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2014-09-17
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DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT: A NARRATIVE INQUIRY INTO THE EXPERIENCES OF COMMUNITY MEMBERS PHYSICALLY DISPLACED FROM A FARM TO A TOWN IN MPUMALANGA, SOUTH AFRICA

A report on a research study presented to

The Department of Social Work

School of Human and Community Development

Faculty of Humanities

University of the Witwatersrand

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree Master of Arts in Social Development

by

CAITLIN SMITHEN

February, 2014

DECLARATION

I, Caitlin Smithen, declare that this research report is my own, original work and is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Social Development at the University of the Witwatersrand. This work has not been submitted before for any other degree.

Caitlin Smithen

Date: 2014/02/13

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I would like to thank my Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for His guiding hand during this Masters degree and providing me with the strength and perseverance necessary to reach completion (Philippians 4:13 – I can do everything through Him who gives me strength). Secondly, a massive thanks to my Mom and Dad, René and Andy Smithen, and my brother, Jason Smithen, for their unrelenting support, wisdom and guidance in everything I do.

I extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Dr. Edmarie Pretorius, without whom this research report would not have been possible. My heartfelt thanks also go to Tandi Reilly, whose mentorship and passion for social development inspired me to pursue this degree and focus my research on resettlement. My research assistant, Zama Mboyisa, treated this project as if it were her own and it would not have reached this point without her dedication and hard work, so a very big thank-you to her too.

A huge thank-you goes to the mine responsible for resettlement for granting me access to the affected community and relevant documentation. Finally, a big thanks to my research participants and key informants for agreeing to assist with and participate in the study. Your stories have proven invaluable.

ABSTRACT

Although expected to be beneficial to society, development projects, such as dam construction and mining, often result in the physical displacement of marginalized groups. This is known as Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) and often has far-reaching negative consequences for the affected peoples (APS). These include further marginalization, increased poverty, identity deprivation and socio-psychological stress. While decades of knowledge inform theory and practice on the mitigation of these consequences, the psycho-socio-cultural (PSC) impoverishment that may result from DIDR is often left unaddressed. Furthermore, qualitative knowledge of the experiences of people affected by DIDR is lacking. This research study aimed to produce an in-depth understanding of how DIDR affects the PSC well-being and identity construction of APS. The research took the form of a qualitative case study, whereby a social constructionist, narrative method of inquiry was used to analyse and gather data. This involved undertaking in-depth, individual interviews with a small sample of APS who had been resettled from a farm to a town in Mpumalanga by a mining house. Briefly, it was found that, contrary to the prevalent finding that DIDR causes further impoverishment, the resettlement actually resulted in development for the APS and as such enhanced their PSC well-being and contributed positively to their identity construction. However, the complexity inherent in resettlement was highlighted, as the participants revealed that the resettlement had not come without some socio-economic costs. It is believed that the findings from this study will complement existing knowledge on DIDR, and inform the design and implementation of Relocation Action Plans (RAPs) that better mitigate the negative PSC effects of DIDR.

Keywords: Affected peoples (APS); development-induced displacement and resettlement (DIDR), identity, mental health, psycho-socio-cultural (PSC) well-being.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ANC	African National Congress
APS	Affected Peoples
CDW	Community Development Worker
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
DIDR	Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement
HH	Household Head
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
OD	Operational Directive
PSC	Psycho-Socio-Cultural
RAP	Resettlement Action Plan
SQUIN	Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative
WB	World Bank
WC	Ward Counsellor
WBED	World Bank Environmental Department

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) is a worldwide phenomenon, which has left millions of people without homes and livelihoods. While measures exist which assist with the mitigation of the negative social and economic consequences of DIDR, many affected peoples (APS) are still left further impoverished than they were prior to displacement (Downing, 2002).

DIDR refers to the physical displacement of people as a result of large-scale development projects, such as dam construction and mining, which unmitigated, could have a variety of negative social consequences (Robinson, 2003). A large knowledge base exists on this topic and various principles and guidelines have been developed to mitigate the negative impacts of DIDR, but these are mostly socioeconomic and quantitative in nature. Furthermore, the psycho-socio-cultural (PSC) disruptions of DIDR are often left unaddressed, threatening the mental health and identity construction of APS (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009).

In order to better understand the PSC transitions that result from DIDR and how this affects identity construction and mental health, this study explored the experiences of APS. This chapter provides a brief background by describing the problem statement and rationale for the study, its purpose and the research strategy and methodology. The limitations of the study are briefly considered, important concepts are defined and the structure of the report is outlined.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Despite principles and guidelines put in place to mitigate the negative consequences of DIDR, APS are still often left further impoverished. These principles and guidelines are mostly socio-economic and quantitative in nature, which means they often fail to address the PSC disruptions resulting from DIDR. Therefore, it was believed an investigation into the deeper experiences of APS would enhance our understanding of these PSC changes and improve mitigation. This will assist in the design and implementation of Relocation

Action Plans (RAPs) that better deal with the PSC effects of DIDR. Hence the study will inform policy formulation and the planning and implementation of RAPs.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This project aims to further understand the PSC transitions that result from DIDR by analysing how APS construct their cultural identities in their narratives of the DIDR process.

1.4 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY

A qualitative case study was used, whereby a social constructionist, narrative method of inquiry was used to gather and analyse data. This involved undertaking in-depth, individual interviews with a small sample of APS. The interviews were designed to allow the narratives of the participants' experiences of DIDR to be evoked. A sample of 12 participants was drawn from a small community (20 households) that was resettled by a mining house from a farm to a town in Mpumalanga, and interviews were analysed using both thematic and narrative techniques.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations of the study include:

1.5.1 Changes in the sample: The proposed sample was six male household heads (HHs) and six female HHs or spouses of HHs, but availability issues changed this to nine female participants and only three male participants. Furthermore, some participants were not HHs or spouses of HHs and two had to be excluded from the study.

1.5.2 The use of a research assistant: The use of a research assistant to undertake and transcribe the interviews from isiZulu to English presented two challenges. Firstly, the researcher could not be present during the interviews, and therefore could not witness first-hand how the interactions unfolded. This means that the researcher may have missed significant gestures and emotions that could not be communicated verbally. Secondly, the translation of an interview text inevitably results in losses of potentially significant meanings. This too reduces the depth captured. Reflective forms and verbal feedback from the research assistant were

used to try and address this gap.

1.5.3 Misunderstandings of the aim of the interviews: Narrative interviewing requires that participants produce in-depth accounts of their experiences and what they meant for them. Although this was explained to the participants, it appeared that some did not understand this and gave relatively short answers to the questions, despite the use of probes and encouragement. Nonetheless, the data produced was sufficient to carry-out the intended analysis.

1.5.4 The researcher's previous association with the project: The researcher was previously associated with the consulting company appointed to work on this resettlement. This potentially influenced the participants' telling of their stories, as they may have overstated their gratitude for the resettlement for fear that the researcher might report back to the mine. It was explained to the participants that their interviews would remain anonymous.

1.6 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1.6.1 Development Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR): the physical displacement of people as a result of large-scale development projects, such as the construction of dams and building of mines (Robinson, 2003);

1.6.2 Identity: the way in which an individual understands and perceives the self (Fearon, 1999);

1.6.3 Impoverishment: deprivation in terms of a person's capability to meet their fundamental human needs, which encompass material, physical, social, cultural and psychological dimensions (Max-Neef, Elizalde & Hopenhayn, 1991; Swanepoel & de Beer, 2006; Sen, 1999);

1.6.4 Psycho-socio-cultural (PSC) System: the psychological, social and cultural aspects of life that are pertinent to human well-being (Barlow & Durand, 2009; Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009);

1.6.5 Social constructionism: the research paradigm which holds that the realities of individuals are constructed through social interactions (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006);

1.6.6 **Narrative analysis:** a qualitative approach to data analysis that focuses on how individuals choose to construct their stories within particular contexts (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006); and

1.6.7 **Mental health:** a state of well-being in which the individual can cope with daily stresses, realise their abilities, work productively and contribute effectively to their community (World Health Organisation, 2001, cited in Petersen, 2010).

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and brief background to and justification for the study with the problem statement and rationale. The literature review and theoretical framework is presented in Chapter 2, whereby relevant research and theoretical models are outlined. Chapter 3 is comprised of the research strategy and methodology and justifies the choice of a qualitative research strategy, as well as describes how the research was undertaken. Chapter 4, the presentation and discussion of the data, provides a brief context to the study and presents the findings in terms of both thematic and narrative analyses. Finally, Chapter 5 highlights the main findings and makes recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have seen a significant increase in the number of studies undertaken on DIDR, producing a well-informed knowledge base on the dynamics involved, consequences it has for APS and how these can be avoided or mitigated. This chapter situates the present research within this knowledge base, providing a brief review of key research findings, policies, principles and guidelines. The phenomenon of DIDR is conceptualised with reference to shifts in development theory, followed by an overview of the incidence of DIDR globally, internationally and nationally. The two key theoretical models of DIDR are discussed and an overview of the principles and guidelines developed from these models is provided. This is followed by a discussion on why failures in attempts to mitigate impoverishment risks associated with DIDR occur. It is argued that this results from the continuation of neo-liberal thinking, despite the apparent shift towards sustainable people-centered development. The meaning of impoverishment is conceptualised and the effects of DIDR on mental health are considered along with a justification of the continued study of this issue. Actions that can be taken to mitigate the psycho-socio-cultural (PSC) impoverishment caused by DIDR are discussed and a brief conclusion highlights this study's position on existing knowledge of DIDR.

2.2 DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT

By definition, development is expected to be beneficial to society (Cernea, 2000; Robinson, 2003). However, Robinson (2003) explains that in the 1950s and 1960s development was predominantly seen from the perspective of modernisation theory, which, crudely put, saw development as necessary for modernising and Westernising 'simple' Third World societies. This view, also known as the neo-liberal approach, holds that expenditure on social welfare is a drain on development and advocates for limited intervention in this regard (Patel, 2005). Along with the utilitarian belief that losses or costs incurred by development were for the 'greater good' of society, neo-liberal thinking has often left poor and marginalised groups uprooted in the name of progress (Cernea, 2000; Robinson, 2003; Koenig, 2002).

Development projects sometimes require communities to leave the land of their current residence, as developers attain rights to use the land for their projects (Stanley, 2004). This is called DIDR and often results in the "resettlement effect", which involves a loss of physical and/or non-physical assets. These include homes, productive land, income-earning assets and sources, subsistence resources, cultural ties, social structures and networks, cultural identity and mutual help mechanisms (Downing, 2002). Inadequately managed, resettlement poses major risks to societal sustainability and may result in further impoverishment of already marginalised groups (Cernea, 2000; Downing, 2002). In fact, Cernea (2002, p. 20) writes that, "many development projects intended to alleviate poverty end up increasing poverty by displacing large numbers of people without re-establishing them viably, despite the use of compensation payments for assets lost". Thus, as highlighted by de Wet (2002) and other scholars on the topic, DIDR represents what Midgley (1995) calls distorted development, whereby projects in the name of progress actually result in the opposite for those who are 'in the way' of this progress. This said, the last four decades have seen a shift from the modernisation paradigm to one that is people-centered; promoting poverty reduction, environmental sustainability, social justice and human rights. Therefore there has been movement towards mitigating the negative consequences of DIDR (Downing, 2002; Robinson, 2003). This movement does not seek to halt development resulting in displacement, but proposes that measurements are taken to ensure that APS are not left further impoverished, but actually share in the benefits of development (Midgley, 1995; Patel, 2005). Labelled "social development", this people-centered approach is defined as "a process of planned social change designed to promote the well-being of the population as a whole in conjunction with a dynamic process of economic development" (Midgley, 1995, p. 25). Thus, an emphasis is placed on enhancing the well-being of APS.

2.3 THE INCIDENCE OF DIDR

While a precise number of the people affected by DIDR globally is unavailable, the World Bank Environmental Department (WBED) estimates that 10 million people are physically displaced annually as a result of dam construction, urban development, and infrastructure and transportation programmes (Stanley, 2004). This is a conservative estimate, as it fails to account for the large number of people who are not physically ousted, but live in the vicinity of a project and experience adversities as a result (Stanley, 2004). Furthermore, a

study undertaken in 2002, by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), reports that 43 million people in 63 countries were physically displaced between 1998 and 2000 (Robinson, 2003). Thus it is evident that, globally, millions of people are forced to move from their current residences as a result of development projects.

China and India, in particular, account for a large proportion of DIDR. Over 45 million people were affected by DIDR between 1950 and 2000 in China and, in 2000, it was estimated that the number of people displaced in India by dam projects alone ranged between 21 to 40 million (Stanley, 2004). Although India and China lead in terms of the number of people affected by dam construction, the proportion of the population in Africa affected by some projects is significantly higher than even some of the biggest projects in Asia (Cernea, 2002). For example, the construction of the Akosombo dam in Ghana displaced about 1 percent of the population in comparison to the construction of the Narmada Sardar Sarovar and Xiaolangdi dams in India and China, which displaced 0.015 percent of the populations respectively (Cernea, 1996).

While there is literature on resettlement resulting from the political situation (de Wet, 1995; Metele, 1995; Ngubane, 1995), statistics are lacking with regards to DIDR in South Africa. However, DIDR does occur in South Africa, particularly due to mining. The Mogalakwena Local Municipality (2005) in the Limpopo Province developed a resettlement manual for involuntary resettlement associated with mining and the sample used for this research comes from a community that was physically displaced due to mining in Mpumalanga (Reilly & Smithen, 2012).

2.4 THEORETICAL MODELS FOR DIDR

Given the shift towards people-centered development and in response to the knowledge that DIDR can result in significant impoverishment for APS if inadequately managed, two key models have been developed to assist with understanding DIDR and its implications (McDonald-Wilmson & Webber, 2010). The first, developed by Scudder and Colson in the early 1980s (Scudder-Colson Model), proposes four stages for how people and socio-cultural systems respond to resettlement. These were recruitment, transition, potential development and handing over or incorporation (Forced Migration Online (FMO), 2011). During recruitment, plans are made for the resettlement of APS, usually without their knowledge. The transition phase occurs when APS are informed of the impending

resettlement, resulting in heightened stress levels and confusion and physical relocation occurs. Potential development follows relocation and involves building new economic and social networks. Lastly, handing over or incorporation involves passing down newly developed leadership and production systems to a generation that has grown and feels at home in the new community (FMO, 2011). While useful, the model has been criticised for assuming that APS have the coping mechanisms to contend with all four stages. In fact, it was found that this was an exception to the norm and the need for a new model was identified (McDonald-Wilmson & Webber, 2010; FMO, 2011).

The result was the development of Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (IRR) Model in the 1990s (FMO, 2011; Downing, 2002). Described by Cernea (2000, p. 14) as, "a theoretical model for involuntary resettlement that highlights the intrinsic risks that cause impoverishment through displacement, as well as the ways to counteract – eliminate or mitigate – these risks", the model assists with identifying the risks involved with physical displacement and suggests ways for avoiding or mitigating them. Hence, the model serves four basic functions; predictive, diagnostic, problem-resolution and research (Cernea, 2000). While the predictive function assists the assessor with anticipating problems related to resettlement, the diagnostic function assists with explaining and understanding the extent of the potential risks. The problem-resolution function assists with the analysis of potential solutions and the research function provides the foundation on which theory-led fieldwork can be undertaken (Cernea, 2000).

Possibly the most important aspect of this model, however, is its identification of the eight impoverishment risks, which are commonly referred to in literature on DIDR (Downing, 2002; Robinson, 2003; Stanley, 2004; Koenig, 2002). They include the following; landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity, loss of access to common property and resources, and community/social disarticulation (Cernea, 2000). Some authors have suggested the addition of the following to these risks: a disruption in formal education, a loss of civil and human rights, a loss of access to basic public services and failure to implement (Downing, 2002; McDonald-Wilmson & Webber, 2010). The Scudder-Colson Model was updated in 2005 to combine the IRR Model.

The development and application of these models demonstrates a real shift from neo-liberal thinking to people-centered development and appropriate intervention. The IRR Model provides a methodology for designing such intervention. It, therefore, supports the social development perspective that intentional efforts are required to ensure that development enhances the well-being of the total population.

2.5 DIDR PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES

Decades of studies and lessons learned on DIDR have resulted in the development of various principles and guidelines to address the associated impoverishment risks (Downing, 2002). A brief synopsis is provided here on the international and national principles that guide involuntary resettlement.

2.5.1 International Principles and Guidelines

Some of the most well-known international principles and guidelines for involuntary resettlement include the:

a) Asian Development Bank's (ADB) Handbook on Resettlement (1998);

b) World Bank's (WB) Operational Policy (OP) 4.12 on Involuntary Resettlement (WB, 2001);

c) International Finance Corporation's (IFC) Handbook for Preparing a Resettlement Action Plan (IFC, 2002);

d) IFC's Performance Standards on Environmental and Social Sustainability; and

e) Performance Standard 5 on Land Acquisition and Involuntary Resettlement (IFC, 2012).

Although the international financial institutions listed above have their own involuntary resettlement principles and guidelines, they all apply the World Bank's *OP 4.12* to these policies. The objectives of which are:

a) DIDR should be avoided or minimised where possible;

b) Where DIDR is unavoidable, it should be regarded and implemented as a development programme, which sees APS sharing in the project benefits;

c) Community participation in planning and implementation should be encouraged;

d) APS should be integrated into the host community economically and socially to minimise adverse impacts on host communities; and

e) Appropriate compensation should be provided to the affected community.

Therefore, there are tools in place to assist not only with the mitigation of impoverishment risks, but also with turning DIDR into a sustainable development initiative, which enhances the livelihoods of APS. These objectives are in line with a people-centered approach, as they advocate for physical displacement to be treated as a development opportunity, whereby APS benefit from being displaced. Participation of APS in the resettlement process is also encouraged (objective c), which is key to sustainable social development (Davids, 2009).

2.5.2 National Principles and Guidelines

Currently there is no legislation in South Africa relating directly to DIDR, and so projects that do result in DIDR are informed by international principles and guidelines and internal resettlement policies developed by companies themselves. However, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 108 of 1996), specifies in section 25 of the Bill of Rights that (2) property may be expropriated in terms of law of general application for (a) a public purpose or in the public interest and (b) subject to compensation, the amount, time and manner of payment of which is agreed upon by those affected, or approved by court. The Constitution, therefore, makes provision for incidences such as DIDR. It may be necessary to develop a policy specific to DIDR in South Africa that considers how DIDR might affect South African citizens and whether DIDR is not an infringement on civil and human rights.

2.6 ATTEMPTS TO MITIGATE IMPOVERISHMENT CAUSED BY DIDR STILL FAIL

Despite the knowledge base, theoretical models, principles and guidelines on DIDR, which definitively indicate a people-centered approach, attempts to mitigate impoverishment risks regularly fail (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009; de Wet, 2002). While some take a more optimistic stance in this regard, arguing that corrective action can address the problems caused by physical displacement and result in resettlement-with-development, others are pessimistic, stating that complexities inherent in the resettlement process predispose

resettlement projects to failure despite attempted mitigation (de Wet, 2002). A variety of factors have been highlighted as reasons for this failure. It is argued that the crux of the problem is reluctance to embrace a people-centered approach to development in favour of the traditional modernisation paradigm.

Discussing the PSC impoverishment caused by DIDR, which is further detailed in the following section, Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) draw attention to five misconceptions that prevent successful mitigation. These can be generalised to all forms of impoverishment that result from DIDR. They are the following:

2.6.1 **Compensation-is-enough:** This is the belief that moral and economic obligations to APS are sufficiently covered by payment of compensation (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). Both Cernea (2002) and de Wet (2002) place an emphasis on this point, arguing that a variety of resettlement studies have shown that compensation is insufficient for ensuring the re-establishment of APS livelihoods. One reason for this is that compensation criteria are often inadequate and leave the APS worse-off than they were prior resettlement. This misconception can be aligned with neo-liberal thinking, as it indicates the desire to keep the costs of DIDR to a minimum, implying that social expenditure is a drain on resources that could be invested in the development itself.

2.6.2 **Strict-compliance:** This holds that strict compliance to the applicable guidelines, policies and laws will result in adequately covering resettlement risks (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). Perhaps the notion that compliance is insufficient for addressing the problems associated with resettlement is in line with de Wet's (2002) pessimistic view that resettlement is so complex that even the most detailed planning will not effectively prevent further impoverishment. The inadequacy of compensation, the fact that resettlement projects are often under-prioritised and critical shortages in necessary skills and resources lead de Wet (2002) to highlight the complexity involved with resettlement. He concludes that compliance to guidelines alone will not necessarily prevent further impoverishment (de Wet, 2002). Again, this misconception aligns with neo-liberal thinking, as it suggests minimal intervention by the responsible organisations which will only do what is necessary for compliance to maintain credibility.

2.6.3 **Blame-the-victim:** Some suggest that any negative problems experienced by APS result from their not taking advantage of opportunities presented to them (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). This is also in agreement with neo-liberalism, as it implies that welfare is the individual's responsibility and not that of the state or developmental organisation. However, whether APS are actually capable of taking advantage of resettlement 'opportunities' is questionable. Sen (1999) defines poverty as capability deprivation and explains that a lack of income can indeed reduce one's ability to take advantage of opportunities. Since the people affected by DIDR are usually already living in poverty, they might not have the capacity to take advantage of being resettled.

2.6.4 **The-clock-stops-with-construction:** This notion suggests that external responsibilities to APS come to an end on completion of the Relocation Action Plan (RAP), or with termination of the construction phase of the project (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). This is problematic since the re-establishment of APS usually takes significantly longer than the actual development project (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). It also suggests a neo-liberal approach, as it implies an unwillingness to spend "additional" time and resources on ensuring that APS are resettled effectively.

2.6.5 **Someone-else-should-pay:** Finally, there is the belief that project designers, governments and financiers are not liable for the negative effects of DIDR (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). This results in resettlement projects being under-financed, and is characteristic of neo-liberal thinking, as the onus is on the often ill-equipped APS to positively adapt to the resettlement.

These misconceptions indicate that the modernisation paradigm continues to dominate the thinking of developmental organisations, and so there has been little progress in terms of transforming DIDR to something that enhances well-being. Other reasons that have been cited for failures in effectively addressing impoverishment caused by resettlement, and reinforce this perspective, include:

2.6.6 **A lack of appropriate policies and legal frameworks:** Many of the countries in which resettlement takes place do not have the policies and legal frameworks necessary to regulate resettlement (de Wet, 2002). This means that resettlement

activities are often inadequately addressed, which results in a poor understanding of resettlement problems and the under-financing of the project.

2.6.7 Contradictory resettlement policies: Most resettlement policies have as their ultimate goal to improve the livelihoods of APS; however, they also stipulate that full compensation at replacement cost will be sufficient to achieve this goal (Cernea, 2002). As shown above, it is not the case that compensation alone will mitigate the negative consequences of resettlement.

2.6.8 Dysfunctional relationships between project planners and APS: Participation of APS in planning for resettlement is imperative for successfully mitigating negative impacts, however, Hota and Suar (2011) show that APS are often not consulted on their preferences with regards to the resettlement, which runs contrary to the people-centered approach.

2.6.9 A lack of self-efficacy among the APS: Hota and Suar (2011) also show that the success of resettlement projects depends on the level of self-efficacy of the APS. Self-efficacy refers to a person's level of determination and confidence in their ability to achieve the tasks set out before them (Hota & Suar, 2011). A person's access to various types of support, including information, tangible, social and emotional support, plays a significant role in their level of self-efficacy (Hota & Suar, 2011). This means that the levels of self-efficacy among APS and their access to support largely determine how they will respond to resettlement and whether they will see it as beneficial or harmful.

2.6.10 A lack of political will: Lastly, de Wet (2002) writes that resource allocation and prioritisation are, in fact, political issues and that many governments do not ensure that developmental initiatives are appropriately addressed and represent APS.

2.7 UNDERSTANDING IMPOVERISHMENT

The term 'impoverishment' has been used throughout this review with reference to the consequences of DIDR for APS. It has been shown that APS may be subject to various impoverishment risks and that attempts to mitigate these risks often fall short of doing so. However, to understand the meaning of these impoverishment risks for the APS, it is necessary to clarify what impoverishment entails. Throughout the studies on DIDR

impoverishment is generally equated with poverty. Therefore, this section draws on different conceptualisations of poverty to understand impoverishment[1].

Traditionally, poverty has been understood as a lack of monetary income, however, multiple authors highlight that this definition does not account for the plethora of human needs that cannot be satisfied by material wealth alone (Max-Neef et al., 1991; Swanepoel & de Beer, 2006; Sen, 1999). Sen (1999) explains that poverty should be understood as capability deprivation, whereby level of income might play a role in determining one's capabilities. Other factors, such as old age, illness, and physical handicaps need to be considered. Max-Neef et al. (1991) complement Sen's definition in arguing that, "any fundamental human need that is not adequately satisfied reveals a human poverty", hence poverty should be referred to in the plural form. According to Max-Neef et al. (1991) there are nine fundamental human needs which need to be satisfied and cannot be satisfied by income alone. Some of these include subsistence, protection, understanding, participation, identity and freedom (Max-Neef et al., 1991). Finally, Swanepoel and de Beer (2006) explain that poverty is a state of ill-being, which does not directly correlate with financial lack. The converse of ill-being is well-being, or a state conducive to optimal human development, which does not directly correlate with financial wealth, but rather constitutes mental, behavioural and physical health (Swanepoel & de Beer, 2006; Petersen, 2010). According to Swanepoel and de Beer (2006), ill-being involves at least the following five factors; material lack or want, physical ill-being (illness or disability), bad social relations, insecurity and powerlessness, whereas well-being constitutes at least; material, bodily and social wellness, security and freedom of choice and action (Swanepoel & de Beer, 2006). Therefore, poverty or impoverishment does not only entail a lack of financial income, but includes deprivation in terms of a person's capability to meet their fundamental human needs, which encompass material, physical, social, cultural and psychological dimensions.

2.8 THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK

In recognition that impoverishment does not only involve a lack of economic resources, development agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Department for International Development (DFID) and CARE have adopted the

[1] For the remainder of this report the terms poverty and impoverishment will be used interchangeably.

sustainable livelihoods (SL) framework for poverty reduction (Krantz, 2001; Petersen, 2010). The framework identifies five critical livelihood assets necessary for sustainable human development and uses this model to build developmental strategies focused on increasing the livelihood asset base of impoverished communities (Petersen, 2010). These livelihood assets include:

2.8.1 **Human capital:** People who are mentally and physically healthy, as well as educated and capable of taking advantage of opportunities;

2.8.2 **Economic/financial capital:** The financial resources to support a sustainable livelihood, which can be attained through employment, social grants and credit loans;

2.8.3 **Physical/Infrastructural capital:** Access to basic infrastructure including water and electricity, transport, housing, education and health facilities and other amenities;

2.8.4 **Natural capital:** Access to arable land and other environmental resources that are not contaminated; and

2.8.5 **Social/political capital:** Support networks and memberships (including cultural belonging), and relationships that foster trust and reciprocity (Petersen, 2010).

Informed by Sen's capability approach and other perspectives, the SL framework holds that a deficit in one livelihood asset is likely to cause deficits in other livelihood assets and result in further impoverishment (Petersen, 2010). For example, a lack of financial resources may result in reduced access to basic infrastructure. This may increase household stress and result in poor mental and/or physical health, which renders the human resources unable to contribute effectively to their social, economic and natural environments and ultimately results in an impoverished community. Thus communities can find themselves in a deprivation trap, whereby any deficit among the five livelihood assets results in increased poverty (Swanepoel & de Beer, 2006; Petersen, 2010).

2.9 THE AFFECTS OF DIDR ON MENTAL HEALTH

DIDR is a stressful life event for the APS, as it disrupts their daily routine and threatens access to livelihood assets necessary for sustainable living (Xi & Hwang, 2010; Tuval-

Mashiach & Dekel, 2012). Most studies on stress caused by resettlement focus on resettlement resulting from natural disasters, war and political factors, which bring different and perhaps more extreme experiences under analysis (Tuval-Mashiach & Dekel, 2012). However, studies on stress induced by DIDR and how APS cope with this stress, suggest that DIDR can have a negative impact on mental health, as high incidences of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress symptoms are recorded (Lev-Wiesel, 1998; Xi & Hwang, 2010; Tuval-Mashiach & Dekel, 2012; Nuttman-Shwartz, Dekel & Tuval-Mashiach, 2011). Furthermore, the socio-psychological stress caused by DIDR can result in cultural separation and identity deprivation (McDonald-Wilmsen & Webber, 2011; Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009).

This study focuses on how DIDR affects the mental health of APS, as the principles and guidelines for involuntary resettlement are often socio-economic in nature and tend to ignore this "softer", less tangible area of deprivation. This has meant that resettlement projects often build upon the economic, infrastructural and natural livelihood assets of APS, while ignoring the human and social livelihood assets. Mental health falls within the domain of human capital and while the development of other livelihood assets is necessary for the promotion of mental health, it follows that improvements in mental health are necessary for the development of all the livelihood assets. Therefore, if DIDR is to be approached from a people-centered perspective and result in development for APS, as stipulated by the World Bank's *OP 4.12*, it is pertinent to understand how DIDR affects mental health and what this means for the livelihood restoration of APS.

This study understands the effects that DIDR has on mental health with reference to Downing and Garcia-Downing's (2009) theory on routine and dissonant cultures. This is discussed further on, but first it is necessary to clarify what is meant by mental health. According to the World Health Organisation (2001, p. 1, cited in Petersen, 2010) mental health[2] is, "a state of well-being in which the individual realises his or her own abilities, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to his or her community". Therefore, a mentally healthy individual believes in their self-worth and abilities (self-efficacy), has the capacity to think and act

[2] The term mental health is used interchangeably with the term psychological well-being

appropriately, has a generally positive affect and interacts with other people effectively (Peterson, 2010). The psychological, social and cultural aspects of life form an interconnected system that is pertinent to achieving this state of well-being. The remainder of this section conceptualises this system and discusses Downing and Garcia-Downing's (2009) theory on how DIDR affects the PSC well-being of the APS.

2.9.1 Conceptualising the PSC-System for Human Well-being

Culture is defined as the way of life of a particular society, which includes the collection of ideas and habits that guide its members' behaviours and are transmitted to future generations (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). It is the set of constructs that informs the way in which individuals understand, interpret and adapt to their environment, as well as the acceptability of certain behaviours (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). Culture is learned through socialisation, whereby individuals are taught about their way of life by family, school and other social institutions (Haralambos & Holborn, 2004). Thus, the social environment has a direct impact on the culture individuals adopt. Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) explain that culture provides the answers to primary questions, which include; Who are we? Where are we? Where are we coming from? Where are we going? Why do people live and die? and What are our responsibilities to others and ourselves?. The answers to these questions are necessary for day-to-day functioning and a negotiation of what is and what is not acceptable. Without the answers to these questions, social life becomes chaotic, uncertain and unpredictable (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). This threatens mental health, as uncertainty produces stress reactions and feelings of helplessness (Lev-Wiesel, 1998).

Culture is inextricably linked to identity formation. Identity constitutes the socially distinguishing features that individuals count as important about themselves. These features are consequential for how individuals react to and behave within society (Fearon, 1999). While a variety of factors inform the construction of identity, such as gender and nationality, culture plays a large role in identity formation since it constitutes the individual's way of life. Frosh (1999 in Haralambos and Holborn 2004, p. 793) explains that, "In developing their identities people draw upon culturally available resources in their immediate social networks and in society as a whole". Therefore, an individual's understanding and perception of the self (their identity) is socially constructed by their significant others and their broader community, which means that changes within their

immediate and distant social contexts can have a significant impact on their identity. It is also important to note that identity has been recognised as a fundamental human need by Max-Neef et al. (1991), which means that any threat to the positive formation of an individual's identity can threaten their mental health and result in PSC impoverishment.

Given the importance of social and cultural factors in defining an individual's knowledge of the world, as well as their identity, it follows that these have a bearing on psychological well-being. Studies have demonstrated that sound socio-cultural environments improve physical and psychological health, while poor socio-cultural environments weaken physical and psychological health (Barlow & Durand, 2009). Various studies have revealed that positive social relationships guard individuals from physical and psychological pathologies, such as high blood pressure, depression and alcoholism (Barlow & Durand, 2009). Therefore, healthy socio-cultural settings, in which individuals clearly understand their environment and have positive social relationships, are necessary for identity formation and psychological well-being. Both of which are necessary in the promotion of mental health and hence the development of human capital.

2.9.2 Routine and Dissonant Cultures

In acknowledging that DIDR is a stressful life-event, Downing and Garcia-Downing's (2009) theory on Routine and Dissonant Cultures argues for the importance of sound socio-cultural environments, in which psychological well-being and positive identity formation are promoted. This is supported by Hota and Suar's (2011) argument that socio-cultural accomplishment is essential for the successful rehabilitation of APS. Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) write that communities affected by DIDR undergo a process of social change, which involves a disruption in their routine culture, a phase of dissonant culture and then a re-establishment of a new routine culture. If a new routine culture is not successfully re-established post-resettlement this can result in PSC impoverishment, which means that APS' identities and psychological well-being remain threatened and unstable.

The routine culture of APS, which provides answers to their primary questions, becomes subject to dissonance not only when resettlement occurs, but on being informed of the impending move. This is as a result of "deferred investment", whereby once a community knows that they are going to be moved, they stop investing in that area; government halts infrastructure development, entrepreneurs withdraw and community members reduce time

and money spent on agriculture and building houses, as well as their participation in the local social and political organisations (de Wet, 2002, p. 31). However, it may take years before the resettlement takes place, meaning that APS lose out on investments and opportunities that would have been taken (de Wet, 2002). Thus, the affected community's answers to their primary questions are threatened not only when the resettlement occurs, but for the period of waiting for it to occur.

This phase of dissonance means that social life becomes chaotic, uncertain and unpredictable and, depending on how the displacement is handled, previously constructed answers to primary questions might be invalidated. Therefore, the new routine culture is established soon after displacement, as the need to answer primary questions is imperative for daily functioning (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). However, the sustainability of this new routine culture depends on whether the community can re-establish old answers or find new and effective answers to their primary questions. If this is not possible dissonance remains, resulting in PSC impoverishment, which threatens mental health and positive identity construction (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009).

2.10 MITIGATING PSC IMPOVERISHMENT

Involuntary resettlement principles and guidelines require that the livelihoods of APS are restored (WB, 2001; IFC, 2002). However, while livelihood restoration projects are supposed to include addressing the PSC impoverishment caused by DIDR, it is seldom the case that this actually happens. Social disarticulation needs to be mitigated through an all-encompassing (people-centered) strategy that allows for purposive community reconstruction (Cernea, 1996). If their re-establishment is to be sustainable, it is imperative that APS participate actively and fairly in the resettlement process from being informed to the completion of the livelihood restoration programme (Cernea, 1996; Hota & Suar, 2011; Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). With regards to avoiding or limiting the cultural dissonance that results in PSC impoverishment, Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) propose seven steps to assist with the transition, which include:

2.10.1 Rejecting the misconceptions[3] that result in PSC impoverishment being ignored or avoided;

[3] Refer to the five misconceptions listed in section 2.6

2.10.2 Ensuring that laws and policies are in place to regulate resettlement activities and monitor financing;

2.10.3 Setting a PSC objective that will ensure a new, sustainable routine culture is re-established shortly after resettlement;

2.10.4 Enhancing baseline studies used to assess the entitlements of APS to move beyond socio-economic questionnaires to a thorough examination of the socio-cultural context of APS;

2.10.5 Protecting vulnerable community members, as DIDR can exacerbate already-existing inequalities within communities, making the resettlement more difficult for these members;

2.10.6 Empowering APS to participate actively in the resettlement through meaningful consultation, allowing them to take control over their own futures; and

2.10.7 Developing PSC innovations that help APS avoid dissonance and establish new, meaningful cultural routines, such as, placing displaced families nearby host-families who can help them settle into their new community.

Furthermore, as briefly mentioned in section 2.6.9, Hota and Suar (2011) argue that, along with placing an emphasis on the importance of how financial compensation is used and the meaningful participation of APS, support and self-efficacy are imperative for successful livelihood restoration. Therefore, to avoid or limit the PSC impoverishment of APS, a holistic approach which integrates economic sustainability with enhancing socio-cultural well-being through empowerment and capacity building is necessary. However, the support networks and levels of self-efficacy of the APS need to be considered if livelihood restoration is to be achieved.

2.11 CONCLUSION

Since millions of people are affected by DIDR annually, the affects that DIDR has on APS are well worth considering. An extensive knowledge base on DIDR has revealed that APS are often left further impoverished than they were prior to resettlement. In recognition of this, a variety of people-centered principles and guidelines have been developed to mitigate or reduce the impoverishment risks faced by APS, as well as promote their development.

However, neo-liberal thinking, which emphasises productivity and posits that social expenditure is a drain on resources, continues to influence how DIDR is approached. This means that, despite policies focused on the people and their sustainable development, APS are still being left further impoverished. Mental health is one area of impoverishment that is regularly neglected during resettlement. Since mental health constitutes part of the human capital necessary for sustainable livelihoods, it is necessary to understand the effects of DIDR on mental health, how any negative consequences can be mitigated, and how mental health can be promoted in the context of DIDR. This study bases its understanding of the consequences of DIDR on mental health by regarding DIDR as a stressful life event which disrupts the daily routine of APS, and considers how this affects their PSC well-being and identity construction.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH STRATEGY AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the aim of this study was to elicit and analyse the in-depth narratives of community members who have experienced involuntary resettlement, a qualitative research strategy was chosen. In particular, a social constructionist, narrative method of inquiry and analysis informed the research design. This chapter justifies these methodological choices by demonstrating the fit between the research aim and a qualitative, social constructionist research strategy. It describes the narrative methods of data collection and analysis that were used and discusses how this approach was applied, including adjustments that were made, during the research process. Practical issues, including sampling procedures, research instruments, the use of a research assistant and working with translation are also detailed. The trustworthiness of the study is discussed, followed by the ethical considerations, which bring a close to the chapter.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTION AND AIM

The primary research question for the study was:

How do people affected by DIDR construct their identities in their narratives on the DIDR process?

Therefore, the main aim was:

To further understand the PSC transitions that take place as a result of DIDR by analyzing how APS construct their identities in their narratives of the DIDR process.

3.3 SECONDARY OBJECTIVES

The secondary objectives are:

3.3.1 To understand how the participants perceive changes that have taken place in their socio-cultural environment as a result of the resettlement;

3.3.2 To explore psychological changes experienced by the participants as a result of the resettlement;

3.3.3 To discover the participants' responses to being informed of the resettlement;

3.3.4 To explore the participants' perceptions of the resettlement process; and

3.3.5 To highlight changes that have taken place in the identity construction of the participants' as a result of the resettlement.

3.4 RESEARCH STRATEGY AND DESIGN

Qualitative research is a non-numerical approach to understanding human feelings and experiences, with the purpose of discovering the deeper meanings embedded in human life (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006; Babbie, 2010). Since this study was aimed at understanding the deeper experiences of people affected by DIDR, a qualitative research strategy was deemed appropriate. More specifically, the research was undertaken from a social constructionist perspective, which focuses on meaning and in-depth experiences, but does so through a social lens. In other words, social constructionism posits that the realities of individuals are understood as being constructed through social interactions, which means that individuals' understandings of the world are largely determined by their socio-cultural environment (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 2006). This qualitative perspective was chosen, as the study looks at how a changed socio-cultural environment has influenced the identity construction and PSC well-being of resettled community members.

Burr (1995) writes that there is no single feature that denotes social constructionism, but explains that any approach based on one or more of the following four assumptions can be considered social constructionist. Firstly, social constructionism takes a critical stance towards "taken-for-granted-knowledge" (Burr, 1995). This means that knowledge is not considered to be a true representation of reality, but is constructed by social beings (humans) and their interactions. Secondly, our understandings of the world are situated in historical and cultural contexts (Burr, 1995). This claim is supported by Downing and Garcia-Downing's (2009) theory on Routine and Dissonant Cultures, as it rests on the notion that individuals' socio-cultural environments provide the answers to our questions about the world and our relation to it. The theory also posits that historical events, such as being physically displaced, may disrupt or modify the answers to these questions. Thirdly, social constructionism assumes that knowledge is sustained by social processes (Burr, 1995). In other words, it is through daily interactions with other people that we come to

know more about the world and our identities. This is again supported by the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009), as it posits that groups and institutions, such as schools and businesses, also provide answers to primary questions and hence inform identity construction. This also reinforces the notion that any changes in these social processes are likely to produce changes in how individuals understand the world, and how they construct their identity. Finally, Burr (1995) writes that knowledge and social action go together, meaning that cultural constructions together with knowledge of social situations and/or impending events bring about certain behavioural responses. For example, on receiving information that they are soon to be physically displaced, communities may halt productive activities, as they will have no value post-resettlement (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009; de Wet, 2002).

This study took the form of a case study, whereby a single instance of DIDR was analysed (Babbbie, 2010). The case consisted of a small community that was resettled from a farm to a town by a mine in Mpumalanga, South Africa.

3.5 POPULATION, SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The sample was drawn from a population of 20 households[4] that were resettled from a farm to a town in Mpumalanga in February 2012. This resettlement can be classified as DIDR since the resettlement was a result of extended mining operations. A purposive snowball sampling method was used, as one household head (HH) from the community was identified and asked to be a participant, as well as recruit others to participate in the study (Durrheim, 2006; Sarantakos, 2013). He was asked to organize a sample comprising of six male HHs and six female HHs or spouses of HHs, two of which were to be used in pre-testing the research method. HHs or their spouses were the preferred participants since they were considered the "decision-makers" of the households and would have played a larger role in the resettlement process than the other household members. Both female and male participants were recruited to account for gender differences in the experiences of DIDR. Since the aim was to gain in-depth narratives of how the participants constructed their identities in relation to being resettled, only a small sample was required. Therefore a sample size of 10, representing 50% of the households that were resettled, was chosen.

[4] For the purposes of this study, one household is synonymous with a group of people living under the same roof.

Although these were the selection criteria given to the selected community member, he was unable to select such a group, as most of the eligible male HHs were working during data collection and unable to take leave to participate in the study. For this same reason, he was also unable to participate as had originally been agreed. The original sample did comprise of six females and six males, however, not all were HHs or their spouses, but some were daughters and/or sons of HHs. Two of the male HHs dropped out during data collection and were replaced by female participants (one mother of a HH and one spouse of a HH), and we requested that the mother of one of the male participants be interviewed instead of him, as she was a HH. Thus, the final sample (including the two participants interviewed during pre-testing) comprised of nine females and only three males. Table 1 indicates the sample composition.

Table 1: Sample composition

	Male	**Female**
Household Head (HH)	1	2
Spouse of HH	-	3
Mother of HH	-	1
Brother of HH	1	-
Daughter of HH	-	3
Son of HH	1	-

It was initially stipulated that HHs or spouses who were elderly, disabled or infirmed would not be considered for the study due to the risk of creating further stress or discomfort, however, one of the male participants was quite elderly. This was allowed based on his willingness to participate and the shortage of male participants.

It must also be noted that two participants[5] were excluded from the data analysis, as one (Brother of HH) had not been present during the resettlement process, and the other (Mother of HH) had been unable to understand the purpose of the interview.

[5] Highlighted in Table 1

3.6 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The following research instruments were required;

3.6.1 A semi-structured interview schedule (Appendix 4);

3.6.2 A reflective form (Appendix 5);

3.6.3 A digital voice recorder;

3.6.4 A notepad; and

3.6.5 Transcription software.

3.7 PRE-TESTING OF THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Pre-testing involves using the research instrument on a small sample, prior to the actual research study, to identify potential problems with the research instrument and make necessary adjustments (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). In this case, two participants from the same community were interviewed using the semi-structured interview schedule prior to interviewing the remaining research participants. The first participant was a female HH, while the second was a daughter a HH. The researcher and research assistant treated these interviews as if they were part of the actual study and the participants were unaware that they were pilot interviews. Based on the outcomes of these interviews, no changes were made to the data collection method, as they elicited sufficient information for the study. In fact, due to the shortage of other HHs and the subsequent inclusion of the children of HHs as participants, it was decided to include these interviews in the final analysis. This brought the sample size back up to 10.

3.8 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

3.8.1 Participant Interviews

It was proposed that the data collection technique would be informed by Wengraf's (2001) method for narrative interviewing. This involved undertaking two interview sessions with each participant in close succession to attain in-depth narratives and returning for a final interview with each participant, after a preliminary data analysis. This method advocates for minimal intervention from the interviewer, particularly in the first and second interviews, to allow for the natural elicitation of narratives (Wengraf, 2001). The third

interview takes a semi-structured/structured approach, as it is used to follow-up on important points raised during the first and second interviews. However, comments from a reader of the research proposal resulted in the revision of this method, as it was highlighted that a lack of interviewer involvement can result in the interview being experienced as awkward. This may cause discomfort among interviewees, raising ethical issues. It was recommended that a more flexible, semi-structured interview be used. Since the research participants were most likely not familiar with the proposed technique, it was agreed that Wengraf's (2001) method would be inappropriate. Therefore, the proposed method of data collection was adapted by combining the Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative (SQUIN), which was to be the only question used in the first interview, with the semi-structured interview schedule designed for the third interview (Appendix 4) (Wengraf, 2001). This meant that the number of interviews per participant was reduced from three to one. Reflection on the data collection process revealed that the revised method was more suitable, as most of the participants did not spend a long time answering the first question (the SQUIN), even when probes and gestures were used to encourage them.

Although time limits should not be allocated to narrative interviews to allow the participants enough time to produce their stories, approximately one and half hours was allocated to each interview (Wengraf, 2001). This allocation was made to give participants an idea of how much of their time would be required. It was thought that this time would be sufficient for eliciting in-depth narratives, but would also allow the interviewer to ensure that participants would not go off track. In practice, most of the interviews were under an hour long, but interview times ranged from 20 to 70 minutes, depending on the participants' understanding of the questions, relation to the resettlement and willingness to talk.

The interviews were to take place in the homes of the research participants, but the community member who recruited the participants organized that they be held at one of the other community member's homes. She was an unemployed HH and volunteered the use of her home for the interviews. Having all the interviews take place at one house raised concerns regarding confidentiality and anonymity, however, when asked about where the participants would prefer to do their interviews, it was indicated that they would prefer to come to the chosen house, as they would not be expecting us at their homes. All of the participants, including the participant who hosted the interviews, were informed of

confidentiality and anonymity. It was also ensured that nobody was in the house while the interviews were taking place, so that nobody could hear what was being said.

Since the researcher could not speak the vernacular language of the research participants, which is isiZulu, a research assistant who could speak isiZulu was required to undertake the interviews. These were recorded using a digital voice recorder and the interviews were carefully transcribed from isiZulu into English by the research assistant.

The research assistant was a fellow student of the researcher's, with a background in social work, which meant that she was well-trained in undertaking interviews. She was also originally from a rural area in Mpumalanga, and so was familiar with the culture and way of life of the community, which was predominantly Ndebele.

Working with translation in qualitative research, and particularly narrative research, which looks at cultural meaning and positioning, can present various analytical problems. Different languages carry different sets of assumptions and representations that the researcher is usually not aware of (Temple & Young, 2004). Thus important meanings can easily be lost during translation.

In this case, although the research assistant was familiar with the culture and language of the participants, the researcher who was to undertake the analysis was not familiar with the culture or language. While it was inevitable that some meaning from the interviews would fall away as a result of translation, measures were taken to ensure that as much meaning could be retained as possible. This involved firstly, asking the research assistant to fill out reflection forms (Appendix 5) immediately after each interview, which involved reporting on feelings conveyed, changes in mood, attitudes and positions adopted in relation to the resettlement and the interviewer. Secondly, the researcher and research assistant engaged in informal debriefing sessions everyday where the research assistant shared her thoughts and feelings on how the interviews had gone. Thirdly, where the researcher was unsure of the meaning a participant was trying to convey she would check with the research assistant to clarify what something meant.

Each participant was given a R100 Spar voucher for the nearest Super Spar in thanks for their participation. They were not informed of this gift prior to the interviews, as there was concern that this would become an incentive. The community member who recruited the

participants and the community member who hosted the interviews were each given R200 on completion of the data collection as a means of saying thank-you for their assistance. They had not been aware that they would receive this gift.

3.8.2 Key Informant Interviews

Two informal key informant interviews were undertaken during data collection, with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the culture of the participants' new community. These were undertaken by the researcher, as the key informants could speak English. There was no formal interview schedule for these interviews. The key informants were simply asked to describe the way of life of the community and probes were used to continue the discussions. These interviews were not audio-recorded, since they were informal, but notes were taken on important points. Unfortunately, arrangements had not been made to give the key informants a token of appreciation for their assistance.

The first key informant, who will be called John[6], was working as a control room clerk for a mine in the area, but had previously been a community development worker (CDW) for the local municipality and had assisted with the concerned resettlement. The second key informant, who will be called Peter, was the Ward Counsellor (WC) for the community. He resided in the community and was aware of the resettlement project and the livelihood restoration programme that was underway. Both key informants provided valuable information with regards to the way of life of the community, which is briefly discussed in the following chapter.

3.9 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Narrative analysis was an appropriate method of inquiry and analysis for this research, as narratives serve as performances of status and identity (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; Riessman, 2008; Bamburg, 2004). In line with social constructionism, narratives are not considered to be true representations of some objective reality, but rather demonstrate how individuals choose to construct particular versions of themselves and/or events at a particular place and time (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006). Therefore, a good understanding of both the broader and the immediate socio-cultural contexts in which a narrative is told is

[6] Pseudonyms are used for the key informants as well as the research participants, so as to maintain anonymity.

pertinent to narrative analysis.

This study adopted Bamberg's (2004) approach to narrative analysis. Bamberg (2004) explains that narratives are performances in which the narrator positions the world-in-relation-to-self and the self-in-relation-to-world. This means that narratives communicate the situation in which the narrator has been placed as a result of circumstances (a situation that is beyond their control) and how the narrator actively chooses to make sense of this situation by the position they take in the narrative. Through understanding the positions that the narrator constructs for the world-in-relation-to-self and the self-in-relation-to-world, the researcher can begin to understand the participant's identity. This approach to narrative analysis was deemed appropriate, as the participants were placed in an unusual situation that was beyond their control (DIDR) and the study was looking to discover how the participants chose to respond to this situation, as well as how this affected their identity and PSC well-being.

Bamberg's (2004) three levels of positioning analysis were used to analyse the transcriptions. The first level involved understanding how the characters are designed in time and space within the narrative. This entailed an analysis of how the characters were positioned in relation to one another and the sequence of events played out in the narrative (Bamberg, 2004). Special attention was given here to the cultural context in which the narrative was being told and how the narrator constructed relationships with their significant others (Bamberg 2004; Riessman, 2002).

The second level required the researcher to consider how the narrator interacted with the audience during their interview (Bamberg, 2004). This informed the researcher of the preferred identity that the narrator wanted the audience to see (Riessman, 2002). In this case the immediate audience was the research assistant. However, the participants were aware that the researcher was going to see their transcriptions and so they may have indirectly 'performed' with this is mind. Therefore, while the research assistant was the only audience within the immediate discursive context, the researcher was considered to be a 'deferred' audience member who would later be exposed to the interview. This was vital to acknowledge, as the researcher had previously been involved with the resettlement in another capacity and the participants may have continued to associate her with this involvement, despite being informed that this was no longer the case.

The third level of analysis involved looking at how the narrator portrayed particular notions of the self. This meant returning to the previous two levels of analysis and identifying themes that indicated particular positions within the story (Bamberg, 2004). Bamberg (2004) explains that the outcome of this analysis is an understanding of how the participants position themselves in relation to the situation in which they have been positioned. Thus, the analysis resulted in a deeper understanding of how the participants made sense of the resettlement process, whether they had established a new routine culture, or remained in dissonance, and how this affected their identity construction and PSC well-being.

Originally only a narrative analysis was to be undertaken, however, an initial data analysis revealed that specific themes emerged throughout the interviews. Based on the size of the sample and variances between the participants, a thorough narrative analysis of each of their interviews was going to be too complicated, but the researcher did not want to exclude these themes from the analysis. It was therefore decided to firstly undertake a thematic content analysis, so as to capture the themes and relate them back to how the resettlement affected the participants' PSC well-being. This was followed by a narrative analysis of the interviews with the three household heads, as they were most involved with the resettlement. Thus allowing for an in-depth understanding of the role the resettlement had played in their PSC well-being and identity construction.

3.10 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

Four criteria needed to be satisfied to ensure the trustworthiness of the study, namely; credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004).

Credibility involves ensuring that the research findings are truly representative of the reality the participants wished to convey (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006; Babbie, 2010). The term 'truth' is being used here with reference to accurately reflecting the participants' socially constructed subjective reality and not some objective reality. A variety of measures were taken to ensure that this study is credible. Firstly, well-established research methods were employed. Narrative analysis is a form of qualitative inquiry that is used and supported by many researchers in the social sciences. Bamberg's (2004) method of positioning analysis is grounded in the works of other practitioners and informed by pervious experiences (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). Secondly, although social constructionist

research is not looking for the objective truth, a level of honesty and genuineness from the participants is required, in that they do not completely misrepresent who they are and how they have experienced the resettlement (Shenton, 2004). This was ensured by making participation in the study voluntary and not notifying the participants of their gifts of thanks until after the interviews. Participants were also encouraged to be honest with the interviewer and were informed that their stories would remain anonymous. Thirdly, the researcher kept what Shenton (2004) calls a "reflective commentary", whereby the researcher continuously reflected on the data collection process, how she thought the participants were responding to the interviews and any problems that were encountered along the way. Finally, a thorough knowledge and understanding of DIDR was attained prior to data collection, as demonstrated in Chapter 2 (Shenton, 2004).

Dependability involves ensuring that, if a similar study on the same topic were reproduced in a similar setting, similar findings would be produced (Babbie, 2010). While this is difficult with qualitative research, as it is context-specific, dependability may be increased by providing a detailed description of the context in which the study was undertaken and how it was achieved (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). Therefore, this research report provides a thorough description of the research design and implementation, as well as the operational details of data collection and analysis.

There is much debate about whether the findings of a qualitative study can be applied to other situations and populations. However, detailed descriptions of the contexts and processes involved in the research will allow researchers to determine whether the findings can be transferred to different contexts (Van der Riet & Durrheim, 2006). This involves providing a full contextual account of the factors influencing the study, including the number of participants, the geographical and cultural context, the data collection and analysis processes and any restrictions that may have impacted on the findings (Shenton, 2004). As mentioned previously, these details are provided in this report.

Lastly, confirmability involves ensuring that the findings of the study are actually the results of the experiences of the participants and not the preferred ideas and beliefs of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). The "reflective commentary" of the researcher, the research assistant's reflective forms, and cross-checks with the research assistant were used to ensure that the researcher's preconceived ideas did not influence the findings.

3.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.11.1 Permission from Authorities

A formal letter was submitted to the mine responsible for the resettlement requesting permission to access the affected community, as well as to refer to a report on the resettlement for the purpose of gaining contextual information. Permission was granted by the responsible mine on 27 August 2013 (Appendix 6). The study was also approved by the University's Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-medical) on 27 August 2013 and was allocated the protocol number: H13/07/11 (Appendix 7).

3.11.2 Informed Consent

All participants were informed on what the research project involved, why it was being undertaken and what their participation involved both verbally and in the participant information sheet (Appendix 1). Participants were given the opportunity to choose not to participate. On choosing to participate, participants were asked to sign two consent forms, the first of which involved consent to participate in the study (Appendix 2) and second indicating consent for the interviews to be audio-recorded (Appendix 3).

3.11.3 Confidentiality and Anonymity

To ensure confidentiality, data is being stored in digital form, with identifying features removed, on a password protected computer for a period of two years after any publication arising from the study, or six years after the completion of the study if there are no publications. Anonymity is important on three levels in this study. Firstly, access to the participants was granted by the mine responsible for the resettlement. Under no circumstances is the name of the mine mentioned in any material pertaining to the project. The mine was informed of its anonymity in the letter requesting permission to access the community. Furthermore, no information will be released that presents the mine in an unfavourable manner and the mine will not be held liable for any issues that arose during the research process. Secondly, two consulting companies were involved with the resettlement of the given community. Once again, the names of these companies do not appear on any documentation pertaining to the research project. They will also not be held liable for any issues that arose during the research process. Lastly, pseudonyms were used to maintain the anonymity of the participants, and they were fully informed of their anonymity. The participants also had the right to request the omission of any information

they shared that they did not wish to be reported on.

3.11.4 Non-maleficence and Beneficence

While it was not expected that the study would cause harm to the participants, there was the possibility that it would result in some emotional discomfort. If this was the case, participants were to be referred to a psychologist at the Witbank Hospital. There were no incidences where this was necessary. Although the participants may not directly benefit from the research, communities affected by DIDR in the future may benefit, as it will contribute to resettlement practitioners' understanding of how DIDR affects the identity construction and PSC well-being of APS, and how to better mitigate any negative effects in this regard.

3.11.5 Publishing of research findings

Should the research findings be published, it will be ensured that the mine, consulting companies and participants remain anonymous. None of the parties concerned will be held liable for any of the findings and will receive a copy of the research report prior to publication for review.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The data analysis is split into two parts; firstly a thematic analysis considers the themes that emerged throughout the participants' narratives, while the second part undertakes an in-depth narrative analysis of the interviews with the HHs. Both analyses focus on what the resettlement meant for the PSC well-being and identity construction of the participants. It is revealed that overall the resettlement has been experienced as a positive development, but has also introduced the participants to new socio-economic struggles. Before the data analysis is presented, a brief context of the study is provided, followed by a description of the participant demographics.

4.2 CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

To fully understand the data analysis that follows, a basic understanding of how the resettlement happened and the socio-economic changes that resulted is necessary. To ascertain this, the researcher was provided with access to the Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Report compiled six months post-resettlement. Furthermore, a basic knowledge of the socio-cultural context of the participants is important, as it plays a major role in their identity construction and PSC well-being. The two key informants provided this information. The remainder of this section presents a brief background on the resettlement and discusses the culture of the participants' new community.

4.2.1 Background to the Resettlement

The community which forms the population for this study was resettled from a farm to a town in Mpumalanga in February 2012. The community was informed of the resettlement in 2006, which was when the household census and asset inventory were undertaken (Reilly & Smithen, 2012). Thus the APS waited six years to be resettled, which means that deferred investment may have taken place and the APS may not have been compensated for investments made during this time, as they would not have been recorded in the household census and asset inventory.

An M&E study was undertaken six months post-resettlement to assess the socio-economic impacts of the resettlement against the baseline developed in 2006 (Reilly & Smithen,

2012). The study was informed by international principles and guidelines, as well as the responsible company's internal resettlement policies (Reilly & Smithen, 2012). Findings revealed that the resettlement had both positive and negative impacts on the APS. The positive impacts included housing improvements, increased access to electricity and water, healthcare facilities, primary and secondary education, shops and other amenities, and decreased transport costs (Reilly & Smithen, 2012). However, the negative impacts were increased living expenses, a lack of employment opportunities, and the loss of productive land and livestock (Reilly & Smithen, 2012). It was recommended that a Livelihood Restoration Plan (LRP), which would address these problems, be implemented (Reilly & Smithen, 2012). During data collection it was confirmed that the LRP was being implemented and that efforts were being made to assist the APS with addressing their needs.

4.2.2 The New Settlement

The resettled community's new town predominantly consisted of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing, while other houses were informally built from various materials, such as corrugated iron and tin. The resettled community's housing seemed to be of a higher quality than the RDP housing. The RDP housing consisted of concrete walls and corrugated iron roofs, while the resettlement housing consisted of face-brick walls, tiled roofs, tiled floors, toilets inside the houses, kitchen facilities, JoJo tanks outside the houses and small yards. The roads in the area were tarred, but poorly maintained and there was a lot of illegal dumping and litter in the area. The town was situated in an industrial area, surrounded by farms and mines and the nearest, more developed town was 7.3km away. During data collection it was observed that the town had its own supermarket, various tuck shops, at least one primary school and high school and one or two crèches. Other amenities in the area included a clinic, a community hall, churches, bottle stores and hair dressers.

The town consisted of multiple cultures, but the most dominant was the Ndebele culture, which has its origins in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Nyathi, 2000). It was explained that the Ndebele inhabitants in the area continued with their traditional rituals, while those who did not belong to this culture returned home to practice their traditional rituals. However, everyone showed respect for one another's culture.

The majority of the residents had come from other places and settled there looking for employment opportunities on the surrounding mines and farms, hence the mixture of cultures. The researcher was informed that employment was a sign of prosperity in the area and that once somebody is employed by a mine they have "made it". However, many of the young adults in the community did not meet the necessary requirements to work on the mines, such as having completed secondary school, and as such remained unemployed.

The notion that housing is an indicator of financial status and hence how prosperous a household is was supported by both key informants. It was mentioned that well-built houses represent prosperity and success, as decent structures imply that the owners are earning well. When asked to describe the status level represented by the resettlement houses, both key informants stated that they indicated wealth and that any community member who saw these houses would assume that the household members were well-off. This confirmed that the resettlement houses were of a high standard and quality in relation to the rest of the housing in the community. It also implied that the houses may have represented something that was not, since the APS were given these houses and did not finance them themselves. The data analysis revealed that some of the households were still struggling financially.

According to the key informants, some of the major social issues in the community included high unemployment levels, drug and alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancy, high drop-out rates at the secondary school, and satanism and witchcraft.

4.3 PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

Table 2 below provides information regarding the participants' relations to their HHs, their gender, age and employment status. To protect their identity pseudonyms have been used to represent them.

Table 2: Summary of Participant Demographics

Pseudonym	Relation to HH	Gender	Age	Employment Status
Cynthia	HH	F	27	Unemployed
Hope	HH	F	45	Unemployed
Jabulani	HH	M	102	Pensioner
Tumi	Spouse	F	30	Unemployed
Selina	Spouse	F	33	Unemployed
Joy	Spouse	F	38	Employed
Grace	Daughter	F	23	Unemployed
Mary	Daughter	F	19	Scholar
Bonnie	Daughter	F	22	Unemployed
Siya	Son	M	28	Employed

Table 2 shows that there were eight female participants and only two male participants; this does not mean that there were more females than males in the community, but that some of the men were employed and were unable to participate in the study. It does suggest though, that there were more employment opportunities available to men than women. Seven of the participants were young adults (between 18 and 35 years old) and of these only one was employed, while one was still in school. The young adult who was employed was male, which reinforces the notion that there were more employment opportunities for men. However, one of the older women was employed, which shows that although scarce, there were employment opportunities for the women in the area. Of the three HHs that were available, the two females were unemployed and the male was a pensioner, which suggests that the majority of the HHs, who are usually male, did have work. Therefore, the demographics reveal that although unemployment has been reported as a problem in the area, the majority of the HHs and some of the other community members are employed, but there are more opportunities available to men. It must also be acknowledged that those who are employed might not be earning incomes sufficient to cover their living expenses.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The thematic analysis is first presented, followed by the narrative analysis.

4.4.1 Themes Identified from the Data Analysis

Six themes emerged that, together, provide an elaborate picture of how the participants experienced the resettlement and what it meant for them during the data analysis. The analysis that follows provides a brief description of each theme and then presents some extracts from the interviews in their support. Following this, each theme is considered with reference to the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010) and the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009) in the form of a discussion, allowing for a deliberation on the meaning of each theme for the PSC well-being and identity construction of the participants.

4.4.2 Theme 1: "We do not struggle anymore"

All of the participants positioned themselves as being better-off than they were prior to the resettlement. This was achieved by the participants speaking of various difficulties that were encountered on the farm that they no longer had to deal with in their new location.

Cynthia and Joy demonstrate how the participants used their previous struggles on the farm to demonstrate that their living conditions had improved, and hence place themselves in the position of being better-off.

Cynthia mentioned: *"Well there at the farms, the thing was, we were staying at the farms, we did not have electricity and we would at times also struggle with getting water. We also did not have clinics and shops. Now we are here in the locations, here everything is near; water, electricity, schools and clinics. Children now attend schools nearby. We do not struggle anymore. We are living a better life now compared to that at the farms".*

Joy explained: *"Life here is very different from the farm life. We have so many things we didn't have before at our disposal. Transport is readily available, shops are not far and we no longer have to take lifts when we go to work like we did at the farm; which was a very dangerous thing to do. Drivers could easily take you and rape or murder you".*

From these extracts it is evident that some of the struggles encountered on the farm included not having electricity, difficulty attaining water and long travelling distances to

clinics, shops, schools and other amenities. Joy also showed that there were safety risks in the area, particularly for women. While she suggested that rape and murder were risks associated with using transport, Mary said that kidnapping was a risk associated with walking long distances.

Mary commented: *"walking long distances to school was not safe for girls, as they could easily be kidnapped".*

Jabulani positioned himself as being very impressed with his new situation and raised another struggle that was encountered on the farms, which involved poorly constructed housing and the flooding and damp that would result from rain.

Jabulani described: *"This place is like living in royalty for me compared to the life I lived before back at the farms. There were many trials at the farms; water would enter through our doors when it was raining. The walls were also always damp from the rain. It was really difficult over there. Life is better".*

Other problems on the farm that were used by the participants to position themselves as better-off involved houses cracking and falling apart, as a result of blasting from the nearby mine, and the experience of illness related to dust from the blasting.

Tumi explained: "*The houses were cracking, dust would also fill our houses whenever the mines were blasting."*

Bonnie mentioned: *"I thought that it was very helpful of the mine to do this for us because we were always sick at the farms. The dust coming from the mine was horrible and it was not safe to live in the farms."*

Some of the younger participants did not position themselves as being as enthusiastic about the improvements that resulted from the resettlement as the others. Although they acknowledged they were better-off, they were quick to mention some of the new challenges they were facing since being resettled. Mary demonstrates a lack of enthusiasm for the improvements that the resettlement has brought, as she simply states that "life is a bit better" now and refers the transport to school and access to shops to support this claim.

Mary mentioned: *"Things are a bit better here than at the farms. Life is a bit better for us*

now, especially when it comes to schooling. We now have free public transport that takes us to school and shops here are just nearby".

Grace, a young, unemployed female participant, had expected the resettlement to bring employment opportunities and expressed disappointment with this not being the case.

Grace commented: *"Aaah [sigh] I still see life as the same as it was in the farms. The problem here is that there are no jobs. (there are no jobs here) It was better that side because it was possible for a person to do part-time jobs somewhere in the mines because these mines hire people from the farms. (ooh, ok) And here such opportunities do not exist".*

Although further on in her interview Grace states that she is better-off now and does not desire to return to the farm, she continues to highlight the lack of job opportunities in the area. This is discussed further in the following theme.

Discussion

Running contrary to the prevalent finding that DIDR often results in further impoverishment for APS, regardless of compliance to principles and guidelines, this theme shows that the participants experienced improvements in their well-being as a result of being resettled. With reference to the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), these improvements can largely be attributed to developments in their infrastructural capital, confirming the positive findings of the M&E study. The majority of the struggles on the farm were related to poor housing and accessing basic infrastructure, such as; water and electricity, education facilities, clinics, and other amenities. The resettlement resulted in improved housing and improved access to this basic infrastructure, which means that there were positive developments in the infrastructural capital of the participants.

Given that improvements in one livelihood asset can result in improvements in the others (Peterson, 2010), it is argued here that the developments in the infrastructural capital of the participants have resulted in improvements in their mental health and as such contributed to developments in their human capital. The infrastructural improvements have enhanced the capabilities of the participants, which has allowed them to perceive themselves as being better-off. This means that they have experienced positive changes in their socio-cultural

environment, whereby they now live in an environment which is conducive to productivity and healthy living. Therefore, the PSC well-being of the participants has improved.

In terms of the theory on Routine and Dissonant Cultures (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009), this theme provides possible answers to three of the following primary questions; "Who are we?, Where are we?" and "Where are we coming from?". The "Who are we?" question essentially relates to how people choose to identify themselves. In this case the participants choose to identify themselves as people who used to struggle due to infrastructural deprivation, but no longer struggle due to being resettled to an area which meets their infrastructural needs. This indicates a positive change in the identity construction of the participants. The "Where are we?" question is answered, as the participants are saying they are in a place where their housing is better and they have access to their basic needs. While the "Where are we coming from?" question is answered by the participants explaining that they are coming from a place where they used to struggle. This suggests that the resettlement has been more of a developmental life event for the participants than a stressful one, as the answers to some of their primary questions have improved due to positive developments in their infrastructural capital. Thus, there have been improvements in the socio-cultural environment of the participants, which ultimately result in improvements in their psychological well-being.

4.4.3 Theme 2: "Everything here is money"

While all the participants positioned themselves as living improved lives due to the resettlement, they also took the position of struggling to afford the living expenses that came with the new area. They were now required to pay for municipal bills, which they had not done on the farm. They had also lost their vegetable gardens, which meant they had to purchase food that they had not previously needed to purchase.

Jabulani highlights the burden of the municipal bills on his family, as he describes them as "killing us", just shortly after he has spoken of how things have improved.

Jabulani commented: *"The only downside about living here is the paying of big amounts of water and electricity bills. Aiyi! They are killing us. I pay over R500 monthly and I can't afford that as I'm just a mere pensioner."*

Mary explains that the major challenge of living in the new town is that everything has a

cost by saying that, “everything here is money”. She highlights that food and water were free on the farm and describes having to pay for everything as a “struggle”.

Mary mentioned: *“I would say things have turned out well for me. The only challenge here is that life here is more expensive. Everything here is money.”*

Zama probed: *“Money, what do you mean?”*

Mary explained: *“Food, water and many other things must be bought with money here. When you were hungry back in the farms you would be able to get spinach in the garden to eat but here you struggle for everything.”*

Other participants acknowledged the struggle with paying municipal bills, but emphasized that they were happy with being there and would not change it. Selina demonstrates that she is willing to adapt to paying the municipality, as it seems a small price to pay for the benefits of living in the town.

Selina described: *“Life here is good. We just struggle with the expenses that come with living in such an area. Here we have to pay the electricity and water bill, even though we struggled with other things at the farms, we did not have to pay for water. Adapting to this change has been difficult but we are going to get used to it. I am happy here because we are also able to do things that we would normally not be able to do. We can watch the TV here, we have electricity, we no longer rely on candles for light during the night, we have our radios and it is just safe here. We do not have to worry about the blasts anymore and the rocks from these coming to our houses. We no longer live in fear.”*

Hope shows that she is wrestling between the struggle of having to pay the municipality and the love and happiness she has experienced in her new home.

Hope explained: *“However, even though we are happy with the houses, life here is really difficult. We have to pay for the water and electricity we use, even as we speak now, I owe the municipality R1400.00; it is difficult to pay off these bills when you are not working. You get me wrong, I love this place, we are all happy here; it is just these bills. These bills are making my life here difficult. I struggle with paying these bills because I am not working, the municipality has closed my water and electricity two times and people always laugh at me.”*

This also highlights that Hope's inability to pay her municipal bills does not go unnoticed by other community members, who mocked her when her lights and water were cut out. This adds to her struggle, as the mention that people laugh at her indicates that she would prefer for this not to be happening.

Discussion

Although this theme does not suggest that the resettlement has resulted in further impoverishment for the participants, it does indicate that it has introduced a new struggle to the participants, despite the elimination of some previous struggles. This theme confirms the negative findings of the M&E study and, in a subtle way, supports de Wet's (2002) notion that there is a complexity inherent in resettlement, making it very difficult to mitigate all negative consequences.

Considered in terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), this theme suggests a decrease in the financial capital of the participants. This does not mean that they are earning less than they were prior to resettlement, but indicates that their current financial resources are insufficient to sustain their new livelihoods, as they now have expenses they did not have before. Although most of the participants maintained that the resettlement had improved their well-being, their inability to afford their new livelihoods has increased their stress levels, which may negatively affect their mental health. Not only is it a struggle for them to realize their daily obligations, but their inability to do so may bring about social isolation, resulting in socio-cultural stress and hence negatively affecting their PSC well-being.

With reference to the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Dowing, 2009), this theme adds to the answers to the questions answered previously and also answers the question, "What are our responsibilities to others and ourselves?" Firstly, the participants identify themselves as struggling to afford their living expenses, which means their answer to, "Who are we?" has become: "we are people who no longer struggle due to improved access to our infrastructural needs, but we are struggling to afford our living expenses". In addition to the previous answer to the question, "Where are we coming from?" the participants are answering that they came from a place where living expenses were minimal. Conversely, they are answering that they live in a place where the living expenses are high and unaffordable to the question, "Where are we?" Finally, in answer to

what their responsibilities are, the participants are saying that they are responsible for paying their municipal bills.

4.4.4 Theme 3: "An opportunity for moving forward"

In line with the participants' view that their lives have improved and despite their struggles with the subsequent increased living expenses, the majority constructed the transition as a developmental opportunity. To them, their new situation indicated that they were making progress, while they described their lives on the farm as being "backwards".

Cynthia makes this point clear. She uses her family's new-found ability to watch television and listen to the radio without having to buy batteries or a generator to justify her claim that the resettlement has been a positive development.

Cynthia mentioned: *"Moving here has been a development for us. We have electricity and have easy access to water. Going back to the farms would mean that we would struggle all over again with water and electricity. We were so backwards; we were not even familiar with a TV. Now we are able to watch the TV and listen to the radio without having to buy batteries or a generator. Life is good here."*

After being asked if she would ever return to the farm, Mary expresses the same sentiment as Cynthia, explaining that the resettlement is an opportunity for her to move forward and that going back would mean that she would be working backwards. By describing the resettlement as a "new level in her life", Mary indicates that it represents a positive development for her.

Mary explained: *"Eish! Aiyi [sigh] no, I would not wish to go back. I see this [the resettlement] as just an opportunity of going forward with my life, (mmmm) it is a new level in my life. If I were to say that I have wishes of going back to the farms that would mean that I would be working backwards. Life does not work like that. My life has really changed here."*

Siya also represents the resettlement as a positive development, as he explains that it has shown him that there is development and growth in life. He compares his new life to his experience on the farm, where it was difficult to act on your thoughts, whereas now he has the opportunities to do so.

Siya explained: *"My experience here has taught me or rather has made me see that there is development and growth in life. There was no development at farms, there just wasn't any. You would do the same thing every day. All you could do at the farms was think and think, but never act on your thoughts. It is easy to get things started here, for example, there are a lot of people here, this in turn makes it easier for a person who wants to start a business to start one."*

"We have really made it here"

As a sub-theme to the current theme, some participants constructed their new location and houses as being of a higher status than what they had previously. This is indicated clearly by Joy who comments that she was "thrilled" to move to an "upper class" area.

Joy commented: *"I was thrilled by the move to an "upper class" (elokishini) area."*

It was also indicated that the transition to owning houses of a "higher standard" had an effect on their sense of who they are and how well they are doing. Cynthia emphasises the importance of owning your own house by explaining that a "rich" person without a house is the same as a "poor" person. However, she holds someone who is "poor" but owns a house in high esteem, as it means that at least this person appears to be better-off. This means that, despite Cynthia's continuing struggle with poverty, the fact that she lives in a good house has improved her sense of well-being, as her hardships are not being presented to anyone, but are kept private.

Cynthia mentioned: *"You know, you could be very rich, but if you do not have your own house you are the same as the person who is poor and does not have even a cent under their name. If you are poor but have a house, no one ever sees your sufferings because at least you have a roof to sleep under. There is nothing more important than having your own house."*

The following statement highlights the significance Hope's house has for her family and indicates that it represents an achievement for her, as she explains that her mom is "really proud of her". She also emphasizes the high status of the housing by claiming that her children would not have been able to build such a beautiful house. She attributes her receipt of the house to being blessed by the Lord for persevering on the farm. This demonstrates the high regard with which Hope and other participants hold their new

houses and the life that came with the resettlement.

Hope explained: *"Yes I was very happy. My family was also happy, my family was also just in awe of the house's standing. My mother was really happy with this house and was proud of me. She was happy that one of her children could have a beautiful house such as the one I have. We have really made it here. Our children would not have been able to build us such houses even if they wished to, these houses are just too expensive and of a high standard. I am grateful to the mine company for the houses they built us. I know that I got this house because I persevered. I had to go through many trials to get here. We endured the effects that living on the mines had on us. This was just a blessing from the Lord."*

Discussion

This theme supports the key informants' viewpoint that housing indicates status within the community and that the resettlement housing indicates wealth and prosperity. It also, together with theme 1, contradicts the popular finding that resettlement results in further impoverishment and shows that it might be possible for resettlement to result in development for the APS.

With regards to the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), this theme reinforces the notion that improvements in infrastructural capital have increased the capabilities of the participants, allowing them to take advantage of the opportunities available to them. Thus, the participants claim that the resettlement has been progressive, despite their current inability to afford their living expenses. This theme also feeds into the social capital of the participants, as their improved infrastructure, particularly the housing, has resulted in the perception that they are now of a higher status. This is an interesting point to note, as it shows that, in addition to the material benefits of living in improved housing, the mere appearance of monetary wealth is sufficient to stimulate the belief among the participants that they have been successful. These perceptions can be said to have resulted in improved levels of self-efficacy, as they demonstrate that the participants' levels of determination and confidence have increased. Thus, the participants' perception of significant improvements in their socio-cultural environment indicates an improvement in their PSC well-being.

In consideration of the Routine and Dissonant cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009), this theme reiterates the answer to the "Where are we?" question in theme 1 by emphasizing the participants' perception that they are better-off in terms of housing and access to opportunities. It also answers the primary question "Where are we going?", whereby the participants indicate that they have moved forward and are going to continue moving forward in terms of development. With regards to the question of identity, in addition to the participants' perception that they are better-off and in contrast to their knowledge that they cannot afford their living expenses, the participants identify themselves as being of a higher status than they were prior to the resettlement. Therefore, like theme 1, this theme indicates that the resettlement has had positive effects on the PSC well-being and identity construction of the participants.

4.4.5 Theme 4: The Mine – Gratitude and Confusion

Although the participants mostly positioned themselves as being grateful to the mine for resettling, it also came up that during the resettlement process, the mine was a source of confusion, despondency and disappointment. When some of the participants recounted their experiences of the resettlement they mentioned feeling confused due to inconsistent communication and the long duration of the process (6 years). This section demonstrates how the participants constructed themselves as currently being grateful towards the mine, and shows why some of them also felt quite disappointed with the mine during the resettlement process.

Selina elaborates on the enormity of what the mine has done by emphasising the beauty of the houses and how she had never imagined that living in a house of such high quality would be possible. She admires the mine for considering their needs when building the houses and indicates that she did not expect everything to be done so well, as she describes what the resettlement as "shocking". Furthermore, Jabulani expresses his gratitude to the mine by explaining that he is "in awe" of what the mine has done.

Selina mentioned: *"These houses are really beautiful. Everything was done so well, the mine company really considered our needs when they built us these houses. What the mine did for us is really big, I had never thought about leaving the farms and I had never imagined that I would own and live in such a house as I live now. Truly, what the mine did for us is shocking.*"

Jabulani commented: *"I'm still in awe of what the mine has done for us."*

Siya supported Jabulani's sentiment when he questioned who would build them such beautiful houses for free, as this implies that the action of giving the community high quality houses is one of generosity.

Siya questioned: *"We are happy here, who would build you such beautiful houses for free?"*

Joy also indicated that she was grateful for what the mine had done, but earlier on in her interview she had mentioned that the process had been very long and this led her, as well as other community members, to doubt whether the resettlement was actually going to happen.

Joy commented: *I am just grateful for what the mine did for us. Our houses are so beautiful.*

However, earlier on in the interview Joy made the following statement:

Joy described: *"It was a very long process...it wasn't an overnight thing. We ended up thinking that they were only fooling us about the resettlement and the houses; when we had just given up on them and the whole resettlement thing; they came through and proved us wrong."*

This theme of doubt also came through in Bonnie's interview, as she expressed that her and her family started to lose patience when the process took so long.

Bonnie mentioned: *We were excited and losing patience on when we will be resettled. It seemed to take forever.*

Hope, as well as other participants, spoke of the confusion that was experienced by the community due to the mine representatives' inconsistent communication. She recounted the process, which involved one representative starting the consultations with the community who then stopped coming, causing confusion among the community members. Eventually a different community representative started to visit the community, but there was a stage where she also stopped visiting, causing further confusion and doubt. Finally, after a community member questioned the mine and informed them of the increased

problems they were experiencing, the resettlement process started again.

Hope explained: *"So this lady made all sorts of promises to us about moving us, just when our hopes were high, she stopped coming. We were all puzzled at what was happening… The community was left confused we were not sure anymore what was happening. It was really bad."*

However, Hope continued in her story to praise the mine for what they had done and explained that they really understood their situation.

Hope mentioned: *"The mine company understood our situation and they really tried their best to help us move away from the farms."*

Discussion

Before considering this theme against any theory, it is imperative to acknowledge that the researcher's previous association with the mine may have swayed the participants to position themselves as being more grateful than they actually were. Additionally, the fact that the mine was still busy with the LRP may have further encouraged them to present themselves as being grateful for fear that anything too negative would adversely affect the project. Nonetheless, this theme corresponds with themes 1 and 3, as the participants position themselves as being better-off than they were prior to the resettlement and so it follows that they are grateful to the mine for the resettlement.

The indication that there was a time of doubt and confusion during the resettlement process reinforces the notion that resettlement can be experienced as a stressful life event, even when it ultimately results in benefits for the APS (Xi & Hwang, 2010; Tuval-Mashiach & Dekel, 2012). The long duration of the resettlement process and inconsistent communication from the mine resulted in a period of uncertainty for the participants, whereby some of their primary questions were threatened. In particular, the question "Where are we going?" could not be answered for a period of time, as some participants' expectations of being resettled began to fall away. This resulted in a brief phase of dissonance, whereby the participants were unsure of what their future held for them. Fortunately, when the mine followed through with the resettlement, the participants were able to re-establish the answers to their primary questions and dissonance turned back into

routine, preventing any further threat to their PSC well-being.

Within the constraints of the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), this theme reveals that the resettlement had the potential to threaten the mental health of the participants and as such their human capital. Had the mine been unable to keep its promise of resettlement, the unsafe living-conditions of the participants would have progressed, their inability to access basic infrastructure would have remained and they may have been unable to re-establish sufficient answers to their primary questions, resulting in increased stress levels and cultural dissonance. However, since the mine did keep its promise, various burdens have been uplifted for the participants (theme 1) and they have been able to re-establish answers to their primary questions. This means that the participants have found a daily routine and the threat of uncertainty has been eliminated, thus reducing any negative effects that this would have had on their human capital.

4.4.6 Theme 5: Hopes and Dreams

The need for hope and the fulfillment of dreams played quite a large role in the participant's stories. It was decided to link the two together, as hope often plays a major role in the realisation of dreams. Many participants constructed themselves and their families as being hopeful for the resettlement and demonstrated the need to maintain this hope since the resettlement took so long. This indicates that the prospect of being resettled represented somewhat of a dream to the participants, whereby they were going to receive something that would improve their lives (better houses in a better location) in a way that they would have been unable to achieve on their own.

Jabulani mentions his family's/community's happiness with the idea of being resettled and explains how they had to keep giving each other hope until the resettlement took place.

Jabulani explained: *"We were very happy when the mine made that announcement and were very eager to own our very own houses. But we didn't realise that it would take so long for the actual move to happen and we just kept giving each other hope till it finally happened after 9 years."*

Tumi also mentions that they had to remain hopeful during the resettlement process, as it took so long. In fact, she refers to the representative from the mine who consulted with them on the process and explains that she would motivate them and encourage them not to

lose hope.

Tumi commented: *"It really took long to build these houses. We were hopeful though; Alison[7] would continue to motivate us not to lose hope on us being resettled."*

Siya highlighted the community's hope for the resettlement by saying that some of the community members started to lose hope when the process took longer than had been expected.

Siya mentioned: *"It took them so long to build these houses that some of us ended up losing hope on the resettlement ever happening."*

Although Bonnie does not say that she was hopeful for the resettlement, she does say that her and her family did not believe it would happen, but that they were very happy when it did. This indicates that the idea of the resettlement was almost "too good to be true" for Bonnie and her family, meaning that they were most likely hopeful that it would take place while trying to be realistic.

Bonnie explained: *"At first we all did not believe that it would happen. We thought that they were just fooling us. But when they told us that the houses were there and ready at the town[8] and when they gave us the keys, we were very excited."*

This notion of disbelief is reinforced by Selina and Hope. Selina states that they could not believe it when it was actually happening, while Hope describes the resettlement as an "unbelievable experience". Both statements point towards the notion that the resettlement was a dream or wish for the participants who felt it to be quite surreal when it actually happened.

Selina described: *"We were really happy about the resettlement, we could not believe that it was actually happening when we were brought here by the mine[9] company to come see the houses that we would be moving into."*

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[7] Pseudonym for mine representative

[8] Name of community has been omitted to maintain anonymity

[9] Name of mine omitted for the protection of the mine

Hope explained: *"This has all been just an unbelievable experience for me and my family. One of my sons always shares with me how blessed he thinks we are because of the houses we have."*

After explaining that owning her own house had always been a dream of hers and now her dream has come true, Cynthia takes the linkage of the resettlement to a dream one step further by stating that it has encouraged her to "dream bigger". She explains that the resettlement process has shown her that nothing is impossible and feels motivated to take advantage of the opportunities that it has presented her with.

Cynthia mentioned: ***"****The whole resettlement process has showed me that nothing is impossible. Although I had always wished for a beautiful house, I never saw myself owning one. The experience has also made me dream bigger. There are a lot of opportunities here to start your own business whereas there at the farms there was no such thing."*

Tumi's story reinforced this sentiment, as she explained that the resettlement resulted in her spiritual growth and maturity as a woman. She befriended a Christian woman in the area and started to attend one of the local churches. When she was asked to describe how she has grown, she mentioned that she is more hopeful now and will not allow her circumstances to define who she is.

Tumi commented: *"I am more hopeful now and I don't allow my circumstances to define me anymore."*

Discussion

Once again, this theme contradicts the prevalent finding that DIDR threatens livelihoods and results in further impoverishment. In fact, it shows that the resettlement itself was never experienced as threat for the participants; rather the resettlement not taking place would have threatened their well-being, as shown in the previous theme. Thus, the resettlement was only experienced as a stressful life event for the participants when there were doubts that it would happen. Since it did happen, it was actually experienced as a progressive life event for the participants, whereby their hopes and wishes for the resettlement indicate that; on being informed of the resettlement, the participants considered it to be an opportunity to grow and develop.

With reference to the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), this theme reinforces the notion that the resettlement has enhanced the human capital of the participants through improving their psychological well-being and hence their overall mental health. The participants' hopes and dreams of the resettlement taking place were realized. As a result most of them have experienced a sense of fulfillment and some are even motivated to continue working towards other aspirations. Thus, the levels of self-efficacy among the participants have increased.

In considering the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009), this theme simply adds to or reinforces some of the primary questions that have already been answered by previous themes. In addition to the previous answers to the "Who are we?" question, the participants identify themselves as being hopeful and motivated. While the answers to the "Where are we going?", "Where are we now?" and "Where are we coming from?" questions in themes 1 and 3 are reiterated. The participants' hope highlights that they knew they would be going to a place where they would be better-off. The fact that their hope remains over a year post-resettlement shows that they truly believe they are in a place where they are better-off and that the opportunities presented by their new situation are going to allow for continued progress. Therefore, it is demonstrated again that the resettlement has positively affected the identity construction and PSC well-being of the participants.

4.4.7 Theme 6: Crime, Drugs and Alcohol, and Devil Worshippers

The participants all constructed the resettlement as something that brought about positive changes for them, with the exception of increased living expenses, to which they seemed willing to adapt. However, it also became apparent during their interviews that they are now exposed to various socio-economic issues that had either been non-existent or less prevalent on the farm. The issues mentioned most often during the interviews included increased crime, drug and alcohol abuse, satanism and witchcraft. Despite these issues, the participants maintained that they were happier and better-off than they were previously, indicating that they placed higher value on living in improved housing and having better infrastructure than they did on ensuring that they and their children were not exposed to such problems.

Cynthia explains that the high rates of crime, drug and alcohol abuse are a result of there

being so many people in the community. However, she also mentions that if you are in your house you should be safe, implying a willingness to live with the high level of crime and take necessary measures to ensure that she does not become a victim of it.

Cynthia explained: *"Although crime is more prevalent here, there was crime in the farms as well. It was just petty crime. People would steal from your garden. There weren't really criminals at the farms, if stealing or a robbery happened you would know that it was your neighbor. Here, robbery incidences are high but if you are in your house the chances of your house being robbed are slim. Here the crime is high because there are a lot of people here; young teenagers also steal and rob houses to support their drug abuse habits. There is a high rate of drug abuse here."*

Joy reinforces the fact that the level of crime is higher in their new settlement by explaining that it was safe on the farm, whereas here "you have to be on a constant lookout". She draws a contrast between the farm and the town by describing the farm as peaceful and safe, while it does not feel that way in the town. However, she is quick to go back to the benefits of living in the town and by doing this she seems to justify that it is still better to be living where she is now.

Joy described: *"It was very safe there unlike here where you have to be on a constant lookout because there is rape, muggings and illegal drug activities. At the farm it was very peaceful and we felt safe there. But there were no shops at the farms you had to buy everything in bulk all the way from Witbank while struggling to even get a transport that'll take you there."*

Bonnie takes the issue of crime a step further by stating that she cannot be sure that her own family will not participate in it because of their situation. This demonstrates that there is a level of vulnerability in her family and the move into an area where theft and other criminal activities are common place might influence her family members to engage in activities that they would not have otherwise partaken in.

Bonnie mentioned: *"Crime here is quite a lot compared that at the farms. People here steal, they steal whatever they want. I also don't trust that my siblings can refrain from engaging in criminal acts as well, especially the boys, because of the life and situation at home."*

Tumi reiterates that these socio-economic issues are negatively affecting members of the resettled community, particularly the children. She describes the situation as being "really bad" and explains that the children are not even safe in the schools, as that is where the practice of satanism has manifested.

Tumi explained: *Our children are now doing drugs and doing things we had never seen nor heard of before when we were still at the farm. Some of the children here are devil worshippers, this satanist practice of theirs has gotten so bad that the priests from different churches have been called to schools around to come and pray to help remove these spirits from some of these children. It is really bad; our children are not safe here. They are not even safe in schools.*

Hope, like Bonnie, also puts a personal spin on the socio-economic issues being experienced by telling the story of her daughter's experience with being demon-possessed. She recounts the need to call in pastors to intervene on her daughter's behalf, but demonstrates that the issue is still fragile for her, explaining that she still prays for her daughter.

Hope mentioned: *"I am experiencing challenges with one of my children who is attending school here. Her school called me last month to express their concern on her academic progress. When we dug deeper to why she was doing so badly with her studies, it was found out that she has a demonic spirit working in her. It's called satanism. It was really bad. We called in pastors and they prayed for her. It's gotten better now, but I still pray for her, you just never know with these things."*

Discussion

This theme supports the finding from the key informant interviews that there are various social issues in the area, which threaten the well-being of the participants. It also, along with theme 2, reiterates that the resettlement process is too complex for there to be no negative effects for the APS. Although the social issues mentioned here are serious, the participants maintained that they are better-off due to the resettlement. This indicates that overall the resettlement has been beneficial, but this has not come without a cost.

In terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), this theme shows that there have been some negative effects on the social and human capital of the participants. With regards to social capital, a lack of trust is revealed within the community due to high rates of crime and lack of security. It is demonstrated that while the resettlement eliminated some safety risks for the participants, they have been introduced to new safety risks. A similar situation is presented in considering the human capital, as the resettlement has had a variety of positive affects for the participants, but has also introduced a new concern which involves stressing over the safety and well-being of themselves and their loved ones.

With reference to the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009), this theme speaks mainly to the question "What are our responsibilities to others and ourselves?" In essence, it suggests that the participants would answer this question by explaining that they are responsible for protecting the welfare of themselves and their loved ones, which now involves ensuring that they are protected against criminals, the use of drugs and alcohol and the practices of satanism and witchcraft. Therefore, while most of the themes suggest that the resettlement has resulted in improvements in the socio-cultural environment of the participants and hence their psychological well-being. This theme shows that there has been a change for the negative in their socio-cultural environment, which threatens their psychological well-being and has already adversely affected some of the participants.

4.5 NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF DATA

The following narrative analysis adopts Bamburg's (2004) three levels of positioning. These are detailed in Chapter 3, but as a brief reminder, positioning level one involves understanding how the participants position the characters and events in their narratives in space and time; the second positioning level considers how the participants interacted with the audience during their narration; and positioning level three takes a closer look at how the participants' portrayed themselves during the telling of their stories, allowing for a deeper understanding of how the resettlement affected their PSC well-being and identity construction.

4.5.1 Participant 1: Cynthia – From Tragedy to Triumph

Introduction

At 27 years old, Cynthia is a young HH who has three young children and lives in the house she received from the mine with the father of her children, as she refers to him. Her narrative presented the resettlement as a very positive and uplifting experience, which has eased many of her burdens and helped her to overcome the loss of her mother.

Positioning Level 1: The Story in Time and Space

Cynthia constructed her story on the resettlement as one that moved from a life of hardship and struggle prior to the resettlement to a life of contentment, happiness and hope for the future. The very first thing she did upon being asked about what the experience of the resettlement was like for her was draw a contrast between how she struggled on the farm and how life had improved now, as a result of having improved access to shops and other amenities. This is demonstrated by the following comment:

Cynthia commented: *"Well there at the farms, the thing was, we were staying at the farms, we did not have electricity and we would at times also struggle with getting water. We also did not have clinics and shops. Now we are here in the locations, here everything is near- water, electricity, schools and clinics. Children now attend schools nearby, we do not struggle anymore. We are living a better life now compared to that at the farms."*

However, when further interrogated about life on the farm and her interaction with other community members, Cynthia's story took a turn from a positive reflection on the benefits of the resettlement to a sad recounting of losing her mother to an accident in 2001[10], and how this had affected her and her family. Cynthia and her family, including her stepfather, had been dependent on her mother who seemed to hold the family together. When her mother died, the responsibility fell on Cynthia, as she was the oldest sibling. Cynthia recounts how she had to take care of her family, and how this resulted in her dropping out of school to find work to pay for her sibling's school fees. It is here that Cynthia's position as the responsible older sibling starts to surface.

[10] This accident was mentioned during other interviews, some of the bread winners of the community had been travelling to work and their taxi was in an accident; nine community members died.

Cynthia reflected: *"We did not have money to go to school. My other siblings were still young, the youngest was six years old. I was the oldest. I would wash their clothes for them, cook for them. I just saw that I could not continue with my studies anymore. No-one was working in the family so we did not have anyone pay our school fees."*

Cynthia positions herself as a victim of the tragedy of losing her mother, by stating that she was "left behind" with her younger siblings, but demonstrates that she took initiative and control, as opposed to letting her circumstances leave her feeling helpless and incapable. She first shows this initiative by registering for a social assistance grant, and then, later on in her story, explains that she went to the municipality to claim the RDP house which her mom had applied for. It was during this process that she learned that the mine would be resettling people from the farm that she had been staying on.

Cynthia noted: *"I was left behind with our younger siblings. Life was difficult for us but what else could we do. We did not have anyone to depend on as our stepfather was also not working. One of my brothers would help us here and there. I then went to register for the social assistance grant. Life became better afterwards; we were also able to pay rent and electricity at where we were staying."*

Cynthia's mood took a turn from one of sadness to one of joy and gratitude when the interview shifted to talk about the impact of the resettlement and what this meant for her life now. Speaking of all the benefits of receiving her new house from the mine, she positioned the mine as somewhat of a hero by repeatedly mentioning how much the mine had helped them with the houses, and how unbelievable it was that they would receive such beautiful houses for free. Then Cynthia emphasises the extent to which the mine has helped the community by explaining that even RDP houses are not as good as the houses they received from the mine, and that other community members are jealous of their houses.

Cynthia mentioned: *"The Mine really helped us with these houses. Where would we get such houses from? Even the municipality would not be able to build us such houses. Even, the people in the RDP houses are experiencing challenges, their houses are breaking. The houses are also small, it now becomes your responsibility to extend the house for more rooms. The mine really did a good job. Other people are even jealous of the houses, they don't understand how it could have happened that the mine build us such beautiful*

houses."

The following comment by Cynthia is significant, as it draws together the significance the resettlement has had for Cynthia in relation to her mother's passing and emphasises the responsibility she has for her siblings, as she explains that the house has given her the assurance that her siblings would have a place to stay if she were to die. It is interesting to note that at this stage that Cynthia has young children of her own and is in a relationship with the father of her children, who lives with her and helps out financially. However, Cynthia's explanation below shows that she still feels that her main responsibility is towards her siblings. This also shows that the resettlement represents some kind of turning point for Cynthia since the passing of her mother, as she likens life on the farm to being alone in the bushes, which she describes as being tainted by the accident. For Cynthia, life on the farm is associated with negativity, pain and dark spiritual encounters, while life in the new house and location is associated with newness and a fresh start.

Cynthia noted: *"Yes, they are beautiful. The mine really helped us, now I know that even if I were to die, my siblings would have a place to stay. When our mother passed, it was the same as she had left us to live in the bushes. The farms are just the same as the bushes really. When people move, you are left alone in that big bush. Also the issue is, you know when a community experiences death, life and even the atmosphere at the community changes* [referring to the accident]. *Sometimes when you are walking around you feel as though they are also there* [dead spirits]. *Life changes. You even fear the darkness."*

Cynthia concludes her narrative of the resettlement on a high note by explaining that it has encouraged her to be more hopeful and optimistic. For her, owning a house has been part of a dream come true and she is now aspiring towards achieving other dreams, such as owning a car and starting a business. She explains that the resettlement has not only shown her that nothing is impossible, but it has also broadened her opportunities and provided her with more freedom and independence.

Cynthia noted: *"Yes it has changed me. I am more hopeful now. The whole resettlement process has showed me that nothing is impossible. Although I had always wished for a beautiful house, I never saw myself owning one. The experience has also made me dream bigger. There are a lot of opportunities here to start your own business whereas there at the farms there was no such thing. The lifestyle here also gives you freedom and*

independence. The farms where we stayed were controlled by the farm owner so we could not really do as we wish. Here we all have the opportunity to do as we please."

Cynthia's narrative of the resettlement is, therefore, constructed as a very positive experience, which has helped her to overcome a tragedy that left her burdened with heavy responsibilities. She positions the resettlement as an event that not only eased many of her burdens, but also provided her with the motivation and hope for positive developments in the future. This reinforces the findings that emerged from the thematic analysis that the resettlement resulted in developments within the infrastructural and human capital of the participants.

With regards to her significant others, Cynthia places a large emphasis on her mother and how she had to take on her mother's role as care-taker of the family, including her ailing stepfather, who she still looks after. While her siblings were able to finish school and are now studying at tertiary level institutions, Cynthia only completed Grade 10, as she had to drop out to take care of her siblings. However, she does not reflect on this fact with bitterness, but rather positions herself as the responsible older sibling who did what she had to, to take care of her family. This shows that there was a shift in Cynthia's answer to the primary question "What are my responsibilities to myself and others?", as she needed to transition from being daughter to care-taker. Although Cynthia has a family of her own now and does receive financial support from the father of her children, this family does not feature in her narrative as much as her siblings, mother and stepfather do. Perhaps this is due to her new family not being involved with her life and struggles on the farm. It also indicates that Cynthia still considers her main responsibility to be that of taking care of her family.

Cynthia presents the mine in a very positive light, as she praises the beauty of the houses they provided and demonstrates her gratitude towards the mine by emphasising how much it has helped her family and the community. Thus, in agreement with theme 4, Cynthia reinforces the notion that the resettlement meant progression for the participants, as opposed to further impoverishment.

Positioning Level 2: The Audience

Although there is no extract from Cynthia's interview to demonstrate how she positioned herself in relation to the research assistant, reflections from the research assistant, and Cynthia's long and detailed responses to the questions, indicated that she was very open and willing to talk about her life and her experiences. The research assistant surmised that Cynthia not only regarded the interview as an opportunity to share her experiences, but also as an opportunity for her to engage in a personal reflection on the resettlement process and what it really meant for her.

It is of importance to note here that Cynthia did meet with and recognise the researcher prior to her interview, with whom she associated with the mine and the consulting company initiating the LRP. This means that Cynthia may have constructed her narrative in a way that would gain favour from the researcher, based on the assumption that she might report back to the mine or consulting company. To avoid this, it was made clear to all of the participants prior to their interviews that the researcher was no longer associated with either parties and that their interviews would remain anonymous. Nonetheless, this prior association may have prevented Cynthia from voicing any grievances she had about the resettlement.

Positioning Level 3: The Self

Cynthia constructs two distinct notions of herself in her narrative on the resettlement. Firstly, she identifies herself as a responsible and independent older sibling who was forced to become the care-taker or mother-figure to her younger siblings. Her reflection upon the loss of her mother, and what this meant for her and her family, reveals that she has had to work through some difficulties, such as dropping out of school to take care of her siblings. Although she positioned herself as a victim in this regard, as she had no control over her mother's death and felt as though she had been left behind or abandoned, she also positions herself as being resourceful and finding the capacity to fulfil her duties as care-taker, as she discusses accessing social grants and approaching the municipality about RDP housing.

Secondly, Cynthia identifies herself as being hopeful and capable of achieving new goals and attributes this to the resettlement. She does this by presenting the resettlement as being

a very positive experience through praising the mine for what they have done and highlighting the improvements that have resulted as such. These improvements include living in a beautiful, high quality house, having access to water and electricity and having access to shops and other amenities. However, the positive impact of the resettlement reaches beyond these socio-economic improvements for Cynthia, as she indicates that her new home represents a new, fresh start, whereas living on the farm was associated with the loss of her mother and the hardships that followed. Cynthia also explains that the resettlement has given her hope for the future and shown her that anything is possible, since owning a beautiful house has been a dream come true and there are greater opportunities for her in the new location.

Cynthia, therefore, constructs her identity as having shifted from being a victim of her circumstances and struggling to make ends meet to being the recipient of a gift (the resettlement) that has enabled her to achieve goals she would not have otherwise achieved.

Conclusion

The resettlement has improved Cynthia's PSC well-being and contributed positively towards her identity construction, as she has experienced it as an enabling opportunity, which has not only relieved her of various burdens, but has also provided her with the motivation to harness the potential of her new situation. Cynthia's narrative constructed her identity as being capable, resourceful, independent and hopeful, as well as willing to take the necessary measures to achieve her goals. Although she demonstrated being capable and resourceful prior to the resettlement, her hope and willingness to work towards achieving her goals have been fuelled by the resettlement, as it revealed to her that nothing is impossible. This may also be due to Cynthia's time and energy being "freed up" by the easing of many of her burdens, and so now her capacity to work towards achieving her personal goals has increased.

4.5.2 Participant 2: Hope – Difficulties vs Happiness

Introduction

Hope is a 45 year old single mother of seven who was widowed in 2001 when her husband was killed in the same accident that caused Cynthia's mother's death. She is currently unemployed, but does sell cleaning and healing products to bring in an income and also

receives a social grant. However, she still struggles to pay the increased living expenses that came along with being resettled, as all her children still live with her and those who have left school remain unemployed. At the time of the interview, her eldest son was at one of the nearby mines looking for work. Her eldest son is 25 years old, while her second son is 23 and her other five children are still in school; three are in high school and two are in primary school, with the youngest only in Grade 2.

Positioning Level 1: The Story in Time and Space

Before the research assistant was able to ask the first question on the interview schedule, Hope started to discuss a struggle she has experienced since being resettled. After being prompted by the research assistant to talk about her children, Hope explained that she has been experiencing challenges with some of her children who have encountered satanism. One of her children had actually been demon-possessed and it had been necessary to call in pastors to pray for her. Below Hope describes how her daughter has changed since moving to their new location.

Hope described: *"She is just not the same child she was before. She was an obedient child at the farms, never walked around the streets during the night or talk back to me. After coming here, and particularly after this satanism incidence my child started coming home late and would talk back to me. She once even told me that she hates me. She once said to the whole family that, when she looks at the family she just boils with anger and hatred."*

After some further discussion on this topic, Hope also explained that her youngest daughter in Grade 2 almost had a similar encounter with a demonic spirit, and that her son claimed to have seen a ghost in the school toilets, which resulted in him never using the school toilets and even struggling to use the toilets at home. Hope emphasises the negative impact that the resettlement has had on her children who are still in school and contrasts their behaviour with that of her older children. This suggests that the schools in their new location are where the negative changes in Hope's children have manifested.

Hope explained: *"They are real. They are happening here. I have really had it hard here. My children have changed. My 17 and 15 year old children walk these streets at night and no-one knows what they are doing. The one who is 17 walks around the streets with his friends, I always try to talk to him asking him to be home by 18:00 but he never listens. All*

I pray for is that he does not start drinking. I have two children who are older than these two, never have they given me trouble, I really do not understand why these other two have changed so much. Where did they learn all this nonsense? [sounding frustrated] *I did not teach them these things that they are doing now. The one who is 25 does not have a child, and the second, Vusi, is so respectful. You never see him walking around the streets not even knowing what he is doing. He cleans the house and cooks as though he were a woman. This place has really changed my teenage children, it has really changed them."*

After being asked about her life on the farm, Hope acknowledges that it was difficult, but moves on to raise a second struggle she is experiencing as a result of the resettlement, which involves having to pay her municipal bills. Hope shows that although she would like to present herself as being happy with what the mine has done, she seems to be wrestling with this new-found happiness and the difficulties that have accompanied it.

Hope mentioned: *"Life at the farms was challenging. Our houses were cracking and we did not have electricity. Even though we did not have any bills to pay, life was really difficult for us. The mine really helped us with these houses, these houses are really beautiful. However, even though we are happy with the houses, life here is really difficult. We have to pay for the water and electricity we use, even as we speak now, I owe the municipality R1400.00; it is difficult to pay off these bills when you are not working. You get me wrong, I love this place, we are all happy here; it is just these bills. These bills are making my life here difficult. I struggle with paying these bills because I am not working, the municipality has closed my water and electricity two times and people always laugh at me."*

However, Hope's narrative reaches a turning point when she is asked directly to talk about how the resettlement happened and what it meant for her. Aside from mentioning some confusion that was experienced during the resettlement process, she becomes very enthusiastic about the resettlement and praises the mine for what they have done. Hope describes the resettlement as being a "beautiful experience" and "really unbelievable". She recounts crying when she went into her house for the first time and explains that all she could do was "pray and thank God for His mercy". Hope demonstrates the extent of her enthusiasm about the resettlement, as she describes her mother as being proud of her for owning such a beautiful house and describes the house as a "blessing from the Lord".

Hope explained: *"Yes I was very happy. My family was also happy, my family was also just in awe of the house's standing. My mother was really happy with this house and was proud of me. She was happy that one of her children could have a beautiful house such as the one I have. We have really made it here. Our children would not have been able to build us such houses even if they wished to, these houses are just too expensive and of a high standard. I am grateful to the mine company for the houses they built us. I know that I got this house because I persevered. I had to go through many trials to get here. We endured the effects that living on the mines had on us. This was just a blessing from the Lord."*

Further on in the interview, Hope explains that life is still better for her children in their new location when compared to life on the farm, despite their encounters with demonic spirits and their negative changes in behaviour. She claims that her children now have the opportunity to play with other children and suggests that she just needs to pray for their protection from the demonic spirits.

Hope noted: *"The place could get very lonely, our children would also look very sad during school holidays as it was just a few of them. They would play on their own, it was just a sad situation. This is a big community and our children get the opportunity to play with other kids. Our kids are very happy here, the only problem we have here with them is these demonic spirits that are attacking them. They need a person to really stay in prayer, praying is the only option here and that is my only hope. I just pray. I am always asking God to protect them."*

Finally, towards the end of her interview, Hope seems to completely ignore the negative impact that the resettlement has had on her children and refers to her struggle with the increased expenses as being the "only challenge here", while making positive statements about the resettlement, such as "I am very happy here" and "we really have it good here", which directly contradict her earlier statement that she has "really had it hard here". She concludes the interview by expressing her gratitude towards the mine and emphasising again how blessed her and her family feel for being resettled.

Hope commented: *"No. I am really happy here. I love this place and I am really grateful for what the mine did for us. This has all been just an unbelievable experience for me and*

my family. One of sons always shares with me how blessed he thinks we are because of the houses we have."

Hope's experience of the resettlement seems to be one of inner conflict, as she oscillates between the negative and positive impacts that the resettlement has had on her and her family. On one hand it appears that her struggles have actually increased, as her children have encountered demonic spirits and started acting out, and she is struggling to afford the increased living expenses. While on the other hand, she is so grateful for her improved housing and access to shops and amenities that she cannot stop praising the mine for what they have done and giving thanks to God. This reinforces the thematic analysis, which revealed that while there were many positive effects on the livelihood assets of the participants, there were also some negative effects. The viewpoint that resettlement is too complex to avoid all negative consequences is supported here, as Cynthia's story reveals a battle between making the most of the positive outcomes and coping with the negative socio-economic consequences.

With regards to her significant others, Hope positions herself as a concerned parent, as she emphasises how important her children are to her by discussing them throughout her narrative and demonstrating her concern for their well-being. God also appears to be one of Hope's significant others, as she expresses her thanks towards Him for the resettlement on numerous occasions. Like Cynthia, Hope positions the mine as a hero or gift-giver, as she expresses her praise and gratitude for what the mine has done. Hope's answer to the primary question "What are my responsibilities to myself and others?" also appears to be that of care-taker for her children.

Positioning Level 2: The Audience

Hope's enthusiasm for the resettlement and constant praise towards the mine, subsequent to her telling of the negative effects of the resettlement, indicates that her narrative may have been influenced by the researcher's previous association with the mine. Although it was explained to Hope that the researcher was no longer associated with the mine and that her story would remain anonymous, it seems as though she wanted to gain favour with the researcher by emphasising how grateful she was to the mine and what a blessing the resettlement had been. If this is the case, it may explain the contradictions within Hope's narrative, whereby her shift towards being enthusiastic about the resettlement was an effort

to compensate for having already ‘said too much’ about her negative experiences. On the other hand, Hope may have genuinely been struggling to make sense of how something so beneficial could bring further hardship to her and her family.

Positioning Level 3: The Self

As with Cynthia, Hope constructs two distinct notions of herself in her narrative on the resettlement. Firstly, she positions herself as a struggling mother who is concerned about her children’s well-being. This became apparent at the very start of her interview, as she recounted the satanic encounters her children have had since the resettlement and described their negative changes in behaviour. The use of phrases such as, “I have really had it hard here”, indicated the extent to which Hope is struggling with how the resettlement has affected her children. This reinforces theme 6, which shows that the participants have not been unaffected by the socio-cultural issues in the area. She identified herself as struggling by talking about her inability to pay the municipality and mentioning that other community members mocked her when her electricity and water were cut out as a result. Again, she mentioned that her life in the new location was very difficult when talking about this struggle, which indicated that adapting to the resettlement had been difficult. This supports theme 2, which demonstrates that many of the participants are experiencing this struggle.

Secondly, Hope positions herself as a grateful recipient of a gift who has been blessed by God. This position became most apparent during the second half of her interview, where she switched from focusing on the negative effects of the resettlement to emphasising the positive change it was for her. She did this by describing her new house and the experience of moving into it as beautiful, giving praise to the mine, and thanking God for blessing her. She also highlighted the extent of the “blessing” that the resettlement had been by explaining that not even her children would have been able to build such a house. This reinforces themes 1, 4 and 5, as the participants all expressed that their housing had been a big improvement, they were grateful to the mine and, for many of them, the resettlement was like a dream come true.

At first the two different notions of self that Hope presents seem to be contradictory, as one is constructed as struggling, while the other is constructed as being happy and grateful. However, it is possible that both these notions of the self can exist together, as their co-existence simply indicates that while Hope is grateful for the resettlement and sees it as an

opportunity for development, she is also battling with some changes for the worse. This means that Hope is experiencing conflict within herself, as she wants to see the resettlement as being a positive development for her family, but cannot ignore the negative affect it has had on her children and her inability to keep up with the increased living expenses. Thus, Hope's narrative demonstrates the complexity inherent in resettlement.

Conclusion

It is difficult to say whether the resettlement has affected Hope's PSC well-being positively or negatively and how this has contributed to her identity construction. At first it seems that the resettlement has negatively affected Hope's PSC well-being, as it has increased her concern for her children's well-being and added to her living expenses, which has resulted in increased pressure to generate an income. This means that there have been negative effects on her socio-economic environment. However, she has also been positively affected by the resettlement, whereby her living conditions have improved and she has increased access to people, shops and amenities. Ultimately it seems as though the resettlement has positively affected Hope's PSC well-being, as she emphasises her gratitude towards the mine and repeatedly mentions how happy she is as a result of the resettlement, but given that this may have been influenced by the researcher's previous association with the mine, it cannot be said if this is actually the case.

4.5.3 Participant 3: Jabulani – The Provider

Introduction

Jabulani is 102 year old household head who has 10 grown-up children and 59 grandchildren. Currently he is living on a pension, but he would like to find work, as he would prefer to be active and is struggling to afford his municipal bills. While Jabulani was willing to participate in the interview and was aware of what it was about, it was reported by the research assistant that he was at times confused and struggled to understand that we were not from the mine responsible for the resettlement. Nonetheless, Jabulani's interview was sufficient for this analysis, although it was shorter than the previous two. Jabulani was cheerful and kind throughout the interview and maintained that the resettlement had been a very positive experience for him.

Positioning Level 1: The Story in Time and Space

Before the research assistant was able to ask questions about the resettlement, Jabulani started to share on some of his life experiences and who he was. He immediately positioned himself as being elderly, yet wise, resourceful and self-sufficient. Below, Jabulani explains that despite being 102 years old, he is still healthy and capable, while he also demonstrates that he has worked hard to support his family over the years and adapted quickly to new jobs.

Jabulani explained: *"I've been here for a very long time. I first arrived here when the English people were still ruling, in 1936. I am now 102 years, I'm still very active and I don't get sick at all. I never go to the doctor when I am sick, I just fixed myself a homemade healing remedy and I become better in no time."*

Jabulani noted: *"Over the years I have worked very hard for my children and travelled a lot because I used to work as a truck driver, as a mechanic, a builder and several other things but I never even went to school for these things I just listened when they said "a kaffir jy maak so". I was very clever and learned easily."*

Having demonstrated that he has been able to adapt and provide in challenging circumstances and established his role as provider for the family, Jabulani feels ready to talk about the resettlement. He first gives the mine praise for the resettlement by explaining that he is "in awe" of what they have done and comparing his new location to "living in royalty" in contrast to his life on the farm. This is followed by a description of how he used to struggle on the farm, but then he quickly mentions that he is now struggling with the increased living expenses that accompanied the resettlement.

Jabulani mentioned: *"I'm still in awe of what the mine has done for us. I'm very happy to be living here at Thubelihle. This place is like living in royalty for me compared to the life I lived before back at the farms. There were many trials at the farms, water would enter through our doors when it was raining. The walls were also always damp from the rain. It was really difficult over there. Life is better. The only downside about living here is the paying of big amounts of water and electricity bills. Aiyi! They are killing us* [meaning that the bills are a strain]*. I pay over R500 monthly and I can't afford that as I'm just a mere pensioner."*

Jabulani's description of himself as being a "mere pensioner" indicates that he looks down upon being a pensioner and would rather be doing something that feels constructive. This is supported by his proud reflection earlier upon all the different types of jobs he has had, and his statement later on in the interview that he does not like to "just sit and not earn a living". Jabulani highlights his need to be earning money, as he positions himself as the provider for his children and grandchildren. He talks about hoping to enrol one of his children in the farm project, which indicates that he still maintains authority over some of his children, although he does mention that they have their own lives.

Jabulani explained: *"There is nobody working and all my children have their own lives. I have to support some of my grandchildren as well. I'm hoping to enrol one of my children to this farm project; hopefully she'll do well at it. The problem was that she went out chasing after boys, she has a child now. She went to school; she is now in standard 8."*

Jabulani only mentions one other problem that he has encountered with being resettled and this involves experiencing jealousy and witchcraft from his new neighbours. He explains that there is "too much witchcraft and jealousy here", and moves on to talk about how this jealousy has affected him.

Jabulani noted: *"No the jealousy comes from the Ndebele people we found here. They are jealous of our houses and steal a lot because when I first came here I had 45 chickens but I only have 2 now. They steal my chickens and cook them for dinner. There are just few people who are actually very polite and well behaved whilst others just whisper behind our backs because of these houses the mine built for us. This place is lovely, I love it, the challenge here is just this jealousy our neighbours have."*

However, Jabulani maintains that the resettlement has been beneficial to him and that he is very happy in his new house and location. He highlights the extent of his happiness, as he explains that "only death will remove me from this place"; and that if he had to move he would probably "find a worse place than this". Jabulani highlights his satisfaction with being resettled and attributes part of this to his son being his neighbour.

Jabulani commented: *"No my daughter life here is number one. My neighbour is actually my son and we get on well. He's his own man and works as a driver and electrician*."

Therefore, despite the two issues Jabulani is facing as a result of the resettlement, which include increased living expenses and being the subject of jealousy and witchcraft, Jabulani's experience of the resettlement appears to have been very positive and beneficial. He emphasises throughout his interview that he is happy to have been moved and explains that his life there is better than it was on the farm. This is in line with the thematic analysis and Hope's narrative, which emphasise that the resettlement has been beneficial, but acknowledge that the increased living expenses and prevalence of satanism and witchcraft in the area are problematic.

With regards to Jabulani's significant others, he positions himself as the provider for his family, despite his old age, as he explains that he has worked hard for his children and mentions that he supports some of his grandchildren. In addition, by describing his children as "having their own lives" he communicates that he does not expect help from them. Therefore, as with the previous two participants, Jabulani's answer to the question "What are my responsibilities to myself and others?" is that he is the care-taker of his family.

Positioning Level 2: The Audience

Jabulani placed himself in a fatherly position to the research assistant due to his older age by referring to her as "young lady" and "my daughter" and she reinforced this position by referring to him as "papa". This may have influenced the tone of his story-telling, as he presented himself as being very soft and cheerful, whereas he might not have spoken this way had he been talking to a man of the same age and status as him. It is interesting to note that although Jabulani's fatherly position places him at some level of authority to the research assistant, upon her reflection of the interview, the research assistant felt as though he saw her as a teacher and himself as a student, whereby he was there to learn something from her. It was explained to him that this was not the case and he did understand that he had important contributions to make, but this may have also influenced how Jabulani chose to share his story. It might mean that he was telling the research assistant what he thought was "correct", as opposed to sharing his own views. It must also be noted that Jabulani did appear to think that the researcher and research assistant were from the mine and this may have led him to portray his view of the resettlement in a more positive light than it actually was.

Positioning Level 3: The Self

Throughout his narrative Jabulani portrays himself as the strong, successful provider of his family. He recounts how hard he has had to work to support his family and the various jobs he had to take on, which often involved learning new skills and abilities. Although he is 102 years old now and living on a pension, he maintains his position as provider of the family, as he explains that he needs to support some of his grandchildren and would rather not be a burden to his own children, as they "have their own lives". With regards to the resettlement, it almost seems as though it has threatened his position as provider, as there are no work opportunities for him in his new location, whereas he used to work on the farm. He expresses his frustration with this, as he says that he does not like to sit and do nothing, and that he and his wife are waiting in anticipation for the farming project to start so that they can generate an income. This threat to his position as provider for his family is exacerbated by the increased living expenses that came with living in the town and the loss of some of his chickens to thieves in the area. However, the resettlement has been a positive experience for Jabulani and, despite the threat it has posed to his position as provider, he is happier than he was on the farm. Therefore, as found in the thematic analysis, it appears that the resettlement has ultimately been beneficial for Jabulani, but this benefit has come with some significant costs.

Conclusion

While it seems as though the resettlement has improved Jabulani's PSC well-being, as he highlights how happy he is to be in the new location and praises the mine for what they have done, the sustainability of this improvement hinges on the mine's ability to successfully implement the farming project that has been promised as part of the LRP. Jabulani is not satisfied with being inactive and needs something to do that will generate an income to prevent further frustration and worry. Therefore, it appears that Jabulani's PSC well-being and identity construction can go either way with regards to the resettlement; if the gardening project is successful, he is able to get active and he and his family are able to generate some income from it, then the resettlement will improve Jabulani's PSC well-being and his threatened identity will remain in-tact, however, if the gardening project is not successful, Jabulani will remain inactive and unable to meet his increased living expenses, which means that his PSC well-being is likely to deteriorate and his identity as

provider will be challenged. It is important to note though, that the resettlement cannot be held solely responsible for any deterioration on Jabulani's identity as provider, as this also rests on his physical and mental ability to remain active, which might also be threatened by his old age.

4.5.4 Discussion of the Narrative Analysis

The narrative analysis has revealed the complexity inherent in how DIDR affects different individuals, as the affect depends not only on how the resettlement is implemented, but also on the unique contexts of each individual. It has also confirmed that the experience of being resettled does play a significant role in the identity construction of the participants; only the kind of role it plays depends on each individual's background and how this has influenced their response to the resettlement. Cynthia constructed her identity as being responsible, hopeful and capable and positioned the resettlement as an enabling opportunity, while Hope constructed an identity that was battling between concern and struggle, and gratitude and happiness, while positioning the resettlement as a gift from God. Jabulani also positioned the resettlement in a positive light and constructed his identity as being the provider for his family, while indicating that this position might be threatened by not being able to work. Therefore, each of the participants constructed their own unique identity in their narratives on the resettlement, but one common thread throughout all three was that they regarded the resettlement as being a positive development in support of the thematic analysis. However, maintaining this position of the resettlement depends on the success of the LRP, the participants' abilities to meet their needs and achieve their goals, and their capacities to deal with the new socio-economic issues that they have been introduced to, which means that their mental health needs to be maintained and promoted. This reinforces the conclusion of the thematic analysis that the resettlement has improved the PSC well-being and positively affected the identity construction of the participants, but these improvements can still be negated without income-generating initiatives and efforts to mitigate the socio-economic problems in the new location.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Both the thematic and narrative analyses contradict the prevalent finding that DIDR results in further impoverishment for APS, and rather reveal that resettlement can lead to

development. However, this depends on the level of impoverishment of the APS prior to the resettlement, a clear understanding of what the resettlement might mean for them and the appropriate application of people-centered principles and guidelines, as was the case for the resettlement considered in this study. Nonetheless, although the resettlement has been presented as being beneficial for the participants, it has also introduced them to new struggles, which highlights the complexity of the resettlement process. This is revealed by Table 3, which shows how the resettlement affected the livelihood assets of the participants in terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework.

Table 3: The Effects of the Resettlement in terms of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Livelihood Asset	Positive Affect	Negative Affect
Human Capital	There have been positive effects on the human capital, as a result of infrastructural developments, hopes and dreams being realised and the participants' perception that the resettlement means progression for them.	Stress induced by the participants' inability to afford their new living expenses, as well as their exposure to new social issues presents a threat to their mental well-being.
Financial Capital	The participants highlighted that the resettlement has the potential to enhance their economic gain, as they are exposed to more opportunities than they were previously.	Currently, the participants are struggling to afford their municipal expenses.
Infrastructural Capital	There have been major developments in the infrastructural capital of the participants, as their housing has improved and they have access to basic services and amenities, which they did not have previously.	The new infrastructural capital has resulted in increased living expenses for the participants.
Natural Capital	The participants have small gardens and JoJo tanks, which assist with access to water	The participants lost some of their arable land as a result of the resettlement.
Social Capital	There have been improvements in the socio-cultural environment of the participants as a result of the infrastructural developments and exposure to new people and opportunities.	The increased prevalence of social issues, particularly crime, drug and alcohol abuse, and satanism and witchcraft have negatively affected the social capital of the participants.

This summary reveals that while there have been benefits for the participants as a result of the resettlement, there have also been some negative consequences. Nonetheless, as shown in both the thematic and narrative analyses, it appears that the major infrastructural developments for the participants combined with their perception that the resettlement represents progress for them, has positively affected their PSC-wellbeing.

With reference to the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory, Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) argue that what results in dissonance and ultimately leads to the PSC impoverishment of APS is their inability to provide sufficient answers to their primary questions post resettlement. This causes chaos and uncertainty and prevents a new routine culture from being re-established. In this case, the thematic analysis demonstrated that not only have the participants re-established answers to their primary questions, but some of these answers have improved. For example, in answer to the question "Who are we?" the participants identified themselves as people who used to struggle, but now no longer struggle as a result of the resettlement, Therefore, with the exception of one primary question that was not addressed in this study[11], it became apparent that not only have the participants avoided cultural dissonance and further PSC impoverishment, but they have been able to enhance their PSC well-being through improved answers to their primary questions and an improved routine culture. However, it also became evident in the thematic analysis that these improvements are threatened by the financial difficulties experienced by the participants and their exposure to new social pathologies. This was reinforced by the narrative analysis. Hope's narrative in particular revealed an authentic struggle between embracing the benefits of her new lifestyle and coping with its negative side-effects. Therefore, taking both the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010) and the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009) into consideration, the predominant finding is that the PSC-wellbeing and identity construction of the participants have been positively affected by the resettlement, but this may change depending on whether the participants successfully adapt to their new struggles.

[11] The question "Why do people live and die?" was not answered by the participant's narratives, however, since the resettlement did not require any major cultural or religious transitions for the APS, it is assumed that the resettlement did not affect their answers to this question.

CHAPTER FIVE

MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

If not addressed appropriately, DIDR can leave APS further impoverished than they were prior to resettlement, hence, theoretical models, principles and guidelines have been developed in an effort to mitigate and/or eliminate the various impoverishment risks faced by APS. However, despite these principles and guidelines, it is often the case that APS fall into deeper poverty as a result of DIDR for multiple reasons. While one school of thought maintains that DIDR can be beneficial to APS if appropriate measures are applied, the other holds that the process of DIDR brings with it an inherent complexity that renders APS worse-off regardless of the measures taken to mitigate any negative consequences (de Wet, 2002).

One issue that is often neglected during the resettlement is how it affects the mental health of APS. Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) write that DIDR can have a negative impact on the social and psychological well-being of APS, as well as their identity construction. This argument is supported by their theory that culture provides the answers to primary questions which inform socio-psychological understanding and identity construction (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009). DIDR disrupts cultural practices and so it is necessary for a new culture to be established by APS if they are to maintain their PSC well-being. If measures are not taken to ensure that APS re-establish a healthy new way of life then this can result in cultural dissonance, whereby APS fall into PSC impoverishment.

This study sought to further understand the PSC transitions that take place as a result of DIDR by analyzing how APS construct their identities in their narratives of the DIDR process. In particular, it looked at a community of 20 households that had been resettled by a mine in Mpumalanga. The resettlement was guided by various principles and polices. This presented an opportunity to investigate whether DIDR can actually result in positive development for APS, or whether the process is too complex to allow for this. A sample of 10 participants from the resettled community was interviewed using a semi-structured interview schedule to elicit their narratives on the resettlement. This was followed by a thematic content analysis, which provided insights into how the participants had experienced the resettlement and what this meant for their PSC well-being. An in-depth

narrative analysis of the interviews with the three HHs was then undertaken, so as to further understand how the resettlement had affected their PSC well-being and identity construction. The main findings are discussed in the following section with reference to the main research question and the secondary objectives.

5.2 MAIN FINDINGS

The majority of the participant's constructed their narratives on the resettlement in a way that presented the resettlement as being beneficial. Considered within the constraints of the sustainable livelihoods framework (Peterson, 2010), it was revealed that the resettlement enhanced some of their livelihood assets, as it has mitigated or eliminated many of the struggles they faced prior to resettlement. The most obvious change for the better was their improved infrastructural capital, which included better housing, access to water and electricity, improved access to shops, schools, clinics and other amenities. It also included the elimination of the health and safety risks associated with living so closely to the mine. This resulted in reduced stress for the participants, which enhanced their PSC well-being and hence their mental health.

The participants also demonstrated that they wanted the resettlement to happen, as they presented themselves as being hopeful that it would take place and many regarded it as an opportunity for development. This was reinforced by the gratitude they expressed towards the mine for implementing the resettlement. Thus, the resettlement was not as disruptive as DIDR is expected to be, but was rather experienced as a progressive life event for the participants. It is also shown, with reference to the Routine and Dissonant Cultures theory (Downing & Garcia-Downing, 2009), that the participants were able to quickly re-establish answers to their primary questions post-resettlement and hence avoided the cultural dissonance that results in PSC impoverishment. Furthermore, the participants' answers to some of their primary questions actually improved, providing support for the finding that the resettlement was progressive, as opposed to being disruptive.

The complexity inherent in the effective implementation of a resettlement project became apparent by the fact that the participants were also introduced to some negative socio-economic issues as a result. Although the participants positioned themselves as being grateful for the resettlement and better-off than they were previously, the new challenges they were facing were also discussed in their narratives. The main challenge was their

inability to afford the municipal bills, which negatively affected their financial capital. This was causing stress among the participants and will remain a threat to their new-found PSC well-being until they are able to effectively address the problem. The participants were also introduced to new social issues, including the increased crime rate and exposure to drug and alcohol abuse, satanism and witchcraft. This means that as much as their social and human capital have been positively affected by the resettlement, both have also been negatively affected, presenting an additional threat to their PSC well-being. However, while some of these issues were quite serious for some of the participants, they all placed a larger emphasis on the benefits of the resettlement, indicating that they were willing to accommodate these issues. Therefore, it appears that the positive development of the resettlement superseded the new problems they were encountering.

With regards to how the resettlement affected the identity construction of the participants, it was found that the participants identified themselves as people who no longer struggled, were hopeful for the future and considered themselves to be making progress in terms of their own development. Thus, it appears that the resettlement positively affected their identity construction. However, it cannot be ignored that they also identified themselves as struggling to afford their living expenses and come to terms with the social issues present in their new environment. This battle between embracing the benefits of the resettlement and coping with its negative effects was highlighted by the narrative analysis and particularly Hope's narrative, as her story oscillated between suffering and blessing. Thus, the intricacy involved with resettlement is brought to light, as it is shown that despite the very positive effects it has had on the identity construction of the participants there have also been some negative effects.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

Therefore, it was shown that if the appropriate principles and guidelines are adhered to during the process of DIDR, it can become a developmental opportunity for APS and improve their PSC well-being, as well as positively affect their identity construction. However, it is inevitable that resettlement will have some negative consequences for APS. The importance of close monitoring and evaluation of APS post-resettlement, as well as the implementation of a programme such as an LRP, was highlighted. This is necessary to ensure that APS adapt successfully to their new environment, take advantage of new opportunities and are able to deal effectively with new socio-economic challenges.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this research study, the following recommendations can be made:

5.4.1 Firstly, to enhance our understanding of how DIDR affects the PSC well-being and identity construction of APS, further investigations of a qualitative nature are necessary. Like this study, these can take the form of case studies, whereby the stories of APS are analysed, or alternative qualitative measures can be explored, so long as a knowledge base detailing the in-depth experiences of APS is built up;

5.4.2 Secondly, in terms of principles and guidelines pertaining to DIDR, it is advised that measures which directly assess the PSC well-being of APS are included in the necessary requirements;

5.4.3 Thirdly, it is recommended that measures are taken to ensure that resettlement practitioners fully embrace a people-centered approach to DIDR, as opposed to merely meeting the requirements of the principles and guidelines so as to maintain credibility. This will increase the potential for resettlement to be transformed into a development opportunity for APS and reduce their risk of PSC impoverishment; and

5.4.4 Lastly, in agreement with Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009), it is suggested that the socio-economic baseline studies used to assess the entitlements of APS are modified to include; a detailed examination of the socio-cultural context of the APS, an analysis of how their socio-cultural context is going to change and an assessment of the positive and negative effects this will have on the APS. This will enable resettlement practitioners to eliminate or mitigate any negative effects that the resettlement might have on the PSC well-being and identity construction of the APS.

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APPENDIX 1

Development-Induced Displacement: A Narrative Inquiry Into the Experiences of Community Members Physically Displaced From a Farm to a Town in Mpumalanga, South Africa

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Dear _____

I am undertaking a Masters in Social Development at Wits University, and have chosen to conduct my research on involuntary resettlement as a result of development. In particular, I would like to find out more about the experiences of people affected by involuntary resettlement through an in-depth, qualitative investigation. It is believed that this research will assist with addressing the negative consequences of future resettlement projects.

I am inviting you to participate in this study, since you have been physically displaced by mining operations. Participation in the study is strictly voluntary and will involve three individual interviews. These interviews will be undertaken in your language by a research assistant and will be voice-recorded with your permission. Please note that there will be no payment for participating in the study. You will remain anonymous throughout the study and any information that you do not wish to be shared/published will remain confidential. Should you experience any emotional discomfort as a result of the interviews, you may choose to withdraw at any time and appropriate counseling arrangements can be made with a psychologist at the Witbank Hospital on the following number 013 653 2189.

The findings from this study will be presented in a research report, which will be available at Wits University. If you wish, you will be provided with a summary of the research findings.

Kindly note that I am not associated with the mine or consulting companies that facilitated the resettlement and anything you say will not be used against the mine or consulting companies, nor will it change your relationship with them.

Your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated. Should you have any queries please don't hesitate to contact me on 082 850 4594 or caitlinsmithen@gmail.com, or my supervisor on 011 717 74476 or edmarie.pretorius@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for considering participating in the research study.

Kind regards

Caitlin Smithen

APPENDIX 2

Development-Induced Displacement: A Narrative Inquiry Into the Experiences of Community Members Physically Displaced From a Farm to a Town in Mpumalanga, South Africa

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research project to be undertaken by Caitlin Smithen in partial fulfillment of her Masters Degree in Social Development at Wits University. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that I will remain anonymous and any information that I do not wish to be reported on will be excluded from the study.

Name of participant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of Research Assistant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 3

Development-Induced Displacement: A Narrative Inquiry Into the Experiences of Community Members Physically Displaced From a Farm to a Town in Mpumalanga, South Africa

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-RECORDING OF THE INTERVIEWS

I hereby consent to audio-recording of the interviews. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that the recordings will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Name of participant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of Research Assistant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX 4

Project title:

Development-Induced Displacement: A Narrative Inquiry Into the Experiences of Community Members Physically Displaced From a Farm to a Town in Mpumalanga, South Africa

Introductory Memo:

1. **Introduction:**

   I would like you to participate in a research study I am doing on involuntary resettlement as a result of mining. In particular, I would like to find out more about your experience of being resettled by doing an interview with you.

2. **Consent:**

   Please take some time to read the participant information sheet and sign the two consent forms for participation and audio recording. I will read through these with you if you would like.

3. **Begin the interview**

   Use the semi-structured interview schedule

4. **Conclusion**

   Thank you for your participation in this interview. I am very grateful to you for sharing your story with me. I look forward to sharing with you further information as the study progresses.

Interview schedule

Date: _____ **Location: _____**

Demographics:

Name:		**Stand number:**	
Age:		**Relation to HH:**	
Gender:		**Employment status:**	

Questions:

1. Can you please tell me how the resettlement process happened and how it turned out for you?
    - You can start around the time of being informed of the resettlement and talk about all the events and experiences associated with the resettlement that were important for you and how it all developed up until now.
    - Please take all the time you need, I will only listen, I won't interrupt.
2. Tell me about how you used to interact with other community members before the resettlement. (example)
3. Tell me about how you interact with other community members now. (example)
4. Describe your way of life/how you went about doing things before the resettlement.
5. Describe your way of life/how you go about doing things now.
6. Would you say that you are better-off after the resettlement, or would you prefer to go back to your old way of life?
    - Why? Give me an example…
7. Describe the struggles you experienced before the resettlement. (example)
8. Describe the struggles you experience now. (example)
9. Describe any positive changes that have come about as a result of the resettlement. How have you benefitted from being resettled? (example)
10. How did you first respond to being informed of the resettlement?
11. How do you feel about the resettlement now?
12. Do you feel you have changed as an individual as a result of the resettlement, if yes, explain how you have changed.
13. Consider the impact the resettlement has had on your family.
14. If you could change anything that happened during the resettlement process, what would you change and how?

NB: Need to use probes such as, "can you tell me about a specific time when…", and "is there a particular incident you can remember when…" to follow-up on questions where participants do not produce narratives, but only provide minimal answers.

APPENDIX 5

Project title:

Development-Induced Displacement: A Narrative Inquiry Into the Experiences of Community Members Physically Displaced From a Farm to a Town in Mpumalanga, South Africa

Reflective Form:

Date:	**Start time:**	**End time:**	**Name of Participant**

1. Describe the general feeling you got from the participant during the interview.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2. What specific feelings do you think the participant wanted to convey?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. Describe any changes in mood during the interview; what were they and what brought them on?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Describe the participant's attitude towards being resettled

_____

_____

5. What position do you think the participant wanted to take in terms of the resettlement? (For example: victim, beneficiary, deserving, undeserving, grateful etc.)

6. How did the participant interact with you and how do you think they wanted to position themselves in relation to you?

7. Notes: (briefly describe significant moments in the interview, important gestures and statements etc.)

APPENDIX 6

[redacted] [redacted]

27 August 2013

GRANTING OF PERMISSION

Dear Caitlin,

This letter serves to confirm that [redacted] Management has granted you permission to make use of the [redacted] resettled community for the purpose of your research.

Yours Faithfully

27/8

[redacted]
Human Resources Manager
[redacted]

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Smithen

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER H13/07/11**
PROJECT TITLE	Development-Induced Displacement: A narrative inquiry into the experiences of community members physically displaced from a farm to a town in Mpumalanga, South Africa
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Ms C Smithen
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Human & Community Development/Social Work
DATE CONSIDERED	19/07/2013
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Unconditionally
EXPIRY DATE	26/08/2015

DATE 27/08/2013 **CHAIRPERSON** _____
(Professor T Milani)

cc: Supervisor : Dr E Pretorius

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10003, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

_____ _____/_____/_____
Signature **Date**

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES