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Interrogating the Provision of Secondary School Education in Hopley and Caledonia

Communities: A Lens into Internal Displacement in Zimbabwe

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Declaration

I, Abigail Rudorwashe Benhura declare that this dissertation submitted for the *Doctor of Philosophy* degree in Conflict, Transformation and Peace Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal is my own independent work and has not been previously submitted by me at another university. It is being submitted in the Faculty of Humanities, School of Social Sciences, Durban, South Africa.

I hereby declare that this dissertation has not been plagiarized and that all the material presented for examination is my own work. It has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also declare that any citation, paraphrase, picture or graph from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

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Date: _____

As the candidate's supervisor, I agree to the submission of this thesis.

Supervisor: Prof M Naidu

Signature:- 

Date: 13/03/17 _____

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to everyone who dares to dream and is willing to relentlessly pursue their dream. The journey to the fulfilment of this dream was hard and at times it felt like I was chasing the wind. Through it all, many colleagues, friends and relatives stood by me, praying for me as well as encouraging me to persevere to the end. May each one of you get the break that you deserve in all your endeavors.

I also dedicate this study to the Hopley and Caledonia internally displaced families for their resilience under life in displacement and their selfless efforts which enabled me to collect invaluable data for this research. Their individual stories have formed the basis of this study.

“A man is not old until regrets take the place of dreams.” – John Barrymore

Acknowledgements

The Paradox¹

Massacred, millions are silenced

The silent world then rises to their defense,

Defenseless, driven in violence

The world looks on in silence.....

Would you rather we were dead

To break your silence?

First and foremost, all glory and honour to the Almighty God for your sustenance, guidance and for instilling in me the fortitude to complete this dissertation. For your consistent and constant presence during the lonely road, I will forever be grateful. Indeed, You directed my feet and your infinite love and wisdom, from which I tapped, kept me focused on the ultimate goal.

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¹ This is an unpublished poem by Abigail R Benhura

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Abstract

Internal displacement is a tenacious social ill that has gripped the global community affecting the lives of millions of people. Despite the fact that this form of forced migration has become common lexicon at an international level, there is a dearth of studies on the impact of internal displacement on the accessibility of secondary school education. Therefore, the central focus of this study was to probe how internal displacement has impacted on the provision of secondary school education on Hopley and Caledonia communities. The study cited Hopley and Caledonia in Zimbabwe as communities that host internally displaced persons (IDPs) whose homes were demolished through Operation Murambatsvina in 2005. The study focused on the premise that forced migration invariably leads to deprivations in the lives of the victims. The study explored how the IDPs' loss of shelter inevitably led to the failure to access secondary school education for the majority of the children. This was entrenched in the non-adherence to international statutes by institutions mandated to facilitate them so as to alleviate the challenges of internal displacement.

In order to ground the study in a way that would give the scope of understanding of IDPs' perceptions of the phenomenon and its effects on education, the study mainly used the Capability Approach as a theoretical framework. The Capability Approach enhanced the understanding that the lack of provision of education to displaced children denied them the opportunity to be what they can potentially be. In addition, the Entitlement Approach and Critical Theory were also used to interpret the role of education in the pursuit of social justice and inalienable human rights among the internally displaced people in the two communities. As internal displacement in Zimbabwe is politically sensitive, this led to the use of the qualitative research paradigm to seek the IDPs and other key actors' subjective interpretations of this phenomenon. Furthermore, purposive sampling was used to select respondents whose children were of secondary school going age in these communities. The non-random and subjective nature of sampling was driven by the fact that the study specifically intended to select IDPs whose children's access to education had been affected by internal displacement. Thematic and content analysis were used to analyse the empirical data and secondary evidence respectively.

The study established that internal displacement in Zimbabwe resulted in the people being dispossessed of both their shelter and potential futures through the lack of education. Furthermore, the findings suggest that the lack of education increased the IDPs' invisibility compounded by the

government and global community's failure to institute international policies and norms on internal displacement. Thus, the study makes a meaningful contribution to the body of knowledge on the discourse on 'missing migrants' in the form of IDPs in Zimbabwe. The implication of these findings is the need to deconstruct and recategorise IDPs in Zimbabwe so that they can benefit from the various internal displacement policies and international instruments.

Key Words: Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), education, Hopley, Caledonia, capabilities, displacement, global community

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|-------|--|
| Aids | Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome |
| AU | African Union |
| CA | Capability (ies) Approach |
| CAR | Central African Republic |
| CBOs | Community Based Organizations |
| CFU | Commercial Farmers' Union |
| CRC | Convention on the Rights of a Child |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Congo |
| EFA | Education for All |
| ERC | Emergency Relief Coordinator |
| FAD | Food Availability Decline |
| FMR | Forced Migration Review |
| FMSI | Marist International Solidarity Foundation |
| FTLRP | Fast Track Land Reform Program |
| GNU | Government of National Unity |
| GoZ | Government of Zimbabwe |
| GPID | Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement |
| HDAs | high density areas |
| HIV | Human Immune Virus |
| HRW | Human Rights Watch |
| IASC | Inter-Agency Standing Committee |
| ICESR | International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights |
| ICISS | International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty |
| IDMC | Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre |
| IDPs | Internally Displaced Persons |
| INEE | Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies |
| IOM | International Organization for Migration |
| ISSC | International Social Science Council |
| LRA | Lord Resistance Army |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| MDC | Movement for Democratic Change |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| MS | Minimum Standards |
| MVPs | mobile and vulnerable populations |
| Nazi | National Socialist German Workers' Party |
| NGOs | non-governmental organizations |
| NRC | Norwegian Refugee Council |
| OCHA | Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs |
| R2P | Responsibility to Protect |
| RSG | Secretary General Special Representative on Internally Displaced Persons |
| SDGs | Sustainable Development Goals |
| TDH | Terre des Hommes |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UN | United Nations |
| UMP | Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe |
| UNCRC | United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| USA | United States of America |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |
| UZ | University of Zimbabwe |
| YEP | Youth Education Pack |
| ZCDT | Zimbabwe Community Development Trust |
| ZHRC | Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission |
| ZimRights | Zimbabwe Human Rights Association |
| ZimStat | Zimbabwe National Statistics |

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Outline of Research

1.0 Introduction

Internal displacement is a tenacious social ill that has gripped the global community.² There are many causes attributed to internal displacement. Invariably, these vary according to different contexts. Kidane (2011:49) contends that internal displacement is “a symptom of state dysfunction.” The word ‘dysfunction’ immediately conveys some form of debilitation and malfunction. Thus, a country in this condition may be experiencing crippling effects on its political, legal, judiciary and even socio-economic systems. Multiple discourses have attributed that countries fall into such a condition due to state failure or may be on the verge of failing (Nay, 2012, John, 2008, Wyler, 2008, Rotberg, 2004). In an article written for The Fund for Peace entitled, *Failed States Index*, stability and the pressures faced by nations are used to gauge if a state is failing (Messner, 2012). The dislodgment of millions of people and the subsequent forced movement to new settlements has indiscriminately affected both developing and developed nations.³

Images of displaced people and the conditions in which they live have dominated all forms of media as well attracting contemporary researchers across the globe. This has emphasized the prevalence of this phenomenon for decades. In his thesis; *Mattresses, Folders and Internally Displaced Persons: Towards an Anthropology of “Failure,”* Juan Ricardo Aparicio (2007)⁴ unpacks the experiences of being displaced and the need for institutional interventions for such people. This title implies the inherent mobility associated with displacement as well as chronicling the global lack of success in curbing this phenomenon. It also suggests that the mere occurrence of forced migration intimates ingrained societal failure.

² The term ‘global community’ is used (loosely) throughout this study to refer to different countries brought together at an international level on issues that concern humanity. Ideally, this is largely assumed to be in consensus to uphold inalienable human rights, deal with issues that preserve peace as well as other socio-economic concerns. This union is perceived to be reinforced by organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and other continental bodies that operate under the auspices of the UN.

³ These terms are used cautiously and in cognizance of the global debates on the term ‘developing country.’ See <http://qz.com/685626/the-world-bank-is-eliminating-the-term-developing-country-from-its-data-vocabulary/>. These are also referred to as “Least Developed Countries” (Retrieved August 18, 2016).

⁴ In a thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in the Department of Anthropology, Aparicio intimates that internally displaced people have consistently failed to access adequate support due to localized institutions.

Drawing closer home and the geographic focus of this study, Zimbabwe's status with regards to failing states has been a contentious issue. The implications of this status are its perceived grim effects on the citizens of the country.

The correlation between state fragility and forced migration flows is not a new observation but builds upon the 'root causes' strategies that emerged among forced migration policymakers as early as the 1980s. It is clear that the fragility of states can contribute to forced migration.⁵

Internal displacement in Zimbabwe is presumed to be one of the manifestations of a failing state. The article ironically titled; *Failed States, or the State as a Failure*, correctly positions citizens in relation to a failing or failed state. Rosa Ehrenreich Brooks, an Associate Professor of Law at the University of Virginia School of Law concurs that state failure causes a wide range of humanitarian, legal, and security problems (Brooks, 2005). Thus, the nature of internal displacement in Zimbabwe is one such area that appears to connote a dysfunctional state.

Zimbabwe has also experienced forms of forced migration which created internally displaced persons. Nestled to Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe are two communities, Hopley and Caledonia. The two communities have been hosts to displaced populations for close to two decades (IDMC, 2010d). The communities exhibit multiple signs of socio-economic deprivations associated with internally displaced populations. I should hasten to point out that these people are not settled in communities that are consistent with conventional IDPs camp settlements. Camp settlements are said to be one of the most conspicuous elements of forced migrants.⁶ According to Corsellis and Vitale (2005), camp settlements are part of the transitional shelter created for the forced migrants as they await durable solutions for their displacement. This is critical for my study as global "statistics suggest up to 80% of internally displaced persons (IDPs) currently live outside camp-like settings," (UNHCR, 2014:3). IDPs living outside camps are said to be prone to being overlooked by humanitarian organisations as they sometimes cannot be distinguished from economic migrants or other poor people in the host communities (Ibid). This is particularly relevant in Zimbabwe as the economic environment has been severe for more than a decade now. According to Bratton and

⁵ <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/publications/policy-briefing-series/pb-research-and-policy-2010.pdf> (Retrieved August 19, 2016).

⁶ <http://www.forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expert-guides/camps-versus-settlements/fmo021.pdf> (Accessed October 17, 2016)

Masunungure (2006:23), “faced with an economy that had shrunk by 40 percent over five years, an unemployment rate of at least 70 percent, and triple-digit inflation,” most people turned to the informal sector. This may have reduced many people into destitution not very dissimilar to that caused by forced migration.

Like other forms of forced migration, internal displacement is disruptive to its victims’ livelihoods. When people relocate or are uprooted en masse in the form of forced migration, this tends to upset their lives. These disruptions occur at the social, political, economic and other spheres of life. This study therefore seeks to look at the impact of internal displacement on the provision of secondary school education for the internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia communities in Zimbabwe. The quest of this study is to portray the nature of internal displacement in Zimbabwe through the accessibility and availability of secondary school education to these displaced communities. Technically, most of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) do not exist as far as the government of Zimbabwe is concerned (HRW, 2005, Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013). Contrary to this picture portrayed by the government of Zimbabwe, internal displacement is quite prevalent in the country. According to an article by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre ⁷(IDMC, 2014b), the government of Zimbabwe does not register internally displaced persons (IDPs). This basically means that there are no records where the government has captured and officially acknowledged the displaced people in Caledonia and Hopley as IDPs. From the outset, this depicts that being internally displaced in Zimbabwe is fraught with challenges from both legal and humanitarian perspectives.

IDPs in Zimbabwe have no appointed caretaker agent to deal with their specific problems as displaced people. Furthermore, the Zimbabwean government, as a duty bearer towards the displaced people in the country, has also not assigned an organ or government ministry specifically responsible for the welfare of the internally displaced persons in the country (HRW, 2005). Quite often, their woes are shuttled between two government ministries (the Local Government, Urban and Rural Housing and the Ministry of Lands and Rural Settlements). The Ministry of Justice and the Social Welfare are also sometimes thrown into the fray with no resolution usually reached on

⁷ The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) is a body monitoring all situations of people displaced by conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations, and natural or human-made disasters. Established in 1998 by the Norwegian Refugee Council, IDMC raises awareness and advocates for respect of the rights of at-risk and uprooted peoples, who do not benefit from the protection of international treaties. <https://www.linkedin.com/company/internal-displacement-monitoring-centre-idmc-> (Retrieved August 19, 2016).

the question of the IDPs' welfare and durable solutions to their displacement. Dispossessed by their government, internally displaced persons in Zimbabwe therefore seem to be a neglected vulnerable group (Akokpari, et al, 2008).

This dispossession transcends the physical or material aspects such as food and shelter and encompasses the psychological effects of being displaced and being rendered invisible. Jeff Nicolai's article, *Operation Murambatsvina: A Crime against Humanity under the Rome Statute* seems to confirm the contention that Operation Murambatsvina went beyond the mere physical dislocation of its victims. The program invoked debates on policy, human rights abuses as well as the repressive character of the Zimbabwean government. As such, the impact of Operation Murambatsvina on the people was far-reaching.

Writing in an article; *Conflict, Education and Displacement*, an Assistant Professor of Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, Dryden-Petersen (2011:1) advances that children comprise half of the people forced to flee from their homes due to conflicts. This entails that Zimbabwean children are inevitably part of the victims of this displacement. These children are likely to face challenges accessing basic social services like education. The children's entitlement to education is a well-established and documented international law⁸ (Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005). The policy makers and general populace have unconditionally come to agree that the provision of education is a basic right and should not be denied to children even in displacement (Chimni, 2000:431). This study upholds this attitude and thereby approaches education for the internally displaced in Hopley and Caledonia from this angle. This study aims to look into whether the right to education for the secondary school going children living in displacement in Hopley and Caledonia communities is being met. Therefore, the provision of secondary school education for the forced migrants in the two communities is expected to act as a lens into the nature of internal displacement in Zimbabwe.

⁸ Education is recognized as a human right in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Convention on the Rights of a Child. In the latter instrument, Article 28 also elaborates an understanding of the right to education in terms of universality, participation, respect and inclusion. Unicef 2007. A Human Rights-Based Approach to Education for All. UN Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1-164.

1.1 Problem Statement

The main issue being addressed in this study is the provision of secondary school education to internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia in Zimbabwe. The central argument is that the process of internal displacement in Zimbabwe has rendered them (IDPs) invisible to the state and the international community. This has impacted on the attainment of secondary school education for internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia communities. Due to the protracted nature of the internal displacement phenomenon in Zimbabwe, there is a high probability that there are generations of children that have been denied their full rights to education. The study contends that vulnerabilities caused by displacement do not diminish over time. In fact, Mooney and Davies (2016:16) posit that “the specific vulnerabilities created by displacement often only intensify with time, while resilience, the ability of communities to rebuild their lives even while displaced, can weaken if it is not nourished.” In Zimbabwe, this problem has been aggravated by challenges of non-adherence to national and international policy as well as universal rights to education for IDPs by the Zimbabwean government. Ironically, the attitude exhibited by the Zimbabwean government towards the forced migrants in Hopley and Caledonia does not occlude international responsibilities.

As typified in many IDPs living in protracted displacement contexts, international attention declines over time leaving them neglected (IDMC, 2015: 31). This scenario has been replayed in the victims of Operation Murambatsvina who were forced to live in Hopley and Caledonia as IDPs. Thus, there are no durable solutions that have been found for the plight of IDPs in the two communities in Zimbabwe. This has manifested in the lack of secondary school facilities and educational programs for children in Hopley and Caledonia. In most internal displacement communities, schooling and educational activities for primary going children are organized but the same services for adolescents in the same contexts are usually lacking or totally absent (Burde, 2005). The absence of formal education facilities and programs for secondary school going age IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia therefore calls for research. The question that needs to be addressed in this study is how internal displacement has affected the rights to education for children living in Hopley and Caledonia.

1.2 Background

Displacement alludes to some form of human geographical movement. In the context of this study, displacement suggests human migration within or across national borders. There are many events

that trigger the voluntary and involuntary mobility of people from their homes into new settlements. However, the involuntary movement of people across space has never been passive or apolitical (Hyndman, 2000). From the infamous 17th Century Slave Trade to contemporary forms of internal and external migrations, millions of people have found themselves being arbitrarily moved sometimes thousands of miles from their homes. Heated debates have often ensued and have continued in the wake of each of these waves of forced migrations. Most of the attention and efforts are seemingly expended on finding the causes of the forced migrations with constrained time dedicated to the impact on individuals. There also appears to be some consensus to adopt a homogenous approach to marked categories of forced migration. However, it should be noted that each context of forced migration is unique from the next.

Internal displacement is a contemporary form of forced migration that has affected millions of people across the globe. Internal migration or displacement has also invariably found its way into international forums. As far back as the 1949 United Nations (UN) General Assembly, Greece raised the issue of the fate of people displaced internally by war. The argument was that such people needed to have equitable access to humanitarian aid as was accorded to refugees (Brun, 2008:1). This mentality was only revived more vigorously in the 1990s particularly in 1992 when the then UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali⁹ appointed Francis Deng as the Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (HRQ, 1999). Deng's appointment was mandated by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

Francis Deng's appointment culminated in the making of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID). The 30 individual principles packaged as GPID provide guidance to any national and international authority as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations mandated with the protection of IDPs (Chimni, 2000). The principles cover the periods before, during and after displacement, prescribing the ideal manner in which to address the internal displacement phenomenon and its victims. However, Guiding Principles are not legally binding nor do they have an enforcement mechanism (Beyani, 2006:1, Borton and Otto, 2005). This entails that states that disregard any of these principles can generally go unchecked for lack of a direct instrument to ensure the principles are observed. Nevertheless, the GPID have a moral force which aims to enhance the quality of life for internally displaced persons.

⁹ <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/advisers.shtml> (Retrieved August 26, 2016).

IDMC (2015), estimates that there were 38 million IDPs globally by the end of 2014. Writing in a later version of the Forced Migration Review, Beyani et al (2016) posit that the number of conflict induced internally displaced people has bloated to 40.8 million as of January 2016. This figure excludes the disaster and development induced IDPs. On a global scale, it has been estimated that displacement occurs at the rate of 30 000 persons a day, at one person every 4.1 seconds (IDMC, 2015; UNHCR, 2014). In an earlier article, Beyani (2006) avers that internal displacement threatens to be one of the most explosive global migration problems to have reared its head on the world political arena.

One of the major challenges besetting internal displacement is that while some cases are protracted and continue to thrive decades after the root causes have waned, new ones continually erupt, blotting the already unrestrainable numbers. From West Timor to Afghanistan, Colombia to South Sudan, the millions fleeing Boko Haram in Nigeria, the Syrian crisis and many more countries, internal displacement has moved and continues to move unprecedented numbers of people within states. In West Timor, 31 450 internally displaced persons are still languishing in displacement, fifteen years after they first fled from militant groups which were against the independence of East Timor, (IDMC, 2015). This violence erupted after a 1999 UN led referendum that sought to give independence to East Timor (IDMC, 2015a). To date, thousands of West Timorese live in displacement without access to livelihood opportunities and basic services.

Nigeria's latest internally displaced population is relatively younger than the West Timorese. According to (IDMC, 2014b), one million and five hundred thousand (1 500 000) people have been forced to flee their homes from Islamist Boko Haram militants. Despite being quite recent, the internally displaced people in Nigeria also face lack as the national and international community tend to focus on the Boko Haram's operations and displacement is relegated to a secondary crisis. In their flight from the relentless Islamist militias, the Nigerian displaced populace do not necessarily find themselves in humanitarian protective shelter (IDMC, 2014b). Thus, internally displaced persons in Nigeria join the masses of other IDPs the world over, who find themselves living lives typical of extreme deprivation and inability to access essential social services. IDMC (2014:1) sums up the situation in Nigeria by stating that, "there is lack of strategy guiding humanitarian assistance and only limited discussion of durable solutions at both national and local

level.” Hence, the southern parts of Nigeria find themselves having to contain an influx of internally displaced people but without any set contingent plans on their welfare.

In Africa, a typically displaced community context consists of 54% children under the age of eighteen years (Kidane, 2011). Ideally, the children in these age groups should either be in primary or secondary school. Due to emerging displacement contexts, the constant fluidity of these figures should be underscored. Nevertheless, such statistics are of particular concern to this study which sought to address the availability and accessibility of secondary school education for IDPs. These figures serve as proof that the question of IDPs, particularly on the provision of education, is a critical research area. For these children, education is unvaryingly interrupted as they are shuttled from one place to the next. This is supported by (Sommers, 1999) who posits that the children are the majority in practically every case of refugees or IDPs yet they become “in programmatic terms, invisible.” This invisibility is more pronounced in matters relating to education as displacement often entails that education opportunities become limited (Dryden-Peterson, 2011, Rhoades, 2010a). Thus, while needs for displaced populations such as food, shelter and clothes are usually and relatively quickly addressed, educational activities are always slow to take off. This has a negative effect on academic attainment by internally displaced children.

The IDMC Global Overview (May 2015) contends that conflict and violence account for the bulk of the internal displacement figures. World Vision Africa (2006) confirms that conflicts are the number one cause of displacements. South Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) were responsible for 60% of 2014’s new displacement cases of IDPs (IDMC, 2015). At the turn of the century, Africa had more IDPs than the rest of the world put together (NRC, 2002). Writing a few years later, Akokpari, et al (2008) concurs that the African continent is home to more than half the world’s IDPs. While the continental figures of displaced people are very high, conversely, Sub-Saharan Africa further dominates these figures due to protracted intra-state wars. These cases of internal strife are more prevalent in Central African Republic (CAR), DRC, Sudan¹⁰ and Somalia. Consequently, Sub-Sahara Africa holds 11.4 million IDPs (IDMC, 2015a). Despite the lack of profiling for internally displaced people in Zimbabwe, it can be argued that the country has also accounted to the continental figures.

¹⁰ CAR, DRC and South Sudan not only have the largest number of displaced populations in the region but are also ranked among the top five most fragile states in the world (IDMC, 2015).

According to Betts (2010), the roots to internal displacement are not mono-causal. This implies that there are more causes of displacement than armed conflict. Likewise, Zimbabwe holds a significant number of IDPs who have stemmed from widely varying causes. This study is however more concerned with the forced migrants' experiences in displacement, than the root causes. The study however acknowledges the importance of the drivers and aspects that trigger displacement (causes) in the mapping of each context of IDPs. For this reason, the study takes a short detour to describe these in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement. Rodgers (2006:131) attests that the internal displacement phenomenon in Zimbabwe is complex.¹¹ The reason for this complexity is that the IDPs in Zimbabwe are a result of a wide spectrum of events and they were also driven by multiple factors (IDMC, 2010d). The causes of internal displacement in Zimbabwe are due to a gamut of events such as politically inclined conflict, development and weather-induced displacement. IDMC (2008:48) contends that IDPs in Zimbabwe do not easily fall into distinct categories made by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) "cluster approach." These clusters are meant to address the gaps in humanitarian response to varying contexts of people subjected to human rights violations and other cases of vulnerabilities.

The aim of the cluster approach at the global level is to strengthen system-wide preparedness and co-ordination of technical capacity to respond to humanitarian emergencies by ensuring that there is predictable leadership and accountability in all the main sectors or areas of humanitarian response (Anderson and Hodgkin, 2010:2).

IDPs in Zimbabwe are not the archetype of the rest of the displaced communities in the world. It has proved difficult to slot them into neat classifications like conflict, disaster and development related displacement. Where does one locate a person forced into displacement by one's own government policies? At the end, it should be noted that despite this complexity in the root causes, the victims are all reduced to a 'placeless' people dispossessed of the dignity to have a place they can call home.

Professor Vivian Ojong, an Anthropology lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal argues that migration "is the genesis of confusion and frustration," (Ojong, 2012:263). In her article,

¹¹ The complexity stems from the fact that the causes are multicausal. Moreover, the Zimbabwean government was responsible for driving thousands of these people into displacement through Operation Murambatsvina. Rodgers, G. 2006. Internal Displacement and social marginalisation in Southern Africa. Unisa Press, 36, 131-141. <http://uir.unisa.ac.za/> (Accessed October 27, 2016).

Pragmatic and Symbolic Negotiation of Home for African Migrants in South Africa, she further contends that migration brings to the fore blurred images of ‘space’ and ‘place.’ In the context of forced migrants, it seems that home is only one of the many aspects of life that they need to renegotiate. At an individual level, displacement invariably means walking in seemingly uncharted territory. It entails being redefined and subsumes redefining every sphere of one’s life. In the same vein, the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia have to grapple with these changes in their lives.

Zimbabwean IDPs seem to be largely a manifestation of government policies and a few isolated weather-related displacements. Hammar (2008) claims that all forms of displacement in Zimbabwe tend to have political underpinnings. This seems to connote that the majority of cases of internal displacement in Zimbabwe can be attributed to intra state political strife. One of the events that led to immense internal displacement in Zimbabwe is Operation Murambatsvina. Due to the contested views to this program, this led to it being named differently according to institutional perspectives. The government of Zimbabwe called it ‘Restore Order’ which implied a positive regularization of shelter in the country. Operation Murambatsvina was also referred to as ‘Clear the Filth,’¹² which implied that the destruction of shelter and other buildings was being done on the basis of the preservation of a healthy environment (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012). However, to the people who found themselves without shelter and livelihoods, this program was referred to as ‘tsunami,’ (Hughes, 2007, Potts, 2006). This captured the devastating effects of Operation Murambatsvina to its victims. Bratton and Masunungure (2006: 43) contend that “OM is a symptom of a broader pathology of rule.” The slippery and subjective nature of these terms describing Operation Murambatsvina denotes the varying perspectives on the same program. For this reason, throughout this study, the program is referred to through its official name (Operation Murambatsvina).

In May 2005, the Zimbabwe government embarked on a massive clean-up campaign that left thousands of people displaced (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006, Howard-Hassmann, 2010, Kapp, 2005, Musoni, 2010, Nicolai, 2006). With very little or no warning¹³ and minimal time for the citizens to respond to the warning, the government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) through the police, bulldozed and razed down any structures that were deemed ‘illegal’ (Bratton and Masunungure,

¹² Idmc 2008. The Many Faces of Displacement: IDPs in Zimbabwe. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 1-52.

¹³ Benyera, E. & Nyere, C. 2015. An exploration of the Impact of Zimbabwe's 2005 Operation Murambatsvina on women and children. *Gender and Behaviour*, 13, 6522-6534.

2006, Mangongera, 2014). The Government of Zimbabwe explained that this was a move to clear all the slums (Hager, 2006). Taken from this point of view, one would say this was a development induced displacement. Again this category would be ill fitting to the type of internal displacement that ensued thereafter.

Development induced displacement is usually identified through large development projects that result from it. Robinson (2003:10) affirms that development induced displacement is related to “large-scale capital intensive development projects.” In this context, people are displaced to pave way for big infrastructural projects such as transport, energy or the waterworks (Sahu, 2016). Caspary (2007:73) posits that the norm by economists is to overlook population displacement as “a dysfunctional by-product” resulting from the development project. In this context, displacement is viewed as a negligent cost far outweighed by the benefits of the intended project. In Zimbabwe, the construction of the Kariba Dam¹⁴ in the 1960s and Tokwe-Mukosi ¹⁵ (still under construction) are some of the big projects that quickly come to mind. The evidence of such development projects is visible to the eye or tangible and usually cannot be contested. The same cannot be said of Operation Murambatsvina as there seems to be no developmental features that resulted from the program. Instead, “the ferocity of the Operation Murambatsvina left the most vulnerable groups of the Zimbabwean societies, particularly women and children, even more vulnerable,” (Benyera and Nyere, 2015). This immediately puts a dent to any suggestions or hypothesis that the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina was a form of development induced displacement.

The City of Harare Commission announced that the target (of Operation Murambatsvina) was informal housing structures such as rental rooms, shack dwellings, kiosks and backyard workshops. Due to its devastating effects which left landscapes of destruction in its wake, the ordinary citizens code named it ‘tsunami’¹⁶ (Hughes, 2007, Fontein, 2009, Chibisa and Sigauke, 2008). In a move defying logic, this came at a time when registered home seekers on municipality waiting lists

¹⁴ The construction of the Kariba Dam displaced and resettled 57 000 people. https://www.google.co.za/search?sourceid=chrome&syapi2&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF8&q=Share.nanjing.school.com/dpgeography/files/2013/05/World_Commission__on_Dams_Case_Study_Kariba_Dam_Final_Report_November_2000-2etc5lv.pdf (Retrieved August 1, 2016).

¹⁵See Chikumbu, M. T. 2014. The socio-economic of development-induced displacement:Case of Porta Farm.

¹⁶ The program was likened to a tsunami due to the magnitude of destruction caused by the demolition trucks which reduced most condemned buildings to their skeletal foundations.

numbered up to 600 000 (IDMC, 2008). Therefore, Operation Murambatsvina helped swell the numbers of home seekers and ultimately, displaced persons.

The Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2005) blames Operation Murambatsvina for creating an internal displacement crisis in Zimbabwe. According to Ridderbos (2011), over 100 000 homes were destroyed. In a survey conducted in July 2005 in Harare, 70% of 14 000 households were victims of this campaign (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006). The above would yield phenomenal displacement statistics if computations of the average people per household were done¹⁷. The global community became alarmed at the Government of Zimbabwe's disregard for both national and international legal frameworks through these forced evictions. A United Nations Special Envoy (Anna Tibaijuka) was immediately sent to the country on a fact finding mission (HRW, 2005). In the report¹⁸ submitted in 2005, Tibaijuka recounted that thousands of men, women and children had been left homeless (Chirisa et al., 2013). Operation Murambatsvina led to 570 000 IDPs (Potts, 2006). The United Nations put the figures of people directly or indirectly affected by Operation Murambatsvina at 2.4 million. This confirmed arguments that Operation Murambatsvina had resulted in massive numbers of displaced people leading to a displacement crisis in Zimbabwe.

The Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) is also liable for internal displacement in Zimbabwe. When Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, it inherited a colonial race-based land ownership (IDMC, 2008:30). In colonial Rhodesia, land was distributed on racial lines with whites getting large tracts of land in prime areas. Mkodzongi (2013:346) maintains that,

Settler-colonial agrarian relations were founded on racial monopoly control over land that deprived peasants of land based social reproduction and compelled cheap agrarian labor supplies.¹⁹

¹⁷ International Crisis Group (2005) states that by July 7, 2005; 92 460 housing structures had been destroyed affecting 133 534 households at more than 52 sites nationwide. This attempts to explain the magnitude of Operation Murambatsvina at national level. Destruction of shelter subsequently drove the victims into forced migration. In the context of this study, this immediately invokes debates on the provision of essential services such as education in the new settlements.

¹⁸ Report on the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina by Mrs Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka, July 2005

¹⁹ See Mkodzongi, G (2013) New People, New Land and New Livelihoods: A Micro-study of Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform. *Journal of Political Economy*, 2, 345-366. <http://ags.sagepub.com/content/2/3/345.abstract> (Accessed October 21, 2016).

Inevitably, after gaining independence from the colonial government, the Zimbabwean government would rightly want to correct or reverse this through land redistribution. In July 2000, the Zimbabwean government formally announced the commencement of the FTLRP (IDMC, 2008). This program was largely marred by violence and became known as jambanja.²⁰ The jambanja was the often violent invasion of farms that began in early 2000 (Kinsey, 2010). In the process of all this, hundreds of thousands were displaced from their homes. This confirms that the FTLRP also contributed to internal displacement in Zimbabwe.

The FTLRP displaced both white commercial farmers and their black employees. Hartnack (2009) claims that 2 million people were affected and 500 000 were displaced. HRW (2005) concurs with this and concedes that FTLRP led to a growing number of people being displaced from commercial farms. Ridderbos (2011) also confirms that FTLRP displaced thousands of former farm workers in 2000. In the heat of the highly political FTLRP, the displacement phenomenon generally got sidelined as more attention was paid to the political implications of the program both at national and international level. However, besides the socio-political and economic connotations of this program, FTLRP essentially meant some form of displacement of both farm owners and their former employees.

The Commercial Farmers' Union (CFU), states that 2 300 white farmers had ceased their operations by July 2003 and in March 2008, only 180 were left (IDMC, 2008). The assumption to be made from the euphemism 'ceased their operations' is that the farm owners equally suffered the scourge of displacement albeit on a different physical scale and magnitude. An estimated 300 000 to 350 000 black farm workers had been living in the farms and an additional 250 000 to 270 000 were seasonal workers also living in the commercial farms (IDMC, 2008). Hundreds of thousands of these workers did not somehow just disappear during FTLRP but were victims of internal displacement. Thus, the FTLRP also accounted for thousands of internally displaced persons. Due to the lack of up to date profiling, the IDPs figures in Zimbabwe are purported to stand at 36 000 (IDMC, 2010a). This is a figure brought onto the table by the United Nations during the

²⁰A Shona colloquial term that suggests chaos. Such chaos is often accompanied by violence. This was used to describe the manner in which most white commercial farms were invaded during this period. See Kinsey, B. H. 2010. Who went where...and Why: Patterns and Consequences of Displacement in Rural Zimbabwe after 2000. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36, 339-361.

government of national unity in 2009. For lack of updated statistics on IDPs in Zimbabwe, this was tentatively adopted in this study.

Even though the existence of IDPs in Zimbabwe is unquestionable, there are minimal overt signs of displacement such as holding camps for the internally displaced (IDMC, 2008:4). This means that Zimbabwean IDPs are largely not settled in formal holding camps and they are generally invisible (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013). For most of these IDPs, social services and humanitarian support are non-existent (Hager, 2006). In the face of such challenges; the internally displaced children inevitably face insurmountable problems accessing basic and secondary school education. To compound these problems, the Zimbabwean government does not acknowledge the existence of the IDPs (Ridderbos, 2011). This is corroborated by IDMC (2014) which states that the Zimbabwean government does not officially profile internally displaced people in the country.²¹ This leaves the Zimbabwean IDPs in a state where they are not in their own government's humanitarian structures. Writing about the importance of profiling, Chaloka Beyani, a United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons argues, "Done well, it can provide a common evidence base to be used for advocacy, strategy development and programmatic decision," (Beyani et al., 2016:42). Thus, profiling is more than merely capturing the statistics and names of people who have been displaced for records purposes. It unvaryingly carries implications on the implementation of humanitarian assistance and protection of such people.

The IDPs in Zimbabwe are a typical case of human rights abuse. According to John Stremlau, the Associate Executive Director for Peace Programs at The Carter Center, "Today's human rights abuses are tomorrow's refugees and internally displaced," (Stremlau, 1998:11), This means that IDPs are a direct result of deferred or neglected human rights. Likewise, internally displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia are a result of Operation Murambatsvina, a government program that was infamous for causing humanitarian crisis. For instance, more than ten years after their initial displacement, the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia communities (Zimbabwe) still lack basic social services. These IDPs are not settled in formal transitional shelter where they could be visible for national and international humanitarian assistance and humanitarian organizations can easily meet their needs. This is echoed by IDMC (2008), which states that there are no visible signs of IDPs in

²¹ "Profiling is a collaborative process of gathering and analyzing information on IDPs and other people affected by displacement in order to advocate on their behalf, facilitate their protection and assistance and ultimately help them achieve durable solutions," (IDMC, 2015).

Zimbabwe. According to HRW (2015), the Zimbabwean constitution states that the government is obliged to fulfil and protect the IDPs' rights. Hager (2006) confirms that the primary responsibility of IDPs rests with the state. The Zimbabwean IDPs lack basic rights such as shelter, food, water, education and health services. In line with this, Betts (2010) in the article, *Survival Migration: A New Protection Framework*, stresses that basic rights are those without which no other rights can be enjoyed. This emphasizes the importance of these rights to all humanity including IDPs in Zimbabwe.

In 2005, two events took place which would impact greatly on internal displacement in Zimbabwe. Ironically, in this year (2005), when massive evictions were undergoing in Zimbabwe's Operation Murambatsvina, heads of state met at the United Nations World Summit and endorsed the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), (Mooney, 2010). Among other things, this international norm was meant to address crimes against humanity. Deng as cited in Akokpari, et al (2008:183) interprets sovereignty as a positive concept of state responsibility for protecting and assisting its citizens. He further explains that sovereignty should not be used as a concept "insulating the state against international solidarity with the needy persons" (Akokpari, et al., 2008: 183). Ideally, the norm was not to be entirely focused on the use of force but the normative and moral pledge by a nation to protect its civilians (du Plessis, 2008). Unfortunately, the R2P norm only increased the dilemma faced by the international community in cases like the Zimbabwean IDPs. This dilemma manifests when the international community's access to IDPs is limited due to respect of government's sovereignty (Barutciski, 1998). This is dire when the IDPs' rights are not being respected.

The Zimbabwean government has ostensibly not accorded its IDPs full human rights. Though considered a soft law, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID) reiterate relevant human rights and documents that each government has a responsibility over its IDPs. Principle 3 of the GPID says:

National authorities have the primary duty and responsibility to provide protection and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their jurisdiction (Chimni, 2000:425).

This principle clearly reiterates that the welfare of IDPs primarily lies with the government. The government is expected both to shield these people against further trauma beyond the initial

displacement as well as ensuring that they receive essential aid for their survival. A Professor in International Legal Studies, Chimni (2000) posits that Principle 1 in the GPID states that IDPs are to enjoy the same human rights and freedoms as other citizens of the state while Principle 23 advocates for the rights to education. Both principles are rooted in the basic human rights through the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.²² The state is therefore morally obliged to accord its IDPs these rights. The children in Hopley and Caledonia, like every other child in Zimbabwe and the world over are therefore entitled to education as a fundamental right. The Guiding Principles plainly attempt to express and embody the IDPs' expected needs.

The Zimbabwean government is further bound by the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Declaration) to which she is a signatory. Robert Mugabe, the president of Zimbabwe, was the second head of state to sign the Kampala Convention (Ridderbos, 2011, Santner, 2014). This laudable action by the government of Zimbabwe did not however translate into reality for IDPs in the country. This was caused by the fact that the Kampala Convention has not yet been domesticated into Zimbabwean law (IDMC, 2014b). Ultimately, this incapacitates the implementation of the instrument legally in the country. An Associate Professor with the Seattle University School of Law, Won Kidane (2011) affirms that the Kampala Convention is designed in such a way to convert the non-binding GPID into a legally binding instrument. It carries the legal mechanism which was lacking in the Guiding Principles. Ideally, failure to observe the statutes of the Kampala Convention is therefore expected to attract relevant censure from the continental body. Effectively, this works to the advantage of every internally displaced group of people in Africa as they have the opportunity to get legal protection. The internally displaced people in Zimbabwe also fall under the auspices of the Kampala Convention and as such are expected to benefit from its implementation.

Lack of access to education is common in internal displacement and is said to be one of the major problems facing internally displaced people (Vincent and Sorensen, 2001). In this study, I attempt to justify the need for education for all children. In the context of my research, I consider education to be a critical service in displacement contexts. Education is vital to the acquisition of relevant

²² 'The principles reflect and are consistent with international human rights law and international humanitarian law,' Deng, F. M. 1999. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. *International Migration Review*, 33, 484-493.

skills, knowledge or even values invaluable to every social being.²³ Therefore, education can potentially equip displaced children with the skills essential to combat challenges that rise in their displacement context. According to a UNICEF publication (2007:14), “education is not a static commodity to be considered in isolation from its greater context.” Thus, despite the length of time spent in displacement, the children also need to be prepared for life after displacement (Price, 2011). It is for such reasons that lack of access to education during internal displacement is a critical issue.

There are many barriers to education during internal displacement. The severity of these varies from one context to the other. For instance, many studies have been conducted on the effects of armed conflict on the access to education (Burde, 2005; Rhoades, 2010; Wharton and Oyelere, 2011; Talbot, 2013). However, the common barriers to education include lack of infrastructure, material requirements as well as poverty. Therefore, in addition to the lack of infrastructure where education programs can be conducted, many displaced parents cannot afford the requirements demanded by educational institutions. Loss of livelihoods due to relocation drives most displaced families into poverty. Consequently, the families cannot send their children to school. Sometimes the children leave school to supplement income for their families.²⁴ For these reasons, there is general lack of access to education during internal displacement and other forms of forced migration.

The point of insertion for this study is embedded in the fact that children generally constitute the majority of displaced populations. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2014), supported by Burde (2016) state that children under the age of 18 years make up 51% of all displaced people world-wide (Burde, 2015). Writing earlier on, World Vision Africa (2006) maintains that UNHCR estimates that the number of children among displaced populations is as high as 50% of all displaced populations. Therefore, it can be assumed that the IDPs in Zimbabwe are not an exception to the above statistics. This study is centred on internally displaced children and this being so, the needs that are peculiar to these children, such as education, are of immediate concern and provide a critical rationale for this study.

In the Zimbabwean case of internal displacement, it is imperative that the children’s full rights to education be addressed. According to Hager (2006), the Zimbabwean IDPs have been caught in the

²³ www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-education.pdf (Accessed October 6, 2016)

²⁴ <http://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/textOnlyContent/FMR/22/brookings.htm> (Accessed October 6, 2016).

inherent dilemma of imprecise human rights law for IDPs. In addition to this, the fate of the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia lies in the government which is culpable in their displacement in the first place. This increases the displaced people's vulnerability, as well as increasing the need for agency in their plight. For this reason, the intervention role of the international community in ensuring compliance to policy as well as seeking to address the Zimbabwean IDPs' plight is crucial. Mapiko and Chinyoka (2013:432) argue that the Zimbabwean IDPs' 'invisibility' has resulted in them being referred to as 'mobile and vulnerable populations' rather than the common term by which they are known the world over. It is therefore difficult to either map²⁵ them or ensure that they can access their rights. The Zimbabwean government's lethargic attitude ²⁶ towards its IDPs worsens their condition as this leaves them without state protection and assistance.

1.2.1 Gaps in Areas Research

IDPs have been on the international agenda on different platforms since the dawn of the 1990s. The period from the late 20th century years into early 21st century has seen internal displacement virtually dominate global discourse. Despite the decades of almost unequalled attention on the IDPs situation at global level, areas that need further research have to be acknowledged. Thus, the focus of this study on the question of internally displaced persons seeks to address some of these areas. In the year 2010, internally displaced children in twenty-seven (27) countries had no access to education (IDMC, 2010a). Furthermore, where there was limited access to primary schools, access to secondary school or tertiary education was insufficient or totally lacking (IDMC, 2010: 28). According to the Global Education Monitoring Report (2015), 30 million children were out of school in Sub-Sahara Africa at the end of 2015.²⁷ The study has identified the provision of secondary school education for internally displaced persons as an area that needs further research.

Education should form an integral part of programs for internally displaced persons in their vastly varying contexts. Probably, one of the most underrated impacts of education is its stabilizing effect on affected communities until conflict is over (Brun, 2008). In the Afghanistan crisis, this was exploited through a 'back-to-school' campaign. The result of this was that despite the raging conflict, 1.5 million children went back to school in 2002 (Couldrey and Morris, 2006a). School has

²⁵ Some of the IDPs are self-settled among rural communities and it becomes difficult for any form of humanitarian assistance to access them in their individual statuses.

²⁶ See Juss, S. S. 2013. The Ashgate Research Comparison to Migration Law, Theory and Policy. Ashgate.

²⁷ <http://www.globalpartnership.org/focus-areas/out-of-school-children> (Retrieved June 14, 2016)

the potential to render normalcy to an otherwise volatile atmosphere. In the case of non-combatant displacement like Hopley and Caledonia, education is part of sustainable framework for durable solutions to displacement (IDMC, 2010). Education gives the displaced children hope for a better future. This entails that the responsible governments hosting displaced children should prioritize education at all costs. Education acts as a tool to restore the children's resilience while at the same time equipping them to build a more peaceful and just society. Thus, the impact of education on displacement victims can still be researched further.

The uniqueness and potential strength of my study, I believe, stems from the use of the Capability Approach on internally displaced persons' access to education. The Capability Approach is usually used in development economics as well as an evaluative framework (Dang, 2014). Thus, CA is not typically used as a prescription but to explicate a phenomenon. However, Deneulin et al., (2006:14) argue that Martha Nussbaum's version of the Capability Approach is more prescriptive which "reconnects the Capability Approach with the subsidiary function of social institutions such as those of health, education, the media and the law." According to Frediani and Hansen (2015), the Capability Approach has generally been confined to welfare economics. In this study, I focus on the relevance of capabilities and functionings on displaced children in their bid to access education. "The concept of capability is bridging development at a societal level and socialization and self-realization on the individual level," (Stoecklin and Bonvin, 2014:iv). Therefore, the study is entrenched on the element of agency; the ability of an individual "to pursue and realize goals one values and has reason to value," (Deneulin and Shahani, 2009:22).

Furthermore, the potential originality of my study is also based on the nature of IDPs in Zimbabwe. The perceived challenges facing the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia then led to another aspect critical to this study. This created the basis for originality in the use of an empirical lens to the internal displacement phenomenon. Thus, the study used a lot of empirical evidence in the form of the participants' narratives and thick descriptions to unpack the challenges faced in accessing education by the displaced people in the two communities. I attempt to ensure that the Hopley and Caledonia residents are not mere sources of information but shape the thinking of the study in the provision of secondary school education during their displacement. Furthermore, these IDPs are settled outside conventional camp settlements which can be monitored and assisted by humanitarian

organisations.²⁸ As stated by IDMC (2008:4), Zimbabwe has no overt signs of displacement. The IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia are settled in what may appear as slum settlements. Secondly, this magnifies their invisibility to the international community. The problem of the invisibility of the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia are compounded by the government's role in the creation of these displaced communities. Moreover, the government has consistently refused to either acknowledge or allow them (IDPs) to receive the assistance (from external organisations) they need during displacement.

One of the aspects covered in my study is the argument that lack of provision of education is a breach of IDPs' inalienable human rights and GPID policy should be revised to make it legally binding. It also hopes to call for the redefining of IDPs policy to cover the type of IDPs like these in Zimbabwe whose conditions are seemingly not life threatening yet they still require expedient intervention. The researcher aims to alert key actors on IDPs to the uniqueness of IDPs in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the study hopes to challenge the international community to break the dilemma between the R2P²⁹ and IDPs' access to their rights. The study aims to make other researchers consider looking at activities beyond the classroom as an assessment on IDPs education.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

"From 1994 to 2010, only 1 percent of articles in peace and conflict studies journals and 0.5 percent of articles in international studies journals addressed education," (Burde, 2015). Generally, the provision of education in forced migration contexts seems under researched. To compound this, the provision of secondary school education for internally displaced persons has received less research when compared to basic education. An Assistant Professor in international education at New York University's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development, Dana Burde (2004) advances that research literature on the IDPs' education tend to be inclined towards primary education. Much of the debate about conflict and out-of-school children has been focused on primary-age children (Martinez, 2013, Rhoades, 2010b). In a paper entitled, *Fixing the Broken Promise of Education for All: Findings from the Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children* by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Justino (2014) concurs that education is often limited to primary

²⁸ This is supported by IDMC (2008) which state that there are no overt signs of displacement such as camps in Zimbabwe.

²⁹ Sovereignty should not be a negative concept which individual states use to barricade themselves against international scrutiny and involvement, Akokpari, J., Ndinga-Muvumba, A. & Murithi, T. 2008. African Union and its Institutions. Centre for Conflict Resolution.

schooling in displaced communities. In earlier publications, Justino (2010) and Machel (2001) reiterate the same sentiments. As Ferris and Winthrop (2010) aptly put it; the right and need of education is always broader than primary schooling. This shows that secondary school education for IDPs is a crucial research area. Furthermore, I subscribe to the thinking that education cannot wait until solutions to displacement are realized (IDMC, 2010: 22). Therefore, this implies that the educational needs for the children in Hopley and Caledonia have to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Secondary school education is a crucial stage in every individual scholar's school years. It bridges the earlier forms of education (basic or primary) with tertiary education. It essentially lays the foundation for the career path a scholar eventually follows later on in life. Having taught secondary level scholars for two decades, I have come to value the role secondary school education plays in shaping young adults' future. Education is also described as a transformative process (Letizia, 2013). Therefore, it was easy to notice the discrepancy in research on IDPs' education which at times is only concerned with basic literacy and neglects secondary education (UN, September 2010). Thus, the study also stems from a personal desire to see secondary school level displaced children in Zimbabwe accorded education as their basic right. Education is seen as the fourth humanitarian pillar after food, shelter and health services (Rhoades, 2010a). Internal displacement has robbed the children in Hopley and Caledonia of their homes, dignity and capabilities. It also threatens to dispossess them of their future especially in the event that they discontinue with their education. According to Wharton and Oyelere (2011:2), "education significantly increases the chances of improving welfare and escaping poverty, and it contributes significantly to the long-term integration of the vulnerable population into the larger society." Therefore, the provision of secondary school education is not only essential to the IDPs but can also enhance their chances of attaining their goals in future.

IDMC (2008:48), suggests that IDPs in Zimbabwe are subject to what is termed "definitional gaps" as they are not a result of either intra-state conflict or civil war but governmental policies. Thus, this has led to the uncertainty about their protection and humanitarian needs. Therefore, the nature of internal displacement in Zimbabwean further fueled the drive to research into secondary school education for the internally displaced. The question is, if these IDPs are not registered with the government, who is responsible for their welfare? Of serious concern is the availability of

essential social services among which is education. Juss (2013:265) submits that Zimbabwe is one of the states which have adopted a lethargic attitude towards its IDPs. This puts the Zimbabwean IDPs in a precarious position and more vulnerable when compared to other displaced populations. This further motivated this study.

Furthermore, IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia can be classified as displaced urban people. This entails that they are not easily visible to key actors such as humanitarian organizations when compared to IDPs who are settled in rural or camp settlements. Therefore, the displaced populations in Hopley and Caledonia have become invisible to the international community. This invisibility has impacted negatively on their needs for protection and humanitarian assistance. “Many urban IDPs are essentially ‘invisible’ and identifying and registering them is difficult for a number of reasons.”³⁰ According to Fielden (2008:2), “thus they are *de facto* integrated in urban areas, making it difficult to distinguish them from economic migrants and the urban poor.” This further justifies the study on this group of people.

1.4 Research problems and objectives: Key questions to be asked

A number of scholarly studies have been conducted on the question of education for IDPs (Guerrero, 2008, Fyn, 2009, Anderson, 2012, Musekiwa, 2012, Duenas, 2013, Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013, Santner, 2014). Despite the seemingly multiple scholarship on the question of IDPs’ education, few have addressed access to education from both a human rights and policy point of view. Moreover, none seem to have investigated a case where the international community is caught in a dilemma between respect of the sovereignty of the host nation and the need to intervene on behalf of the IDPs. The norm is that both the government hosting the IDPs and the international humanitarian organizations agree to help alleviate challenges faced by the displaced populations. The Zimbabwean case of internal displacement is therefore unique in the sense that it goes against this grain. It is crucial therefore that this study pursues the provision of secondary school education to the displaced children from this point of view.

The study is guided by the following key questions:

- a) What are the Hopley and Caledonia forced migrants’ socially constructed meanings of internal displacement?

³⁰ <http://www.internal-displacement.org/assets/publications/2016/20161011-new-urban-agenda.pdf> (Accessed October 11, 2016)

- b) How have the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia attempted to access secondary school education during their displacement?
- c) What are the intervention measures initiated by non-governmental organizations to mitigate the challenges faced by IDPs in accessing secondary school education?
- d) What are the perceptions built around the nexus between internal displacement and rights to education?

1.5 Research problems and objectives: Broader issues to be investigated

The question of the provision of education to displaced children is a critical research area. It invariably touches on the implementation of policies at both national and international levels. In addition to policy issues, this underpins the importance of observing rights for internally displaced populations. It can be contended that ensuring the right to education is also not just a case of upholding rights of the children but securing durable solutions to displacement (IDMC, 2010a). According to a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) guide, durable solutions are essential to displacement (Mooney and Davies, 2016). In essence, these help “reduce displacement-specific needs.”³¹ The provision of education is part of cementing these durable solutions. The access to essential social services such as education for IDPs has become common lexicon for the international community (Mooney, 2010). This suggests that IDPs’ access to education has been the subject of discussion at a global level on numerous occasions. Ironically, this does not appear to have cascaded to the displaced people in communities like Hopley and Caledonia.

International policy is clear on whose primary responsibility it is to ensure that IDPs receive essential humanitarian services as well as protection of their rights. Each state is expected to play its role as a duty bearer and alleviate problems associated with internal displacement. Due to the role played by the Zimbabwean government in the prevalence of IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia, there is need for agency to fill the gap created by the government. The central argument is whether the Zimbabwean government can be induced to allow humanitarian services to reach its IDPs especially in the area of secondary school education. One of the broader issues that this study is concerned with is ensuring that the IDPs’ rights are protected through adherence to international policies. The study also probes into advocacy and international community intervention for the internally displaced people in Zimbabwe. This study is also concerned with the implementation of

³¹ [https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/Durable%20Solution%20for%20IDPs%20-%20Quick%20Guide%20\(Yemen%202013\)_ENG_0.pdf](https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/system/files/documents/files/Durable%20Solution%20for%20IDPs%20-%20Quick%20Guide%20(Yemen%202013)_ENG_0.pdf) (Retrieved June 15, 2016)

the 2005 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm for the IDPs who were forced to move through Operation Murambatsvina and currently reside in Hopley and Caledonia communities.

Some of the broader issues to be investigated in this study include:

- a) To interrogate the varying perceptions of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm with regards to a nation's sovereignty.
- b) To explore the power dynamics around the key actors and institutions on the IDPs question in Zimbabwe.
- c) To determine the level of awareness of the state's duty over displaced communities by the internally displaced population in Hopley and Caledonia.
- d) To explore how the infringement of certain human rights peculiar to internally displaced persons has shaped the lives of the people in Hopley and Caledonia.

1.6 Key Assumptions

The study bases its arguments on a number of assumptions. The first of these assumptions is that most IDPs in Zimbabwe are settled in informal camps or self-settled among rural communities. This study also assumes that due to these peculiar contexts, the IDPs' rights to education are being infringed upon. In 2009, the African heads of state met in Kampala (Uganda) where they came up with a framework for IDPs (Christensen and Harild, 2009). The Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, generally known as Kampala Declaration/Convention was aimed at promoting measures that would prevent and mitigate internal displacement (Christensen and Harild, 2009). Zimbabwe was one of the first countries to ratify the treaty (IDMC, 2014b). Judging from the conditions of the IDPs in Zimbabwe, it can be assumed that the government has not domesticated or implemented this convention for its IDPs. The non-adherence to policy by the government of Zimbabwe suggests that the same fate has befallen both the Kampala Convention and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

1.7 Limitations

The major constraint experienced during this study was the political sensitivity of the internal displacement phenomenon in the Zimbabwean context. The Operation Murambatsvina program was orchestrated by the government when it authorised the demolition of housing structures and market stalls which had been condemned as illegal (Kapp, 2005, Nicolai, 2006, Potts, 2006, Potts, 2008). This resulted in the internal displacement of the current residents of Hopley and Caledonia.

The events led to a world outcry at the humanitarian violations instigated by the government. The government dismissed this as the Western countries' ploys to tarnish its image. Such confrontations even led to the suspension of some NGOs suspected of having ulterior motives in helping displaced communities (Hammar, 2008c). It was therefore difficult to interrogate the government officials on this phenomenon. Furthermore, the two communities have unofficial political gatekeepers on the ground that make it difficult to easily access the residents which entailed that some residents declined to be interviewed for what appeared to be fear of victimisation. Some refused to be tape recorded as they did not trust the reasons given for this. The objectivity of some participants was also questionable as their displacement was an emotional experience. The researcher had to rely on triangulation of findings from both primary and secondary sources for validity.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The central focus of the study is the forced migrants who were victims of the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina in Harare. Furthermore, the study only covers internally displaced persons who reside in Hopley and Caledonia in Zimbabwe. The researcher is cognizant of the fact that there are many people who were displaced by adverse weather conditions such as flooding, the Fast Track Land Reform Program and even post-election violence in Zimbabwe. The delineation of the Operation Murambatsvina victims was taken due to the uniqueness of their context when compared to other global internal displacement situations. This study only looks at the provision of secondary school education for IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia communities and deliberately excludes basic or primary education. This was driven by the fact that the provision of secondary school education for secondary school going IDPs is under researched. In addition, the study does not investigate the provision (or lack thereof) of other social services such as health in Hopley and Caledonia communities. The following is the macro structure that this study takes.

Structure of dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction and Background Information

This chapter traces the trajectory of internal displacement in Zimbabwe in relation to other forms of forced migration at an international level. The hypothesis of this study is entrenched in the negative implications of internal displacement on the provision of basic services such as education and the subsequent connotations of this on the displaced children. In this chapter, I introduce internal displacement as a form of forced migration. The underlying thematic concern of this study as well

as the research problem is fully explained. The researcher describes the IDPs in Zimbabwe with an aim to explain the uniqueness of this population in relation to other displaced people globally. It is premised on the fact that this population is set apart from the usual IDPs elsewhere in the world due to the Zimbabwean government's attitude towards them. This is further elaborated through the background description which traces how this phenomenon was created in Zimbabwe. The chapter then states the research questions and objectives that guide the rest of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The chapter reviews literature on internal displacement in the global south, with special focus on Sub-Saharan Africa. It particularly focuses on previous studies on IDPs' barriers to education and draws similarities or differences in the nature of challenges faced. An array of internal displacement situations in other parts of the world are used to form a basis for making the Zimbabwean IDPs visible. In order to contextualize the IDPs phenomenon, a section of the chapter covers a comprehensive study of literature on the Zimbabwean IDPs. This aims to find out what earlier studies have established and then use the findings to advance the thinking of this study. This chapter sets the tone for subsequent chapters to query the implementation of internal displacement policies in the Zimbabwean context. In particular, the chapter focuses on how forced migration impacts on the provision of education to the displaced population in Hopley and Caledonia. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 later use some of the scholarship reviewed in this chapter to substantiate arguments arising from the data.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework and Description of Research Methodology

This chapter basically charts the map through which this study is undertaken. The chapter first takes an in-depth discussion of the following theories: Capability Approach, Entitlement Approach, and Critical Theory. Each one of these theories attempts to enhance a critical and comprehensive discussion of the provision of secondary school education during internal displacement in the two communities. Each theory also determines the methods of data collection as each one of them is targeted towards investigating different sections of the study. The choice of the qualitative research paradigm is justified in this chapter. The chapter further discusses the various data collection methods used in the study. Each one of these is discussed in detail, establishing how they are appropriate for use in this investigation. These include document analysis and interviews. The chapter also elaborates on the thematic and content methods of data analysis. Thematic analysis is

used for the analysis of primary data collected from key participants through in depth and semi structured interviews. On the other hand, content analysis is applied on secondary evidence such as policy documents and the Zimbabwean constitution.

Chapter 4: Internal Displacement through the eyes of IDPs: Provision of Education in the Hopley-Caledonia Context

The chapter explores the lived experiences of IDPs in Caledonia and Hopley in the context of internal displacement. Through the narratives of the selected participants, the chapter also traces the history of forced migration in Zimbabwe. The selected communities are given detailed and dense descriptions to fully portray the state of the areas as well as contextualizing the phenomenon. The chapter specifically presents and analyses data collected from displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia. The main thrust of this chapter is to show how internal displacement has affected educational attainment for children living in the two communities. Through the interviewees' narratives, the chapter describes how the residents have tried to access secondary school education through other means than formal schools. The chapter bases its arguments on the Capability Approach as a lens into the experiences of internal displacement in the context of the Hopley and Caledonia residents.

Chapter 5: Power Dynamics around Key Actors in Internal Displacement in Schooling

The chapter makes use of the Entitlement Approach and Capability Approach to understand the government of Zimbabwe's stance on its IDPs. The Capability Approach is used to affirm the argument for the provision of education facilities by the government so as to enable the displaced children to possess their capabilities. In line with the Entitlement Approach's principle of 'entitlement set,' the chapter interrogates the government of Zimbabwe's seeming relegation of duty where the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia are concerned. The study is cognizant of the fact that the government of Zimbabwe is the-key player, and 'architect' of the internal displacement of the residents of Hopley and Caledonia. The chapter traces intervention measures taken by non-governmental organizations to alleviate challenges faced by IDPs in both communities in accessing education. These intervention activities are set against the government's seemingly inept treatment of the victims of displacement. Therefore, the views of interviewees representing different humanitarian and human rights organizations are used to evaluate the standard expectations on government's adherence to policies and upholding human rights for the internally displaced people

in Caledonia and Hopley. The Critical Theory's principle of social justice is called upon to inform the discussion on the internally displaced persons' experiences since their displacement. The above theory is also utilized to interrogate the interpretations and constructed meanings around the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm as perceived by the organizations being interviewed for the study.

Chapter 6: Provision of Education for IDPs in Zimbabwe: Beyond The Reach of Human Rights?

The chapter is particularly concerned with the human rights infringement in the context of internal displacement and the accessibility of education for IDPs in Zimbabwe. It is informed by both the Capability Approach and Critical Theory. Tenets in both these theories advocate for social justice, adherence to constitutional principles and upholding every human being's inherent capabilities (what people are actually able to do or to be). The chapter makes use of archival data in the form of policies such as the Kampala Convention, Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID), the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No 20) Act 2013 as well as the Zimbabwean Education Act. Acts and articles from the above policies such as Guiding Principles 1, 3, 6, 23 and the Kampala Convention Articles 5.1, 6.3 and 9.2(b) are married to the prevailing conditions as revealed through participant narratives in Chapter 4. All this is discussed under the auspices of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as an all-embracing law to protect humanity against such social atrocities like internal displacement. According to Brems (2001:426), the UDHR is said to be 'the mother text of international human rights,' and as such, it is expected to be very comprehensive and an all-encompassing statute. Sen Amartya's Entitlement Approach is used to enhance understanding of the Zimbabwean Constitution as a legally binding document in relation to the provision of education as a right to IDPs in the selected communities.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Embedding Zimbabwean Internal Displacement in the Global Humanitarian Regime of Support

Forced migrants, internally displaced persons, refugees, mobile and vulnerable populations are all different groups of people who are victims of involuntarily movement. As part of the conclusion to the study, the chapter explores the quest to deconstruct and redefine Zimbabwean internally displaced persons in the context of humanitarian policies. The major problem with the Zimbabwean internal displacement is that it falls between 'definitional gaps.' This has created challenges for these forced migrants to pursue the full implementation of policies to redress their situation. The

chapter highlights how the categorization of vulnerable populations such as IDPs determines the nature of humanitarian assistance rendered to them. Failure to meet the mold and set global classifications excludes them from benefiting from a number of international statutes. The chapter analyses these challenges in an attempt to recategorise the forced migrants so that they can meet the thresholds set by these global policies. Alternatively, the chapter also probes these thresholds in line with different contexts of vulnerability. The qualitative data collected, the Capabilities Approach and Sense-Making theory are used to substantiate these arguments. This chapter then draws conclusions from data presented and analyzed in the previous chapters on the question of the provision of education as a lens into internal displacement in Zimbabwe. Particular attention is made to key research questions and objectives. Finally, it knits together the findings from different sources of data used in the collection of information.

1.9 Conclusion

The chapter covered the background to internal displacement in Zimbabwe. It briefly chronicled the events of the 2005 Zimbabwean program code named Operation Murambatsvina. This program, which was sanctioned by the government of Zimbabwe, led to the destruction of thousands of housing structures and buildings (the latter were used primarily for informal businesses). The chapter established that Operation Murambatsvina accounted for hundreds of thousands of the internally displaced people in the country. Some of these people currently reside in Hopley and Caledonia, both of which are situated in peri-urban Harare. The central discussion pursued in this chapter was the reason for these IDPs' seeming invisibility at both national and international levels. The chapter asserted that the forced migrants in the two communities were dispossessed of their shelter and thereby suffered the subsequent human rights infringements that accompany all forms of arbitrary evictions. The government's lack of profiling of the displaced people further perpetuated the violation of these rights.

In this chapter, education was defined as an entitlement and a basic human right. The drive to address the rights to education is entrenched in the service's capacity to improve the future lives of the displaced children. This argument stems from the fact that children comprise more than 50% of any group of forced migrants (Newman and Van Selm, 2003, Couldrey and Morris, 2006a). In a study conducted on countries affected by armed conflict, 230 million children are said to live in such contexts and children are said to make up half of the refugee population (Dryden-Peterson,

2015). For this reason, the chapter situated the children in Hopley and Caledonia as a significant part of the communities. Of particular interest to the study as a whole, was the provision of secondary school education to such children. The chapter acknowledged that there were continental as well as international instruments specifically crafted to ensure that IDPs receive humanitarian assistance and protection from mandated institutions. The challenges faced by the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia were attributed to the government of Zimbabwe's failure to adhere to these statutes. Therefore, the chapter unpacked the research questions and objectives which were meant to be addressed in the rest of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: Delineating the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the context of Forced Migration ³²

2.0 Introduction

Education should never be a casualty of crisis.....or a cost of conflict. Education cannot wait for battles to end.....or disasters to be averted.....or funding to be available. Education cannot wait.....because children cannot wait. Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE, 2013)³³

This was a speech given by Anthony Lake, the UNICEF Executive Director, at a meeting held in New York in September 2013 on education in countries affected by conflict. The poignant sentiments above echo the attitude I adopted towards education for internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia (Zimbabwe). The internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia cannot afford to wait until the government of Zimbabwe or the international community resolves the issues that caused their displacement. “Education is a right that cannot be held hostage to any situation,” (Mosselson et al., 2009:6). This means that the pursuit of education should prevail in spite of the dire circumstances prevailing in any given context. Education deferred impacts more negatively on the intended recipient who is the child. Speaking for refugees, UNHCR asserts that it is virtually impossible to calculate the huge costs that are incurred as a result of the loss of education (Crisp et al., 2001). Such costs can be felt both at an individual as well as broader level (community and national). The same can be said for all the internally displaced children in the world including those in Zimbabwe.

According to the publication, *The Children and Armed Conflict Working* (2010), the average global duration of displacement is twenty years. Therefore, most cases of internal displacement are protracted. Due to the long-drawn-out nature of most displacements, this means that most of the displaced children spend their formative to early adulthood education years in displacement. Christensen and Harild (2009:10) state that;

³² A version of this chapter has been published in the *Journal of Social Development in Africa* entitled, ‘Internal Displacement and Forced Migration within Zimbabwe: An Overview,’ Vol. 30. No.1. July 2015. Pp 149-169.

³³ See <http://www.openequalfree.org/archives/ed-news/half-of-all-children-out-of-school-live-in-sub-sharan-africa> (Accessed June 1, 2016).

Protracted situations are IDP or refugee situations that, in addition to their prolonged nature, exhibit two key characteristics: (i) the process of finding durable solutions have stalled, and (ii) the displaced are marginalized as a consequence of violation or lack of protection of human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights.

Internally Displaced Persons in protracted conflicts may therefore spend their entire school years in camp schools. According to Justino (2014:5) “while education is possible in some camps, this is often disorganised, temporary, under-resourced, overcrowded and limited to primary education.” The cost of such schooling can have far reaching consequences to the child or any recipient of education in displacement. For this reason, the provision of education for the IDPs should be put in place at the onset of the displacement. General scholarship maintains that education should form the key part of any programs and plans for displaced people (Couldrey and Morris, 2006a, IDMC, 2010c). Contrary to this contention, a number of researchers (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010, Jones and Naylor, 2014) contend that education is usually a subordinate priority for governments in internal strife. It is for this reason that infrastructure to conduct educational programs in is not prioritized during national and global crises.

There were approximately 38 million Internally Displaced Persons globally at the end of 2014 and of these, Sub-Sahara Africa had 11.4 million from 22 countries (IDMC, 2015a). At the time of the IDMC study above, major contributors to these figures were the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) with 2.8 million, South Sudan (1.5 million), Somalia (1.1), Nigeria (1 million) and Central African Republic (CAR) with 3 million IDPs. By January 2016, there were 40.8 million people displaced by conflict (Beyani et al., 2016) These figures are always subject to change as new conflicts (and other causes of displacement) emerge, while some old ones abet. Studies confirm the fluidity of internal displacement figures as new groups of people continue to move in search for peaceful spaces and the promise of durable solutions (IDMC, 2010a). The above statistics of displaced people indicate that this is a major global problem with the propensity to disrupt human lives in many areas.

Conflict has been the number one cause of displacement for a long time (WorldVision, 2006, Christensen and Harild, 2009, Jennings, 2007). Earlier on, a USAID (2004) report concurred that

most internal displacement has been caused by armed intra-state conflict.³⁴ In a more recent publication, Zetter (2015:6) posits that, ‘intrastate conflict, almost without exception now accounts for the majority of involuntary displacement.’ Therefore, with the insurgency of conflict, new IDPs are also added to the global totals. Kidane (2011:49) sums this up by saying that internal displacement is a “physical manifestation” of the political challenges faced by national authorities. This means that IDPs are a result of political mistakes committed by individual national authorities.

This chapter interrogates various studies conducted on the internal displacement phenomenon so as to determine what other studies have covered and how these may help to shape my study. The process of reviewing literature lends an incisive critique of previous similar studies (Silverman, 2000). This helps the researcher to gain an insight on the prevailing conditions on the phenomenon under study. Literature review anchors the study in that it lays the foundation for the empirical knowledge already gathered on the phenomenon. The researcher then builds onto this as he or she takes the study further. This entails that a literature review is not just a ‘laundry list’³⁵ or summary of previous studies by the researcher. It is a critical analysis of these studies for comparison of aspects such as methodology and research findings. These studies are reviewed to enhance understanding of the phenomenon under study so as to avoid the replication of the process as well as the findings.

2.1 Definition of Internally Displaced Persons

A comprehensive definition of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) is enshrined in the 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID). It states that IDPs are:

Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border, (Juss, 2013:258).

³⁴ See Usaid 2004. USAID Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons Policy. U.S Agency for International Development, 2, 1-146.

³⁵ This phrase implies merely summarizing what the various literature say on the subject under study. Silverman, D. 2000. *Doing a Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. Sage Publications.

This definition is descriptive rather than legal (UNHCR, 2007, Asplet, 2013). It seeks only to give the facts about the situation of a person who has been uprooted but remains confined within his country of habitual residence. The definition does not stipulate the legal status of the displaced person with regards to his condition. From this definition, it can be gleaned that the IDPs' reasons for leaving their homes or places where they normally reside is involuntary. This definition caters even for the people forcibly removed from homes that are not essentially proper houses (IDMC, 2008). It can be contended that these people could probably have lived in shanty conditions before their displacement. However, the significance of the type of building materials used for building their homes should not be considered as long as the people felt these places constituted homes.

Another element stipulated in the definition of IDPs is the causal aspect. The definition embraces all forms of strife (which include natural and man-made disasters) that might threaten or endanger the lives of people leading to their dislocation. An IDP is then set apart from a refugee in that while the latter crosses internationally set boundaries,³⁶ the former's flight is confined within his country's borders and for this reason, IDPs are sometimes referred to as 'internal refugees'. Thus, despite varying reasons for their dislodgement, IDPs find themselves seeking refuge in the same country which might have put them in this predicament in the first place. Juss (2013: 263) concurs with the above contention as he states that displacements that occur due to man-made actions are more prevalent than those caused by natural disasters.

When citizens' rights are not upheld and there is general abrogation of certain rights, the affected people are sometimes pushed out of their areas. Thus, relocation can be either voluntary or involuntary. At times, they move so as to flee from further victimization and at other times the move is a direct result of these rights being abused. This is corroborated by Vietti and Scribner (2013:21) who say, "the failure to achieve the conditions that allow persons to live their lives free from fear and want can contribute to forced migration." Therefore, internal displacement is also caused by the conditions in which human rights are abused as well as the accompanying fear of those subjected to these conditions. The displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia are a direct result of such abuse of human rights. This study has adopted the definition of IDPs above in its

³⁶ "Every person, who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality," Schultheis, M. J. 1989. Refugees in Africa: The Geopolitics of Forced Displacement. African Studies Association, 32, 3-29.

original sense, taking into cognizance all its nuances. Consequently, while the people in Hopley and Caledonia are not victims of armed strife, they still qualify under people who are affected by generalized violence and violations of human rights as stated in the definition.

Brun (2008) and Mooney (2005) aver that categorizations or definitional issues for IDPs are critical. The definitions can be used so as to differentiate between homelessness and internal displacement. For instance, to qualify under the homeless category, one might have lost their home due to poverty which then reduces him to destitution. The definitions are also used to mark the differences between a refugee status and one affected by internal displacement. It can be argued that there is heterogeneity in the effects of forced migration³⁷ however; the act of being dislocated has serious and lasting consequences on all the victims. These groups of people are equally vulnerable and need humanitarian intervention but from separate and different mandated institutions.³⁸ Moreover, “definitions matter even more if they determine access to legal entitlements or humanitarian assistance,” (Couldrey and Herson, 2014:11). For this reason, it can be emphasized that IDPs have been categorized separately from other forms of forced migration so as to ensure that they receive the assistance and protection that meets their contexts.

Mooney (2005) contends that IDPs undeniably have needs which require special attention that are distinct from the rest of the displaced population. Internally displaced persons outnumber refugees almost two to one (2:1) (NRC, 2002). However, in this study, I contest that the statistics alone do not fully reflect the gravity of the humanitarian situation on the ground. The magnitude of the challenges faced by displaced communities thus goes way beyond what may be implied by the numerical indices of people affected by this phenomenon. In this study, I operationalize the lack of education in Hopley and Caledonia as one of the adverse effects of forced migration. In a more recent article entitled, *Protecting Forced Migrants*, Zetter (2014:18) concurs that “other uprooted and vulnerable populations such as internally displaced people outnumber refugees.” According to Cohn (2013), Zetter (2014), Betts (2008) and Yin (2005); unlike the refugees, IDPs are not covered by the UN Refugee Convention. What this suggests is that IDPs remain under their own governments and do not access any humanitarian and legal protections that are readily available to

³⁷ Sarvimaki, M., Uusitalo, R. & Jantti, M. 2009. Long-Term Effects of Forced Migration. Institute for the Study of Labour 1-46.

³⁸ Refugees are primarily under the UNHCR while internally displaced people and other homeless populations fall under their mother countries.

refugees (Cohn, 2013). UNHCR actually attests that IDPs are often in more desperate situations than refugees (Kidane, 2011). The IDPs therefore seem disadvantaged in terms of international humanitarian services and aid when compared to refugees.

2.1.1 General Characteristics of Internal Displacement

Most IDPs in Africa are located in non-camp settlements and unfortunately for them, humanitarian assistance tends to target the IDPs in camp settlements leaving those outside struggling to access similar services (IDMC, 2010a). In hostile environments like armed conflict zones, camp settlements are sometimes preferred because they are “easily defensible” (Corsellis and Vitale, 2005:49). Identifying IDPs outside camp environments may be difficult if they live among equally needy communities (Ferris, 2012). This may be so as the magnitude of destitution between the two groups is often undistinguishable. In such cases, it seems that separating the displaced persons from the host population (who may also be poor) becomes a major challenge. In an article aptly titled, *Under the Radar: Internally Displaced Persons in Non-Camp Settings*, Chaloka Beyani argues that such IDPs become invisible to humanitarian assistance and protection. Furthermore, he says,

It is hard to ignore the presence of IDPs when they live in large camps, such as in Darfur, northern Uganda or Pakistan. In contrast, IDPs who do not live in camps are often out of the public eye; it is more difficult to identify IDPs living dispersed in communities that are often poor themselves (Beyani, 2013:1).

However, camp life for internally displaced people is also fraught with its own challenges. According to Lomo (2000) IDPs in camps are exposed to diseases, insufficient resources like water and even violations from military groups. Moreover, there is no source of livelihood in these camps yet humanitarian assistance never adequately meets the needs of the displaced people. This tends to reduce the IDPs to abject poverty. W. Courtland Robinson is a Research Associate at the Center for International Emergency, Disaster and Refugee Studies at the Johns Hopkins University Bloomberg School of Public Health in Baltimore. He concurs that displacement is “disruptive and painful, it is also fraught with serious long-term risks of becoming poorer than before displacement, more vulnerable economically, and disintegrated socially,” (Robinson, 2003:1). Consequently, this makes the boys and girls particularly vulnerable to many forms of exploitation. Justino (2014) contends that displaced children sometimes have to endure rape and even forced recruitment into armed forces. In an earlier article, World Vision (2001) concedes that displacement breeds risky

environments for child protection concerns. Given such circumstances, IDPs seem to be faring badly both in and outside camps.

One of the commonest characteristics of internal displacement is the impoverishment of IDPs through their failure to access essential needs. This argument is reinforced by Kastberg (2002), Couldrey and Herson (2014) and Zetter (2014) who confirm that displacement impoverishes the victims of forced migration. Moreover, due to the involuntary nature of their relocation, IDPs are forced to leave all their possessions and means of survival during their flight into displacement . The IDMC Quarterly Update concurs that “combined with a lack of data, assistance, livelihood opportunities and monitoring of IDPs’ needs, most IDPs were poorer as a result of displacement,” (IDMC, 2016b). The IDPs do not have their normal sources of livelihood to fall back to during these crises. Moreover, internally displaced people often have difficulties accessing land and property for productive purposes and therefore fail to resume normal social interactions vital for survival in their new contexts (Johansson, 2004). The ripple effects of such conditions are chronic malnutrition, susceptibility to diseases or high morbidity and mortality rates in IDPs communities (UN, 2010).

In an article aptly entitled, *No less Vulnerable: The Internally Displaced Persons in Humanitarian Emergencies*, Salama, et al (2001) posit that IDPs are vulnerable people. A number of studies also acknowledge that forced migration exposes the victims to socio-economic vulnerabilities (Zetter, 2015, Zetter, 2014, Vietti and Scribner, 2013, Billing, 2010). In an earlier publication, Mooney (2005) also concurs that displacement heightens vulnerabilities. Before the turn of the century, this was worsened by the fact that “intervention for IDPs has been historically at best ad hoc and unreliable,” (Barutciski, 1998). To date, many countries do not have well laid out plans on how to cater for the eventuality of internal displacement and the global community is equally reactive in terms of internal displacement. According to Harild and Christensen (2010:7), “There are critical gaps in the response to forced displacement on the part of both governments and international actors.” However, plans to cover for the unpredictability of internal displacement were devised by the IASC cluster approach which divided labor and responsibilities among humanitarian organizations (Christensen and Harild, 2009). Nevertheless, most organizations only implement development aimed activities when the situation has stabilized (IDMC, 2010a). The emergency

phase is therefore usually dealt with according to the needs rising, which leaves the IDPs dependent on these organizations for mere survival (Sommers, 1999).

Accessing IDPs with essential humanitarian assistance is not always guaranteed. One of the common impediments to humanitarian aid reaching IDPs is caused by national authorities who often (mis)construe this as intruding into sovereign space (Akokpari et al., 2008). Therefore, humanitarian organizations may be restricted from accessing the displaced communities by authorities in the areas. In some cases, this happens due to the intensity of armed conflict which then prevents any humanitarian activities being undertaken. A report by the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (2006:2) titled, *Zimbabwe shattered lives - the case of Porta Farm* states that, “the government of Zimbabwe has repeatedly denied the scale of the crisis and obstructed the delivery of humanitarian aid to victims.” Thus, in the Zimbabwean context, the government literally barred non-governmental organizations from accessing IDPs after the Operation Murambatsvina (Hammar, 2008b). The government’s attitude renders the internal displacement phenomenon in Zimbabwe more complex as the humanitarian organisations seem incapacitated to protect and assist the IDPs. Furthermore, this raises questions on how practicable international statutes are in such a context.

Global diplomats, UN resolutions, peace talks and ceasefire agreements have lost the battle against ruthless armed men who are driven by political or religious interests rather than human imperatives, (IDMC, 2015b:1).

In such situations, the wiles of the armed gangs triumph, leaving the internally displaced people at their mercy. The global community then resorts to the deployment of peacekeepers which is a complex process and may take a considerable period before being effected (Woodhouse and Duffey, 2008). In addition, peacekeeping missions have not always been successful in protecting vulnerable civilians such as the internally displaced people. In the meantime, as the victims of such conflicts, the IDPs have to literally put their lives on hold as they await resolutions to the crises.

2.1.2 Barriers to Education

Conflict leads to forced migration which in turn gives birth to IDPs. The cycle of conflict and poverty is described as a ‘conflict trap,’ and this has become synonymous with civil strife whose consequences are the internally displaced people (Hoeffler and Reynal-Querol, 2003). These victims of conflicts are not only uprooted from all that has been familiar to them but are reduced to

destitution as well. This is mainly due to the fact that internal displacement engenders vulnerabilities which are compounded by the loss of traditional livelihoods and the basic means of generating income. At this point, IDPs are at the mercy of the government and international community to provide essential social services like educational facilities to meet their needs. Ironically, as overt as this need seems to be, it has not been addressed adequately compared to other areas concerning IDPs.

Education is woefully under-prioritised compared to other technical and service sectors, such as food, water, shelter and protection, receiving only 2 per cent of all humanitarian funding (Talbot, 2013:8).

This level of international humanitarian support impacts negatively on the IDPs' bid to access education during the period of displacement. Thus, the dichotomy of internal displacement and lack of access to basic social services such as education persistently hamper the IDPs' development and reintegration into the society as a durable solution. The above seems to support the contention of this study which advances that the lack of secondary school education to displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia threatens the displaced children's futures.

Understandably, food, shelter, clean water and health delivery are usually prioritized and attended to while educational needs wait. Inarguably, these are essential needs for the displaced communities and enable the displaced populations to regain some form of existence during their displacement. However, education is equally important for the displaced children as it impacts on their present life in displacement and their future. Mooney and French (2005) concur with this as they say education is often treated as a secondary need.

Education seldom figures in assessments of the damage inflicted by conflict. International attention and media reporting invariably focus on the most immediate images of humanitarian suffering, not on the hidden costs and lasting legacies of violence. Yet nowhere are those costs and legacies more evident than in education, (UNESCO, 2011:131).

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) publication emphasizes the importance of education during any form of displacement. It takes the stance that lack of education has developmental repercussions for both the individual and the country. Therefore, education ceases to be just an inalienable right but should be viewed as an essential tool to institute progress. For the majority of internally displaced children, school is disrupted and

school years are lost, creating education gaps. Consequently, research posits that more than 50% of the 115 million children out of school live in fragile states,³⁹ (Couldrey and Morris, 2006a). Even then, most case studies have focused on examining the root causes of displacement at the expense of addressing how the IDPs cope with the displacement experience (Lloyd et al., 2010). The history to displacement can be quite useful in mapping the existence of IDPs but does not usually help solve some of the pertinent issues faced during displacement. Education or lack thereof is one such aspect.

Availability and accessibility of education for IDPs is an area that has received much attention. A number of studies have determined that internal displacement heightens the chances for lack of access to education (Justino, 2014, Martinez, 2013, Mosselson et al., 2009, UNESCO, 2015b). IDMC (2010) also maintains that displacement often presents specific barriers to teaching and learning. Lack of infrastructure is invariably one of the major barriers to the availability and accessibility of education by IDPs (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Infrastructure for IDPs schools is ‘typically make-shift, under-resourced, over-crowded and limited to primary education,’ (Mooney and French, 2005) What this denotes is that there are often no well-built classrooms, toilets and any other buildings essential in a school set-up. Children are therefore taught under crudely made and temporary shelter. This is supported by Smith (2009) who emphasizes the general lack of infrastructure in IDPs communities and camps. Mooney and French (2005) point out that sometimes the infrastructure is so bad that it lacks basic things such as blackboards, chalk, books and even roofs. These are implements that characterize a proper classroom and a room lacking in them takes away the element of a learning environment. It is easy to question the quality of education received under such a learning environment.

In many displacement contexts in Africa, one barrier to the availability and accessibility of education is the distance children have to walk to school. According to IDMC, (2010), very often, displaced children are faced with long physical distances to schools. According to Rhoades (2010) travelling significant distances to school may cause safety concerns in conflict zones.⁴⁰ Due to the potential danger to the children, parents may stop them from going to school. Such problems are

³⁹ Fragile states are described as countries where there could be violent strife, poor governance or lacking in political will to promote pro-poor policies, Couldrey, M. & Morris, T. 2006a. Education and Conflict: Research, Policy and Practice. *Forced Migration Review*, 1-32.

⁴⁰ Children are in danger of being captured and recruited into armed forces or the girls may be raped. Rhoades, A. S. 2010a. Displaced Futures: Internally Displaced Persons and the Right to Education. UN University for Peace, 1-61.

particularly rife in non-camp schools. On the other hand, some children also fail to go to school due to the school fees or resources demanded by schools. In the same article, Rhoades (2010) argues that the stipulation of requirements in monetary form even if nominal is a deterrent to the access of education for internally displaced families. This is because internally displaced families would have lost their sources of income due to displacement and cannot afford even the minimal fees. Some schools are purported to waive fees for IDPs but do not exempt them from other levies required to run the schools. Very often, internally displaced children then stay out of school to work and supplement family income due poverty (Sinclair, 2007). Thus, the demand for materials or money from IDPs becomes another prohibitive measure from accessing education.

Barriers to education differ according to displacement contexts. Some face discrimination from local residents (host communities) while others face language barriers (Mooney and French, 2005, Bell and Huebler, 2011). The Quechua⁴¹ speaking children in Peru are one example of students who had difficulties in accessing education as they could not understand their Spanish teachers (Mooney and French, 2005). In Southern Sudan, children from Arabic-language speaking areas in the north have difficulties participating with the rest of the students (IDMC, 2011). In addition, discrimination may come from local citizens who would be unwilling to share local resources with the internally displaced persons (Brun, 2008). Another barrier to accessing education is the reduction of capacity such as teachers. In extreme cases, untrained volunteers are used to teach the IDPs (Lloyd et al., 2010).⁴² In Kenya's Dadaap region as well as South Sudan IDPs' schools, the teacher-pupil ratio can be as high as one teacher for every hundred students (BEC, 2004).

The trauma of the displacement experience and the subsequent conditions in which the internally displaced children live require psychosocial support (UN, 2010). Depending on the gravity of experiences, some children may have nightmares which would require trained personnel to carefully handle. However, the majority of the teachers in IDPs communities do not have the skills to provide psychological support to the students as they have received no training for this (UN, 2010). These problems are compounded by the lack of documentation by internally displaced children. Mooney and Davies (2016), Bell and Huebler (2011) and Mooney (2005) point out that

⁴¹ The Quechua people were displaced by armed conflict in Peru between 1980-2000 Suarez, E. B. 2013. Surviving Violence: The Politics of (Self) Protection. Stability Journal, 2. www.stabilityjournal.org/..../sta.cc/ Accessed 04/10/15

⁴² In a study conducted in South Sudan (Darfur), one community had 90% volunteer teachers and the teacher-pupil ratio could be as high as 156:1. Lloyd, C. B., El-Kogali, S., Robinson, J. P., Rankin, J. & Rasheed, A. 2010. Schooling and Conflict: A Snapshot of Basic Education Services for Displaced Children. Population Council, 1-24.

lack of documentation may lead to denial of access to services. IDPs may lose documents through destruction or sometimes confiscation by armed forces. All these build up to form a formidable barricade against IDPs' access to education

2.1.3 Education as part of durable solutions to internal displacement

One common characteristic running through all internal displacement cases is the need for durable solutions. Brun (2008) attests that durable solutions, (which was a brainchild of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), simply refer to helping the displaced populations. This is done to ensure that the IDPs become self-sufficient in preparation for the end of displacement. Durable solutions are defined as;

The means by which the situation of internally displaced persons can be satisfactorily and permanently resolved to enable them to live normal lives (UNHCR, 2007:502).

Durable solutions envisage a return to normalcy for the lives of the displaced people. The three forms of durable solutions are; repatriation, resettlement or reintegration in the local communities (Borton et al., 2005). However, Christensen and Harild (2009:12) argue that “return is not a durable solution.” In other words, sending the IDPs to their former homes does not resolve all issues of displacement (Harild and Christensen, 2010). Therefore, this suggests that the displaced population has to be given added skills to cope with life when and if they go back to their places of origin. These skills may include crafts and other techniques essential in running informal businesses to sustain themselves during and after displacement. In conflict contexts, there needs to be some change in the situation in their homes to also safely return (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010).

Durable solutions are equated to sustainable recovery by IDPs. The 2010 Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Framework on Durable Solutions stipulates conditions that have to be met for IDPs to achieve durable solutions (IDMC, 2010a). The IDPs have to also show that they can survive independent of the humanitarian assistance they would have received during displacement (Brun, 2008). The absence of all forms of discrimination and the upholding of the IDPs' human rights is also one such condition for durable solutions (Ferris, 2012). However, the timeframe for the achievement of durable solutions is “context-specific,” (Mooney and Davies, 2016:26). All this might happen gradually but it demands that the host nation consciously plan for these changes to happen.

This study takes education as a fundamental part of working towards durable solutions. Education plays a major role in ensuring that internally displaced children are equipped for life during and after displacement. This is supported by an Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre article titled *Learning in Displacement* which states that;

Providing education can enable displaced people to establish more normal lives in the place of refuge, and enables them to move toward durable solutions by giving them the tools needed for return, local integration, or settlement elsewhere (IDMC, 2010c:6).

Education is therefore more than just a right. It is a means to survival for the internally displaced children and adults. In the same article, IDMC (2010b) asserts that the restoration of access to education is part of the model for Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction.⁴³ Burde (2004) contends that education for displaced populations can be used for social reconstruction. In addition, in typical protracted displacements like the one in Darfur (Sudan);

Effective and accessible education is crucial to build human capital to be used to confront longer term challenges (UN, 2010:2).

Due to the protracted nature of displacement in Hopley and Caledonia, such an education would be applicable. Thus, this is the kind of education that I envisage for IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia communities. Education is an investment into the future for every child in and outside displacement (UN, 2010). Viewed from this angle, education is indeed an essential service particularly for the IDPs.

Education should be viewed as a tool to be used towards achieving multiple goals. “Education opens doors for economic development, health awareness, poverty reduction, community safety and civic involvement,” (Rhoades, 2010a). In this way, education befits the mold for durable solutions to displacement as conjured by IASC. The international community has come to accept that displacement leads to interrupted schooling and as such, has come a long way in formulating corrective measures to this. International organizations for monitoring education in emergency contexts (such as conflict, natural disasters and general instability) include the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) formed in 2000 (Sinclair, 2007). In a bid to curtail

⁴³ Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction Model acknowledges that displacement enhances the dangers of being impoverished and suggests ways to reverse this. Education is one of the aspects that is expected to address the IDPs’ needs, Idmc 2010a. Internal Displacement in Africa: A Development Challenge. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 1-16.

the effects of interrupted schooling, such international instruments have come up with minimum standards in education. Minimum Standards,

Articulate the minimum level of educational access and provision to be attained in emergencies, through to the early reconstruction, (Rhoades, 2010a:13).

For a protracted form of internal displacement such as in Hopley and Caledonia communities in Zimbabwe, this tool would help the IDPs attain an education that helps them in reconstruction. This proves that education is considered an essential service during internal displacement as well as building up communities towards durable solutions.

2.2 International Legislation and Policies on IDPs

2.2.1 Internally Displaced Persons' Rights

Gounden and Camara (2007:54) point out that “there is a nexus between forced displacement, armed conflict and human rights violations.” Writing earlier, Mooney (2005) also concurs that being displaced is indicative of the deliberate abuse of human rights. Such discourses confirm that displacement is ineradicably linked to human rights abuse.⁴⁴ Therefore, most forms of displacement are invariably linked to the failure to uphold human rights by concerned authorities. The assumption is that this contention applies more to conflict-induced contexts of internal displacement as opposed to natural disasters. Christensen and Harild (2009) further add that displacement can be a setting for human rights violations which further fuels the link between human rights abuse and displacement. The above arguments do not nullify the humanitarian element associated with the internal displacement phenomenon. Akokpari, et al (2008:184) point out that internal displacement is both a humanitarian issue and a human rights concern. Most of these arguments stem from the knowledge “that the right not to be displaced and the duty not to displace is the cornerstone of rights-based regime” (Kidane, 2011:59). This study is therefore anchored in this underlying link between internal displacement as a form of forced displacement and the abuse of human rights edicts.

⁴⁴ A Policy Review Paper, *The African Union's Institutional Framework for Responding to Forced Displacement in Africa*, by Patrick Tigere the Head of the Division of Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees and Displaced Persons and Rita Amukhobu the Political Officer in the Division of Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees and Displaced Persons, Department of Political Affairs, African Union Commission, based in Addis Ababa. <file:///C:/Users/215076139/Downloads/Chapter10.pdf> (Accessed October 7, 2016).

Due to the above arguments, it would seem that there is no point in laboring the case for IDPs' rights. In an article entitled, *Displacement and Human Rights: Reflections on UN Practice*, Stravropoulou argues that human rights and displacement meet conceptually. This is whereby human rights violations can be causes of displacement and displacement also viewed as a human rights violation (Stravropoulou, 1998). Either way, displacement attracts human rights concerns. The current global internal displacement figures attest to massive human rights abuses which need to be addressed. IDMC (2015) put the total of IDPs at 38 million as of December 2014. By January 2016, the figure had risen to 40.8 million IDPs (Beyani et al., 2016). These figures are exclusive of natural disaster-induced displacements for which humankind can be exonerated. These phenomenal internally displaced persons statistics are summarily reflective of the magnitude of the level of human rights abuse at a global scale.

In the last two decades, attention to the plight of IDPs has intensified. According to Beyani (2006:189), the sheer gravity of their conditions led to the demand for the formulation of a legal framework to "codify the standards of protection" for the IDPs. As a result, this culminated into the compilation of GPID in 1998 (Rhoades, 2010a). According to OCHA (2003:2) the Guiding Principles seek 'to identify the rights and guarantees relevant to the protection of Internally Displaced Persons.' The thirty (30) guiding principles are consistent with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Christensen and Harild, 2009). Therefore, the GPID assert the rights of the internally displaced persons.

Principle 1 in the Guiding Principles stipulates that IDPs "shall enjoy, in full equality, the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic law" (Chimni, 2000:393). This principle reiterates and affirms the individual rights accorded in the international humanitarian law. Principle 2 immediately exhorts individual states to observe these principles (OCHA, 2003). Principles 3, 5 and 7 are of particular interest to this study for their focus on the role of national authorities prior to and throughout the whole process of displacement (Chimni, 2000). The study assumes that since this is a UN instrument, national authorities would be obliged to observe it.

It might be argued that IDPs' rights were neglected at the outset during their categorization. In a bid to draw the difference between a refugee and IDPs' status, the 1998 GPID came up with a

descriptive⁴⁵ rather than a legal definition of IDPs (Mooney, 2005). This led to the IDPs being treated as victims of circumstances instead of subjects of rights (Kidane, 2011). The Guiding Principles were quickly affirmed as a ‘soft law’ and a compilation of international norms (Chimni, 2000). The instrument also lacks mechanism to enforce adherence to these principles. Despite the criticisms that can be legitimately levelled at the GPID, the instrument gave the world a framework on which to address the question of IDPs and their plight from a common ground.

The Guiding Principles were also adopted by the African Union at the Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) in October 2009 (Solomon, 2010). The Kampala Convention came into force on 6 December 2012 after more than the minimum stipulated member states had ratified it (IDMC, 2014c). The Kampala Convention is the first continental legally binding instrument on IDPs and “offers a useful precedent” to IDPs law (IDMC, 2016a:2). Consequently, the African Union is applauded for being the first continental body to transform the GPID into a ‘hard law’ (Kidane, 2011).

Authored under the aegis of the African Union, the Kampala Convention is intended to promote measures to prevent and mitigate internal displacement as well as providing solutions to this phenomenon (Christensen and Harild, 2009). According to IDMC (2010a), the instrument further details legal obligations on each member state for the protection of IDPs under its jurisdiction. The instrument reaffirmed key principles in the GPID such as that the national authorities have the primary responsibility to protect and assist its IDPs (IDMC, 2014b, Solomon, 2010). The Kampala Convention further obligates the national authorities to address the causes of displacement in their individual states.

The Kampala Convention addresses the needs and vulnerabilities of both IDPs and hosting communities. Article 9 (2) (b) of this charter mandates that states should provide food, water, shelter, health services, education and other social services to its displaced populations (Howard-Hassmann, 2010). The Kampala Convention presents a good opportunity for member states which want “to put in place national frameworks for the prevention of displacement and comprehensive responses when it does take place” (IDMC, 2014b). This means that any good intentioned government would want to take advantage of this instrument to alleviate the challenges faced by its

⁴⁵ The definition of an IDP only seeks to factually situate the person in the context that makes him a displaced person without the legal connotations of this condition.

IDPs or prevent new forms of displacement from occurring. According to IDMC (2010) the Kampala Convention will not make a difference to the IDPs unless governments implement them through domestication. The onus is therefore on the national authorities to further the protection of their IDPs by making it into national law. Once this is done, the principles are considered sufficient in addressing the rights and humanitarian needs of the displaced populations.

Despite the availability of international instruments created to facilitate the protection and assistance of IDPs, this group of people still faces problems accessing their rights.

It is not the lack of legal norms but the failure to respect, protect and fulfil these rights that cause suffering for too many internally displaced children (UN, 2010:8).

Ironically, most internally displaced people experience many challenges related to their displacement due to governments which do not respect these statutes. According to Beyani (2006), there is always the question about the measure of national political will to achieve the standards set by international instruments. This renders the instruments ineffectual as they are not implemented as required in the varying displacement contexts.

2.2.2 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) Norm

According to a Professor of International Relations at the University of George Washington, Etzioni (2005), the decade before the turn of the millennium was dominated by some of the worst human atrocities in the world. Much like the Nazi extermination of the Jews in the 1940s though on a slightly smaller magnitude, the 1990s genocide in Rwanda and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo revived the world's memories of the unforgettable crimes against humanity. These events formed the basis for the incubation of the Right to Protect (R2P) norm. The R2P norm was born out of two parallel debates which were prevailing within the global community at that time. On one hand were staunch supporters of the 'right to intervene' on humanitarian grounds and on the other hand were advocates for the entitlements of state sovereignty (Evans, 2009, Thakur, 2011, Badescu, 2011). The former believed in the essence of military intervention when faced with crimes against humanity among member states. The global community thus found itself in a dilemma when human atrocities were committed and it failed to intervene 'in deference' to state sovereignty (du Plessis, 2008).

In 2001, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) came up with the idea of the Responsibility to Protect (Mooney, 2010, Thakur, 2011). Architects of this

conceptual tool hoped that it would prevent a repeat of the atrocities to the level of the Rwanda genocide. According to Mooney (2010) the R2P would create consensus in terms of intervention on humanitarian causes. Thus, this norm would have thought to have acted as a preventive mechanism as well as deterring members of the global community from committing these crimes. The international community agreed that what had happened in Rwanda⁴⁶ should not be repeated and that timely intervention would be called for in such cases. It was agreed that an atrocity of such magnitude would implicate everyone and not only the national authority in which the event takes place (Desforges, 1999).

The R2P norm is steeped in the belief that each government would want to protect its citizens against any harm. Deng cited in Akokpari, et al (2008: 183) argues that sovereignty should be viewed positively as “state responsibility for protecting and assisting citizens.” The R2P is therefore anchored by sovereignty. This kind of thinking went on to shape the formation of the R2P which subsequently received wide endorsement due to this. The ICISS states that the three pronged elements in R2P which are; responsibility to react, prevent and rebuild, rest on the national authorities (Mooney, 2010:12) and (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012:193). The R2P norm therefore aims to foresee that each nation protects its citizens from possible harm or prevent any such event from happening and if they fail to stop it from happening, to rebuild the livelihoods of its people.

Like Guiding Principles 3 and 25, the R2P norm presumes that every state would want to protect its citizens from crimes against humanity. Judging from what happened due to Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe, I argue that this assumption by the principal authors of this norm could have been erroneous and an overstatement. Events in the world have since proved that not all countries are predisposed towards helping their populations and sometimes may be the cause of the human rights abuses. The international community is however prepared to intervene in the event that national authorities “are manifestly failing to protect their populations” (Mooney, 2010: 12). Similarly, Guiding Principle 25, states that the international community would offer to intervene and give humanitarian aid to the vulnerable populations. According to OCHA (2003:9) Guiding Principle 25 states that “International humanitarian organizations and other appropriate actors have the right to offer their services in support of the internally displaced.” Principle 5 also clarifies the

⁴⁶ At least half a million people were killed in a well-orchestrated genocide which was meant to eliminate the Tutsi, Desforges, A. 1999. *Leave none to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch, 171, 1-595.

role of the international community with regards to vulnerable populations in the event that national authorities have failed to give appropriate assistance. Likewise, R2P echoes this concept in the sense that it stipulates that in the event that a state is unable or is unwilling to protect its population from crimes against humanity, the global community would intervene.

Hammar (2008) contends that some states use sovereignty to legitimize intra-state violence and displacement. Akokpari, et al (2008:185) concur with this by stating that such a negative form of sovereignty is used when states “barricade themselves against international scrutiny.” Under the guise of sovereignty, IDPs get caught in between international and national agendas. For precisely the reason that IDPs are an internal issue, the global community tends to await the concerned state to act before it can intervene. This is obviously not how the heads of state envisioned the national authorities when they endorsed the R2P norm. Furthermore, Hammar (2008) argues that this is exactly what happened in Zimbabwe which led to the massive displacement of people. This study therefore focuses on the dilemma faced by the international community in the case of IDPs in Zimbabwe. In the heat of the debate about Operation Murambatsvina, the UNHCR summed up this problem by asking the following questions:

To what extent can humanitarian organizations substitute for an absence of national protection, even if the government and other actors consent to their presence? And crucially, if such consent is not forthcoming, do the United Nations and other multilateral actors have the right or the capacity to intervene in an assertive or coercive manner? (Zard, 2002:2).

The responses to the above questions, if they were forthcoming, would give direction to the drive to protect vulnerable populations in any given country.

There are a number of ways designed to ensure that a state meets its obligations towards its people. These are “persuasive diplomatic intercession, assertive political and economic measures as well as coercive military action,” (Akokpari, et al, 2008:185). Through various instruments, the global community has earned the right to intervene and enforce the protection of people who may be in vulnerable situations. Perhaps some of these measures have been implemented elsewhere with various degrees of success but there is certainly no evidence that the Zimbabwean IDPs have benefited from this. Thus, the scope of humanitarian action and the limitations caused by the deference to a state’s sovereignty remain as part of the central difficulties and unresolved questions

on the protection of IDPs (Zard, 2002).⁴⁷ This is particularly true of the internally displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia.

The R2P norm is undoubtedly a very useful instrument in deterring crimes against humanity. Since this study was inspired by IDP approaches to protection, it essentially intends to question the implementation of the norm on the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia communities. Badescu (2011) and Du Plessis (2008)) state that the norm was successfully applied in Kenya after the 2008 post elections violence. Therefore, it is suggested that the norm can also be legitimately applied in countries like the DRC, Somalia, Darfur and Zimbabwe as it opens up “constructive dialogue on what is fundamentally an internal and therefore highly political and sensitive matter,” (Mooney, 2010: 12). Akokpari, et al (2008) point out that those states which clamor for and want to guarantee their sovereignty should simply discharge their duties towards the populations under their jurisdiction. This seems to imply that the international community is prepared to act on all states which behave contrary to the conceptual tool and international law. The plight of the IDPs in Zimbabwe and those specifically in Hopley and Caledonia await the full implementation of the instrument to alleviate their challenges.

2.2.3 Policies on IDPs education

There is no dearth in policies that seek to address the issue of education for IDPs. The forerunners in addressing IDPs’ protection and humanitarian issues include the GPID, while the Kampala Convention became the first legal regional or continental instrument (IDMC, 2016a, Kidane, 2011). I should hasten to point out that the problem lies not in the lack of policies that govern the provision of education for IDPs but more in the implementation of these. This is supported by Gounden and Camara (2007) who confirm that the political will of member states is evident but a lot more needs to be done to ensure compliance with the relevant policy instruments. Rhoades (2010a) places high value in education for IDPs, stating that it is essential for rebuilding lives. Furthermore, education for IDPs should be provided even during the period of displacement than to wait until the expected end of this phenomenon. The right to education is “essentially an enabling right” (IDMC, 2010c). Education is a crucial service because it enables the enjoyment of other rights such as political and civil rights.

⁴⁷ <File:///G:/IDPs/1%20The%20Internally%20Displaced%20in%20Perspective%20migrationpolicy.org.html> (Accessed June 28, 2016).

Education is described as the ‘Fourth Pillar’ of humanitarian assistance after shelter, nutrition and health (IDMC, 2010c). This stresses the importance of education in humanitarian contexts. For this reason, the international community has stipulated education as a right for IDPs through many statutes. Apart from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there are a myriad of other human treaties that underline education as a critical service and a right. These include; International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESR) (Rhoades, 2010a), Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC), as well as regional charters such as the African Charter of Human and People’s Rights.

Through the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community made provisions for primary education for refugees. Though it was specifically meant for refugees, this convention stipulates the right to education in Article 26 (Chimni, 2000:308). During the initial crafting of the UDHR, the internal displacement phenomenon was yet to rear its head on the international scene but there was a prevalence of refugees from the effects of the World War 2. From then on, most international humanitarian law is founded on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Rhoades, 2010a). This has earned the instrument the term, “mother text of international human rights.”⁴⁸ The UDHR’s value is emphasized by the fact that it makes it clear that the enjoyment of certain rights is dependent upon others (Chimni, 2000:308). Thus the right to freedom may impact on education. In the case of IDPs, if people are subjected to arbitrary evictions or movement, they are immediately denied the chance to enjoy other rights. Bromley and Andina (2009:576) argue that the “institutionalization of education as a human right is fundamental to the rise of emergency education.” Furthermore, this leads to the emphasis of the incorporation of every human being (including IDPs) into a schooling system (Bromley and Andina, 2009).

The Handbook for the Protection of IDPs (UNHCR, 2007) reiterates that education is a basic human right as well as a protection tool. Shue cited in Betts (2010) is credited with coining the concept of basic rights. Basic rights are said to be three tiered. The three are liberty, security and basic subsistence (Betts, 2010). This indicates that basic rights encompass every claim to human dignity (Goodale and Merry, 2007). This puts the right to education on the pedestal with the rest of other basic rights. The Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC) is another treaty that recognizes

⁴⁸ Brems, E. 2001. Human Rights: Universality and Diversity. <https://books.google.co.za/books?> (Retrieved February 22, 2016).

the right to education. The Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC) is also quite explicit on the aspect of education. According to Rhoades (2010), the CRC is one of the most widely endorsed human rights treaties in the world. The assumption therefore is that most countries acknowledge the children's rights as critical especially as children are a vulnerable population. When this is coupled with the fact that education is a basic right, it makes the articles on education more potent. Article 22 in the CRC specifically stipulates the provision of education for refugee children while Article 38 is on the protection and care of children during war and armed conflicts (UN, 2009). This convention on children's rights is nevertheless conspicuously silent on the education for IDPs. As an instrument, it is therefore lacking since it addresses education from a general and refugee status point of view and neglects education for the IDPs.

However, Guiding Principle 23 openly states the IDPs' right to education (Chimni, 2000). The 1992 appointment of the Secretary General Special Representative on Internally Displaced Persons (RSG) was a welcome response to IDPs' plight and education in particular (OCHA, 2003). Working under the auspices of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), he (RSG) was given the mandate "to respond to situations of internal displacement as well as to promote strong coordination and a clearer division of institutional responsibilities and adequate support to operational agencies" (OCHA, 2003:1). This resulted in the drafting of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. One of the architects of this instrument was Francis Deng, a former Co-Director of the Brookings Project on Internal Displacement. He also became the Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons (1992-2004).⁴⁹ Deng affirms that the Guiding Principles identify the rights and guarantees of IDPs as well as ensuring their protection and assistance during and after the period of forced displacement (Deng, 1999). Thus for the first time, the IDPs had the benefit of an international instrument specifically aimed at alleviating their challenges.

The Guiding Principles guarantee the IDPs' right to education. Guiding Principle 23 states that every human being has a right to education (OCHA, 2003:9). Principle 23 (2) goes on to specifically identify the IDPs and how authorities should ensure that people in this context receive free and compulsory primary education. This study immediately points out that the instrument inadequately covers secondary school education. However, this is addressed by instruments such as

⁴⁹ See www.brookings.edu/about/projects/idp/un-mandate/francis-deng (Retrieved June 14, 2016)

the African Charter of Human and People's Rights which state that national authorities should "move as expeditiously and effectively as possible toward the provision of secondary school and higher education" (IDMC, 2010:5). The subjectivity of the time frame under which the above should have been provided might be debatable but this study assumes that a period of nearly two decades far exceeds this time frame. This is the duration of the IDPs' stay in Hopley and Caledonia. By this time, the state should have constructed infrastructure and have secondary school educational programs running in the communities.

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) is the principal inter-agency forum for the coordination and decision making on issues of humanitarian action (UNHCR, 2007). It works under the Emergency Relief Coordinator (ERC) formed in 1992 as a focal point within UN for IDPs (Brun, 2008). It (IASC) serves as a link mechanism for various organizations working on humanitarian agendas. The IASC helps to formulate coherent and timely responses to humanitarian assistance by UN organs (Jones and Stoddard, 2003). The IASC also works with IDPs and has developed policies and tools on internal displacement. These include; Protection of Internally Displaced Persons, Policy Study (1999) and Implementing the Collaborative Response to Situations of Internal Displacement: Guidance for UN Humanitarian and/or Resident Coordinators and Country Teams in 2004 (UNHCR, 2007).

IASC further stipulates basic education among other basic essential needs such as adequate food, water, housing and health care (Anderson and Hodgkin, 2010). The IASC 2010 document on Durable Solutions specifies that educational needs ought to be prioritized alongside other basic humanitarian needs. Consequently, the IASC Education Cluster was formed in 2006 and immediately vied for education's position on humanitarian assistance (Anderson and Hodgkin, 2010). It argued that "in many cases, demand for children's education exceeds requests for food, water, medicine and even shelter" (Anderson and Hodgkin, 2010: 3). Through this instrument, the global community seems to have confirmed and acknowledged the importance of education even in times of conflict or emergencies. This seems to support the objectives of this study whose central goal is the provision of secondary school education for internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia.

From a regional perspective, the African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (also known as the Kampala Convention) was established

from 22 to 23 September 2009. It came into force on 6 December 2012 and at that time, only twenty countries had still not ratified it (IDMC, 2014c). Unlike the GPID, this instrument is the world's first 'hard law' on internal displacement (Betts, 2009). The Kampala Convention also specifies the need to protect the right to education. Article 9(2) (b) indicate that:

States shall provide internally displaced persons to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, with adequate humanitarian assistance, which shall include food, water, shelter, medical care and other health services, sanitation, education, and any other necessary social services, and where appropriate, extend such assistance to local and host communities (Solomon, 2010:11).

This article comprehensively covers a number of critical services and humanitarian aid expected for the internally displaced persons. To the interest of this study, it also includes education among these services. Two phrases in this article are noteworthy. According to Article 9(2) (b), the provision of the services is to be made 'to the fullest extent practicable' and 'with the least of delays.' The former can be interpreted to imply that each member state has a mandate to provide the best possible services in its given context. The Convention is cognizant of different displacement contexts that may be at play among member states. Some countries may be involved in armed conflict which would induce internal displacement while some may be facing extreme natural hazards. Such instances may deter erection of structures and establishment of humanitarian programs meant for IDPs. However, Article 9(2) (b) encourages member states to make concerted efforts to provide necessary services despite prevailing circumstances.

The phrase 'with the least possible delay' as captured in Article 9(2) (b) of the Kampala Convention marks the time frame under which to deliver essential services to IDPs. This seems to imply that the member states need to treat each case of internal displacement situation with urgency. While there is no standard time set in which to do this, it can be assumed that everything is dependent upon the context. However, the phrase will help the AU measure compliance of member states to the instrument and this article in particular. Therefore, the same can be applied to the Zimbabwean IDPs and in Hopley and Caledonia in particular. Thus, the phrases help to measure the quality of humanitarian assistance that these IDPs have received.

Education for vulnerable populations like IDPs continues to attract the attention of policy makers and other legal structures. The beginning of the new millennium saw the birth of the concept of

education in emergencies (Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005). This culminated in the formation of the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies in 2000 which was expected to address the educational needs of all children affected by strife or natural disasters (Sinclair, 2007, Burde, 2015). This is in line with Article 4 (3) (a) of Protocol 2 to the Geneva Conventions which advocates for the continuity of education in emergencies (IDMC, 2010). Education in emergencies refers to education for populations affected by unforeseen situations like armed strife and natural hazards (Sinclair, 2007). Most IDPs generally fall under these categories and therefore are targets for this form of education.

Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies falls under a number of governing bodies. These include; UNHCR, UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank and other relevant NGOs. It can be surmised that such a large number of governing bodies is testimony to the value placed on education for displaced populations. INEE also created Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies, Chronic Crises and Early Reconstruction in 2004 (Price, 2011, Burde, 2015). Minimum Standards are aligned to the CRC and Education for All (EFA) established in Dakar in 2000 (Couldrey and Morris, 2006b). Minimum Standards (MS) are said to advocate for the inclusion of education in all humanitarian responses (Anderson and Mendenhall, 2006). Minimum standards are also qualitative in nature and identify the least possible levels to be attained in educational response which in turn measures and communicates its impact to the victims of different emergencies (Price, 2011).

Each displacement crisis takes place in a unique context that goes on to also shape humanitarian response (Bromley and Andina, 2009). Indeed, Alexander Betts, the Director of the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford asserts that “different countries have unique histories and challenges, and in each the roles of humanitarian, development and private sector actors will vary significantly,” (Betts, 2016:75). Therefore, MS are advanced as a tool that sets a common minimum level of education to be targeted for the affected populations. This is used as a measure for accountability on the quality of education being offered to the affected populations (Couldrey and Morris, 2006b). Therefore, the global community can then use this as a yard stick for compliance to educational policies by national authorities. The IDPs in different situations are generally a “politically and socially constructed category established to deal with specific people in a specific context,” (OCHA, 2003). This means that there can never be homogeneity of IDPs

globally yet the MS can help every nation apply them as befitting their context. While it can be acknowledged that the Zimbabwean context of IDPs is unique from the majority of displacement contexts, the MS could still be invariably applied to it.

Minimum Standards are organised into five categories (Kirk and Cassity, 2007). The authors go further to enumerate the MS as; community participation, access and learning environment, teaching and learning, teachers and other educational personnel, education policy and coordination. Despite the fact that IDPs are generally in no position to institute this, my study proposes that community participation by the Hopley and Caledonia residents as way to complement and anchor compliance to policies by the government. In addition, the accessibility of education for IDPs, their learning environment as well as educational policy are very relevant to this study.

The UN committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has outlined key elements of the rights to education. These are commonly referred to as “Four As”. The four are: availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability (IDMC, 2010a, Tomasecski, 2006). These are quite comprehensive in delimiting how and what IDPs education should be like. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre defines access as both physical and forms of lack. (IDMC, 2010b). This may be due to discrimination in various contexts. This means that the schools for the IDPs should be within walkable distance and also devoid of segregating principles. This underscores the need to provide education to displaced children.

The provision of education and subsequent equal socio-economic opportunities are arguably enhanced by one’s access to the rights to education. This means that the provision of education to IDPs is a forgone conclusion and therefore non-debatable. Ironically, Lloyd et al (2010) argue that education is often neglected as a part of relief efforts in any emergency. In 2007, Save the Children Organization estimated that 39 million children and youths affected by armed conflict had no access to education and in 2013; 48.5 million children were out of school due to conflicts (Martinez, 2013). In another report, UNICEF states that in 2012, 59.3 million children of primary school age and 64.9 million of lower secondary age were out of school (Burde, 2015). For Rights of Access to be effective, the displaced children have to be able to safely go to school regularly, as normal as possible under the given context of armed conflict and displacement. Contrary to this, many internally displaced children lack access to education (UNICEF, 2007). The children in Hopley and Caledonia are a testimony to this.

Accessibility and quality of education are two-pronged arms critical to IDPs education. Lack of access to education is quite common in fragile contexts. At the peak of the Rwanda -Burundi conflict, 53% of IDPs were children under 17 years of age (Obura and Bird, 2009). In such extreme cases, access to basic education can be quite an insurmountable task. The European Commission (2010) asserts that access is more than getting a child into school. It is argued that this child should remain in school and benefit from his tuition time (EuropeanCommission, 2010). Hence, it should not only be a question of enrolment figures (though they still matter), but the content of education received. This is where the acceptability factor is brought in. Acceptability assesses the form and content of IDPs education for quality.

According to Couldrey and Morris (2006) during its infancy, education in emergencies research generally focused on what they term ‘trauma,’ ‘vulnerability’ and ‘victimhood.’ According to Couldrey and Morris, much emphasis was placed on the traumatic nature of emergencies (especially during armed conflict) to children. Furthermore, studies also seemed to highlight the children’s susceptibility to the armed forces that would have caused the specific form of emergency. However, discourse on IDPs has since widened in scope to cover an array of subjects (Johansson, 2004). Consequently, research on IDPs’ plight and their access to education in particular has been quite extensive albeit on relatively similar thematic issues. A number of studies have been conducted on education in emergencies or conflict contexts. These include the following: Burde (2004), Burde, 2005, Mooney and French (2004), Sommers (2005), Sinclair (2007), Guerrero (2008) and Dryden-Peterson (2011). These cover a host of areas such as the right to education for IDPs, the role played by education in conflict contexts and barriers to the access of education.

International instruments however take cognizance of the obstacles to education which stand in the way of education delivery to IDPs. In theory, IDPs’ rights to education are fully covered but, generally, millions of internally displaced children still lack access to education due to varying barriers (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). IDPs are generally vulnerable during conflict. In armed conflict, camp schools are vulnerable to attacks while teachers and students are not safe either.⁵⁰ Not every insurgent group in armed conflict is respectful of children’s rights to education. The Boko Haram in

⁵⁰ In Afghanistan and Pakistan, armed rebel groups repeatedly attacked schools, while in Israeli military attacks, 350 children were killed, 1 815 injured and 280 schools damaged between 2008 and 2009. Unesco 2011. The hidden crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. EFA..

In Kenya, the post December 2007 elections period led to violence which destroyed many schools, Mosselson, J., Wheaton, W. & Frisoli, P. S. 2009. Education and Fragility. *Journal of Education for International Development* 4, 1-17.

Nigeria is one such group that openly defied international principles in April 2014 when it abducted more than 200 girls from a school in Chibok, Borno state (Zenn, 2014). Although Zimbabwean IDPs are not victims of armed conflict, they are equally vulnerable if exposed to animosity from the government and even communities around them (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013). This implies that the IDPs' conditions demand the practical application of the guiding principles and rights.

2.2.4 Evolvement of discourse on IDPs education

'Life is lived forward but can only be understood backwards,' Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855).⁵¹

This study straddles both compliance to policy and the provision of secondary school education for IDPs. Despite a plethora of discourses on the question of IDPs, non-adherence to policy in relation to rights to education is scantily addressed. Researchers have tended to treat these themes separately. There are many researchers who have specifically looked into the provision of education and/or policies for IDPs. These include: Hoeffler and Reynal-Querol (2003), Couldrey and Morris (2002), Lenton (2004), Burde (2004), Burde (2005) and Hammar (2008). Anderson (2012), Guerro (2008) and Thornton (2014) have also looked into IDPs and their access to education as part of their individual masters or doctoral studies at different academic institutions. My study reviewed them in their singular states but picked and knitted together the threads necessary and relevant to this study.

There are as varied approaches to the IDPs question as there are researchers. Aparacio (2007:1) asserts that his study "anthropologizes the IDPs' existence in the 1990s." Aparacio's study traces the histories of IDPs in Colombia, a country that is home to the second largest number of IDPs in the world after Sudan (Aparacio, 2007).⁵² Due to the extensive use of life histories of the IDPs, Aparacio asserts that his study 'anthropologizes' internal displacement. Thus, he seems to imply that his study uses a holistic approach to the internal displacement phenomenon as he seeks to study the impact of being displaced in all spheres of the respondents' lives. Therefore, this study seems to dwell more on the causes of internal displacement in the Colombian context and does not extend to the question of eradicating challenges caused by this. The study traces the history of internal displacement in Colombia and helps to delineate the scope of IDPs from a non-African context. It

⁵¹<https://codeburningbush.wordpress.com/.../life-can-only-be-understood-backward-but-it-must-be-lived-forward-soren-kierkegaard> (Accessed May 31, 2016)

⁵² These statistics were correct at the time of my study but could have changed due to new crises emerging.

also concentrates on the root causes to the internal displacement phenomenon in Colombia. Guerrero (2008) also looks into IDPs in Colombia but takes an educational perspective. This study contends that internal displacement is rarely told from the children's point of view (Guerrero, 2008). The study therefore gives voice to the displaced children to narrate their experiences in displacement. Guerrero (2008:6) posits that "displacement and settlement experiences are recounted by those most knowledgeable about them, the children themselves." This is done through a photography educational program called 'Shooting Cameras for Peace' (SCP).

According to Guerrero (2008), 66% of people displaced in Colombia are children. An estimated 73.2% of these children do not have access to education. The SCP is a non-formal educational program that helps the children narrate their experiences and "provide insight into their construction of events and meanings within educational intervention," (Guerrero, 2008:7). The study acknowledges the lack of access to education for IDPs but finds an alternative way to express the plight of IDPs in this context. From a different angle, Thornton (2014:1) addresses educational needs for displaced people through mobile educational networks. The study is based in Tijuana, Mexico. This study suggests what education for IDPs needs to be than what it is today (Thornton, 2014). The subjects of the study are all forced migrants who include; refugees, IDPs and illegal immigrants. Thornton (2014) seeks to explore alternative educational spaces. This differs from my study in the sense that the former approaches education in a slightly unorthodox angle as opposed to what this study intends to address. Thus, while both look into the provision of education for IDPs, the approaches and intentions digress from each other. However, both studies are entrenched in the provision of education for internally displaced children.

Both Fynn (2009) and Kuan-Wen (2009) cite non-compliance and non-enforcement as problems plaguing IDPs policy and rights. The thesis entitled, 'Legal Discrepancies: Internal Displacement of Women and Children in Africa' looks into the plight of displaced women and children from the perspective of international and regional laws (Fynn, 2009). Fynn questions why laws are failing to protect women and children in their bid to access services such as health and education. The study posits that this could be a question of gaps in the legal structures, the efficacy of these laws or how they are used and applied (Fynn, 2009:5). As a researcher, I acknowledge the affinity between these two researches (Fynn and mine) in that both question the implementation of international and regional humanitarian laws in relation to IDPs. In her research findings, Fynn (2009) identifies what

hinders “regionalized efforts to address IDPs problems as state sovereignty as opposed to prioritizing international humanitarian assistance,” (Fynn, 2009:7). This is closely related to one of my study’s objectives which seeks to interrogate the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm and its role in upholding the IDPs’ rights to education.

Kuan-Wen (2009) also looks into the protection of IDPs. The study examines the “staunch advocacy for absolute state sovereignty.....against correlative responsibility by global community to intervene,” (Kuan-Wen, 2009: 50). The study discusses these two seemingly parallel theories (state sovereignty and global intervention) in relation to the protection and assistance of IDPs. The study also goes on to scrutinize the options available for the protection of IDPs in the event that the national authority may be unwilling or unable to meet its obligations to these IDPs. The study then recommends that such a state should lose its legitimate claims to sovereignty and thereby tacitly agree to global intervention (Kuan-Wen, 2009). This line of argument underpins one of the central objectives to my study which seeks to break the dilemma between deference for a nation’s sovereignty and the need to intervene on behalf of vulnerable populations like the IDPs.

However, Rhoades (2010) makes some inroads in the study of the IDPs’ access to education. In her study, ‘Displaced Futures: Internally Displaced Persons and the Right to Education,’ she reaches the conclusion that the IDPs’ rights to education remain unfulfilled. She also argues for stronger legal frameworks both at national and international level. The most critical conclusion in relation to my study is that she finds the provision of education to youths and adults during displacement critical (this can be equated to secondary education) (Rhoades, 2010:56). The research findings seem to confirm the predominance of the lack of secondary school education research for IDPs. This is an integral part of this study.

There have been other studies on the impact of internal displacement on secondary school education conducted by university students. Zakharia (2004),⁵³ studies the effects of war on Lebanon IDPs. The findings of this study establish the decline in academic standards due to the lowering of examination pass marks for internally displaced candidates in IDPs camp schools. There are also cuts in the syllabus and disruptions to learning periods. All this is disruptive to learning for IDPs as

⁵³ ‘How schools cope with war: A Case Study of Lebanon,’ Zakharia cited in Burde, D. 2004. Education in Emergencies and Post-Conflict Situations: Problems, Responses and Possibilities. Society for International Education, 1, 1-130

well as lowering the quality of education that they receive. Lenton (2004)⁵⁴ looks at a similar subject but his study is focused on Burmese refugees in Thailand. Findings for this study are that the products of these schools are under qualified for tertiary institutions as they do not meet admission requirements for these institutions. Both Zakharia and Lenton's studies are based on non-African contexts and the latter is more divergent as its subjects are refugees. However, they both address related thematic concerns on the quality of secondary school education for the displaced children. There are further limitations in the sense that Zimbabwe's IDPs are unique from the above as they are not victims of armed conflict but of government policies.

2.3 The Provision of Education in the context of Internal Displacement in Zimbabwe

The human right to education is not an optional provision that can be waived or suspended until more propitious circumstances arise. It is an entitlement that comes with binding commitments and obligations on governments – commitments and obligations that are being ignored, (UNESCO, 2011:187).

Internal displacement in Zimbabwe can be traced back to the arrival of Europeans in the country in the late 19th century (1880s) which marked the beginning of the colonial era. The British settlers under the leadership of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) embarked on land annexation that saw to the displacement of many blacks into less arable land. The white population took 80% of fertile land (Mupandawana, 2013).⁵⁵ This marked some of the earlier forms of internal displacement in Zimbabwe. However, Hager (2006) asserts that contemporary Zimbabwe has experienced new forms of internal displacement. Hammar (2008) affirms that the post 2000 era saw Zimbabwe experiencing a number of waves which resulted in the dislocation of thousands of people.

Internal displacement in Zimbabwe is a multi-layered process (Hammar, 2008c). Zard (2002) concurs that sometimes many factors in combination create IDPs. Zimbabwe has multiple reasons for its IDPs and these were “occasioned through strategic and overt political violence, often legitimized in bureaucratic terms,” (Hammar et al., 2010). Thus, most of the IDPs in Zimbabwe were created by government policies. Arguably, one of the most significant events that resulted in hundreds of thousands of people being supplanted is the 2000 Fast Track Land Reform Programme

⁵⁴ 'The effects of current Thai administration policy on post-secondary educational for Burmese refugees in Thailand,' Lenton cited in *ibid*.

⁵⁵ www.thinkir.co.uk/of-britains-colonial-obligations-and-land-reform-in-zimbabwe (Retrieved August 10, 2015).

(FTLRP). This duly accounted for millions emigrating and about 100 000 being displaced (Hammar, 2008a). Right on the heels of the FTLRP, was Operation Murambatsvina in May 2005. “The government launched Operation Murambatsvina, which greatly exacerbated economic dislocation arising out of the chaotic land reform campaign,” (Gavin, 2007). According to Musoni (2010), The UN Special Envoy to Zimbabwe, Anna Tibaijuka’s July 2005 report put the total number of people deprived of livelihoods and left homeless by this government program at 700 000. Bratton and Masunungure (2006) also confirm that 570 000 of these were IDPs.

The country has also experienced development-induced displacement such as that caused by the construction of Tokwe-Mukosi Dam in Masvingo Province (Chikumbu, 2014). According to IRIN (2013),⁵⁶ four hundred families were displaced to make way for the construction of this dam. This accounted for 2 500 IDPs and 150 of these were of school going age who could not access education due to the displacement. In addition, natural disasters have also played their part in increasing the numbers of IDPs in Zimbabwe. The most recent were 2014 floods that left hundreds of families homeless. These families had to be resettled at Chingwizi transit camp in Tokwe-Mukosi area, Mwenezi District (Chikumbu, 2014). Political strife is also attributed to internal displacement in Zimbabwe. Of note, were the March 29, 2008 and the subsequent presidential run-off elections violence. While there were no precise figures recorded, the Human Rights Watch (HRW) June 2008 report echoed by IRIN (July 2008) advance that thousands of people were displaced by post-election violence during this period. Thus, Zimbabwe is no stranger to the phenomenon of internal displacement. With the prevalence of IDPs in Zimbabwe established this then sets the tone for the questions raised by this study pertaining to the provision of education for the internally displaced children in the country.

“Education is a highly visible symbol of the government’s commitment to its population” (Mosselson et al., 2009:6). This seems to imply that the lack of educational institutions and programs in any given area is indicative of the government’s lack of care for its populations. This study adopts this contention when it examines the availability and accessibility of secondary school education for children in Hopley and Caledonia communities. Internal displacement invariably disrupts education (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010). Likewise, IDPs in Zimbabwe lost school time

⁵⁶ ‘Dam project displaces hundreds of families in Zimbabwe,’ IRIN (2013). <http://www.irinnews.org/report/99269/dam-project-displaces-hundreds-of-families-in-zimbabwe> (Retrieved August 10, 2015).

during the various displacement waves⁵⁷. In some cases, schools had to be closed due to loss of teaching staff and hundreds of students. An estimated 7 000 teachers fled from their school stations while 250 schools were closed due to the FTLRP in 2000 (Laakso, 2002). Equally, those affected by Operation Murambatsvina found that they were resettled in areas with no schools or they were too far from them (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006). All this also augmented the IDPs' lack of access to education.

A number of studies have been conducted on the implementation of policies and access to education for internally displaced children in Zimbabwe. Anderson (2012), Mapiko and Chinyoka (2013), Nyamavuvu (2014) and Santner (2014) are some of the researchers who have studied the Zimbabwean cases of internal displacement. With the exception of Nyamavuvu (2014), the key respondents of these studies are people mainly affected by the 2000 farm invasions and illegal settlements, the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina and the 2008 post-election violence. Nyamavuvu (2014) focuses on the compliance to the Kampala Convention by the government of Zimbabwe with particular focus on the IDPs affected by floods and are based in Tokwe-Mukosi. Mapiko and Chinyoka (2013) sampled 1654 households that had been resettled in Chipinge District in Zimbabwe after the FTLRP. They were located in Chiriga, Gwenzi and Musirwizi areas of this district. The latter focuses on the education attainment for these displaced populations. It also challenges the legal status of IDPs in Zimbabwe as well as assessing the psycho-social support in place for these children.

From the onset, my study questions Guiding Principle 23 for stipulating that secondary school education for IDPs should be availed “as soon as conditions permit” (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013: 433). In my view, this exposes the secondary school going IDPs to neglect as the Guiding Principles are silent on who determines whether conditions permit for the availing of secondary school education for the IDPs. As a result, basic or primary education is usually in place for IDPs and no infrastructure and programs for secondary school education. However, Mapiko and Chinyoka's study only looks into the accessibility of primary education at length but succinctly covers secondary school education for displaced children. This study seems to find the Youth

⁵⁷In a survey conducted in displaced settlements around Harare after Operation Murambatsvina, while the school dropout was at 22%, 45% of the households reported that they could not get funding or access schools for their children. See (Action Aid 26 July 2005) <http://reliefweb.int/report/Zimbabwe/Zimbabwe-study-impact-operation-murambatsvinarestore-order-26-wards-Harare-high> (Retrieved September 1, 2015).

Education Pack (YEP) introduced by the Norwegian Refugee Council (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013: 436), sufficient for the needs of the youths of secondary school going age. This package offers a selection of vocational skills like garment making and carpentry. From the perspective of my current study, these skills cannot replace the value of a fully-fledged curriculum expected in a normal school context.

Mapiko and Chinyoka's study rather takes a broad approach as it attempts to take on some of the major themes on internal displacement. However, the study is relevant to my own as it echoes the contention that the government of Zimbabwe has not played its part in the protection and assistance of IDPs (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013:435). Its findings cement the rationale for my current study as it states that educational facilities are insufficient to meet the needs and expectations of the IDPs. The study confirms that there is lack of infrastructure for IDPs secondary schools in the Chipinge District (Zimbabwe). This is said to impact on the teacher-pupil ratio in the schools that enroll these IDPs together with host communities' children. Mapiko and Chinyoka (2013) found out that the teacher-pupil ratio was 1:65 instead of 1:30 which is prescribed by the (Zimbabwe) Ministry of Education policy. The above study's findings are vital for my study especially as they highlight the general lack of educational facilities for IDPs at secondary school level as well as the apparent lack of governmental assistance to improve access to education for IDPs.

Anderson (2012) looks into the impact of education and sport for girls affected by the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe. The study is based in Hatcliffe, an informal settlement outside Harare (Zimbabwe). The area witnessed the real lasting effects of Operation Murambatsvina with;

Extreme poverty, families suffering from HIV/Aids, rampant unemployment, no access to formal education, homes made of plastic tarps with dirt floors, without running water, (Anderson, 2012:9).

The study helps to prove that such internally displaced communities exist in Zimbabwe and similarly experience the lack of access to essential services such as education. However, Anderson's study takes a gendered dimension to the question of internal displacement in Zimbabwe. It examines the impact of education and sport on girls in the area and excludes boys. Nonetheless, it is a study that looks into internal displacement and education albeit from the point

of view of girls. The various studies cited above enhance the uniqueness of my study as it (sic) focused on the provision of secondary school education for IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia. I also emphasize the fact that the provision of secondary school education in displacement contexts is often overlooked. Thus, my study becomes original particularly when located within the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement.

Colombia, Uganda and Zimbabwe all have experienced severe cases of internal displacement. Santner (2014) takes a comparative analysis of these three countries and the diverse ways in which they have handled internal displacement and IDPs under their individual jurisdiction. In the thesis; *The Local Level in Policies on Internal Displacement in Colombia and Uganda: Which lessons can be drawn for tackling Internal Displacement in Zimbabwe?* Santner (2014) looks into the domestication of international internal displacement policies in these three states. Though the study does not particularly look into education policies, its assessment of IDP policies and implementation at national level helps to compare with the Zimbabwean situation.

In the study conducted by Santner, the findings prove that both Colombia and Uganda have taken some substantial measures in protecting the IDPs in their states. Colombia is said to be one of the countries with elaborate national legislation for IDPs (Santner, 2014). IDMC (2015) confirms that Colombia has enacted judiciary, legal and institutional levels of curbing displacement. This entails that the country has both domestic laws and the agencies or departments to implement them (IDMC, 2013a). This has yielded positive results in that it has drawn much attention to IDPs in the country. Of particular interest is the 1991 Directive No 5 which orders mayors and governors in the country to guarantee access of internally displaced children into schools (Santner, 2014). Santner also examines the steps taken by Uganda to protect its IDPs from attacks by the Lord Resistance Army (LRA), a rebel army. Again, Uganda has domesticated international IDP policies and has also endorsed a national policy which defines displacement, roles and responsibilities of different institutions. IDPs in Uganda are therefore protected and assisted through these different national legislative mechanisms.

IDPs in Uganda and Colombia were largely created by armed strife. In the case of Colombia, the country has endured protracted armed conflict involving the government, criminal bands and various paramilitary groups for more than sixty years (Vidal-Lopez, 2012). IDMC (2013b) confirms that the current armed conflict can be traced back to 1988. The Inter-American Commission on

Human Rights considers the internal displacement phenomenon in Colombia to be the gravest of the country's human rights situations (HRW, 2005). The armed conflict in Colombia has generated 3.6 million IDPs (Vidal-Lopez, 2012). On the other hand, a combination of LRA attacks and the Ugandan government's strategy to forcibly relocate civilians from Northern Uganda has led to large scale displacements in the country (IDMC, 2013b). In December 2011, 29 800 IDPs were still in camps in Uganda. Despite the odds against these two countries, Santner (2014) finds that their strengths lay in national policies. Uganda was the first country to ratify the Kampala Convention in 2010 and also had a National Policy under the Prime Minister's office in 2004 (IDMC, 2013b).

There are glaring differences between Zimbabwe's handling of its IDPs when compared to either Uganda or Colombia. Santner's findings can be utilized in the analysis of the plight of IDPs in Zimbabwe. Lessons drawn from it are that Colombia and Uganda have not allowed the circumstances prevailing in their countries to deter them from setting up national policies on internal displacement and the internally displaced persons. My study strengthens the contention that Zimbabwe's handling of its IDPs has been beset by the basic issue of non-adherence to policy. Ferris and Winthrop (2011) argue that the adoption of laws and policies do not essentially guarantee the IDPs' protection and assistance. The laws and policies serve as a vision and statement of intention by the government and therefore can be used to press for the government's accountability (Ferris and Winthrop, 2011). Thus, Zimbabwe is accountable to the global community on the basis of having been a signatory to a number of international laws and policies on internal displacement.

The point of entry for my study is in the implementation of policy to avail education for IDPs at secondary school level as a basic right. My study contests that the IDPs in Zimbabwe are not only being denied access to education but they are being deprived of their basic human rights. This study intends to take advantage of the above findings (Santner, 2014 and Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013) and various other studies on IDPs' access to education as a springboard for this study's look into the accessibility and availability of secondary education. Most studies on education for IDPs have concentrated on barriers to basic education and enrolment trends; therefore my study is based on the premise that secondary school education is still largely under-researched.

2.4 Conclusion

The chapter has established that internally displaced persons form a category quite distinct from refugees and other types of homelessness. These are people who have not only been forced to flee

from their homes but at times were obliged to leave the places they inhabited for various reasons. They have been referred to as ‘internal refugees’ for their close affinity to international refugees. The chapter drew parallels between homelessness and internal displacement. This chapter established that internal displacement is synonymous with forced migration or the involuntary movement of people. This is what separates them from other groups such as poverty or economically-induced migration which might be voluntary. In addition, what demarcates them from refugees is that the internally displaced persons’ dislocation is confined within the countries of origin. Thus, IDPs remain within the borders of the country where the displacement has been initiated.

The chapter also discussed general characteristics of internal displacement and the common challenges that IDPs face. The chapter noted that African IDPs are mostly located in non-camp environments. This is the situation prevailing in Zimbabwe, particularly in Hopley and Caledonia. The chapter noted that this is largely the reason for their vulnerability and inaccessibility by humanitarian agencies. While the majority of IDPs globally are engendered by armed conflicts, the chapter identified and substantiated other causes of internal displacement. Zimbabwean IDPs were cited as one such group of IDPs created by other reasons outside armed strife. Zimbabwe’s internal displacement was mainly attributed to government policies.

The second section of the chapter looked into barriers to accessing education by internally displaced persons. A number of factors were noted as increasing inaccessibility of education for IDPs. Lack of educational infrastructure and facilities was noted as quite common among IDP communities. Due to this problem, displaced children tend to walk long distances to the nearest schools. This was noted to immediately trigger safety concerns for IDPs in conflict zones. Consequently, some are abducted into armed groups or are raped. Internally displaced children were also said to face discrimination and a host of other hostilities from host communities. Language barriers were also noted as contributing to the problem of accessing education while poverty pushes some children to substitute school for jobs so as to supplement family income. Barriers to education are particularly relevant to this study which seeks to map out the availability and accessibility of education for IDPs in Zimbabwe. The chapter also advanced education as part of durable solutions to internal displacement. This was justified by education’s inherent potential for social reconstruction.

Non-compliance and non-enforcement of international internal displacement policies and legislation forms an integral part of this study. The chapter thus went on to highlight some of the IDP policies that have been enacted to safeguard the rights of the victims of internal displacement. The study is also premised on the contention that education is a basic right and that it should never be held hostage by any situation. By this, the study implies that there is no excuse good enough to warrant lack of education for IDPs. The UN GPID and Kampala Convention were discussed in light of this argument. The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm was noted as causing the main dilemma between the global community's need to intervene on behalf of IDPs and also respect a state's sovereignty. The policies shall be further analysed in Chapter 6 in conjunction with the situation in Hopley and Caledonia communities.

Finally, the chapter looked at the ongoing debates on IDPs' access to education as well as the existing literature and their findings on IDPs education in Zimbabwe. It was noted that most studies were on basic education for IDPs. The dearth of research on secondary school education proved problematic as there was lack of adequate studies to measure against the situation in Zimbabwe. However, this challenge was used to identify the areas which require further research which then emphasized the rationale for this study. The main reason for comparing Zimbabwe to Uganda and Colombia was that these are developing countries that are presumably experiencing similar economic challenges. For this reason, it would not augur well to base Zimbabwe's non-compliance to policies solely on economic challenges. It was noted that Zimbabwe lags behind in the domestication and implementation of international policies on IDPs. This serves to intensify the relevance of this current study, one of whose assumptions is that the lack of assistance and protection of IDPs in Zimbabwe is caused by non-adherence to policy.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The study on the internally displaced people in Zimbabwe was fraught with challenges. By virtue of the IDPs' vulnerability, (even outside the Zimbabwean context), internal displacement poses an array of ethical and practical problems for any field researcher. The collection of data from internally displaced persons is virtually synonymous with treading into a minefield. It is for this reason that social science research is now "recognised as a risk-producing endeavor," (Haggerty, 2004:392). In conflict zones, the task is harder but in the majority of cases, research on IDPs is made unnecessarily difficult by that the victims of internal displacement "often languish in bureaucratic limbo," (Yin, 2006:1). This contention was very apt in Zimbabwe. During the time when this study was undertaken, the administrative issues pertaining IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia were constantly being shuttled between at least two (2) government ministries and a host of other interested organizations. The result was that no single agent represented them to ensure that they received the services they need.

Brun (2008) puts forward the argument that internally displaced populations represent political symbols. Betts (2009:2) corroborates this view that most forced migration contexts are "inherently political." Thus, internal displacement is usually precipitated by factional wars, severe violence and humanitarian crises which are attributed to political instability. For this reason, the IDPs (particularly in Zimbabwe) cease to be a mere vulnerable or marginalized group of people due to the political overtones associated with most of these forced migrants. Consequently, internal displacement has heavy political connotations that threaten the success of any academic inquiry into it. Generally, this resulted in the access to IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia being far from easy. Raper (2003:361) states that difficulties in accessing internally displaced people "are frequently man-made and intentional." From anecdotal discussions with various personnel who have worked in and among internally displaced communities in Zimbabwe, I gleaned that there were more gatekeepers on the ground than meets the eye. Such invisible metaphorical bridles and other practical bureaucratic demands were partly responsible for the choice of methodology and methods of data collection.

A researcher, very much like humanitarian agencies, gains access to IDPs on the acquiescence of the state and authority actors in place (Raper, 2003). With this in mind, I prudently and with

foresight opted for methods that would not demand that I immerse myself for prolonged lengths of periods in the research sites. I anticipated that lengthy visits into the communities might create unnecessary tension with the local leadership who might then influence the participants not to comply with my requests for their participation. This would have compromised the study findings. The qualitative research design (as opposed to an ethnographic approach) was therefore felt to be appropriate for this study because it (qualitative research) puts a lot of emphasis on the socially constructed reality that comes from the close relationship forged between the researcher and one's subject. In addition, qualitative research is also dependent on the "situational constraints that shape the inquiry," (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:3). Likewise, all the potential limitations were taken into consideration prior to the actual fieldwork in Hopley and Caledonia.

In cognizance of the above limitations, I sought to use a theoretical framework that would improve understanding of internal displacement in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the chapter is basically divided into three (3) sections. The first section submits the three (3) principal theories which were engaged with to shape the thinking of this study. The theories are: the Capability Approach which was developed by Nussbaum from 1988. This was complemented by Sen Amartya's Entitlement Approach. The Critical Theory which was developed from the Frankfurt School by Kellner was also used. According to Henning et al (2004) a theoretical framework is the lens through which we view the world. The theoretical frameworks guided my understanding of education as a basic right as well as the provision of education to IDPs in the two communities. A theoretical framework also provides the 'frames' to ensure that the research will remain within the confines of these set boundaries. The above theories therefore helped to keep this study within the concept of educational equity for internally displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia communities. Furthermore, Silverman (2000:77) state that theory 'provides footing for considering the world.' Indeed, no research can be conducted in a theoretical vacuum (Henning et al., 2004). Thus the chapter substantiated how each of the three theories can be used to understand the IDPs' access to education from a rights-based approach.

The second section of this chapter looked at the methodology and methods used to conduct this study. Methodology defines how one will go about studying the phenomenon while the methods are the techniques that are used to collect the data (Silverman, 2000).

“Methodology” should be thought of as encompassing the entire process of conducting research (i.e., planning and conducting the research study, drawing conclusions, and disseminating the findings) (Marczyk et al., 2005:22).

This study made use of the qualitative research design to shape this inquiry into internal displacement and its impact on the accessibility of secondary school education in the selected communities. It basically took the descriptive and interpretive thick descriptions form of research as it sought to contextualise the internal displacement experiences (Denzin, 2001). The chapter fully validated the choice of this study design and methodology for this study. Furthermore, the methodology was linked to the phenomenon under study. Thick descriptions were used on research sites selected as case studies as well as building up selected participant profiles from the population sample.

The final section of this chapter explained data analysis methods and ethical considerations made throughout the study. The ethical considerations guiding this study were embedded in protecting the autonomy of the participants and ensuring that they were well informed during the collection of data. The study was also based on the beneficence of the treatment of participants (Creswell, 2012:22). Beneficence insists on maximizing good outcomes while minimizing risks for the participants. The aim was therefore to gather as much information as would ensure that the problems in accessing secondary education offset by internal displacement were addressed. At the same time, ethical considerations also acknowledged the vulnerability of the IDPs who participated in this study to protect them from any victimization. This is particularly crucial for a vulnerable population like IDPs in Zimbabwe. Finally, the chapter looked at data analysis with a view to systematically search for meaning (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). When the data collected is examined, it will yield a coherent account of the findings (Green et al., 2007). Thus, analysis of data was engaged in to establish findings on the IDPs phenomenon. The study used thematic analysis on primary data and content analysis on secondary data. Both methods of data analysis complemented each other to shape the evaluation of the comprehensive data collected.

3.1 Principal Theories upon which the research project was constructed

This study used three theories but an additional theory was identified to complement one of these principal theories. It was on the premise of these theories that the central arguments on the IDPs

phenomenon in Zimbabwe were built. A *theory* is “a conceptualization, or description, of a phenomenon that attempts to integrate all that we know about the phenomenon into a concise statement or question” (Marczyk et al., 2005:31). According to Gray (2004:11), “a theory consists of interrelated concepts, definitions and propositions between variables.” To this effect, each of the three theories was used in the quest to define a particular aspect in the IDPs phenomena in the two communities (Hopley and Caledonia). Bates cited in Fisher et al (2005) adds that theory is a system of assumptions, principles and relationships put forward to explain a specific phenomenon. Theory also provides an impetus for research and directs us to look at the phenomenon under study in a particular way (Silverman, 2000). This means that theory helps the study take form and molds it to fit a specific way of looking at a phenomenon.

The theoretical lens becomes an advocacy perspective that shapes the type of questions asked, informs how data are collected and analysed, and provides a call for action or change (Creswell, 2009: 62).

In line with this view, Henning et al (2004) sum up the importance of engaging with theory in research by stating that it delineates one’s study. Thus, theory acts as an essential control mechanism to keep the study focused on a particular path while also allowing one to make assumptions in the interplay among world issues under study. It is on the background of such arguments that the theories and approaches for use in this study were located.

Through these theories, the researcher intended to make the uniqueness of the IDPs situation in Zimbabwe better understood. This is supported by Reeves et al (2008:4) who argue that theories “propose explanations of the underlying causes or influences of observed phenomenon.” This study maintained that the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement is unique from other global forms of forced migration. Therefore, the above argument was particularly pertinent for this study which sought to interrogate the provision of secondary school education for the displaced children. Moreover, this study was also driven towards context-based solutions to the challenges faced by IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia. The use of these theories also adds clarity and philosophical basis to the study.

3.1.1 Capability Approach

The first and central theory used in this study is the Capability Approach (CA). This theory was conceived and pioneered by the economist and philosopher, Sen Amartya in 1980 and later refined

by yet another philosopher, Nussbaum from 1988 (Robeyns, 2005: 93). Sen proposed that capabilities contributed to the concept of social justice in the sense that they (capabilities) “are the relevant space for comparison in justice related issues,” (Nussbaum, 2003: 33). His perception seemed to imply that capabilities could be useful as a measurement mechanism in social justice. Nussbaum took this concept and refined it in way that better suits this study. The researcher chose to use Nussbaum’s Capability Approach due to certain distinctions and strands that are present in her theory as opposed to Sen’s. The major distinction between Nussbaum and Sen’s Capability Approach lies in that Nussbaum develops a moral-legal-political philosophy. This specifically aims to argue for political principles that every government needs to guarantee its citizens through the constitution. On the other hand, Sen’s CA did not seem to have a particular aim but general equality of humanity, (Robeyns, 2003:23). For this reason, the CA was appropriate in the quest for the provision of education for IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia as both a constitutional and human right.

Sen Amartya’s Capability Approach ‘is known for its focus on well-being freedom,’ (Gasper, 2002:438, Claassen, 2009). Therefore, Sen’s CA and all the subsequent modifications on the theory are rooted in the human being’s potential to achieve in life (given the right conditions). As a follow up to Sen’s CA, Nussbaum (2011:18) defines capabilities as “what people are actually able to do or to be.” Also see (Hick, 2012, Clark, 2005, Robeyns, 2005, Nussbaum, 2003, Voget-Kleischin, 2013). In addition to this, Lindeman (2014:172) grants that capabilities are, “the effective abilities and the opportunities to realize well-being achievements.” Therefore, the CA essentially recognizes the inherent potential in humanity to achieve individual success if exposed to conditions conducive for such. In his article, *The Capability Approach: Insights for a New Poverty Focus*, Rod Hick deals at length with poverty as a result of deprivation of capabilities.⁵⁸ Essentially, this anchors the argument that capabilities are critical in the realization of human achievement. This element of the theory made it suitable for the study whose objectives were to ensure that children displaced by Operation Murambatsvina were provided with education to alleviate the challenges which were heightened by displacement.

Nussbaum identifies the core human capabilities as life and affiliation. She goes on to describe life as a capability in the sense that every human being should be able to live the normal natural length

⁵⁸ Rod Hick writes for the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics and Political Science. Hick, R. 2012. The Capability Approach: Insights for a new poverty focus. *Journal of Social Policy*, 1-19.

of his life. Furthermore, affiliation is a human being's second capability which renders every person worth of dignity equal to everyone else. The society should create social bases that ensure that every person has self-respect and is never exposed to humiliation.

The Capability Approach is a theoretical framework that entails two core normative claims: first, the claim that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and second, that freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities.⁵⁹

Robeyns (2005) lists many other capabilities including financial resources, guaranteeing and protecting freedom of thought, political participation and social institutions. Therefore, the Capability Approach is concerned with social constraints that are influential in the well-being of an individual. Thus, basic capability is “freedom to do some basic things that are necessary for living or survival so as to escape poverty,” (Robeyns, 2005:101). This study endeavored to classify education as one of the things essential for survival and a sure way towards individual development as well as the ultimate flight from poverty. The Capability Approach provides a conceptual framework in which to discuss and evaluate the efforts towards social change (Lindeman, 2014). For this reason, the accessibility and availability of secondary school education for the IDPs in Caledonia and Hopley were considered to be crucial in the attainment of these capabilities.

The Working Paper entitled, *What can the Capabilities Approach add to policy analysis in high-income countries?* says;

The Capabilities Approach focuses on what people *are actually able to do and be* and contrasts with other approaches to evaluation in which the emphasis tends to be on what people *possess or do not possess, have done, or how they feel* (Brunner and Watson, 2015:5).

The same paper points out an interesting element in the CA. In this theory, the focal point is moved from what people possess so as to achieve something, to what they ‘are able to do or be’ For this reason, the CA was thought to be applicable to the displaced populations in Hopley and Caledonia. The residents of the two communities literally own very little materially. Generally, this was enhanced by their displacement as well as the deprivations and destitution associated with being dispossessed of one's home. Nevertheless, the theory seems to suggest some intrinsic aspects that

⁵⁹ See <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/capability-approach/> (Retrieved September 30, 2016).

every individual is endowed with to successfully steer their lives to better levels. Indeed, CA is said to underscore “the freedom people have to shape their lives in meaningful ways,” (Frediani and Hansen, 2015:3). This seems possible when the said individual is placed in an environment that promotes this.

Furthermore, the study is also premised on the argument that education is vital in uplifting these children from the salient conditions of displacement which threaten to sink them further into poverty and deprivation. For this reason, CA ensures a better understanding of the role of education in displacement contexts. Frediani and Hansen (2015:4) further posit that CA “positions well-being within debates of social change and justice, emphasizing the importance of the enabling or disabling environment for the pursuit of well-being.” The CA was therefore meant to unlock the discussion on the utility of education for this purpose.

The diagram below helps to explain the role played by education to create the enabling environment suggested above.

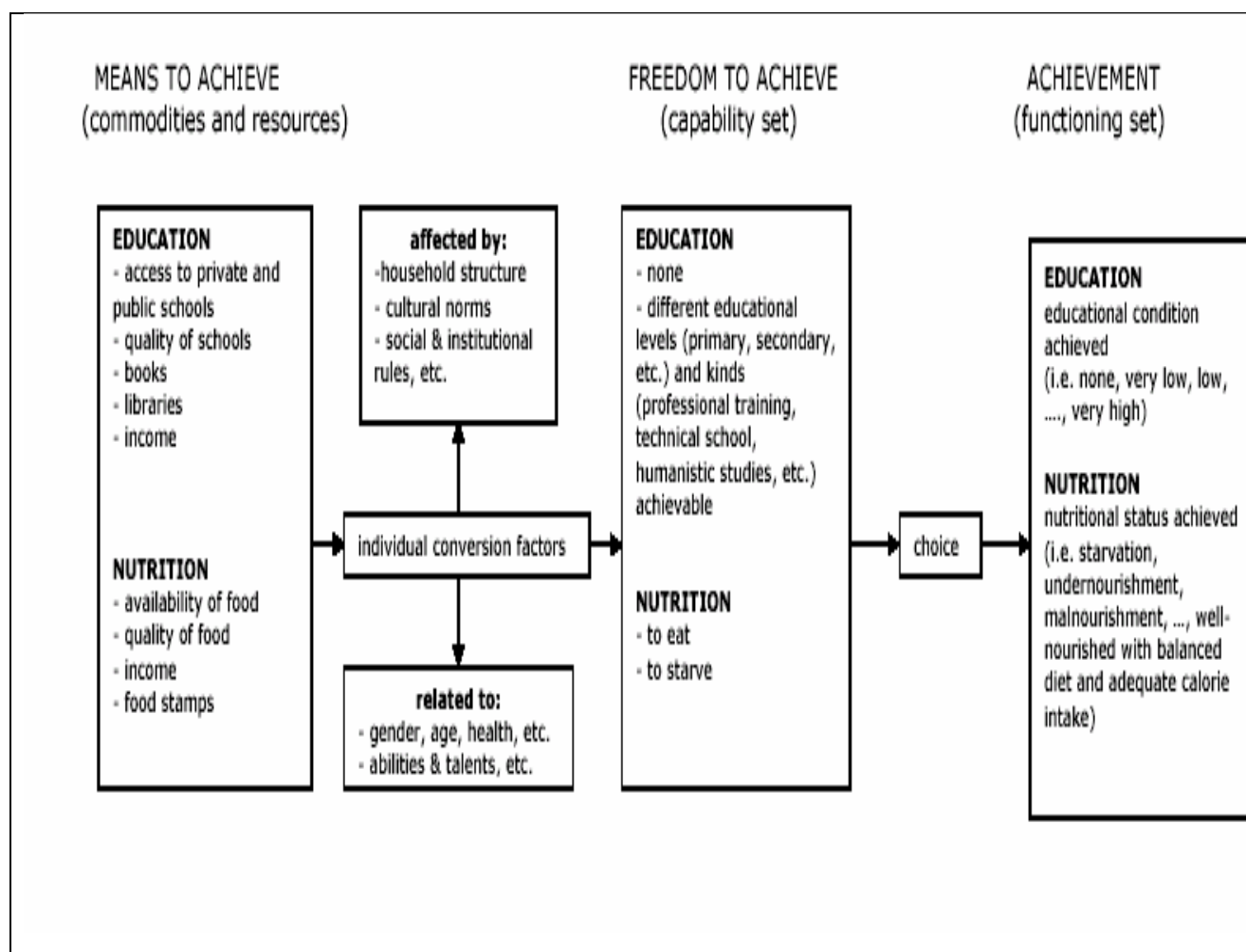


Figure 3.1. The figure is a simplified diagrammatic representation of the Capability Approach using only two evaluative spaces – education and nutrition.⁶⁰

The Capability Approach is also defined by one of its central characteristic which focuses on the removal of all impediments which hinder individuals from living the lives they can (Frediani and Hansen, 2015). Moreover, the CA acknowledges the fact that given the opportunities to engage in activities that enhance social justice and equality, it is ‘effectively possible’⁶¹ that individuals are able to be what they can be (capabilities). Nussbaum contends that capabilities have a close relationship with human rights and that a society cannot be said to be just unless the capabilities have been achieved. “To secure a right is to put people in a position of capability to function in that area,” (Nussbaum, 2003:37). Essentially, this would mean that for IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia to claim their rights to education, they have to be positioned in such a way that they can access and

⁶⁰ <http://www-3.unipv.it/webdept/prin/workpv01.pdf> (Retrieved July 4, 2016)

⁶¹ Robeyns, I. 2005. The Capability Approach: A Theoretical Survey. *Journal of Human Development*, 6, 93-117.

acquire education like other people in Zimbabwe. Therefore, observing the IDPs' fundamental right to education is the best way to secure their capabilities. When seen in this light, the provision of education to the internally displaced becomes crucial because it is viewed not only as right but also as a way to enable the people to reach their potential (capabilities). For the researcher, the Capability Approach was very apposite for this study because capabilities are equated to economic and social human rights. Due to this, the Capability Approach effectively anchored one of the chief arguments in this study which sought to address the IDPs' access of their basic human rights.

The Capability Approach evaluates policies in relation to their impact on people's capabilities (Robeyns, 2005). According to Christensen and Harild (2009), there are many policies that seek to protect the rights of the IDPs. The IDPs have at their disposal policies such as the GPID and the 2009 Kampala Declaration (Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa). In addition, there are international legislative instruments such as the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). This is further supported by the Zimbabwe National Constitution (No. 20) Act 2013, Chapter 4, Section 75. However, Nussbaum (2011) argues that most nations have nominal rights but are without the capability to function in acquiring these rights. The researcher contends that this is typified in Hopley and Caledonia communities. To be effective, human rights have to be implemented or else they remain theoretical. Likewise, the rights to education for the displaced persons in Caledonia and Hopley have to be practically exercised for these people to fully claim access to them.

The Capability Approach is also meant to negotiate adherence to constitutional principles and international policy for IDPs in Zimbabwe.

Nussbaum's perspective is of moral-legal-political philosophy with specific aim of arguing for political principles that a government should guarantee to all its citizens through its constitution, (Robeyns, 2005:103)

Through the Capability Approach, this study justifies the IDPs' demand of the above rights from the government. The Capability Approach also sets the tone for questioning whether the IDPs in the two communities have access to secondary school educational services which would ensure that they attain their capabilities (being able to do or be). This theory helps the researcher get answers to one of the key research questions in the study. The study probes the availability of secondary school

facilities and infrastructure in Hopley and Caledonia. The assumption is that if these (educational facilities) were available, the children, who are victims of internal displacement, could also attend school and thereby achieve their capabilities. Thus, the Capability Approach serves the purpose of making concrete an otherwise abstract demand for the IDPs' educational attainment.

3.1.2 Entitlement Approach

The study also made use of Sen Amartya's Entitlement Approach. Fundamentally, this was done to complement the Capability Approach. According to Sen (1987), 'entitlement' is a legal concept which deals with rules that govern who can have use of what. A Reader and Head of the Department of Economics,⁶² Nayak (2000:7) proposes that Sen's Entitlement Approach was "not really meant to be a causal statement but a definitional one." Furthermore, the approach is said to be a 'descriptive rather than a normative concept,' (Devereux, 2001:246). Sen's refusal to incorporate morality and human rights elements in this approach led me to use this approach to complement the CA. This is necessitated by the fact that this study also interrogates the upholding of human rights for the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia. The study also attempts to appeal for the use of moral norms to augment legal statutes on internal displacement.

Sen's Entitlement Approach was originally tailor made to address famine as it views starvation as a result of failure to be entitled to a bundle of food (Sen, 1981:434) and (Osmani, 1993:1). The distribution of essential goods and services such as food, health care and education are determinants that "each person has actual command over necessities, and this is often a source of inequality," (Sen, 1987:31). One of the underlying questions in this study is equity of educational facilities and infrastructure for the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia. The fact that this study is investigating the availability and accessibility of education in the two communities is indicative of the inherent social inequalities during displacement. Olivier Rubin, a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen, encapsulates the entitlement of a person as:

Set of alternative commodity bundles that can be acquired through the use of the various legal channels of acquirement open to that person (Rubin, 2009:623).

In an earlier article, Devereux (2001:246) affirms this and adds that a person can command these "using the totality of rights and opportunities that he or she faces". In the context of the IDPs,

⁶² Purusottam Nayak is the Head of the Department of Economics at Assam University, Silchar, Assam, India.

education is only one of the many services that they can acquire through legal channels (if necessary) as they are entitled to it. The inequitable distribution of such entitlements also severely undermines the people in Caledonia and Hopley's capabilities as established through the Capability Approach.

There are three basic concepts to the Entitlement Approach (Sohlberg, 2006). These are 'endowment set,' 'entitlement set' and 'entitlement mapping.'

A person's "entitlement set" is the full range of goods and services that he or she can acquire by converting his or her "endowments" (assets and resources, including labour power) through "exchange entitlement mappings" (Devereux, 2001:246).

Osman as cited in Sohlberg (2006:360) also adds that the first relates to all resources owned by a person legally. Secondly, the entitlement set points to the goods and services a person can obtain legally, while entitlement mapping refers to the combination of the endowment set and entitlement set. By virtue of the rights stipulated in the Zimbabwean constitution, the researcher maintains that education is a service which holds legal connotations. As such, the IDPs are entitled to access education as an endowment set. In turn, this should eradicate the element of social constraints which enhance the IDPs' inequality against other citizens in the country as propounded by the CA.

This study maintains that the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia are entitled to education as a right. The Entitlement Theory helps in the investigation on whether the guardians of international laws and policies are helping in the protection of these rights. One of the key questions posed in this study is founded on GPID Principle 5. This principle stipulates that the international community can intervene to meet the humanitarian needs of the IDPs if the host nation is unable or unwilling to do so (Mooney, 2010). The international community is there to reinforce and not replace national responsibility. This question is driven by the understanding that the international community is aware of its obligations and is morally bound to render assistance to every global citizen including IDPs in Zimbabwe. This approach strives to reinforce and provide a fertile basis for a human rights-based approach advocated for by the Capability Approach.

3.1.3 Critical Theory

The third theory which was used in this study is the Critical Theory. It was developed in the post-World War 1 era in the 1930s (Reeves et al., 2008). This theory is also known as Frankfurt School

as it was propounded by a group of Jewish writers who were then based at the University of Frankfurt (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The earliest critical theorists subscribed to the argument that the world was shaped by injustice and subjugation (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:260). The Critical Theory has its foundations in Marxism and was largely driven by the experiences of critical theorists such as Horkheimer, Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm during the inter war in Germany, (Letizia, 2013). Modern social scientists that carried on the tradition of Critical Theory include Pierre Bourdieu and Michael Foucault (Reeves et al., 2008).

The earlier theorists contested against the orthodox Marxist view that schools were capitalist agencies but instead saw schools as avenues of hope. Critical Theorists,

Study how construction of knowledge and the organization of power in society generally and in institutions like schools, hospitals.....can lead to subjugation or oppression of particular individuals, groups or perspectives, (Reeves et al., 2008:633).

Kellner (2012) further developed this theory and added a holistic element to it. This means that the Critical Theory looks at the totality of the given field. Thus, in the context of this study, the Critical Theory ensures that the IDPs' conditions be analysed, not on a superficial level to make inferences on reasons for these conditions. The word 'critical' is a derivation from the Greek word 'krinein' while 'theory' is 'theoris' in the same language (Kellner, 2012). The former word means to 'discern, reflect and judge,' and the latter means 'seeing and contemplating' (Kellner, 2012:2). Therefore, the Critical Theory generally examines social life and the institutions within it. One of the assumptions made by this theory is that certain groups in society are privileged over others (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). This assumption which has undertones of the Marxist ideology further states that contemporary societies promote oppression when victims of oppression accept their social status as inevitable or necessary. The Critical Theory aims to empower such individuals by confronting injustice in a particular society. According to Reeves et al (2008), this theory is concerned with equity and justice in society.

This study views internal displacement as a form of social injustice. The eviction of thousands of people without any prior warning or setting up of facilities for them in the new locations as done to the Zimbabwean IDPs was the manifestation of social injustice. IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia were generally victims of forced evictions during the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina and were

never compensated for loss of property and the symptomatic emotional trauma attached to forced migration. Howard-Hassman (2010) attests that forced displacement without compensation is prohibited by international law. To subject these people to a life of utter deprivations and inadequate social services further deepened the injustice. Therefore, the Critical Theory is appropriate in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement as it holds the potential to emancipate those subjected to social injustice. Kellner (2012:3) concurs that the Critical Theory “rejects oppressive features of a position while appropriating emancipatory aspects.” The call for the provision of education to the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia is directed towards the socio-economic emancipation of these people.

The Critical Theory makes substantial contributions towards debates on education. Letizia (2013:184) states that critical theorists believe that education is a transformative process. Education is therefore expected to instill ideas of justice in students. This is applicable to this study in the sense that educational needs are under scrutiny. The theory can be used in justifying the value of education for IDPs at the identified communities in Zimbabwe. Kellner (2012) puts forth that the Critical Theory forms the context for theorizing and reconstructing education for the contemporary era. The internal displacement phenomenon is a relatively young global occurrence and as such still seeking answers and solutions. The Critical Theory can be called for to shed some light on this issue.

In the case of Hopley and Caledonia communities in Zimbabwe, there is call for the reconstruction of attitudes towards adherence to policy and protection of the IDPs’ rights. The study, in conformity with one of the major ideologies in this theory intends to confront social injustice where the IDPs are concerned. This is done through the interrogation of the provision of secondary school education for the displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia. Lack of educational facilities and structures in Hopley and Caledonia do not only prove an infringement of their rights as a people but this study contests that it is also morally wrong for the state authorities to subject its people to such injustice.

3.2 Research Methodology and Methods

Creswell (2009:3) states that, “a research design is the plan or proposal to conduct research...involves the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry and specific methods.” This implies that a concrete strategy to be used throughout the study precedes every good research.

Indeed, a research design gives an outline for conducting the study (Polit and Hungler, 1999). According to Sarantakos (2005:104), a research design explains in some detail how the researcher intends to conduct the work. Likewise, Rensburg (2010) posits that a research design helps the researcher decide even on suitable subjects from whom data can be collected. Therefore, a research design gives direction to the study as well as helping the researcher take a systematic approach throughout the whole process. It determines the shape of research as befitting a theoretical framework being utilized. This seems to point towards the important role played by a research design in every study.

Research in the IDPs phenomenon in Zimbabwe is a highly political and therefore, a sensitive issue. This however, did not detract from the feasibility of such a study. According to Sekeran cited in Gray (2004), research is a systematic and organised effort to investigate a specific problem that needs a solution. The researcher contends that the IDPs' plight in Zimbabwe and in Hopley and Caledonia in particular, calls for close scrutiny in the form of a study. Results gathered from the preliminary literature review suggest the prevalence of IDPs in Zimbabwe. Hence, this study undertook to explore this global social phenomenon which is not unique to Zimbabwe but has distinctive features peculiar to this context.

This study made use of the qualitative research paradigm. The choice of this paradigm was driven by its interpretive nature (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Qualitative research is defined as:

The study of things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, and interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:3).

This suggests that qualitative research enables the researcher to deduce and draw conclusions from the data gathered. Needleman and Needleman (1996:2) and Malterud (2001: 483) support this by stating that qualitative research is a systematic research that serves as an interpreter to help understand the meanings of patterns uncovered. Creswell (2009) asserts that qualitative research necessitates the exploration and understanding of meanings that groups or individuals ascribe to a social problem. This study therefore stood to benefit from the interplay between socially constructed meanings and a phenomenon propagated by the qualitative research paradigm.

The use of the qualitative research design has many advantages. Cohen et al (2007) posit that a qualitative research design gives room for micro-concepts in the form of personal constructs and negotiated meanings of a given human experience. This means that the researcher emerges from the research process with new interpretations to a phenomenon constructed through interaction with participants. In the case of participants in Hopley and Caledonia, this design enhanced understanding of internal displacement through their narratives. Another advantage of qualitative research is that it emphasizes the need to link theory and methodology (Morgan and Smircich, 1980:499). They further explain how this links the view to which the writer subscribes, the research questions asked and the techniques adopted as the basis of the study. This knits the whole study together as well as providing a holistic and solid study.

One of the major problems with IDPs in Zimbabwe is their ‘invisibility’ (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013). At the time when the study was being undertaken, there were no updated official profiles and statistics of the internally displaced people in the country. For this reason, the nature of IDPs in Zimbabwe demands an exploratory study. Gray (2004) describes exploratory studies as seeking to discover what is happening and asking questions about it. Malterud (2001) posits that an exploratory study searches meanings of social phenomena as experienced by individuals in their natural contexts. Therefore, it was critical that the data collected be embedded in the narrative of the participants’ stories. Such an empirical context gave voice to the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia. Furthermore, the study sought to make the people more visible and the participants’ stories told the experiences they have undergone as well as locating the provision of education in their displacement. This proved to be in line with this study which intended to probe the conditions which were prevailing in the two selected communities in terms of access and rights to education for the internally displaced children.

Some of the effects of internal displacement in the communities cannot be articulated verbally but are visible through the descriptions of the conditions. This was important for this study whose target was to capture the prevailing conditions in the IDPs’ settlements in relation to the availability and accessibility of education. Thus, the study used descriptive and interpretive thick descriptions. The term ‘thick descriptions,’ was first used by Ryle in 1949. However, it is more associated with Geertz (1973), through his ethnographic research (Mills et al., 2010, Ponterotto, 2006). Denzin (2001:99) asserts that thick descriptions “contextualise experience” and record “the prose of the

world.’’ Thick descriptions locate experiences in their social situations or settings and set out to capture the dense details of any given phenomenon. Ultimately, such descriptions of the research sites helped to portray what the communities were like during the time of the study. This was then related to the question of the provision of secondary school education for the children in the two communities.

The use of thick descriptions is also justified as an all-embracing set of details concerning methodology and context (Lin, 2013). Ponterotto posits that thick descriptions go beyond ‘glossed’ details or facts about a phenomenon. He further describes the role of thick descriptions as;

Thick descriptions go beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another (Ponterotto, 2006:540).

Thick descriptions do not stop at building up the picture of the individuals or groups in their contexts but they also provide a platform for interpretations to be made (Miles et al., 2002). Thick descriptions make a valuable impression on this study because they integrate theoretical knowledge, empirical information with an analytical discussion (Henning et al., 2004). Therefore, Hopley and Caledonia were described as spaces in which the participants had to negotiate an existence during this potentially infinite period of displacement. The interplay between these spaces and the participants in their bid to reclaim their capabilities was crucial in this study. These descriptions also vocalized issues that participants found difficult to verbalize.

3.2.1 Rationale for Choosing Caledonia and Hopley Communities as Research Sites

Hopley and Caledonia were sampled because they typified other internal displacement contexts in the country and that both have the inherent characteristics of internal displacement. The case study method is lauded for producing “context-dependent knowledge” which in turn produces expertise in the chosen subject through the intimacy forged during the study (Flyvberg, 2006:221). Therefore, the case study method was chosen because it would enable an in-depth exploration of the availability and accessibility of secondary school education in Hopley and Caledonia during internal displacement.

The researcher hastens to point out that the cases selected for this study are not representative of the entire IDPs population living in Zimbabwe but act as instrumental case studies. Creswell

(2012:465) states that an instrumental case “serves the purpose of illuminating a particular issue.” Thus, an instrumental case provides insight into a subject under study. Hopley and Caledonia communities were specifically selected because both have hosted IDPs for close to two decades. Hopley and Caledonia are former farms on the outskirts of Harare where the victims of Operation Murambatsvina were resettled by the government (IDMC, 2008:28). The researcher chose the two communities because a thorough scouring of literature proved beyond doubt that the two sites are occupied by victims of forced migration from both FTLRP and Operation Murambatsvina. Hughes (2007), Hammar (2008) and IDMC (2010c) concur that the government created transit or holding camps outside Harare where it relocated the displaced people. This proves that the two communities were not created by other causes of homelessness like poverty. Therefore, they are adequate exemplars of internal displacement and related conditions in the Zimbabwean context. In the case of Caledonia, the prevalence of IDPs can be traced back to the 2000 FTLRP. The FTLRP resulted in farm workers who were displaced through evictions and subsequent farm invasions having to find alternative places to settle on (Ridderbos, 2011). Hopley was later to be created to house mostly victims of Operation Murambatsvina in 2005. Some of these people who were evicted and displaced by the government program also ended up in Caledonia. Caledonia and Hopley were therefore ideal cases as they both exhibited intrinsic characteristics of internal displacement in Zimbabwe.

As the IDPs were relocated to the two communities after Operation Murambatsvina (2005) or FTLRP (2000), this means that they have stayed in these communities for more than ten years. This further justified the choice of the two communities for this study. The duration of their stay in the areas forms a strong basis for tracing the trends in the provision of secondary school education. Through the case study method, the researcher described the experiences of the internally displaced children in their bid to access their rights to education, as described by their parents and guardians. The visits I made into the communities prior to the actual fieldwork also confirmed the assumptions that I held on the conditions in these communities pertaining to the availability of education infrastructure and facilities.

The selection of a sample to use in qualitative research is a premeditated action and is never done randomly. It is considered prudent to choose an ‘information rich’ case⁶³ or sample designed to

⁶³ Tongco, M. C. 2007. Purposive Sampling as a tool for Informant Selection. University of Hawaii.

maximize the collection of relevant data. As a researcher, I did not intend to locate deviant cases on internal displacement in the Zimbabwean context, thus, Caledonia and Hopley became the natural choice. A multiple number of factors contributed towards the selection of both Caledonia and Hopley for this study. Chief among these reasons was that both sampled communities exhibit the inherent characteristics of settlements for the internally displaced in the Zimbabwean context post 2000 era. Hopley and Caledonia have been home to victims of forced migration who were affected by the 2000 Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) and the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina for over a decade (Chirisa et al., 2014). These people were either ferried or found their way to the two communities and most have remained there years later.

A host of literature and public media point to these two communities as ranging amongst the most infamous slums created for internally displaced people in Zimbabwe. They became the destination for hundreds of thousands of people dislocated by the two government programs. The Zimbabwean Independent 20 September 2013 issue carried one such report. The article, 'New Slum Threat' by Muzulu states;

New illegal and haphazard settlements have emerged all over the city with the most prominent being Bob in Mabvuku/Tafara, Eye-court and Hopley along the new Chitungwiza Road.....the biggest slum is in Hopley.....most of them victims of Operation Murambatsvina. ⁶⁴

The above report is one of the many carried in the local media during and years after the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina. This seems to confirm that the majority of people in Harare, who were displaced by the government's program (led to the destruction of homes which had been condemned as illegal structures) found their way to Hopley and Caledonia, commonly referred to as 'Bobo.' As Chitekwe-Biti (2009) attests, some of these victims of displacement have experienced forced migration more than twice in the last fifteen years and have obviously garnered

⁶⁴ <http://bulawayo24.com/index-id-News-sc-National-byo-36330.html> (Retrieved 11 July 2016)

some invaluable experiences in these spaces. This validated the choice of the two communities for use in this study which focused on internally displaced people in Zimbabwe.

Caledonia and Hopley were also selected for their accessibility in relation to my home. My home is in Harare and I wanted research sites which would be accessible by road transport and at a minimal cost. Thus, the two communities proved to be ideal due to their accessibility from the researcher's home. Consequently, where necessary, a number of day trips were made into them during the course of the fieldwork without incurring huge transport costs. Innocent Chirisa, a university of Zimbabwe lecturer affirms that Caledonia is in the immediate vicinity of Harare and the same can be said of Hopley (Chirisa, 2010). Though there is no public transport plying the areas, Caledonia is quite accessible on foot after the last drop off point in the neighboring residential area while Hopley is adjacent a busy road leading to Chitungwiza, a satellite town near Harare.

Pragmatically, research sites have to be rich in information. From a quantitative perspective, the total number of people in the two areas ensured that the researcher has a rich base for data. According to the 2012 Census, Caledonia has 30 202 while Hopley has 8 286 people (Zimstat, 2012). However, this is a qualitative study and the choice of these sites was more dependent on other qualities than the numbers. Hence, besides the indisputable proof that the residents of the two communities were victims of forced migration as stated above, the population largely comprises of people not formally employed. This proved to be ideal in bringing out the effects of forced migration and displacement on their families. The communities have also been in existence for over a decade and unlike in newly forced migrants, this population appears to be very conversant with the conditions in displacement which enriched the study.

3.2.2 Sampling

Sampling is a critical part of the research process as it defines the population on which the study will focus. In qualifying this contention, Cohen et al., (2007:111) argue that;

The quality of a piece of research stands or falls not only by the appropriateness of methodology and instrumentation but also by the suitability of the sampling strategy that has been adopted.

It is therefore crucial to use a well thought-out and calculated sampling strategy. The selection of the sample was generally guided by the knowledge that a sample does not necessarily represent the

‘undifferentiated’ or wider population, (Cohen et al., 2007). The participants were particularly chosen because they would yield the required empirical data on internal displacement specifically in Hopley and Caledonia. According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2007), qualitative researchers do not aim to make statistical generalizations but attempt to gain insight into a particular phenomenon. The sample was therefore not intended to meet numerical representativeness of the displaced people in Zimbabwe.

To draw population samples for both groups of interviewees, non-random or purposive sampling was used in this study. Creswell (2012:206) posits that the standard for choosing a sample through purposive sampling is whether they are ‘information rich.’ Tongco (2007) asserts that purposive sampling is a deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses. The obvious quality that is used is the informant’s intimacy with the subject under study. Cohen et al (2007:114) contend that purposive sampling entails handpicking cases on the basis of their having particular characteristics the researcher is looking for. The participants are intentionally selected judging by their typicality to the required traits. Henning et al (2004: 77) sum up this argument by saying that the researcher needs to select people who meet a particular criterion and “travel with her on the journey towards more knowledge on the topic.” This fully justifies the need for a non-random form of sampling as not everyone in a given setting can fit the mold of being knowledgeable about the phenomenon being studied.

Likewise, the two communities were selected because they met the particular strains of IDPs required for the study and were able to provide the researcher with answers to the set questions. The researcher had to make a deliberate and subjective sample of only those residents whose children were secondary school scholars. IDPs whose children were former secondary school students during displacement were also accommodated in the interviews. The assumption was that they also experienced the same challenges when their children were at the school going age. Data collected from these was used for comparison and also tracing the trends and history of IDPs education in the two communities. According to Malterud (2001), purposive sampling entails the selection of informants who play a strategic role in the system under study. Such informants can yield enormous value to the study as they can confirm, refute or make sensitive disclosures on the system, (Malterud, 2001:333). Therefore, the sample was supposed to verify or repudiate that internal displacement affected the provision of secondary school education for the displaced children.

To achieve validity and reliability, the study combined purposive sampling with snowballing. Snowballing helped the researcher access other willing key participants. Due to the sensitive nature of IDPs in Zimbabwe, securing participants was a challenge as had been anticipated. Therefore, this technique which is used when accessing participants is difficult, was very helpful (Cohen et al., 2007). In snowballing, a few participants are identified at the beginning of the research (Gray, 2004, Cohen et al., 2007). Through snowballing, these participants go on to put the researcher in touch with more participants who qualify for inclusion in the sample. These in turn identify others in the population, adding to the pool of participants to be interviewed. The process continues until the researcher has an adequate sample.

Purposive sampling was used in identifying both sets of interviewees. Individual parents in Hopley and Caledonia referred me to other neighbours in the community whose children were attending or supposed to be attending secondary school. Despite this, some residents still felt uncomfortable speaking about 'tsunami' as they call Operation Murambatsvina. At an organizational level, this also applied as some NGOs further referred me to other organizations which they had either worked with or knew were currently involved in IDPs in Zimbabwe. For instance, UNICEF personnel facilitated that I interview someone working for the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Within one organization (UNICEF), I interviewed three participants because each one of them would refer me to the next person whom they felt had more expertise in the internal displacement phenomenon and therefore more knowledgeable.

3.3 Data Collection

One of the strengths of qualitative research is that it is multi-methodic in focus (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Creswell (2012:45) attests that qualitative methods "obtain intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes and emotions that are difficult to extract through conventional methods." Likewise, a number of qualitative methods were used in collecting data of a varying nature in this study. Through these methods, the participants' feelings about being displaced were probed. Furthermore, this allowed the participants to chronicle their journeys into displacement and how this had shaped their lives. This set the basis to interrogate the provision of education in the two communities and suited one of the objectives of the study which meant to find out the strategies employed by residents in view of lack of education facilities in their areas. This was particularly critical for the study in the view that the provision of education in displacement

contexts is usually relegated to secondary needs (Jones and Naylor, 2014, Ferris and Winthrop, 2010). Thus, the participants' perceptions on the accessibility of education during their displacement were invaluable to the study.

Some of the qualitative methods for collecting empirical data are document analysis and interviews (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Therefore, this study also made use of document analysis and interviews. Documents or archival sources of data have become a popular method for collecting qualitative data. Gray (2004:267) and Creswell (2009:180) concur that documents are the most frequently used 'unobtrusive' and 'non-reactive' sources of data. Documents are therefore usually preferred for such qualities whereby they can contribute immensely to the study without any noticeable interference on the researcher's general approach to his study. Silverman (2011:94) advances that documents have a dual function of being 'a receptacle' and as agents of their own right. Documents contain valuable instructions and obligations of any given policy. However, documents are not mere containers or inert carriers of data (Silverman, 2011). Like all other forms of data, they should equally undergo the process of analysis for the support or refutation of certain arguments in the study. These qualitative research methods of collecting data proved ideal for this study.

Hall and Rist (1999: 12) describe document analysis as 'human traces.' These human traces are said to suggest key themes and values to a research. Polikinghorne (2005) proposes that documents are an under-used source of data.⁶⁵ The researcher acknowledges the advantages of using documents as they are relatively cheap and can be done concurrently with other data collection methods, which saves time. Writing later, Creswell (2009) says documents can be assessed at a convenient time for the researcher. A few years later, Creswell (2012) still maintains that documents have the advantage that they are ready for analysis without the need for arduous processes of transcription necessary for observation and interviews.

Documents or records do not provide data but are data as suggested by (Needleman and Needleman, 1996). Documents are said to give a lot of information about social facts of the system under study. Operation Murambatsvina attracted a lot of scholarship globally and this was compounded by the fact that it created massive humanitarian crises in the country. Arguably, one of

⁶⁵ Polikinghorne, D. E. 2005. Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 52, 137-145.

these crises was that it resulted in the internal displacement of hundreds of thousands of people. It was on the premise of this contention that other secondary sources of information were analysed so as to understand the policies and laws that govern IDPs. The documents were also vital in measuring the prevailing conditions in IDPs communities in Zimbabwe against the expected standards. The researcher is in agreement with the point of view that the Zimbabwean government has failed to acknowledge the reality of internal displacement in the country (IDMC, 2008). It was on the basis of such thinking that the plight of IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia communities and their rights and access to education were being researched. Thus, key themes for this study could also be drawn from document analysis.

The study drew from key policy instruments on IDPs and human rights laws such as, GPID, African Union Charter on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The study also consulted the Zimbabwe Constitution (No. 20) Act 2013 and other relevant policies on IDPs and their rights to education. In addition, the researcher made use of the Zimbabwe Education Act of 2004 to analyse the national education policies in Zimbabwean education. All these were analysed with a view to structure a position regarding the IDPs' access to secondary school education and the protection of their rights. Finally, the R2P norm was used to interrogate the Zimbabwean government as well as other international players' roles in protecting the IDPs as vulnerable global citizens.

The researcher also aimed to draw information from a number of organizations in Zimbabwe. These are organizations which interacted and worked with IDPs on a human rights platform or on humanitarian activities such as the distribution of both food and non-food items. Some of these organizations were supposed to be involved in the reintegration of IDPs after the emergency phase of displacement. Some of these non-governmental organizations are; ZimRights, UNICEF, International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Zimbabwe Community Development Trust (ZCDT). The researcher also drew primary data from ordinary IDPs who are either parents or guardians of secondary school going children in the communities.

The researcher also used in-depth semi-structured interviews for data collection. Semi-structured interviews are 'non-standardized' (Gray, 2004). This gives the researcher the opportunity to delve deeper into the meanings that participants have constructed of the social phenomenon under study. In-depth interviews inform a wide range of research questions. It is for this precise reason that

Westbrook (1994: 243) attests that interviews are a valuable qualitative research method. Young (2004) defines an interview as an effective informal verbal and non-verbal communication focused on planned content areas. Interviews contribute significantly towards the collection of qualitative data.

Interviewing is a powerful way of helping people make explicit things that have hitherto been implicit....to articulate their tacit perceptions, feelings and understandings (Gray, 2004:212).

Through in-depth interviews, the researcher explored some of the internally displaced people's views and feelings about their displacement. For more than a decade, the people in Caledonia and Hopley have lived the experience of being forcibly moved and being relocated to a new and alien environment. The length of their stay in displacement should have inevitably built up valid perceptions about this phenomenon. Diccico-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) submit that qualitative interviews should contribute towards both conceptual and theoretical knowledge. Interviewing the forced migrants in the two communities was therefore expected to yield a lot of fundamental empirical data for this study. However, some residents refused to be interviewed due to what I perceived as their fear of victimization. There appeared to be a lot of fear among the residents that one can lose their residential plot if the local community leaders are unhappy with them. Although I could not verify the credibility of such threats, this fear and intimidation resulted in some respondents refusing to be audio recorded. Chiedza,* an elderly Caledonia woman was one such participant who refused to have her interview recorded using an audio device. At the time when this research was conducted, she lived with her son who was not at home during the interview.

The researcher interviewed forty (40) parents or guardians of secondary school going internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia communities. Each settlement had twenty (20) participants. The forty (40) were gender balanced to ensure that perceptions about this experience were captured objectively. An electronic recording device was used to capture the interviews and this was transcribed during data presentation and analysis. According to Petchesky and Laurie (2007), women and children make up 70-80% of all displaced populations. The assumption was that of the 36 000 Zimbabwean IDPs profiled in 2009, nearly 29 000 are women and children. UNESCO (2014) puts the gross percentage of children out of secondary school in urban areas at 39%

(Zimbabwe). It can be assumed that children in both Hopley and Caledonia form a large part of the above statistics.

In-depth interviews were used to gather information from non-governmental and organizations. In-depth interviews were carried out with, ZimRights, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Zimbabwe Community Development Trust (ZCDT) and representatives from UNICEF. The use of secondary school children as participants was not done due to the fact that they are minors and would need rigorous ethical considerations and the consent of their parents and guardians. Instead the scholars' guardians and parents were interviewed as they were knowledgeable about the schools where their children and wards went. The parents also had details on the availability and accessibility of schools, the infrastructure and facilities in place for their children and wards.

The major advantage that drew the researcher to use interviews as a data collection tool is its "propensity for probing for clarity" (Westbrook, 1994). Probing ensured that I gathered detailed explanations to the phenomenon under study. Moreover, in-depth interviews have the advantage of removing the potential problem of group conformity (Hall and Rist, 1999). For this reason, the researcher was able to gather data which was independent one from the next. In turn, this was useful during analysis as thematic threads were traced and used for corroboration. In-depth interviews were particularly appropriate for this study as they are meant to be 'a personal and intimate encounter in which open, direct, verbal questions are used to elicit detailed narratives and stories,' (Dicicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Therefore, this instrument was very useful as the researcher was able to elicit personal experiences from internally displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia.

It would have been ideal to interview the Zimbabwe government policy makers or personnel in the Ministry of education. Due to the sensitive nature of this study, it was prudent to leave them out. This was justified by the fact that this study seemed to critique the state's handling of its IDPs. It was assumed that the government would not welcome any form of interrogation on the phenomenon. The researcher felt that the government officials would not be forthcoming in contributing towards this study. Furthermore, the credibility of the government's responses would be questionable. Moreover, after the dissolution of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2013, the new government made no formal recognition of IDPs (IDMC, 2014a). It was during this

period of relative political stability⁶⁶ that progress had been made in profiling IDPs in Zimbabwe. However, the use of documentary evidence such as the Zimbabwean Constitution (Act 2013) and the Zimbabwean Education Act was adequate in reviewing education in Zimbabwe.

3.4 Data Analysis

“Analysis is a process of resolving data into constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure,” (Dey, 2005: 31). This seems to imply that data analysis goes beyond the mere description of data. The word analysis is derived from the Greek word ‘ana’ which means above and ‘lysis’ meaning to break up or dissolve, (Dey, 2005). Creswell (2012: 10) adds that data analysis involves drawing conclusions and representing it in various forms. Then the data is summarized explaining the conclusions in words to provide answers to research questions. Green, et al (2007:545) sum up data analysis as a process of examining the information collected and transforming it into a coherent account of what was found. Therefore, data analysis is a way through which conclusions are reached. Hatch cited in Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007: 564) defines data analysis as a systematic search for meaning. Ultimately, the data analysis process facilitates that what has been learned can then be communicated to others.

This study used both the thematic and content analysis to analyse data collected in this study. The first of these was the thematic analysis which is a method usually used for primary research (Thomas and Harden, 2008). Thematic analysis was mainly used in the analysis of data gathered through interviews (primary data). Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that a theme captures important elements about the data in relation to the research question. This denotes that the research question plays a major role in data analysis. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006:3) define thematic analysis as “a form of pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes become the categories for analysis.” This is supported by Vaismoradi et al (2013:400) and (Braun and Clarke, 2006) who state that thematic analysis focuses on identifying, analysing and reporting patterns. As argued above, data analysis does not stop at the description of the data collected. Likewise, once the themes have been recognised, they go on to be interpreted with close reference to the research question. “Thematic Analysis is considered the most appropriate for any study that seeks to

⁶⁶ Alexander, J. & McGregor, J. 2013. Introduction: Politics, Patronage and Violence in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39, 749-763.

discover using interpretations,” (Alhojailan, 2012:40). The same author maintains that thematic analysis helps a researcher in analysing classifications and patterns that emerge in relation to data.

The common understanding when applying thematic analysis is that these themes should ‘emerge’ as the researcher scours through the data collected. Likewise, the researcher did not impose predetermined themes into the study. Lacey and Luff (2009:5) concede that thematic analysis is when all units of data are coded, extracted and examined for the development of themes. Similarly, the data collected from interviews and field notes were coded qualitatively and subsequently scrutinised. Tuckett (2005)⁶⁷ posits that coding is the organization of data logically and it is the bedrock of analyzing. Cassell and Symon (2004:257) define a code as:

A label attached to a section of text to index it as relating to a theme or issue in the data which the researcher has identified as important to his interpretation

Thus, coding formed an integral part of identifying the themes during the process of thematic analysis.

In coding data collected from participants, the patterns eventually emerged. These formed the themes which were identified through frequency of occurrence or conversation topics. However, Henning et al (2004) argue that qualitative research analysis should not place much value on quantities and frequencies with which something may occur. Instead they advocate for systematic and comprehensive data analysis methods for eliciting meanings. Braun and Clarke (2006:6) argue that thematic analysis “is a method which works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of reality.” Both contentions were applicable to this study as I sought to reveal the conditions prevailing in internal displacement as well as shed light beyond what was visible about displacement in the two communities.

Thematic analysis was complemented by content analysis. Sarantakos (2005: 299) says content analysis “is the study of the content of texts, such as words, meanings and pictures.” Therefore, content analysis is more suited to secondary data such as documentary evidence. “The purpose of content analysis is to describe the characteristics of the document’s content by examining who says what, to whom, and with what effect,” (Vaismoradi et al., 2013:400). This documentary method of

⁶⁷ <http://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.5172%2Fconu.19.1-2.75> (Accessed October 11, 2016)

analysis includes written material, official documents, speeches and even photographs. According to Westbrook (1994: 245) content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. Thus, policies on internally displaced persons and human right laws were explored in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement. This is supported by Sarantakos who states that qualitative content analysis is chiefly concerned with meanings and interpretations in text (Sarantakos, 2005) . In this study, the data collected was examined so that relevant connotations and themes could be derived from this data. As expected, the data built up themes on the question of IDPs' rights to education as well as the implementation of the relevant policies on the same subjects.

This study concentrated on the latent content of documents. Latent content implies “the underlying meaning conveyed through documents,” (Sarantakos, 2005:301). The use of the underlying meaning of the documents was critical for a context-based analysis of internal displacement. This also helped to identify the real meaning and effects of the contents of a document in relation to socially constructed meanings of internal displacement. Thus, content analysis studied the subject in context, striving to understand meanings as conveyed by the authors of the documents. This was critical for this study as there are many policy documents that need to be analysed in the context of the IDPs phenomenon in Zimbabwe. The researcher emphasized that the IDPs in Zimbabwe do not fall easily in the categories of other internally displaced people globally. The uniqueness of the Zimbabwean context of IDPs calls for new constructions of meanings tailored around certain policy instruments.

The study used within-method triangulation which strove to converge and corroborate results from different analytical methods on the same data (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). This was done to achieve rigor. Long and Johnson (2000:35) argue that there it is imperative for rigor to be pursued in qualitative research so that findings may carry conviction and strength. As a researcher, I also aim to produce a credible thesis at the end of the research process. Rigor is also simply defined as the quality of the research process which should ultimately yield trustworthy findings (Given and Saumure, 2008). Thus, rigor demonstrates “integrity and competence within a study,” (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006:5).The application of all the research instruments above is hoped to ensure rigor for this study.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

According to Haggerty (2004:392), research in social sciences is now recognized as a risk-producing endeavor. Beauchamp, et al., (1982:48) suggest that this is so because social science research by nature focuses on personal information. Due to this, research is generally likely to invade participants' privacy. This then calls for measures that will protect the subjects under investigation. It is for the above reasons that ethical considerations were made during data collection, data analysis and the presentation of the research findings. Gray (2005) defines ethics as sets of norms or moral principles which are used to guide moral choices of behaviour. General ethical considerations entail "refraining from deceptive practices, reciprocity, maintaining confidentiality and the protection of participants' identity," (Creswell, 2012:230) Denzin and Lincoln (1998) and Beauchamp et al., (1982) agree that basic ethical issues to observe in research are; harm and benefit, informed consent, privacy and confidentiality. The researcher was cognizant of the fact that the participants were a vulnerable group of people due to their forced migrant status. Great caution was taken to avoid exposing them to any condition that would increase this vulnerability.

According to Beauchamp, et al (1982), harm is physical, psychological or material injury. To avoid this happening to the participants in my study, I established from the onset through discussion what the participants thought would affect them. This study was however, neither severely traumatic nor potentially endangering physically. Nevertheless, I ensured that the participants' anonymity was secure to prevent political or social victimization of the participants. Pseudonyms were used instead of the real given names for the participants. These pseudonyms are identifiable through the use of asterisks and each participant was asked to choose a name he or she wanted the researcher to call him by. Given the debilitating nature of displacement to human dignity, this was done to empower the participants as well as giving them the opportunity to reclaim some form of identity. As such, some of the pseudonyms chosen indicated the participants' attitudes towards displacement while some like 'Mudhara'* simply echoed the particular participants' elderly status in the communities. Due to this, pseudonyms used throughout this study do not take a regular pattern.

Other ethical principles observed in this study were privacy and confidentiality. Creswell (2012) argues that maintaining confidentiality is of utmost importance. Confidentiality 'allows the participants to retain ownership of their voices and exert their independence in making decisions,'

(Creswell, 2009: 90). This was ensured by keeping the participants well informed about the study and their roles in it. Beauchamp, et al (1982) suggest that invasion of privacy takes place when participants are oblivious to what they can disclose about themselves and how much of this information will be made public. This ethical principle was observed by using a local language (Shona) to explain the role that the participants had to play in the study. It was also clearly stated to them that they were neither under duress to participate nor answer certain questions during the interview. Lack of any reward or financial incentive also ensured that whoever chose to participate was aware of the voluntary nature of his position in the study. However, a number of the participants still enquired what they were likely to benefit when the researcher had been conferred with her degree. Some blatantly listed what they expected from the researcher and the researcher had to firmly remind them of the consent form.

Informed consent is another pertinent ethical principle. Gray (2004:59), points out that ethical involvement is not just obtaining consent but informed consent of each subject. Informed consent implies lack of deception of any form as well as the acknowledgement that participants' rights will be protected (Creswell, 2009). In order to adhere to this ethical principle, consent forms were given to the participants before the interviews. The consent form, which was in both English and Shona, explained in detail what the study was about. I also explained this verbally where necessary to ensure that each participant was fully aware of their role in the study. This ensured that each respondent was quite clear on what was expected of him before he agreed to participate.

The researcher used a recording device during all interviews with personnel from NGOs but a few participants in Hopley and Caledonia were not comfortable with the use of the audio recorder. Gray (2004) postulates that the use of a recording device allows the interviewer to concentrate on the process of listening, interpreting and refocusing the interview. Furthermore, the researcher cannot rely on memory as the interviews will contain large volumes of information. Thus, to safeguard against the loss of any of this valuable information, a recording device had to be used. The use of any electronic device to record or capture the proceedings of the interview was done overtly. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argue that the choice to be overt or covert should always take into consideration the consequences for the subjects. The participant's permission to use the device was sought for before using it. The researcher encountered a number of challenges in the use of the recording device. Despite earlier explanations about the need to record the interviews, some

participants in Hopley and Caledonia were visibly uncomfortable and suspicious of the motives for recording. The majority gave their permission after being reassured that the recordings would not be released to the public media (which seemed to be their greatest fear).

The importance of adhering to ethical principles is summarized by Bulmer cited in Denzin and Lincoln (1998: 175) who says:

Identities, locations of individuals and places are concealed in published results, data collected are held in anonymized form and all data kept securely confidential.

This principle was adhered to and every possible measure was taken to protect each participant's identity through use of pseudonyms and keeping field notes securely locked up in a box. The key to the box has been kept on me at all times. Furthermore, the researcher secured gatekeepers' permission to conduct the study in both Caledonia and Hopley. This permission was given in form of a letter issued to the researcher by the Human Capital and Public Safety Director under the Harare City Council. This department monitors the activities of any researcher to ensure that they observe the code of conduct that would not manipulate or exploit participants. ZimRights (a human rights organization in Zimbabwe) also issued me with another gatekeeper's letter as they have clients in Hopley and Caledonia whose human rights they strive to safeguard.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter traced the path taken so as to choose the research methodology and methods appropriate for this study. From the onset, the chapter established that the internal displacement phenomenon in Zimbabwe is political and sensitive. The reasons for this were said to stem from the nature of events that created the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia. It was ascertained that Operation Murambatsvina was chiefly responsible for creating these IDPs. According to the government, the program was said to be a clean-up exercise meant to rid the cities of slums and other illegal structures. To the residents, the program resembled a tsunami as it left widespread destruction in its wake. Consequently, Operation Murambatsvina attracted global condemnation for causing humanitarian crises. Due to these contentious views, the events and subsequent displacement became a political issue.

In the context of the above views, the research design and methods had to be appropriate for such a study. The rationale behind the choice of these methods was validated in light of the nature of IDPs

in Zimbabwe. Thus, the qualitative research design was preferred for its interpretive nature. This paradigm enabled the researcher to bring to the fore the participants' perceptions of internal displacement and how the phenomenon has affected the provision of secondary school education in the two communities. The chapter justified the use of the case study method for this study. The two communities were explained as instrumental case studies which were not selected for their representativeness of the entire IDPs population in Zimbabwe. Instead, they were selected because they would give the study insight into internal displacement in this particular context.

Purposive sampling and snowballing were used to select the key participants. As underscored above, this was necessitated by the sensitive nature of the study. The sampling techniques ensured that the researcher select an information rich sample. These were residents and organizations that have experienced internal displacement in Zimbabwe for more than a decade. In depth and semi structured interviews were then used to elicit data on the provision of secondary school education from the sample. This data was presented in chapter 4 and 5 of this study then analysed through thematic and content analysis.

The analysis of the data also called for the use of the selected theories and approaches. The CA was the main approach used and it was complemented by Sen's Entitlement Approach. These acted as lenses into the effects of internal displacement on the provision of education. Through these theories, it was proved that the dispossession of one's home has multiple implications. Among these was the infringement of human rights which would deprive the people of their capabilities. The Critical Theory highlighted the social injustice and inequality perpetrated by internal displacement.. As aforementioned, internal displacement is a sensitive issue in Zimbabwe, for this reason, ethical considerations had to be taken in light of the participants' double vulnerability. It was particularly crucial that the participants' identities be protected to prevent any harm befalling them.

Chapter 4: Internal Displacement through the eyes of IDPs: Provision of Education in the Hopley-Caledonia Context

'Everything has been said before, but since nobody listens, we have to keep going and begin all over again,' Andre Gide 1947 Nobel Prize in (Literature).⁶⁸

4.0 Introduction

The end of the cold war ushered in the lessening of interminable inter-state wars which had dominated global politics since the end of the Second World War (Johansson, 2004, Justino, 2010, Benz and Hasenclever, 2009, Mondal, 2011). This then gave way to a prevalence of equally devastating intra-state conflicts.⁶⁹ Badescu (2011) asserts that the latter gave rise to genocidal and mass killings which echoed the unparalleled World War 2 Holocaust. These invariably gave rise to human mobility in the form of forced migration. Moreover,

Ethnic and civil conflict, state building, state collapse and failure, and government persecution are all inherently violent and lead directly to mass forced migration (Newman and Van Selm, 2003:4).

Thus, multiple reasons have led to human mobility within and outside state borders. In some cases, failed and failing states were incapacitated to prevent these atrocities against humanity. However, it soon became clear that governments could be responsible for violating their citizens' human rights. The Rwanda-style and Kosovo mass killings are some of the extreme and infamous examples of such atrocities that the international community is bent on preventing in the future (Wheeler and Egerton, 2009). Despite perpetual arguments on thresholds that measure the magnitude of humanitarian crises, Zimbabwe's 2005 Operation Murambatsvina and the subsequent displacements generated much debate globally.

The 2000 Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) and 2005 Operation Murambatsvina led to the dislocation of hundreds of thousands of people in Zimbabwe. The UN Special Envoy to Zimbabwe, Mrs Tibaijuka's report⁷⁰ attests to 700 000 people losing their homes in cities across Zimbabwe due to Operation Murambatsvina. Millions more were affected in different ways (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006). These huge figures led to lingering questions as to where all

⁶⁸ <http://www.quotationspage.com/quote/5103.html> (Retrieved June 10, 2016)

⁶⁹ See Failed States Index 2012. <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/cfsir1210-failedstatesindex2012-06p.pdf> (Retrieved July 22, 2016)

⁷⁰ Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina by the UN Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe carried out from 26 June-8 July 2005.

these IDPs had gone (Potts, 2008). Despite confirmed reports that some were ferried to communal areas, large numbers were still retained in ‘holding camps’ which had been created specifically for accommodating the displaced populations (Hughes, 2007, Hammar, 2008b, IDMC, 2010d). Such camps which were originally only meant to be for the transitional phase include Hopley and Caledonia in peri-urban Harare. More than a decade later, most of these forced migrants still remain in Hopley and Caledonia and the ambivalence of their status has evolved into a shaky semi-permanence.

Like so many other IDPs across the globe, residents of Hopley and Caledonia have minimal resources consciously planned for them by the government. Indeed, IDPs often face challenges as they lack both physical and legal protection (Lin, 2013). This position is augmented by the fact that IDPs remain within the same geographical space in which they fell victim to this phenomenon. Moreover, they continue to share the same space as the perpetrators of their condition. This is different from refugees who seek refuge across international borders in their flight from strife and human rights violations, thereby putting some physical distance between themselves and the perpetrators of violence. The IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia are precisely in this precarious position whereby their government is also the perpetrator of their displacement. Hughes (2007) contends that Operation Murambatsvina had long lasting effects on its victims as it affected the displaced people’s access to food security, health, education and even livelihoods. Internal displacement disrupted the people’s livelihoods, robbing them of the opportunity and freedom to pursue life goals on an equal footing with the rest of the Zimbabwean citizens.

This chapter delves into the conditions and lived experiences of internal displacement by Hopley and Caledonia residents. Details from semi-structured interviews conducted with purposively selected members of the two communities are meant to make sense of internal displacement in the Zimbabwean context. All this culminates in the discussion on the impact of internal displacement on academic attainment. The central focus of the chapter is how Hopley and Caledonia residents perceive to be the effects of internal displacement on secondary school education in the communities. To do this, the chapter first provides descriptions of the two research sites. These descriptions are meant to highlight the irreducible life in internal displacement in Hopley and Caledonia.

The central themes that are dealt with in this chapter aim to look at the impact of internal displacement on educational attainment for the children in Hopley and Caledonia. Thus, the narratives on participants' lived experiences all converge on this theme. A selected number of participant profiles, solely picked out to exemplify life as experienced by IDPs in the two sites are used to give a deeper understanding of the impact of internal displacement on the accessibility of education in Zimbabwe. The Capability Approach, Entitlement Approach, and Critical Theory's tenets help enhance understanding of internal displacement and the IDPs' right to education.

4.1 Research Sites

4.1.1 Caledonia

Caledonia is commonly known by the name 'Bobo' which is the local residents' corruption of the pronunciation 'Bob.' Caledonia is ironically still being linked to the last white farmer (named Bob Lang⁷¹) who owned the farm during the period before the FTLRP. Nothing about the current state of the area however retains the rustic atmosphere of its former self. Located roughly thirty (30) kilometres east of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, Caledonia is a sprawling space whose threat to eat up every empty space around it was halted by its eastern newly established residential neighbour. Due to the lack of regularized allocation of residential plots in the area, many residents were continuing to take more unoccupied land. This was halted when a housing cooperative was allocated the land east of Caledonia and subsequently started building houses.

As one negotiates a gentle incline past the last lane of houses in Old Tafara (Caledonia's immediate western neighbour), one gets the first glimpse of Caledonia. Running parallel to Caledonia is a wide unpaved road which has a fair amount of traffic ensuring a constant dusty cloud in the atmosphere as well as coating everything else in close vicinity with a thin film of dust. The road links Tafara to Damofalls, a middle density suburb to the east of Caledonia.

Caledonia is home to 7 955 households with an average size of 3.8 persons per housing unit (Zimstat, 2012). The 2012 Zimbabwe census established that Caledonia has a total number of 30 202 people. These statistics reveal that on average, each housing unit has about 4 people. This would have been a comfortable number of people per household if the houses were bigger. Most

⁷¹https://www.google.co.za/search?q=www.zimbabwesituation.com%2Fold%2Ffarm_inv.html&oq=www.zimbabwesituation.com%2Fold%2Ffarm_inv.html&aqs=chrome..69i58j69i57.165809j0j1&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8#
(Retrieved October 3, 2016)

‘houses’ in this community have one room. The area is largely made up of crudely constructed houses of tarpaulin, plastic papers and other handy building materials. Some are made of concrete blocks and these are generally approximately 2 by 3 metres in size. For this reason, most have an outdoor cooking area made of plastic sheeting materials of indeterminate origin and strength. These are invariably patched up to shelter the residents from different weather elements.

Synonymous with most informal settlements, Caledonia has ample indications of deprivation. The community has no formal infrastructure such as roads, sewer system, running water and electricity. According to Dzimiri (2013:274), the conditions in Caledonia are dire, with lack of water and basic sanitation. The toilets are small wooden structures standing close to the houses. Some residents have dismantled the wooden building material replacing it with concrete building blocks. Residents say these wooden structures are a legacy from the United Nations, constructed during the emergency phase of Operation Murambatsvina. In the majority of cases, the wooden structures have outlived the tents which had been donated by the same organization. The blue tents, (now a patchwork), a symbol of the UN’s humanitarian presence, are still scattered throughout the settlement. The multiple patches on the tents seem to testify of the residents’ lengthy duration in internal displacement in Caledonia and the UN’s current state of absence.

Contrary to other residential areas with high volumes of people, school uniformed children are not a common sight. Instead, quite a number of children play street soccer, ‘*arauru*,’ ‘*rakaraka*,’ ‘*hwishu*,’ ‘*maflawu*’⁷² and other games in the dusty ‘roads.’ Only one section in Caledonia has proper gravel roads but the rest are well-worn paths turned into roads. Social stratifications are visible in Caledonia and one section is clearly the elite part as it has bigger homes, the majority of which are at various stages of incompleteness. In a place with no street names and house numbers, a completed house has become a directional point as you try to navigate to a particular destination through the myriad and maze of dissimilar dwellings.

The majority of Caledonia residents settled in the community after Operation Murambatsvina. May 2005 saw a massive dislocation of thousands of people due to the government program called Operation Murambatsvina (Dzimiri, 2013, IDMC, 2008). Operation Murambatsvina resulted in the destruction of thousands of residential houses and buildings (where small businesses operated

⁷² Games commonly played by young Zimbabwean girls on the streets in their residential areas.

from), which had been condemned as illegal structures (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006). A total 700 000 people was estimated to have been directly affected by this program and 570 000 were displaced and forced to move to places like Caledonia (IDMC, 2008). Caledonia became their new home as they joined a few war veterans who had settled themselves in this former farm during jamba. Many studies concur that Caledonia was a detention camp for people whose homes had been destroyed through the Operation Murambatsvina program (Ratele and Lau, 2007, Chirisa et al., 2014).

Like many of its sister camps,⁷³ Caledonia was originally meant to be used as transitional shelter as people awaited resettlement elsewhere. Beth Chitekwe-Biti, a former director of a Zimbabwean NGO, Dialogue on Shelter, suggests that this could be one of the reasons people constructed cheap housing units and not adhering to building standards for formalized residential development (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009:348). The major reason was probably because the people could not afford anything else. “It (Caledonia) quickly achieved an infamous reputation as a place of extreme deprivation and terrible environmental conditions,” (Potts cited in Vambe 2008:4). Initially, it spotted blue United Nations tents which confirmed that this international organization acknowledged the vulnerable status and predicament of this population. To date, a few isolated and tattered UN tents still stand amidst a plethora of other disparate housing units.

To date, Caledonia residents have experienced internal displacement at least twice in their lives. Chitekwe-Biti (2009) confirms that a number of the people in Caledonia were forcibly relocated for about four times in the last fifteen years (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009). In 1992, 1 500 families were forcibly removed from informal settlements in Epworth and Mbare to Porta Farm, ten kilometres from Harare (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009). The same said people were moved again in 2005 during Operation Murambatsvina. Some ended up in Caledonia and yet some in Hopley which is located to the south of Harare. So, some of the residents of Caledonia have experienced forced migration more than once in the last two decades.

4.1.2 Hopley

Hopley is roughly fourteen (14) kilometres South-West of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. It can be accessed either from the Masvingo-Beitbridge highway or off the equally busy Chitungwiza

⁷³ Some of the transit camps around the country were Eye-court and Hopley in Harare, Silver Spring in Bulawayo and Sakubva in Mutare (UNICEF, November 2005).

road. Chitungwiza is a rapidly growing satellite town on the fringes of Harare. Hopley is sandwiched between Waterfalls, a middle density suburb and a cemetery commonly referred to as ‘*Mbudzi*’.⁷⁴ Anecdotal stories say this name stuck because many goat farmers used to sell their goats at this place. Hopley is home to thousands of displaced people driven from their homes by the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina (Hughes, 2007). Many people were relocated to such peri-urban camps which were originally meant to be temporary holding settlements as people awaited permanent resettlement elsewhere (Hammar, 2008b). According to Colson (2003:9) camps denote “the warehousing” of the people who cannot go back to their homes. The objectifying of the displaced people is emphasized through unfavourable conditions associated with such camps.

The potholed tarred road off the Masvingo-Beitbridge highway into Hopley runs adjacent the cemetery. Ironically, this road is better than the ‘roads’ into Hopley itself. From the Southern end, one branches off into a dirt road with big protruding boulders about a hundred metres off the tarred road. It would take practiced skill to manoeuvre one’s vehicle past these boulders. It is perhaps not surprising that there is no public transport that plies this route into Hopley. Thus, one has to walk into the area after dropping off from the main road.

From the onset, small tuck shops and hairdressers’ salons stand out amidst the residential houses. These seem to be thriving if one is to judge by the amount of human traffic to and from them. Some have loud music blaring from their dark interiors whose source of energy are the solar panels sunning out in the available open spaces. From these tuck shops, I am told one can get a selection of everyday essentials such as bread, cooking oil, soap and the inevitable sweets and biscuits. There are no signs of physical demarcations between these shops and the neighbouring houses which probably means that these businesses are being run from residential stands.

The houses have a striking similarity in their sizes and ‘architecture.’ Hopley’s southern end or zone 5 seems a particularly poorer section of the community. This is accentuated by the comparison of the housing structures to the far east of Hopley. The latter is the section where the Harare City Council has allocated residential stands to its workers. Compared to the stark nakedness of Zone 5, this area has bigger houses and infrastructural development underway. In Hopley’s Southern section, the average house is flat roofed with one or two small rooms. Where the owner has decided

⁷⁴ ‘*Mbudzi*’ is a name for a goat in the local Shona language

to construct a pit toilet, this is unvaryingly a separate building situated somewhere in the small yard. Some have also dug wells in their residential stands and one resident feared that this water was not safe to drink due to possible cross contamination with human waste from pit toilets.

The uniformity in the housing structures seems to extend to the population in Hopley. Most people sit outside their houses in small clusters with apparently nothing to do. At one house, men, both young and old are sitting on crudely made benches sharing opaque beer at 9 o'clock in the morning! This house is a shebeen. A few enterprising residents have mounted fruit and vegetable stalls just inside their yards while some are hoeing small patches of maize crops.

This pattern repeats itself if one enters Hopley off the Chitungwiza highway. The first visible centre of activity from this end is an old sprawling red brick house. This former farm house has been turned into the only clinic in the community. There are long queues of people waiting to be attended by the health personnel at the centre. Right across the road, a few metres from the clinic, the tuck-shops and houses blend into each other as the seemingly paved road leading to the clinic gives way to the usual vague pathways. From then on, the physical structures and general atmosphere take a relentless and pervasive similitude prevalent in other parts of the community.

Therefore, I considered both Caledonia and Hopley to be ideal for the study on the provision of secondary school education during displacement. As attested by the key informants interviewed in the two communities, they were forced to move into the areas and this has affected their children's bid to access education.

4.2 Unravelling the lived experiences in internal displacement

As a symptom of the structural problems that generate conflict, displacement is a national challenge that ultimately calls for creating an environment where all citizens feel a sense of belonging on equal footing: An environment where their human rights and fundamental liberties are respected without discrimination on the grounds of race, national origin, ethnicity, religion, culture, gender, or other grounds; where the state will respond effectively to their needs for protection and humanitarian assistance, (Deng, 2001:155).

This is an excerpt from a speech by Francis M Deng, the then Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Internal Displacement (RSG). Francis Deng was one of the central figures behind the architecture of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

This speech serves to reiterate the importance of effective response to the call for humanitarian assistance as well as upholding the displaced people's human rights. It can be assumed that the former RSG foresaw the challenges that states may have in providing the requisite assistance to its displaced populations. These challenges sometimes emanate from either the lack of political will by the state or inaccessibility of the vulnerable people during armed strife. The query into the provision of social services like education for the forced migrants in Zimbabwe is driven by the perceived ineffective response to these needs by the state. According to Rhoades (2010), IDPs are often excluded from national education programs due to lack of political will, discrimination or lack of resources. The prevailing conditions in Hopley and Caledonia as narrated by the participants portray visible inconsistencies with the IDPs policies and human rights laws.

In order to contextualise internal displacement and the effects it has had in the provision of secondary school education, I proceeded to visit Hopley and Caledonia to collect empirical evidence from the residents. As revealed through their narratives, in their different ways, the displaced people grapple with making sense of how forced migration has impacted on their lives in general and their children's access of education.

4.2.1 Reliving the journey into internal displacement

One of the most visible and obvious effects of displacement is loss of shelter. The loss of shelter immediately brings in the question of access to essential services such as education as families are forced to relocate to new areas. Being forcibly relocated immediately impacts on education as children would need to be transferred to schools in their new settlements. These transfers are not always feasible in cases of forced migration as parents may not afford to buy new uniforms and other requirements in the new schools. Consequently, the children lose the opportunity to go to school. Likewise, the respondents interviewed in my study concur that forced migration dispossessed them of their homes and also deprived their children of schooling.

One can contend that education is the basis for success in many human endeavors. This is supported by Deneulin and Shahani (2009:208), who posit that "education is central to human flourishing." For this reason, my study focuses on the potential role played by education to improve the lives of the displaced children. As attested by various studies reviewed in Chapter 2 of this study, the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia have been reduced to invisibility. Using the theoretical lens of the Capability Approach, education is instrumental and empowering particularly to marginalized

people. Therefore, education facilitates the displaced people's acquisition of other capabilities. Thus, I contend that the provision of secondary school education to the displaced children in the two communities will enable them to move from the potential to the realised (capability to functionings). This is corroborated by Comim et al. (2008:43) who say that education has potential "intrinsic value" and "instrumental value in expanding other capabilities." Therefore, despite, the children's current displaced status, they can potentially improve their socio-economic way of life through education. As revealed by some of the respondents in their narratives, internal displacement threatens to deprive them (and their children) of the types of lives they would value.

*Fanuel**⁷⁵

I arrive for the interview to find him eating rice and beans. A dark and tall but frail looking man, he says, *'hutano hwangu mazuvano hausi right,'* (I'm not very healthy these days). I commiserate with him and small talk ensues on the weather before we start the interview. He is sitting on the only couch in the room so I am given a chair to sit on while his daughter sits on the bed. The room is a kitchen cum bedroom. I gently request that he relates to me how he came to be living in Caledonia.

"Rwendo rwangu kuuya muno rwakabva kure (My journey to this place started from a long way). In 1992, I had relocated to Mutawatawa in Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe (UMP) where I was painting new government houses in the area. Ndini ndanga ndakabata Mutawatawa yese iya! (I was in charge of the whole area). He seems proud of this part of history so I leave him to go on. Having found success in the area, I decided to bring my family to live there with me. Semunhu anga ane maconnections, hazvina kundinetsa kuwana pekuvaka (As I was now well connected with the residents of the area, I had no difficulties finding a place to build my home)."

At this point, I am wondering where all this is going and how it is in answer to my question. I ask if his food is not getting cold hoping to divert him back to my question but he takes a chewy mouthful and continues from where he had left off.

"My friend talked to sabhuku (headman) and convinced him that I was a good person. I interrupt to ask him what a 'good man' is. He laughs and simply says that a good man

⁷⁵ * The asterisk indicates that these are pseudonyms to protect the true identity of the participants. In a bid to make the displaced population retain some dignity and voice, each participant was given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym that they preferred to be called by.

supports the ruling party. I was allocated a small plot ndokuto vaka musha wangu (I built my home). I stayed there for fifteen years. Ahaa nhamo yakazouya pama vote muna 2002 (Trouble came during the elections in 2002). I was accused of supporting the enemy (Movement for Democratic Change, an opposition political party). I was called to a Zanu PF party meeting where I was told that people like me needed to be taught a good lesson. There were six people including me who were being accused of this 'crime.' A pile of thick sticks cut for the purpose was on full display at the meeting venue. Haaa (shaking his head in mirthless laughter), we were thoroughly beaten. That same night, I told my wife lets go and we left everything behind. (He says he had started breeding pigs, some goats and cattle during his stay in the area). I passed by the headmaster's house and requested for my children's transfer letters. Unlike me, the headmaster had actually been told to leave the area within forty five minutes. This is how I came to Harare and my in-laws allowed me to rent in their backyard rooms. Uku takazobva ne 'tsunami' muna 2005 (we moved again because of Operation Murambatsvina in 2005). That's how I came to be here."

Like many fellow residents in Hopley and Caledonia, Fanuel* proves the government of Zimbabwe's non-compliance to the Guiding Principles. In any given context, displacement raises serious policy challenges which are aggravated by lack of programs to deal with the displaced populations. Guiding Principle 6(1) specifically stipulates the right of citizens to be protected from arbitrary displacement from their homes. Chapter 4, Section 74 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No 20) Act 2013 adds an element which protects people's homes from demolition. In hindsight, this Constitution serves to confirm that the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina infringed on the people's right to shelter, one of the basic human rights. The narrative above shows how the varied forms of forced migration changed Fanuel* from an individual who could comfortably sustain his family and reduced him to near destitution. In the narrative, Fanuel* appeared to attribute the socio-economic challenges he was facing to forced migration. As a father, he probably feels emasculated as he can no longer cater for his family. This is likely to diminish his self-worth and dignity. This further emphasizes an intrapersonal comparison of welfare prior and after displacement and it is apparent from this narrative that the participant's life was markedly better before his relocation to Caledonia.

There are many participants whose narratives about the journey into displacement echo parts of Fanuel's story. However, some are not as outspoken as him. For women like Tambudzai,* displacement seems to have robbed them of many things. Internal displacement dispossessed her of her home, a livelihood and her dignity. As Mooney (2005) attests, forced migration and life lived in displacement impoverishes the victims.

When I meet Tambudzai,* she tells me that she is 54 years old yet she is breast-feeding a toddler who looks to be around eighteen months old. I am rude enough to inquire whether she can still breast feed and she laughs it off and says;

“Zvakaoma mainini (it's difficult my sister). This baby is not my own child. Her mother (she was Tambudzai's younger sister) died when the child was only a few days old and I had to take the baby home. The nurses at the clinic told me to 'breast feed' her so as to create a bond with the child. I have suffered a lot. To make matters worse, my husband has not been home for more than ten years since he moved to South Africa to look for employment. He says he cannot come back home because he does not have 'papers.' (This she explains to mean that the husband is an illegal immigrant in the southern neighbouring country). To make matters worse, he has not sent us any money since he went away. He left because there was nothing here so I had to send the children to school and feed them on my own. I have no one to help me to look after my children. At one point my house collapsed after heavy rains and I had to shelter with a neighbour while my neighbours helped rebuild the 'house.' Because of all this, my health is poor. (She looks considerably older than the 54 years she told me she was).”

From Tambudzai's experiences, internal displacement also triggered further migration for some people. With no source of livelihood, Tambudzai's husband turned into an economic immigrant in South Africa. His departure accentuated his wife's vulnerability as she single handedly battles the difficulties prompted by displacement and female headed households. From Tambudzai's story, it seems that internal displacement resulted in ripple effects such as this female headed household with no source of income. Ultimately, this heightened the woman's problems as she struggled to send her children to school single handedly. To compound her problems, there were no schools in the community and this meant that she strove hard to send her children to schools in the nearby residential area. This is confirmed by Takunda* who says that there are still no schools in the

community. In view of such financial and infrastructural challenges, many children were forced to drop out of school.

Violet* is another resident and victim of displacement. She appears to me as less cowed or overwhelmed by her status as a victim of forced migration. She says, *‘there is no way you will find my house.’* so I call her to come and collect me from the main road branching into the area. She says first time visitors are literally collected from a designated point or else one would spend the whole day trying to find their destination. As I do not know her (I was referred to her by one organization that helps people in the area), I ask her (Violet) to tell me what she would be wearing. I see her at a distance and have the leisure to really study her. She is casually dressed in a blue jean skirt and body hugging t-shirt. She is speaking on her phone when she gets to me and for a minute, I have to stand and wait for her to end her call. I notice that she easily mixes English and Shona⁷⁶ as she speaks. She is a fair woman who seems to be in her late twenties or early thirties. Later, she tells me she is actually 37 years old and a grandmother of one! Violet* is one of the residents in the communities who seems to prove wrong any preconceived ideas about people living in displacement and confirm the latent potential people invariably possess. It seems erroneous to assume that all victims of displacement are helpless, waiting for humanitarian aid to survive.

As we walk back to her house, Violet* immediately launches into the narrative of her displacement.

“Musanyeperwe, zvaiva zvakaoma (Do not be fooled, it was really hard). We came here (Hopley) in September 2004. She angrily shakes her head and I begin to understand why she is an activist. I will never forget this time because it was the rain season. They simply ‘dumped’ us here, with no shelter, no blankets. I ask her how many days they were without shelter or blankets. She laughs and says, ‘Days! It was weeks before IOM (International Organization for Migration) and other NGOs came to help us. I rein her in and take her back to where all this had started. They only managed to evict us after we had fought the police. They sent senior government officials to explain the reasons for our being relocated. We were told that we would be sent to different temporary camps. They wrote down our names according to the sections in which we lived. A few days later, new lists were read out to us indicating where each family would go. Plan yavo was to separate us chete. (Their aim

⁷⁶ Shona is one of Zimbabwe’s local languages and is spoken by the majority of people in Harare and the two communities.

was to separate us).⁷⁷ According to the new lists, you would find yourself mixed with people from a section far away from yours. *Takaramba isu, ndopakatanga jambanja rese.* (We refused to be moved and this is where the fight with the police began) *She says this with a defiant tone.*

The following day, an army truck came and threw out pieces of paper telling us to pack our property and destroy our homes then leave the place by 6 o'clock the following morning. No one listened to this. The next day nothing happened at six in the morning so we thought aaah they were just threatening us. About ten o'clock the graders⁷⁸ arrived..... (She pauses for effect). There was confusion in the place. Women were screaming and men started shouting abusive language at the drivers of the trucks. When people heard that a child had been buried alive.....we decided to fight back! (She says this spiritedly such that I see the Amazon in her). We threw stones and any object at the trucks. The government then sent the riot⁷⁹ who threw tear gas at us. We fought back just like the UZ students had done.⁸⁰ Many people were injured and pakatofa vana (a number of children died). In the end we just had to move."

According to Violet's narrative, some children were buried alive during the demolitions.⁸¹ Many more people are said to have died later of diseases associated with the poor living conditions in the communities as well as lack of medical facilities. These events are a direct contradiction to some human rights as stipulated in the UDHR. The right to life forms the basis of the UDHR. This instrument has established its primacy in cardinal principles governing human societies. Human rights are said to have "helped to change the public policy discourse in all parts of the world," (Thakur, 2006). Likewise, Zimbabwean policies fall under this global instrument. The government

⁷⁷ Violet* corroborates arguments that Operation Murambatsvina was driven by political motives rather than cleaning up the cities of irregular housing structures. In Violet's view, their eviction from Porta was a premeditated and political move by the government. The intention of the government was to suppress opposition political activities particularly in urban areas. This is corroborated by Maurice Vambe (2008) in his article, The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina where he posits that Operation Murambatsvina was a 'smokescreen' for political motives. In their article, Popular Reactions to State Repression: Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe, Bratton and Masunungure (2006) discuss this at length.

⁷⁸ These were heavy earth moving machines which were used to destroy the residents' houses.

⁷⁹ This is a colloquial term for the police section that deals with rioting people.

⁸⁰ She is referring to the 1990s clashes between the riot police and University of Zimbabwe students.

⁸¹ <http://www.irinnews.org/news/2004/08/17/porta-farm-residents-condemn-eviction-order>. (Retrieved March 15, 2016). IRIN confirms that about eleven people died during the forced evictions at Porta.

policy that authorized the demolitions and eviction of citizens failed to comply with the human rights norms. Operation Murambatsvina can therefore be blamed for depriving these children and other citizens of the right to live the normal and natural length of their lives. Therefore, the lived experiences of the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia do not seem to match the standards stipulated by policies and instruments such as the GPID.

Kinship and other social networks are of paramount importance during migration or the decision to do so (Haug, 2008). Even though this context is on involuntary migration, from Violet's narrative, it seems that the residents at Porta were aware of the fact that internal displacement breaks community networks⁸² and rebelled against it. Despite the fact that contemporary migration studies place more value in the people concerned than the location where they move to or from, it is still crucial to consider kinship undercurrents prevailing for the population under study (Akanle and Olutayo, 2012). For this reason, Porta residents had formed community kinships which were vital for their survival in their environment. Being separated from such a community meant the loss of valuable affiliation on many spheres of their lives. One participant says these are the people he worked with molding bricks for the school in Porta and they had become part of his larger family. As a result of this, the evictions signified more than just the loss of shelter for the people.

Hopley and Caledonia residents have a lot of things in common. However, the most common thread running through the residents' narratives is that they all were involuntarily moved from somewhere almost at the same time. These two communities are not their original places of residence. '*We arrived here in May 2005 after having been removed from Porta,*' states Matemai,* a Hopley resident. This is echoed by Thomas,* one of the earliest residents in Caledonia and a fellow displaced person. '*They ferried us from Porta in October 2004 and left us here.*' Nevertheless, some like Fanuel* and Dhewa* used to live in the high density areas (HDAs)⁸³ where they moved when the rooms they were renting in were destroyed during Operation Murambatsvina. They joined other displaced families mainly from Porta and other surrounding HDAs like Tafara, Mabvuku (for Caledonia) and Glen Norah (for Hopley).

⁸² Mooney, E. 2005. The Concept of Internal Displacement and the Case for IDPs as a Category of Concern. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 24, 9-26.

⁸³ These are residential areas commonly referred to as townships which have large numbers of people who mainly belong to the low income bracket.

Thousands more gravitated to Caledonia from Kamombe, a peri-urban farm to the east of Harare. This farm had become a source of a wrangle between the Roman Catholic Church and the government of Zimbabwe. The victims of this wrangle are people like Chiedza* and her family who became displaced as a result of this. Chiedza* refused to be recorded and was visibly uncomfortable during the interview.

Chiedza* is a short woman of a slight build. She looks older than the 67 years she professes to be. As it is mid-morning, Chiedza is in the middle of her morning house chores which entail sweeping the yard and polishing the floor of her one roomed house. Wrapped over her dress, she has some fabric displaying the head of one of the major political party leaders in the country. She looks like she wants to quickly get rid of me after the greetings so I hasten to tell her that I have been referred to her by the local community leader. I go on to tell her that the community leader had spoken highly of her and her expert chronicling of the events following the people's eviction from the previous settlement. Chiedza reluctantly ushers me into the house where she points me to a small couch then continues with her chores with a nervous energy.

Chiedza* seems more concerned about her relations with the local leaders than narrating the ordeal of displacement. She comes across as a person who has metaphorically lost her voice along with her basic human rights. She is unlike some participants in the two communities who seemed determined to be heard. One can cautiously say that she needs to regain both her autonomy and self-respect.

The people's individual stories about internal displacement invariably converge except for a few minor details. I catch up with Marara* as he is taking a break from digging a well for one of the residents. He is muddy and wet as he has just struck the water level in this well. We sit beside the crude hole and proceed with the interview. His self-given pseudonym 'Marara' is a Shona term that depicts rubbish or waste. The participant says, "*tete, hurumende yedu yakatirasa kunge marara chaiwo. Havana basa nesu zvachose*" (the government treats us like garbage. No one cares about us). The participant seems to echo the Zimbabwean displaced persons' invisibility alluded to in a number of studies (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013).

Marara* exemplifies situations when people "come to terms with their deprivations because of the sheer necessity of survival," (Deneulin et al., 2006:149). This is typical of the lives of the people

living in Hopley and Caledonia. Internal displacement invariably reduced the people's opportunities to pursue their chosen forms of livelihood. This means that people like Marara* are compelled to take whatever job is available. This is supported by Deneulin and Shahani (2009:219), who say that such circumstances force people into "adaptive preference." One contends that the jobs and livelihoods held by the displaced people are incommensurable with their initial aspirations (and entitled human rights). Viewed from the lens of the Capability Approach, the element of adaptive preference connotes the importance of freedom in well-being. This is particularly relevant when people are obliged to accept the lack of opportunities as well as other deprivations in Hopley and Caledonia as the norm. However, to 'trouble' and interrogate what is taken as 'normal' in displaced communities, the people living in such contexts still possess the rights to choose lives that they really want. Thus, living in displacement does not occlude the desire to (want to be) successful and make other life choices essential to one's functionings.

In the context of the above contention, forced evictions also eliminated any opportunity to make individual choices about many aspects of their lives. Likewise, some participants revealed that their children cannot make educational choices since there are no formal schools available in the communities. Conversely, it can be contended that the conditions in which Marara and other residents find themselves living in cannot entirely be attributed to internal displacement. However, Sen Amartya, the proponent of the Capability Approach argues that, "what they achieve is inconsequential. The important thing is that people have freedom to decide the life they value doing and being," (Comim et al., 2008:363). Therefore, forced evictions transcend the victims' deprivation of shelter and unvaryingly symbolise the denial of their freedoms.

Ironically, Marara's self-given name does not depict his convictions about himself. He believes that he could improve his life if he got a regular and better paying job. Therefore, in the context of displaced people like Marara, it seems that the hypothesis which suggests that all victims of oppression and social injustice passively accept their status is wrong. Though Operation Murambatsvina happened more than a decade earlier, Marara* maintains that this is still very fresh in his mind.

"Mama,⁸⁴ it was hard. They took us from Porta and simply dumped us near the crèche there (Points to where this crèche is currently located). There was nothing there and they left us there with our children."

⁸⁴The term means mother but is often used as a respectful term for all older women.

The reference to children immediately calls to attention that the displaced children's schooling was affected. Marara* emphasizes that there was 'nothing' in this new settlement to house the families as well as ensure that the children did not lose school time. However, for some children, displacement signaled the end of their schooling. This is corroborated by one respondent who says, *'They last went to school when we were in Porta.'* From the onset, the residents in Hopley and Caledonia seem to question the manner in which they had been forcibly ejected from their former homes to the new communities. This invokes the application of one of the core human capabilities which states that everyone deserves to be treated with dignity equal to everyone else (Nussbaum, 2003). The principle of affiliation demands that every human being be accorded proper shelter and food. The people in Hopley and Caledonia suddenly found themselves without shelter and many other basic essentials necessary for everyday living and these basics make up the functionings that enable one to live the life he chooses and values. It can be argued that forced migration connotes negative effects on every sphere of life of the victims. The nature of the evictions and the manner in which the people were treated during and after Operation Murambatsvina implies disregard for human dignity. Ultimately, this jeopardized the displaced people's "patently justiceable" (sic) capabilities (Deneulin et al., 2006:2). Without these (sic), it can be argued that it is (virtually) impossible for the IDPs to improve their lives. This is further supported by Guiding Principle 8 which states;

Displacement shall not be carried out in a manner that violates the rights to life, dignity, liberty and security of those affected (OCHA, 2003:5).

Therefore, Operation Murambatsvina was instrumental in the displaced people's current status. This encompasses physical states such as the lack of shelter as well as eroding their dignity and a sense of well-being. Moreover, without access to education, displaced children in these communities have to contend with potentially disrupted futures. According to Deneulin et al., (2006), living in such conditions may lead to low aspirations in life. This may explain why the young people in these communities (with little education opportunities) turn to prostitution and substance abuse.

For some of the displaced people who were victims of Operation Murambatsvina, this was not the first time they had been forced to migrate. Thomas* concurs with this as he says,

“This was not my first time to be evicted from a place. In 1991, the government moved us from Churu to Porta Farm. I knew from past experience that fighting the government was useless so I was one of the first people to agree to move to Caledonia. When we arrived here, they put all the families in the farmhouse that the white man used to live in.”

At Porta, Thomas* professes that he had built a four roomed house which he had to destroy before relocating to Caledonia. This is reiterated by Chengetai* another forced migrant in Hopley who bemoans all the lost property. A heavily pregnant woman, Chengetai* still finds the memories of the events unsettling and she raises her voice in answer to my question.

“Do you know that many people sold their property cheaply to raise money to travel to their rural homes? A nice wardrobe was sold for just \$2 so that one could get money to travel to Mrewa. People sold beds for just \$5 as they were desperate for money. No one wanted to come to this bush!”

Material goods are not the only things that the people lost. One of the participants alleges that many families broke apart as a result of Operation Murambatsvina.

“Heee, zvanga zvakaoma (it was difficult). A man and his wife would share children right in the middle of the road! One takes one child, another takes the other child and they go separate ways...each one to his rural home.”

The most difficult part was that they were never compensated for any of these losses. Before leaving Porta, there had been talk about material compensation in the form of roofing materials. Such promises were dispelled as soon as the people had been relocated to the new communities. For the victims of Operation Murambatsvina, the majority of whom were dispossessed of their livelihoods, there were minimal chances of acquiring any new assets to replace those lost. This meant that most IDPs were invariably poorer than they had been before being forcibly evicted and their property destroyed. This clearly breaches the IDPs’ endowment sets as the people lost property that they had legally owned (Sohlberg, 2006).

These victims of displacement maintain that the move to Hopley and Caledonia was neither by choice nor negotiated. No one voluntarily relocated to these communities. As Violet* recounts, the actual eviction took everyone by surprise.

“We never thought that the government would go ahead with the threats to remove us from Porta. We had lived there for more than ten years now and we thought we were permanent, so.....(pauses), when the trucks arrived to destroy our homes, we were shocked. No one was prepared for this and we lost a lot of things there.”

Reza* admits that that no one wanted to move. *‘How could we agree to move to a place we didn’t know? Who wants to live in a forest?’* The same social injustice was experienced by those who had lived in HDAs. These forced evictions and subsequent relocations invariably affected parents with school going children as they had to find means to transfer them to new schools. For the majority of parents, this proved to be difficult as they had lost their livelihoods and there were no schools in these communities. This seems to cement the contention by early critical theorists such as Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno⁸⁵ who said that in any given society, the world is shaped by injustice and suppression of certain people. The contemporary forced migrants in the form of IDPs in the two communities have apparently borne the full brunt of societal inequity.

Human rights organizations such as ZimRights are said to have made attempts to stop the arbitrary evictions from Porta and other similar communities in Zimbabwe. Thomas* who professes to have held a position both in Porta and Caledonia as a coordinator between the residents and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) speaks of these fruitless efforts.

“Human rights⁸⁶ took the government to court to stop it from removing us from Porta. They said the government should build us houses first before sending us here. The government was very clever. It simply accused ‘human rights’ of belonging to the opposition political party. Aaah, they had to stop helping us after this.”

Without legal representation and other groups to advocate for them, the residents had to comply with the government’s orders to move. Even though entitlements hold a legal element underlining who can have use of what in any given society, on their own, the residents probably felt that they

⁸⁵ See <http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/m900.htm> (Retrieved October 4, 2016)

⁸⁶ Refers to the Zimbabwe Human Rights Organization

could not contest the legality of these evictions. They also failed to plead their entitlement to the land on which they had been living as well as the property they had accrued in the same period. To compound their problems and accentuate their challenges, the government decided to deploy armed forces to force the residents to move from this community. Many studies carried on Operation Murambatsvina concurred that it was highly militarized (Bhebhe, 2013, Hammar, 2008a, Benyera and Nyere, 2015, Mangongera, 2014). The repressive nature of the evictions therefore stamped the social injustice that prevailed (sic) in Zimbabwe during this period. For those who had been living in Porta, they were told that the land (Porta) belonged to the Harare City Council while those who had lived in HDAs were categorically informed that their houses had been constructed illegally. Thus, they were stripped of their fundamental right to shelter along with this, were their capabilities. Loss of shelter is synonymous with problems such how to access services essential for survival. This was particularly severe in the two communities as the government had not constructed any infrastructure prior to the residents' relocation. In the context of my study, the absence of schools was conspicuous. The disregard for the residents' basic rights to shelter cements the orthodox Marxist assumption that certain groups in society are privileged over others. This amplifies the IDPs' position in conjunction with those in authority while also enhancing societal concerns of injustice and inequity (Reeves et al., 2008). Therefore, such behaviour retracted the government's caretaker role over the displaced people and called for other forms of agency.

4.3 Pursuit for secondary school education by children in Hopley and Caledonia

Since relocating to Hopley and Caledonia, thousands of children have had to forgo any goals towards schooling. Participants interviewed profess that the problems started when they were evicted and subsequently relocated to Hopley and Caledonia during mid-term of the school calendar. According to Thomas,*

“When we first arrived here, it was mid-term. All the schools in the neighbouring townships were full. We had to wait for a new term to begin.”

This means that most children lost school time which created gaps in their education. In every case of forced migration, children inevitably suffer loss of access to education. This happens due to the disruption of the IDPs' lives as they relocate to new areas. For some, the loss of school years is more protracted than others. Children in Hopley and Caledonia have equally been affected as they

have not been able to access secondary school education since their relocation into the communities.

The mass forced evictions limited children's existing access to education, especially for communities who formerly resided at Porta Farm and Hatcliffe Extension before the forced evictions in 2005 (AmnestyInternational, 2011b:7).

The Amnesty International article *Left Behind: The Impact of Zimbabwe's Mass Forced Evictions on the Right to Education* also corroborates this and highlights that displacement has cost the children more than their homes. This is supported by Frediani and Hansen (2015:5) who argue that there is a link between space and capabilities which 'measures the quality of life in urban territories by looking at resource distribution, such as proximity to infrastructure, and levels of deprivation.' Thus, displacement has cost these children their homes which seem to have also dispossessed them of their futures. It can be assumed that this generation of young women and men has been denied the salient freedoms that are inexorably linked to education. The implication of this is that these children may never attain the kind of lives they envisioned for themselves.

Violet* agrees with Thomas* and adds that many headmasters do not trust children from the community.

"They say our children are thieves and that they are naughty. So, even if there are vacancies in the schools, they would not want to take our children."

Amnesty International (2011b:9) concurs with this and states that the 'people could neither afford transport to their original schools nor were they readily admitted into schools in the neighbouring suburbs of Mabvuku and Tafara.' The children are therefore dogged by stigma and discrimination which sometimes precedes them and possibly prejudicing their status if enrolled in these schools. Thus, displacement has resulted in additional problems of discrimination for these children. Such stigmatization is potentially harmful to the children's self-esteem. This would suggest that internal displacement has deeper effects that go beyond the loss of physical aspects such as shelter.

Despite these challenges, some parents are persistent and eventually managed to get their children enrolled in the schools in nearby HDAs. The acceptance of the children into these schools brings in fresh challenges.

“Most of the people here are not employed. These schools demand a lot of money for fees. They ask us to pay \$100 or more, buy uniforms and books. We can’t afford this kind of money.”

For this reason, Mudhara* attests that many have decided to keep their children at home.

“You see all those boys (points to a group of young men who look to be in their early twenties). They last went to school when we were in Porta.”

A quick mental calculation tells me that the young men probably only went as far as primary level. However, some determined parents strive to keep their children in these schools. Undoubtedly, this generally comes at a high cost to them. Thomas* confesses that he has not received his children’s end of term reports because he owes the school a lot of money. In addition to this, the children’s attendance is erratic as they are sometimes denied entry into the school due to arrears in school fees. Parents think that this is going to negatively affect the children’s performance. Though capabilities (ends) are prioritized over means (resources) (Hick, 2012), sometimes the lack of the latter overrides the former and thereby incapacitating the people. Without the resources to keep the children in school, these forced migrants are ironically robbed of the potential they have to improve their lives.

Junior* is one such young man who is likely to have been affected by this relocation to Caledonia. He was only ten years old when Operation Murambatsvina took place. He describes his academic status as having ‘finished school.’ By this I assume that he implies completing the ordinary level but then he could easily have been a school drop-out. This young man proves to be a paradoxical personality in relation to the conditions in which he lives. Junior is like a burst of sunshine after a cloudy day. I meet him after a very rude dismissal by one elderly man whom my source had lauded praises as a fountain of information on this study subject. The old man proclaims that he is ‘tired of people who come and write things down and go away never to be seen again.’ So I hesitantly approach the next interview venue.

Junior* steps up jauntily with a buoyant smile pasted on his chubby and rather young looking face. A young man with the build of a stocky labourer, Junior is wearing a casual loose t-shirt with a nondescript logo plastered on his chest. His rubber slippers are worn out probably from everyday use for every occasion. He has a generally happy countenance. I ask him if he can spare some time

off his job for this interview. Junior is employed at a small tuck-shop which is an unpainted flat roofed building, with a small opening on the wall used for serving customers. It sells almost anything from soap to powder soup. He claims he can do both concurrently; man the shop as well as attend to my questions. Unlike other participants, he is not intimidated by the use of a recording device. In fact he offers to hold it for himself and starts to speak rather loudly into it in answer to my first question. I imagine that he is probably living his fantasy as some famous journalist or radio disc jockey.

Junior seems to have taken a stance to make the best out of his life in displacement. For him, the element of agency seems effective as he has secured his goals. He appears content with his job though his remaining employed is subject to the success of the owner of the tuck shop. His attitude is basically influenced by his social context which shaped his mental capabilities. This manner of thinking seems to be driven by the perceived opportunities that are available to people in the communities. As intimated by the Capability Approach, Junior seems to fit the mold of people who are obliged to make an “adaptive preference” with regards to the type of employment he can be engaged in. Such a contention is driven by the fact that his job appears satisfactory due to the absence of better opportunities in his community. Nevertheless, this ‘compelled adaptation’ emphasizes how difficult it is to operationalize one’s capabilities in an environment that seems to stifle opportunities. The majority of participants interviewed are of the view that being relocated to Hopley and Caledonia has drastically reduced their chances of being gainfully employed. Many are willing to take anything that comes their way.

As suggested by some respondents’ narratives captured in this study, some young girls have turned to prostitution while the young men abuse substances. Therefore, it seems that the young men and women’s current states of vulnerability were increased by their displacement as they failed to continue with schooling. Therefore, they resort to alternative means of survival which may not require any educational qualifications. One young Caledonia resident, Sean,* concurs that the lack of education has reduced the young people’s chances of being gainfully employed. Comim et al. (2008) argues that vulnerability is lessened when the people’s capabilities are improved. Viewed from this angle, the NGOs’ absence in the two communities has contributed to moral decadence as well as aborted goals for many young people affected by internal displacement.

In addition to financial constraints, there are concerns about the safety of all the children who attend schools in the neighbouring HDAs particularly in the early days in these communities. These schools generally offer what they term ‘hot seating’ which has certain classes attending school in the morning until around one o’clock in the afternoon. The next session then begins from then till around five in the evening. Tambudzai* speaks of the unnerving experience of waiting for her young son in the bushes to take him home during their early days in Caledonia. The boy was attending school in Mabvuku, one of the townships close to Caledonia.

“I would call out his name consistently so that he would locate my voice in the dark. I also feared for my safety as a woman but could not leave my son to risk walking home alone.”

The risks taken and effort exerted by parents like Tambudzai* to ensure that their children went to school clearly point out how much they value education. This confirms the contention that most forced migrants prioritise education and seek access to educational facilities for their children once they are resettled in new areas (UNESCO, 2011, Sommers, 1999). This immediately reinforces the importance of education for the pursuance of one’s capabilities. These would then lead to the achievement of a better quality of life.

Tendai* says that poor roads continue to be a barrier for school going children who attend schools outside the community. When it rains, the roads are said to be impassable.

“The private cars that we hire to ferry our children to school can’t come here. The drivers refuse to drive on these roads so as to collect our children. When this happens, our children don’t go to school.”

This means that the children’s attendance during the rainy season is irregular. In the light of the above challenges, it seems sensible for parents to send their children to local schools. Takunda,* who runs one of the informal schools in Caledonia laughs at this suggestion.

“Which schools are you talking about? Did you see anything that looks like a school when you were coming here? There are no schools here except those that operate from homes and under trees. There is also no furniture for the children to use during the lessons in these schools.”

Both Hopley and Caledonia have seen a profusion of these unregistered and informal schools apparently aimed at taking advantage of the lack of formal educational institutions. In Caledonia, these schools operate from homes, makeshift structures and even under trees. Milonzi* a concerned mother from Hopley confirms this,

“We have to give the children our wrappers and pieces of material which they spread on the ground and sit on. When they come back home they will be very dirty.”

Most parents are doubtful of their children’s passing the national examinations. This threatens each child’s achievement or their functionings (Clark, 2005). Moreover, if capabilities depend on ‘personal value judgements,’ then these children might place very little value on education due to these conditions. This in turn would be detrimental to their individual, as well as the community’s development and future.

As an alternative means to attaining education, schools in the two communities do not seem to meet the parents’ expectations and perceived standards. Takunda,* Tendai* and Chengetai* express their concerns over the general behaviour exhibited by children from such schools. They are said to have no proper school uniform, keep irregular hours at school and do not respect elders in the community. Moreover, they generally have minimal supervision as the teachers alternate between classes leaving some of the children unattended. A common cause for concern is also teacher qualifications. Bucha* proclaims,

“Some of these teachers are our neighbours and you only get surprised when you wake up one day to find that they have become teachers. We don’t see them going for training or maybe these days it’s not necessary to train to become a teacher.”

Tendai,* whose younger brother has been transferred to a school outside the community says the children from the local schools generally bring home very good results at the end of each term but fail dismally in the national examinations.

“I suspect that these teachers just write good results so that we keep sending our children to them. All they want is our money.”

The local schools are said to charge from US\$5 to \$10 a month per child. This is tangentially affordable and attracts a fair number of students from the communities. Despite these seemingly lower fees, Takunda* says of the forty students that are enrolled at his school, only an average of two (2) students are paid up every month. Consequently, he feels that what he is offering is just community service and he, and many others like him, do not benefit from this. Parents in these communities appear to be unable to afford even the nominal fees charged by the informal schools. This state puts the children even further away from attaining education. Consequently, this perpetuates social inequality between the displaced populations and other communities who have command over necessities of life like education.

None of these schools is an examination centre and the children have to be transported to other schools to write their public examinations. In 2015, ZimRights reported of a case when students from Tariro, a school in Hopley were charged an extra \$20 by a school in Glen Norah so as to write their examinations. This further makes education inaccessible to the displaced children. As attested by many participants who were interviewed for my research, there is rampant unemployment in the communities. This entails that many parents may not afford the additional transport costs to examination centres. Such children may therefore drop out of school at the penultimate period in their schooling. The rights to education for children in Hopley and Caledonia border on being only ostensible as many cannot exercise them. These conditions appear to confirm that sometimes rights are just titular (Nussbaum, 2003). Moreover, their vulnerability to rights abuse is compounded by the fact that the government cannot easily be forced to honour its moral, legal and political obligations to its people as expounded by the constitution. This is mainly because the government is the perpetrator of the internal displacement of the Hopley and Caledonia residents.

4.4 Impact of internal displacement on the provision of education

One can contend that internal displacement has negatively impacted on the young Hopley and Caledonia residents' academic progress than children who never experienced any form of dislodgement. Participants interviewed concur that their children had their education disrupted when they were forced to relocate through internal displacement. Their forced migration to Hopley and Caledonia is said to be responsible for the foreclosure of many educational goals and sometimes these are irrevocably aborted. One of the benefits of education is that it is said to have

the potential to change humanity for the better. It is a ‘transformative process’⁸⁷ that instils elements of objective judgment in its recipients. Many parents lament their children’s failure to attain secondary school education and profess that this will disadvantage them in life.

Chengetai* bemoaned the fact that most young people could not continue with their schooling when they were relocated which left them with no choice but to secure menial jobs. It would appear that these parents expected their children to be more successful in life than is perceived currently. Learning outcomes form the basis of the Education 2030 Agenda and therefore, “functional literacy and numeracy skills; and skills for work, global citizenship and sustainable development for youth and adults.”⁸⁸ As stipulated in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, this is a plan of action to eradicate poverty in all its forms.⁸⁹ In the same vein, parents in Hopley and Caledonia would hold the same aspirations for their children. Thomas* was particularly emphatic on what plans he had for his children.

“I don’t want them to live the life I’m living. I never got a chance to continue with schooling. I only went as far as Grade 7 and my father told me to go and look for employment. You know....back then some parents didn’t see the value in education.”

He further told me that this was the reason he sent his children to schools outside Caledonia even though he could barely afford it. In his view, this increased their chances of securing better livelihoods.

One visible manifestation of the impact of internal displacement on the pursuit of education in the communities is the perceived number of teenagers out of school. Participants interviewed have no concrete figures of these but claim that thousands were forced to abort school when they started living in these communities. Takunda* shakes his head sadly,

⁸⁷ Letizia, A. 2013. Battle for Enlightenment: Neoliberalism, Critical Theory and the role of Circumvential Education in fostering a New Phase of Enlightenment. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 11, 164-193.

⁸⁸ Technical Advisory Group Proposal for the Thematic Indicators to Monitor the Education 2030 Agenda, October 2015

⁸⁹ <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication> (Accessed October 18, 2016)

“You don’t have to conduct a census to know these things. Our girls and boys are not going to school. I sit here every day and see so many of them just walking up and down during school times.....they don’t go to school I’m telling you.”

Matemai* agrees with this and adds, *‘Ah.....so many of my neighbours are not sending their children to school. I know because we spend the day with these young people, sharing beer.’* It appears that the young people being referred to by both Takunda and Matemai are not attending school, either those in the community or outside. Furthermore, Matemai euphemistically refers to the life of young people wasted away through alcohol abuse instead of being at school or employed. This indicates that the participant is alert to the fact that the young people ought to have been engaged in educational pursuits than imbibing in alcohol.

Due to the limited chances of going back to school, many young people are said to have fallen into immoral habits. Violet* is particularly angry because she blames her life in displacement for prematurely ushering her into being a grandmother. Her daughter became a teenage mother in the early years of their arriving in the community. In worst case scenarios, girls are said to have turned to prostitution. Dhawela* contends,

“Our daughters have become wild. They go into beer halls⁹⁰ where they get old men who give them money.”

Another participant complains that child marriages are very rife in the community. He claims that the young women are difficult to control and *‘do what they want.’* A Caledonia resident asserts that many street kids in the city of Harare have come from his community. It would seem that life in the community compounded by lack of access to schools has driven these children into the streets where they beg for food and money. This depicts that societal institutions have failed to put these children in positions of capabilities. According to Osmani (1993:7), this is a “conduit for entitlement failure,” Rubin (2009) posits that entitlement failure occurs when an individual is unable to access commodity bundles. In the context of my study, education has been qualified as a ‘commodity bundle’. In other words, education can be rated as an essential service for displaced children. Rubin goes on to say that entitlement failure becomes worse when combined with being

⁹⁰ Euphemism for prostitution

deprived of one's capabilities. For children in Hopley and Caledonia, lack of provision of secondary school education is entitlement failure.

In these communities, teenage boys and young men in their early twenties have also not been immune to shortened school years. According to Sean* and Junior,* most young men in the community are idle and abuse drugs. Junior sounds very unsympathetic to his peers as he says, *'They just spend the day walking around, chasing girls and smoking mbanje.'*⁹¹ Sean* is more empathetic and rhetorically states, 'what can they do, they didn't go to school. After all there are no factories to employ us.' Sean* is one such young man affected by forced migration.

This young man of around mid to late twenties is difficult to pin down. By day he is in any place where day contract work could be found and at night he plays drums for a small musical band in the neighbouring township. On the day of the interview he has come back from the back breaking concrete brick molding. He clearly has not had time to properly wash off the evidence of his day's trade but if one looks long enough past the grim dress and crusted cement residues, you would see a young man in his prime.

Sean professes to be one of the many unemployed youths in his community. He says that one is not at liberty to choose the type of job as it is difficult to get one. He has neither educational qualifications nor a certificate in any trade. Despite this, he seems determined to make a living from the contract work he sometimes gets. He bemoans the lack of factories or industries that can employ people like him and he feels life has really been unfair on him and other young men and women growing in his community as they never had opportunities that others have.

Sean comes across as an angry young man that refuses to take the blame for his situation. He however does not want to commit to apportioning blame on any particular person. He says, 'nothing can come out of this community' which I take to imply that people in the community have no chance of succeeding in life. His explanation is that people in Caledonia are 'unlearned.'

Hopley and Caledonia residents blame the absence of educational facilities for their children's behaviour. They say educational institutions mold children's characters. Mudhara* concurs with this contention,

⁹¹A Shona term for marijuana.

“Long back, our teachers used to beat us until we were good boys...now look at this (spreads his arms expansively), the world is full of matsotsi (criminals). They don’t listen to us because they say we are traditional but they would listen to teachers because teachers are learned people.”

In retrospect, many participants think that education would have turned most young people in the communities into good law abiding citizens. In addition, they feel that the young people would also have better chances at formal employment. Arguably, this would depend on the prevailing economic conditions in the country. Zimbabwe has experienced economic problems for many years. In an article, *Vulnerability, Poverty and Coping in Zimbabwe*, the country had “the fastest shrinking economy globally,” (Bird and Prowse, 2008:1). Therefore, in a country where unemployment is very high, for an individual without any form of educational qualifications, this considerably reduces chances of getting employed. Acquiring an education is a crucial functioning that also boosts one’s self-respect and presumably shaping character in the process. Education arguably equips one to fully exploit his capabilities, which in turn enriches one’s agency.

4.5 ‘We lived like animals,’- Hopley and Caledonia residents’ constructions of internal displacement

Dogs do not actually prefer bones to meat; it is just that no one ever gives them meat. ~ Akan (African Proverb).

From the various interviews conducted with the displaced people in both Caledonia and Hopley, it became clear that they held particular assumptions and expectations about their new lives in displacement. In the majority of cases, these expectations were not met the IDPs’ new status tended to objectify these IDPs. Consequently, the displaced people in the two communities have opted for adaptive preference in most spheres of their lives. Even for those humanitarian organisations seemingly interested in pursuing the issue of forced evictions, the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia assumed the position of political subjects. The residents’ plight seemed to be relegated to a secondary position to the political debates that ensued around Operation Murambatsvina. In an article, *Operation Murambatsvina: The Dynamics and Escalation of Zimbabwean Intra-state*

Conflict, Shale (2006)⁹² posits that Operation Murambatsvina was a manifestation of the political conflict between the ruling party (ZANU PF) and the then main opposition party (Movement for Democratic Change/MDC). Due to such debates at both regional and international level, the political implications of the program assumed prominence at the expense of the victims' other needs.

Arguably, the political motives behind Operation Murambatsvina should have attracted international attention particularly as it created massive humanitarian crises (Potts, 2006; HRW, 2005). However, the people directly affected by the program and their welfare needed to be the focal point of discussion. As alluded to in the above African Proverb, the voices of the displaced people were muted as both the Zimbabwean government and international community chose to pursue individual agendas in dealing with the question of internal displacement in Zimbabwe. Due to the behavior exhibited by the global community towards them, the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia formed new perceptions and determined that their treatment bordered on being inhuman.

The evictions and subsequent forced migration to Hopley and Caledonia marked the dawning of many years of varying forms of deprivation in internal displacement. The salience of forced migration is that it creates a shared history among the uprooted (Colson, 2003). The pronouncements, 'it was a forest,' 'it was a bush,' 'there was nothing,' cut across most narratives and early descriptions of both Hopley and Caledonia. Mudhara,* a very forthright resident summarizes the conditions when they first arrived in his community as,

"We lived like animals. We were left here with nothing and built zvinyeda⁹³ to live in. Haaa amai.... (mother), we really suffered here."

This is supported by Bratton and Masunungure (2006:25) who say,

Hapless family members — old and young, male and female alike — were loaded onto lorries and trucked to hastily established and unprepared transit camps where

⁹²Shale (2006) Operation Murambatsvina: The Dynamics and Escalation of Zimbabwean Intra-state Conflict <http://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/%EF%BF%BConeration-murambatsvina/> (Accessed October 19, 2016).

⁹³ Colloquial Shona term for plastic houses

they were left in the open with minimal shelter — often no more than plastic sheeting — in the winter cold.

One can cautiously say that the residents view the kind of life they have had to live as beneath their level of expectations. Understandably, it was probably inconceivable that the government could forcibly move them to these sites where no infrastructure had been constructed prior to their arrival. Consequently, displacement is a life they feel is beneath human dignity and they cannot value it. For the displaced people, such an experience may have led to the deconstruction of their worth in relation to the government. While it can be argued that Operation Murambatsvina generally did not affect the fundamental right to life of its victims, it should be underscored that the UDHR acknowledges that the enjoyment of certain rights is dependent upon others (Chimni, 2000). It would be virtually impossible to enjoy one's right to life if he has no shelter, food or clothes. The participants and other residents in the communities have all experienced such deprivations at one point in this life in displacement. Moreover, it can be argued that the right to life would be more enjoyable if their future prospects were brighter. Education is one such right that could improve the displaced children's lives.

The early days (some went for months) were fraught with challenges. These included lack of shelter, food, water and other essential services. For people like Chiedza,* the quick intervention by the UN, which brought tents, became a welcome reprieve from the flimsy plastic sheeting they had used for their houses. With no source of livelihood, most residents in Hopley and Caledonia found life in the emergency phase of their displacement very challenging. Life in Porta was probably also far from ideal (the community was also infamous for slum life). However, the conditions in Hopley and Caledonia when the residents first arrived (and debatably even to date) were indubitably more severe in lacking bare essentials. Dhawela,* a soft spoken man nonchalantly describes the residents' travails in these early days of their displacement,

“We survived by going into the maize fields that belonged to people in Glen Norah⁹⁴ at night and would ‘take’ green mealies which we would boil and eat with our children. If you didn’t do this....aaah your children would die.”

⁹⁴ A township (HDA) close to Hopley.

The residents were forced to steal maize cobs in order to survive. Dhawela* probably chooses to use the word ‘take’ in an unconscious attempt to camouflage and lessen his embarrassment at the kind of life he had to live in this period of displacement. This period in the lives of the people in the two communities cements the much debated Capability Approach principle which states that the approach is a formula for interpersonal comparisons of welfare (Chirisa, 2013). It is an irrefutable fact that the participants had fared better in the type of life and livelihoods they had ground themselves in prior to their displacement. It is evident from the manner in which they describe their lives in the communities and exposure to displacement that they believe they are entitled to better conditions than what forced migration has made them endure.

In the early phase of displacement, food was not the only thing lacking in Hopley and Caledonia. Safe drinking water was scarce. In Caledonia, UNICEF sunk some boreholes early in the residents’ displacement which markedly alleviated the problem. In Hopley, water bowsers brought water for the residents but there was always a stampede for this inadequate commodity.

“We did our laundry, bathing and sometimes boiled the water for drinking from Mukuvisi River.”⁹⁵ Many children suffered from skin rashes from this water.”

Eventually, humanitarian organizations such as UNICEF, IOM and other local ones like the Zimbabwe Community Development Trust (ZCDT)⁹⁶ intervened both in Hopley and Caledonia. These organizations started distributing food and non-food items to the residents in the two communities. The organizations were honouring the mandate stipulated in the GPID and later, in the Kampala Convention which calls for the intervention to render humanitarian assistance. The organizations’ interventions clearly prove that the state had abrogated its own duty to provide primary assistance and protection to its citizens. This is also the global community’s way of acknowledging that Operation Murambatsvina caused a humanitarian crisis which called for intervention in an attempt to address the violated human rights. In every sense, Hopley and Caledonia residents are therefore victims of human rights abuse.

⁹⁵ A small river in Harare that is infamous for industrial waste and even raw sewer spillages.

⁹⁶ For instance, the Programs Officer: Research and Advocacy at ZCDT says that this organisation and others like UNICEF were in the communities during the emergency phase of the displacement. He elaborated that, depending on the feasibility of the exercise and the location of the displaced communities, the organisations would reach them within the first two weeks.

According to Chirisa (2013), shelter and adequate food form the basis for functionings for human beings (Chirisa, 2013). Functionings and capabilities are twin core concepts in the Capability Approach⁹⁷ and failure to access these unvaryingly leads to entitlement failure (Sohlberg, 2006). Entitlement failure is a condition when a person visibly lacks resources and goods he is meant to access. Thus both the CA and the Entitlement Approach emphasise the need for every human being to access these essential commodities in life. In turn, capabilities restore an individual's self-respect and dignity. Undoubtedly, being dispossessed of one's shelter, livelihood and the ability to make critical decisions such as whether or not to migrate from one's home can diminish one's perception of their worth. In her thesis submitted for her doctoral studies at UKZN, Janet Muthoni Muthuki⁹⁸ (2010) argues that migrants are not passive agents to be manipulated by macro level factors of migration. Thus, forced migration in the nature of Operation Murambatsvina is an example of a macro factor which denied the people the chance to make this important decision.

As a normative framework, CA is centred on the assessment of a human being's well-being and dignity. Therefore, one's state of well-being determines his dignity and self-respect. The global community used to be fixated on the Malthusian logic⁹⁹ on shortage of food until Sen Amartya shifted this attention to the element of lack of access as reason for famine or food insecurity. As such, the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia's predicament rose from lack of access rather than excess demand on these commodities. Arguably, this lack has negative ramifications on the people's dignity. In view of this, failure to access secondary school education by children in Hopley and Caledonia goes beyond the present as this potentially jeopardizes their futures. Such children are therefore likely to fall behind their age mates who were accorded the opportunity to go school.

Residents interviewed purport that many people died of hunger, disease and other causes of neglect in Hopley and Caledonia. Tendai,* a middle aged woman confirmed these reports,

“My sister, let me tell you, newspapers didn't write many things that happened to us here. That's why you people don't know anything (she says this defiantly as if

⁹⁷ Functionings refer to the varied things that a person may succeed doing or being while capabilities are the freedoms to achieve these functionings, Hick, R. 2012. The Capability Approach: Insights for a new poverty focus. Journal of Social Policy, 1-19.

⁹⁸ A Doctoral thesis titled, 'Transnationalism and the (Re) Construction of Gender Identities Amongst Foreign Students of African Origin at The University Of KwaZulu- Natal in Durban South Africa.'

⁹⁹ Rubin, O. 2009. The Entitlement Approach: A Case for Framework Development rather than Demolition. Journal of Development Studies, 45, 621-640.

provoking me to take up this challenge). *People died here of hunger, cholera and other sickness.*”

Bucha,* a Hopley resident, seemingly conversant with the history of the area before the residents were settled there adds,

“Madam....., many people were bitten by snakes in this place. You know, the former owner was keeping snakes here. When his farm was invaded during jambanja, he let the snakes loose and left the farm. In the first days, we would be sitting around a fire at night and you would see a big snake glide past! It was very frightening I tell you.”

Eventually, he says the snakes got fewer as people killed them or they (snakes) sought refuge elsewhere. Tambudzai* says there were also other predators in the form of muggers. These prowled the bushes robbing people and killing those who resisted them. She attests that everyone made sure that they were indoors by sundown for fear of these people. Ultimately, life in the new communities is full of insecurities both physiologically and psychologically. Thus, prevalent social constraints are influential in the well-being of the residents. The people maintain that they then tried to adapt to the conditions in Hopley and Caledonia as best as they could. This seems to prove the plausibility of the argument that victims of oppression tend to accept social conditions as inevitable.

During the critical early stages of displacement (and the ensuing years), one of the major issues raised by the participants was the absence of representation and protection from the Member of Parliament (MP). What seems to aggrieve the residents is that they had voted him into this position when were they still living in Porta. Many participants claim, *‘Our MP dumped us,’ ‘we don’t even remember his face’ ‘he never bothered to follow us and see where his people had been taken to.’* In their views, the MP has an obligation to ensure the welfare of his people. In their own way, they are invoking the social contract into their context. They also expect the government to be protecting them instead of being the perpetrator of their displacement. *‘Our own people didn’t come to help us.....we didn’t see even one car.’* They seem to have expected government vehicles to come into the communities bearing food and other basic needs. This seems like a logical expectation from an ethical point of view (Martins, 2012). Every government is bound by legal and moral obligations to take care of its citizens. The government’s failure to render help would not have been heavily felt had the residents been in control of their capabilities. This is surmised by the assertion that

capabilities supply guidance to one's welfare which is better than the social contract (Robeyns, 2005).

According to Matemai,* the way the government treated and continues to treat them influences other authorities to discriminate against them.

“The city council hates us. They say why did you get land for free? We can't even bury our dead in the cemetery here. They say we are not registered with them.”

One can argue that denying the residents the opportunity to bury their dead relatives in the local cemetery emphasizes the complete dispossession and 'placelessness' of these people. As such, Hopley and Caledonia residents' invisibility is heightened. Thus, the provision of education to these communities becomes a distant element in the endowment set when compared to urgent issues such as where to bury their dead. However, continued lack of education for children in these communities is bound to affect them more than immediate concerns about burying rights. Therefore, the Hopley and Caledonia context of displacement invokes debates on equality among human beings who are ideally born with similar endowments in any given context. “The one simple truism we accept and value is the heterogeneity of human beings” argues (Comim et al., 2008:362).

Another major worry the displaced people have is ownership of these residential stands. Violet* complains that they do not seem to have one responsible authority over them. She emphasizes this by rhetorically asking, *‘Who is our landlord? The City Council, the Local Government or the Housing Department?’* She further explains that if they take up their issues with the Harare City Council they are often told that the Ministry of Local Government has not handed them over while the latter also argues that their case should be handled by the housing department. Takunda,* an elderly Caledonia resident projects that this ambivalence may lead to their eviction again. He argues, *‘if they could evict us from Porta after all those years, what will stop them from doing it again?’* This uncertainty impacts on the well-being and development of the people and this should be conceptualized around capabilities to function (Robeyns, 2005). It deters personal and communal development as evidenced by the lack of meaningful infrastructural developments. The right to land would change the face of the communities as this would put the residents in a position of capability (Nussbaum, 2003). Chirisa (2013) affirms that stewardship of place is very crucial in such

communities. This implies that ownership of the plots would improve the people's attitudes towards their residency as well as restoring their lost self-worth brought about by the conditions in displacement.

According to Comim et al. (2008), human agency should play the central role in people's achievement of their goals as opposed to agency in the form of organisations. Likewise, educational opportunities would improve the displaced people's agency, thereby ensuring development at both an individual and community level. As advanced by studies reviewed in chapter 2, displacement in Hopley and Caledonia brought about some form of invisibility of the residents of the two communities. Limited social opportunities and freedoms to attain their functionings cost the residents their human agency. This seems to denote that Hopley and Caledonia residents have been deprived of this attribute (agency) which would have enabled them to act on what they value and have every reason to value. For many residents, ownership of land would give them stability while access to essential services like education would ensure that they retain the ability to pursue goals that would make their lives meaningful. This would also lead to the residents regaining the freedom to do the basic things vital for their escape of poverty.

One thorny issue for most participants is their livelihoods. For Marara,* this is a sore spot. He retorts angrily,

“People have no jobs here. We do menial jobs like digging wells or pit latrines. The young men in the community get employed as touts for commuter omnibuses shouting ‘Mufakose! Town!’ and get arrested by the police for this. Anyone who has a proper job is not an original resident. These are people who ran away from high rentals in Glen Norah....now these have jobs, not us.”

His arguments are corroborated by the fact that “the unemployed, and, increasingly, the overspill from high density areas where people often cannot afford rents” turn to these communities (Kibble, 2009). Takunda* concedes that the young men in Caledonia were equally affected by displacement. With no educational qualifications beyond basic literacy, all they can do is dig pit sand and sell this to construction companies. Most of these young people stopped going to school when they were evicted from their previous homes. With such limited chances at formal employment, Takunda affirms that the majority just loiter in the community with nothing to do.

On the other hand, Chengetai* is aggrieved that any efforts to start a small business to sustain oneself are frustrated by the police. She runs a shebeen and the police often raid and confiscate her goods.

“They say I should register my business because it’s illegal. How can I register it when the city council says I’m an informal settler with no physical address or lease? How do they want us to survive?”

In defiance, she continues to operate her shebeen and this seems to be paying off as her two-roomed house is furnished with an electric cooker, small television, stereo and a set of couches. A solar panel ensures that her customers are entertained by loud music from the stereo. However, her narrative proves that capabilities are intrinsically linked to one’s personal abilities and the political, social and economic environment (Nussbaum, 2011). In Chengetai’s case, these socio-political conditions have become a deterrent to what she can be or do. Thus, the conditions in Hopley and Caledonia seem to have determined that the residents just exist in these spaces as compared to actual living. Living connotes being able to determine where one’s life goes as compared to existence whereby one has lost this control.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, without capabilities, the participants merely exist in these spaces. This enhances the chances of them falling deeper into poverty and the subsequent loss of dignity associated with impoverished existence.

4.6 Conclusion

Many aspects of life for people in Hopley and Caledonia seem to stem from and are driven by the prevailing conditions in internal displacement. The chapter conclusively established that the residents of the two communities are indeed internally displaced persons. The majority came from Porta while some came from HDAs like Tafara, Mabvuku and Glen Norah. The participants confirmed that the migration into Hopley and Caledonia was involuntary and concerted efforts to resist this by Porta residents proved futile. Once they arrived in the communities, the practical reality and abstract meaning of internal displacement took its toll on their lives.

¹⁰⁰ <http://www.mineplex.com/forums/m/11929946/viewthread/26178176-what-difference-between-living-existing/11929946/s> (Retrieved 28 July, 2016).

The loss of property, accentuated by non-existent livelihoods in the new communities augment the difficult conditions for the residents. Moreover, for people like Chengetai,* efforts to undertake new forms of livelihoods are consistently frustrated by the local police. This could further incapacitate the residents from improving their livelihoods and also send their children to formally registered schools. In the early days, death and disease stalked the residents. Lack of decent shelter, water, food and neglect became major causes of loss of life for a number of these residents. The NGOs' timely intervention with food, blankets and other non-food items marginally alleviated these challenges. To date, the residents still live impoverished lives and have no access to most basic services. From the outset, the residents feel that the political leaders and the government were conspicuously invisible during this time and they (IDPs) feel let down.

Amidst such challenges, residents have encountered additional challenges in the form of their children's schooling. To date, the two communities have no formal educational institutions at secondary school level (there are none at primary level as well). The two options they have are: to send children to schools outside the communities or enroll them in local unregistered and informal 'schools.' The majority cannot afford the former option while the latter does not seem equipped to prepare children for after school prospects. In addition, these schools have no infrastructure to house the children and the teachers' qualifications are generally questionable. Participants have attributed their children's loss of the opportunity to go to school to prevailing conditions in displacement. Unemployment and moral degeneration are said to be rampant in the communities and participants feel that this could have been avoided if their children had the opportunity to complete secondary school education.

Most of the challenges cited above invoke the application of the Capability Approach which challenges the social constraints and injustice synonymous with internal displacement. Furthermore, internal displacement is said to deny the residents the freedoms or capabilities to achieve the kind of lives they would otherwise choose and value. The IDPs in these communities therefore lack the total functionings such as decent shelter, nourishment and being able to read and write (education). These impact negatively on displaced people's dignity and self-respect.

Chapter 5: Power Dynamics around Key Actors in the Context of Internal Displacement and Schooling

5.0 Introduction

“There is no keener revelation to society than the way it treats its children,” Nelson Mandela.¹⁰¹

Beerkens (2006) posits that one of the singularly most important aspects of contemporary world geopolitics is the way the international community has become one big village.¹⁰² This study operationalises the word ‘*villagisation*’ to signify the creation of the global community. In the true sense of the word, a village increases the visibility of an individual home in relation to the rest of the village. According to Al-Rodman and Stoudmann (2006: 3)¹⁰³ this process of “world shrinkage” is called globalization. Martell (2010:6) views globalization as a ‘pluralist, hybrid and multidimensional’ concept which embraces economic, political and even cultural aspects. For this reason, the world seems to have become a unit in which there are increased social relations. Likewise, Thakur (2011:79) contends that “no country is an island unto itself anymore.” Due to this, any occurrence of intra-state activities, particularly on a grand scale quickly becomes common knowledge to the rest of the world. Therefore, it has become increasingly difficult for a country to violate national and international policies without attracting the attention of the international community. In turn, this sometimes triggers a worldwide outcry followed (at times) by relevant censure. Debatably, this can be said to have helped curb humanitarian atrocities and general human rights violations in the world.

When the global community takes steps against such states, citizens may be restored in the positions where they can enjoy universal human rights. Ideally, the global community is an agent to safeguard world citizens from the abuse of their rights. However, Stoecklin et al, (2014:9) state that, “agency still seems to be mostly used as a slogan and it does not yet represent an operational concept constructed along an explicit theory of action.” This implies that the concept of agency, as advanced through the Capability Approach, has not always been operationalized. From the onset, this creates problems for children in displacement, as agency is understood to lead to action. This is supported by Deneulin et al, (2006:19) who aver that, “ascription of action to an agent is part of the

¹⁰¹ www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/n/nelsonmand178795.html (Accessed May 31, 2016.)

¹⁰² www.beerkens.info/files/globalisation.pdf (Accessed May 31, 2016)

¹⁰³ Al-Rodhan, N. R. F. & Stoudmann, G. 2006. Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and Proposal Definition *Geneva Centre for Security Policy*, 1-21.

meaning of action as a capacity. It characterises this as “agency” this tight link between action and agent.” Therefore, there is need for key actors in internal displacement to act on their given mandate so as to ensure that displaced people can access their rights.

In an earlier publication, Thakur (2006) states that it is an accepted fact that the safest and peaceful communities are made of individuals whose basic needs¹⁰⁴ and aspirations are met. In other words possession of one’s capabilities seems to breed contentment. Thus, to prevent civil strife brought about by upsetting this balance, the global community tries to police the safeguarding of basic human rights through international instruments. It appears as if the international community is cognisant of the fact that world peace is fragile and can easily be shattered when internal strife spreads to neighbouring states.

Solutions to displacement are indispensable for national, regional, and international peace and security and for creating the stable and secure conditions that are essential for achieving sustainable development goals for everyone, (Mooney and Davies, 2016:16).

For this purpose, there are world bodies and numerous international or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that have taken the mandate to protect and promote individuals’ enjoyment of these human rights. Consequently, NGOs have come to be equated to “carriers and transmitters of norms across borders,” (Thakur, 2011). Thus, the mere presence of such organizations in a given area of strife and general human rights violations ideally depicts the preservation of these rights.

International organizations are primarily meant to give humanitarian assistance to the people in need. Humanitarian aid has been defined as;

Efforts to save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity for the benefit of people in need who are, or are at risk of becoming, affected by armed conflicts, natural disasters or other disaster situations, which are severe impediments to populations’ or entire communities’ supply and survival mechanisms (Billing, 2010:2).

¹⁰⁴ Basic needs are “those fundamental requirements that serve as the foundation for survival,” <http://www.canatx.org/basicneeds/backup/documents/1999Assessment/basicneeds99whatarebasicneeds.html> (Accessed March 12, 2017).

The humanitarian organizations are presumed to be driven by moral obligations to help the people in need indiscriminately. Ideally, the socio-political impediments they face in accessing the target population have been addressed by international instruments such as the 1949 Geneva Conventions. These statutes have made it mandatory, on legal and ethical grounds, for host nations to allow humanitarian assistance to reach the vulnerable populations. Therefore, these organisations can be used to facilitate the fundamental entitlements for the displaced people. In the context of internal displacement in Zimbabwe, the NGOs can fund the construction of schools as well as providing books and other educational materials needed. It can be argued that education is one aspect which is at the core of humanitarian aid and can supply the people with survival skills essential during this protracted form of displacement. It can be argued that Hopley and Caledonia residents need their dignity restored and education has the potential to do this.

However, it has been argued that some NGOs promote individualistic agendas of certain states. This has resulted in some countries treating these organizations with suspicion. Evans (2009) suggests that this is more prevalent in developing nations some of which are still recovering from the North versus South animosity bred by the effects of colonisation. In such instances, NGOs are viewed as agents of the North's 'agenda' which is perceived as seeking to perpetuate the North's superiority over the South. Arguably, the truth in these perceptions cannot be easily proven or disputed. However, this usually deters the NGOs' access to the vulnerable populations who are primarily meant to benefit from such interventions. This is in direct contradiction to Principle 25 (2) of the GPID which states that;

Such an offer shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act or interference in a State's internal affairs and shall be considered in good faith. Consent thereto shall not be arbitrarily withheld, particularly when authorities concerned are unable or unwilling to provide the required humanitarian assistance (OCHA, 2003:9).

Humanitarian principles are embedded in 'humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence,' (Billing, 2010:8). This entails that humanitarian agents should exhibit these attributes throughout their operations. However, there have been many debates on how apolitical the organizations are. One of the reasons for this question stems from the fact that these organizations are externally funded. For instance, the European Union is one of the biggest donors of humanitarian aid. Logically, it can then be argued that the humanitarian organizations' agendas are orchestrated by

the countries which have injected huge funds for the operations of these organizations. The UN family has often been accused of being controlled by powerful states like the United States of America (USA) (Traub, 2006). For these reasons, humanitarian organizations have not always been unconditionally received by certain states despite the obvious need for humanitarian interventions. Moreover, their motives become questionable when placed in the context of vulnerable populations like the displaced children. According to Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014:5), “this is the point where children’s rights can be bridged with the debate about children’s agency.” This is driven by the perceived organisations’ failure to protect or assist the vulnerable children.

Despite the weaknesses cited above, NGOs are critical in internal displacement contexts in their role to facilitate increased access to these basic needs. However, Deneulin et al. (2006) argue that the “fragility and fallibility of human institutions” create gaps in the vulnerable people’s capabilities. Thus, the failure by NGOs to exercise their agency impacts negatively on the displaced people’s ability to achieve desired lives. In the Zimbabwean context, the lack of effective humanitarian organisations in the provision of secondary school education has affected the children in the two communities.

When Operation Murambatsvina took place in 2005, the United Nations registered its displeasure and serious concerns at the treatment of Zimbabwean citizens whose shelter and livelihoods had been destroyed. A Special Envoy was sent to Zimbabwe on a fact finding mission and subsequently, a report was generated which attested to human rights violations (HRW, 2005, Musoni, 2010). Ironically, the UN Envoy’s hundred page report did not act as a catalyst for increased humanitarian aid activities in the displaced communities. As typified by Hopley and Caledonia, some of the victims of this program were sent to holding camps while some went back to their rural homes. As professed by the participants in the previous chapter, the transitional camps had no infrastructure to accommodate thousands of the displaced populations. There were virtually no social services for the people who had to endure loss of shelter, inadequate water and food. There was also no access to health and education facilities. The humanitarian organizations were quite visible in the early stages of this phenomenon through sinking of boreholes and provision of tents. Thereafter, both the government and humanitarian organizations have failed to provide the displaced communities with durable solutions to their displacement. Unfortunately, residents in both Hopley and Caledonia do not seem to have ‘collective agency’. Frediani and Hansen (2015:5)

define this as ‘a productive lens to explore the processes and multiple outcomes of the efforts of informal settlement dwellers when shaping their environment.’ This means that the communities have not worked together in order to improve their conditions.

Article 5 of the Kampala Convention categorically states that the government of Zimbabwe was (and still is) expected to shoulder the primary responsibility for its displaced populations. Therefore, in conventional circumstances, the government ought to be the leading institution in the provision of essential services after the people were forced to move to these communities. However, the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement is at variance with the situation alluded to in Article 5 of the Kampala Convention. This immediately creates the dilemma on the IDPs’ assistance. As attested by the participants residing in both Hopley and Caledonia, the areas lack most basic necessities such as shelter, water and food and this was relatively more acute in the emergency phase of their displacement. The government’s failure to implement this article immediately invokes the use of Article 5(2) of the Kampala Convention. It is mandatory that the international community should render humanitarian assistance to the displaced people in deference to both the Kampala Convention and GPID. In turn, this would enable the people to retain their capabilities which would ensure that the people’s human rights are protected and realised. Thus, through the provision of basic services like education, the displaced people could secure their fundamental rights.

On the grounds of the contention raised above, this chapter attempts to assess the effects of power dynamics around key actors in Zimbabwe’s internal displacement. To achieve this, personnel in selected NGOs which have worked with displaced people in Zimbabwe were interviewed. The chapter first deals with the nexus between displacement and human rights. This draws attention to the fact that education is a human right as stipulated by instruments such as the UDHR. The organizations’ interactions and activities in displaced communities are then described so as to establish the study’s assumption that the communities lack secondary school education facilities. An attempt is made to probe into each of these organizations’ mandated role with regards to such vulnerable communities. This also reveals the nature of internal displacement in Zimbabwe as well as the government’s perceived standpoint with regards to internally displaced people under its jurisdiction. The final part of the chapter highlights the participants’ understanding of R2P in the

Zimbabwean context of internal displacement. It also raises some challenges faced in the attempt to implement this norm in the internal displacement phenomenon in Zimbabwe.

The chapter echoes the views raised by participants in the previous chapter on the provision of secondary school education in Hopley and Caledonia. It espouses the provision of this basic right for children in the two communities. The Entitlement Approach and Capability Approach, are used to understand the government's compliance to policies and whether the NGOs' interventions alleviated the people's plight. The chapter continues the line of argument on the provision of secondary school education as an essential service for youths in Hopley and Caledonia. A human rights-based approach is applied to this phenomenon. However, this chapter is entrenched on evidence from archival sources. To maintain the thread of the argument as well as substantiating evidence gathered (from both residents and humanitarian organizations) with secondary evidence, the method of intertextuality is used. This method entails that social meanings are established through discourse of other texts and occasions. Thus, throughout this chapter, the study establishes the link between text and context for an integrated response to the research questions.

5.1 The Nexus between Internal Displacement and Human Rights

Internal displacement signifies some form of migration. The causes, nature and subsequent magnitude of this form of migration differ with each context. In the contemporary world, internal displacement symbolises forced migration. Millions of people across the globe have been increasingly displaced and compelled to move by either adverse weather conditions or armed strife (Naidu and Benhura, 2015). Earthquakes, tsunamis and intra-state conflicts such as the Sudanese and Central African Republic civil wars have resulted in millions of people being driven from their homes to settle elsewhere. In some cases, large developmental projects have also led to the dislodgement of thousands of people. More often, such people's migration has been confined within their countries of origin (Castle and Miller, 2007, Asplet, 2013, Sarvimaki et al., 2009). These people have become known as internally displaced persons or 'internal refugees.' In the majority of cases, this is connotative of the people's flight from imminent or actual danger existent in their original homes to other places which are considered safe. As stressed in the earlier chapters, the roots of the Zimbabwean form of internal displacement defy some of these common definitions.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See Idmc 2008. The Many Faces of Displacement: IDPs in Zimbabwe. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 1-52.

One participant, a UNICEF Education Specialist for Quality Related Issues says IDPs are, *'those individuals who have been forcibly removed from their place of original and voluntary residence into another area.'* This participant attaches great importance to a person's choice of residence as a form of exercising one's rights. He further intimates that such people's removal from their original homes is usually forced or involuntary. This definition is echoed by the Programs Officer: Research and Advocacy with the Zimbabwe Community Development Trust (ZCDT) who says that IDPs are people who are compelled to move from their original homes due to various reasons. A University of Zimbabwe lecturer in the department of Development Studies affirms that internally displaced persons are coerced to migrate from their homes to settle in other parts of the country. Using the Zimbabwean context, another UNICEF Education Specialist summarily states that these (IDPs) are people who were affected by Operation Murambatsvina in 2005.

All the attempts at defining internally displaced persons contain related elements. The phrase 'place of original and voluntary residence' alludes to the inherent universal freedoms that every human being is entitled to. This immediately leads to the issue of fundamental human rights whose realisation is possible if people possess these freedoms. These definitions also echo the formal definition of IDPs by the GPID which states that internally displaced persons are 'forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence,' (Mooney, 2005). Therefore, a common thread running through these definitions is the involuntary nature of the IDPs' migration. As stated by one of the participants, Operation Murambatsvina forced people to migrate from their original homes as these had been demolished by the government and consequently, the people affected became internally displaced persons. According to Devereux (2001:253), weaker claims to resources or access create 'fuzziness' to entitlements. It appears that the displaced population in Hopley and Caledonia may find it difficult to claim their entitlements from the government since it is the one responsible for displacing them.

The causal factors have also to be considered as part of the definition of an IDP. 'The involuntary mass displacement of people and the attendant problems of social dislocation is a phenomenon that could occur anywhere in the world for natural or man-made reasons,' (Gounden and Camara, 2007:2). In the same article, they go on to identify Zimbabwe as one of the countries where man-made reasons like the 'government-sanctioned displacement' have dislodged thousands of people from their homes. Consequently, the eviction of thousands of people depicts the organization of

power in the Zimbabwean society that resulted in the subjugation of the victims of Operation Murambatsvina. It can be contended that any form of oppression is indicative of social inequity and injustice which stem from human rights violations.

Displacement can be devastating, whether short-term or protracted, internal or external. Consequences include loss of home, land and belongings; disruption of livelihoods or education; separation from community and family members, (Mooney and Davies, 2016:16).

Internal displacement also has repercussions on a host of other critical aspects such as lack of access to clean water and food sources as well as loss of livelihoods. Without any form of livelihood, displaced communities face increasing challenges accessing services such as education and health. This affects both the people's well-being and dignity. The chain resultant impact of displacement on basic human rights affirms the contention that the right not to be displaced and duty not to displace anchors the rights-based regime (Kidane, 2011). "Although guaranteed equal rights under international law, they often lack means by which to ascertain these rights following displacement," (Rhoades, 2010a:5). Therefore, it seems that once displaced, it is difficult for the people to demand their entitlements. Both the GPID and Kampala Convention state that the displaced people have a right to demand humanitarian assistance from their governments but this is not always practicable. This is worse in the Zimbabwean context where the government is the perpetrator of internal displacement and also refuses to acknowledge these people as IDPs. Thus, displaced communities like Hopley and Caledonia have gone for more than a decade without accessing these fundamental rights.

When Hopley and Caledonia residents were displaced, they immediately faced increased limitations towards the enjoyment of certain rights. As the ZCDT Programs Officer points out, the majority of these residents are descendants of migrant workers. Some are third or fourth generations of migrant workers from Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi. When Operation Murambatsvina took place, these people had no rural homes to go back to and were forced to shelter in transitional camps such as Hopley and Caledonia. In addition to being displaced, the people have faced difficulties formalizing their citizenship. Consequently, their children do not have birth certificates needed to enroll in new schools. Such children have become part of the thousands of stateless and invisible persons. Therefore, displacement has doubled their vulnerability as they also cannot easily access education.

Vulnerability can be taken to mean “a substantial incapacity to protect one’s own interests,” (Schroeder and Gefenas, 2009:112). Failure to protect one’s interests invariably impacts negatively on one’s functionings. Children that are displaced and forced to migrate experience double vulnerability. Not only are they displaced (which in essence denies them various basic rights), they ultimately face challenges continuing with their education due to various barriers which entrench them in poverty and related disadvantages.

The challenge in accessing education is particularly acute for IDPs who remain within their State of origin as opposed to refugees who have crossed an internationally-recognized border and are able to avail themselves of other protection mechanisms, (Rhoades, 2010a:5).

This acknowledges the difficulties that are associated with the bid to access education during internal displacement. In the above scenario, children from migrant parentage lack proper documentation like birth certificates due to their parents’ residency status. In the ensuing delays brought about by lack of documentation, the children inadvertently fall behind their peers in education. In severe cases, their schooling life is totally aborted. For children in Hopley and Caledonia, loss of education may mean that they are dispossessed of their future. It becomes doubtful if they can ever transform their capabilities into reality. For the majority of children living in Hopley and Caledonia, lack of secondary school education may result in them not achieving their goals in life. These goals may include furthering their studies as well as the opportunity to enroll for professional courses. Despite the high unemployment rate in the country, such educational qualifications may marginally improve their chances of employment. Arguably, the lack of provision of education entails that the displaced children may never realize their potential.

Terre des Hommes (TDH) is an organization that has worked extensively with displaced communities in Zimbabwe. They have also worked with ex-farm communities which are made up of people displaced by the invasion (jambanja) and reallocation of farms which took place from 2000. The Programs Manager with TDH states that displaced children are particularly vulnerable to human rights abuse. In her experience, she contends that displacement has led to high rates of school drop outs particularly at secondary school level. A holistic look at displacement ascertains that this phenomenon triggers multiple deterrent obstacles to the realization of human rights. Of particular interest to this study is the right to education. One of the principles that inform a rights-based approach to education is that it empowers its recipients so that they can lay claim to every

other right they are entitled to. Disruption of education means that the displaced children have been denied the opportunity to reclaim these rights. However, Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014) contend that the traditional socio-cultural position of children in most societies is a major pitfall in the access of their rights. Therefore, children in Hopley and Caledonia also have limited opportunities of claiming these rights without agency.

The UNICEF Education Specialist for Quality Related Issues asserts that, *'Displacement goes against human rights. Displacement by nature is deprivation of some human rights.'* This echoes Stravropoulou (1998) who states that human rights violations can cause displacement while displacement is also a human rights violation. This emphasizes the conceptual interconnectedness between displacement and human rights. Loss of entitlements and one's capabilities cannot be separated from the denial of one's fundamental rights. It can be surmised that the very prevalence of displacement marks human rights abuses and the right to education is one of these rights that are severely affected by this phenomenon. One participant summarises this argument by saying, *'every child has a right to education regardless of where they are.'* The above contention intimates that the right to education disregards the physical location where the children are situated. Therefore, one can argue that internally displaced children such as those residing in Hopley and Caledonia can expect to enjoy this inalienable right.

5.2 Dichotomies of roles: Humanitarian Organizations in the Zimbabwean Context

Internal displacement in Zimbabwe has ironically exposed dichotomies in perspectives towards humanitarian assistance for such vulnerable populations. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the Zimbabwean context has also revealed how porous international statutes on IDPs are. It would be expected that where such a massive dislocation of people takes place, national and international authorities would be in consensus regarding the steps to be taken to redress the situation. In any crisis, the roles of the state and humanitarian organizations are clearly marked. Guiding Principles 3(1), 25(1) and (2) specifically express the duties of the key actors during displacement. Ideally, it is therefore expected that rendering assistance to victims of natural or man-made disasters should not cause confusion or conflicts.

In 2005, Robert Mugabe, the then president of Zimbabwe (sic),¹⁰⁶ reacted to the world views about the humanitarian crisis that had been caused by Operation Murambatsvina as ‘a pack of lies,’ (Traub, 2006). This seems to confirm the reports that “in many other countries, including Myanmar (Burma) and Zimbabwe, national authorities continued to reject offers of international support despite the evident protection and assistance needs of IDPs,” (Jennings, 2007:8). The Zimbabwean president further refused any humanitarian assistance in the form of food and non-food towards displaced communities, dismissing any attempts to intervene as unnecessary. This came to a head when some NGOs’ licences were suspended and they could not operate in Zimbabwe (Hammar, 2008b). One participant said these events set the tone for a confrontational relationship between the government and NGOs. This stand-off has affected the IDPs, the intended recipients of the assistance by these international organisations. Unfortunately, ‘shrinking humanitarian space does not translate into shrinking needs and, if anything, multiplies them,’ (IDMC, 2014a:1). As evidenced by residents in the communities, NGOs have ceased all operations in Hopley and Caledonia. Consequently, there are no government or humanitarian organizations’ programs running currently to provide essential services like education. This makes the situation dire as this delimits the role of agency in this displacement context.

According to one participant who has worked for UNICEF for more than five years, “the organization’s overarching mandate is to ensure that the rights of children and women are protected, promoted and realised.” Presumably, this organization plays a critical role in children and women’s affairs. The organization is therefore expected to be on the forefront in championing children and women’s rights especially those in dire circumstances such as internal displacement. However, UNICEF personnel interviewed profess that their role in Zimbabwean displaced communities like Hopley and Caledonia has been limited. When I probed further, the respondent said that the organisation was only mandated to support government programs. Ironically, in the absence of the government initiatives, the displaced communities would continue in limbo. As evidenced by the lack of infrastructure, the education sector in the displaced communities has been severely affected. However, despite the absence of infrastructure, the displaced children can still lay claim to education as an entitlement by virtue of their ‘social membership’ (Devereux, 2001:254). Despite their displaced status, these children hold the full rights and are entitled to the benefits of their

¹⁰⁶ One points out that Zimbabwe has only had one leader since its democratic elections in 1980. Robert Mugabe was the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe and then became the president in 1987.

Zimbabwean citizenship. Thus, the provision of education for displaced children is not an entitlement that is conferred to them through legal means or political affiliation.

However, Sen Amartya (1983:754) posits that the entitlements that one can command depend upon “the totality of rights and opportunities” he has in his society. One can argue that internal displacement is the physical manifestation of the violation of certain rights and ultimately means that internally displaced persons can never exercise their full rights. This affects the quality of life for such people and leads to the questioning of social justice in such a society. Deneulin et al. (2006) aver that a just society is one where the citizens can develop their functional capabilities. Functional capabilities equip the children with ability to realise what they may value in life. Judging from the prevalence of deprivations in the two communities, one may argue that the children would desire better living conditions as well as better schooling opportunities. These are important in the sense that there is an underlying affinity between entitlements and capabilities. Amartya (1983:754) asserts that there is a “functional relationship” between entitlements and capabilities. This enhances the need not to dichotomise into binaries one’s capabilities and entitlements. The two aspects are invariably linked as they facilitate one’s realisation of desired life goals. Therefore, one can assume that the displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia have limited chances of achieving their initial aspirations as they cannot command the provision of education as an entitlement.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is directly concerned with global migrations. This places internal displacement such as the one caused by Operation Murambatsvina within its immediate responsibilities. The Emergency and Reintegration Coordinator with IOM says part of their mandate with victims of forced migration is, *‘humanitarian assistance, rapid assessment, emergency lifesaving support, community livelihoods and reintegration.’* It would seem that this organization should be very active in communities such as Hopley and Caledonia. They should go beyond the assessment level to the practical activities that would ensure that the people regain their livelihoods. The absence of the organization in the two communities, (leading to lack of agency) is quite glaringly conspicuous especially as the residents still struggle to survive due to the effects of their forced evictions.

Hopley and Caledonia lack educational facilities to cater for secondary school going children in these communities. On the provision of education for such communities, one of the UNICEF Education Specialists who was interviewed says,

“Our mandate is to support the programs set by the government. We don’t come up or initiate programs but simply support the Ministry of Education and the government in its set programs.”

This immediately exposes the weaknesses of international instruments like the R2P that state that the duty to provide humanitarian assistance automatically falls to the global community if a nation is unwilling or fails to do so. According to Badescu (2011:6), the R2P stipulates that “it is a subsidiary responsibility for the international community to act.” The government has not implemented any programs to provide education for the two communities in the last ten years. In addition, the government has not initiated the building of schools in the two communities. This has affected the children’s entitlements to education. Due to this, it is expected that humanitarian organizations should have stepped in to fill the gap created by the government’s failure to provide education to the residents. This then means that UNICEF and other organizations have also been renegades in their duty to uphold the children’s rights to education. It can be concluded that both the government and the humanitarian organizations have not complied with the international statutes on humanitarian assistance for people in Hopley and Caledonia. More importantly, the provision of education to children in the communities remains doubtful. This perpetrates poverty as education has the ability to improve societies.

5.3 Responsibility to Protect: Probing the Thresholds of Human Rights violations

The right to life is indisputably one of the most important universal rights. Life is central to human capabilities. The irrevocable nature of the denial of this right has resulted in the setting of high thresholds for international instruments such as the R2P. This norm places high value “on actual or apprehended genocidal intent leading to large scale loss of life or large scale ethnic cleansing,” (Badescu, 2011:4). It is at such points that the international responsibility to protect is enacted. These set thresholds and collective action against perpetrators are meant to act as deterrent measures against states with situations that threaten to be genocidal (du Plessis, 2008).

The setting of thresholds against mass killings is a move that has to be applauded in the realm of human rights. However, this in itself has created problems for other crimes against humanity. The Zimbabwean situation on internal displacement is such an example on R2P gaps (Badescu, 2011).

Many people on the move today fall outside the well-established protection categories, standards and instruments because the norms define too narrowly the nature of the protection challenge and needs, (Zetter, 2014:13).

This creates a great challenge for the forced migrants like the people in Hopley and Caledonia who seem to be unable to cite international instruments to provoke the desired protection and assistance. However, the participants interviewed still contend that the displaced people deserve constitutive protection fundamentally from the government before the global community can intervene.

Writing soon after the inception of the R2P, an International Relations professor at the George Washington University admitted that;

If the threshold is set too high, so many requirements will be placed on intervening parties that they will be reluctant to act, not sure that the situation meets the test (Etzioni, 2005:79).

Against such set grand thresholds as mass killings, the right to education seems inconsequential and rather marginal. Nevertheless, the mass migration of people affected by Operation Murambatsvina is still a major issue in human security and human rights. Human security has evolved from being predominantly preoccupied with ‘freedom from fear’ to also embrace ‘freedom from want,’ (Vietti and Scribner, 2013:21). The global community now acknowledges that threats of wars and violence only form part of the need for human security. Fears of poverty, economic hardships and even developmental issues have become realistic concerns among people. For this reason, lack of education opportunities and other basic needs should also be considered as a threat to human security.

To cater for the Zimbabwean context of displacement’s definitional gaps, the global community can abandon what is termed ‘status based’ for ‘needs based’ protection.¹⁰⁷ Status based protection entails that the people in Hopley and Caledonia would have to meet the criteria for contexts that call for the implementation of the R2P. Consequently, “Zimbabwe represents a case where the SADC was/is still reluctant and hesitant to lead the international community into fully operationalising the R2P,” (Dzimiri, 2013:269). On being asked if the R2P can be invoked in the Zimbabwean context

¹⁰⁷ Zetter, R. 2014. Protecting Forced Migrants. Federal Commission on Migration, 1-82.

of internal displacement, one participant says the situation does not meet the severity implied in the instrument. He elaborates that R2P connotes mass killings, an element which is evidently absent in the effects of Operation Murambatsvina and the subsequent forced migrations. Due to the need for protection of the IDPs' policies, this demands a shift in the attention to a needs based form of protection. In the latter, the failure to uphold the children's rights to education and its impact on their freedoms and functionings underscores the importance of these needs. Taken from this angle, the absence of the element of mass killings should not deter the humanitarian organizations from invoking the R2P in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement.

'Wherever people are, it is the responsibility of the government to assist and protect them,' insists one of the participants from a non-governmental organisation. From the onset, this dismisses and invalidates arguments about Hopley and Caledonia's informal statuses as settlements. The government is bound by its legal and social contract with its citizens to provide the requisite assistance despite the people's legal status and circumstances. Participants corroborate Guiding Principle (3) and Article (5) (1) of the Kampala Convention. For these statutes, the government bears the principal responsibility over its displaced populations. The term 'responsibility' is loaded with connotations of some form of inexorable duty and answerability for which the government should be called to be accountable. This is an all-encompassing obligation to ensure that displaced people access their endowment sets.

The government of Zimbabwe's attitude towards education can be measured by the national budget allocations over the years. One participant says government investments in education have been very minimal and this has resulted in no construction of new government schools in the last eighteen years. For instance, he quotes the 2015 national budget 99% of which was spent on employment costs. Only 1% was left to cover all the other educational programs. The same scenario was repeated in the 2016 national budget which saw 94.8% being allocated towards employment costs. Of this, 13 million (US dollars) is supposed to cover other national programs in the education sector. The participant says that it is not feasible for the Ministry of Education to undertake any new projects particularly in the form of construction of new schools. This seems to justify the lack of educational infrastructure in Hopley and Caledonia (and other similar communities). Against such a backdrop, settlements which were created by government programs such as Operation

Murambatsvina and FTLRP (former farm communities) are disadvantaged. For children living in well-established communities, they can access existing schools in the neighbourhood.

Moreover, communities like Hopley and Caledonia are severely affected by the lack of construction of educational infrastructure because they do not have any schools already in place. Caledonia alone needs more than twenty schools to cater for the population of children in this community.

Judging from the arguments raised above, the government of Zimbabwe seems unlikely to provide education for communities like Hopley and Caledonia in the near future. This emphasizes the potential continued lack of access to education for the children in the two communities. This also serves as a cue for humanitarian organizations to come in and construct schools on the grounds of the government's inability to do so. In the process, these organizations will have upheld the children's rights to education which would promote the achievement of their functionings. The government's failure to provide education in the communities for this lengthy period also heightens the need to rethink the R2P thresholds so as to cater for such children's educational needs.

UNICEF personnel interviewed argue that the organization has played its part in fulfilling its mandate for the displaced people as stipulated in various international instruments on the provision of education. Between 2008 and 2012, the organization is said to have spent US\$23 million in form of textbooks, science kits and recreational facilities in Zimbabwe. Although the construction of schools is not part of UNICEF's competencies, the organization also helped build a few schools. TDH says it has also held community workshops with displaced communities. In certain communities, this organization says it has undertaken food security programs by teaching conservation techniques. The TDH Programs Manager says hunger and poverty contribute to school drop outs in displaced communities. ZCDT has complemented its efforts in the early phase of displacement to alleviate suffering by establishing Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in some communities. On the other hand, IOM has worked with national organizations such as the Department of Civil Protection in response to the needs of displaced communities. However, all these organizations have not changed the conditions of the children in Hopley and Caledonia in their bid to access education. During the time when this study was conducted, there were no signs to indicate that the children's entitlements in education would be honoured in the near future.

Provision of secondary school education in Hopley and Caledonia remains extremely inadequate. The organizations above have not taken the initiative to build schools in these communities. Without schools, the girls and boys of secondary school going age in the two communities continue to live beneath the dignity accorded by their entitlements. According to Adger (2006:270), both the government and humanitarian agencies are expected, through ‘reciprocal arrangements,’ to ensure that vulnerable populations like the forced migrants in Hopley and Caledonia access the resources they are entitled to. In other words, both should operationalize the concept of agency to enable the displaced children to expand these children’s capabilities. When both parties seemingly fail to play their legal and moral obligations, the boys and girls in Hopley and Caledonia will continue to be deprived of essential social services like education and ultimately, the freedom to act on their well-being. Such a context emphasises the “synergistic role” between human rights and capabilities (Stoecklin and Bonvin, 2014:21). The failure to marry the two concepts is detrimental in vulnerable contexts such as displaced children’s bid to access education. It is at such a juncture that the Responsibility to Protect should be called into force.

5.4 Conclusion

For more than five decades after the Second World War, the global community has worked on ensuring that each state’s sovereignty is respected. The period after World War 2 effectively made the international community wary of any interventions in internal affairs. As a result, safeguarding individual countries’ sovereignty became a crucial element in world politics and interstate relations. With the end of the Cold War and escalation of intra-state conflicts, this attitude was set to change. The role of humanitarian and development agencies became vital as carriers of international norms into areas of conflicts and human rights violations. Likewise, as a humanitarian crisis, Operation Murambatsvina has attracted a lot of international attention. This demands that these agencies act to replace the state which is failing or unwilling to redress the situation for the displaced people. However, confrontations between the government and international organizational agendas have resulted in neither key player providing education for Hopley and Caledonia communities.

Education is an inalienable human right. Despite this, education is not stipulated as one of the measurements for the implementation of R2P at global level. The lack of education falls outside the thresholds marked under the R2P as a crucial determinant for the application of this instrument in any context (This line of argument is discussed at length in chapter 6). However, the study

maintains that the lack of education negatively impacts on the enjoyment of other fundamental rights. Education will enable the children the realisation and full enjoyment of all other rights. Displaced children equally need education for its transformative attributes. With education, the displaced children will be equipped to fight poverty so as to improve their well-being and reclaim their dignity eroded by living in displacement. Access to education should be viewed as part of the realised entitlements which in turn makes them fully equipped with capabilities. Consequently, the question of displacement in Zimbabwe, particularly the lack of access to education by children in Hopley and Caledonia should be looked at from a needs-based perspective.

Chapter 6: Provision of Education for IDPs in Zimbabwe: Beyond the Reach of Human Rights?

6.0 Introduction

My right to learn

By Robert Prouty

I do not have to earn

The right to learn.

It's mine.

And if because

Of faulty laws

And errors of design,

And far too many places where

Still far too many people do not care –

If because of all these things, and more,

For me, the classroom door,

With someone who can teach,

Is still beyond my reach,

Still out of sight,

Those wrongs do not remove my right.¹⁰⁸

Adapted from (UNICEF 2007: xiv)

This is part of a poignant poem which echoes children's inalienable right to education. The poem attempts to give the children the voice to express the simple truth behind the need to access education by every child. The poem aptly captures one of the principal concerns in the global community which states that nothing should warrant denial of education to millions of internally displaced children in the world. This study reiterates that the right to education is non-negotiable

¹⁰⁸ The bold font in the last line of the stanza was inserted (by the researcher) to emphasize a personal perception towards the relationship between the right to education, policies and laws that govern this right. It is the view of this study that there is no excuse good enough to explain the unavailability or inaccessibility of education to any group of children.

regardless of the prevailing circumstances in the widely varying internal displacement contexts. The right to education is also not a prerogative of the elite in the society but also for the vulnerable citizens like displaced children. Likewise, internally displaced persons (IDPs) in Zimbabwe deserve to enjoy this incontrovertible right.

Like all other forms of forced migration, internal displacement invokes human rights issues. Even where one attempts to separate displacement from human rights issues (a near impossible task), there are bound to be multiple questions on whether the IDPs' human rights have been upheld. Thus, displacement is essentially equivalent to human rights abuse. This is corroborated by Stremlau (1998) who maintains that IDPs and refugees are all products of the abuse of human rights. Even after the forced migrants are resettled elsewhere, additional concerns on their human rights arise and the general failure to uphold and exercise these by the governing authorities and IDPs respectively. Therefore, the human rights norm sets the benchmark for national conduct (Thakur, 2011). The 1948 UDHR established this norm to curb some of the worst atrocities and crimes against humanity as were experienced by Jews under Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party.

A right is a claim, an entitlement that may never be conferred nor denied by anyone else. A human rightis inherently universal (Thakur, 2011:66).

In discourse analysis, the word 'conferred' denotes a situation where one is a recipient of something earned. This is never the case with human rights as one is born with these rights and therefore can lay claim to them by virtue of being a human being. Furthermore, "the core principle of the system is that human rights are universal, indivisible, inalienable, and transportable," (Gzesh, 2008:89). Therefore, being displaced does not entail that the people have lost some of their rights. Human rights are 'transportable' and indisputable in whatever space one lives. It is on such grounds that the human rights of people in Hopley and Caledonia cannot be debated. Their being human automatically qualifies them for these rights. Ideally, no office or authority should ever have the mandate to withhold or deny them these rights.

The last two chapters confirmed that children in Hopley and Caledonia have no access to secondary school education. Participants in Hopley and Caledonia as well as humanitarian organizations that have worked with IDPs in Zimbabwe substantiated the assumptions made by the study on the unavailability of secondary schools in the communities. At the onset of Operation Murambatsvina,

approximately 222 000 children between the ages 5 and 18 years had their schooling disrupted (AmnestyInternational, 2011b). For more than a decade, the two communities have relied on either schools in the neighbouring HDAs or the informal and unregistered ‘schools’ in the community. One participant succinctly surmised, *‘There are no schools here except those that operate from homes and under trees.’* Consequently, the majority of young men and women were deprived of the opportunity to pursue their education from the time they became residents of these two communities. For many, the forced move to Hopley or Caledonia heralded the end of their education and school years. The situation remains constant for the girls and boys of secondary school going age (as well as primary school) as the conditions of their displacement are still prohibitive of any serious learning. This then raises the argument that Hopley and Caledonia residents, particularly the school going age children, seem to be beyond the reach of human rights.

This chapter analyses documentary evidence in relation to the provision of education to internally displaced children in the two communities. The documents are; Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID) policy, Kampala Convention, Constitution of Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe Education Act. Excerpts from primary data gathered through interviews are cited to measure the reality on the ground against the expected or ideal as portrayed by these policy documents. Content Analysis is used to explore these large amounts of textual information to determine patterns in the use of words (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). This chapter is particularly concerned with exploring underlying meanings and interpretations derived from these texts in relation to internally displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia. As an exploratory study, in certain cases, textual information is reported simply to put to light what the prevailing situation is which is then measured against the expected standards in relation to the stipulated policies. The Capability Approach and Entitlement Approach are liberally used to substantiate the interpretations of these archival sources in relation to the provision of education to IDPs. The chapter concludes with reverting to the R2P norm in a bid to further analyze the whole gamut of policies in the context of Zimbabwean IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia.

Ever since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was proclaimed, an array of international strategies and instruments have been devised pertaining the right to education. Article

26¹⁰⁹ of the UDHR has birthed and set the tone for many rights-based educational instruments. The most prominent of these instruments include; Education for All (1990), 2000 World Education Forum and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UNICEF, 2007). The World Education Forum 2015 held in Korea also came up with the Incheon Declaration which reaffirmed the Education 2030 Agenda (UNESCO, 2015a).¹¹⁰ More recently, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also referred to as Global Goals have been crafted to replace the now defunct MDGs in the post 2015 era. The SDGs are enshrined in the Agenda for Sustainable Development (Agenda 2030).¹¹¹

The various treaties have established an element of entitlement with regards to educational attainment by all. It is on the basis of such global instruments that accessibility and availability of education for school going age displaced children in Zimbabwe have been measured. Ironically, the increase in policies advocating for the accessibility of education has not necessarily translated to the provision of education to all. This is evidenced by millions of children that are still out of school. In a study conducted by UNICEF in 2012, 2.9% children in Harare dropped out of school. Furthermore, 1.7 and 4.6% of the children in Harare have never been to school and are out of school respectively (UNICEF, 2015). In the same study, Hopley falls in the wards where 10 to 12% youths between 20 and 24 years have an educational attainment below secondary level. This serves to prove that displacement disrupted education for many children in the two communities. This is confirmed by one participant who says, *'You see all those boys (points to a group of young men who look to be in their early twenties), they last went to school when we were in Porta.'* Entitlement to education remains an abstract concept for such children as typified by displaced youths in the two communities.

The call for education as a right continues across the globe. Target 4 of the SDGs calls for the eradication of all disparities as well as ensuring equal access to education by the vulnerable and the children in vulnerable situations (ISSC, 2015).¹¹² Children in Hopley and Caledonia experience

¹⁰⁹ Article 26 (1) 'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least at elementary and fundamental stages.' See <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index>. (Retrieved September 18, 2015).

¹¹⁰ See <http://en.unesco.org/world-education-forum-2015/Incheon%E2%80%A6>. (Retrieved September 20, 2015).

¹¹¹ See <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015> (Retrieved September 17, 2015).

¹¹² Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all. See (ISSC, 2015). Issc 2015. Review of the Sustainable Development Goals: The Science Perspective. *International Council for Science*, 1-92.

double vulnerability in the sense that they are victims of displacement and are further denied the right to education. Target 4 makes it easier to confront the infringement on human rights as committed against displaced populations in Zimbabwean communities. Failure to access education by the displaced children is not only a human right denied but impacts negatively on their development. Given the right environment, it is 'effectively possible' for an individual to meet his potential which ultimately improves his well-being. The rights-based approach to education's target is to expose children to an education that leads to their optimum development (UNICEF, 2007:17). Therefore, education is a means to development for vulnerable children like these in displacement. Robeyns (2005) points out that development should be conceptualized around capabilities to function. This means that the young people in Hopley and Caledonia have to be accorded the freedom and opportunity to learn so that they can be developed.

Internally displaced persons' legal entitlement for protection and assistance should be acknowledged since they are equally rights-holders (UNHCR, 2007). Approached from a rights-based angle, failure to provide education to the internally displaced children in Zimbabwe is both morally and legally wrong. Even though global leaders continue to hold forums and conferences which strongly advocate for the right to education this has ironically (as an agent), has failed to make a practical impact on displaced populations in Zimbabwe. These IDPs are seemingly spectators, standing on the fringes of the society, rendering their capabilities inert.

The Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC) also adds to the children's rights to education encapsulated in the UDHR. Burde (2005) argues that CRC goes a step further than UDHR¹¹³ as it also considers the needs of children in their varying and complex forms. Article 28(1) (b) is directly applicable to this study (UNCRC, 2013). This article states that national authorities should:

Encourage the development of the forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education; make them *available and accessible to every child*,¹¹⁴ and take appropriate measures such as introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need (UNCRC, 2013:15).

¹¹³'While the UDHR is the trunk of human rights education, CRC is a pertinent branch of information that should be taught to children (particularly in conflict situations,' (Burde, 2005).

¹¹⁴Own emphasis- this is meant to direct focus to the aspects pertinent to this study.

The government of Zimbabwe's failure to make education accessible and available is tantamount to its failure to uphold the IDPs' right to education. The well-being of a human being can be supplemented by an element of agency and in the case of IDPs in Zimbabwe, the agent is the government. Indeed well-being is said to be an expression of agency (Lindeman, 2014). The implementation of these rights, demands an agent which steers the individuals (IDPs) in a manner that will ensure the realization of the right to education. One of the major complaints by the participants was that they lacked representation. '*Who is our landlord? The City Council, Local government or housing?*' queried one participant. In their view, there should be an agent mandated to the welfare of the two communities. Such agency would then facilitate that the communities' demands are met as well as forging the way forward for them. One can tentatively suggest that this element of agency as envisaged by the proponents of the Capability Approach has failed to work in the Zimbabwean internal displacement context.

When the agent renegades on this duty, the negative effects are felt by the rights-holders who are the internally displaced children of school going age in Zimbabwe. Ultimately, this denies the children an opportunity to escape poverty which is inherently associated with displacement. This nullifies the assumption by the Capabilities Approach that agency would ensure that individuals attain their potential. A radical approach to the IDPs' conditions in Zimbabwe would be to eliminate the government as an agent and replace it with 'self-agency.'¹¹⁵ Individuals in the community are then accorded the opportunity to confront the phenomenon in a way that best suits their context. One participant was of the view that if the residents were given the opportunity and freedom to choose who to work with, it would improve their lives drastically. '*They should allow the donors to come back and work with us,*' he said referring to NGOs that helped them when they first arrived in the communities. The fact that the residents have ideas about improving their condition shows that they have the element of human agency essential in changing their lives to the level they value. In turn, this relates to the entitlements which are entrenched in an individual's ability to command a commodity they wish to acquire (Rubin, 2009). This entails that IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia can potentially assume charge over the upholding of their rights to education.

¹¹⁵ Term coined by the researcher to imply the elimination of the government and humanitarian organizations as agents responsible for facilitating the IDPs' access to their rights. This is replaced by individual or communal activities that aim for the same.

6.1 Situating the GPID in the Zimbabwean Context

To millions of people, the crafting of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GPID)¹¹⁶ from 1992 and its subsequent adoption in 1998, first by the Commission on Human Rights and then the UN General Assembly,¹¹⁷ was a panacea for the internal displacement phenomenon. The GPID seemed to promise to staunch internal displacement and the problems associated with the phenomenon. It laid to rest the decade long debate on the categorization, protection and assistance of IDPs (Mooney, 2005). In his introductory note at the presentation of the Guiding Principles, the then Representative of the Secretary-General on Internal Displacement, Francis Deng stated that he hoped the principles would:

Provide valuable practical guidance to the Governments, other competent authorities, intergovernmental organizations and NGOs in their work with internally displaced persons (de Mello, 2003:2).

The phrase ‘other competent authorities’ connotes that there are some governments that have been inept in their discharge of duty concerning their citizens. Ironically, the choice of his words (competent authorities), were to ricochet back to the GPID and how useful the instrument was in protecting displaced populations in the absence of such authorities. Provision of essential social services like education in Zimbabwe comes under the spotlight as an area particularly neglected by the said authorities. The government’s questionable attitude towards the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia is noticeable even from the onset as one respondent complained that they ‘*didn’t see even one car.*’ Right from the emergency phase of the people’s displacement, the government was invisible. It can be surmised that incompetence, coupled with a nonchalant attitude towards vulnerable citizens such as IDPs is responsible for the government’s failure to provide education. This is reminiscent of Sen’s stance against the Malthusian¹¹⁸ argument as an explanation to famine (Rubin, 2009). Sen disputes the hypothesis that food availability decline (FAD) is always the cause of famine (Nayak, 2000). Likewise, it is not necessarily for lack of resources that IDPs in Zimbabwe are denied the right to education. Thus, such a social injustice can only be cured by a conscious effort to channel funds towards the provision of education by the government. This also

¹¹⁶ Also referred to as Guiding Principles

¹¹⁷ See (de Mello, 2003)

¹¹⁸ The Malthusian theory suggests overpopulation as the central cause for food shortages and hunger.

goes back to the political will by the government to comply with international policies on its citizens.

The study argues that internal displacement is a manifestation of abused rights. As echoed by (Stremlau, 1998), human rights abused today invariably create tomorrow's refugees and internally displaced people. In the context of internal displacement in Zimbabwe, it therefore makes sense to start from GPID 6(1). This principle stresses that;

Every human being shall have the right to be protected against being arbitrarily displaced from his or her home or place of habitual residence (Deng, 1999:486).

In retrospect, this is supported by the Zimbabwean Constitution.¹¹⁹ In direct contrast to these statutes, the participants in Hopley and Caledonia all confirmed that they were involuntarily moved from their former homes. Efforts to resist the evictions were thwarted as the government deployed law enforcement forces to evict them. One participant said, *'They only managed to evict us after we had fought the police.'* The fact that the internally displaced persons in Zimbabwe had already suffered eviction when Zimbabwe's new constitution was drafted and adopted does not render the GPID ineffectual. The Guiding Principles were put into effect in 1998 and the responsible authorities in Zimbabwe had no valid reason not to comply with them.

From the onset, the prevalence of IDPs in Zimbabwe can be taken to denote non-compliance to the Guiding Principles and humanitarian laws. It is also an example of social inequalities that need to be addressed as supported by one of the Critical Theory's tenets which advocates for the confrontation of social injustice (Kellner, 2012). One of the established ways to prepare people to fight any form of injustice is to equip them with knowledge acquired through education. This calls for the utility of an education system that "allows for the greatest release of human potential and cultivation of citizens who will produce a just society," (Kellner, 2012:4). The Critical Theory in turn advocates for restorative justice for displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia. This study contends that the inaccessibility and unavailability of education robs these children of the chance to fight social inequalities which internal displacement exposes them to. Therefore, displaced children in such conditions never realize the freedoms and opportunities that would liberate them from poverty. "In order to understand poverty reduction, it is thus important to understand the increase in

¹¹⁹ Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) Act 2013, Chapter 4, Section 74

the capabilities for well-being,” (Lindeman, 2014). Due to the fact that the majority of people in his community are not highly educated, one young man feels that *‘nothing can come out this community.’* These contextual factors sink the IDPs further into a life of deprivation.

The IDPs in Zimbabwe are a unique type of forced migrants. They do not easily fall into the different categories set in the GPID.¹²⁰ Kalin (2008) attests that these IDPs are neither victims of ‘ethnic cleansing,’ armed conflict, development projects or other contexts cited in Principle 6(2). The IDPs in Zimbabwe were forced to move when their homes were destroyed by the government’s Operation Murambatsvina (IDMC, 2008). This program forced thousands of people into forced migrants and they subsequently became internally displaced persons (Kapp, 2005). This confirms that the very existence of IDPs in Zimbabwe was due to negligence of Principle 6 in the GPID and human rights.

The paradox of the global community concentrating on the causative rather than curative factors enhances internal displacement as a problematic phenomenon. There are three stages in internal displacement which call for the national authority to act on. These are; the state’s responsibility to prevent, react or rebuild. Each state is expected to prevent internal displacement from occurring. Failure to do this, the state should then react adequately once this has happened. The IDPs in Zimbabwe have passed the first and second stages of internal displacement and are well into the third phase. Having spent more than ten years in displacement, the government should be involved in rebuilding the lives of the people living in Hopley and Caledonia. It can be argued that the provision of education can be one method of the rebuilding process. The absence of infrastructure such as schools appears to make these people ‘invisible migrants.’

The 2005 program to demolish people’s homes was indubitably the causative factor to the people’s displacement. Operation Murambatsvina infringed on both the people’s security and subsistence rights. According to Badescu (2011), these rights fall among basic rights as they are crucial for the enjoyment of all other rights and it is precisely for this reason that these rights need to be protected. The people in Hopley and Caledonia need to access their entitlements like every other Zimbabwean citizen. Thus, it is important to understand the IDPs’ entitlements in a context where the

¹²⁰ See GPID 6(2) (a)-(e) (Chimni, 2000).

government seems unable to provide education. Such entitlements are therefore pitted with shortfalls as they are dependent on the societal relationships that govern the community.

The Guiding Principles are embedded in international humanitarian laws. Article 1 of the UDHR basically emphasizes that all humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights.¹²¹ This profound human right enlightens the society of the injustices now inherently associated with various social institutions. Such injustices have reduced people like IDPs to seem undeserving of certain rights. ‘*We lived like animals,*’ one participant described life in the communities in the first days. This life clearly was (and relatively still is) beneath human dignity and the residents have every reason not to value it. Therefore, Guiding Principle 1 is reminiscent of and borrows from the UDHR. This principle reiterates that IDPs are equal to every other person in any given country and should be equally accorded rights and freedoms accessible to the rest of the population (de Mello, 2003). Therefore, the IDPs’ status is not supposed to prejudice them of these rights and freedoms. In deference to the principle, this immediately invokes numerous questions on the justification for the lack of services like education.

For individuals to achieve their capabilities there is the need for agency. Agency is one’s ability to act and bring about change. Lindeman (2014) posits that every human being has the potential to express agency. However, “agency is enabled or constrained by personal factors, environmental conditions, institutional and embodied social structures,” (Frediani and Hansen, 2015:56). Therefore, human beings need agency to institute their capabilities. Capabilities are the people’s ability to do or achieve particular functions (Clark, 2005). Consequently, people need opportunities to be availed to them if they are to realise their full potential. The government or national authority is one such agent which can facilitate the attainment of these capabilities by citizens. Despite the IDPs’ enhanced vulnerabilities brought upon them by internal displacement, the very need for agency seems contradictory to the said capabilities. This seems to stamp the IDPs’ dependence on other individuals or organizations to help them realise their potential. Yet, proponents of this approach also argue that entitlements should be negotiated for through conflict and struggle as they are not endowed upon people externally (Rubin, 2009).

¹²¹<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml> (Retrieved September 18, 2015).

Principle 3 in the GPID clearly states that each government has the primary duty and responsibility over its citizens (Deng, 1999). The principle further stipulates that the IDPs have the right to request and receive humanitarian assistance from their governments (Chimni, 2000). Contrary to this, the participants said the government literally *'dumped'* them. *'They simply 'dumped' us here, with no shelter, no blankets,'* said one participant. In discourse analysis, the use of the word *'dumped'* implies lack of care by the government. This immediately contradicts the primacy of the government's role in the citizens' welfare.

The right to request assistance from the government seems to be a nominal right and reduces the principle almost to a travesty where the Zimbabwean context is concerned. The failure to practically observe the dictates of the GPID by the Zimbabwean government signifies the double vulnerability of the residents. In addition to their displacement, the residents are further being denied basic human rights. In principle, the IDPs have the rights but more than a decade of experiencing unfulfilled rights has reduced these rights to *'paper rights'*¹²² which are meaningless to these victims. This is worsened by the fact that Guiding Principles are entrenched in moral and human rights as opposed to legal rights, thus lack enforcement mechanisms. The IDPs' failure to request for assistance from the state as stated in the Guiding Principle makes their *'substantive freedoms'*¹²³ invalid. The seeming acceptance of internal displacement even by IDPs themselves serves to widen development gaps with the rest of the communities and drives them further from attaining their rights.

Guiding Principle 23 is most crucial in defining the rationale and basis for this study. This principle specifically sets out to address educational needs for the internally displaced persons. This principle categorically sets out that every human being has the right to education (Kalin, 2008, Deng, 1999). This is an all-embracing principle that indiscriminately takes in all humanity, including internally displaced persons' entitlement to this right. The principle knows no race, color, gender or circumstances in which the person might be. By virtue of such international laws and policies, one presupposes that communities like Hopley and Caledonia would have educational facilities and programs running. In answer to the question about the availability of schools in the community, one respondent said, *'Which schools are you talking about? Did you see anything that looks like a*

¹²² Badescu, C. B. 2011. Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect. Routledge, 1-174.

¹²³ Substantive freedoms are capabilities which when activated result in achieved functionings or outcomes, (Robeyns, 2005).

school when you were coming here? There are no schools here except those that operate from homes and under trees.’ The absence of educational facilities in the two communities calls upon the Critical Theory whose foundations were incubated by social injustice (Letizia, 2013). True to the orthodox Marxist philosophy, education is particularly essential for IDPs as they battle inequality and social injustice born from the history of their conditions (Kellner, 2012).

Cognizant of the urgency to provide education to displaced children, some national authorities have defied the danger even of bullets and bombs in a bid to make education accessible to displaced children. Schools are said to be often obvious targets during periods of armed conflict.¹²⁴ Couldrey and Morris (2006) state that more than 3000 school children were detained by Israeli forces between 2000 and 2005 in Palestine. Despite this, it seems the Palestinian authorities were not deterred from providing education to children during the conflict. Principle 23 (4) adds an element of the time frame to the provision of education to IDPs.¹²⁵ The ideal would be to provide education as soon as the children have been settled in their new homes because failure to provide education to IDPs is a ‘detrimental omission’ to their development (Rhoades, 2010:2). Education enables the IDPs in their varying developmental activities, capacitating them to emerge out of the state of destitution which is symptomatic of internal displacement. “Education is a tool that can be used to realize the potentiality for freedom and autonomous use of reason in every human being” (Olli-Pekka, 2009). Timely academic intervention reduces education gaps that are normally experienced by internally displaced children and puts them at equal par with the rest of the children in the country. As it is, young men and women in the two communities are unemployed and their future prospects look dire. *‘They just spend the day walking around, chasing girls and smoking mbanje.’* This seems to be the fate of the young men whose school years were abruptly halted by Operation Murambatsvina.

Critical theorists contend that education needs to be democratized. They argue that this is necessary to overcome the divisions and inequalities that mirror contemporary class, gender and racial battles (Kellner, 2012). Internal displacement is a relatively modern phenomenon when compared to orthodox class, race and gender conflicts. This demands that the inequity in the access to education

¹²⁴ See Educate a Child, 2015. Armed Conflict. educateachild.org/explore/barriers-to-education/fragile-and-conflict-affected-situations/armed-conflict. (Retrieved September 22, 2015).

¹²⁵ Principle 23 (4) states that education and training facilities shall be made available to internally displaced persons, in particular adolescents and women, whether or not living in camps, as soon as conditions permit. (Deng, 1999).

faced by IDPs be nipped in the bud before whole generations of people lose education years. Loss of educational opportunities by the displaced children will enhance the intrinsic social inequalities already at play in any given society. In the Zimbabwean context, the IDPs' communities have already spent more than ten years without education facilities and this halts their individual progress.

In the context of internal displacement, Guiding Principle 23 (4) states that education must be availed 'as soon as conditions permit.' This seems subjective to the prevailing conditions and leaves the prerogative to determine this in the hands of the government. This might act as an excuse that can be used for the delay in erecting education facilities in the communities. However, ten years can be costly to the concerned children in the long run as they can never recover the lost time nor lead the type of lives that they would have envisioned for themselves. Education potentially increases the opportunities to improve the quality of life for the displaced children in the communities. These entitlements seem to be a theoretical possession for IDPs in Zimbabwe. This also leads to the questioning of the presumption that every citizen has entitlement to resources available in their country. In the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement, the IDPs are invisible and the government does not acknowledge them. It can be argued that the demand for these entitlements is futile. This causes the dilemma that the internal displacement in Zimbabwe faces. As such, this stamps the uniqueness of IDPs in Zimbabwe in their bid to access education.

6.2 Kampala Convention: The legal remedy to the IDPs' Malady in Zimbabwe?

The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) is applauded for being the first continental and world legal framework on internal displacement (Bradley, 2012). In its preamble, the Kampala Convention calls into force numerous other instruments that have preceded it.¹²⁶ The Kampala Convention came in the backdrop of endless intra-state conflicts which also gave rise to mounting figures of internally displaced persons. At the time when the AU heads of state met in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, approximately twenty (20) countries were battling phenomenal internal displacement figures (Solomon, 2010). In the period when this study was undertaken, Sub-Saharan Africa held the pole position in internal displacement with an estimated 11, 4 million IDPs from as

¹²⁶ See the Preamble AU (2009) African Union for the Protection and Assistance of the Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention).

many as 22 countries (IDMC, 2015). Bradley (2012) submits that the African Union heads of state acknowledged the enormity of internal displacement in Africa and pledged to uphold the fundamental human rights bestowed on IDPs through international human rights and humanitarian law.

The Kampala Convention continues with the work initiated by the GPID albeit with the benefit of a legal element. The Kampala Convention was signed in 2009 but became effective on 6 December 2012 (IDMC, 2014a). Due to the legal element, it can be assumed that this framework is better equipped to deal with non-compliance of the instrument among member states. This could be attainable because the Kampala Convention attempted to establish a legal framework for cooperation among African Union member states, the global community and the civil society in combating internal displacement (Solomon, 2010). Equipped with such an instrument, the question of IDPs in Zimbabwe should not have posed such a humanitarian concern. Failure to institute legal action by the AU in the case of the IDPs in Zimbabwe may reduce the Kampala Convention to join some of the well-crafted and well-intentioned but ineffectual global policies. The question one asks is; if the IDPs in Zimbabwe fail to get humanitarian protection and assistance under such a legal framework, what else can be feasibly done to get them to benefit from international laws?

Zimbabwe was remarkably the second country after Uganda, to sign the Kampala Convention (IDMC, 2014b, Ridderbos, 2011). The country has since joined twenty one other countries that have ratified this framework on internal displacement.¹²⁷ Ratifying the convention was indicative of the countries' consent to be bound by the treaty.¹²⁸ Having ratified the treaty, Zimbabwe committed herself to abiding by all the 23 articles stipulated in the convention without discrimination. The next line of action would be for the country to domesticate the framework to ensure the full protection and assistance of its IDPs. It is at this stage that the Zimbabwean government has been found floundering. This ineptitude impacts negatively on the IDPs and their well-being. Participants in the two communities generally concurred that life in displacement has a lot of challenges. *'People have no jobs here. We do menial jobs like digging wells or pit latrines,'* said one Hopley resident. He bemoaned the lack of regular jobs which he said would make them afford better lives. The

¹²⁷ www.acpr.org/press/2015/01/d247/ (Retrieved September 22, 2015).

¹²⁸ See <http://ask.un.org/fag/14594> (Retrieved July 22, 2016)

domestication of the Kampala Convention by Zimbabwe is expected to address the issue of these IDPs' livelihoods and other rights entitled to them through the instrument.

Article 5 of the Kampala Convention is a twelve pronged expression of the states' obligations towards the protection and assistance of IDPs. Objective 1 under Article 5 states:

States Parties shall bear the primary duty and responsibility for providing protection of and humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons within their territory or jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind (Solomon, 2010:90).

Similar to the GPID, the mother framework on internal displacement, the Kampala Convention places all other international humanitarian organizations secondary to the national authority. If a state meets this obligation fully, it enhances its sovereignty as emphasized by the R2P norm (Akopari et al., 2008). Ideally, failure to comply with the Kampala Convention should invoke relevant denunciation from fellow African Union member states. This is possible because the R2P acts as lens through which other states can monitor atrocities committed in other states (du Plessis, 2008). However, Billing (2010:17) contends that, "despite its ratification by a majority of states, humanitarian and human rights law is distinguished by failure of application both locally and internationally." Therefore, one of the major weaknesses experienced since the R2P was crafted is the lack of practical application of this norm in a number of cases. One can contend that Zimbabwe Operation Murambatsvina's IDPs is one such context.

In the light of the principle above, a responsible national authority is therefore expected to put up strategies to provide the requisite humanitarian assistance to its IDPs. This is done so as to avoid being called to account for renegading on its responsibility. This is yet to happen in the case of Zimbabwean IDPs which seems to imply that the Kampala Convention is an academic policy. Most participants confirm that help came from humanitarian organizations such as UNICEF and IOM. UN provided tents for Caledonia residents and to date, some of these tents still stand. None of the humanitarian aid in form of food and non-food items came from the government. At the peak of the Operation Murambatsvina evictions, the global community became concerned at the human rights violations which were being reported in Zimbabwe. According to Traub (2006:409), Robert Mugabe, the president of Zimbabwe dismissed the reports as 'a pack of lies.'

This having been said, the internally displaced people in Zimbabwe appear to be in limbo even with such a legal framework at the AU's disposal. Even the UN Security Council declined to act on the issue of displacement in Zimbabwe (Traub, 2006). The onus was left on the African Union as the regional organization to which Zimbabwe belongs to deal with the situation. Both the state and African Union member states have failed to uphold the statutes of the Kampala Convention as evidenced by the conditions in which the IDPs in Zimbabwe are living. The Kampala Convention has still not served its purpose for these IDPs. Therefore, citing the Kampala Convention's legal status simply underscores the negligence the state and AU seem to be guilty of.

There are a number of steps that need to be taken to pave way for the implementation of the Kampala Convention in Hopley and Caledonia. Firstly, the Zimbabwean government has to acknowledge the prevalence of IDPs in the country. Secondly, the government also needs to domesticate this policy to alleviate the problems faced by the victims of internal displacement in the country. Mapiko and Chinyoka (2013) maintain that the government insists on classifying IDPs among the 'mobile and vulnerable populations.' This may explain the government's perceived reluctance and subsequent failure to meet the special needs for the displaced populations. This has also obstructed a proper entitlement mapping for these displaced people.

The use of the word 'responsibility' in Article 5(1) of the Kampala Convention inevitably throws the R2P norm into the milieu. Article 5(1) states that nothing stated in the article should prejudice the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a state. However, like a proverbial bad penny, the 'misuse' of this norm is conjured in an attempt to revert to elements of the Westphalian sovereignty. Westphalian sovereignty refers to "the exclusive competence of the state to make authoritative decisions of the government with regard to all people and resources in the territory," (Thakur, 2006). Badescu (2011:20) also defines this as the exclusion of external actors from domestic authority. States tend to use this as a shield against international enquiries into humanitarian violations or crimes against humanity committed in the state. Once this (Westphalian sovereignty) is invoked, it becomes difficult to censure a member state that has not complied with a given instrument. One participant pointed out that the world did not get to know the details of their suffering in Hopley and Caledonia. *'My sister, let me tell you, newspapers didn't write many things that happened to us here. That's why you people don't know anything.'*

The greatest challenge with the IDPs in Zimbabwe as in many other cases is that national authorities are frequently the ‘authors of displacement,’ (Borton et al, 2005:83). This is said to create what is termed ‘protection deficit’ or ‘protection gap’ (Slim and Eguren, 2004, Borton et al., 2005). Lack of adequate protection of displaced people has exposed them to increased vulnerability. Vulnerable people are literally subjected to further human rights abuse because of this deficiency and the national authority’s failure to uphold its duty. The futile truth is that:

People are not protected just because the law says they are and because it identifies authorities with a duty to protect (Slim and Eguren, 2004:18).

The phrase ‘just because the law says they are’ marks one of the biggest challenges between theory and compliance to laws. It is one vicious cycle when protector turns perpetrator. This creates ‘responsibility deficit,’ which is a condition that explains a state that turns violent against its own citizens (Thakur, 2011). It goes without saying that in such a situation, the state rescinds its duty as an agent.

Article 5 (2), (3) and (5) suggest the role that other members of the global community can play to help a state protect its own displaced people. After the Rwandese genocide, the Kampala Convention had the hindsight to expect that some states may be unwilling or incapacitated to assist their IDPs. The state’s ability to protect its IDPs is determined by what ICRC coins as ‘compliance aptitude.’¹²⁹ States should be willing to allow help to reach its vulnerable population in situations where it has failed to do so. Thus, Article 5(7) advocates for “rapid and unimpeded passage of relief consignments, equipment and personnel to internally displaced persons” (Solomon, 2010:89). Therefore, it is the national authority’s obligation to assist and protect its IDPs or allow those organizations which can do so to access the displaced populations with necessary humanitarian aid. For Hopley and Caledonia, these organizations could build schools and when this happens, the organizations would become instrumental in the IDPs’ achieving their potential. The national authority or humanitarian organizations can empower the IDPs thereby facilitating them to achieve their goals. This in itself is emancipatory as it lessens their vulnerability to conditions associated with internal displacement.

¹²⁹International Committee of the Red Cross says ‘Compliance aptitude’ is a mixture of practical resources, political attitude and personal attributes. See Slim, H. & Eguren, L. E. 2004. Humanitarian Protection: A Guidance Handbook. ALNAP, 1-73.

The Capability Approach has been used in many human related needs and human rights (Clark, 2005). The affinity between this approach and human rights lies in that both consider the human being's well-being as central to human dignity. Human rights are also perceived as "a juridical articulation of duty by those in zones of safety toward those in zones of danger," (Thakur, 2011). The assumption expressed above is the moral obligation by fellow human beings to help those facing human rights violations. Likewise, the element of human agency sets out to promote a related concept. According to Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014), the CA is a framework which is agency-oriented and is also embedded in opportunity. In line with this, agency seems to be inexorably linked to available opportunities to ensure that people achieve their goals. Therefore, the provision of secondary school education in Hopley and Caledonia is an opportunity for the displaced children to realise their aspirations. However, it appears that agency cannot work in a vacuum created by lack of such an opportunity. Consequently, the effectiveness of individual and other forms of agency can be increased in conjunction with the availability of opportunity (ies). This augments the need for the construction of educational infrastructure in the communities to avail the children with the opportunity to exercise their rights to education.

Alkire (2011) defines agency as the ability to pursue and realise goals that one values and has reason to value by an individual. On the other hand, the person who then propels this change is called an agent. The need for an agent is also impelled by the belief that sometimes individuals can only access their entitlements by mutual arrangement (Adger, 2006). This is applicable when the individual's capacity to pursue his goals has been compromised by vulnerability. Internal displacement has put Hopley and Caledonia residents in this position of vulnerability and as such, they find it difficult to pursue their academic goals. The efforts made by organizations such as IOM, ZCDT and UNICEF in helping Hopley and Caledonia residents were in recognition of this essential service.

IDPs in the two communities should not be viewed in their individual states but as co-dependent on relations with other people and institutions around them. To this effect, Article 6(3) of the Kampala Convention plays a significant role in this study. Due to their displacement, education has been rendered out of reach and an agent is needed to facilitate their access to basic and secondary school education. The instrument can act as an agent to facilitate the provision of education in the two communities. Education is a latent entitlement which has the potential to improve the displaced

people's welfare. Therefore, IDPs in Zimbabwe have reason to value education in all its forms and should be equipped to pursue it.

Like its predecessor, the Kampala Convention acknowledges the fact that a state may for some reason fail to provide the assistance and protection sought by its IDPs. Even though the former Representative of the Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons, Francis Deng found it unconceivable that a state would not want to protect its citizens, the reality is that this is happening (Akokpari et al., 2008). The Zimbabwean IDPs are a classical example of this. To cushion IDPs against the eventuality of this, Article 6(3) seeks to involve humanitarian agencies to help the IDPs who may find themselves in this situation. It states:

International organizations and humanitarian agencies shall be bound by the principles of humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence of humanitarian actors, and ensure respect for relevant international standards and codes of conduct (Solomon, 2010:91).

This article seems to imply that humanitarian organizations should be apolitical. Essentially, such organisations' main mandate is to render assistance where it is required without, being involved in the politics of the land. However, sometimes these organizations are accused of pursuing hidden agendas beyond their core humanitarian business. Indeed,

The notion that "being humanitarian" and "doing good" are somehow inevitably the same is hard to shake off. For many people, it is almost counter-intuitive to have to consider that humanitarian action may also have a dark side which compromises as well as helps the people whose suffering it seeks to alleviate (Billing, 2010:17).

Whenever such behaviour has been suspected, it has led to friction between host nations and the organizations. In 2008, the Zimbabwean government accused organizations of meddling in the politics of the land. This led to the suspension of some licences. When this happened, the vulnerable communities suffered as humanitarian aid ceased abruptly.

The route for international humanitarian organizations' access to IDPs in Zimbabwe has been littered with obstructions. "Government obstruction meant that no agency was able to conduct a comprehensive survey to determine the number of IDPs in Zimbabwe," (IDMC, 2010d:6). The word 'obstruction' implies that there were deliberate measures taken to block non-governmental

organizations from reaching displaced communities. The government even revoked NGOs' licences to operate in the country on 4 June 2008 and refused international humanitarian assistance claiming there was no crisis in the country (Hammar, 2008, IDMC, 2008). In the Zimbabwean context, IDMC (2008:43) argues that,

It has been, and remains extraordinarily difficult for humanitarian agencies to obtain access to displaced communities. Even where access has been granted, the government is liable to withdraw its permission on arbitrary grounds,

This was confirmed by participants who said, *'NGOs have stopped coming here. The clinic that was opened by UNICEF is now under the City Council.'* It is apparent that access to IDPs in Zimbabwe is not guaranteed despite the overt need for humanitarian intervention to this population.

The inclusion of Article 6(3) has certainly been ineffectual in the context of IDPs in Zimbabwe particularly in Hopley and Caledonia. According to Traub (2006), the state has not honoured its duty on IDPs and yet it impedes any attempts by humanitarian organizations to intervene. Such an attitude has far reaching consequences on the children who need more than human agency to improve their conditions. In the meantime, the internally displaced children in Zimbabwe continue to be deprived of the right to education, a service that they are entitled to by virtue of being citizens of Zimbabwe. This is happening even though there are national bodies that are mandated to safeguard these people's rights. The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission is especially sanctioned to ensure that the government honour their constitutional obligations. I failed to secure an interview with personnel in this organisation as I was told that I would need to be cleared by the government. Such a stance led me to believe that the institution would not act as an agent for the displaced people in the country. This does not appear to be benefiting the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia.

Seemingly failed by policy, the government and humanitarian organizations, the IDPs should probably look for home grown solutions to tackle the denial of their rights. In the meantime, this should take the global community back to the drawing board to find the option that works in the Zimbabwean context. This can be viewed as a 'new type situation,' (Badescu, 2011). A new type situation seeks to address a peculiar context which otherwise does not fall into the general categories. This contention is mainly driven by the fact that such cases like internal displacement in

Zimbabwe deviate from the usual and common cases. This entails that each humanitarian case receives adequate response based on individual merit.

Though not legally bound to assist the IDPs, non-governmental organizations should do so on ethical grounds. Thus, failure to respond to this call of duty is tantamount to the neglect of a moral obligation. The majority of these organizations are mandated to safeguard human rights through their internal policies and therefore it is expected that they revert to this position. This further emphasizes the moral philosophy that governs most humanitarian organizations. Despite this, the contemporary geopolitics seem to have successfully defied any legal and moral call to duty as nations ostensibly continue to pursue individualistic agendas at the expense of the needy in the society.

Internally displaced persons require assistance at basically three stages in this status. The stages are; at the onset or emergency phase of displacement, during and after displacement. Kastberg (2002) opines that the magnitude of the needs of the internally displaced persons varies according to the relative phase they may be in. For instance, the basic issues of survival at first may include water, food, shelter and clothing. The IDPs in Zimbabwe can be said to be in the second phase of a protracted form of displacement.¹³⁰ Most participants interviewed said they arrived in the communities between late 2004 and May 2005. What has worsened their predicament is, as predicted, interest from concerned organizations wanes off the longer that the IDPs have been in displacement (Christensen and Harild, 2009, IDMC, 2015a, Mooney and Davies, 2016).

The specific vulnerabilities created by displacement often only intensify with time, while resilience, the ability of communities to rebuild their lives even while displaced, can weaken if it is not nourished (Mooney and Davies, 2016:20).

It appears as if the internally displaced people in Zimbabwe have virtually been left to carve their own lives in these conditions. The Zimbabwean context has proved that it is erroneous to wait for this government as a form of agent to improve the conditions of IDPs. This has impacted negatively on their pursuit towards possible outcomes such as development.

One of the most consistent needs faced by IDPs throughout displacement is education. Once the survival issues have been catered for, parents of displaced children tend to strive towards the

¹³⁰Protracted displacement is considered to be any situation whereby displaced populations have lasted longer than five years in displacement (Ferris, 2012).

educational needs of their children (Sommers, 1999). Studies by UNESCO (2011) corroborate that parents and children in displacement are said to place the highest priority on education. One parent rhetorically commented, *'if our children don't go to school, how are they going to escape the poverty we are living in?'* Such a scenario enhances the importance of education as a means to durable solutions for the IDPs in the two communities. This underscores the importance of education to displaced children throughout the course of displacement, a service they are invariably entitled to.

Education is essential to all children including those that are internally displaced. Popular sentiments pronounce the youths as the future leaders of their communities and respective countries. To be able to effectively assume such responsibilities, the youths need education (Rhoades, 2010). Education is therefore important to enable these youths to achieve this and more. Article 9 (2) (b) in the Kampala Convention identifies with this need for education by IDPs. In this article, member states pledge to:

Provide internally displaced persons to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay, with adequate humanitarian assistance, which shall include food, water, shelter, medical care and other health services, sanitation, **education**, and any other necessary social services, and where appropriate, extend such assistance to local and host communities (Solomon, 2010:93).

For the purposes of this study, the phrase, 'to the fullest extent practicable and with the least possible delay...' describes the underlying importance of these social services. Education is included among the services which the member states considered needed exigent attention. In armed conflict, the phrase may imply that considerations for the physical safety of children and their teachers be taken into consideration as states attempt to provide education for displaced children.

The Zimbabwean IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia were not a result of armed conflict. The only exposure to life threatening danger came from demolition machines,¹³¹ diseases, the cold and hunger in the emergency phase of their evictions (Potts, 2006). In the view of this study, education

¹³¹ Heavy duty machinery was deployed to raze down the housing structures which had been condemned as illegal and many were injured in the process of trying to wrestle their property from being crushed by these machines.

facilities (along with the rest of essential social services) could have been erected within weeks of the people being settled in these communities (or prior to their eviction). Failure to do this emphasizes the government's non-adherence to set global and regional policies. In turn, this underlines the difficulty faced by the IDPs in attaining their fundamental freedoms. These are equated to the people's capabilities which are the basis to the methods of achieving their goals.

In direct contradiction to the Kampala Convention's stipulations, the Zimbabwe government is yet to construct educational facilities in the IDPs communities. This study reiterates the unparalleled importance of education to all children including those in displacement in the IDPs communities in Zimbabwe. In a global community where the approach to emergency education has been standardized, a lethargic approach as visible in displaced communities in Zimbabwe defeats the purpose of well-meaning education programs and SDGs. The SDGs were largely fostered on the 'leave no one behind' concept. In a Christian Aid report;

The 'leave no one behind' concept is implicit within the ambition to eradicate poverty in all its forms by 2030 and in a human rights-based approach to development, (Helen, 2015:3).

Ironically, it seems as if the displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia may literally be left behind on a developmental level. This means that lack of access to education affects the development of the communities as well as the individuals. This is enhanced by the infringement of their rights to education.

The justification for the importance of education is usually that it is a human right and it is vital in the creation of human capital (Andina, 2007). Unfortunately, education seems to have been one of the casualties of displacement in Zimbabwe. Hoeffler and Reynal-Querol (2003) argue that the harsh effects of combatant and non-combatant conflicts are always suffered more by civilians than the armed rivals. In this case, the displaced children in Zimbabwe have been denied access to education through the perceived designs of people in authority. This study however contends that the communities' continued lack of legal representation, humanitarian assistance and their keeping quiet seem to suggest acquiescence to the prevailing conditions. There are many forms of advocacy the residents could have taken to demand this right for their children. They could petition the government as a community or engage human rights organizations operational in their

communities. Instead of waiting for the state to voluntarily provide education, the victims of internal displacement could have instituted legal structures to acquire this because education is a legal entitlement.

The negative impacts to the lack of access to education are not immediately visible to the eye and this usually relegates educational needs to the less important essentials in any crisis. Loss of education is one of the immeasurable costs of displacement for Zimbabwe communities. Though not singled out specifically in the Kampala Convention, article 9 (2) (b) also stresses the value of education. Education is important to human development (Smith, 2009). In addition to being unemployed, youths in Hopley and Caledonia have also turned to substance abuse, prostitution and early marriages. These are some of the costs attributed to the loss of education in the two communities. Education has been defined as an “enabling right” as it “acts as a key to unlock the door to the enjoyment of all other rights,” (Rhoades, 2010:56). Likewise, internally displaced children in Zimbabwe are entitled to access this all important right so as to be equipped with life-sustaining skills. Thus from the point of view of the Kampala Convention, lack of educational facilities in the communities is both morally inexcusable and illegal.

6.3 The Constitution of Zimbabwe: Treading through a trajectory of broken statutes

Having metaphorically walked through the UDHR, GPID and Kampala Convention, the question one may ask is whether the Constitution of Zimbabwe can salvage the pursuit for IDPs’ education. It is easy to approach this instrument with scepticism especially when one considers the government as having engineered and fostered internal displacement in the country (Operation Murambatsvina drove the residents of Hopley and Caledonia into internal displacement). The adoption of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act 2013 was a watershed event in the political history of Zimbabwe. It repealed the constitution that had been in operation since 18 April 1980,¹³² though several amendments had been made to the earlier constitution. As the first overhaul amendment, a lot was expected of this new constitution. The drafting of the new constitution also came in a relatively calmer political climate. This event occurred during the 2009 Government of National Unity. It was therefore hoped to objectively address a plethora of issues citizens had found

¹³² See Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act 2013 pp1.

unfavourable with the old constitution. The new constitution gave a glimpse of hope for IDPs as many hoped that it would not turn out to be just a mirage in the distant.

For nearly two decades, Operation Murambatsvina has been a topical issue in socio-political forums. The legal, economic and political connotations of the government's move to destroy residents' housing structures still draw strong sentiments from any concerned global citizen. However, to the victims of this program, the journey in displacement continues. For the internally displaced persons in Zimbabwe, the hope lies in durable solutions to their displacement. Durable solutions can enable the displaced populations to enjoy their rights. Forced migration is a "direct contravention of human rights," (Potts, 2006:280). Undoubtedly, these communities were created through violated human rights (Nicolai, 2006). Operation Murambatsvina was indeed a human rights and humanitarian disaster (Lyman, 2006, Traub, 2006). According to Nicolai (2006), the government of Zimbabwe however tried to invoke its domestic laws to justify these violations. Nevertheless, the national laws cannot override international legislation to which the country is signatory.

Musoni (2010) contends that people positioned in varied ways were all affected by Operation Murambatsvina. Some of these people have since recovered marginally while some have sunk deeper into problems aggravated by displacement.¹³³ Thus, the new Constitution of Zimbabwe is a welcome reprieve to the internally displaced people in Zimbabwe. Chapter 4, Section 74 in the Constitution of Zimbabwe seeks to protect citizens from future displacements. It states:

No person may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without any order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013:37).

This may have come ten years too late for the current displacement victims in Zimbabwe, but it assures them of no further evictions from the places they now call home. Despite this, one Caledonia resident is doubtful of the constitution fully guaranteeing them from future evictions. He said, *'if they could evict us from Porta after all those years, what will stop them from doing it again?'* Most of these residents have experienced displacement at least twice in their lives

¹³³ Amnestyinternational 2011a. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women Pre-session working group-Zimbabwe. Amnesty International, 1-18.

(Chitekwe-Biti, 2009). In the 2005 Operation Murambatsvina, a notice of 0 to 3 days would be given before the demolitions ensued (Nicolai, 2006). Indeed, bulldozers flattening informal markets and homes, offered owners and inhabitants only minutes to remove property (Fontein, 2009). Due to this short notice, the residents could not petition or apply for a court order to revoke this. The new constitution protects the citizens from a similar eventuality in future. The citizens need to be made aware of their constitutional rights to protect them from further abuse and this can easily be facilitated at communal level.

The promise of stability acquired through freedom from arbitrary evictions creates room for the development of permanent infrastructure in these communities. The long awaited schools and clinics can now be constructed. Chapter 4, Section 75 (1) (b) states that;

Every person has a right to further education, which the State, through reasonable legislative and other measures, must make progressively available and accessible (Constitution of Zimbabwe, 2013:37).

For this study, further education is interpreted as beginning at secondary school level. This applies to post primary education for adolescents and youths. This chapter of the constitution pledges this form of education to all Zimbabweans. Thus, children in Hopley and Caledonia can also lay legitimate claims to the provision of basic and secondary education as stated in the constitution. This emphasizes the legal element to entitlements such as education. Therefore, using the ‘totality of rights,’ the IDPs can command education as their entitlements (Amartya, 1983).

The new constitution states that the government is obliged to make all forms of education ‘progressively available and accessible.’ This phrase evokes a discussion of the terms ‘availability’ and ‘accessibility’ as envisaged by Katarina Tomasecski, a champion of children’s right to education (Tomasecski, 2006). She came up with a 4A-scheme to education based on Acceptability, Availability, Accessibility and Adaptability. Mapuva and Mapuva, (2014) put forward that the 4As were expected to be indicators on the realization of the right to education for children the world over. Of the 4As, the terms most relevant to this study are ‘availability’ and ‘accessibility’. Availability and accessibility of primary and secondary school education in Zimbabwe have been used as a core measurement to the fulfillment of the right to education for the displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia.

Availability denotes the physical presence of operational educational institutions (Action Aid, 2008). Of the 4As, this is easiest to assess as it is visible to the eye. This means that there is need for physical education structures and facilities in the communities. At the time when the study was undertaken, it was established that there was none in Caledonia and one under construction in Hopley. The school under construction in Caledonia is a project by one private organization in Zimbabwe. For a school to be rated as functional, it has to have adequate teachers, text books and sanitation (Mapuva and Mapuva, 2014). The assumption made by this aspect (Availability) is that each village or community has to have the infrastructure used for educational purposes. The study contends that this, in its basic nature is lacking in the two communities in Zimbabwe. This is corroborated by participants from both Hopley and Caledonia who said that there were no formal schools in their communities. This is despite the fact that the government of Zimbabwe acknowledges education as a right accessible to everyone without discrimination. It would seem that displaced populations have been subjected to some form of discrimination as the government has not erected schools in these areas.

According to Chapter 4 Section 75 (1) (b) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, there is also a time frame within which this statute should be put into effect. It states that this should be progressively done. It can be argued that good governance would have ensured that the infrastructure was in place before moving the people into these communities (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012). Even up to date, the government is yet to construct schools in either community and this seems to indicate no progress towards meeting this law. Plans to construct schools could take even longer said one resident who occupies a leadership position in a housing cooperative. He said,

“Corruption in the community has led to people selling part of land allocated for schools. Now, even if someone wants to build a school, there is no land for it unless these people are moved.”

Accessibility connotes both geographical and economic reachability. When the 4As as well as Minimum Standards for Education in Emergencies (MS) were coined, they were mainly directed at marginalized communities or populations like internally displaced persons (Bromley and Andina, 2009, IDMC, 2010a). National authorities have to ensure that there are schools within physical reach of the displaced children. The Zimbabwean Ministry of Education recommends that there be a school within a three kilometer radius to every child (Mapuva and Mapuva, 2014). Hopley and

Caledonia communities do not have government school facilities within this radius and this shows that the state has contravened its own laws and in the process failed to honour the people's entitlements.

Most IDPs communities comprise of people who have lost their sources of livelihood (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010). This makes it more imperative for the schools to be economically accessible. Some governments actually waive school fees for all registered IDPs. For instance, Colombia exempted all registered IDPs from paying school fees (Mooney and French, 2005). Since the majority of Zimbabwean residents in Hopley and Caledonia communities were victims of Operation Murambatsvina,¹³⁴ many of them barely had time to pack their goods and property before the police or demolition machines destroyed them (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012). At times, such people cannot afford even the minimal requirements demanded by the schools. One of the common complaints by participants from Hopley and Caledonia was that they cannot afford the fees charged by schools in the nearest HDAs. One resident who runs one of the informal schools in the community said only an average of two students out of the forty enrolled in his school can afford his relatively lower fees. He charges \$5 per month per child. In planned movements of people, the government is expected to have put up plans to cushion these families during their displacement. This is different from war situations where an upsurge of conflict usually precipitates people's unplanned migrations.

The Constitution of Zimbabwe can be said to be a self-incriminating document to the state as it highlights some of the areas in which the rights of IDPs in Zimbabwe have been seriously violated. From the conditions in the two communities, it seems that these residents are yet to enjoy some of these constitutional rights. This heightens a sense of social injustice to the residents of the two communities and invokes the queries on people's equality before the law.

6.4 The Zimbabwe Education Act: Absolute or Obsolete?

With the prevailing conditions in IDPs communities in Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwean Education Act runs the risk of obsolescence. Unregistered education facilities are mushrooming in the communities filling the gap that the government institutions should have occupied. Whether or not

¹³⁴ Some residents of Caledonia had settled there during the 2000 Fast Track Land Reform Program (Potts, 2006).

the personnel in these ‘schools’ are qualified to run the schools or teach children is unknown. One concerned respondent said,

“Some of these teachers are our neighbours and you only get surprised when you wake up one day to find that they have become teachers. We don’t see them going for training or maybe these days it’s not necessary to train to become a teacher.”

As the custodian of education, the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe seems to have failed to fulfill its obligations on the children in the two communities as prescribed by the current Education Act. The Education Act has undergone a number of amendments through the last three decades. These are Act 5/1987, 26/1991 (S. 70), 19/1998, 22/2001 and 2004 (UNESCO, 2010). Throughout these amendments, the Education Act has maintained the fundamental right to education by all children (Mapuva and Mapuva, 2014). This is the key concept by which the government can be called to be answerable in Zimbabwe’s internally displaced communities.

The Zimbabwean Education Act echoes the universal call for the right to education as an entitlement to all children (Mapuva and Mapuva, 2014). Under the subsection on Fundamental Rights and Objectives of Education, this instrument purposes to honour children’s fundamental right to education which is free and compulsory at basic level (Education Act, 2004). Despite this, the 2012 Vulnerability Assessment Report states that one million children were out of school in Zimbabwe. Part 2 (4) (1) of the Education Act states that;

Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in any other enactment, but subject to this Act, every child in Zimbabwe shall have the right to school education (Education Act, 2004:4).

This seems to set apart the Education Act as overriding any other statute that may contradict it. The Education Act fully warrants access to education by all children in the country and this carries both legal and moral implications. Part 10 further emphasizes this by stating that, “every child of school going age shall be entitled to be enrolled at the government primary or secondary school nearest to the place where he is ordinarily resident,” (Education Act, 2004). The term ‘ordinarily’ presumes that each community has to have schools into which children can enroll. Hopley and Caledonia do not have any educational institutions established by the government in which the above element of

the article can be exercised. Therefore, the dramatic irony of this is more pronounced in both communities where the government is yet to establish some schools.

According to the Education Act, the denial of education to children by any service provider¹³⁵ attracts a legal penalty. Part 4 (4) alludes to this by stressing that contravening subsection (2) attracts a fine or even a prison sentence not exceeding a year (Education Act, 2004). The section points out that race, tribe, color, gender and even political opinion cannot be used to deny a child's enrolment in any school. If a single child's denial of access to education can attract such a sentence, how much would denying generations of children attract? This study takes the failure to construct education facilities in Zimbabwe as denial of access and the right to education to which the Ministry of Education in Zimbabwe is answerable.

6.5 Responsibility to Protect Norm in Praxis

The R2P norm has been lauded as a landmark evolution for the protection of humanity from atrocities committed by fellow humans. Thakur (2011:3) defines a norm as behaviour that has to be followed in line with a given value system. He goes on to add that norms and laws act as 'alternative mechanisms to regulate human and social behaviour.' This means that norms help societies to curb deviant behaviour among people. According to Badescu (2011:101), R2P is understood to 'embody collective expectations' and 'generalized standards of conduct.' The respect of the right to life is one good example of this shared expectation. The global family expects each state to treat its citizens in a manner that adheres to these standards.

R2P owes its roots to human rights, humanitarian and refugee law (Luck, 2009). Since its inception in 2001 and subsequent adoption in 2005, R2P has assumed a prescriptive role to global issues related to human rights violations. It has also come up with ways to deal with these violations. Thakur (2006:251) puts forward that R2P encapsulates the idea of international solidarity.

It refocuses the international searchlight back on the duty to protect the villager from murder, the woman from rape and the child from starvation and being orphaned (Thakur, 2006:251).

¹³⁵These are the education institutions that are licensed to practice in Zimbabwe. This includes government as well as private schools.

In discourse analysis, the word ‘searchlight’ suggests that the world should be on the lookout for events that may threaten the global citizens’ human rights. For some, R2P only caters for grand thresholds such as mass killings, genocide and ethnic cleansing. The above contention connotes that this norm can be applicable in cases like the Zimbabwean internal displacement context. Thus, it can be argued that R2P seeks to protect global citizens from all forms of crime against humanity and human rights violations. Badescu (2011) states that the problem with assessing the human rights regime rises when the analysis attempts to compare what ‘is’ against what ‘ought.’ Thus, cases like Zimbabwean IDPs fail to attract the right attention when they are rated as less serious¹³⁶ as compared to other humanitarian crises.

Sovereignty has come to be reinterpreted as responsibility. This is in contrast to the traditional form of control that sovereignty was associated with (Badescu, 2011). This entails that sovereignty now carries ‘concomitant moral responsibilities,’ (Wheeler and Egerton, 2009). Consequently, each state is expected to honour its moral and legal obligations to its citizens. For this reason, many intra-state conflicts have come to be viewed through the responsibility to protect lens. According to Dzimiri and Runhare (2012), this stems from the fact that every state has the primary responsibility to prevent, react and rebuild. Likewise, Zimbabwe has attracted its fair share of attention as suggestions were raised to invoke R2P after Operation Murambatsvina and the 2008 election violence (Badescu, 2011, Steinberg, 2009, Thakur, 2006, Aning and Atuobi, 2009). Thomas Weiss, one of the proponents of R2P emphasized this argument by saying, “If not Zimbabwe, then what would qualify as an R2P self-induced atrocity?”(Badescu, 2011:145). Weiss’ sentiments seem to suggest a new form of categorization of cases to which the R2P can be applied.

The failure to prevent internal displacement created a humanitarian crisis which can attract the implementation of R2P norm. Having orchestrated the whole program (Operation Murambatsvina), the government also failed to react through taking appropriate measures to assuage effects of internal displacement through the provision of essential social services. There were no plans to erect shelter for the people that had been evicted by Operation Murambatsvina. One participant said, *‘There was nothing there and they left us there with our children.’* Another one added, *‘we were left here with nothing and built zvinnyeda to live in.’* The victims of forced migration found that

¹³⁶ Cases like the 1994 Rwanda genocide and 1995 Srebrenica killings seem to have become the yardstick for how serious the situation is or should be to warrant international intervention.

they had to start rebuilding their lives and homes in the new communities without any form of assistance from the government. The mention of the children immediately evokes the question about their schooling which was disrupted by these evictions. Without education, such children would continue to be vulnerable to further social injustices. Deneulin and Shahani (2009) advance that education may empower one to denounce the social injustices one may be subjected to. One can argue that Chengetai* alludes to this when she describes the young men in Hopley who are frequently arrested for ‘working’ as commuter taxis’ touts.

The R2P reiterates that is the duty of a state to rebuild when its citizens have fallen victim to human rights violations. Operation Murambatsvina forcibly moved hundreds of thousands of people into new communities. Among these were children who had to abandon the schools where they had been receiving tuition. Therefore, Murambatsvina shifted children from their conventional schools and disrupted their education (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012). The government of Zimbabwe is expected to have come into the new communities with reconstruction programs meant to make the residents self-sustaining again. By failing to implement its own constitution and Education Act, the state appears to be on its way to failing the third responsibility as stipulated by R2P. The government of Zimbabwe has failed to uphold the moral-legal philosophy intimated by its constitutional law.

The R2P is a basis for collective action against crimes on humanity (du Plessis, 2008). Ideally, this implies that the norm helps the international community work together to redress humanitarian crises. According to Thakur (2011), the international community can run the risk of being ‘complicit in humanitarian tragedies’ if it fails to hold a state responsible for the crimes. The written rule is that the international community intervenes where a national authority fails or is unwilling to protect its citizens. The attention therefore shifts to the global community in its duty towards any vulnerable populations. Many participants exonerated humanitarian organizations which they said provided them with food, blankets, clothes and even tents in the emergency phase of Operation Murambatsvina. Some organizations like Caritas Zimbabwe also introduced chicken breeding as a form of livelihood for the residents.

According to some of the participants, many humanitarian activities were disrupted when the protection of internally displaced persons became politicized. According to Zetter (2015:24):

Protection has, in effect, been co-opted and instrumentalized to serve national interests and political discourse at the expense of fundamental rights of all migrants, especially those who have been forcibly displaced (Zetter, 2015:24).

It seems the international community is failing to reach a consensus on the implementation of the R2P in Zimbabwe. Donald Steinberg, the Deputy President for Policy, International Crisis Group in Belgium argues,

The Zimbabwe case displays the disturbing limitations on the use of responsibility to protect, especially in the absence of a common stance from the international community and, in particular, the regional actors (Steinberg, 2009:440).

Since the UN Special Envoy to Zimbabwe attested to a humanitarian crisis during Operation Murambatsvina, it means that the state rescinded its sovereignty. In this case, the responsibility to safeguard the citizens' rights then falls to international community. The global community is also expected to enforce adherence to the policies that govern the access to education by IDPs in communities. Both the Zimbabwean government and international community appear to be guilty of failing to comply with the R2P norm in its bid to help the IDPs in Zimbabwe. However, this pronouncement does not solve the lack of access to education by children in Hopley and Caledonia and neither does it restore the residents' entitlement sets. The prevailing contextual factors make it difficult for the youths in the two communities to attain one of the core functionings. Being able to read and write (education) plays a major role in maintaining human dignity. It also goes a long way in improving people's well-being.

6.6 Conclusion

The chapter reiterated education as an inalienable right. Moreover, it argued that no situation warrants its denial to any group of rights-holders. While internally displaced children are equally entitled to accessing education like other citizens in any given country, the chapter noted that Hopley and Caledonia's vulnerability was enhanced by the nature of their displacement. Like any other vulnerable population, it was proved that these IDPs need education as a means to their individual development. The Capabilities Approach cemented the concept of education as a means to IDPs achieving their potential through agency. The chapter contested the efficacy of this theory as it seems to enhance the IDPs' dependence on external help. The chapter also suggested that the IDPs determine their own fate through 'self-agency.'

From a rights-based perspective, the chapter concurred that IDPs are entitled to education. This was further supported by the Entitlement Approach which attaches moral and legal elements to citizens' access to services and resources. It was established that education is one of these services that IDPs need but have been denied access. The CRC echoes the UDHR in expressing education as a right. These statutes are further supported by global and regional policies such as the GPID and Kampala Convention. At a national level, this chapter determined that the Zimbabwean Constitution and Education Act both underpin the government's legal and moral duty to provide education to its IDPs. The policies cited in the chapter proved that education is essential to IDPs as part of durable solutions to their displacement. However, mere entitlement to rights and services was proved to be inadequate for the IDPs' access to education and the study suggested that there was need for advocacy to redress the situation in Hopley and Caledonia.

The chapter argued that failure to access education by the IDPs increases inequalities in the society. The Critical Theory was used to emphasize this as a social injustice. The Zimbabwean government seems to have failed to comply with any of the international policies above. Ironically, the chapter contended that the government of Zimbabwe has also defaulted on its own legal statutes such as the Constitution and Education Act. Finally, the chapter put forward that the R2P should have been put into force by the global community to ensure that the IDPs get the necessary services and that their rights are upheld. It reached the conclusion that the inexistence of educational facilities in IDPs communities should have invoked some form of enforcement through the R2P. Both the government of Zimbabwe and the humanitarian organizations have therefore failed the IDPs in their bid to access education as a right. The chapter suggested some form of synergy by various stakeholders to ensure that the IDPs in Zimbabwe access their rights to education.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: Locating the Zimbabwean Internal Displacement within the Global Humanitarian Regime of Support

7.0 Introduction

Internal displacement and other forms of forced migration have proved difficult to put into absolute categories. In the majority of cases, it can be acknowledged that the attempt to classify these groups of people, who have been victims of some form of forced geographic relocation into concrete categories, is largely restrictive, parochial and impracticable. Speaking after the 2004 South-East Asia tsunami, Walter Kalin, the then Representative of the Secretary-General on Internal Displacement says that people who have to flee from their homes share ‘common types of vulnerabilities regardless of the underlying reasons for their displacement,’ (Mooney, 2005:12). Arguably, this should be the central focus for the protection and assistance of all forced migrants.

According to Benz and Hasenclever (2009), types of forced migrants often overlap. From a humanitarian perspective, this means that the distinctions are often blurred. From the onset, this lays the basis for the contention that forced migrants all deserve humanitarian assistance and recognition on an international level despite their different contexts. Admittedly, these categorisations have arguably served their purpose in making individual countries (and the global community) efficiently and effectively give the appropriate assistance to the vulnerable populations. However, this has also raised new concerns about the groups of people who do not easily fall into the recognised categories. For such a people, humanitarian assistance and protection has been slow and inadequate. According to Ferris and Winthrop (2010:10) “generalizations are always dangerous, but IDPs are usually more vulnerable, less visible, and less protected than refugees. There is less international attention devoted to IDPs than to refugees.” Therefore, it seems that definitional lenses need to be readjusted to cater for and embrace these atypical cases. In worst case scenarios, such groups of forced migrants have fallen outside international dialogic forums aimed at redressing human rights violations.

As part of the conclusion to the internal displacement context in Zimbabwe, this chapter makes an attempt to look at internal displacement and other forms of forced migration in a different perspective. It questions the applicability of definitional umbrella terms and the subsequent solutions to forced displacement attached to these. Bartelson (2010:182) argues that definition practices and usage of these ‘are never innocent’ and that each definition carries multiple

assumptions which impacts on its clarity. The implications of the systematic categorisation of people uprooted from their original homes are discussed in view of the provision of basic social services. Therefore, it is crucial to go back to the definitions and categories of forced migrants with a view to place Zimbabwean IDPs in a position where their status is not ambiguous. In this regard, one of the chapter's central focal points is the Zimbabwean context of IDPs and how they have been affected by agreed categories of vulnerability which result from forced human mobility. The basis for this contention is the universality of human rights.

The chapter also uses the Capability Approach to support the argument on the quest to recategorise the IDPs. The chapter traces the effects of international categorisation of forced migrants on policy implementation. The general effect of this is that some forced migrants find certain instruments impracticable for their contexts. This is critically analyzed in the context of the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia and their rights to education. In the light of this, the chapter then looks at the thresholds for the infringement of humanitarian laws and policies in relation to the Zimbabwean internally displaced persons. The chapter particularly focuses on how the provision (or lack) of education for internally displaced persons is viewed and measured with regards to humanitarian violations. This is then situated in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement in line with one of the study's objectives. One of the core objectives of the study is to evaluate the interplay between internal displacement and the infringement of the IDPs' rights to education in the two communities.

A critical analysis of internal displacement and the role it plays in the provision of education is discussed. As presented, discussed and analyzed in the previous three chapters, this chapter continues the contention that internal displacement in Zimbabwe has led to the children's failure to exercise their rights to education. Furthermore, the perceived ambience of this phenomenon in Zimbabwe has resulted in the dislocated people falling between agreed definitions of forced migrants. This and the socio-political environment in Zimbabwe has seemingly rendered the displaced people invisible as well as depriving them of the protection and assistance they would have received if they easily fell into the accepted domains. The chapter's arguments are also based on the study's core objectives that non-adherence to international policies in Zimbabwe is perpetuated by lack of enforcement mechanisms by regional, continental and international bodies.

7.1 Final Analysis and Conclusion

The thesis was premised on the assertion that the nature of internal displacement in Zimbabwe largely influenced the treatment of the displaced populations in Hopley and Caledonia. The forced migrants residing in the selected communities were dislodged from their homes due to Operation Murambatsvina, a program sanctioned by the government. In the context of this study, internal displacement particularly affected the provision of secondary school education to children in the two communities. The Capability Approach was primarily used to construct arguments in response to the research questions. This theory was complimented by the Entitlement Approach and Critical Theory to tackle the following research questions:

- What are the Hopley and Caledonia residents' constructed meanings of internal displacement?
- How have the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia attempted to access secondary school education during their displacement?
- How have non-governmental organizations (NGOs) attempted alleviate the challenges faced by IDPs in accessing education?
- What is the relationship between internal displacement and rights to education?

As a way of concluding this study, this chapter revisits these questions, drawing on the emerging themes from the findings on each question. In addition, the chapter uses other studies reviewed in Chapter 2 so as to corroborate the findings in this study. Thus, each of the questions is addressed in line with data captured through interviews (Chapter 4 and 5), the documentary analysis in Chapter 6 as well as other related studies reviewed in Chapter 2.

7.1.1 What are the Hopley and Caledonia forced migrants' socially constructed meanings of internal displacement?

For Hopley and Caledonia residents, Operation Murambatsvina marked the beginning of a life of deepening deprivation. Dispossessed of their homes through the arbitrary evictions in the 2005 government program, the people soon found out that their circumstances went beyond the loss of shelter. On arrival at both Hopley and Caledonia, the participants said that they discovered that the government had not erected any infrastructure in these holding camps. For weeks (some went for months), the people lived in open spaces in the bitter winter cold (Benyera and Nyere, 2015).

The participants attest that they started erecting temporary shelter from any handy materials such as plastic papers. They called these structures 'zvinyeda.' The general effect of Operation

Murambatsvina to the participants was its dehumanizing factor. One participant felt that Hopley and Caledonia residents lived like animals. To compound this problem, they felt neglected by the government as they received no protection and humanitarian assistance from the state to mitigate the problems associated with displacement. Moreover, their MP was conspicuously absent in the new communities. This created a sense of abandonment which has persisted through their years in displacement. This seems to confirm the invisibility of the forced migrants in Hopley and Caledonia.

Life in displacement cost the displaced populations their livelihoods and the capacity to live the lives of their choice. They have also been robbed of their capabilities. Moreover, the people's lives continue to be characterised by a lot of insecurities. These largely stem from the lack of stewardship of the land they currently live on as well as the possibility of future evictions. One participant felt that this was highly likely since it had happened before when they were evicted from Porta despite the fact that they had spent ten years in that community. This is validated by Chitekwe-Biti (2009) who states that many forced migrants in Zimbabwe have experienced internal displacement at least twice before. According to Chirisa (2013), stewardship is a critical aspect in communities such as Hopley and Caledonia. It invariably creates the stability and permanence needed to counter the effects of forced migration, a manifestation of human mobility. At the same time, the forced migrants can then reclaim both their human rights and capabilities. It can be argued that this may change their lives from mere existence to living. In the same vein, they can then enjoy their basic human rights and the social justice associated with the human rights norm.

For some men in Hopley and Caledonia, internal displacement has been emasculating as they can no longer provide and protect their families. The phenomenon indiscriminately took away from them their material goods as well as the opportunity to rebuild their lives. According to Sommers (1999), it is erroneous to assume that all IDPs are incapable of rising out of the destitution created by forced migration. For instance, one of the participants interviewed (Fanuel*) led a moderately comfortable life before his displacement. At first, he was displaced due to political violence and was later affected by Operation Murambatsvina. This emphasises the contention raised by the proponents of the CA that every human being can reach his potential if positioned in contexts that promote this. The participants also attribute the degeneration of morals among the younger generation to the effects of being displaced. The abuse of substances, prostitution and early

marriages are said to be rampant in the communities. These are compounded by the high unemployment rates among both the youths and adults.

7.1.2 How have the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia attempted to access secondary school education during their displacement?

One of the major criticisms for Operation Murambatsvina was its timing (Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012, Musoni, 2010). Generally, forced displacement is disruptive to many areas of its victims' lives (Mooney and Davies, 2016, Ferris and Winthrop, 2010). Therefore, education was one of the areas that suffered due to internal displacement in Zimbabwe. Participants complained that Operation Murambatsvina occurred during the school term. The evictions then resulted in the children moving away from their schools into new areas. In addition to this, parents discovered that most schools would not enrol their children at that point of the school term. This marked the beginning of the loss of education years for most of the displaced children.

Internal displacement created education 'gaps' for the children in Hopley and Caledonia. According to Amnesty International (2011b), approximately 222 000 children between 5 and 18 years were affected due to Operation Murambatsvina. Though there were no demographic statistics to substantiate this, the study established that many youths in Hopley and Caledonia had an educational attainment below secondary school level. Many participants confirmed that attempts to enrol their children in the nearest HDAs schools were fraught with many challenges. These ranged from being unable to afford the relatively high fees as well as some headmasters' reluctance to enrol the children from the communities. These children were labelled as thieves and generally ill-behaved. In the majority of cases, parents then opted for the informal schools in the communities or stopped their children from attending school.

7.1.3 What are the measures initiated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to mitigate the challenges faced by IDPs in accessing education?

Thakur (2011) asserts that humanitarian organizations are meant to be carriers of international norms. Moreover, it is widely assumed that these organizations are mandated to provide humanitarian assistance to victims of human rights violations and other vulnerable groups (Christensen and Harild, 2009). According to OCHA (2003), the above assertion is corroborated by Guiding Principle 25. Humanitarian organizations have the moral obligation to render assistance to

vulnerable populations such as IDPs. This is particularly required of them in the event that national authorities (who have the primary responsibility over IDPs) are unwilling or unable to.

The findings in this study suggest that the Zimbabwean government has consistently failed to honour its constitutional obligation to provide education to IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia. The onus is therefore on the humanitarian organisations to provide the required assistance in line with their mandated responsibilities towards vulnerable populations. However, the study took cognisance of the fact that these organizations sometimes pursue agendas that are not entirely meant to benefit the vulnerable populations (Billing, 2010). This may then create tensions between the state and such organizations. In Zimbabwe, NGOs have encountered many challenges in their bid to access the internally displaced people. A number of key participants from NGOs operating in Zimbabwe acknowledged that there had been confrontations between the government and some organizations.

Organizations such as ZCDT, UNICEF, IOM and Terre des Hommes (TDH) have all worked with internally displaced communities in Zimbabwe. While these organizations admit to supplying victims of Operation Murambatsvina with food and non-food items during the emergency phase of displacement, none is still operating in the communities. UNICEF sunk boreholes and then established a clinic in each community. These clinics are currently being run by the Harare Municipality. However, all the organizations admit that they have not helped the communities in the education sector. According to UNICEF personnel, they only support schools that are registered with the Ministry of Education. It is not part of their mandate to initiate programs such as the construction of new schools (though they have done so in a few isolated occasions).

The study established that none of the international and non-governmental organizations have alleviated the problems associated with lack of educational facilities in Hopley and Caledonia. Thus, Guiding Principle 25 and other relevant humanitarian policies have not been effectively implemented in Hopley and Caledonia. The two communities have been in existence for more than ten years (Operation Murambatsvina took place in 2005), yet the communities are running without basic infrastructure such as roads, sewer systems, running water and electricity. More pertinent to this study, power dynamics between key actors in internal displacement (the government and humanitarian organizations) have both failed to provide education to children in the two communities. Moreover, the global community (regional and international) has failed to evoke statutes such as the Kampala Convention, GPID and R2P norm in the context of Zimbabwean

internal displacement. Consequently, the internally displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia remain invisible to the world and generations of the children face the possibility of continued lack of access to schools. In turn, this lessens their chances of exercising their basic rights as well as reclaiming their capabilities.

7.1.4 What are the perceptions built around the nexus between internal displacement and rights to education?

All forms of forced migration are inexorably linked to the violation of fundamental rights. Indeed, Asplet (2013:3) argues that ‘displacement provides fertile ground for human rights abuses.’ Therefore, it is difficult to separate the discussion of forced displacement from human rights violations. According to Potts (2006), HRW (2005) and Nicolai (2005), Operation Murambatsvina was an overt abuse of human rights. Thus, this Zimbabwean context of internal displacement is invariably associated with humanitarian crises. This was contrary to the government’s pronouncements that Operation Murambatsvina was a ‘clean-up’ exercise (Musoni, 2010). The government said this was meant to ‘restore order’ through the demolition of any structures which were deemed to be illegal. This was particularly wide spread in the cities where residential home extensions and other buildings mainly used by informal traders were targeted (Chibisa and Sigauke, 2008).

According to Nicolai (2005), Benyera and Nyere (2015), the government gave little or no warning to the residents before demolishing these structures. Such arbitrary evictions indisputably contravened international humanitarian laws. According to De Mello (2003), Deng (1999) and OCHA (2004), Guiding Principle 6(1) particularly stresses the need to prevent such evictions. In retrospect, the Constitution of Zimbabwe Chapter 4, Section 74 also reiterates this Guiding Principle. Therefore, the implementation of Operation Murambatsvina clearly violated the people’s rights.

The relationship between human rights abuses and displacement was also manifested in the communities where the forced migrants were settled. Participants confirmed that there was no shelter to house all the displaced people. According to Article 25 of the UDHR, ‘everyone has a fundamental human right to housing, which ensures access to a safe, secure, habitable, and

affordable home with freedom from forced eviction.¹³⁷ The right to shelter is one of the basic human rights that the victims of Operation Murambatsvina were denied. Therefore, this confirms the contention that this government program heightened the infringement of human rights.

The study set out to interrogate the provision of secondary school education for displaced children in Hopley and Caledonia. The study was also imbedded in the fact that education is a basic right and every child is entitled to it (Mapuva and Mapuva, 2014, UNESCO, 2011, Kalin, 2008, UNHCR, 2007, Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005). The study established that the two communities lacked educational facilities to cater for secondary school going age children. Consequently, many parents had resorted to sending their children to informal schools which have mushroomed in the both Hopley and Caledonia. Such schools are infamous for poor infrastructure such as makeshift structures, unqualified teachers as well as being unregistered with the Ministry of Education. Arguably, the quality of education received in these schools does not meet the ‘Four As’ (4-A) framework (IDMC, 2010c, Tomasecki, 2006). The government’s failure to provide education for the children in Hopley and Caledonia proves a breach of this basic human right through displacement. The study acknowledged that Operation Murambatsvina was also responsible for many other human rights abuses which are beyond the scope of this study.

7. 2 Nuances of Forced Migrations: A Quest to Recategorise IDPs

The decade leading into the new millennium led to an intensified need to relook into forced migration typologies and the implications of each category in world politics (Christensen and Harild, 2009, IDMC, 2010a, Mooney, 2005, Toole and Waldman, 1993). In addition to the common forced migrants such as refugees and the escalating cases of internally displaced persons, new forms of forced migration were on the increase. According to Betts (2009:361), there arose a new category of “survival migration” typified by the “collapse of livelihoods and state fragility.” In the same article, the author acknowledges that the need to seek sanctuary has become diversified. In the same vein, various researchers confirm that refugees are no longer the only type of displaced populations that the world is grappling with (Zetter, 2015, Gounden and Camara, 2007)). In addition to these, humanity has also become vulnerable to natural hazards induced by climate change (Wisner and

¹³⁷ <https://www.nesri.org/programs/what-is-the-human-right-to-housing> (Retrieved July 29, 2016).

Luce, 1993, Sarvimaki et al., 2009). Thus, nature has also become responsible for the movement of millions of people worldwide. Finally, Caspary (2007) contends that people that are forcibly moved to make way for developmental projects are often overlooked. He further argues that these people deserve to be categorized among other forms of forced migration that are commonly acknowledged. The vastly different contexts of the groups of people who are forced to move prove that human mobility has become a common phenomenon in the contemporary world.

On the basis of the above arguments, it is presumably important to pursue discussions on the various categories of forced migrations. Despite the common need for protection from natural elements or human rights violations, it has been argued that each group may have needs that are unique and peculiar to their context. “Forced migrants have a distinctive experience and distinctive needs,” (Turton, 2003:7). Writing in an earlier publication, Schultheis (1989) affirms that each situation involving human mobility is unique from the next. Consequently, this underscores an apparent need to assess individual contexts so as to come up with suitable durable solutions. However, Barutciski (1998:11) disputes the need for categories as, “Categories in themselves can be meaningless (and even negative to the extent that labels are reductive or may mask the heterogeneity of a group).” Furthermore, these different typologies have always invited the division of migration into ‘binaries, dichotomies and dyads’ and ‘these dualities need to be blurred and deconstructed,’ (King, 2012:8). For this reason, categorization can be viewed as a contentious issue whose essence in humanitarian assistance and protection is debatable.

The terms ‘refugee,’ ‘internally displaced persons’ and various other terms attached to forced migrants have labelling effects on the individuals. Such labelling can be suggestive of the politics of belonging, which is a contested issue. This aggravates elements of ‘othering’ and ‘distancing’ of forced migrants from host communities. Once this happens, it becomes difficult to ensure the rehabilitation of migrant communities to ensure that they reclaim their capabilities and subsequently, their self-worth. For both refugees and internally displaced persons, local integration is one of the recognized durable solutions. However, Ferris and Winthrop (2010:10) contend that host countries or communities “fear the impact of allowing large numbers of people to join the labor force and/or the political consequences of accepting people from a neighboring country.” Such fears are usually entrenched in territorialities bred through the politics of belonging. According to Youkhana (2015:20), these territorialities are spatial references which insist that

migrants should ‘stick to their genealogies of belonging.’ This seems to imply that forced migrants have problems being integrated in the new communities due to the geophysical connotations attached to ‘belonging.’ Youkhana goes on to say that such behaviour hinders the migrants’ ‘processes of becoming.’ Therefore, being a migrant robs an individual of a sense of belonging which in turn negatively affects the prospects of regaining their functionings.

In the post-World War 2 era, refugees were the most easily recognizable group of forced migrants. This is confirmed by the 1951 Geneva Convention which particularly sought to and still addresses refugee issues (Billing, 2010, Barutciski, 1998, Zetter, 2014). According to Mondal (2011:46), the UNHCR defines a refugee as a person;

On account of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group, or political opinion is outside their country of origin and unable or unwilling to return there or to avail themselves of its protection.

The phrase ‘well-founded fear’ seems to validate the refugees’ need for legal protection and ultimately, the unquestionable need for humanitarian assistance at a global level. This ‘persecutory’¹³⁸ element and threat on the refugees’ inalienable right to life appears to create a heightened need for protection. This status is exacerbated by their relocation outside their countries of origin. Seemingly, the refugee then becomes the epitome of forced migration as his status is presumed to deny him opportunities and freedoms synonymous with national constitutional rights. Whether this enhances the refugees’ double vulnerability compared to the internally displaced migrants remains slippery. In his publication, *Protecting Forced Migrants*, Roger Zetter, the former Director of Oxford University’s Refugee Studies Centre (2006-2011) contends that both groups deserve international protection.

Definitions of IDPs have been centred on causal aspects as well as their place of destination. IDPs are characterized by flight from or being forced to leave their homes due to generalized violence or threats to their lives (Juss, 2013, Chimni, 2000, Christensen and Harild, 2009). The defining difference between refugees and internally displaced people lies in that the latter remain confined within their countries of origin as compared to the former who cross international borders. Consequently, it appears that the two groups of forced migrants are only separated by their

¹³⁸ Zetter, R. 2014. *Protecting Forced Migrants*. Federal Commission on Migration, 1-82.

destinations. In January 2000, a former US ambassador to the United Nations (Richard Holbrooke) concurred with the above contention when he argued that there was no meaningful difference between refugees and internally displaced persons. Instead, he said that policy makers were allowing ‘bureaucratic euphemisms and acronyms’ to stop them extending the necessary assistance to IDPs (Zard, 2002).¹³⁹ Furthermore, both IDPs and refugees are said to face similar challenges in their lives in displacement (Brun, 2008, Kastberg, 2002, Yin, 2006). This close affinity between the two groups has led to the latter being referred to as ‘internal refugees.’

Therefore, it can be argued that most forced migrants share very crucial similarities. Common among these similarities is their increased vulnerability which is enhanced by the experience of being dislodged from their homes and the subsequent relocation.¹⁴⁰

It is difficult to generalize about the conditions facing IDPs and refugees, but both groups have needs and vulnerabilities resulting from their displacement and conflicts and displacement tend to heighten existing vulnerabilities (Ferris and Winthrop, 2010).

The article entitled, *No Less Vulnerable: The Internally Displaced in Humanitarian Emergencies* avers that the IDPs’ vulnerability should call for equal protection (accorded to refugees) on an international level (Salama et al., 2001). Both types of forced migration have implications on human security. “Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms—freedoms that are the essence of life” (Vietti and Scribner, 2013:21). From this definition, it is clear that both groups of people are denied these freedoms after being uprooted. Moreover, Colson (2003) and Sommers (1999) assert that forced migration is undeniably traumatic. It can be contested that this trauma cuts across refugee and internal displacement contexts.

Human mobility has become so diversified that it is not easy to put the migrants into neat categories. This connotes that there are also further differences within the IDPs category. According to Zetter (2014:18),

¹³⁹ <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/internally-displaced-perspective> Accessed July 22, 2016

¹⁴⁰ Also see Rhoades, A. S. 2010a. Displaced Futures: Internally Displaced Persons and the Right to Education. UN University for Peace, 1-61.

The equally complex and diverse mobility patterns of people who are forcibly displaced by these events, challenge the efficacy of established protection norms and practice.

While there are many policies meant to address varying cases of human rights violations which result from (and in) involuntary movements, sometimes there arises what may look like ‘deviant cases.’ These aberrant or atypical situations create problems in humanitarian and protection regimes whose responses are triggered by the generalized conformity to agreed levels of vulnerability.

In the early years of the millennium, much emphasis was placed on the different legal statuses of the refugees and the IDPs (Lomo, 2000). The socio-economic and political environments in which the forced migrants lived were taken as a secondary issue. However, the objectifying of these people as mere recipients of abstract legal statutes denies the IDPs, particularly, their humanity. The suffering which results from being uprooted becomes subjective, with those forced migrants who remain in their home countries being considered lesser victims. This has created a platform for the neglect of certain forced migrants such as those affected by Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe.

Categorisation of forced migrants should be focused on their vulnerabilities. The adoption of a more generic term like ‘forced migrant’ seems preferable as it concentrates on the nature of the individual’s mobility than perceived geographic and symbolic spaces. “Geo-determinism when applied to the study of social relations and migration, is grounded in a concept that imagines space as a bio-physical container,” (Youkhana, 2015:11). Being forced to move should go beyond the physical place in which the individual eventually settles in. Involuntary human mobility has deeper implications on the provision of services as well affecting the dignity of the forced migrant. Therefore, the eradication of such a mentality (geo-determinism) can help in the provision of essential services to forced migrants as well as ensuring that they reclaim their capabilities. In the case of the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia, the question of potential further displacement would not deter the service providers from ensuring that the forced migrants have access to basic services in the current communities.

7.3 The Missing Migrant: From Ambivalence to Invisibility

The phrase ‘missing migrants’ makes one picture the large numbers of migrants that die in the Mediterranean Sea, en route to Europe. This migration route has become infamous for the number of fatalities of migrants fleeing into Europe from Africa (Last and Spiekerboer, 2014). According to the 2015 International Organization for Migration statistics, there were 5400 migrants who died around the world.¹⁴¹ The same report states that of the 5400 deaths, 3770 took place in the Mediterranean Sea. Zetter (2014) confirms that the Mediterranean Sea has become a death trap for many migrants wishing to flee from political and economic challenges in their home countries. The article aptly entitled, *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration*, suggests that for every body recovered, there are at least two others that are never recovered (Brian and Laczko, 2014). This implies that there are many migrants who go missing on this route.

Discourse around missing migrants has also included the metaphorical form of being lost. Therefore, the discussion on missing migrants goes beyond the physical and literal disappearance of the forced migrants such as the one experienced in the Mediterranean Sea. For this reason, this chapter breaks away from the common usage of the phrase ‘missing migrants’ implied above. The phrase has been deployed to bring out the ambiguity in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement. Thus, while these people, forcibly evicted from their homes through Operation Murambatsvina may not be deceased physically, their failure to fit into the common definitions of IDPs has resulted in their metaphorical deaths. In an article entitled; *Zimbabwe: Evicted and Forgotten*, the Human Rights Watch (2005) aptly points out that the displaced people in Zimbabwe have been reduced to obscurity. Forced migrants in Zimbabwe have been difficult to map using common contexts such as armed strife, ethnic cleansing and genocide. The Forced Migration Review article, Crisis concurs with this contention and adds;

Many people who are displaced or become ‘trapped’ in the context of diverse humanitarian crises do not fit well within existing legal, policy and operational frameworks for the protection of refugees and internally displaced people (Couldrey and Herson, 2014:4).

For this reason, such people’s rights and functionings are not realized and their chances of getting durable solutions to internal displacement remain doubtful. This situation has been replicated in the

¹⁴¹ See <http://missingmigrants.iom.int/> (Retrieved July 22, 2016)

Zimbabwean context of internal displacement. This oversight is particularly evident and aggravated by the lack of provision of education which is considered a service and not a need. Deneulin et al (2006:10) suggest that, “the same way we ascribe rights to individuals, we ascribe to them the capacity to designate themselves as the authors of their deeds.” In what seems to be an attempt to reclaim this control, the displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia have resorted to sending their children to unregistered schools in the communities. However, such schools may not guarantee them the ends that they expect from education.

Common arguments suggest that Operation Murambatsvina was a state sponsored program. This is confirmed by Michael Bratton, a US Political Science and African Studies professor, in collaboration with Eldred Masunungure, the Head of the Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Zimbabwe in their article; *Popular Reactions to State Repression: Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe*. Writing immediately after Operation Murambatsvina, they went on to say that the program was meant to “stifle independent economic and political activity in the country’s urban areas,” (Bratton and Masunungure, 2006:21). From the above contention, it is clear that Operation Murambatsvina was an act of state repression driven more by the desire to subdue political autonomy than to rid cities of illegal structures and health concerns created by this (Kibble, 2009, Dzimiri and Runhare, 2012, Bratton and Masunungure, 2006). This is supported by independent political analysts who said that Operation Murambatsvina was “framed in terms of political control,” (IDMC, 2010d:18). Thus, a number of these scholars appear to eschew the idea that Operation Murambatsvina only intended to ‘restore order’ or ‘clean up the filth’ created by illegal structures. Furthermore, the use of the term ‘operation’ inferred the militarization of the program which would deter civilian opposition (Bhebhe, 2013, Hammar, 2008a, Benyera and Nyere, 2015, Mangongera, 2014). In an earlier report titled, *The Aftermath of a Disastrous Venture: A Follow-up on ‘Operation Murambatsvina,’* the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2005) concurs that the program was militarized. A number of participants who lived in Porta also confirmed the heavy presence of armed policemen and soldiers during their eviction.

Some participants interviewed also felt that ‘tsunami’ was aimed at separating Porta residents. In their views, the community’s unified sense of purpose had become a political threat. According to one participant, this became evident when the Porta residents rioted against forced evictions.

Therefore, it appears as if the demolition of illegal structures became a façade to cover the government's repressive and autocratic plans. This dismisses the theory that Zimbabwean IDPs were not deliberately targeted for these violations. As a result, this makes them eligible under the generalized violations intimated by the definition of internally displaced persons (See Juss, 2013)¹⁴².

Admittedly, internally displaced people in Zimbabwe “are not a monolithic group,” (Ferris, 2011:13). Borton, et al (2005) also concur with the argument that internally displaced people are generally not a homogeneous group and that there are certain vulnerable groups that benefit more from humanitarian assistance than others. Despite the varied reasons for displacement in the country, many researchers agree that the victims of Operation Murambatsvina are IDPs (HRW, 2005, Kapp, 2005, Potts, 2006, Hammar et al., 2010, Musoni, 2010). Regardless of the multiple discourse that confirm the IDP status of the people affected by the program, this has not stopped them from sinking into invisibility (Mapiko and Chinyoka, 2013). IDMC (2008:48) further attributes this invisibility to ‘definitional gaps.’ This is driven by the categorization of forced migrants which is centred on causes at the exclusion of other important aspects such as the immediate effect of their involuntary movement and the general consequences of this.

Another critical issue that these definitions also disregard is the experience of living in displacement. Participants interviewed in Hopley and Caledonia seem to agree that internal displacement has a dehumanizing effect. One participant said that they were treated like animals. This is justified by the fact that conditions prevalent in displacement, (in and outside camps) tend to be characterized by severe lack in basic services. Therefore, life in these communities generally falls below human dignity. The failure to acknowledge and improve the conditions in the communities further heightens the people's invisibility.

Durable solutions have been suggested for both refugees and internally displaced persons to ensure that these people reclaim their livelihoods and capabilities. In addition to other practical considerations, the implementation of durable solutions is only feasible if the people are acknowledged as victims of displacement. In essence, this means that the government of Zimbabwe should acknowledge the residents of the two communities as forced migrants who require both

¹⁴²Dr Satvinder Singh Juss is a Professor of Law at King's College London UK.

humanitarian and developmental assistance. Hopley and Caledonia residents have borne the brunt of displacement for more than ten years yet no durable solutions have been implemented. Kibble (2013) and Juss (2013) attest that the reasons for this are largely driven by the government of Zimbabwe's attitude as well as the waning of interest by the international community such as humanitarian organizations. The Zimbabwean government's failure to domesticate the Kampala Convention as well as implement policies such as the GPID seems not to be an oversight. This is probably the government's overt pronouncement of the invisibility of the IDPs under its jurisdiction. Such a hypothesis would explain the lack of services in the two communities since the onset of displacement.

The problems of invisibility facing displaced people in Hopley and Caledonia can also be attributed to international thresholds that measure vulnerability. As argued in previous chapters, instruments like the R2P norm allude to the fact that the magnitude of violations have to be extreme for people to attract humanitarian protection and assistance, (Badescu, 2011, Zetter, 2014). The consequences of this attitude have become malignant in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement. The IDPs' perceived failure to fit into obvious cases of development induced displacement or conflict induced displacement seem to enhance their invisibility at this level. Therefore, the R2P norm has fallen short in its mandate to protect victims of displacement in Zimbabwe (Steinberg, 2009). Thus, the displaced population in Hopley and Caledonia seem to qualify as missing migrants even at this level.

The current status of IDPs in Zimbabwe, particularly those that are resident in Hopley and Caledonia remains a cause for concern. Despite the government's attempt to do so, the term 'mobile and vulnerable populations' (MVPs),¹⁴³ cannot be applicable to the people in Hopley and Caledonia. This is mainly because they have been relatively immobile since 2005. It can also be debated whether they should retain the IDPs status as they now seem to be permanent in their current communities. This then enhances the difficulties that come with attempting to assist vulnerable people on the basis of categories that they are perceived to fall under instead of a more comprehensive and generic term 'forced migrants.' It would be easier to identify the people residing in the two communities on the basis of their vulnerabilities and the human rights whose fulfilment

¹⁴³ See Idmc 2010d. Zimbabwe: Official acknowledgement of displacement yet to be translated into strategies for durable solutions. *Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre*, 1-82.

they seek. For instance, the communities need educational facilities to enable the children's enjoyment of this basic right. Thus, whatever term the government decides to call them by, their inalienable rights sufficiently justify the call on the government's neglect of its duty towards the children. In the same vein, Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014:22) posit that the pursuit of a human rights agenda and the "localization" of international rights can be improved by the CA. For this reason, the call can still be made to the Zimbabwean government to allow NGOs to work in Hopley and Caledonia to enable the residents to access their entitlements. At the same time, the conditions in Hopley and Caledonia emphasize the need for both retributive and restorative justice.¹⁴⁴ The former may ensure that those who have violated the people's human rights are censured while the victims' rights may be restored.

7.4 Bridging the Gap: Striving for the efficacy of international frameworks on IDPs in Zimbabwe

The conditions in which the internally displaced people in Zimbabwe live might not seem life threatening but still require expedient intervention. For intervention measures to be implemented, the IDPs' needs have to be acknowledged. This can happen when the residents of the two communities become more visible to organizations that are mandated to protect and assist them. According to Badescu (2011), the international community acknowledges the fact that Zimbabwean internally displaced people have exposed the gaps in international policies particularly the R2P norm. Consequently, there have been debates whether these IDPs call for international intervention (Thakur, 2011, Traub, 2006). The indecisiveness on what route to take on the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement has further emphasized the gaps in the policies. As a result, this has exposed the institutional gaps prevalent in humanitarian response (UNHCR, 2007).

Some of these institutional gaps are created by the questions on when internal displacement is considered to come to an end. The pertinent issue is whether this is marked by the time spent in displacement, return to original homes or other markers. At this point, institutions often debate whether forced migrants should continue receiving humanitarian assistance or whether developmental agencies should take over. According to Zetter (2015:16),

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.google.co.za/search?sourceid=chrome-psyapi2&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8&q=retributive%20justice&og=retributive%20&aqs=chrome.0.0j69i57j0l4.14594j0j4#> See Maiese (2013) Retributive Justice. (Accessed October 28, 2016).

The persistent framing of displacement crises as uniquely humanitarian emergencies further widens the damaging humanitarian-development divide that dominates responses to such crises.

While this is going on, the forced migrants' lives are either stagnant or are worsened. Therefore, it can be argued that Hopley and Caledonia residents are typical of missing migrants. This term is particularly applicable to them because they are not receiving either humanitarian or developmental assistance. Therefore, there is need for improved synergies between humanitarian and developmental agencies to close the gap created by protection deficit of the IDPs in Hopley and Caledonia. According to USAID (2004), there is no single organization which has sufficient resources to meet the needs of IDPs in their multiple contexts. Therefore, one way of closing institutional gaps is "an action and field-oriented coalition.....to ensure a more predictable, coherent, flexible and timely response of key players," (Crisp, 2001:186). Coherence is critical in the implementation of practical responses to displaced populations and this is likely to ensure continuity in the assistance of the migrants. The same can be applied in the Zimbabwean context of internal displacement so as to bridge the gap created by both the national authority's lethargic approach to the IDPs as well as humanitarian organizations' absence.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Global IDPs

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form (English Version)

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form (Shona Version)

Appendix D: Interview Schedule for Hopley and Caledonia Residents (English Version)

Appendix E: Interview Schedule for Humanitarian Organizations (English Version)

Appendix F: Gate keepers' letters

Appendix G: Ethical Clearance Letter

Appendix A: Global IDPs

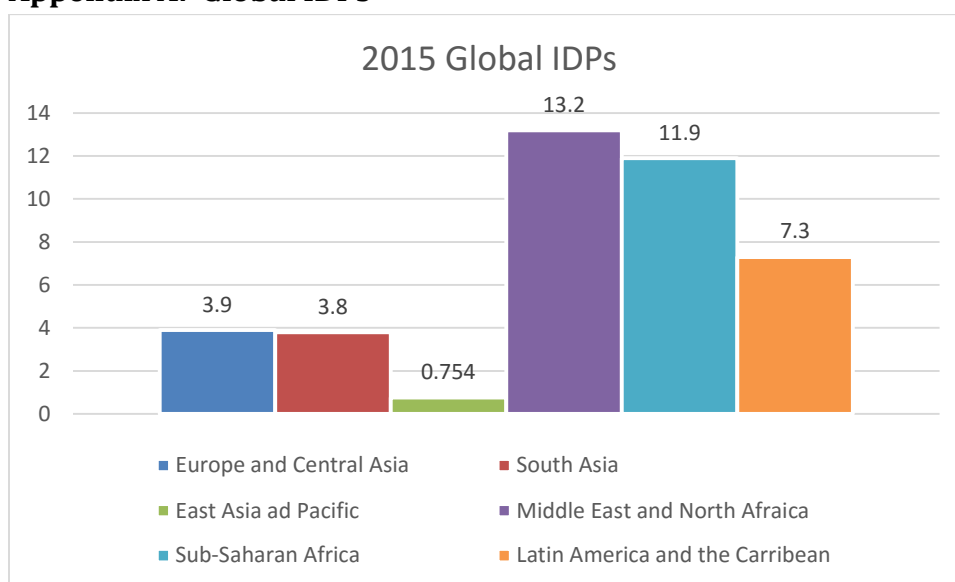


Figure 1.1 Number (in millions) of people internally displaced by conflict and violence. The analysis was done by the World Bank. Adapted from (Lennard, 2016).

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form (English Version)
UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Fieldworker: Abigail R Benhura (062 279 1292)

Supervisor: Dr. Maheshvari Naidu (031-2607657)

Research Office: Ms P Ximba 031-2603587

I _____ (**optional** and may be replaced by initials) hereby declare that I am fully informed about the nature of the research titled: **Availability and Accessibility of Secondary School Education in Hopley and Caledonia Communities: A Lens into Internal Displacement in Zimbabwe** by the researcher.

Yes..... No.....

I have also been well informed about the role that I stand to play if I am to participate in this project, which is participating in a one to one interview. I am also aware that participation is voluntary and I can choose to withdraw from the process at any stage without any consequences to my withdrawal. **Yes..... No.....**

I am aware that all information obtained from me in the course of this project will remain confidential and that my identity will be well guided in the case of any publication of the obtained information.

Yes..... No.....

I agree that the interview process will be electronically recorded and all collected information will be kept with confidentiality and high security. **Yes..... No.....**

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|-------|-------|
| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Initials | Signature | Date | Place |

I Abigail Rudorwashe Benhura state that I have fully informed the above participant of the nature and purpose of my research and the demands involved in his/her participation. I also state that I will do all in my power to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of the participant as I fully keep to the ethical conduct requested of me as a fieldworker.

| | | |
|-----------|-------|-------|
| ----- | ----- | ----- |
| Signature | Date | Place |

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form (Shona Version)

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



Fieldworker: Abigail R Benhura (062 279 1292)

Supervisor: Dr. Maheshvari Naidu (031-2607657)

Research Office: Ms P Ximba 031-2603587

Ini _____ ndinopupura kuti ndinonzwisisa zvizere netsvakurudzo iyi ino musoro unoti: **Kuwanikwa kwedzidzo yesecondari muHopley neCaledonia: Ziso munyaya yekubviswa pekugara muZimbabwe**, nemudzidzi uyu.

Hongu Kwete

Ndaudzwa zvakara pamusoro pedonzvo rangu uye kuti ndine kodzero yokubuda mairi kana ndatadza kuwirirana nechimwe chinhu kana mubvunzo. Ndinonzwisisa kuti zvandichaita hazvina mubhadharo uye ndinopinda mazviri musarudzo yangu.

Hongu Kwete

Ndinoziva kuti ruzivo rwechawanikwa kubudikidza netsvakurudzo iyi ruchachengetedzwa zvakanwana uye zita rangu harisi kuzobudiwa pachena.

Hongu Kwete

Ndinobvuma kuti iyi interview icharekodwa uye kuti zvichataurwa umu zvichachengetedzwa zvisere.

Hongu Kwete

| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
|-------|-----------|-------|---------|
| Zita | Siginicha | Zuva | Nzvimbo |

Ini, Abigail Rudorwashe Benhura ndinopupura kuti ndaudza zvisere uye achabvunzwa zvisere pamusoro pedonzvo retsvakurudzo iyi uye zvaanotarisirwa kuita. Ndinopupura kuti ndateedzera zvese zvinorehwa nemutemo wekutsvakurudza ruzivo kwandiri somudzidzi. Ndichachengetedza zita rouyu abatsira kuti risakanwa naani zvake.

| ----- | ----- | ----- |
|-----------|-------|-------|
| Siginicha | Zuva | |

Appendix D: Interview Schedule for Hopley and Caledonia Residents (English Version)

1. When and under what circumstances did you come to live in Hopley/Caledonia?
2. What were the reasons for your moving to live in this place?
3. What were your thoughts and reactions when you first learnt that you were being moved to live in Caledonia/Hopley?
4. What was this place like when you first arrived?
5. What were your reactions to this?
6. What is everyday life like in Caledonia/Hopley?
7. How do you and other community members access essential social services like schools?
8. How have you learned to cope with life in Hopley/ Caledonia over time?
9. What are your thoughts and feelings about life in this place?
10. What are your general expectations about life in the event that you continue living in this place?
11. Is there anything else you want to add pertaining to your life experiences as a resident of this place?

Thank you for time and contribution.

Appendix E: Interview Schedule for Humanitarian Organizations (English Version)


Name of Organization :

Position held in the organization :

Period in this Position :

1. What in your understanding is an internally displaced person (IDP)?
2. What is the nexus (if any) between internal displacement and basic human rights?
3. What is your organization's mandated role and institutional policy towards internally displaced communities and other victims of forced migration?
4. What are your experiences working with internally displaced communities in the Zimbabwean context?
5. Which other government or non-governmental institutions have you interacted with as you worked with internally displaced communities? What activities were you involved in and how were these co-shared amongst the various governmental and non-governmental institutions?
6. What is your perception of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) norm with regards to your organization's role in the internal displacement question in Zimbabwe?
7. Is there anything else you would like to add that can shed more light in your organization's role with IDPs, interactions with the government and IDP policy implementation in the Zimbabwean context?

Appendix F: Gate keepers' letters



90 Fourth Street, Alverston Court
P.O. Box 3951, Harare, Zimbabwe
Phone : (263-4-707278 / 705898) Fax: (263-4-707277)
E-mail : information@zimrights.co.zw
Website : www.zimrights.co.zw

Registered as a Welfare Organisation in Zimbabwe W/O 3/93
Member of the Gerdes Group, **fidh** & Observers status with the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights

PVO 3/93
Campaigners for Human Rights
7 July 2015

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
School of Social Sciences
South Africa

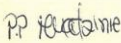
Dear Sir/Madam

RE: ACCEPTANCE LETTER

On behalf of Zimbabwe Human Rights Association, I would like to formally inform you of ZimRights acceptance in participating in the research project on internal displacement at Hopley and Caledonia Farm by one of your student, Abigail R. Benhura. As ZimRights, we have long had an interest in this cause and we are therefore eager to lend our support and assistance in terms of ensuring that the student gets access to the areas concerned.

ZimRights has an active membership in Harare and structures in Hopley and Caledonia which will make it easier for the student to have wide access. We truly hope the student will meet with every success in her praiseworthy endeavours as her efforts will benefit many in the said communities.

Yours faithfully


O. MACHISA
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

| | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| BULAWAYO OFFICE 4 ESAT HOUSE FORT STREET Btwn 12 th & 13 th Ave Bulawayo 09-61826, 09-63721 | MIDLANDS OFFICE FIRST MUTUAL CENTRE 1 st floor Robert Mugabe way Kwekwe 055-22640 | MASVINGO OFFICE ZIMRE CENTRE CORNER Hughts/Simon Mazorodze 2 nd floor East wing Masvingo 039-266224 | MUTARE OFFICE 8 th FLOOR FIDELITY LIFE CENTRE HEBERT CHITEPO STREET MUTARE 020-68633 |
|---|--|--|---|



HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT
ROWAN MARTIN BUILDING, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
POST OFFICE BOX 1680
TELEPHONE 752979 / 753000

EMAIL: hrd@hararecity.co.zw
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR

13 July 2015

5106
New Tafara
Harare

Benhura Abigail. R


RE: REQUEST TO CONDUCT AN ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN CALEDONIA AND HOPELY

This letter serves as authority for Benhura Abigail. R to undertake her research on the topic:
"INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT IN CALEDONIA AND HOPELY: QUERYING THE ACCESSIBILITY AND AVAILABILITY OF SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION".

This is in partial fulfilment of her PHD with the University of Kwazulu-Natal.

The City of Harare has no financial obligation and neither shall it render any further assistance in the conduct of the research. The researcher is however requested to avail a copy of the research to the undersigned so that residents of Harare can benefit out of it. The research should not be used for any other purpose other than for the study purpose specified.

Yours faithfully

 **DR. C. CHINGOMBE**
HUMAN CAPITAL AND PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR
LM/mm

"HARARE TO ACHIEVE A WORLD CLASS CITY STATUS BY 2025"

VISION: HARARE TO ACHIEVE A WORLD CLASS CITY STATUS BY 2025



Zimbabwe Community Development Trust
PO Box HR 8885
6 Valiant Road, Ridgeview

Harare
Zimbabwe
Phone: 741760

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: Gatekeeper's letter

This letter serves to inform the University of KwaZulu-Natal that we acknowledge Abigail R Benhura, a student at your institution, as she pursues her research on internally displaced persons in Zimbabwe. As an organisation we have worked and continue to work with IDPs in the country especially in meeting their needs in the critical phase of displacement. We continue to work with displaced communities to ensure that they acquire the skills needed during the reintegration process.

We place great value on the research Abigail Benhura is undertaking on the IDPs in Zimbabwe and hope that it will go a long way in alleviating the challenges faced by the internally displaced communities' access to essential services.

Yours faithfully

Tawanda Allen Mandevhana
(Program officer: Research and Advocacy)

Appendix G: Ethical Clearance Letter



20 May 2016

Mrs Abigail Rudorwashe Benhura 215076139
School of Social Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mrs Benhura

Protocol reference number: HSS/1269/015D

New Project Title: Interrogating the Provision of Secondary School Education in Hopley and Caledonia Communities: A Lens Into Internal Displacement In Zimbabwe

Approval notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application for an amendment dated 20 May 2016 has now been granted Full Approval.

• Change in Title

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)
Humanities/Social Sciences Research Ethics

/pm

Supervisor: Professor M Naidoo
Academic Leader Research: Professor Sabine Marschall
School Administrator: Ms N Radebe & Mr Ehiame Stanley

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

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