

22 Human Rights Violation in a Bid for Sustainable Development: the Case of Tokwe-Mukosi Dam Construction in Chivi District in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe

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Introduction

Human rights, like globalization, are topical in the 21st century. Violation of human rights has now become an area of serious debate at local, regional and international platforms throughout the world, for most countries are now signatories to various conventions of the United Nations (UN) that promote human rights.

The basic human rights are: food, shelter, clothing, water, education and many others (UNDHR, 1948; Muyebe and Muyebe, 1994). Many governments in the world struggle to meet the expectations of the UN on human rights. Although most of the governments in the developed world seem to be coping, those of the developing world are groaning bitterly, especially in Africa. Zimbabwe, which is a signatory to the UN conventions on human rights, drowns in a quagmire in its bid to observe the rights of its citizens.

One of the most basic human rights is water (UNDHR, 1948). Water is very precious to human life: without water, people's lives become horrible and miserable. This is why there is a common adage, 'Water is life' (Jarre, 2007).

After independence in 1980, the Government of Zimbabwe embarked on dam construction in various provinces in the country in order to

provide water to its citizens. Such an idealistic undertaking resulted in the construction of a number of dams in Zimbabwe but unfortunately these well intentioned efforts in some instances turn from a blessing to a curse, as exemplified by the focus of this study: the Tokwe-Mukosi dam construction (interview: Muromo, 2014).

The government's intention in constructing the Tokwe-Mukosi dam was to make water available in the Masvingo province's drought-prone Chivi district so that it could embark on livelihoods and sustainable projects but in a bid to do so it led to a human rights disaster. The government should have carried out a pilot study of the district before the implementation of such a giant project. A pilot study was supposed to have been undertaken prior to full implementation of the project to enable the contracted company and the government to establish the possible challenges that could be faced after completion of the project. This could have served as an eye-opener to the likely problems that could arise after the full realization of the project, especially the flooding of the dam and its consequences that are the subject of the research work in this chapter.

In 1998 the Government of Zimbabwe contracted an Italian company, Salini Costruttori, to embark on the Tokwe-Mukosi dam construction project at a cost of over \$200 million in order to

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provide irrigation facilities for the Triangle–Hippo Valley sugar cane estates and the local communities of Chivi district, along with hydro-electric power generation, flood control mechanisms and fish production (interview: Muromo, 2014). However, this worthy course was thwarted by serious flooding that took place on 4 February 2014. The Tokwe-Mukosi disaster happened whilst Zimbabwe as a nation was undergoing serious political, social, economic and religious crises (Raftopolous, 2009). The flooding had serious consequences for the communities that lived along Tokwe-Mukosi River. The affected areas were Gororo, Nyahombe, Tokwani, Ngundu and the surrounding areas.

The Tokwe-Mukosi Dam project was first initiated by the Rhodesian colonial government of Ian Douglas Smith (in office from 1964 to 1979) but could not immediately take off because of the liberation struggle, which was at its peak. The project was designed to boost agriculture through irrigation in a region that normally receives insufficient rainfall of less than 600 ml per year (ZHRC, 2014). At independence in 1980, the dam project was prioritized among various government projects because water is a necessity and a basic human right. Zimbabwe is a signatory to various conventions of human rights and so provision of water by government to its citizenry is obligatory.

Masvingo is one of the ten provinces found in Zimbabwe in the drier south-eastern low-veldt of the country. It has an area of 56,566 km² and a population of 1,300,000 people (Chikodzi *et al.*, 2013). It has seven districts: Bikita, Chiredzi, Chivi, Gutu, Masvingo, Mwenezi and Zaka. The bulk of the province is set in Region Five of the country's agro-ecological regions, in which dominant agricultural activities include subsistence cultivation of drought-resistant cereal crops – millet, sorghum and rapoko. The province is predominantly semi-arid/erratic and uncertain, making the province prone to droughts (Chikodzi *et al.*, 2013). The construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam was intended to remedy the problem of droughts and shortage of water for perennial supplies to the sugar cane plantations in Triangle and Hippo Valley in Chiredzi area. Besides this, Zimbabwe had been experiencing a crisis in electricity supplies since the attainment of independence and so the construction of the Tokwe-Mukosi dam would go a long way in

trying to alleviate the problem by supplying hydro-electric power (Mlambo and Raftopolous, 2009). Such a project would also boost fish production in the poverty-stricken Chivi district, thereby improving the livelihoods of the general population. As well as boosting fish production, construction of the dam would be a permanent solution to unexpected floods caused by various cyclones, such as Leon-Eline, Japheth and Hudah, which had gripped Zimbabwe from 2000 onwards (OCHA, 2000).

This chapter acknowledges that the building of dams is vital for poverty alleviation and sustainable development but also that in this case it created a human rights disaster. Heavy rains and mudslides in late January and early February 2014 along with the partial collapse of the Tokwe-Mukosi dam wall resulted in flooding, which led to the forced migration of the human and animal populations to the heavily congested, populated and flooded Chingwizi Camp. Approximately 60,000 people were directly and indirectly affected. Robert Mugabe, President of Zimbabwe, declared Tokwe-Mukosi a national disaster on 18 February 2014 and the government requested local, regional and international support (Bote, 2014).

The Tokwe-Mukosi flooding led to notorious violations and deprivations of both human and animal rights that are at the core of this chapter. This study argues that although dam construction is valuable for sustainability, in the case of the Tokwe-Mukosi dam disaster the government should have resettled all people who were living close to where the dam was supposed to be situated *before* embarking on the project, because prevention is better than cure. A pilot study should have been carried out before the commencement of the project, as suggested above, which could have redeemed this unwarranted predicament.

The outline of this chapter is as follows. Firstly, it defines key terms and tabulates the human rights to pave the way for discussion on Tokwe-Mukosi human rights violations. Secondly, it examines Tokwe-Mukosi and the socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe. Thirdly, Tokwe-Mukosi and the political crisis in Zimbabwe are discussed. Fourthly, Tokwe-Mukosi and the role of religious and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil society in addressing the crises are tackled. Finally, a

conclusion and a way forward complete the chapter. To gather some views from local people about the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster, interviews were conducted by the author in the Chivi District, Chingwizi Camp and the surrounding areas. The interviewees are listed at the end of this chapter.

Human Rights Defined and Summarized

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a milestone document in the history of human rights. It was drafted by representatives with different legal and cultural backgrounds from all regions of the world. The Declaration was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in Paris on 10 December 1948 as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations. It set out, for the first time, fundamental human rights to be universally protected (UNDHR, 1948). Questions are always raised by scholars from various persuasions with regard to different definitions of the term 'human rights'. This study adopts a working definition that can be contextually relevant to the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster in Zimbabwe. Human rights might be defined as follows.

- The recognition and respect of people's dignity. This sounds brief and to the point but how does one recognize and respect people's dignity?
- The basic standards by which we can identify and measure inequality and fairness. This sounds like a good definition but what are these basic standards and how best can one measure inequality and fairness, especially in Zimbabwe where a food disaster affects peasant villagers?
- Those rights associated with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR, 1948). It is correct to say so but what are those 'rights'?
- A set of moral and legal guidelines that promote and protect a recognition of our values, our identity and ability to ensure an adequate standard of living documented in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. This is the working definition that is utilized in this study.

What follows is a paraphrased summary list of the human rights documented in the 1948 UDHR. Such rights are also well documented by Muyebe and Muyebe (1994) as follows:

- Freedom and equality of all human beings.
- Entitlements in the Declaration overrides any barriers.
- Right to a holistic life to all humanity.
- No to any form of slavery.
- No to any form of inhuman treatment.
- Right to recognition of any human being before the Law.
- Right to equality against any discrimination.
- Right to fair legal representation before the law.
- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary treatment before the law.
- Right to a fair and impartial treatment before the law for any criminal offence.
- No one shall be tagged guilty until proven guilty by a highly reputable legal board at the time when the penal offence was committed.
- No arbitrary interference to individual privacy at any level before the law.
- Freedom of residence and movement within the country of origin and beyond borders.
- Right to seek asylum from persecution in any country other than your own without invoking such a provision in tandem with laid down statutes of the United Nations.
- Right to a nationality or change of nationality for every humanity without rigidity.
- Right to equality to marriage across gender with free and full consent, during marriage and at its dissolution.
- Right to ownership of property across gender without deprivation.
- Right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion without any form of restriction.
- Freedom of expression and of individual opinions without stumbling blocks.
- Freedom of association and assembly without compulsion.
- Right to freely vote for any candidate of your choice in any elections in your country.
- Right to social security for each citizen which would enhance personal development.
- Right to employment with a favourable remuneration for personal sustenance and growth.

- Right to favourable working conditions with benefits that go by the type of employment.
- Right to live a holistic life characterised by providence of all basic necessities to all citizens inclusive of the vulnerable groups.
- Right to education for human, personal and national development.
- Right to free participation in the cultural development of the community.
- Entitlement to a social and international order for the full realization of the rights enshrined in this Declaration.
- Right to free and full development of one's personality in tandem with due recognition and respect for others' rights and freedoms as documented in this Declaration.
- Nothing in this Declaration aims at depriving any person of his or her rights in any way (UNHCR, 1948).

The chapter now examines the socio-economic crisis in the country which was worsened after the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster, as already noted above. The Tokwe-Mukosi disaster should be examined in the context of the political, social, economic and religious crises which have bedevilled Zimbabwe under the tyrannical leadership of Robert Mugabe since 2000.

The Socio-economic Quagmire in Zimbabwe Exacerbation by Tokwe-Mukosi Disaster

From 2000 to date, Zimbabwe as a nation has encountered a plethora of crises; hence authorities from various scholarly perspectives generally refer to the period of such multiple crises as the 'Zimbabwe Crisis' (Mlambo and Raftopolous, 2009). The Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster came to exacerbate the crises, yet when the government decided to build the dam in 1998 the idea was to try to alleviate hunger and poverty, which had turned to be the 'song' of most Zimbabweans (Madzokere and Machingura, 2014). This proved a nightmare as the Tokwe-Mukosi flooding on 4 February 2014 became a national disaster with long-term effects. Generally, the disaster led to the social, economic, political, religious and humanitarian crises that are now haunting the nation. This part of the chapter examines the socio-economic crisis that was triggered by

the Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster. Although the government of Zimbabwe had long-term plans to relocate people for over 3 years and compensating them, the incessant rains exacerbated the problem and forced the government to move the people in a short space of time. This became disastrous for the economically bankrupt government of the long-serving President Mugabe. More than 600 households were compensated with sums ranging from US\$2000 to US\$30,000 per household and were relocated and allocated 4 ha of land each in Chingwizi in 2013. However, the area lacked schools, shops, boreholes and toilets (ZHRC, 2014; interviews: Muswere, 2014; Box, 2014; Made, 2014).

The whole exercise was confronted by mounting problems. The first major problem was that of transport to ferry people to Chingwizi Camp. The major challenge facing the government was getting trucks to move the affected people from the transit camps to the relocation sites and there were people who spent close to a week living in the open, exposed to the vagaries of nature. The second problem was that of fear of disease outbreak. There were fears of outbreaks of cholera and malaria, as the transit camps and the relocation sites did not have clean water and toilets and so the people were resorting to bush toilets near the Chingwizi Camp. The lack of proper sanitary facilities was a health bomb. In addition, the affected communities had lost their property, including farming implements, cattle, donkeys, goats and chickens, as they ran for their lives when they were being rescued from the floods. The third problem was the poverty levels and starvation that was (and is) affecting the people who were forcibly moved to Chingwizi after the flooding of the dam (interview: Matake, 2014). Thousands of Zimbabwean flood victims displaced after torrential rains caused by the partial collapse of the Tokwe-Mukosi dam were reportedly faced with starvation. The statistical data released by the government's civil protection unit showed that the families required 150,000 t of grain, amid reports of shortages. Reports said over 4000 people were evacuated from the flood risk area after the partial collapse of the dam. Villagers who relocated to Chingwizi Camp in Nuanetsi Ranch said that they were starving as government food donations were not enough to meet the demand of the overpopulated Chingwizi

Camp (interviews: Nhamo, 2014; Muringani, 2014; Mago, 2014). This precarious situation facing the Chingwizi victims forced the government to rope in local companies and NGOs for donations and food assistance but all such efforts were short term because food remained in short supply. The government's efforts in supplying rations to the affected were fast turning to failure as it operated without a budget. The fourth most crucial problem was the influx of displaced school children without a school to attend at Chingwizi Camp. An estimated 800 primary and 500 secondary school pupils had been displaced and these children were not going to school at all, because of the non-availability of schools (interview: Matake, 2014). People at Chingwizi faced a myriad of problems which made their lives complicated. The problems ranged from hunger to overcrowding and lack of proper sanitation, education and water facilities. This became a serious human rights violation exercise (ZHRC, 2014). The Chingwizi victims had been sleeping in the open for many days and so were exposed to serious negative external forces that were detrimental to their lives. On a research tour to Chingwizi Camp on 4 March 2014, we witnessed victims receiving donations from well-wishers. From my own observations, the size of the tents would be equivalent to an average room where a family of six people would settle. I also observed children of school age milling around Chingwizi Camp aimlessly while their parents, mostly women, were trying to make shelters out of the tents that were made available to them. However, the conditions were overcrowded. The men, who looked very desperate, were somewhere near the camp queuing for some food rations that had been received from well-wishers as donations. From face-to-face discussions with the Chingwizi victims, there were revelations that there was rampant theft of donations by both flood victims and authorities from various organizations who were donating various goods. Interestingly, investigations by various interested parties to human rights disaster also revealed that nearby villagers, masquerading as flood victims, were part of the problem of theft of the goods donated for the victims. A one-on-one interview on 4 March 2014 with one of the affected victims, John Nhamo, who attracted my attention more than others, had these revelations on theft of donations:

There were a lot of people here and most people guarding the donations are working under pressure. Villagers were sneaking in here and get away with donations after disguising as victims from Tokwe-Mukosi. There is a list of people from the flood basin but it is very difficult to ascertain whether one is from the affected area. Moreover, there are cases of victims sneaking out with donations for resale. There is security but people are too many here.

The government of Zimbabwe appealed for an additional 20,000 tents to provide temporary shelter to victims as the number of families at the holding camp continued to surge. With the camp awash with donations in the form of food, clothes and blankets, among other wares, some of the goods were finding their way out of the camp where they are sold in adjacent villages. Most of the victims had lost their livestock and valuable property during the government-assisted relocation to their temporary homes. This flood disaster led to serious socio-economic problems affecting the victims of Tokwe-Mukosi. As well as the socio-economic problems caused by the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster, the existing political turmoil in the country was further fuelled by the disaster.

Tokwe-Mukosi Disaster in the Midst of Political Turbulence in Zimbabwe

Such a disaster did not only plunge into a serious socio-economic problem but a political crisis as well that adversely affected Zimbabwe as nation. Zimbabwe, from 2000 to date, was turned into a polarized state due to mounting political tensions between mainly the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) party led by Robert Mugabe and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party led by Morgan Tsvangirai (Sachikonye, 2003, 2004). The Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster added more fire to the already burning situation in the country. This automatically led to the deprivation of the people's rights, which impacted negatively on the lives of citizens. The Zimbabwean populace was divided along these two major political parties (ZANU–PF and MDC) so life was now treated on partisan political lines. This made life for the general citizens of Zimbabwe very harsh and chaotic.

Due to the polarization of the state, the Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster opened new wounds of hate, attack and derogatory exchanges between the ruling party and the opposition. The dam disaster became a political minefield where nasty deprivation of political rights of the citizens took place for political survival and led to a serious political crisis. After Mugabe's declaration of Tokwe-Mukosi as a national disaster in February, 2014, there was an influx of political players visiting Chingwizi Camp to compete for political space. Each effort by the opposition party MDC to be involved in the assistance of the disaster victims was thwarted, for that would be advantageous to lure votes for them at the next election in 2018 (Makumbe, 2009; Masunungure, 2009). This explained why the former Prime Minister and opposition MDC-T leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, was barred by agents of the ruling party from visiting the camp where he intended to donate a few goods to the victims. To make matters worse, Masvingo's Provincial Affairs Minister and ZANU-PF member Kudakwashe Bhasikiti banned and barred journalists from the independent media from visiting the Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster victims at Chingwizi, accusing them of falsification of information on the plight of the troubled villagers (interview: Mapira, 2015). Bhasikiti displayed antagonism towards prospective visitors to Chingwizi which was very retrogressive to the plight of the flood victims. This on its own showed how desperate the ruling party was as it made every effort to politicize a disaster. The right to press freedom and freedom of expression was thwarted by someone who should have been promoting the rights of citizens to information.

The Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster led to worse deprivation of citizens' political rights. The dire plight of the Chingwizi victims was characterized by sheer desperation and a feeling of neglect by a government that failed to meet cash pledges offered as pay-off and a compensation measure for losing their homes, land and other various properties (ZHRC, 2014). Simon Khaya Moyo, a senior dignitary in the serving government, and many others (the likes of Ignatius Chombo and Douglas Mombeshora from the ruling ZANU-PF party) visited Chingwizi Camp to address some politically related problems associated with the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster. The politically related problems were various, ranging

from favouritism in the form of partisan distribution of food rations, campaigning during distribution of donations, exaggeration of the plight of the victims by opponents to the ruling party and reported incidents of political violence at the Camp (interviews: Muringani, 2014; Box, 2014). The political dignitaries from ZANU-PF spoke on the need to work together as political parties to thwart the reported political problems at Chingwizi Camp. Each of the visiting political luminaries emphasized peaceful coexistence among the victims as the government worked hard to address the plight of the victims (ZHRC, 2014). The political statements made by representatives from the ruling party were ignored by victims because they knew the truth; the representatives were good at punishing voters who had voted for the opposition party in previous elections of the country in the same way they treated those affected by the flood disaster who were known adherents of MDC (Sachikonye, 2011). The Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster fuelled political turmoil in a country whose main perennial rival political parties were competing for political space at every opportunity.

'Harnessing a Human Rights disaster': the Role of Religion, Non-Governmental Organization and Civil Society

This part of the chapter discusses the role of the Church, NGOs and pillars in societal development, which was overwhelming in trying to alleviate the crisis that had affected Zimbabwe as a nation. With the ballooning number of victims, it was going to be disastrous if such societal development pillars did not offer assistance. From the religious angle, we saw both the mainline and African-initiated/independent/indigenous church groups giving their donations to the victims in both cash and kind. However, the mainline group contributed more than its counterpart, as evidenced by the donations from the Roman Catholic, United Methodist, Methodist, Anglican, Lutheran and other Churches (Bote, 2014). There were also quite a number of NGOs – Action Aid, World Vision, Action Fain, Care International, International Organization for Migration (IOM) – that assisted the victims of the disaster by giving

donations in the form of food rations, clothes, tents etc. (IFRC, 2017). The Action Aid efforts complemented those of other NGOs, the private sector and the government who were responding in the sectors of water, sanitation and shelter (Bote, 2014; interview: Box, 2014). Action Aid Zimbabwe worked on a response to help the affected families with particular attention to women and children. Civil society also chipped in to assist the victims of the disaster in the form of clothes, food, firewood, cash and kind. The United Methodist Church in Zimbabwe donated US\$72,000 worth of goods for the relief of the Tokwe-Mukosi flood victims. Bishop Eben Kanukayi Nhwatiwa, the Zimbabwe Episcopal leader, said as he handed the donation to the Provincial Minister for Masvingo, Comrade Kudakwashe Bhasikiti, 'Our response has been driven by unbelievable images of displacement by floods we saw on Zimbabwe television (ZTV) and further to that we have taken heed of the call by the Head of State President Robert Gabriel Mugabe declaring the tragedy a national disaster' (Nhwatiwa, 2014, p. 20). The bishop then made a clarion call to the Church and its structures to respond to the need of the displaced (Bote, 2014). The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) report of 14 February (OCHA, 2014a) presented statistics showing the plight of the affected. The report categorically specified that children were the most affected, including 8167 primary school children and 2296 secondary school students. The report went on to indicate that schools were immediately needed to cater for the pupil population at Chingwizi and there was need for the sinking of boreholes at the Chingwizi relocation camp. Further to the material supplies, the people were in need of psychosocial support. The donations comprising of 11 tents, 150 UMC-branded blankets, assorted other blankets, 10 t of maize, medicines, groceries, clothing, shoes and suitcases were handed over by Bhasikiti at his office at Benjamin Burombo House in Masvingo city. The donation of 11 tents, blankets, 10 t of maize and nearly 200 text books from the United Methodist Church and Great Zimbabwe University students in Masvingo were received with much jubilation (ZHRC, 2014). Besides the shortage of tents, the camp faced a maize deficit of nearly 2000 t amid calls for more food donations. The Catholic

Church in Zimbabwe launched an appeal for the thousands of people who had lost their homes and land after the heavy rains had caused the partial collapse of the Tokwe-Mukosi dam. Fr Peter Chimombe said people in the camp looked like 'refugees in a war situation' (Chimombe, 2014). The Jesuits joined other Church groups and NGOs in helping the recovery operations. Fr Chimombe described the situation as dire, as the people continued to suffer from psychological torture. For him, preaching to such people did little to calm their anger, which was reaching boiling point as they were even angry with God for having allowed the disaster to befall them. Safe drinking water was a problem, absence of toilet facilities worsened the situation and there was a highest possibility of an outbreak of waterborne diseases like cholera. The Churches, the NGOs and civil society contributed immensely towards the Tokwe-Mukosi flood disaster to try to alleviate the crises which had emanated due to such a human right jeopardy.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter has observed that the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi dam in Chivi district was an honourable idea, as it aimed to promote sustainable development, but its effort was jeopardized by the unexpected human rights violation that erupted thereafter. This has been examined and discussed widely in the chapter's various sections. An overall analysis of Chingwizi Camp, where most of the displaced people were given temporary shelter, shows a pathetic and bleak picture for the victims. Pupils were not going to school. The future was bleak as there was no provision for permanent settlement by the government. There was rampant theft of donated goods because of poverty and hunger that had gripped the Chingwizi inhabitants. There was deprivation of sex for married couples, because families were only given one tent which became difficult for a family to share. There was forced movement of people from their places of origin to Chingwizi (which in actual fact should be called displacement, because they moved against their will). Many people lost their goods and life; they lost shelter as well in this disaster. There was a lack of health facilities, which made

people's susceptibility to diseases very high (exacerbated by overcrowding of the displaced people on a small space of habitation). There was inadequate food supplies from the cash-strapped government, which relied mostly on donors whose contribution to the disaster depended wholly on the availability of resources for donations. This had been worsened by withdrawal of NGO support for the Chingwizi victims due to the politicization of donations. Politicians accused them of heralding supportive opposition parties' messages to the Chingwizi victims to the disadvantage of the ruling ZANU–PF party when election time came. The government had displayed incapacitation in tackling the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster because of the political, social and economic crises that had seriously affected the country in the 21st century. The Chingwizi Camp was very inaccessible because it lies in the deepest remote sites of Chiredzi, with no proper road network to link it with social amenities, and with poor sanitary facilities. A health bomb would explode soon at the Tokwe-Mukosi victims' temporary camp at Chingwizi (ZHRC, 2014).

Overall, the Government of Zimbabwe lacked foresight in not evacuating people in time before the disaster befell the nation. The common adage here speaks volumes: 'Prevention is better than cure' (Franklin, 1788). There are quite a number of disaster management specialists in the country who could have warned the government against breeding a disaster but the problem in most cases rested with the government's key people (political leaders) who were deeply concerned with fulfilling their personal egos at the expense of the lives of the general citizenry of Zimbabwe. This artificial disaster could have been avoided if the government had respected and upheld human rights of the citizens of Zimbabwe in *daad* not *woord* (Madzokere, 2014). Therefore the government of Zimbabwe is recommended to address the pathetic situation of the disaster victims as noted above by building schools for the pupils, providing good sanitary facilities, making Chingwizi accessible, cultivating a good relationship with NGOs, availing the basic necessities, creating permanent shelter and addressing social, political, economic and religious needs.

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Interviews by Nyasha Madzokere

Interviewee	Date	Place
Box, Thomas	28 February 2014	Chivi Growth Point, Masvingo
Made, Tadios	28 February 2014	Chivi Growth Point, Masvingo
Mago, Peter	4 March 2014	Chingwizi Camp, Chiredzi, Masvingo
Mapira	3 January 2015	Rujeko, Masvingo
Matake, James	29 February 2014	Ngundu Business Centre, Chivi, Masvingo
Muringani, Mary	4 March 2014	Chingwizi Camp, Chiredzi, Masvingo
Muromo, John	29 February 2014	Sese Business Centre, Chivi, Masvingo
Muswere, Eneas	28 February 2014	Maringirire School, Masvingo
Nhamo, John	4 March 2014	Chingwizi Camp, Chiredzi, Masvingo