are, for the most part, expected to provide significant results on the ground. However funding was far less than that needed to implement all of the physical components.

Unfortunately, because of budget shortfalls, only a fraction of the proposed programs have thus far been implemented. The World Bank contributed only a small "seed" grant

[12] Views expressed in a Zambian programme that aired on Phoenix radio station on the 22nd December from 9 hours to 11

of $3.5 million to the project, hoping that other donors would follow suit. Few actually followed suit like DBSA and IDA, which led to the funds to reach US$12.5 million. Less than half of the US$26 million budget had been raised. This led to misunderstandings between the facilitators and the villagers who did not believe that the money contributed to the amount of US$ 26 million was not enough to finish the project. According to one chief, all the money is being used on project personnel and vehicles and the money may be finished before anything is done for the Tonga people. Some of the vehicles bought for the project have already been written off in road accidents before any projects had been implemented on the ground (Chalo 2000:44).

The GTDP depended so much on the donors for funds and this led to disappointments, as they never fulfilled most of their promises. When they allocated the money, they would take long to release the money and, at times, this would lead to the increase of prices due to inflation and devaluation of the currency and, in turn, the money would be short at the time of purchase of material or labor. This has brought about misunderstandings between the project coordinators and the villagers, as they believe that the government of the day is using the money for other purposes.

4.6 GTDP AWARENESS AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Participation is not always considered as an explicit goal for development projects, but it was viewed to be important for the implementation of the GTDP. Participation has become a widespread and central principle of development activities. Putting people first in development projects means giving people more opportunities to participate effectively in development activities. It means empowering people to mobilize their own capacity, and to become social actor rather than passive subjects. Participation is intended to enable people to manage resources, make decisions and control the activities that affect their lives (Ismode 2000). During dam construction, little participation is incorporated with the local people (as illustrated in the literature review page 50), especially at the beginning of the project.

Numerous approaches to participation have evolved and processes vary considerably depending on the nature of the proposal, the stage of planning (from policy formulation through to detailed project planning) and the political and social context within which decisions are taken. Reviews on community participation in Zambia revealed that community involvement is common in the rehabilitating of social infrastructure. The literature (Ferguson 1999, World Bank 1995, Kumar *et al* 2005) shows that the need for community participation arose as a means to provide an opportunity for beneficiaries of development projects to play a role in project design, planning and implementation in order to ensure acceptability, success and sustainability.

The concept originated from the concern and realization that many failures in development efforts are due to lack of local participation in the conception and implementation of projects. Projects often were based on preconceived ideas of outsiders about what local problems are and how these should be solved. With this reason, the goals of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) have been used to maximize the skills, knowledge, expertise and analytical skills of village communities through a process of data collection, discussion of issues and possible solutions and the creation of an agreed community action plan that will not only include action by community members themselves, but also engage officials over an agreed timescale.

Zesco and the government responded by sending its staff to conduct an assessment meeting with local leaders, chiefs, village headmen and some community members to find out what the people in these communities considered to be important issues that should be included in the project. The government officials, Zesco staff and INESOR staff held the meetings in each village.

98% respondents interviewed agreed to have heard of the GTDP and acquired the information by attending meetings. One respondent highlighted;

> I had attended the meeting if I recall correctly it was held in 1996 and I was excited that at last the government of Zambia has finally heard our cry. We had suffered for such a long time. (Respondent 10, January 2007)

While 2% admitted to not having heard about it but only seen works going on and concluded that it was Zesco helping out. The respondents all knew what the project was about as they had attended the meetings in which they discussed what was important for their community. About 20% of the respondents indicated that their headmen or chiefs told them about the project before they had attended the meetings. The key informants (researcher from the University of Zambia) also pointed out that they had held individual meetings and group discussions with different communities and explained their mission by stating what the objectives of the study was. One informant commented that:

> During these meetings people were requested to identify the major problems they were faced with. After the identification simple ranking was used to prioritize the needs and possible solutions were agreed upon (Key informant, Researcher, 10th January 2007).

According to De coning (1995:217), in both physical projects and policy exercises, it is important that communities take part in the identification of needs, problems and priorities to be addressed. Full participation in decision-making on all facets of a project should be achieved. This was what the GTDP tried to achieve by having meetings with the local people in the initial stages of the project by using the PRA. Though the researchers had come with some of their ideas even before consulting the people, Njobvu (1997:17) stated in their report that the project was externally initiated and funded. The approach used was to involve the district council through central government, which uses its offices to ask the chief to tell his subjects to comply. One critical issue in regards to the above statement is whether consent or constant consultation is the type of participation that occurred in the GTDP.

The respondents mostly highlighted what the project was about according to their villages as each village had different projects that they had mentioned during the implementation

stage. 70% of the respondents indicated that they had participated in the project and 30% did not participate due to different reasons because they either did not believe that the project will start off or were skeptical as they considered the GTDP as a mere cosmetic interventions or was not strong enough due to health reasons.

The key informants also shared the same information concerning the participation at the initial stage of the project. Planning of the projects was done together with the locals as the researchers used PRA methods (semi-structured interviews, formal interviews, observation, focus discussion and group discussions) to generate information and identify community needs and development projects for the local community. The planning process was thus based on what the communities identified as priority problems. The locals were encouraged to participate in the projects through community sensitization, capacity building and creating employment opportunities. Participation of communities in projects has to be promoted to reduce poverty and improve the social and economic lives of the people. The major forms of participation in most of these activities was that they people worked because of the rewards given in cash or in kind which according to Kumar *et al* (2005:6) called it participation for material incentives people participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentives. One of the respondents indicated that work participation was only done when they were given a wage:

> We were being paid for the work that we were doing. Zesco paid us because most of the NGOs that come to this area usually paid us so we expected the same even though they told us that they expected us to contribute 25% to the projects. (Respondent 3, 13th January 2007)

In this type of participation, people have no stake in prolonging activities once the incentives end and that was usually the case when they were not paid them so they would downed the tools.

For the projects to attain its objectives, the villagers were provided with various forms of training. In terms of agriculture, they had to go to an agricultural college that offered short-term courses, agricultural loans and equipment and also hold workshops to show the people the transparency of the project.

The forms of participation that took place in this project could be seen as the three forms of participation as highlighted by Kumar *et al* (2005). Passive participation where local people were being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is based on information provided, shared and assessed by external "experts." Therefore, the information being shared belongs only to external experts. Participation in information, whereby participation was done by answering questions posed by extractive researchers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. Participants are informed of their rights, responsibilities and options, but were not given the opportunity to influence the proceedings, as the findings are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.

Participation by rural people in the community organizations and other institutions that govern their lives is a basic human right. If rural development was to realize this potential, the disadvantaged rural people had to be organized and actively involved in designing policies and programmes and in controlling social and economic institutions. However, the planners and facilitators of the project controlled finances. It has been seen that it was not the case with the locals, as they had to really push the coordinators for their wages. As stated by one respondent:

> We were never paid on time and if we were paid we had to threaten that we won't work and then we would be paid (Respondent 2, 13th January 2007).

This also brought about problems, as the locals believed that they should be paid even though the projects were done for their own benefit. As illustrated by the respondent;

> We got along fine but these people were never paying us on time. We had to down our tools for us to be paid which was not fair to our selves and the project. This

> project was for us to benefit but it would take over a month for them to pay us (Respondent 14, 15th January 2007).

The relationship between the locals and the coordinators was, at times, becoming a bit stressful especially in terms of money, which also led to the project not being completed on time as the locals would put down their tools until they were paid. Partridge (1993: 12) expressed that poor preparation of plans is the single most important reason for the failure of components in development projects. The project officers, according to the people, seemed not to be concerned with the people as they knew that their livelihood depended on their wages as they had to stop other means of obtaining money to sustain them and their families. Usually, however, the relationship between the locals and the project coordinators was good as stated by 80% of the respondents if they were paid on time. The key informants also indicated that the relationship was good though they also had other reasons that they stated to have had with the locals:

> Incorporating the locals in the project worked out quite well though the trust was only realized until later in the project as most of the locals believed that the government should be doing all the work as they had been used to things being done for them which has led to the dependency syndrome and expected so much from us. (Key informant, district liaison officer, 19th January 2007)

The "dependency syndrome" is an attitude and belief that a group or a community cannot solve its own problems without outside help. It is a weakness that is made worse by charity and handouts by the government or donors (World Bank report 1994: 3). This has been caused by 40 years of the government trying to mitigate the negative issues that the people have gone through by being displaced during the construction of the dam. Different development agencies have been offering food aid in the Gwembe valley and the end result has been the destruction of the little self-reliance that other development agencies are trying so hard to introduce by use of participatory and integrated approaches to development.

If an outside agency, be it the government, NGO or a mission, comes to a community and constructs a human settlements facility (for example, a water supply), it is natural for the community members to see it as belonging to the outside agency. When that outside agency goes away or runs out of funds, the community members will have no motivation to repair and maintain the facility, or to sustain the service. In order for a facility to be used, and used effectively by the community members, the community members must have a sense of responsibility and ownership together with the ability to take up the role of external support programmes. This is the only way to combat the dependency syndrome in the dependent communities. Development agencies and the GTDP are trying so hard to introduce the use of participatory and integrated approaches to development to create a sense of responsibility and ownership.

Community participation is one of the crucial components for this discourse. According to Bartolome *et al* (1999), participation through consultation with potentially affected people is essential for 'resettlement in development mode.' This indeed shows how crucial community participation is in development projects. If affected communities are not allowed to participate in the formulation and implementation of policies that will at the end determine their future, then surely the projects will not be successful. It is with this reason that the GTDP used the PRA method to implement the project. It was realized that community participation is increasingly being used in development activities as a means to provide an opportunity to beneficiaries of development projects to play a role in project design, planning and implementation in order to ensure acceptability, success and sustainability (MBB 1997:5). Many authors in the development realm (Chambers 1997, Rahnema 1997) pointed out that the overall purpose of participation is to increase poor people's ability to make decisions that will affect their lives. The GT people have lived their lives below the poverty line and most of them do not have any form of employment, as earlier seen in the chapter.

The GTDP felt that the people should be part of the project and also outline what it is that they want in their villages, which would mitigate the problems that they are facing since being relocated there. The community was expected to contribute 25% towards the

project in terms of manpower and providing raw materials especially building the schools and the clinics. This was to make the local people feel part of the project unlike the time when the dam was being constructed in 1958 when the people did not participate in the project from the conceptual to the end, as shown in the literature review. The implementation of community participation was aimed at creating a sense of ownership and commitment of the beneficiary community members in the project in order to ensure sustainability of the provided infrastructure. The study sought to establish the extent to which the villagers had participated in the decision of the project and implementation.

Communities were fully involved from the beginning of the project. Skilled workers from the area were employed on longer contracts and even the less skilled were employed and were paid to be motivated for the works.

A key informant indicated that the people themselves brought about the objectives that were attained thorough the discussions that were held.

> When the researchers first came that was in 1996, they held meetings with the people to find out what they wanted and from there they arrived to different objectives according to the villages. The villagers themselves indicated what they thought was important. So participation of the project by the villagers was from the initial set (Key informant, Project manager, 12th January 2007).

The people claimed to have attended the meetings initiated at the beginning of the project. These meetings were intended to inform the people about the project and what they expected from the project. This showed participation as being weak as the researchers had planned to inform the people of the development intervention that was taking place. Arnstein (1971:219) states how consultation as a form of participation can work out in practice. Consultation offers no assurance that citizen participation and ideas will be taken into account. What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they have participated in participation and what power holders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving those people.

The respondents also stated that not all the villagers fully participated in all the stages of the projects, but in other villages they believed that most people participated, especially in cases of carrying sand and stones in the construction of dams. However, in some instances, Zesco still did most of the major work and the villagers participated by being in committees groups. The respondents that participated were paid for the work that they did. 80% of the respondents stated that the villagers did participate in the projects and 20% stated that they never saw much participation of the people. The villagers were involved as workers in dam construction and collection of sand and stone.

The level of participation, which is seen in this project, was what Kumar *et al* (2005:6) called participation for material incentives. People participate by providing resources including labour in return for food, cash, or other material incentives.

The essence of participation was also to empower the people so that they felt a sense of belonging. The projects carried out were fully financed by the World Bank, Zesco and the government while the villagers had to put in manpower. The people felt differently about the levels of participation as stated by this respondent:

> Most of the people are happy but the others feel like they didn't participate that much 'cause they never got any money from the project and training was only offered to a few people (Respondent 12, 16th January 2007).

Others felt as if they were part of the projects since they participated in some of the projects:

> After participating in the project I feel like I am a part owner of the dam, because I was one of the people who had suggested that we construct the dam so my voice was heard (Respondent 16, 17th January 2007).

The key informants also agreed that the villagers fully participated in the projects. As there was training provided for the community to assist them in managing their projects, the respondents were trained in various disciplines like project planning, setting targets,

scheduling, budgeting, resource mobilization, conflict resolution and preventative maintenance of dams and agriculture. From the respondents interviewed, 25% of them were trained by the GTDP and Ministry of Agriculture. The project manager also indicated that the levels of participation had differed in the project.

50% of the respondents also belonged to committees while 30% did not but they were part of the people working, and 20% did not take part in the projects. The project had formed committees to help people to fully participate in decision-making though most of these committees never had much authority of how the projects should be going because they still had to get consent from the project liaison officers. The committees formed were the agriculture cooperatives, garden committees and dam committees, which in most villages visited are still on going. One respondent had indicated the advantage of the agriculture cooperative:

> Yes I belong to the agricultural cooperative and it is doing well as we have saved money for us to buy fertiliser and seeds for our members. We also offer loans to our members if they are in need of cash to buy or use money in relation to agricultural products. (Respondent 7, 14th January 2007)

The creation of the cooperatives and committees has helped the villagers in buying fertilizers and seeds to plant and also by maintaining the livestock with each village being given a boron bull to help in the reproduction of a better breed of cattle and to build a strong immune system. This shows that the creation of agriculture cooperatives has been the most profitable committee for the local people.

The villagers also stated that most of the projects implemented have brought about changes in their lives and would go a long way in alleviating the suffering of the people in the area who were initially forced to cover long distances in search of water for their cattle and other farming requirements. The distance that they had to cover to take their animals for water has been reduced from the Lusitu River, that is 10km away from Siambale village, and now they can draw water from a nearby borehole and animals have

dams like the Siambale dam where they can drink water from. With this water source close to the village, they no longer have to face such problems and this development has allowed them to grow green vegetables in their backyards, which has lessened the food shortages. The Siabbamba dam (Refer to appendix 1 page 140) is strategically situated to cater for nine villages with an estimated 200 households. One respondent confirmed that the dam construction has made their life much easier:

> Before the dam was built, we had to drive our animals to far off lakes and our animals used to die of thirst in the process because of the long distances we had to cover in the heat of the valley. As you aware this area gets really hot and the rivers dry up easily and the dams can store water (Respondent 4, 13th January 2007).

The rehabilitation and building of the clinics has made it easier for the villagers also not to travel miles to go to clinics. The rehabilitation of Sinafala Clinic, inclusive of housing units for health personnel, has been a successful story attached to the GTDP as Zesco Limited renovated the old health centre infrastructure and constructed additional buildings to increase the capacity of the institution. However, one respondent stated that the problem now prevailing is unemployment:

> Right now, there are only three members of staff; two nurses and a security officer. We need more personnel but professionals are shunning this place due to the poor transport infrastructure and the area here is not really good for people who are used living in developed areas like Lusaka where there is electricity. (Respondent 4, 13th January 2007)

Though one respondent did not agree with seeing any improvements as he claims that fertilizers was only delivered to him once and has not had a good yield.

Community participation (including contributions in money) is generally perceived positively as a necessary precondition for project success and sustainability. The Gwembe-Tonga project, by its very social nature, was conceptualized on this premise.

However, during the implementation phase, it became obvious that eliciting this participation was extremely difficult, primarily because project funding was, and still is, perceived as compensation for the historical wrongs done to them by the World Bank's participation in the building of the Kariba dam. This perception affected local people's willingness to participate in financing the project by providing resources in kind.

While interviewing the people about their participation in the project, it was questionable as to whether they had realized whether their input of this whole project was felt and if they knew how much participation they were supposed to have been involved in. As Ferguson (1999: 7) argues, participation provides a means of strengthening the ability of vulnerable groups to claim social, political and economic resources to meet their needs. This was never seen nor heard, especially when it came to financial and political issues. The only finance that they dealt with was money in the cooperatives and salaries that they had received for their work. When it came to politics, the politicians only showed up once in a while to promise the people what the present government would provide them compared to the previous government. This would lead people not to participate in projects as they thought that it was the governments' responsibility to provide for all their needs such as housing, food and social amenities.

From the information collected from both the respondents and key informants, it has been observed though participatory approach was used the level of participation was weak, as it did not really entail the local people to fully be in control and in charge of the projects.

4.7 DEVELOPMENTAL IMPACT

The debate on dams continued to be polarized. Proponents pointed out to the social and economic development demands that dams are intended to meet such as irrigation, electricity, flood control and water supply, while opponents point to the adverse impacts of dams such as displacement and the impoverishment of people (Sengupta 2001). De wet (2000:2) also states that while the construction of a dam may create benefits for certain categories of people, such as urban consumers or commercial farmers, it often

creates negative consequences for other parties. People have to move (resettlers). This in turn creates problems for the people who are already living in the area (hosts) into which others have to move. People below the dam have their flood-irrigation cultivation cycles disrupted by the altered flood-regime imposed by the dam.

Past resettlement programmes have presented a host of problems that have impacted on the successful social and economic restoration for affected populations. As illustrated in the literature review, these include inadequate delivery of housing, delayed compensation payments, as well as other service deliveries. Even though experience of development projects is targeted for developing countries where the majority is poor, rural-based and powerless, the implementers consider the people to be ignorant and not aware of the rights making it easier to move them, as they are less resistant.

The key economic risks to affected people are due to the loss of livelihood and income sources such as arable land, common property resources such as forests, grazing land, ground and surface water, fisheries, etc. and changed access to and control of productive resources. The loss of economic power with the breakdown of complex livelihood systems results in a temporary or permanent, often irreversible, decline in living standards leading to marginalization. Higher risks and uncertainties are introduced when diversified livelihood sources are lost. A loss of livelihood and disruption of agricultural activity can adversely affect household food security, leading to under- nourishment. Higher incidences of diseases associated with deteriorating water quality can result in increased morbidity and mortality. High mortality rates, immediately after involuntary resettlement in Kariba and Cahora Bassa dams, are cases in point.

As indicated above the lives of the Tonga people who were affected by the displacement by the construction of the dam, a Gwembe Tonga Development Project (GTDP) was commissioned. It carried out an assessment of all the persons who were displaced before the project started. To mitigate some of the hardships of the people, the project has been involved in service delivery of safe portable water through the drilling of boreholes,

construction of roads and providing grinding mills, to mention but a few. This has resulted in the improvement of the social-economic status of the community.

The essence of development projects is to improve the lives of the people who are implementing the projects so as to bring about self-sufficiency, self-reliance and self-dependence within the Zambian community and environment. It is important to find out whether the GTD project had an impact on the locals and how this has changed their lives. The project had impacted the people differently in this study area according to what they had indicated and what was achieved by the implementation of the project. Those who gained from development view it differently, but it was disruptive and painful to those affected negatively by it.

Most the respondents interviewed knew of the projects that were on going in the area, even those done by some NGOs and the ones engaged by the GTDP. They were four villages whose names are Simbale, Siabbamba, Sisyadombozia and Sinafala and each village had different projects being implemented as requested by the locals themselves. An overview of the projects that were implemented consisted of rehabilitating one health clinic and constructing four, carrying out a program to control the spread of malaria, bilharzias, cholera and HIV/AIDS, providing technical assistance and supplies in supporting agricultural development by carrying out a pilot program of rain and land harvesting, land conservation and constructing six dams and weirs. These are the projects being implemented in the villages and were visited by the researcher.

4.7.1 Agriculture

Affected communities such as the people in India have rejected most resettlement sites in countries where people have been displaced. Some of the main reasons for rejecting the resettlement sites have been that: the land was rocky and incapable of supporting crops; there was no provision for agricultural land; that there was no provision for alternative livelihood; -there were disputes over title to the various house plots; that Multiple assignments were made of the same tracts of land to affected villagers. A trend in dam

displacement is that people who are farmers are relocated to areas that are not suitable for farming

The GT people were used to agricultural practices where they cultivated alluvium fields for many generations. The resettlement further dictated changes in the land tenure system. The majority of the people in the Gwembe Tonga valley are peasants who earn their livelihood almost exclusively from agriculture. They are involved in both grain crop farming and domestic animals. The agricultural component was aimed at improving food security among the people. With this reason, the GTDP thought it was wise to include the agricultural aspect with the concerns raised by the people during the consultation period

> We were given fertilizer and taught how to cultivate in areas that are drought prone, this has helped us to increase our food security when before we had to ask for hand outs from the government (Respondent 20, 17th January 2007)

Agriculture was considered to address household food security by improving farming methods and systems to improve the crop/pastoral output a crop diversification. The majority of the people in the Gwembe Tonga valley are peasants who earn their livelihood almost exclusively from agriculture. They are involved in both grain crop farming and domestic animal. The project manager highlighted this:

> 369, 000 dollars was spent on consultancies of agricultural components namely irrigated, recession and preliminaries to land management (Project manager of GTDP, 12th April 2007).

Training was being offered in agriculture skills in all four villages visited. The project trained the community people by conducting seminars and the continuous Agricultural Extension approach. In both approaches, the project worked with the Ministry of Agriculture as a partner in training the people at their colleges that were offering short courses in animal husbandry and agriculture. Since Gwembe valley is drought prone, new varieties of crops were introduced like cassava and sorghum, which can survive in the dry season. The people who went for the short courses offered also had a chance to learn how to deal with cooperatives and they headed these cooperatives. New animals were also

introduced like the donkeys and goats that can survive in drought prone areas. A new breed of bulls called the Boran was also introduced so as to improve the cattle breed that already exists there. The project coordinators have led out what had been done in the agricultural sector:

> A total of 81 agricultural cooperatives were established and trained to support the program. 12,000 farmers received agricultural input, including 30 imported bulls distributed for the breeding improvement program, and drugs to improve livestock health (Key Informant Project Liaison Officer, 12th April 07).

The GTDP offered them an agricultural revolving loans scheme that has improved their household food security level. For example, after paying back their loans to the project, they were able to remain with enough food supplies for the families and sell the surplus. Those who did not benefit from the loans benefited indirectly because they were able to buy grain locally from those who had benefited from the scheme. The project had a great impact on the lives of the communities in terms of the agriculture produce as the farmers appreciated the loans, especially which the conditions of payment were made flexible for the farmers:

> Getting the loans has really helped me because the previous year we had experienced low rain fall which led to our crops dying and my family and I would not have survived had it not been for the loans that we are getting from GTDP and we have to start paying the loan back so that we can benefit from loans even next season (Respondent 7, 14th January 2007).

Employment opportunities existed for the skilled personal as they were paid for their services and the locals were empowered with the knowledge through training that was offered by Zesco, especially in agriculture.

4.5.2 Water rehabilitation

In Nangbeto, Togo people had better access to water via pumps than before resettlement, but the pumps are over-used and repeatedly break down, with the result that the water supply is now worse than before moving. This was the case when the GT people were

resettled to Gwembe valley. Some of the infrastructure was put up but there was no maintenance. The water infrastructure was fine but years of use had led to the dilapidation of the water works.

The valley is characterized by low average rainfall and is prone to drought. It is for this reason that water facilities were to be improved, such as the Lusitu and Sinazongwe water works which were constructed in the 1960s. In this case, the need for boreholes was to provide the population with sustainable water systems and also reduce the incidence of water borne diseases. Safe drinking water has been made available, as more boreholes have been drilled in most of the villages. However, in some villages it was discovered that the area was so drought prone that even when they drilled 30 feet down there was no water. The other problem faced was the alkaline (ph) of the water. It was discovered that the ph was high so that meant water was not safe for drinking, as it was acidic. Water was one of the most important issues that were discussed during the implementation of the project because water was previously in abundance as they lived by the river and then relocated far away from the water. The rehabilitation of the water pump has brought about changes, especially to the women and children in the villages as stated by one informant:

> Siambale is so drought prone that during the dry season we had to dig for water by the river as the river was dry. This used to take up most of the day now with the water pump life has been made easier because water has been made readily available and now we can do our chores without worrying whether we will manage or not. (Respondent 5, 14th January 2007).

There were 10 dams to be constructed in the valley for irrigation and livestock watering. The estimated costs of the dams came to USD$8 million but, due to lack of funds, only three dams were constructed. The Siambale, Siabbamba and Sijekeke dams were constructed and the amount of money spent was US$2 million. The project was funded by DBSA. The construction company called Knight Piesold (Zambia) constructed the dams. The Siambale and the Siabbamba dams were constructed at about the same time. The works started in 2004, though they were slow due to finances and finally completed

in April 2005. Construction of the dams was mainly for livestock. The Tonga people have a lot of livestock because they believe that their animals, especially cattle, can measure their wealth in society. That is why it was important to include the livestock in this project and help them by building dams to facilitate the animals with water:

> The construction of the dam in this area has been welcomed. We now have water for our animals for the whole year we don't have to travel kilometers to the Lusitu or Zambezi River. During the dry season it was worse because we now had to cover more kilometers to get to the river. We also use the water to water our vegetable gardens that we have cultivated near the dams (Respondent 6 January 2007)

4.7.2 Clinics

Access to quality health services in the Gwembe valley was very poor and the existing structures required renovations. The IDA in particular funded this project and it had two blocks, namely a consultation/treatment block and a maternity ward. Five staff houses were provided with solar lighting. The local skilled workers that were employed by the Zesco constructed the clinic in Sinafala. It took two years to finish the works of the clinic and the staff houses. The construction of the clinic in Sinafala and other clinics in the valley cost 2 billion Zambian Kwacha, which is equivalent to about US$500, 000.

Most of the rural communities of Zambia are faced with health service problems and Sinafala and other villages were no exception. The community had no health centre and the people had to travel approximately twenty kilometres to the nearest centre as estimated by the locals. One respondent highlighted the benefits of the rural health center:

> The presence of the Rural Health in the area will help to facilitate teaching of primary health care and opening of the clinic has reduced walking distances from the nearest clinic and especially for our women they don't have to travel long distances to deliver babies and taking children to the clinic. (Respondent 7, 14th January 2007)

The villagers participated in building the clinic by bringing in sand, stones, water and labour, while GTDP provided the materials for construction and built the clinic with the staff from Zesco. But, as already stated, this was not full participation, as the villagers did not take part in decision making of the building of the clinic and handling of finances. The construction of the clinic has saved a lot of lives in the area, especially women as there is a maternity wing and the children can be vaccinated.

Health centres are few and understaffed therefore a large portion of the population receives inadequate health care. As most of Zambians are not within normal walking distance of health centres, placing accurate and consistent health services in the hands of the families and individuals, and making them realise better health was within their power, to assist with this as earlier eluded in the descriptive section that, the community development project embarked on improving the health conditions of the people.

4.7.4 HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS program was implemented to reduce the spread of the disease in the area. Despite some awareness about HIV/AIDS among the local people, polygamous / inter-marriages are normal and are accepted by both men and women. The GT people practice polygamy and most of them are in polygamous relationships now in this age of HIV/AIDS, when one marriage partner is infected with the ailment, the rest of the spouses get it. Hence illness, death and eventually orphans are created. The amount to implement the awareness program was USD$44,000 and 4 consultants were engaged to do the mass awareness. One of the projects that the people did not acknowledge as being of benefit to the people was the HIV/AIDS program. The researcher observed this as the respondents listed the items that had an impact on their lives. None of the respondents ever stated that having the HIV/AIDS program had changed their lives in anyway. Two respondents had affirmed that there was no need to have this program since it was being offered by other NGOs and it was a waste of money. The money would have been used on something that would be useful. This program could be questioned as to whether it was called upon the people or it was part of the donors' conditions of granting the loan.

Some respondents expressed concern regarding why certain projects were being carried out:

> Why should the GTDP have HIV/AIDS program when organisations like World Vision and UNDP are bringing the same programmes. They should have first asked us whether we wanted another HIV/AIDS programme. It was just a waste of money. That money could have been used for something better like rural electrification (Respondent 10, 16th January 2007).

When stating the needs of the people, which were identified during the meetings, HIV/AIDS was not included. The objectives of the GTDP do not indicate the necessity for an HIV/AIDS programme and that is why it has been presumed that it could have been that the financiers included it without the consent of the local people. It is with this reason that the local people have been against this program. One respondent explained that:

> HIV/AIDS is a personal issue that borders on individual decision at the end of the day but I would like to believe that it has had an impact. (Project Manager 12th April 07)

4.7.5 Electrification

The people were displaced to the Gwembe valley for the development of electricity but have not benefited from the use of electricity. This has happened to a lot of people that have been displaced in other countries such as India and Lesotho. The project manager had highlighted the work progress of the electrification process by stating that they had constructed 110 km of lines that are strung to provide electricity to communities along the lakeshore. The amount spent was ZMK1.3 billion, but the inner villages still do not have electricity. In addition, four clinics, a number of elementary schools, and one secondary school have been electrified. Moreover, solar powered water pumps have been installed for a number of community drinking water wells. The availability of electricity has also improved commercial activities in the communities along the stretch of the

power line through the connection of shops and milling plants. Other people have benefited from the electricity supply, especially chiefs:

> Whoever imagined that one day we would be able to access electricity? This time, we have electricity even in our homes and the locals in this area now have a choice, as there are more hammer mills available using electricity and this has ultimately led to a reduction in the prices being charged for the service of grinding maize. (Respondent 12, 15th January 2007)

The lack of roads on which vehicles could transport poles and materials, as well as the lack of funds from the Rural Electrification Fund, has severely limited the expansion of the electrification program. Some of the areas where the roads could not permit the trucks to transfer poles are using solar panels for electricity. Places like Sinafala clinic have solar panel (Refer to appendix 1 page 140). About $12 million will be required to complete the remaining electrification program.

With all these installations of electricity, 50% of the respondents questioned had stated that they thought they would benefit from electricity not only schools and clinics, but for their homes as well. One respondent stated:

> It is not fair that after being displaced we have not benefited from electricity that caused us to move. We are still depending on charcoal and candles. We also need lights like you people in the urban areas. We want to watch TV and have access to cell phones as well (Respondent 5, January 2007).

It has been observed in the literature review that most of the people displaced in India, Mozambique and some places in Lesotho have not benefited from having electricity in their houses. Some of the local chiefs expressed disappointment in the project, especially the long delay in actual benefits for the communities. According to one chief, all the money is being used on project personnel and vehicles and the money may be finished before anything is done for the budget. About 50% (12.3 millions USD) was secured in December 1999. Some of the vehicles bought for the project have already been written

off in road accidents before any projects have been implemented on the ground (Chalo 2000:44). These comments came about because there was less participation and full involvement of the people in the project. If they had access to financial records, the chiefs could not have made these comments. In addition, the chiefs have come together stating that all has not gone well according to what was promised as was aptly articulated in the national newspaper:

> Seven chiefs from the Gwembe valley have called on the British government to explain the current position of the Gwembe Tonga Development Project that ended without achieving its intended purpose (Times of Zambia newspaper 25th June 2006).

The chiefs said the project had not achieved anything for the people of the valley who were displaced to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam. The people who were appointed to manage the project only succeeded in managing their personal lives at the expense of the intended beneficiaries:

> The project was a total failure because we still don't have electricity. The bottom road is still not constructed despite the promises. It has done nothing in our areas and people are still waiting for the promises. (Chief Chipepo, Post Newspaper 2007).

The research reveals that not all development projects were fulfilled by the GTDP as promised and the chiefs are not that happy with the development. The projects were only implemented when the donors made the funds available.

4.7.6 Gendered Impact

Gender is a powerful social and cultural construct determining the ways in which social relations are structured between men and women. It constitutes the entire ambit of relations that govern the social, cultural and economic exchanges between women and men in different arenas from the household to the community, state and multi-lateral

agencies. In the past few decades, there has been a growing recognition that development processes such as economic growth are not gender neutral. There is a significant gap in the ways in which the fruits of development are distributed. During resettlement, both men and women experience disempowerment but women are more often affected. Studies by Burfisher and Horestein (1985) reveal that developmental programmes always have more negative impact on women than men. Men are amenable to the negative impact than women. Moreover, studies by Scudder (1999) show that women often lost their land without compensation during displacement and resettlement since they are not culturally recognized as landowners. Similarly, this was cited by one of the women interviewed;

> When we were told to move no form of compensation was given to me as a woman. It was believed that since I am a woman my male relatives would provide for me. Men in our society are recognized as custodians of land so I had to work on my brother's land until I got married. (Respondent 15, 16th January 2007)

During the resettlement, the women lost their land and were never compensated as they also lost their land rights according to the developers. This is because the kinship system, which enshrined and protected women's rights, has been ignored. According to the GTDP report (2001:8), the traditional GT ethics emphasized an egalitarian ideology with adults, especially men, having much autonomy. When decisions had to be made, those involved sat together for discussion, negotiation and decision. Men sat separately, usually in kinship groups, while women sat on one side. Men first discussed, but formally communicated their discussion and conclusion to the women who in turn had a say. This was taken back to the men who took the women's advice into consideration. This would mean that the men could either consider or deny the women's advice.

Gender deals with the relationship between people of different sex although the emphasis is on the social rather than the biological difference. Gender issues need to be looked at in the intervention stage as they can affect the nature of the outcomes. According to the report prepared by the institute of economic and social research of Zambia, men have a

monopoly over making decisions and taking responsibilities in all matters relating to projects that they do together with women. However, the women will take responsibility for leadership and decision-making in projects that are exclusively for women. Women and men have different needs and they relate differently in any given circumstance. In development projects, women's special needs are easily excluded. Gender relations within the society usually take the form of male dominance and female subordination. Males enjoy a greater share of decision-making, while women remain with a lower status.

Most women did take part in projects, which were woman focused like the collecting of sand and water and taking part in agricultural activities. 65% of the respondents indicated that women were in decision-making committees especially in agriculture groups and social welfare clubs. One lady felt that the project had brought about change and that their ideas as women were being heard:

> Some of the ideas that we had requested for were listened to like the introduction of the pumps. That is one of the ideas that we are proud of and the men listened to us. (Respondent 7, 14th January 2007).

Limbwambwa (1998), she stated that there were deliberate efforts made to have women take part in decision-making positions on these committees. This is because the needs assessment study also found out that those committees headed by women or with women in decision-making positions completed their assignments on time and within the budget. This shows that women were included because they had proven to be more efficient than men.

While 20% of the people interviewed stated that they never saw women in decision-making committees, this could have been that they belonged to committees and did activities that involved no women especially the dam committees. The other 15% had no idea whether the women were in committees, as they never really participated in the projects. Work was divided according to gender as the women were given work, which was easy for them to do such as carry sands, stones and loan committees.

Most literature states that integrated development projects must incorporate the perspective of equality between the sexes throughout the constructive process. This has been shown by the UNEP (2003) who have taken an approach which support both project efficiency and concern for gender equality by taking steps to understand the differences and relations among and between women and men in each specific context under consideration. Action carried out in this regard are not limited only to questions of women and their organization since gender relations have an impact on all social relations, all activities and all moments of everyday life. This has not been the case in the projects listed on which the women fully participated. The women interviewed stated that most of them did participate in the projects and the men 80% did agree, while others stated that they never saw women participate. The women basically helped in the stone collection, agriculture and drawing water for the construction of the clinic and school. Mostly, the respondents stated that the women were in the agricultural sector as it is easier for women since this has been part of their livelihood. As has been indicated, there was a woman's group in Siabbamba, which took care of the gardens and were taught how to improve their gardening. The garden group, as they called it, was for women to get together and share ideas regarding how to maintain and cultivate their gardens and sell their products. They also belonged to agriculture cooperatives. This respondent was a bit skeptical about women participation:

> I never saw any woman in any committee but maybe in their agricultural groups, for I never participated in any of the agricultural groups (Respondent 10, 17th January 2007).

One-woman respondent belonged to a committee

> I was in the agricultural committee and most of us were women, especially in the garden committee which was an all women's' group. The women were given responsibilities that men thought we could handle. (Respondent 4, 13th January 2007).

Another woman commented that:

> Yes, though the women were only found in agricultural committees not the other committees that involved manly work. They said that the projects were gender sensitive and that is why they put us in committees that they thought the women would benefit from (Respondent 14, 18th January 2007).

Inasmuch as they were claiming to be gender sensitive, it was discovered that the women were only allowed to work in activities and committees that did not require too much responsibility.

In the interviews, 40% of the participants showed no knowledge of whether the women's concern were heard as this could have been that they were not in the same committees as the women or were not in any committee. Another 35% of the respondents agreed that the women's concerns were heard and cited examples of the construction of the clinic in Sinafala village and the request of treadle pumps to be used for the gardens made near the dam in Siabbamba Village. The remaining 25% simply stated that no concerns raised by women were heard and this could just show that they were ignorant of the decisions, which were being made by the villagers, especially the women.

In this component most of the work was divided according to gender though it can be seen that the women tried to participate as much as possible in the project. But, due to the nature of the projects, women could only belong to certain committees. Since female literacy is much lower than male literacy, it has been noted that capacity building and training targeted at women to enable them to gain skills in various kinds of income generating activities was introduced, but more emphasize needs to be placed on strategies that support the integration of women to the planning of support system.

4.7.7 Environmental Degradation

One of the major consequences and problems associated with the construction of the Kariba Dam has been the shortage of arable land. The shortage of land has been ever growing and was exacerbated by the loss of riverine gardens and other types of fields. As a result, cases of overcrowding in some new areas were reported hardly a year after the move. The government officials involved in the resettlement programme were well aware that much of the land was of poor quality and could erode easily. In spite of this knowledge of the situation in the area, they went ahead to resettle people. The land population equation was thus highly unbalanced, with densities ranging from 100 to more than 300 persons per square mile in some resettlement areas. By the late 1960s, Scudder was able to identify over-cultivation as a cause of soil degradation in many parts of the valley (Scudder 1973: 24). During the dry season, Siameja and Lusitu resemble the Sahara desert.

The inevitable consequence of inadequate land has been the chronic food shortages and, in some years, famine conditions have prevailed. This has been due to the fact that because of scarcity of land, the traditional Tonga system of land use, which requires that the land lies fallow for some years, has not been possible. As a result, soil nutrients have been quickly depleted, resulting in poor yield returns even in a good rainfall season. The situation became worse in the 1980s through the 1990s because of chronic droughts that ravaged the southern African region. The situation was worse in the valley because the area is naturally semi-arid (Chalo 2000: 35).

Concerning environmental issues**,** no environmental impact assessment study was carried out at the time of the project planning, so the construction of the dam has created a number of environmental problems including where the people were displaced and where the dam was constructed. The population of the Zambezi valley has grown considerably in the forty years since the dam was built.

This is the reason why the GTDP had to include ways of mitigating the environmental degradation. Though the key informants had different views of overcoming

environmental degradation in this area, it is a drought prone area. Some of them highlighted that the project tried to encourage voluntary migration from the degraded lands to the plateau, which had more arable land, though rocky, and transport was provided for the migration. The others indicated that the community was also to encourage the practice of conservation farming, which they were taught in terms of shifting cultivation and planting crops that can grow in drought prone areas. The project manager had highlighted that land degradation is a continuous act as long as the people are staying in the area. So, in terms of project activities, this was not really implemented. One manager said that:

> The reason for this component not being implemented because of lack of finances however even if it was not implemented I must mention here through the different agriculture component the aspect of taking care of the land and using constructive farming methods to avoid land degradation were emphasized upon and I should say that aspect has born fruit in the sense that people of in the valley are aware that if they grow crops on the slopes know which direction to cultivate (Project manager 12th April 2007).

One of the coordinators indicated that the government had introduced certain policies in the community in an attempt to mitigate the depletion of the land.

4.8 Challenges

The whole concept of the GTD project was to mitigate the negative impact of the resettled from their land for creation of the dam after all those years was a good idea but it also came with different challenges that were never expected. There were various changes that the key informants faced during the implementation of the project. Two coordinators had indicated that the locals did not trust the aims of the project and were hostile towards the project. The locals considered that the government was responsible for them as this led to the dependency syndrome which one coordinator indicated to be the problem with the Gwembe Tonga people. The other challenges that were faced were the road leading to the villages. It was quite impassable and only the 4 x 4 vehicles were

used. Three of the coordinators stated that they were having financial constraints, as the donors were not fulfilling their part of the bargain. This even led to some projects not being achieved and completed and the project to take long as they donated their money late.

The challenges were both felt by the project coordinators and the local people was political interference. The politicians, at times, interfered by promising the local people more then what the GTDP would provide so as to attain election votes, especially during the election period. The project manager highlighted the challenges that they were faced with:

> Biggest challenge of the out come of the whole project has been the bottom road which had to be planned, designed, cost, packaged and implemented that process unfortunately that part without the last part being attended to and that was worsened with the aspect of land mines to me was a challenge that was the project that the people looked forward to and that component aspect always came out in meetings that people as brought up the issue and there was no money. (Project manager 12th April 2007)

Another respondent said that:

> We would have also liked to see an adult centre and secondary school built, as this would improve the level of literacy in this area. Most of us have never finished secondary school because of the lack of one and the nearest secondary school is about 25km (Respondent 7, 14th January 2007).

Apart from the road not being constructed, it also had land mines, which were planted during the Zimbabwean Liberation war when it was fighting for independence before 1980. This incidence had attracted the attention of the government and formed the Zambia Mine Action Centre, which completed the de-mining operation along the bottom road.

All the five coordinators stated that the project did bring about change in people's lives and other objectives have not been met like the rehabilitation of the main road and rural electrification. One coordinator indicated that most of the projects that were not worked on would be achieved by including them into the Fifth National Development Plan of Zambia.

The other challenge that they were faced with was dealing with people that were displaced a long time ago and were expecting to be compensated, when money was borrowed and to improve their lives. This money was only accessed after a period of time, which led to loss of time.

The coordinators all agreed that even though the locals were not fully satisfied with some projects, life has changed and has generally uplifted the standard of living to some extent. Some cooperatives are able to procure inputs using the seed money left by the project. Communities now have safe drinking water and also water for their livestock. Electrification of the school and clinics has improved the attendance of students and they can spend more time studying.

Most of the respondents 80% expressed satisfaction with some of the projects that were implemented at that particular time. They had also indicated that though they were satisfied with the projects, there were still other programs that they would have wanted to see implemented. The other 20% indicated that they have not yet seen nor benefited from the projects, especially with the dam in Siambale village, because this year (2007) was the first time it was getting filled with water. The people said that they participated in the project by bringing sand and stones at the site and for the people who were doing work on the basis of being paid. With the projects finished, some respondents sounded a bit skeptical about the project:

> I can't really say that am happy with the projects because this is the first time the dam is having water. I am more interested in having water for my cattle, so as long as there is no water I don't have much to say (Respondent 1, 13th January 2007)

Others were too excited as they got other benefits from the project, like a salary as indicated by the respondent below:

> It was nice to work for the GTDP as I was getting an income and supporting my family even though at times they would delay in giving us our salaries, but it felt nice to have a job that was different from what I was doing and I did not have to leave my family to go and look for work (Respondent 8, 14th January 2007).

The impact the project had on the people was that it created jobs for the few that were able to work by means of 'participation by material' and it seemed to have motivated the workers, as they knew they were getting a wage.

From a project implementation experience review gathered from the respondents, it was noted that 50% of the respondents would have liked to see the bottom road completed. This would spur local development and connect the villages to the main towns in the region. The road would bring about trade, an increase in fishery and tourism and, in turn, improve the livelihood of the people and bring economic empowerment through trade. This road connects the districts of Siavonga, Gwembe and Sinazongwe. The objective to rehabilitate that road was to improve communication within and outside the Gwembe valley. It covers a distance of 721km (Refer to Appendix 1 page 141). Concerning the Bottom road, a lot of meetings were held on the funding for the construction during 2003 and 2004, though no progress has been made. The respondents highlighted the need for the bottom road, which they had considered to be a top priority:

> What the government is doing is very good though they still have not worked on the bottom road, which is the most important thing that they should have done. The road would bring about development in our village. Right now people are failing to come here as you might have seen when you were coming here. The road is bad and if they would work on it more shops would open, tourism, fishing and agricultural (Respondent 13, 17th January 2007).

The key informant also expressed disappointment of the bottom road as they stated that there was not enough money for them to construct the road. According to the World Bank Report (2006:6), the engineering design is completed, but physical works have yet to pick up in a significant way due to financing constraints. Because of the significant funding required, about $127 million, there is the risk that construction may fall further into abeyance if there is no strong government commitment and concerted momentum behind its implementation. A project manager commented that:

> We had done preliminary works for the road and that was funded but there was no money set aside for the construction of the road. (Key informant, Former Project Manager, 12th January 2007)

The other key informant who was the researcher from University of Zambia had highlighted that:

> The chiefs and villagers have seen the need to continue this programme that is why they have called for it to continue though the government claims not to have money. One good thing that has arisen is that they have included the construction of the Bottom Road in the Fifth National Plan (2006-2010). (Key informant 11th January 2007)

The other projects that the respondents had indicated that they would have liked to be implemented were the electrification of houses, building more clinics or health centers nearby the villages and especially secondary schools and adult literacy classes. They're still a number of things that are needed in these villages. For the villages to be more peri-urban there is so much still that should be carried out. The people would also like to benefit from the construction of the Kariba dam in terms of electricity and basically developing the area.

> It is not fair to see pylons passing over our head and heading to other places like the Copperbelt and Lusaka despite their proximity to the project, we do not have electricity in our houses and we have to fight for electricity to be brought to us. (Respondent 10, 16th January 2007).

Participation should focus on the beneficiary community and they should also be involved in the direction and execution of projects and this is the only way that development can impact the villages positively. This has not been the case of the GTDP. The finances were handled by the GTDP and this caused a problem of the villagers not having a right to agree or disagree with the priorities of the projects.

50% of the respondents agreed that their expectations were met as promised by the project, though they were skeptical about the project as they indicated that they had to wait to see if the project would take off since many times they were promised and nothing came to pass. 20% stated that what they really wanted was never implemented like the rehabilitation of the bottom road and the electrification of the villages, not only the schools and clinics. Since that area is drought prone, one of the major issues that they also wanted to see was irrigation system so that they do not only depend on the rains and water canals that would bring water from the lake Kariba, but the GTDP failed that. They failed to complete the irrigation scheme in Sinazongwe district and this has affected the agriculture activities. This was highlighted the Post Newspaper.[13]

> According to some farmers, the GTDP failed to complete the rehabilitation of the canals and at site revealed that the already made canal had cracked and heaps of concrete slab were abandoned. (Post Newspaper, January 19, 2007).

From the respondents interviewed, 20% criticised the project by stating that it has not fully implemented what they thought it would. As stated by a woman interviewed:

> The Clinic constructed in Sinafala is far from here we needed to have one here in Siambala. We still have to cover long distance to get there as it is about 18km

[13] Local newspaper in Zambia

> and we want to also have adult literacy classes so that we can speak English like you (Respondent 5, January 14th 2007).

What they really wanted has not been implemented and the stakeholders of the project claimed that the most important component of the project was the construction of the bottom road and the electrification of the Kariba lakeshore as to help them in the fishing industry. The respondent also stated that they would have liked to receive more training in terms of dam maintenance and agricultural productivity. Since the project has ended, no one will be able to help them so they needed the technology know-how.

The projects listed above have been handed over to the villagers with the full authority to utilize the projects in conjunction with the relevant ministry to over look in terms of maintenance or staff like teachers and nurses. Even though the projects have been handed over by the GTDP to the local people, it seems like the local people are not yet ready to take up the responsibility. During the interview period, it was observed that when the people saw the vehicles used during the implementation of the project, they would come and tell the former liaison officers the problems that they were facing. When they are supposed to report to the necessary government bodies to which the project was handed to and work together with them. They are more or less waiting for people to find out what problems they are facing instead of trying to sort them out themselves. This has arisen because of the method of participation used and the dependency syndrome embedded in them. This will be proven in the near future if the villagers are unable to handle the infrastructure.

The research reveals that not all development projects were fulfilled by the GTDP as promised and the chiefs are not impressed with the development. Unless the community as a whole has been involved in the decision-making about the facility (planning and management) and has willingly contributed to the costs of its construction, the sense of responsibility or ownership will be missing due to the fact that it has been imposed on them by the outside agency. As a result, it will not be effectively used, maintained or

sustained. It is impossible to build a human settlements facility or service and not expect that it will be repaired and maintained.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 CONCLUSION

The aim of the study was to investigate the impact of the Gwembe Tonga Development Project (GTDP) on the Gwembe Tonga (GT) people. As noted in the study, the GT people were displaced in 1956 to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam that would increase the electricity supply to the mines in the Copperbelt and farmers. The number of people displaced was 57, 000 and they were not adequately resettled, rehabilitated and compensated. The GTDP was created in 1996 with the main objective to mitigate the negative impacts that the GT people have endured from the time they were displaced to date. The Government of Zambia decided to reduce the negative impacts that have been caused by the displacement. The study was conducted in the Gwembe valley where the GT people were displaced in 1956. The case study was conducted in the southern part of Zambia.

From an international context, it was noted that many dams in Africa have been built in terms of a set of national goals and programmes as illustrated in the six case studies namely in Lesotho, India, Mozambique, China, Togo and Zambia. From the review of these case studies, it was acknowledged that the poor and marginalized are usually displaced to remote places. The dams were constructed to manage floodwaters, to harness water as hydropower, to supply water to drink or for industry and to irrigate fields all for economic development. The local people were rarely consulted and did not participate in the implementation of the projects. This led to the local people not being adequately compensated, resettled and rehabilitated as noted and discussed thematically in the findings chapter of this study.

From the study conducted, it was noted that compensation has been distributed in varying forms depending on the agreements with the resettlers. There is usually cash compensation and land compensation in addition to construction of houses, clinics, schools and other infrastructure that would benefit the communities. Compensation has

been one of the most important issues that most projects have failed to calculate according to the cost of the life that people have had to change. Compensation was not adequately given especially to the women and children, as they were never considered to be the heads of households. The compensation level was lower than real price, so the people could not rebuild their houses or invest in cultivated land and other production activities with the same quality compared with that before resettlement. The formal compensation unit has not changed for many years together with the condition of high inflation that made the situation of affected people become even harder. According to the respondents that remembered the compensation issues, they were not compensated enough to move to a new place and start a new life. However, there have been cases in which the resettlers and developers have gotten into an understanding like the case of Nangtebo in Togo where the local people were involved at the implementation stage of the project, which led to a successful resettlement program. This is one project that was considered to be a good example of compensation.

The respondents had illustrated that the compensation that they were awarded was not adequate enough to sustain them for a lifetime. Most of the people interviewed were not the people compensated, as it was not easy to find people who were present during that period of time. They believed that if their parents or guardians were compensated they would have felt the benefits. The people compensated were given money for their huts and for moving while the women and children were not compensated, but given maize to sustain themselves until the next rain reason. There was no proper channel followed to pay the people, but also promised to resettle to new areas.

Resettlement of the poor has been focused on physical relocation rather than the economic and social development of the displaced. Resettlement usually brings about change in the people’s lives evoking profound changes in environment, productive activities and social organization. The people are usually resettled to places that they were not familiar with, when most people displaced had lived their lives on highlands and they are displaced to low lands. They are resettled to land, which proves difficult to cultivate and leads to food insecurity and water shortages. The study showed that the

people were inadequately resettled to land, which was not fertile, and service deliveries (water facilities) took long to be implemented.

Rehabilitation is usually the outcome of resettlement that is conceived not as physical relocation, but as development. According to the key informant, the reason for the rehabilitation works of the study area was to help the people to sustain themselves and not be dependent on the government through implementing the GTD project. Rehabilitation is supposed to bring about development in terms of infrastructure and socio economic empowerment. Countries like Togo with the Nangbeto dam have proved that it is possible to have a good rehabilitation program. However, the lives of the Indians (Sardar Savorar) have changed for the worst, as the resettlement and rehabilitation policies were not well formulated to make an impact on the lives of their indigenous people. This has led people to migrate to other areas where they can sort out a different life. The Zambian government has tried to rehabilitate the GT people after their lives were disrupted. It has led to a poor socio-economic system by improving infrastructures and the way of life.

Dams were constructed for the benefit of diverting water for power, flood control and irrigation in order to achieve economic growth. With time, it has been debated that it has had a negative impact on people in terms of displacement. This has led to debates of dams and development. Literature shows that the sustainability of dam construction must occur through participation of the local people by preparing policies of resettlement, compensation and rehabilitation.

Participatory approaches to development have been promoted on the basis that they support effective project implementation and enhance the well being of the poor. Participatory approaches involve communities in all aspects and phases of development activities, including the identification of the project to be undertaken, planning, implementing, monitoring and enjoying the benefits accruing from the projects. However, the concept of participation has been questioned in the practice of development as it raised questions of what type of participation was being talked about. Kumar *et al* (2005) illustrated the nine types of participation, which were manipulation, passive

participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation, partnership and self-mobilization/active participation. Developers use participatory approaches so that they achieve their goals even though they do involve the people in all the stages.

It can be said that more participatory approaches to development require more time for both beneficiaries and developers of the project. It is easier and takes less time for developers to implement a program in which they come up with the plan and try to implement it than it does to engage the community by coming up with plans in consultation.

To investigate the impact of the project a qualitative study was conducted to understand the people's way of life. This method was used because it helps one to have an overview of the communities understanding and social interaction from the perspective of the insider by socializing with them and observing their way of life. Techniques used to collect data were semi – structured interviews, documentary analysis and observation. The study used non-probability sampling methods. The study population was made of twenty villagers and five key informants who were employed to conduct the project.

The findings have shown some similarities with the previous researchers (Colson 1960, Cernea 1999, and De Wet 2000), that compensation and resettlement are inadequately conducted for the local people. Resettlement sites were invariably selected without reference to availability of livelihood opportunities or the preferences of the displaced persons. This study shows that though the displacement took place in the 1950s, the resettlement process was not well planned and little consultation was done in regard to their moving and that is why they found themselves in an area that was not as fertile as their previous settlement. The mode of transport also used was trucks and the respondents stated that they were treated like animals and with no consideration of their well being. The people were only informed a few days before being resettled.

In addition, these findings corroborate with arguments noted from the international review done in the study on impact of dams on resettled communities. The consensual view gathered from the international review is that the experiences that are encountered by the people during displacement are the same. The people during the construction of the Cahora Bassa, Sardar Savorar and Lesotho dam were all promised good resettlement areas and good compensation packages but this never came to pass. The areas that were allocated to them did not have fertile soil compared to the land that they had near the rivers and on high ground.

Participation (Ferguson, World Bank 1995 and Kumar *et al* 2005) is a means to provide an opportunity to beneficiaries of development projects to play a role in project design, planning and implementation in order to ensure acceptability, success and sustainability. According to the respondents, they had indicated they did participate but not as much as they would have wanted especially, when it came to money issues, as they did not know how much money was spent on projects. How the facilitators chose which project was also important from the list that they had compiled. The facilitators did hold monthly meetings but the chiefs and government officials who did not filter the information to the local people, as they are the ones who usually attended these. They also had indicated that there were more workers than owners of the project.

The GTDP was formed to mitigate the negative impact of the construction of the Kariba Dam that displaced 37, 000 GT people. Their objectives was to improve the resettlement area's infrastructure and build the skills capacity of the people living in the area. These were constructing of dams, clinics and rehabilitating schools, capacity building and improving the agricultural sector through loans, improving their livestock and giving the people seeds to plant. The villagers have found that with the GTDP being implemented has changed their lives from a stressful one to a less stressful one. The constructions of dams and water rehabilitation for example have reduced the hardship that they had to endure. Even with the construction and rehabilitation of the clinics the local people do not have to walk long distances like before when they used to cover about 20km to the nearest clinic. The aim of the GTDP was to improve the lives of the Gwembe Tonga

people after having been displaced from 1956. The assumed outcome was to improve the quality of life of the displaced people and their hosts while protecting the environment. This was done with the help of the WB and other financial institutions.

The World Bank, DBSA and the government of Zambia funded the GTD project and the findings showed that the project was to cost US$26 million, but only US$12.5 million was released. The findings also showed that the cost of the Gwembe Tonga components was grossly underestimated because no technical evaluation was undertaken during the appraisal process. The period for the money to be funded was longer than expected, as the project was to start in 1996, but instead was implemented in 2000. During that period, the local currency was experiencing inflation, which raised the prices of goods. As a result, more money was needed to implement the project.

The aim of the project was also to include community participation so as to empower the villagers. The villagers stated that they did participate, but the level of participation when investigated was found to have been minimal. The GT people had no control over the finances of the project and the kind of participation that occurred was working for the project and belonging to committees. The level of participation, which was witnessed in this project, was what Kumar *et al* (2005:6) called participation for material incentives. People participate by providing resources, for example labour in return for food, cash or other material incentives. The lack of full participation of beneficiaries in project design and implementation was found to be a major weakness. People were divided according to either gender or status and seemed to be happy as they received an incentive, which was cash. The research has shown that the project has made it possible for the people to participate in the projects which in the past they never had a chance. Participation has several levels from lowest as information provision to higher as two way information in which the people can have some expression of their wishes and have opinions about the forms of their new life. In the highest-level participation also means that people should also be able to influence the planning process.

The construction of the schools, clinic, water rehabilitation and dams has brought about an improvement of the people's lives. The villagers are now able to draw water nearby their villages and they do not have to walk long distances for both schools and health services. The health centers have helped the people, especially the women and children. Most women had to travel long distances when they had maternity complications and now the Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA) are being trained to help the nurses in that area. Diseases like malaria, nutritional defects and sexual transmitted infections are being treated at the centres.

The agricultural component also has proven to be worthwhile with the introduction of bulls; goats and donkeys that are prone to drought resistant areas and dams that have been constructed for animals to drink water from. The distance that they covered to take their animals to the river was quite long especially in the dry season. Now, with the dams in the main villages, water for the animals will be accessible. The people in this area are mostly peasant farmers so the agricultural component has proved to be beneficial. The villages have introduced cooperatives that are used to give loans to the villagers. These loans are used for buying agricultural goods, for example maize seeds and fertilizers. This has helped the committees to improve their harvest and can even repay the loans once they sell their produce.

Most respondents have expressed gratitude in what has happened in their communities. While others had expressed disappointments with the work, especially chiefs who had stated that they had wondered what had happened to the money when their palaces still do not have electricity. The essence of HIV/AIDS awareness was also questioned, as they believed other organizations in the area were offering the same services.

The construction of the Bottom Road and the electrification of the lakeshore are two major components that remain to be constructed and were considered to be two of the most important projects by the people. The people were more anxious to have the road constructed but the GTDP postponed it due to lack of funds. Road rehabilitation was found to be the community's first priority need and failing to construct the road has been

perceived as having failed to meet the priorities that the community would have considered as a benefit. The people illustrated the importance of the Bottom road. They said it would bring about economic empowerment as the people can easily trade with other districts without incurring huge costs on transport. The road has dilapidated to an extent that only 4 wheel drives can excess the villages. The other reason has been the presence of Landmines in various sections of the road that were planted during the liberation struggle for independence of Zimbabwe. Electrifying the lakeshore of Lake Kariba would also bring about business in terms of catching fish and opening up of lodges. The other projects that have not been conducted are the environmental projects including water harvesting, more clinics and more agricultural support. The GT people also included other programmes that they would like to see in their area. These were adult education classes, more clinics, more boreholes and the electrification of their houses.

The project came to an end in 2006 without completing the above which has left the people also feeling unsatisfied for they believed that the project was to mitigate the negative impact of their resettlement. The projects that were completed were handed over to the respective ministries such as the Health centers to the ministry of health and the schools to the Ministry of education and the agricultural sector to the Ministry of Agriculture. The project came to an end because of the lack of funds and it has taken a new direction as the government still is interested in helping out the villagers when the need arises. With the introduction of the GTDP, the government of Zambia has realized that the people of Gwembe needed to have their lives uplifted after all that they have gone through and it is with this reason that they have included the construction of the Bottom Road and the Electrification programme in the Fifth National Plan. This plan is a national budget programme that will cater for all major projects in the next five years.

From experiences and lessons learnt from successes and problems of the construction of large dams in the past in Zambia and in the world, it is necessary to ensure that the resettlement process should be considered carefully, detailed and timely in all its phases of Moving, Compensation and Restoration including Transitional time. The construction of dams should meet the energy demand, mitigate water related disasters, serve the socio-

economic development of the nation, but also minimize the possible negative impacts for resettled communities and environment. As we still witness with the construction of the 'Three Gorges' in China in the 21st century, the poor people are still being marginalized in the construction of dams. The dam will be completed in 2009 and most people have not been compensated or adequately resettled.

Projects like the GTDP that involve the improvement of peoples' lives or involving the beneficiaries in projects should not have time constraints as this leads to projects not being fully implemented as seen in this study. This has been evident in people asking the government to let the programme continue. The project has had positive impacts on the communities. It brought about employment, improved schools and health centers being built. Government should support health care and education in order to gain healthy life styles in resettlement villages and empowering people with education so that they better their lives. The vocational school for the younger generation and the special classes should be included in the area to reduce the illiteracy percentage because others in the villages will improve the socio-economic conditions in the long term.

In conclusion, the project was a way of attaining sustainable development and means of helping the people who were wrongfully displaced to uplift their lives and the environment in which they were placed. It has tried to change the lives of the people but, as it has been stated, the lack of funds and dependence of funds from other foreign agencies seemed to have been the crucial reason that the project did not go as planned. More projects are to be worked on like the construction of the Bottom road, electrification, other agricultural development and public health programmes through the necessary and relevant existing government structures and the Fifth National Plan.

In conclusion, Ramanamma's views aptly capture the normative limits of dams constructions in so far as the social costs that have to be borne by indigent rural communities are concerned of which the GTDP project is not an exception:

> Dams have achieved exactly what the planners and engineers intended to……for electricity and irrigation purposes……the realized intentions have had negative

impacts on the environment and social displacement especially on rural dwellers, subsistence farmers, indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, and women. Forcing so many people from their homes and lands has led to extreme economic hardship, community disintegration, and an increase in mental and physical health problems. Indigenous, tribal, and peasant communities have been particularly hard hit (2001: 9).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: PHOTOGRAPHS



Photo 1: One of the Surviving resettlers (Headman)



Photo 2: Siabbamba Dam



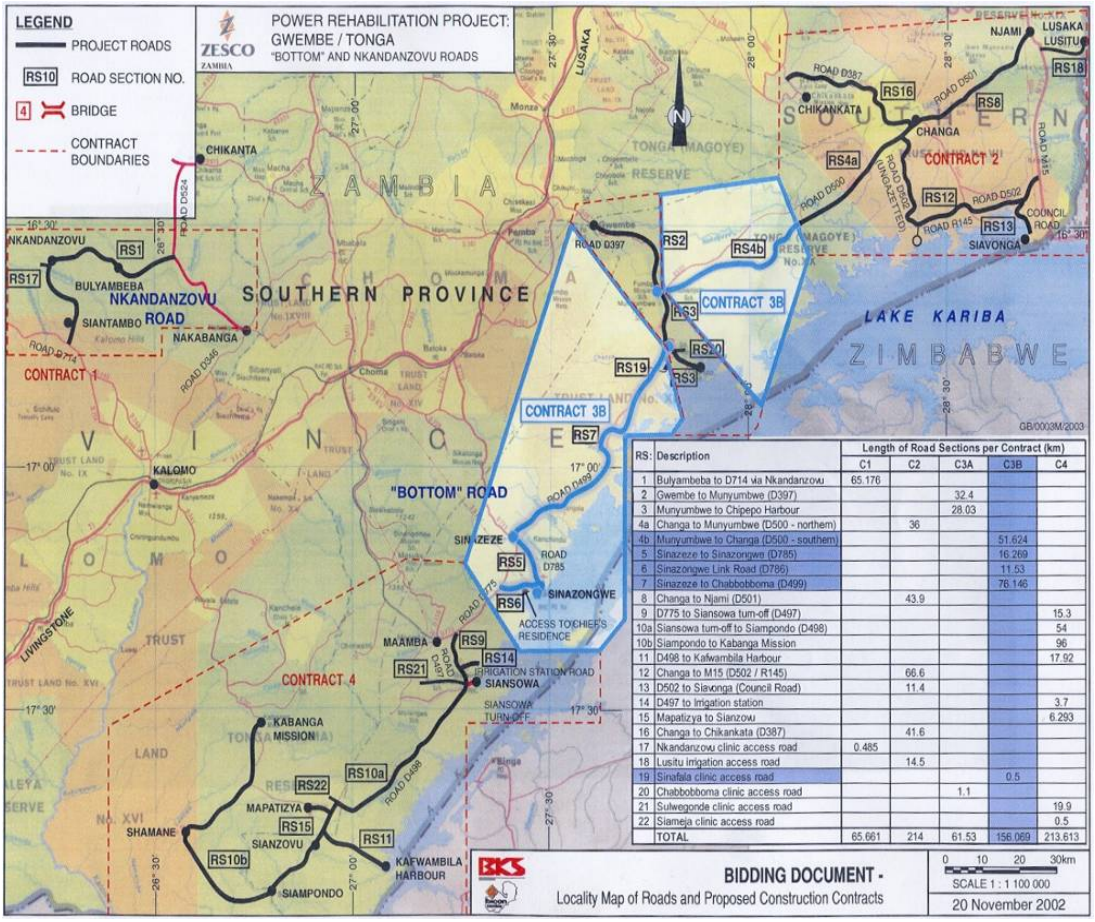
Photo 3: Placard of the Dam



Photo 4: Wing of the rehabilitated Clinic



Photo 5: The Bottom Road



RS:	Description	Length of Road Sections per Contract (km)				
		C1	C2	C3A	C3B	C4
1	Bulyambeba to D714 via Nkandanzovu	65.176				
2	Gwembe to Munyumbwe (D397)			32.4		
3	Munyumbwe to Chipepo Harbour			28.03		
4a	Changa to Munyumbwe (D500 - northern)		36			
4b	Munyumbwe to Changa (D500 - southern)				51.624	
5	Sinazeze to Sinazongwe (D785)				16.269	
6	Sinazongwe Link Road (D786)				11.53	
7	Sinazeze to Chabbobboma (D499)				76.146	
8	Changa to Njami (D501)		43.9			
9	D775 to Siansowa turn-off (D497)					15.3
10a	Siansowa turn-off to Siampondo (D498)					54
10b	Siampondo to Kabanga Mission					96
11	D498 to Kafwambila Harbour					17.92
12	Changa to M15 (D502 / R145)		66.6			
13	D502 to Siavonga (Council Road)		11.4			
14	D497 to Irrigation station					3.7
15	Mapatizya to Sianzovu					6.293
16	Changa to Chikankata (D387)		41.6			
17	Nkandanzovu clinic access road	0.485				
18	Lusitu irrigation access road		14.5			
19	Sinafala clinic access road				0.5	
20	Chabbobboma clinic access road			1.1		
21	Sulwegonde clinic access road					19.9
22	Siameja clinic access road					0.5
	TOTAL	65.661	214	61.53	156.069	213.613

MAP OF THE STUDY AREA

APPENDIX 2: Interview schedule for the Locals

Socio – Demographic Questions

1. Sex of the respondent – Male/ Female
2. Name of the village
3. What is the level of education that you have completed?
4. What type of qualification do you hold?
5. What is your occupation?
6. Do you have any dependents?
7. How did you resettle in this area?
8. What process was made during the resettlement?
9. Were you or your family compensated during the construction of the dam?

GTDP Information awareness

10. Have you been aware of the GTDP?
11. How did you get to know about the GTDP?
12. If so how did you acquire such information?
13. What information were you told about the project?
14. How have you been affected by the project?
15. What was the aim of the Project?
16. What was the role of the project and what kind of benefits do you get?
17. Did you participate in the project activities?
18. How was the relationship between the local and the project coordinators?

Developmental impact

1. What projects have been provided for the locals?
2. What projects have you seen as been implemented by the GTDP?
3. What other projects would you like to see in this area?
4. What were your expectations when the projects were implemented?
5. Do you feel you or your community has been actively participated in the projects?
6. Do you think the projects have met your expectations?
7. Did you belong in any committee or participate in any project?

8. Were the projects implemented all satisfactory?
9. Are there any improvements made by the project in your village since the beginning of the project?
10. If yes, what are they?
11. If not, what do you think could have been done?

Gender sensitization

12. Did women participate in the project?
13. In what projects did the women participate?
14. Have you seen any women in decision-making committees?
15. Was work divided according to gender?
16. Was the project gender sensitive?
17. Were the women's' concerns heard and implemented to the project?

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INTERVIEWS FOR THE KEY INFORMANTS

Interview Guide for the project coordinators

1. What has been your involvement in the project?
2. When did you join the project?
3. How did you become part of the project?
4. What organizations formed the GTDP?
5. What criteria were used to the select the objectives?
6. Was the local community involved in selecting the objectives?
7. To what extent were the communities considered in the overall planning process?
8. Who financed the project and how many donors were involved in the project?
9. How was the money allocated to the GTDP?
10. Was the money adequate enough to sustain the project?
11. What was been your view of incorporating the locals into the project?
12. How were the local communities encouraged to participate in the GTDP?
13. What form of assistance was provided to the communities to obtain the objectives?
14. What benefits were made available to the communities?
15. Have the communities been given full authority to utilize the projects benefits or who has been given the control?
16. What has been done to overcome further environmental degradation as stated in your objectives?
17. What were the challenges that you were faced with in the project?
18. Were the people cooperative in implementing the project?
19. Have the people benefited from the program?
20. Do you think you have achieved your objectives?
21. How has the project impacted the people's lives?