Stakeholder Coordination in the Tokwe - Mukosi Disaster Response in Masvingo Province, Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT
Physical displacement and natural disasters have occurred in Zimbabwe since pre-independence times, always posing a threat to human life and developmental gains. Disasters in the form of flooding continuously contribute to loss in human lives, destruction of shelter, damage to household assets and in internal displacement. In 2014, a combination of high rainfall and damages on the Tokwe-Mukosi dam wall contributed to flooding of communities in close proximity to the dam. The disastrous outcome was the flooding of the immediate catchment area which communities were unable to cope with. The government sought for assistance from disaster management actors during and after the flood with mixed response. This paper explores roles played by stakeholders in responding to flooding of Tokwe-Mukosi dam in Masvingo Province. Data for this paper was collected through structured interviews, observations and focus group discussions. Relying on 'habitus' and 'pastoral power' as conceptual tools, the paper broadly found out that communities resorted to various reservoirs of knowledge and experience to limit their post-disaster vulnerabilities while also demonstrating abilities to negotiate various power structures. Finally, the paper recommends that the interventions from various agencies recognise the agency of displaced actors in attempting to alleviate challenges. In addition, researchers ought to equally embrace more innovative methods and conceptual lens when exploring social phenomena in order to go beyond narrow narrative approaches and developmentalist discourses.

Keywords*:* disaster, displacement, Flood, habitus, pastoral power, Zimbabwe

DISPLACEMENT/HUMAN MOBILITY INDUCED BY FLOODING

Disasters can cause displacement of individuals, households and communities. Hydro-meteorological disasters such as flooding have in the past decade affected a number of communities in both rural and urban areas of Zimbabwe. Many rural settlements situated in flood prone areas such as valleys and in close proximity to dams and rivers have suffered the most from impacts of flooding. Increased poverty in rural communities have also increased vulnerability to disasters in these communities. The reason for this is that most households in the rural areas live in traditional houses made of pole and clay/mud which are easily destroyed by flooding and at times by heavy rains, causing displacement temporarily or permanently. With regard to the disaster which occurred in Tokwe-Mukosi, rising water level and spillage from Tokwe-Mukosi dam caught communities near the dam off guard. Due to the severity of the flooding which affected households in Masvingo and Chivi districts, the government decided to relocate the affected households to Chingwizi area located in Mwenezi district. This paper presents findings on a case study carried out on households that were displaced by flooding of the Tokwe-Mukosi dam in Zimbabwe. Data collection was done through structured interviews, discussions with affected households and observations. While the literature review highlights the litany of studies and reports which emerged in the immediate aftermath of the disaster (among them Oxfam, 2014; Tarisayi, 2014*a*; Tarisayi, 2014*b;* Tarisayi, 2015), the

publications are of remarkably limited analytical diversity, mostly assuming a narrative tone or employing developmentalist and political economy frames. This study employs a conceptually different approach, relying on habitus and pastoral power to read the (dis)coordination among stakeholders during the crisis. Such an approach is useful in revealing the power shifts which played out during the crisis as well as the historical antecedents upon which such shifts emerged.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Human displacement

Human mobility is not always a voluntary process. Quite often, it is not a process merely characterised by movement of bodies from one place to another. Instead, there are instances where people are uprooted from their places of normal residence or livelihood by human and/or natural forces resulting in a complete shift in outlook for those affected. In such cases, the concept of displacement is more useful as a discursive and analytical tool. Displacement has connotations of being out of place or in the wrong place (Hamber, et al., 2015). It therefore moves away from mere push-pull binaries of migration by placing salience on the importance of place and livelihoods to the displaced. The connectedness of persons to spaces and places is important because it allows for a look into livelihoods as well as lives of people in relation to places. Displacement therefore enables researchers to identify vulnerabilities caused by forced movement. Such vulnerabilities based on age, gender, academic profile, social status and so forth have been recognised in a study on the post-tsunami era in Indonesia (Gray, et al., 2014). Not only does displacement have an immediate disruptive effect on livelihoods and incomes but it may influence fertility (National Research Council, 2004). Furthermore, people can be displaced in place as happened in Zimbabwe (Magaramombe, 2010). Being displaced in place presents a notion that connection with a place may exist in physical form despite the creation of new ruptures which deny people certain forms of intimacy with the places.

Zimbabwe's history of displacement

Zimbabwe has experienced various forms of displacement particularly in relation to resources (Muzondidya, 2007). Perhaps the most widespread and lasting displacement so far has been related to land. A detailed discussion of the historical antecedents is beyond the scope of this paper (for detailed discussions in pre and post-colonial Zimbabwe, see: Jennings & Huggins, 1935; Thomas, 2003; Moyo & Yeros, 2011). However, noteworthy is the fact that Africans were displaced from fertile to various parts of the country where soils were of poorer quality. Within this politics of displacement is displacement for the purposes of large infrastructure projects. Kariba dam is situated along the Zambezi River which borders Zimbabwe and Zambia in the northern part of Zimbabwe is arguably the most symbolic of mass human displacement. At the time of construction, the dam was financed by the World Bank through the largest loan (Bond & Manyanya, 2002). In order for the dam to be constructed, there was 'forced involuntary resettlement of 57,000 people within the reservoir basin and immediately downstream from the dam' (Scudder, 2005). These displaced communities have continued to live precariously in areas which are hardly adequate for agricultural activity, a situation which most likely compromises their rural livelihoods. Associated with such forms of displacement are contemporary forms of violent and coercive displacement through such experiences as land reform (Muzondidya, 2007; Hammar, 2008), operation restore order (Tibaijuka, 2005) and politically-motivated ruptures in the post 2000 era (see for example: Hammar, 2017). It is with this background that the Tokwe Mukosi becomes part of a broader history of displacement and forms a useful site to deploy Bourdieu's concept of Habitus. Moreover, government intransigence as well as stakeholder roles in alleviating the suffering allows for a fertile ground on which to test power relations through Foucault's concept of pastoral power.

The Tokwe Mukosi Disaster

The disaster that is under review was a result of a confluence of factors which were both human-induced and natural. In January/ February 2014 received 850 mm of rainfall which is double its usual rainfall (Tarisayi, 2014*a*). some of this rainfall collected in rivers which flow into the Tokwe Mukosi dam, leading to a large stock of water in the water body which at the time was still under construction. What transpired after that is the subject of speculation and intense debate. On one hand some critics suggest that a deliberate exercise to displace communities ensued through release of water from the dam into the surrounding catchment area where obdurate villagers who had been told to evacuate remained (HRW, 2015; Newsday, 2015). On the other are counterclaims primarily from the state that the disaster was caused by excessive rains. With little more information than news articles and speculative 'analyses' the truth is uncertain to verify. What is clear however is that the sequence of events that unfolded culminated in a disaster. "After the government declared the flooding a national disaster, an estimate of at least 2 700 families with an average size of 4,5 people per household[1] were evacuated from Chivi South to Chingwizi relocation site of Nuanetsi Ranch in Mwenezi District. Verification with other stakeholders indicates a possibility of a higher number of families evacuated reaching up to 6 393 families.[2]" (ZHRC, 2014, p.)

In the aftermath of the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster a litany of studies ensued, and these have been summed up in 'a consolidated analysis of [the] various perspectives on the Tokwe-Mukosi floods' (Tarisayi, 2015). Although the discussion by Tarisayi is 'consolidated', it aggregates the existing development literature which is concerned with livelihoods, human rights frameworks, development impacts and disaster risk-reduction/management. The utility of these normative approaches lies in revealing shortcomings on the part of development agents, duty-bearers, risk agents and so forth. This creates the impression that the shortcomings were largely deficient on the supply side and therefore absolves displaced communities from any fault despite government's claims that villagers had been given ample time to evacuate from the area (see: VOA, 2014). In contrast, some analyses employ political economy lens which is constructed around the politics of displacement. In this narrative, similar tones to other contemporary episodes of displacement which have transpired in Zimbabwe emerge (*see:* Hammar, 2008; Hammar & Rodgers, 2008) largely detailing the diverse political actors and ramifications of (in)actions. Among such pieces of scholarship is Mediel Hove (2016)'s discussion of state-community relations which rendered displaced communities victims. To sum up the argument laid out by Hove (2016), while floods were a bane for communities in Chivi district where Tokwe-Mukosi dam is situated, the government of Zimbabwe compounded the situation by failing to provide support and resources in the aftermath of the disaster. Support for this strand of thought is available in the form of multiple reports from local newspapers and international non-governmental organizations (iNGOs). For example, ZHRC (2014) notes that many shortcomings prevailed for the internally displaced persons relocated to Chingwizi relocation site after communities were evacuated by the state agencies. Although both the political economy and developmentalist perspectives are useful in illuminating some perspectives on the disaster, as the following section details, the perspectives are narrow and do not reveal the nuances which permeated the disaster and its aftermath. In order to draw out such nuances, a different conceptual lens from the perspectives in the literature is offered and

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[1]Census Preliminary Report 2012 ZIMSTAT, available at
http://www.zimstat.co.zw/dmdocuments/CensusPreliminary2012.pdf.
[2]Ministerial Statement on the Tokwe/ Mukosi Disaster by the Minister of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing (Dr Chombo), available at
http://www.parlzim.gov.zw/attachments/article/35/13_February_2014_23-35.pdf.

applied through a case analysis of communities in the affected area. It is to this innovative fusion of conceptual frames that the paper turns its attention.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The literature review section outlined the diverse prisms through which analyses on displacement and forced mobility have formed around the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster. In this section, we detail the alternative frames which are deployed in this paper to provide a different analytical perspective on the dynamics and aftermath of the disaster. There are two concepts which form the bedrock of the study namely Pierre Bourdieu's habitus and Michel Foucault's pastoral power.

Foucault (1982) lays out his discussion of pastoral power within the context of religious organizations. However, the concept also finds utility within broader social and institutional frames because of its portrayal as one dimension of many shades of power -discipline, and biopower being others (Bevir, 1999). Outside of the religious field, pastoral power is useful as an analytical tool and this has been presented as follows:

> *Finally, the modern state has also adopted the pastoral techniques of government that originally developed within the Church. Pastoral power requires individuals to internalize various ideals and norms so that they both regard an external body as concerned with their good and strive to regulate themselves in accord with the dictates of the external body. The secularization of pastoral power involved the state replacing the spiritual end of salvation with worldly ends such as health and well-being (Bevir, 1999, p.351).*

But what exactly is this malleable form of power which is manifest in various contexts? Foucault (1982) outlines pastoral power as a power technique which originated in Christian institutions with the following qualities:

1. It is a form of power whose ultimate aim is to assure individual salvation in the next world.
2. Pastoral power is not merely a form of power which commands; it must also be prepared to sacrifice itself for the life and salvation of the flock. Therefore, it is different from royal power which demands a sacrifice from its subjects to save the throne.
3. It is a form of power which does not look after just the whole community but each individual in particular during his entire life.
4. Finally, this form of power cannot be exercised without knowing the inside of people's minds, without exploring their souls, without making them reveal their innermost secrets. It implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it (p.783).

Reading from these qualities, it is evident that some modifications are expected once the power is read from a setting which is anomalous to religion. For instance, in quasi-democratic political settings one would hardly expect that pastoral power be concerned with assuring individual salvation in the next world but more probably immediate appeasement of the electorate for the next electoral cycle. Similar modifications apply on the other features laid out by Foucault. Such adjustments, in order to facilitate analytic convenience, have to be made cautiously due to the elaborate manner in which Foucault himself laid out the forms and character of pastoral power in contradistinction to political power. Hence, it must be borne in mind that pastoral power is salvation-oriented, ablative, individualizing and linked to the production of truth (p.783). Indeed, some scholars suggest that Foucault contention was that the historical foundations of present practices of state-based governmentality were partly to be found in the pre-Christian East, and then later in the Christian East, in the model and organization of a pastoral type of power (Golder, 2007, p.165). However, despite these subtle

differences, institutional change within religious organizations as meant that they increasingly resemble secular entities in terms of architecture (Foucault, 1982). The near similarity suggests that there remains a disconnect between the theory and secular institutions including those in putatively advanced western states (Golder, 2007).

Although pastoral power shows the workings of power between various actors in a relationship which is already structured into dominant-subject form, it does not reveal how such power has been learnt or formed. Moreover, it is leads to a phenomenological reading of relations, that is, enables us to understand local power and agency through the experiences encountered during the disaster. Such a reading leaves out the structural influences which shaped relations between communities and those organizations which assisted during the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster. To bridge this gap, Bourdieu's concept of Habitus is deployed. Bourdieu (1977) indicates that the social world may be the object of three modes of theoretical knowledge which are either objectivist, phenomenological or a combination of both. In offering the third possibility which he calls the habitus, Bourdieu concedes that what we know can be derived from both structural systems and experience. Habitus in his words refers to:

> *systems of durable, transposable dispositions/ structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively " regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain t hem and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (Bourdieu, 1977, p.72).*

The habitus is 'a set of *dispositions* [emphasis in the original] which incline agents to act and react in certain ways' (Bourdieu, 1991). Alternatively, it can be read as 'socially acquired tendencies or predispositions that serve as a "matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions," causing individuals to view the world in a particular way' (Bourdieu 1991 cited in Bonilla-Silva, Goar and Emerick, 2006, p. 233). Habitus allows us to understand how communities have learnt how to engage with agents which they deem powerful (government and civil society) in an attempt to reconstruct their lives in post-disaster situations such as the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster. In the process, we see how communities have formed resilience and networks of resilience after the withdrawal of most supporting organizations. Within the arena of displacement research, habitus has been used as a useful conceptual tool in reading lives of internally displaced people in northern Uganda (Rosenoff, 2010). In such a cntext, the question on how young people acquire culturally-engrained dispositions emerges. Given a history of war and displacement which has seen familial structures disrupted Rosenoff (2010) wonders how young people develop culturally appropriate knowledges relevant for their daily lives. By the same token, habitus reveals to us the approaches and strategies which communities from Tokwe Mukosi deployed in an effort to engage with development and relief agencies. With many organizations such as World Food Programme and CARE international already active in the area as well as politicians, certain dispositions are assumed to have been learnt and it is these that we seek to explore.

METHODOLOGY
Employing a qualitative approach to explore the roles played by various stakeholders during and in the aftermath of the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster, the study relied on a survey which was conducted between the months of December 2017 and June 2018 in Chivi district in three phases sequenced as follows:

1. The first phase entailed interviews and a focus group discussion with families in Chingwizi resettlement area.
2. The second phase stemmed from referrals in the first stage, resulting in interviews with formerly displaced families who had migrated away from Chingwizi resettlement area to other parts in Chivi district.
3. The third phase constituted key informant interviews with organizations which had been part of the intervening parties and Inter Agency Standing Committee.

Although the starting point was Chingwizi resettlement area in Mwenenzi District, the study spread out to parts of Chivi district where some displaced families have since dispersed. A purposive sampling frame was employed in Chingwizi for a general survey involving household heads (*n=16*) and among organisations for key participant interviews (*n=5*) while snowball sampling was relied on in tracing those families which had migrated from the official relocation site (*n=7*). Purposive sampling involves a deliberate selection of 'the sample in relation to some criteria, which are considered important for the particular study' (Singh, 2006, p.91). Hence participants who are now in Chingwizi who are known to have been rescued from the disaster were approached while a selection of organizations which had been part of the relief and support efforts after relocations. Identifying organizations was through the reports made particularly the report by Kudzatsa (2014) which identified intervening organizations and other stakeholders such as CARE International, Action Contre la Faim (ACF), Save the Children, Plan International, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), District Development Fund (DDF), Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), International Organization on Migration (IOM), United Nation Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA).

The participants who migrated from Chingwizi and relocated in other parts within Chivi District were recruited using the snowball method whereby a participant referred other potential participants to the study (Patton, 2002). To start off the snowball, participants in phase one of the study were asked about any displaced families which had migrated to other parts of Chivi district. Where such families were known to a participant, contact was made soliciting their consent to also participate.

To gain a firm grasp of experiences, attitudes and perceptions of various stakeholders, research instruments used were diverse. Instruments included semi-structured questionnaires, observations and focus group discussions. In using such a variety of instruments by way of triangulation, the concern was on ensuring data validity at data collection stage. The concept of triangulation assumes that any bias inherent in a particular data source, investigator and method would be neutralized when used in conjunction with other data sources, investigator and methods. Observations are chosen for a number of merits which they offer; these include '(i) the researcher is enabled to record the natural behavior of the group. (ii) The researcher can even gather information which could not easily be obtained if he observes in a disinterested fashion. (iii) The researcher can even verify the truth of statements made by informants in the context of a questionnaire or a schedule' (Kothari, 2004, p.97). Group discussions were adopted because groups 'may be better able to reveal the intensity of feelings, thus facilitating comparisons among different positions' (Corbetta 2003, p.276).

THE SITE
Chivi District is subdivided into Chivi North, Chivi Central and Chivi South. It lies within Masvingo province in the southern part of Zimbabwe. Within this area lies the Chingwizi

camp/relocation site which has since been disbanded and Chingwizi resettlement area. A map of the area which was directly connected with the disaster is provided in Figure 1 below.

Figure 2: Tokwe-Mukosi dam and Areas of new Settlement
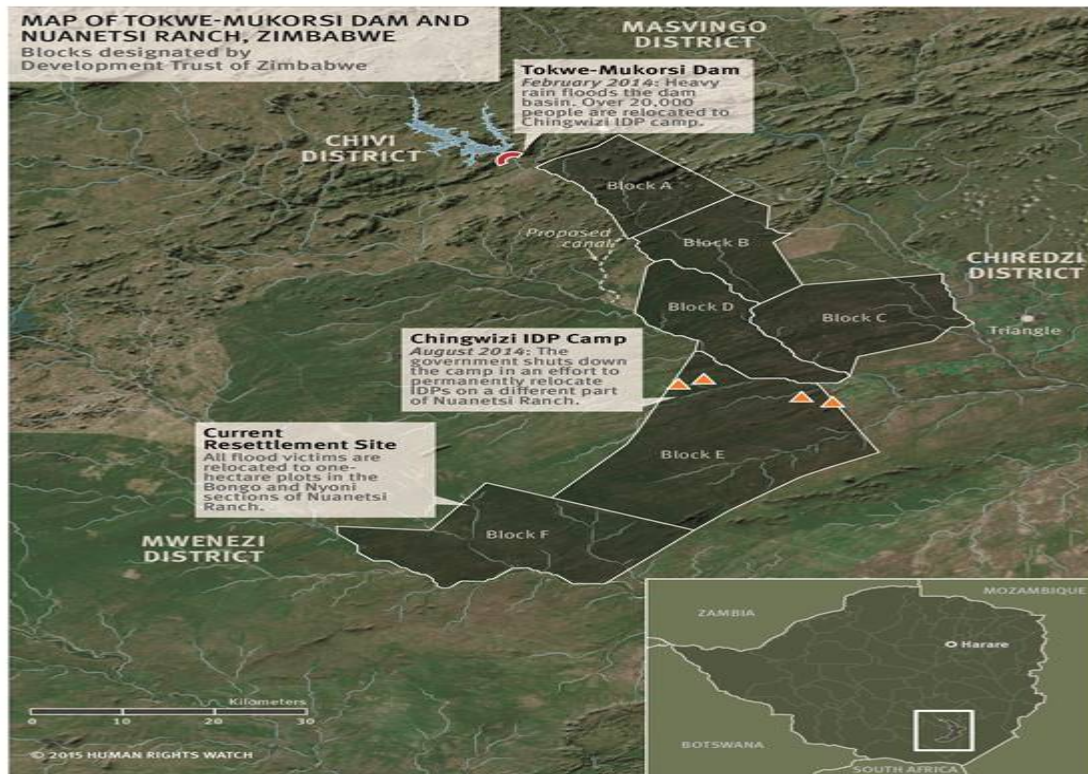
Source: HRW (2015)

Tokwe Mukosi is a dam which at the time of its construction in 2014 was touted to become the biggest inland dam in the country with a capacity of 1.8 billion cubic meters capable of generating between 15 and 50 megawatts of electricity, and 15 megawatts are adequate to light up the Masvingo province as a whole (Hove, 2016, p.2).

STUDY FINDINGS

The study findings are presented in thematic form following the three broad issues post-disaster displacement, power contests and strategies of communities. However, before detailing the themes, a snapshot of participant characteristics is laid out.

Demographic profile of participants

The demographic profile of participants is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 10: Description of study participants

Element	Measure
Key Informants (*n*=5)	2 NGO-employed Field Officers
	1 Ward Councillor
	1 NGO regional officer
Households (*n*=23)	Average size 5.3
	Average age = 47.6 years
	Gender = (43% Male;57% Female)
	Area of domicile (Resettlement site = 70%; Outside resettlement site = 30%)

Twenty-three household heads took part in the study with sixteen (16) taking part in the survey at Chingwizi resettlement area and seven (7) forming the snowball group. All participants providing data in these phases were household heads. A total of five (5) key informants representing local politicians and non-governmental organisations took part in interviews.

Displacement after the disaster
Our entry point was on discussing displacement after the disaster. Doing this allowed us to avoid the contentious issues of causality and instead pay attention to what the process of mobility entailed, and which actors were involved. In addition, it enabled us to focus on displacement even after resettlement. All the households (23) indicated that they resided within the vicinity of Tokwe-Mukosi dam with estimates ranging from within 200 metres to 800 metres away. Through discussions, it emerged that four (4) of the families had previously been displaced after they relocated from a part of the area which the current dam has since submerged. This brings out an element of successive displacements and more importantly from our chosen theoretical lens, hints at habitus. After the disaster at Tokwe-Mukosi, a multi-pronged response emerged with various NGOs contributing in various ways towards relief. However, there was a common perception (70% of respondents) that assistance was delayed from NGOs and even worse from government. Such a perception was dismissed by the local councillor who indicated that through the civil protection unit and the Zimbabwe National Army, the government had been at the forefront of assisting communities during and immediately after the disaster. While in Chingwizi, livelihoods were precarious and the support from NGOs and the state gradually petered away resulting in resettlement to Chingwizi resettlement area. Seven (7) families are among a host of others who opted to find alternative places of residence, moving to different parts of Chivi South District. This once again draws out the recurrent theme of successive mobilities. Reasons for relocating away from the resettlement area included creating distance from political controls (2), seeking grazing land for livestock (4) as well as seeking more agricultural land (4), all factors whose limitations and manifestations are addressed by Mutopo (2011) in her gendered analysis of Chingwizi village.

Power contests
Participants identified various organisations with whom they engaged during the disaster and its aftermath. Some of the organizations identified included FAO, IOM, UNHCR and UNICEF among others. Of interest for the study was the perception of how these organizations interacted with communities and through a reading of such perceptions, identifying the power relations. Two critical issues emerged from the discussions held as well as key informant interviews. The first is that power relations were not always fixed although by and large power was skewed in favour of development and relief agents. The second was that even when fluid, power relations manifest differently in various sectors.

Communities, by virtue of being displaced and in need of material support tended to be power-deficient victims in the relations they had with NGOs and state agencies. For a start, they needed to find new places or residence/shelter. The rains did not desist from falling due to floods on the ground but continued even as relocations ensued. As a result, communities were in a poor bargaining position over the matter of which place they were relocated to. Associated with this position and compounding to the woes of communities is the fact that they were evacuated from one place to another, in most cases with meagre assets. As a result, the ability to negotiate space to occupy or even mode of mobility was very limited. For example, Charlie[i] whose homestead was near the dam indicated that he owned five cattle, an ox-drawn cart, goats and few other farms implements prior to the displacement of 2014. However, all his

livestock perished as a result of the floods and the few implements which he salvaged were either sold off or:

"of very little use as a result of poor implementation condition" (Charlie, 12/12/2017)

The second power dynamic relates to different forms of visibility of power across various sectors. To persist with Charlie's experience, although his leverage was diminished over matters over such as where to locate, he was not entirely powerless because he maintained a claim on agency over what he did *after* relocation. The collective result of this awareness over agency is best portrayed in an incident which was covered in the media (see: Moyo, 2014) and was corroborated in discussions held during the study. Power positions shifted with communities attempting -often with minimal success- to exert their own influence on proceedings. Hence Mashaire[ii] reflects on how together with other displaced family heads they resisted efforts to have then resettle in Chingwizi resettlement area, opting instead to move from the temporary camp to a part of Chivi South District. Having been assisted to move from their original homes to Chingwizi camp, the proposition to move further to the resettlement site was met with resistance from some families. This resistance emerged under conditions of increasing discontent over dwindling supplies and support as well as perceived government neglect of communities.

Strategies of communities
The immediate post-disaster period was characterised by dependence on the support systems provided by NGOs. However, once communities had settled down in the camp, various strategies were deployed to engage with fellow members, NGOs as well as politicians at both local and national level. The strategies can be classified into two groups, namely proactive and reactive. Proactive strategies were those initiated by communities to further a specific cause or position while reactive strategies were responses to given scenarios. Examples given in our study included detailing the community's plight through various media platforms, convening informal meetings with camp authorities, visible demonstrations of hostility and cooperative work.

Cooperative work arose from within the displaced community which decided to use their meagre resources to form cooperatives where garden projects were adopted. Seeing these efforts, other NGOs then sought supplementary resources to be used within the projects. In contrast to the cooperative work strategy was the use of the crisis to portray various ills and inadequacies through media platforms. The partisan media in Zimbabwe was used by communities to portray the harsh conditions which they faced. Outlets such as Newsday, The Zimbabwe Independent and Financial Gazette were openly engaged to raise issues bedevilling communities. The state-owned outlets were treated with ambivalence presumably because of their taciturn approach at covering the disaster as one which occurred under government's watch. Other media platforms were also relied upon including reports from non-state actors. The general approach here was that community representatives and members would make efforts to make their voices heard and their presence felt. Within the camp itself, the community engaged in informal meetings which in some instances compelled officials to attend. The visibility of such meetings was held with circumspection by officials who were wary of a potentially volatile environment. As a result, when meetings were held, officials would attend, and this led to the communication of many grievances. Lastly, on at least one occasion, a loosely-structured demonstration was held which although short-lived, helped to heighten the urgency of concerns which community members had raised. With local politicians barred from addressing the communities, the demonstration was meant to be a clear message that the political elite had no support or sympathy among part of the camp's population.

A clear strategy which some families engaged in was relocating from the camp to other parts of the country. The study only focused on those who migrated to other parts of Chivi District, but the migration stretched beyond this geographic area. Moving away from the designated areas was not merely an exercise in choice but a demonstration of defiance by the families. With one of the families in our study having been subjected to two "relocations", frustration with officials and a desire to move away from highly politicised areas proved to be useful motivators. Having noted and observed these issues in the data collection phase, the dominant question which emerges for the purposes of our study was 'what do the findings mean?' both practically and theoretically. To make sense of our findings, we discuss them considering our conceptual framework.

DISCUSSION

To start off the discussion, a recap of the conceptual framework is due. Both Bourdieu's concept of habitus and Foucault's pastoral power were deployed in reading the knowledge and power dynamics from the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster. To sum it up, how did communities know what strategies to deploy against and to various stakeholders? Furthermore, what were the shifts in power between parties involved?

Habitus gives us a way of conceiving how communities in the study 'knew that they know'. Habitus is 'a set of *dispositions* which incline agents to act and react in certain ways' (Bourdieu, 1991). From this persepctive, there are presumably some learnt or observed dispossitions which communities in our study had and these dispositions informed them on how they engaged with various stakeholders. The use of media platforms, community meetings, garden initiatives as well as demonstrations were all tools which community members have prior experience in or knowledge of. With some members having been previously displaced and neglected, their consciousness of the pressure areas tto focus on was already engrained. Furthermore, given the resence of NGOs in the area prior to the disaster, communities were already aware of what thematic areas NGOs offer support in. seeing communities in this light reveals that far from being recipients of support from NGOs and the state as much of the developmentalist literature on Tokwe-mukosi disaster has shown, communities manufactured opportunities by harnessing previously acquired stocks of knowledge. In other words, they knew what worked and resorted to these techniques to ensure that their plight was addressed. Where such attempts failed or proved inadequate, the private media which is wont to critically examine givernment was turned to.

Families with prior experience of displacement were quick to opt out of resettlement to the Chingwizi resettlement site, opting instead to move to other zones in an effort to avoid congestion and government control. In her study presented at an international conference on land grabs in 2011, Patience Mutopo (2011) recognizes the role played by government in issuing land as well as controlling the Chingwizi village which is situated in Nuanetsi ranch. The problem which emerges is that displaced farmers fro the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster of 2014 had become accustomed to living free of government's eye and therefore were presumably wary of residing and engaging in livelihoods under controlled conditions.

Adding to this layer of analysis, Foucault offers us the concept of pastoral power. Pastoral power is a form of power with origins in the Christian church but also manifest in politics which is salvation-oriented, ablative, individualizing and linked to the production of truth (Foucault, 1982). There are various stakeholders through whom power dynamics can be read in the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster. However, considering that we have laid out our reading of pastoral power within the realm of politics, our discussion is confined to this field. Local politicians who include councillors, the local member of parliament, the provincial governor

and a cabinet minister were treated with disdain. In return, they distanced themselves from engaging with communities particularly in the initial phases. A vacuum emerged where power was up for negotiation. While rejecting the formal authorities, the local community did not manage to garner sufficient political power and relied on support of NGOs and a hostile media. From this perspective, the qualities of pastoral power which Foucault outlines were largely deficient. As laid out in the introductory section, NGO presence was visible from the onset, demonstrating greater intimacy with the plight of the displaced people. This coupled with the fact that the production of a consensual/universal truth over what transpired reveals a gap in the role of government. Thus, while the government has various structures across the country, it is striking that when it came to engage affected communities over the disaster, there was distance, contestation over truth, tension and a solution which was not wholly appreciated. Conversely, the community was initially dependent but increasingly became assertive in its demands and its strategies. The power structure was thus checked for a period during and after the crisis. Evidently, power is not fixed but ebbs and flows between parties depending on the prevailing conditions. Moreover, although the state may have semblances of pastoral power across vast swathes of the country, context shapes how pronounced such power is – as the Tokwe-Mukosi situation has demonstrated.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper has discussed the post-disaster situation which displaced communities negotiated after the Tokwe-Mukosi disaster of 2014. It has avoided the debates on causes of the disaster to shy away from the largely legalistic and developmentalist frames which many studies have employed (Oxfam, 2014; Tarisayi, 2014a; Tarisayi, 2014b; Tarisayi, 2015). Michel Foucault's pastoral power and Pierre Bourdieu's Habitus were relied upon as conceptual frames. The concepts address the resources which communities relied on in dealing with actors such as local politicians and NGOs as well as the power dynamics which played out between communities and these actors. The study has revealed that communities harnessed previously acquired stocks of knowledge to inform how they related to other stakeholders. In addition, they were not entirely powerless during the disaster but engaged in shifting contests of power with local communities. The study has thus shed new light on the plight and tact of communities which contrasts with the helpless image portrayed in news articles and soe NGO reports. Communities were alert to various possibilities to respond to their plight through media positioning, self-help cooperatives and other initiatives. From the findings, the study makes three recommendations as follows:

1. The first recommendation pertains to the use of more innovative approaches in studies on displacement, human development and disaster and risk management. As noted in the review of literature, studies have tended to rely on narrow theoretical and conceptual frames and therefore novel theoretical and conceptual prisms are due to reveal nuances which evade human rights, legalistic, developmentalist discourses.

2. The study recommends that the government recognises that communities do exercise agency over their lives even where their plight is dire. Responses made in such contexts therefore ought to embrace this reality to avoid creating vacuums and heighten tensions.

3. NGOs need to be versatile in their analyses and operations. This implies a preparedness to shift from developmentalism as a solution to problems, to embracing socially situated responses which accept local solutions despite apparent power deficiencies. Even vulnerable communities can solve some of their problems or challenges as is evidenced by some of the strategies deployed by Tokwe-Mukosi victims. In making this suggestion, the study is not suggesting that NGOs refrain from providing support, but that the support be moulded with local contexts and dynamics in mind.

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[i] All names mentioned here are pseudonyms in line with ethical protocols in social science research where details on personal identities are sensitive matters.

[ii] Refer to note 'i' above.