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FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL AND
ECONOMIC DYNAMICS OF THE DISPLACEMENT OF
INHABITANTS OF THE TOKWE-MUKOSI VALLEY AFTER
THE FLOODS OF 2014**

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**A DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE MIDLANDS STATE
UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE BACHELOR OF ARTS DEGREE IN
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Declaration

I Audrey Mashawi (R144289F) declare that this research is a result of my own

work. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts

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Dedication

My dedication goes to the Almighty God. If it was not for his favour, this dissertation would not have seen the light of the day. Your love and grace has seen me this far.

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To begin with, glory to the Almighty God for sailing me throughout the entire course of my studies. Without the Almighty's guidance nothing would have transpired. Secondly, I extend my sincere gratitude to Midlands State University, Department of History and International Studies, in particular to my supervisor Mr G.T Ncube for the remorseless support and directional supervision throughout the dissertation writing. I would also like to thank Dr Mashingaidze for his immense contribution during the write up of this work. Finally, my acknowledgements go to my parents for their unwavering support throughout the period of my dissertation writing. Thank you all once again and God bless you abundantly.

Abstract

The aim of this study was to examine the socio-cultural and economic dynamics of displacement of the inhabitants of Tokwe-Mukosi valley after the floods of 2014. In February 2014 nearly 3500 families living at Tokwe and Mukosi village abandoned their ancestral land following heavy flooding from the incomplete Tokwe-Mukosi dam. The dam was constructed to boost agriculture production in Masvingo province thus to improve food security in the country. However, it resulted in the displacement of the villagers of the valley. The displacement program brought a lot of challenges to the relocated families as compared to Chivi life. They lost their sources of livelihood and created a dependency syndrome whereby resettled families began to depend on donations. The research unveiled that the relocation resulted in disintegration of family tie, destruction of graves, shrines and undermining of cultural values of the local people. Women were marginalised as a result of the displacement. Their community gardens were destroyed. They suffered more than men especially at Chingwizi transit camp. The research concluded that the displacement program impoverished the relocated families. The flood victims were poorly taken care of by the government. They were relocated without compensation.

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Acronyms

CPU	Civil Protection Unit
CRFD	Concrete Rock Filled Dam
COS	Civil Society Organisations
D A	District Administrator
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
MoHCC	Ministry of Health and Child Care
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NCFP	National Command Fishery Programme
RDC	Rural District Council
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority
ZHRC	Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Introduction

This thesis is based on the socio-cultural and economic dynamics of the displacement of the inhabitants of Tokwe-Mukosi valley after the floods of 2014. Usually when people are displaced from their place of origin which they had settled for many years, they are likely to face social, cultural and economic changes. The research will first trace the history of Tokwe-Mukosi dam, resettlement plans before displacement, the rationale behind the construction of the dam and the livelihoods before displacement.

Socially, the research seeks to explore the changes in social life of the displaced communities such as breaking up of family ties and destruction of family values. It will also look on how relocation disadvantaged members of the families such as elders and orphans. Kinship tie was also disturbed through the internal displacement since these people have been established strong relationship through staying together for long time. Social relations were also disturbed because they were resettled to different places from their friends and relatives.

The study will also examine the changes in leadership systems whereby traditional leaders and management systems lost their powers as a result of forced relocation. Children as a social group also witnessed socio-cultural dynamics therefore the research seeks to explore these changes. Furthermore the project aims to assess the cultural dynamics that took place during the displacement. These include devastation of graves, cultural heritages such as temples/churches, shrines and also cultural values of the indigenous people were not considered.

Focusing on economic dynamics, this research seeks to explore how forced relocation had affected the economic activities of the Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs). It also aims to examine the extent to which subsistence farming was affected. The thesis will also look at the

destruction of livestock as their sources of wealth. This dissertation besides focusing on the socio-cultural and economic dynamics of the displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims, it will also examine the efforts made by the government to respect the cultural values of the displaced communities and efforts to compensate the flood victims. The research will also analyse the measures that have been taken by the government, local authorities and Non-Governmental Organisations to establish sustainable livelihoods.

Background of the study

Tokwe-Mukosi dam is located at the confluence of Tokwe and Mukosi rivers. The Dam straddles the boundary of Chivi and Masvingo south districts in Masvingo province. The dam was designed in the early nineties with an intention to construct it by 1994, when the first contract was awarded. It is the first dam in the country to be designed by Zimbabwe engineers from ZINWA. Due to financial challenges the execution of the project went through start and stop phases until 2011. On the resumption of works, the geological conditions encountered on the site during the first months of excavations exposed challenges on the main dam foundation especially on the left bank plinth which coincided with a major fault. According to Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) report Tokwe-Mukosi is the first Concrete Faced Rockfill Dam (CFRD) in Zimbabwe and the largest inland lake with a dam wall of 90m height and capacity of 1,8 billion cubic meters of water.¹ The main purpose of the dam is to provide irrigation and hydro- power electricity to communities in the semi-arid southern Masvingo province.

In February 2014 Masvingo province received above average rainfall which resulted in the flooding of area around Tokwe Mukosi dam. The floods came to a dam which was partially complete. One of the ZINWA engineers stated that, when the heavy rains came, construction of the dam wall was not complete only the first layer of the dam wall was filled with concrete.²

Efforts to divert water were made but to no avail. The heavy rains and subsequent floods adversely affected twelve villages, explicitly Chekai, Jahwa, Zifunzi, Mharadzano, Chikandigwa and Vhomo in Nemaushe communal lands and Tagwirei, Ndove, Matandizvo, Chikosi, Mashenjere and Nongera in Neruvanga communal lands. The engineer blamed the Tokwe Mukosi disaster on lack of planning on the part of government that the government was supposed to reject the engineer's notice of impoundment since people were not yet successfully resettled.

In February 2014, the former president of Zimbabwe Robert Mugabe declared Tokwe-Mukosi floods a national disaster. The flood victims were moved to Chingwizi transit camps with the help of the Airforce of Zimbabwe and Civil Protection Unit (CPU). The relocation to Chingwizi temporal transit camps and later on to the new allocated lands in Nuanetsi ranch and Mwenezi had socio-cultural and economic dynamics on the displaced communities.

Research problem

The February 2014 Tokwe-Mukosi flooding is one of the national disasters that have occurred in Zimbabwe which resulted in the displacement of thousands of families from their place of origin to Chingwizi transit camp. Usually when flood disasters occur which claims the displacement of people from their original land to the new areas, the victims will always experience and face many changes. The research therefore aims to expose these socio-cultural and economic dynamics of the displacement of Tokwe Mukosi inhabitants. The forced relocation of these communities to Chingwizi with their cultural values being ignored, projects destroyed, social life together with subsistence farming being disturbed and adapting to new areas with different traditional leaders became an interesting part in this study. The research then seeks to fill in the gaps, adding and unpack some of the socio-cultural and economic dynamics brought by the displacement of Tokwe Mukosi inhabitants after the floods of 2014.

As a result of the displacement, the floods victims were relocated to the new areas which already have own leaders and cultural values. The moved communities became submissive to the new traditional leaders of Chingwizi and Nuanetsi ranch. More so, they were resettled to new aridity areas different from their ancestral land which receives very low rainfall. The place is not suitable for subsistence farming which they used to rely on.

Objectives of the study

- To explore the rationale behind the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam
- To examine the impacts of Tokwe-Mukosi induced displacements
- To analyse the measures that have been taken by the Zimbabwe government, local authorities and Non-Governmental Organisations to establish sustainable livelihoods.

Research questions

1. What are the reasons for the construction of the dam?
2. What are the impacts of Tokwe-Mukosi induced displacements?
3. What were the measures taken by the Zimbabwe government, Local Authorities and Non-Governmental Organisations to establish sustainable livelihoods?

Literature review

The central aim of this part of the research is to provide a critical analysis of written, published and unpublished knowledge on forced relocation of Tokwe Mukosi people. This study will review the literature related to forced migration of Tokwe Mukosi communities. Black states that forced migration is when an individual is physically moved from a place of origin/country and have no chance to escape from those moving him.³ Though a lot of literature has been written , presented and published, the literature vary in terms of selection of areas of concern, claims, interpretation of facts reliability and methodologies. Due to these differences, this research aims to base on such disparities so as to identify silences and gaps in their literature.

In addressing the silences and gaps, the research has the intention of further study and investigate through comparative and analytical approach so as to fill the gaps and address the silences by carrying out interviews since some of the information presented by research papers and unpublished papers lacks interviews of those who were directly involved in the case.

Some of the academicians who wrote on the forced relocation of Tokwe Mukosi people are Mutangi and Mutari. They wrote an article entitled *socio-cultural implications and livelihood displacement of the moved communities as a result of the construction of Tokwe Mukosi dam*, they focused on socio-cultural implications of the displaced communities and overlooking at the economic dynamics brought by the forced relocation of the inhabitants of Tokwe-Mukosi valley. More so, their work focused on the socio-cultural implications and livelihood displacement before the occurrence of floods in February 2014. Therefore there is need for the researcher to address the economic dynamics of the forced relocation and also to further explore the socio-cultural dynamics of the displaced communities from the period 2014 onwards, after the Tokwe Mukosi floods.

Kudzai Saviour Tarisayi in his article titled *Tokwe Mukosi floods: A Conundrum Perspectives*, states that the events that followed Tokwe Mukosi floods and displacements have been subjected to multiplicity of analysis and that has led to the emergence of narratives ranging from internal displacement perspective, livelihood perspective, conspiracy perspective, legal perspective and political perspective.⁴ While addressing these perspectives he overlooked the socio-cultural and economic dynamic of the displaced people of Tokwe Mukosi. He also states that this research is based on secondary data analysis on research by various scholars on Tokwe Mukosi floods and their impact.⁵ Hence his research is different from this research since this study will include unpublished papers and oral interviews from those who were directly involved in the displacement.

Cases of forced migration due to construction of dams and floods did not start with Tokwe Mukosi but they have occurred in various countries throughout the world. According to Human Right Watch construction of dams enhances forced relocation which does not only result in loss of property but also socio-cultural and economic capital those villagers have accumulated over generations.⁶ Furthermore forced migration forces its victims to undergo mental, physiological and socio-cultural and economic stress.⁷ Asian countries such as India and China have recorded the world's largest forced relocation as a result of the construction of dams and floods.⁸ This is due to huge developments in those countries. Gouging and Shaojum postulates that four million people were forced to migrate from areas around three gorges dams in China due to floods.⁹ It is also estimated that, by the late 1980, more than ten million people in China were counted as reservoir resettles. In Thailand the floods of the Pak Mun Dam which occurred in 1994 in the northern-eastern part of the country has displaced nearly 80 000 people.¹⁰ The livelihood of these displaced were seriously affected.¹¹ Compensation for losses were made but there were still protests over cultural losses, social disturbances and economic activities affected.¹²

In addition, the construction of the Turucui dam in Brazil has also displaced a large number of villagers. According to the World Commission on Dams, more than 60 000 people were forced to relocate after the construction of the dam.¹³ This project saw no adequate compensation of migrated communities and the scheme reduced downstream fish catches to the extent that the fish dependent economy and cameta fall.¹⁴ Furthermore, of the local groups actually moved only the Parakana people were resettled, the other groups which lost land to the dam were not considered for relocation benefits. There are socio-cultural and economic dynamics associated with these development therefore it can be justifiable to carry out a research on such issues.

The construction of Highlands water projects in the Lesotho has also enhanced forced migration of indigenous communities. According to United Nations this was the largest

infrastructure project ever constructed in Africa.¹⁵ The project is a multi dam scheme designed to export Lesotho's water to South Africa's industrial center of Gauteng province to provide Hydro Electric Power (HEP) to Lesotho.¹⁶

Forced migration due to dam construction did not only take place to other countries, rather the greatest move in Zimbabwe was recorded during the late 1950's when the Kariba hydro-electric power was built. The construction of this project displaced about 57 000 people both in Zambia and Zimbabwe which in turn resulted in the breakdown of kinship ties among the Gwembe Tonga people.¹⁷ Colson argued that the construction of Kariba dam brought about the changes in the conditions of human and animal life.¹⁸ According to Tischler 30 000 Gwembe Tonga people were displaced from their fertile land to harsh backward regions.¹⁹ Besides Tokwe Mukosi dam is the Manyuchi dam, which was built around late 1950's in Mwenezi district. However, the estimated 20 000 households were forced to relocate by the project thereby excluding them from water sources and imposing some socio-cultural and economics dynamics on them.

In Zimbabwe there are also several incidences of forced migration both in urban and rural areas as a result of various development interventions. Tibaijuka asserts that Zimbabwean government carried out *operation murambatsvina* which was a forced migration program. It was a clean up campaign meant to reduce unnecessary uprooting of unwanted structures in towns.²⁰ However, the way in which programme was implemented enhanced socio-cultural and economic disturbances to many people who were affected such as loss of housing, prostitution, theft and change in sources of income.²¹ Furthermore, the emergence of diamond fields in Marange area in Manicaland had also caused forced migration of villages around the area. There were losses such as ritual sites, ancestral graves and sources of income and means of production. Therefore the aim of the research is to investigate the socio-cultural and economic dynamics of forced relocation of Tokwe-Mukosi communities.

Sources and methodology

Methodology according to Hunger and Pilot is a plan for collecting and analysing data with a specific focus on the strategies employed for effective handling of valuables.²² Mutangi and Mutari defined methodology as a body of methods used in a particular activity.²³ It describes and analysis methods in a research. The researcher sought to use qualitative research method because of its effectiveness in providing people's feelings from their own words of mouth and observable phenomena on the socio-cultural and economic dynamics faced by the displaced individuals.

The researcher will use articles from newspapers, reports, interviews, internet and Journals. Reports from different organizations and government departments who were directly involved during the disaster will be used. Interviews will be carried out for key informants. The key informants will include the head man, District Administrator and ZINWA officials. According to Cohen et al an interview is a two person dialogue initiated by the interviewer for the specific aim of getting relevant information and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic explanation, prediction or description.²⁴ Best and Kahn define as an oral questionnaire.²⁵ Qualitative interviewing will be employed by the researcher. This is a kind of guided dialogue where the researcher carefully listens so as to understand the meaning of what is being expressed. As a result the researcher will produce rich and diverse information set through a thorough examination of experiences, opinions and feelings that closed question could never meet. This makes interviews very useful in this research as they provide information that relates to people's opinions, experiences, feeling and expectations.

Field setting and one-time research methods will be used by the researcher in carrying out oral interviews and group discussions where the researcher will carry out oral interviews with individuals and groups. The methods will be used since the researcher intends to visit relocated families in Nuanetsi ranch and Mwenezi. The researcher will also visit Zimbabwe National

Water Authority (ZINWA) offices in Masvingo for further information about the disaster. In-depth interviews with the relocated families for gathering information will also be employed. The use of interviews will help the researcher to get the first hand information especially from those who had experienced the dynamics of forced relocation. Newspaper articles from both local and national news will also be used to gather the information. Selected newspaper articles from the Herald, The Sunday Mail, The Mirror, Pindula, The Standard Chartered and the Daily News will be used by the researcher for the purpose of research on the topic under study.

Secondary sources are credible and informative for this study, therefore there is need to use journals and academic research papers on displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants. The researcher will consult reports and works of literature compiled by ZINWA, Non Governmental Organization and local authorities for the purpose of this research. Desktop research method by the use of internet will be also employed to access to access published journal articles. The use of multiple sources will help the researcher to obtain reliable information.

Dissertation layout

This section has the intention to set and show a layout of the chapters of the dissertation. The research project will have four substantive chapters apart from the introductory part and conclusion. The dissertation layout is as follows;

Introductory chapter

- ✓ Introduction to the major themes to be unveiled
- ✓ Historical background of the study
- ✓ Research problem research objectives
- ✓ Research questions
- ✓ Significance of the study

- ✓ Literature review
- ✓ Sources and methodology
- ✓ Dissertation structure

Chapter 1

This chapter will focus on the reasons for the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam and livelihoods before displacement. The livelihoods of Chivi people before displacement included subsistence farming, domestication of animals, community gardening and fishing among others. The chapter will also trace the history of Tokwe-Mukosi dam from early nineties when the idea was birthed. The dam was designed by Zimbabwe engineers from ZINWA and constructed by Salini Impregilo an Italian company constructing company. Resettlement plans before the floods will also be exposed in this chapter. The major reason for the construction of the dam is to provide irrigation water to the south eastern parts of Masvingo province. The dam is believed to boost agricultural production and improve food security in the country. Another reason for the construction of the dam is to provide hydro-electric power. The dam has the capacity of generating 15 megawatts which is enough to provide electricity to the whole of Masvingo province.

Chapter 2

The central aim of this chapter is to examine the impacts of Tokwe-Mukosi induced displacements. The chapter will also unveil the socio-cultural and economic dynamics brought by the displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi communities. The construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam resulted in cultural, economic social capital and loss of property which the villagers have accrued over generations. There was destruction of kinship tie, breaking up of families and destruction of family values. Shrines, ancestral graves, and churches were also destroyed as a result of this forced migration. Previous livelihood of Tokwe-Mukosi communities was

characterised by subsistence farming and market gardening. They heavily depended on their land. Thus forced relocation negatively affected their livelihood. Sources of livelihood such as community gardening and farming were destroyed.

Chapter 3

The chapter will focus on the measures taken by the Zimbabwe government, Local Authorities and Non-Governmental Organisations to establish sustainable livelihoods. Different government line ministries, NGOs, private entities and individuals pooled resources to the assist situation. Compensation was the first step taken by the government to establish sustainable livelihoods. The government promised to compensate all flood victims. Compensation was done according to valuation of property. However, the government failed to fully compensate all flood victims and this left the majority of the flood victims impoverished. At Chingwizi transit camp the government, Local Authorities and Non-Governmental organisations ensures food supply, education, access to health services, water and sanitation. In a bid to address the issue of small pieces of land allocated to each family in Nuanetsi Ranch, the government began the second relocation programme. Thousands of families were further relocated to Mwenezi where they were promised 20 hectares of land which is large as compared to the previous 1 hectare in Nuanetsi Ranch. However, the government did not fulfil this promise they were allocated 6 hectares instead of 20 hectares.

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CHAPTER 1: REASONS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE DAM AND LIVELIHOODS BEFORE FLOODS

1.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the on the reasons for the construction of Tokwe-mukosi dam and livelihood of Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants before floods. The livelihoods of Chivi people before displacement included subsistence farming, livestock keeping, community gardening and fishing among others. The chapter traces the history of the dam from early nineties when the idea was birthed. It also looks at the constructing company of the dam and the uses of the dam. The dam was constructed by Salini Impregilo, an Itatian company. The chapter also gives the resettlement plans of the communities settled around Tokwe-Mukosi dam before the floods. There are so many dams that have been built in Zimbabwe which include Kariba and Kyle but Tokwe-Mukosi dam proved to be unique given that it is the largest inland and is the first of its kind to be constructed in the country. It is also the first dam in the country to be designed by Zimbabwe engineers from ZINWA.

1.2 History of the dam

The idea of constructing the large water reservoir that will transform lowveld into the green belt was debated decades ago by the British colonial government of Rhodesia. The dam was named after the government decided to construct an inland at the confluence of two rivers, Tokwe and Mukosi. Tokwe-Mukosi dam was designed in the early nineties with an intention to construct it by 1994, when the first contract was awarded. The dam is located at the boundaries of Masvingo and Chivi districts. Tokwe-mukosi dam was constructed by Salini Impregilo, an Italian contracting company. The construction works began in 1998. Due to financial challenges the execution of the project went through start and stop phases until 2011. On the resumption of works, the geological conditions encountered on the site during the first months of excavation exposed challenges on the main dam foundation especially on the left

bank plinth which coincided with a major fault.¹ This challenge in conjunction with the realisation of the evolution of the design and construction of the Concrete Faced Rockfill Dams (CFRD) which occurred in the recent years required the implementation of the most updated practices in Dam design technology to ensure proper and safe operational conditions for Tokwe-Mukosi dam.

The above mentioned issues were brought to the Engineer's attention, who cognisant of the fact that Tokwe-Mukosi is the first of its CFRD in Zimbabwe and that it is a National Project which is going to produce the largest inland lake with a dam of 90m height, decided to setup a Design Adaption Team comprised of engineers from Zimbabwe National Water Authority and Salini Impregilo Joint Venture for Mukosi.

The team was mandated to update the design to current standards and put in place appropriate measures to avoid occurrence of problems similar to those encountered on similar dams built elsewhere since the design of Tokwe-Mukosi dam in the nineties so as to guarantee quality, safety and timely completion of the project.

1.3 Resettlement plans

At the beginning of the construction of the dam, the government the number of families living around dam site that needs to be relocated. There were 6393 families living around Tokwe-Mukosi which needed to be relocated. The government selected three resettlement sites for those families. The designated site include Chisase in Masvingo district to inhabit 126 families with one clinic, one school and 42 boreholes; Chingwizi in Mwenezi district to inhabit 5782 families with two clinics, five schools and 63 boreholes; Masangula in Mwenezi district to inhabit 485 families with two clinics, three schools and 42 boreholes.

In 2011 the government promised to allocate 17 hectare piece of land and compensation of property to each displaced family. Compensation was to be done according to the valuation of

property which was already done before the floods. The displaced families were to be compensated in form of money. However, between 2012 and 2013 the families were relocated to Masangula, Chisase and parts of Chingwizi but they were only allocated 4 hectare plot each family. Some families said that they were even promised an additional hectare under irrigation to them five hectare but they did not receive the hectare. By January 2014 the government had resettled only 712 out of 6393 households. Many families resisted to be relocated before compensated. The families who willingly resettled in Masangula and Chisase prior to the floods are able to grow crops to feed their families and were not affected by the government's plan that targeted flood victims at Chingwizi transit camp.

1.4 Reasons behind the construction of the dam

The major reason for the construction of the dam was to provide irrigation water and electricity to the southern parts of Masvingo province. The Sunday mail has it that, the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam is a moving development for Zimbabweans and their economy.¹ The dam is believed to act as a catalyst for socio-economic transformation in Masvingo province due to opportunities in areas such as agriculture, fisheries and tourism. When the dam was built, the government had a vision for the dam to transform the livelihoods especially in Chivi area and to recover the national economy. The government spent more than 200million in construction of the dam. The construction of the dam was completed on 10 December 2016.

1.4.1 To provide irrigation water

The primary aim for the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi was to provide irrigation water to the south eastern parts of the lowveld particularly Runde, Tokwe and Mutirikwi areas. According to Sunday Mail about 25000 hectares of irrigated land has been visualised for the establishment with the significant benefits of mass employment and increased agricultural production.² The controlled water for irrigation will allow the expansion of commercial sugar plantation to

sustain irrigation schemes for commercial A1 and A2 farmers. The dam is believed to boost sugar production in Triangle, Hippo Valley and Mukwasine estates. The development of irrigation plots will also benefit the relocated flood victims. Six thousand hectares of virgin land at Masangula has already been cleared to establish irrigation schemes for the displaced families of Tokwe-Mukosi. The Herald stated that “development of irrigation plots for the flood victims will bring to an end a turbulent spell for the families who had been pressing government to resettle them where they can also benefit from Tokwe-Mukosi dam upon completion”.³

1.4.2 To generate hydro-electricity

Tokwe-Mukosi dam wall was designed with a possibility of generating an estimated of 15 megawatts of hydro-power if the peak water facility is considered using the water released for irrigation. The Dam is expected to boost power supply in the country. Hydro-power plant at the dam is being built by a South African investor. Minister Hungwe mentioned that the investment in hydro-power plant at Tokwe-Mukosi dam is an indication that investors from other countries regard Zimbabwe as an investment destination of choice. Power generated will be sold to Zimbabwe Electricity Distribution and Transmission Company (ZEDTC). The generated power will be also used to facilitate fishery projects, lodges and hotels as the area is developed into a tourism resort. The building of power plant at the dam is expected to open more gates for investors to tap into opportunities in agriculture and tourism. According to Madumira “hydro-power is elegant and friendly and does not produce fossil fuels. Community members will also benefit as some will be incorporated on the maintenance system, public institute will be electrified hence improving health services and education in the region”.⁴ Therefore it can be seen that boosting power supply in the country is one of the reasons behind the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam.

1.4.3 Fisheries project

Tokwe-Mukosi dam also aims to improve food security through fishery project. The National Command Fishery project has been successfully launched by the government. The project target to breed 1,5 million fingerings to improve fish production in Masvingo province and in the country. The project is said to bring positive economic growth through creation of employment. The fisheries industry at the dam is expected to support about 1,2 million people throughout the nation at the primary production level. The National Command Fishery Programme try to contribute towards the provision of food, thus reducing poverty and promoting good health through improving dietary habits. The kind of fishing project at Tokwe-Mukosi dam requires big boats that can catch fish at large scale.

The Command Fishery Programme has brought much admired kapenta fish to Masvingo. Minister Hungwe said “For a long-time kariba, has been the sole water body with flourishing kapenta fish in Zimbabwe”.⁵ The fishery industry has been producing about nine thousand of kapenta fish and the this industry is said to contribute 15 million per year to the national economy. All these economic benefits are also coming to Masvingo province due to the construction of the largest inland. The introduction of kapenta fish is projected to boost the new 1,8cubic metre dam. This will be through the condition of fish utilise the open pelagic waters of the dam. The dam is favourable for fish population growth, game fish angling and crucial fish tournaments.

1.4.4 Tourist Attraction

The dam will also serve as tourists attraction. Tokwe-Mukosi dam is surrounded by majestic indigenous trees such as *bjalbertii* (*mutuputupu* in *shona*). The tree is known by the indigenous people and foresters for its distinctiveness for being self pruning, borer proof and can grow up

to 30m. According to Forest Commission, “the tree is categorized under International Union for Conservation nature red data list as near threatened”.⁶

Tokwe-mukosi dam is also expected to contribute significantly in the eco-tourism projects around the dam. These include self-catering chalets, one hotel, cable car, conference centre and casino, game park, boating facilities and angling. These projects will also help in raising the living standards of the rural livelihood particularly from Chivi. The projects will also bring foreign currency hence enabling the development of Masvingo province. Employment will also be created through the development of these projects. According to Newsday the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam will see an increase in revenue as hotels and chalets will be built around the dam. Boat cruising will be available and the existence of a number of wild animals moving around the dam will also see an increase in tourists.⁷

1.5 Livelihoods before displacement

1.5.1 Subsistence farming

The main livelihood of Tokwe-Mukosi people before displacement was subsistence farming. The inhabitants were predominantly subsistence farmers. The main crops grown were maize, sorghum, millet, groundnuts, round nuts, cowpeas and watermelons. Most of these cereals and root crops grown were drought resistant crops since Chivi area receives very low rainfall. Chivi falls under the natural region 4 and the area is semi-arid. In their fields they mainly used manure from cowdung and burnt crop residues to improve the soil fertility. They also practiced collective farming whereby members from the same village agree work in the same field. This was mainly done during the weeding seasons. The practice is called *nimbe*. According to one of the interviewed flood victim, the owner of the field to be worked on was supposed to cook food, brew beer and prepare *maheu*⁸. Collective farming was also done during the harvesting season. They used to sell some of the produce from the fields so that they could get money to purchase

some basics and pay school fees for their children. The households made butter from groundnuts which was also sold locally. Their farms were located about 2km away from the houses and they were also separate with the grazing lands.

1.5.2 Livestock keeping

Another source of livelihood was livestock keeping. The displaced communities owned some livestock which included goats, cattle, pigs, donkeys and poultry. Cattle were mainly used in the fields to pull the ox drawn plough during planting. Cattle were very important to them since they were sources of wealth. Those who owned cattle made significant income from selling milk. Goats and chickens were mainly used for family consumption. Donkeys were used to carry and transport heavy goods. The families also owned carts which were very useful in their livelihood. They were used to transport manure to the fields. They were also used to carry firewood and water from boreholes.

The inhabitants of Tokwe-Mukosi area practiced poultry rearing before they were displaced by the floods. It was also another source of their livelihood. They kept poultry such as broilers, and rabbits. These projects were practised as a group or individually. The respondents noted they were helped by NGOs in the group projects of broiler rearing. The NGOs helped the community with the required knowledge in running these projects. Members of the same group would agree the location of the project and make duties for feeding and monitoring the chickens. They also practiced other projects like goat breeding. Such big projects were usually supported by the donations from different organisations such as PLAN International.

1.5.3 Community gardening

Community gardening in Chivi was a coping strategy for drought since the area is in the semi-arid region which is vulnerable to major climate shocks. The research findings show that women were the main participants in community gardening. Community gardens were

established along river banks. They were controlled by a selected committee. The committee determines what should be grown in the garden. According to Chipo each village had its own garden.² She went on to say that they used to grow different types of vegetables and fruits like bananas which they also sell to people from different places.⁹ Villagers resorted to gardening while waiting for the rain season and they make profits which they used to purchase inputs during the farming season. Community gardens provided many benefits to the people of Chivi which include social, economic and environmental benefits. They benefited the families through obtaining vegetables for family consumption. Community gardens helped to build social networks in the community through sharing garden produce. Community gardens acted as a survival strategy for the poor families in Chivi to share resources and to meet their daily needs and mutual obligations.

1.5.4 Fishing

Fishing was another source of livelihood for the Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants before displacement. They used to practice fishing in rivers like Dange, Tokwe and Mukosi. Fish were used for both family consumption and commercial. Fish were sold both locally and to areas of Chisase. There were also buyers who came to purchase fish from areas surrounding Tokwe-Mukosi communities. Fishing was done by both men and women. In an interview with Mabaya he said;

*We used to practice fishing in the nearby rivers. Fishing was done by many member of the community especially for family consumption. Those who went to fishing for family consumption usually used fishing rods which were made locally. Some used poison prepared from a local herb known as mutsvatsva in shona which kills fish. Those like me who used fish for both family consumption and commercial used nets which trap a lot of fish.*¹⁰

1.5.5 Labour marketing

The data collected from the displaced communities suggests that people in Chivi area were engaging in part-time wage work. A number of people in the area depended upon wage labour for the most of their income. However, labour was not always paid in cash, it was also paid in items or goods. Work was mainly done in the fields. Most of the employers were those who worked in the towns and the employees were the poor members in the society. In many cases the employees were paid with basic goods which they failed to purchase in the rural areas. These included cooking oil, soap and even clothes. Some also worked for farm inputs since the employed were the poor who could not purchase inputs needed to facilitate their farming. The poor members of the community were marketing their labour in order to earn a living.

1.5.6 Clubs

The villagers around Tokwe-Mukosi dam engaged in savings clubs known as *mukando* in shona. The clubs were formed by members especially from the same village who trust each other. A selected committee controlled the club. The committee comprises of the chairperson, treasurer and secretary. The chairperson was the head of the club who was incharge of the operation the club. The treasure was responsible for keeping the money and the secretary for doing the paper worker and keeping the records. The clubs were well organised. They were mainly done by women. Club members would agree on the amount of money to contribute to the club per month. The money would then be shared equally among the members on a set time frame. However, borrowing from the club was allowed and money would be returned on the date agreed by the committee or club members. In most cases member agreed to purchase groceries, kitchen utensils or farm inputs and these would be shared equally among the members. These clubs were very essential for sustaining the livelihoods of Tokwe-Mukosi communities before they were displaced by the floods.

1.5.7 Other activities

The inhabitants of Chivi area were involved in different forms of craftwork which include weaving, carving, brewing beer and making soap among others. All these activities were to provide financial support to the inhabitants to cater for various aspects of life. Carving was mainly done along Masvingo – Beightbridge road where the talented displayed their workers in the highway. The road was a good place where they marketed their work to different people passing by the highway. The weaving of baskets and mats were also other means of sustaining livelihoods in the Chivi area before floods come and disrupted the social and economic lives of the displaced population.

1.5.8 Organisation of communities

Tokwe-Mukosi communities were organised. The setup of their homes, fields and grazing lands was well organised. One of the flood victims stated that they lived in villages whereby the houses were built closer to each other. Fields and grazing lands were located apart from the houses. They could travel a distance to reach the fields. They also had community burial sites where they burry their loved ones and these were located near the villages.

1.5.9 Community burial societies

The inhabitants of Tokwe-Mukosi valley had community burial societies at their ancestral land before they were moved. The societies were done by the villagers before the floods disrupted their livelihoods. Burial societies were practiced in different ways either as a collective compromise the whole village or group members who would have agreed on basis of how they afford, reciprocal relations based on family hood or political connections. Community burial societies assisted the bereaved family with a coffin, food, cooking utensils and even with the tools needed for the burial service such as picks and shovels. Many villagers were members of these societies because they proved to be helpful in many ways to those who could not afford

to be members of bigger funeral policies. During an interview with Mr Magwenzi he said;

Back in Chivi we had community burial societies which were very important to us. They were helpful since it was difficult for most of us to meet the needs for a burial service such as food. In case of death, the burial society provided food, coffin and materials such as shovels and picks. We contributed \$1 per month to the burial society. However, borrowing of money from the society was allowed but with some interests. This also helped to increase money in the treasury. We had a committee which controls the society and this committee was elected by the villagers. I was also in the committee a committee member.¹¹

Those community burial societies were well organised. A committee that ensures the smooth functioning of the burial societies was set. The societies were governed by the rules and regulations agreed upon by the members of the society as a whole. The head of the societies was the chairperson. There was also the secretary who was responsible for the paper work of the society and a treasurer to keep the money.

1.6 Conclusion

The construction of Tokwe-Mukosi Dam can be traced back to early nineties when the dam was designed. The government funded the construction of the dam. Financial shortages delayed the dam construction. Tokwe-Mukosi dam is currently the largest inland dam in Zimbabwe. The dam was constructed by an Italian company, Salini Impregilo. The major reason behind the construction of the dam is to provide irrigation water to the areas in the southern parts of Masvingo province. The dam also serves to provide hydro-electric power to the areas around Masvingo province. Other uses of the dam include fisheries project, tourism attraction, angling and boat cruising. Before the Tokwe-Mukosi floods, communities around the dam heavily depended on subsistence farming. They also kept livestock such as cattle and donkeys. Poultry

rearing, community gardening and labour marketing were also other sources of livelihood. They also practised crafting and basket weaving. The inhabitants had also community burial societies. In February 2014, Masvingo province received heavy rainfall which resulted in the partial collapse of the dam wall. Dam floods were witnessed and they affected many communities around the dam. This resulted in the displacement of people living around the dam.

ENDNOTES

1. “Tokwe-Mukosi Facts and Figures”, 22/10/2017, [The Sunday Mail](#)
2. Ibid
3. “Lifeline for Flood Victims”, 7 March 2018, [The Herald](#)
4. L Betera , *Report on Tokwe- Mukosi Flood disaster*, unpublished 2014, p.13

5. “Tokwe-Mukosi Facts and Figures”, 22/10/2017, The Sunday Mail
6. Human Rights Watch, *Homeless, Landless and Destitute, The plight of Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims* available at <http://www.hrw.org> accessed on 07/03/18
7. “No Joy for Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims”, 19 May 2017, News Day Zimbabwe
8. Interview with Mrs Mudzingwa, flood victim, Chingwizi, 08/01/18
9. Interview with Chipu, flood victim, Triangle, 14/01/18
10. Interview with Mabaya, flood victim, Chingwizi, 08/01/18
11. Interview with Mr Magwenzi, 39, flood victim, Chingwizi, 08/01/18

CHAPTER 2: IMPACTS OF TOKWE-MUKOSI DAM INDUCED DISPLACEMENTS

2.1 Introduction

The chapter focuses on the impacts of Tokwe-Mukosi induced displacements. The chapter exposes the socio-cultural and economic dynamics brought by the displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants. The construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam is said to be one of the greatest achievement by the government that will boost agricultural production. According to Human Right Watch dam construction resulted in loss of cultural, economic, social capital and loss of property which the villagers have accrued over generations.¹ In Zimbabwe, land is a very

important asset especially to the rural people since they secure their livelihood through subsistence farming and livestock keeping. It also offers them identity. Given this it is understandable that if people lost their land, they also lost their livelihood and identity.

2.2 Social dynamics

The displacement of people of Tokwe-Mukosi area resulted in family and community disintegration which affected their livelihoods. According to Mutari and Mutangi, when people are forced to move, long established residential communities settlements are disorganised, production systems are dismantled while kinship groups and families are often scattered.² Evidence from the research findings shows that, forced migration of Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants fragmented communities, dismantled existing patterns of social organisation, destroyed interpersonal ties and disturbed internal networks. Production systems were destroyed, family systems and kinship groups were disturbed and also long established settlements and communities were muddled. The relocated flood victims noted that forced migration breaks down their family relations. They also said that vulnerable members of their families such as elders and orphans were disadvantaged through forced migration. Strong relationships which Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants have been accrued through staying together for long periods were disturbed due to displacement. One of the interviewed flood victim mentioned that there was social disintegration as some social connections were lost due to relocation since they were moved to different areas.³

2.2.1 Distortion of social networks

The forced relocation process disturbed social connections, community gardens and informal and formal interactions. Displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi communities disturbed people's social meeting points. These meeting points are places where the community members used to meet for societal activities. Women used to meet at the borehole and rivers. Men used to meet

at the local shops and rivers when they were practising fishing. Relocation destroyed these meeting points. It has been also indicated that forced migration resulted in the non-functioning of life sustaining social networks that offered mutual support. According to the Herald Newspaper, formal and informal associations and self organised services were wiped out by the scattering of their membership.⁴ This shows that forced relocation destroyed local's social networks which generally act as social safety nets in offering social security to local people in difficult times. Their social networks ranged from friends, village neighbours, church members and extended family members and their importance was undermined as a result of the displacement of some members. More so, the resettlement programme of Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims was done randomly, thus the victims were not moved as groups such that there were extended family breakdowns which acted as safety nets to many members. Hence forced relocation destroyed existing social relation which resulted in socio-cultural changes.

2.2.2 Loss of income generating activities

Displacement of people from Tokwe-Mukosi area resulted in people losing their livelihoods. Respondents noted that women used to have community gardens, poultry cooperatives and also clubs known as *mikando* in shona which they had established due to the mutual trust developed among them as a result of residing together for long time in the community. Women were growing vegetables and fruits such as bananas, guavas and mangoes. These vegetables and fruits were sold to people from different places. According to Rujuwa, at Tokwe-Mukosi area people lost linkages between producers of vegetables and customers from other areas to sell their fruits and vegetables.⁵ The relocation process disarticulated these societal associations.

2.2.3 Leadership

Given social dynamics brought by the forced relocation of Tokwe-Mukosi communities, traditional management systems lost their powers. There was leadership crisis as the leaders

lost their positions after forced migration. The dismantling of villages and households after relocation destroyed some traditional management. The displaced people were resettled to areas which already have their traditional management systems such as Mwenezi, Masangula and Chisase and they were randomly displaced such that they no longer stayed as collectives or groups which can fall under one authority. According to Masvingo Mirror local leaderships in the area complained that the resettlement program has affected their powers since they are now stripped off their responsibilities as their people have been relocated to different areas where they fall under some leaderships.⁶ Power dynamics among the resettled communities was influenced by the manner in which the relocation program was implemented.

It is also important to note that not only traditional leaderships were affected by forced relocation but also modern administrative authorities such as Councilors, Wadcos and Vidcos and to some extent Members of Parliaments (M.P) since their constituencies are reduced in size. One of the respondents said:

*all community wards have been destroyed and there are no Vidcos and Councilors who can be transferred from one place to another.*⁷ Therefore, these

authorities experienced same feelings to those of traditional leader in relation to the losses of their powers as a result of forced relocation. Local authorities also experienced social discontinuity due to displacement of its communities.

2.2.4 Destruction of educational and health facilities

The displaced people lost their schools and health facilities at their new areas. This has become a danger to the livelihoods and also compromised the lives of the future generations. Education and health facilities are indicators of livelihood. When the community is able to access better clinics and schools it indicates that there is a sustainable livelihood. The research also revealed that children as a social group were affected by the forced relocation. They were deprived their

social wellbeing. The resettlement program of communities affected by Tokwe-Mukosi floods displaced local schools such as Neruvanga High School and Zunga Primary School which disturbed the education of local children but all compensation was channelled to their parents without any financial support to cater for the education of these displaced children. Respondents said that, “these schools were also thought to be shifted with us and our children spent too many days at home as we were waiting for schools to shift too”.⁸ Those who suffered the costs are often vulnerable, poor and unrepresented such as future generations. It has also been observed that schools at the destination areas are not developed in terms of infrastructure as compared to those at their original places. Hence children were socially marginalised by the displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims.

2.2.5 Impact of displacement on Social capital

According to World Bank, social capital refers to institution, relationships and norms that shape the quality and quantity of social interaction. Social capital can also be referred to as the ability of people to work together to achieve a common goal either in groups or as an organisation. Thus for people to cooperate to achieve their goal they don't just need to know each other but also to trust each other so that they will not cheat in their relationship and can all benefit from their relationship.

2.2.5.1 Lack of trust among Chingwizi residents

There was lack of trust and reciprocity among the displaced Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims resettled at Chingwizi. The displaced people revealed that they could not trust their neighbour by lending money and other asserts. As a result of the qualms that engulfed the Chingwizi transit camp, inhabitants argued that they don't know about their future hence they could not invest in the networks. One of the interviewed said, “my neighbours cannot pay me back because they don't have a roof over their heads”.⁹ Thus it can be noted that there was low social

capital amongst the displaced flood victims at Chingwizi as indicated by this research. Furthermore, lack of trust has originated from lack of security for any landings or borrowings among the flood victims. The residents of Chingwizi transit camp were traumatised by the floods that affected their homes in the Tokwe-Mukosi area and the challenges encountered in the subsequent relocations. Therefore these painful experiences impacted negatively on their trust and reciprocity amongst themselves.

2.2.5.2 Lack of trust for trust for the government

The participants revealed that they did not trust the government. The respondents exposed that the government did not consider their dilemma from the period of construction of the dam, during the floods and displacement. The displacement of villages led to negative perceptions to the construction of the dam. Thus, even prior to the floods the affected communities which were supposed to be beneficiaries of the development expected from the dam already lacked trust for the government. Ultimately, the displaced families at Chingwizi transit camp lacked trust for government institutions as they believed that there was lack of planning and concern for their welfare. The situation was worsened by allegations of sexual abuse of women and girls by government employees. The respondents shown that mistrust of the government can be explained by the allegation of abuse women and girls by government workers and ZRP officers. Therefore, it can be argued that poor planning and allegations of abuse of women and girls impacted the social capital of the Chingwizi residence as there revealed a lack of trust for the government.

2.2.5.3 Civic activism

Civic activism is a form of community social capital. The research revealed that there was increase in political and civic activism among displaced flood victims resettled at Chingwizi transit camp. The unfavourable conditions and unfulfilled by the government have led to a

political action by Chingwizi transit camp residence. The residence united against the government after it has failed to address their plight. The residence resisted the government's effort to relocate them to permanent plots without compensation and promised 17hactares. The angry residents chased away ten ministers, disarmed police officers and burnt their trucks and then fled the scene. Thus it can be argued that political action taken by the residence was indeed a form of community social capital.

2.3 Cultural disruption

Mutangi and Mutari stated that the relocation program of Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims failed to take into consideration the cultural values of local people.¹⁰ He also noted that “in most African communities people value the graves of their ancestors and they think that good luck comes from the ancestors thus should stay close to their graves”.¹¹ During relocation, traditional leaders were not given time to conduct their rituals informing the ancestors that they were leaving the place, thus destroying their connections and relations with the ancestors. The relocated flood victims criticized the program for excluding cultural values and made the graves valueless and they were destroyed. In an interview with sekuru Magwenzi he said,

*we were not given time to talk to our ancestors that we are leaving the land, all these problems that we are now facing are caused by the angry ancestors who have removed their eye on us. We were supposed to perform rituals at the graves of our ancestors. It is our culture to inform ancestors of our departure so that they continue putting their eyes on us.*¹¹

Furthermore, the respondents complained about their family history being distorted since their children are distanced from their ancestors. According to Betera “there was a clash of cultural paradigms and no clear interface situations at Tokwe-Mukosi resettlement since local people's cultures, values and beliefs were sidelined in the project”.¹³

The research shows that forced relocation destroyed cultural heritages such as shrines, temples, buildings, artefacts and sacred elements of landscape. It also led to the submergence and degradation of archaeological resource such as burial sites and architectural elements. Architectural elements maybe part of the cultural life of local communities or they may predate the arrival of people currently inhabiting the dam site. There were also high risk of the destruction of burial sites, shrines, temples and the exhumation of the bodies at the area of study. From the field work conducted, conflicting perceptions can be seen in that the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam does not coincide with local people's morals and cultural values. Most elders revealed that their rain making ceremonies together with their sacred mountains were being destroyed by the dam.

There were also changes in places of worship. Churches and temple sites were destroyed. People from Tokwe-Mukosi were distanced from their traditional belief systems and exposed to new life worlds which are alien to their primitive forms of living. This was strengthened by some religious sect and this is so because various church members were displaced and their places of worship which are mountains surrounding were also destroyed.

2.4 Economic dynamics

2.4.1 Changes in livelihood strategies

According to Jayaraleny "livelihood involves essentially the capabilities, equipments and activities necessary for living".¹⁴ Livelihoods can be classified into individual and community. Individual livelihoods involve sources of income, jobs and activities that offers income to live on such as farming, trading and fishing. The livelihoods of internally displaced persons of Chivi area have been exposed to the floods which have led to their vulnerability. It has been argued that the livelihood of Tokwe-Mukosi has been affected by the forced relocation. The affected livelihoods include farming, market gardening, craft, art and petty trade.

The displaced communities of Chivi area heavily depended on subsistence farming before forced relocation. The relocation program brought many economic changes to the displaced communities. Their livelihood strategies were destroyed by the forced migration. The displaced families noted that they used to rely on the land for a living through crop cultivation and livestock keeping. However, the relocation program disturbed their farming activities. One of the respondents said that,

*‘the government know it very well that we are subsistence farmers and we rely on that but they put a blind eye on our livestock. They were only concerned with shifting us from our original homes. Some of our livestock died on the way to Chingwizi. Some were also attacked by diseases upon arrival due to the conditions at the camp and poor grazing lands. The government was supposed to make sure our livestock arrives well’.*¹⁵

From the research findings, the resettlement program focused mostly on physical relocation and ignored economic development of the displaced communities which negatively affected them in terms of their losses in livelihood strategies. These displaced families lost livelihood and income sources such as arable land, common property resources such as fisheries, surface water and ground. The respondents mentioned that they used to grow different types of vegetables, fruits such as mangoes, bananas, and guavas because of their closeness to sources of water. They said they would sell them to people from different places to earn a living. Therefore their livelihood have been supported by these practices and the coming in of relocation programme had brought changes in livelihood strategies since they are now relying on donations and some are now working in sugarcane fields in Triangle.

World Commission on Dams stated that most relocation programs are done by central government officials who mainly attach monetary values or compensation on tangible goods such as buildings, trees and infrastructures but little to no emphasis will be put on non-losses such as livelihood disturbances.¹⁶ During interviews the displaced people noted that they used

to practice fishing in nearby rivers such as Dange river. Given this information one can conclude that forced relocation of Tokwe-Mukosi villagers brought economic dynamics to the moved villagers.

When chingwizi transit camp was closed the migrated flood victims were allocated permanent plots in Nuanetsi Ranch. Each family was given 1 hectare piece of land which was very small to sustain their livelihood since they depended on subsistence farming. As a result they continued to depend on donated food due to lack of inputs and draught power. Furthermore, the flood victims were relocated to areas which are not fertile as compared to their original place. Thus it will take time for them to recover to their position before relocation since they are subsistence farmers who rely on land. The relocation programme affected their livestock especially cattle which resulted in lack of draught power to till the land. This was the case for many families. Some of their livestock died during transporting due to overcrowding. They also lost their farming tools which they used in their farming activities. The participants said that the rescue team was mainly concerned with human life and not our wealth and other asserts. As a resulted they faced many economic changes.

2.4.2 Changes in types of crops to cultivate

According to Masvingo provincial minister Kudakwashe Basikiti, “the families in their new Nuanetsi site would only grow sugarcane for a intended state owned ethanol project”.¹⁷ He also said that the sugarcane irrigation scheme for these flood victims will take about seven years to be fully established since the dam is still under construction and during which time the displaced families will have no source of livelihood.¹⁸ “when it eventually becomes fully operational”, this shows that they will continue to rely on donations until the irrigation scheme is established. Besides that, they were relocated to an area which receives very low rainfall as

compared to Chivi. The Sunday mail mentioned that Nuanetsi Ranch is suitable for cattle ranching and not crop cultivation which the relocated communities used to rely on.¹⁹

2.4.3 Changes in trade linkages

It has been revealed that different actors experienced different changes from the resettlement program. There were dynamics in trade linkages which the relocated families have obtained through staying together in Chivi for long time. The research shows that trade connections between Tokwe-Mukosi producers and their customers were disrupted due to forced relocation. During interviews, the participants stressed that they used to sell their vegetables and fruits to different people and some came as far as Beitbridge. This indicates that they had established a clear trade route with their customers and the coming in of the relocation programme destroyed the linkage. Hence it can be argued that the displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants brought economic dynamics given the changes in trade linkages.

2.4.4 Household income

Unlike in their former settlement the majority of the displaced households have nothing to do for generating money at the new sites. This is because these new sites are distanced from market places and they are in deep rural areas where they do not have access to resources and facilities needed for survival. The displaced families are exposed to starvation and hunger due to lack of finance. This is because to fulfil their basic needs, they need a reliable source of income which they do not have. In their previous settlement, many families were involved in market gardening to make money while others were involved in informal jobs such as carpentry. This aided their survival since the assets are interlinked, access to financial resources would help them to afford other resources such as access to health care. Unfortunately their destination areas do not have those opportunities and as a result the displaced families became poorer. In an interview with Chipso who is now a vendor she said; *compared to this area Chivi was*

*far much better. We used to cultivate crops of our choices such as maize, cotton, sorghum and by this time our granaries would be full. During the times of harvesting cotton we get a lot of money through selling cotton. Chivi was a nice place, we were getting all we wanted. Now its different we are no longer getting food and money we used to get. Life is becoming more difficult for us.*²⁰

In line with the above Mr Mudaniri also explained how it has become more difficult for him to support his family in the new area of Nuanetsi Ranch without any source of income.

*“My son, I have nine children to look after. It is now difficult for me to look after these children. Everyday I wake up sitting like this the whole day without any plan”.*²¹

2.4.5 Changes in transport facilities

The displaced communities of Tokwe-Mukosi also faced changes in transport facilities. The new area of Nuanetsi Ranch has transport challenges as compared as compared to their old settlement in Chivi. According to Bartolone “the availability of affordable transport is essential for people’s mobility from one place to another in order to pursue different livelihood strategies, it also link to which they connect with other resources such as employment and markets”.²² The roads in Nuanetsi Ranch are very poor since they were just constructed after the flood disaster. The area has gravel roads which are believed to be unsafe for vehicles. Due to these poor roads there are taxis operating in the area. The most available mode of transport in the area carts. This kind of transport is unreliable since it cannot be used for travelling long distances. The resettled families had their livelihoods been negatively affected as they are staying away from the market. Their nearest market is located 60km away. Chipu the vendor has it that;

“I am just trying my luck with these vegetables. It would be better if the market was closer for us to buy this. Here we are far from many things which we need to survive. Transport to our nearest market

*Triangle, is not easy to get. Transport is a major challenge in this bush where the government have thrown us”.*²³

The respondents referred to their new place as bush and this shows that the area is really underdeveloped as compared to Chivi. Mr Midzi the village leader also reiterated the transport challenges at the new site as he said

*“when we were at Gororo we were close to everything. We would not stress about travelling. Our nearest shopping center or area is Triangle and it is really far. Our main type of transport here is a cart. The major challenge with this kind transport is we lost our donkey to pull the cart during the relocation process. We don’t have reliable transport here. You can only see trucks pass by after some hours. Most of these trucks are delivering material for building the clinic and we sometimes ask for transport from these”.*²⁴

The participants mentioned that at their original settlement transport was not a problem and carts were only used for short distances for example taking maize to the grinding mill. Given this information one can conclude that the displaced flood victims of Tokwe-Mukosi faced changes in transport systems.

2.4.6 Changes in type of accommodation

Ferrington argued that houses are significant asserts.²⁵ According to Manyanye, the absence of better shelter threatens people’s sense of wellbeing, increasing their insecurity and leaving them unsatisfied.²⁶ The displaced people lost their houses due to relocation. During interviews they mentioned that they had good house structures in Chivi and they left them to stay in tents and pole and dagga huts in Nuanetsi Ranch. This shows that the relocation also brought changes in type of accommodation.

2.5 Displacement and gender

When it comes to displacements, it has been seen that experiences between males and females are not the same. Women suffer more than men. The research indicates that Tokwe-Mukosi induced displacements affected women's livelihoods. They were marginalised. El Jack argued that "forced relocation disadvantages women since it results in reduced access to basics/resources that are required to survive with household needs which physical and emotional stress in women".²⁷ Emotional stress results in health issues which in the end will then affect their capability to provide for their families. Women are viewed as being in agreement with nature and shut to the environment. Hence where forced migration results in loss of land, women are more likely to suffer more than men.

More so, the relocation process focused on compensating head of households which are men and ignored women activities such community gardening. Women's community gardens were destroyed by the displacement process and their burdens in terms of fetching water have been increased by being resettled to dry areas of Nuanetsi ranch. Women were affected in the sense that they were the ones who were mostly involved in community gardening and the relocation destroyed their gardens which means their livelihoods were also destroyed. This increased their burden since they are supposed to identify other sources of livelihoods in the new areas so as to bring food home. This indicates that the displacement program of Tokwe-Mukosi people affected women's livelihoods while at the same time increased their work loads. Thus the displacement exposes women to poverty. This clearly indicates that displacement perpetuate gender inequality with women experiencing more difficulties than men.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion the impacts of Tokwe-Mukosi induced displacements can be explained in terms of social, cultural and economic dynamics. The displacement process resulted in social disarticulation. There was destruction of social networks, loss of identity, loss of educational

and health facilities, changes in leadership among others. The relocation programme also affected social capital of former Tokwe-Mukosi inhabitants. Forced relocation of Tokwe-Mukosi communities resulted in cultural disruption. The program failed to consider the values of local people and ended up distorting their family history. The displacement process also brought changes in livelihood strategies, transport facilities and accommodation among others. The research revealed that women were affected more than men by the displacement program since they were the ones who were directly involved in many activities for example fetching water, cooking and gardening.

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CHAPTER 3: MEASURES TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT, LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND NGOs TO ESTABLISH SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the measures that have been taken by the government, local authorities and Non-Governmental Organisations to establish sustainable livelihoods. Different government line ministries, NGOs, private entities and individuals pooled resources to assist the situation. Soon after the declaration of Tokwe-Mukosi floods a national disaster, the government appealed to the international community for \$20million to help the displaced families. The state also allocated displaced families plots in Nuanetsi Ranch. The plots will be grown sugarcane under irrigation scheme. At Chingwizi transit camp the government, local authorities and NGOs ensured food supply, education, access to health services water and sanitation. All these were the measures to establish sustainable livelihood to the displaced families.

3.2 Measures taken by the government

3.2.1 Education in emergency

The government of Zimbabwe with the help from development associates facilitated the development of education system at Chingwizi. This was through the setting up of basic infrastructure such as three primary schools and one secondary school. The government also supported with the provision of basic state funded education through the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM). From 2014 to 2015 the children did not pay school fees. The retention of some teachers from Tokwe-Mukosi area was also commendable to ensure continuity and child protection in such a disaster.

3.2.2 Access to health services

To ensure that the IDPs have access to fundamental health care, the nation has facilitated the status quo of a hospital which became operational at Chingwizi. A permanent Clinic has been built in Nuanetsi ranch and fundamental pills are mentioned to available and infants are receiving ordinary immunizations. Antenatal take care of expectant mothers is also to be had. the hospital is manned by means of certified employees that include nurses and a travelling physician. An ambulance became available for the switch of sufferers to the referral hospital in Chiredzi. Fundamental gadget which include solar powered strength become hooked up. The government's effort is consistent with the un guiding standards on IDPS which requires states to offer vital scientific services, and get admission to to number one fitness services that include immunization of babies, sanitation offerings and supplementary feeding programmes

3.2.3 Food aid

The ZHRC notes that the State has enabled the provision of food to the residents through food aid from Non Governmental Organisations.² At the time of the visit the world Food Programme, through Plan International, had been providing displaced families with basics especially food items on a monthly basis, taking to consideration of family size. The government is also commended for resettling IDPs in region with acceptable road network which stretches from Rutenga to Ngundu-Chiredzi highway. Efforts have made by the government and NGOs to supply food and water to the resettled families but the supply has not been enough to sustain the displaced people.

The main source of food at Chingwizi transit camp was the supply of World Food Programme being distributed by Plan International. These organisations were providing food items which include mealie meal, cooking oil, peas or beans and soya mince. The exercise ended in September.

3.2.4 Development of irrigation plots

The government has already started working on developing sugarcane irrigation plots for the displaced flood victims. The plots are located in Masangula and Chisase. When the researcher visited the scene, excavators, caterpillars and other machines were on the site clearing the land. The contract of clearing the land has been awarded a Chinese company by the government. According to the Herald, “Development of irrigation plots for the flood victims will bring to an end a turbulent spell for the families who had been pressing Government to resettle them where they can also benefit from Tokwe-Mukosi Dam water upon completion”.³ Infrastructure such as schools, roads, clinics and houses will also be developed on the cleared land. This is expected to benefit the displaced families of Tokwe-Mukosi.

3.2.5 Appeal for assistance following the declaration of State of Disaster

The government made a national appeal on 12th February 2014. The government requested for urgent assistance in form of food items which included mealie meal, sugar beans, minestrone soup, cooking oil, powdered milk, sugar, salt, kapenta fish and different kinds of dry relish or other foodstuffs, potable water, browsers, plastic buckets, cooking utensils, cleaning soap, rest room paper, sanitary wear, tents, plastic sheeting and blankets, roofing material which includes thatch grass and zinc roofing sheets, transportation for relocating families preferably lorries, tractors and trailers and diesel, candles and paraffin, matches, primus stove, primary tillage tools such as hoes, shovels, rakes and mosquito nets. The government also appealed for us\$20 million from the international community to meet humanitarian needs for affected families in the Tokwe-Mukosi dam basin.⁴ This was needed to evacuate and relocate at families as well as the provision of meals, shelter, clean water and different basic needs. However, very little funding was received. Through DCP, the government mobilised preliminary logistics to evacuate households from the catchment areas. Zimbabwe Defence Forces helicopters carried out search and rescue operations for the displaced community members. The Ministry of Health

and Child Care (MOHCC) also supplied health workforce for the medical institution and healthy promotion activities, as well as police officers to maintain law and order.

3.2.6 Compensation

Compensation is one the measures that has been taken by the government to establish sustainable livelihoods though it was not successful. The government has agreed to compensate the resettled Tokwe-Mukosi communities. The idea of compensation can be traced long back when the government began to construct the dam. Compensation was done according to the valuation of property. However, very few families were compensated and those that have been compensated indicated that the money that they were given was very few to cover their losses. The demand for compensation was one of the major factors raised by the displaced families. They mentioned that compensation was one of their major concerns and was necessary in order to make an ends of their suffering. The residents lost immovable property due to relocation and suffered more loss of household effects and livestock during movement. They mentioned that compensation was necessary to resolve most of their problems they were facing.

3.3 The role played by the department of civil protection

3.3.1 Coordination

The department of civil protection was responsible for coordinating activities at Chingwizi transit camp. The primary functions of the department included preparing for, preventing where possible and mitigating the effects of the disaster that is disaster response. It has been noted that, the main role of the department during Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster was coordinating and providing relief aid so as to establish sustainable livelihoods. The department took a leading role in relief aid through coordinating the disaster response efforts from the community, ward, district, and provincial up to the national stage. During Tokwe-Mukosi flood

disaster, the department also provided management activities through consultation and cooperation with other organisations, which includes the Zimbabwe Defence Force and ZRP.

3.3.2 Resource mobilisation

Research has shown that, during the displacement, the department was the main body responsible for resource mobilisation and resource allocation so as to mitigate the effects of the disaster and establish sustainable livelihood. During the Tokwe-Mukosi flooding, the department of civil protection was able to source for resources from different organisations and individuals. According to a respondent from the department, they were able to gather resources from various NGOs, private companies, churches and individuals such as musicians.⁵ Seventy eight some private companies provided the department with transport so as to ferry the affected households to their newly relocation sites.⁶ Resource mobilisation was important in ensuring sustainable livelihood of the displaced families. This is because the department generally does not have enough resources to respond to a disaster with the magnitude of Tokwe-Mukosi with its devastating effects. As such, the department had to source for resources as it was overwhelmed. However, the department did not source for material resources, but also funds. This is the government arm in responding to disasters in Zimbabwe as such, through the government of Zimbabwe subsequently, propelled a disaster offer requesting usd\$20 million from the global group to relocate the disaster victims to an impermanent location and gave philanthropic help to the same.

3.3.3 Need assessment

Need assessment is the other role which the department carried out during the displacement of Tokwe-Mukosi communities. The main needs of the displaced Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims in order of priority was shelter, in which case they provided them with tents, they also needed safe water, food and shelter.⁷ As stated earlier food shortages had been one of the major effects

of the Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster. In response to the flood disaster, compensation became also a primary need. The flood victims stated that compensation was likewise a noteworthy concern as they wanted to make amends for their suffering. A number of the displaced people claimed that they lost their livestock and assets during movements and relocations. The major need of disaster victims included food which has the largest percentage.

3.3.4 Humanitarian assistance

Another role played by the Department of Civil Protection in responding to Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster was the provision of humanitarian aid/assistance.⁸ Considering that many disaster victim respondents said that they had lost their food and properties in the flood disaster, the department together with its partners stepped in and provided food aid and also non food items to the disaster victims. It has been noted that the department was able to provide food aid to the flood victims which included mealie meal, vegetables, cooking oil, beans and also flour among others.⁹ The non food items they provided include aqua tablets, buckets, blankets, clothes, candles among others. The department was also able to collaborate with various other departments for example the air force.

3.4 Local authorities

Local Authorities and District Administrators were the key actors in establishing sustainable livelihoods to the displaced families of Tokwe-Mukosi. From the research, the researcher noted that during the flood disaster, Chivi Rural District Council (RDC) and the department of Community Services offered fuel particularly for the DA and his assistant so that they could ferry people from the flood area to safer ground. The director of the Chivi RDC department of community services stated that, the local authority was not actually involved in flood disaster management in the district due to lack of funds to extend their priority¹⁰. The work was also done by the DA as the chairperson of the DCPCC. He also noted that the local authority merely

followed instructions from the DA during the flood disaster at Tokwe-Mukosi. Moreover, the DA of Chivi also stipulated that the Chivi RDC was just using a position where most aid provided by NGOs for the flood victims were directed for further distribution to beneficiaries.¹¹

3.4.1 Camp Coordination and management

Due to unavailability of intended land to resettle the affected families, the government established a temporary transit camp at Chingwizi. A strategy was put in place to reduce the suffering of people in the temporary tent accommodation provided at the camp. The Provincial Civil Protection Committee was responsible for camp coordination and management. The department assisted in Health and diseases, shelter, food and landuse planning chaired by the District Administrator Mwenezi who was also tasked with day to day camp management with support from Civil Protection Department United Nations Agencies and NGOs. The DA was also residing at the camp during the emergency period. He coordinated the activities of all Non Governmental Organisations and United Nations agencies and managed all stocks and materials coming in to the camp. He was also in charge of coordinating the provision of temporary shelter, water supply, health and sanitation, education and other welfare activities. Accountability procedures were put in place to ensure proper receipting and acquittal of supplies and donations. On arrival at camp each family was allocated a tent, 50kg mealie meal, 2litres cooking oil, 1kg salt, 4kg sugar, 10kg sugar beans, 5kg kapenta.¹² Water was also provided at the camp. At first water was being drawn from Triangle until three boreholes were drilled and a piped water system was set at the transit camp.

However the Japanese government through JICA donated tents and an NGO from South Africa the Gift of Givers Foundation supplied some of the medicine further to sanitation chemical substances and other cloth. This Chinese government supported with food supplies and a cash donation of USD\$500.000.00.¹³ Other forms of aid indirectly provided through cooperating partners.

3.4.2 Water and sanitation

ZINWA, DDF and UNICEF through local authorities responded with the provision of portable water to the victims. Water was a chief problem at Chingwizi the villagers spent hours queuing for water. Water shortages had been a major blow especially to women with younger children as they needed a lot of water to wash napkins. Water shortages led to outbreaks of diseases which include diarrhoea and dysentery at the camp and scabies for infants.

3.5 NGOs International Organisations and International Community

NGOs and International Organisations generally had the leading role in establishing sustainable livelihoods to the displaced families at Chingwizi Transit Camp. They played a pivotal role in offering material, financial and logistic aid to the department of Civil Protection. Different organisations and individuals stepped in to provide emergency aid to the Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims just after the floods and some continued even after the affected families had resettled to Chingwizi transit camp. Organisations which were active are include Civil Society Organisations, Civil Protection Unit (CPU), both private and public organisations such as Red Cross, Christian Care, UNICEF and Action Aid. These organisations offered aid such as food rations, shelter, clothes, pots, plates only to mention but a few and transport for the flood victims which was greatly welcomed and appreciated.

Furthermore, Zimbabwe Red Cross Society (ZRS) in a bid to curb the water problems at the camp and at least provide better sanitation to the residents, a total of three boreholes were drilled, one on the campsite, the other 2 outside by the secondary camp school. Red Cross also within the same move supplied tents to be used for toilets, bathing areas and temporary shelter. This beyond reasonable doubt has positive impacts on sustaining the hygienic wellbeing of the camp residents. However, from an onlooker's view this aid became tremendously addressing the plight of the flood victims but its only after clear analysis of the situation and consultation with the respondents that the loopholes surfaced. Considering the large number of people the

camp placed borehole became always characterised through a protracted winding queue and many women opted to reach out for the 2 located off-camp.

The situation at the camp was not conducive for the flood victims. NGOs which includes Red Cross donated tents but they were not enough. Each family was given one tent and this one tent was used for both storage and accommodation. In the allocation of tents the CSOs did not consider the number of family members of a household, a household with ten members ` was given a single tent just like a family with many members. Therefore there was unfairness in the allocation of tents. Another challenge of the tents was that they were too small. The tents which were donated per family were inadequate that households ended up leaving some of their less valuable property within the open space so as to create room for more valuable property and accommodation.

3.5.1 Food and nutrition

CSOs such WPF, Plan international and Caritas offered food aid to the Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims. However, food shortages has been the order of the day since Chingwizi was established. Research shows that, at Chingwizi each family was given 500g dried beans, 2kg flour, 2kg sugar, 2l cooking oil, 500g salt and 1kg kapenta. These food items were expected to last for the whole week. It was a challenge to large families, for instance a family with ten members the food could not sustain such a family for the whole week. Food shortages at a camp has led to promiscuity behaviours and outbreak of sexually transmitted disease such as Syphilis and Gonorrhoea. Research indicated that, some women and young girls were practicing sex for food. It should be noted that, some women volunteered to exchange food for sex , however not all some were forced by guardians especially girls living with extended family members. Aid workers and government officials were said to have taking advantage of food shortages to insist sex from women in exchange of food. The meals were same everyday

as the flood victims were allocated the same share that is cereal, beans, cooking oil and kapenta. Thus food at the camp lacked nutritional value and victims on ARV treatment were most affected. One of the respondents stated that:

“We were provided with food even though it would not sustain us for a long as there were many people who needed it. The World Food programme offered us 75ml of cooking oil, 10kgs of mealie meal and also 2kgs of peas or beans. There were also other Non Governmental Organisations who were focusing on health. Those would provide us with blankets and mosquito nets. UN agents also supported us with medication.”¹⁵

3.5.2 Health

World Health Organization, National Health Care Trust and ZRCS are some of the organizations which provided health facilities to the Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims at Chingwizi transit camp. These CSOs assisted with the provision medical supplies, equipments and diarrheal kits. However, the provisions were not sufficient as research noted that, there were shortages of and toilets sanitizes and ARVs. The provisional clinic was overwhelmed by patients for instance more than three malaria patients were treated, STI infections were also high with over a hundred cases in three months. Diarrheal infections were also high as a result of the unhygienic conditions at the camp. Shortages of medication led to loss of life at the transit camp.

3.5.3 Psycho-Social support

The Tokwe-Mukosi floods left the victims in surprise and also traumatised and urgent need of psychosocial support and counselling. Counselling was needed most by child headed families, women and the old. The require for community psychosocial support was an urgent need to the shock of floods, displacement and migration to a new settlement in an unfriendly environment, Organisations such as BSHASO were providing psychosocial support services. However, the

services were not successful since the environment was so traumatic. Recreational activities were established for children as a means of psychosocial support, ZRCS created playing grounds for sports such as soccer volleyball and netball. Children were seen playing different games in those playgrounds created by ZRCS. As a result children were seen trailing their mothers with happy faces. The playgrounds were good idea but it was not easy for children to play with an empty stomach.

3.6 International Organisations

According to the human Rights Watch the UN agencies supported in respond to the flood disaster by providing basic health care from temporary clinics, shelter, food rations, hygiene kits and, water supply through boreholes and trucking, emergency hygiene facilities and psychosocial services.¹⁶ The UN agencies noted that people regardless of inadequate resources, its response in the flood disaster was guided by humanitarian response in a kind, fair, neutral as well as independent manner.¹⁷

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the measures taken by the Zimbabwe government, Local authorities and Non-Governmental Organisations to establish sustainable livelihoods. It has argued that there are many efforts that have been put in order to establish sustainable livelihood. These include development of irrigation plots, compensation, food aid, establishment of educational and health facilities at Chingwizi, water and sanitation and provision of shelter. However, these measures and efforts were not all successful in establishing sustainable livelihoods. For example the government did not fully fulfil its promise of compensating the flood victims. Very few families received compensation and those that received were not fully compensated. Food aid was also limited. In general the conditions at Chingwizi transit were unfavourable. The

displaced families have been exposed to poverty, the disaster relief program has failed to establish sustainable livelihoods.

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CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the displacement of inhabitants of Tokwe-Mukosi valley after the floods brought socio-cultural and economic dynamics to the moved families. In February 2014, close to 3500 families living at Tokwe and Mukosi village in Masvingo province had to abandon their ancestral homeland following heavy flooding resulting from the overflowing of the incomplete Tokwe-Mukosi dam. The government had to forcibly evacuate the villagers and settled them at Chingwizi transit camp which lies about 130kilometres away from their homesteads. The victims of this tragic event were poorly taken care of. The government relocated them to a

camp without compensation. Efforts to intervene by the government were not adequate and timely. The study also examined the dynamics in livelihood strategies of the relocated communities. The relocated families lost access to income and assets such as land, shelter and food after the displacement. There was a general decline in living standards at Chingwizi transit camp. They used to survive through subsistence farming yet they were allocated 1 hectare pieces of land in Nuanetsi Ranch which were not enough to continue farming. The involuntary displacement also resulted in severe socio-cultural hardships for the displaced people. There was social disarticulation. The displacement of the villagers resulted in family and community disintegration. Kinship ties were disrupted. The relocation program did not consider the cultural values of indigenous people. There was also devastation of graves and cultural heritages such as temples/churches and shrines. The research also indicates that women were affected more than men by the displacement. Their activities such as community gardening were destroyed. Hence the displacement perpetuates gender inequality with women experiencing more difficulties than men. After forced relocation they are now facing new economic and social uncertainties in a strange land. They now lead a life of dependency, powerlessness and vulnerability.

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