

# Development-Induced Displacements and Livelihood Options – A Case of the Chingwizi Community in Mwenezi Rural District

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## Abstract

Using primary data of 100 households and literature review, this study examined the socio-economic opportunities or lack of them as well as vulnerabilities encountered by the Chingwizi Community in Mwenezi Rural District in Masvingo Province. The study argues that the Chingwizi people are rational, resourceful and strategic actors. It further contents that the relocated households were plunged into deeper socio-economic problems as the climatic and infrastructural conditions in the new area are harsher than where they were coming from. Primary data was collected from key informants through interviews, informal conversations and observation. Key informants included government officials from the ministries of local government, agriculture and land resettlement, community leadership (both traditional and elected), development workers from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the resettled farmers of Chingwizi in general. Literature review involved discussing empirical findings by other scholars on development-induced displacements (DIDs) in other parts of the world and Zimbabwe in particular. Findings from the study indicate that the state failed to fulfill its promises to the relocated households and that the principles of free, prior and informed consent (FPIC), fair and comprehensive compensation (FCC) as well as inclusive socio-economic development and profit-sharing (ISDP) were ignored by the state in the process of relocating households from Chivi and Masvingo rural areas. In light of the foregoing the study recommends the need to engage those communities affected by development projects so that sustainable options are arrived at.

**Keywords:** socio-economic opportunities, development induced displacement, informed consent, livelihood options, Chingwizi

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## 1. Introduction

This study examined livelihood options as well vulnerabilities encountered by the Chivi and

Masvingo rural communities which were relocated to Chingwizi in Mwenezi Rural District of Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe.

These households were displaced in 2014 due to heavy floods which overflowed the uncompleted Tugwi Mukosi Dam wall after heavy rains had pounded the area. It is undeniable that mega development projects such as Tugwi Mukosi Dam usually result in the internal displacement and suffering of sizeable populations hence dialoguing with and the cushioning of those affected should be of paramount importance. In tandem with the international statues, focus should be in the restoration of displaced people to at least the livelihood conditions which they had prior to the displacement.

From the construction of the hydro-electric power generating Kariba Dam in the 1950s to the post-colonial emergency of the irrigation water supplying Osborne and Tugwi-Mukosi dams, these celebrated artificial water bodies have been iconic representations of state-initiated development projects that inevitably marginalized local communities. Paradoxically, the Kariba Dam was spearheaded by an exclusionary colonial government while Osborne and Tugwi Mukosi dams were post-colonial government initiatives. This shows that despite the differing ideological orientations of Zimbabwe's successive governments, the outcomes of dams on project impacted peoples (PIPs) have been consistently negative. This can be attributed to non-existent or weak legal and regulatory safeguards for the affected local communities. Besides disrupting water flows, creating new disease ecologies, and reconfiguring landscapes these dams have also triggered massive displacements, disrupted daily routines for local communities as well as fractured their social relations and affected their socio-economic standing.

The construction of the Tugwi Mukosi Dam caused the displacement of 18 000 people in 2014 when floods overflowed the uncompleted dam wall. That culminated into the government haphazardly relocating people around and downstream in Masvingo and Chivi rural districts to the congested and disease-prone-Chingwizi Transit Camp in Mwenezi Rural District where they lived for more than six months. Those relocated subsequently moved to the camp's hinterland where they were resettled on inadequate one-hectare plots without any security of tenure.

According to Mashingaidze (2013), the Kariba Dam triggered the displacement of 23 000 Tonga

people from the Zambezi riparian where they practiced secure and livelihood sustaining flood recession agriculture. The colonial government relocated the Tonga people to the arid, dry, wildlife and tsetse fly-infested uplands of Binga District (ibid). From that point in time, the Tonga have been eking out a precarious existence as food insecure people dependent on donor largesse and occasional support from the ever-negligent successive national governments. In the post-colonial era, the major drivers of forced displacements have been witnessed in mining, agriculture, natural disaster zones, urban expansion and special projects like dam construction. Some of the most painful displacements in mining, epitomized by institutionalized and physical violence were witnessed in Manicaland Province's Chiadzwa diamond fields (see Katsaura, 2010).

Gukurume and Nhodo (2018) point out that the members of the Marange community were resettled forcibly from their home areas to pave way for diamond mining. In the process an estimated 5000 families were violently relocated to the 12 000 ha ARDA Transau Farm without adequate compensation. Apart from mining, in recent years, the international community also witnessed some communities being displaced in Manicaland Province. The establishment of Green Fuel owned sugarcane plantations and ethanol plants resulted in the displacement and land disputes in Chisumbanje. It is estimated that over 83 families had to relocate to Mozambique against their volition, as Green Fuel invaded communal lands and ploughed down people's crops in the process of establishing sugarcane plantations (Mandihlare, 2013). In the above displacements, it can be deduced that the state's position was influenced by political motives as opposed to the genuine desire to improve the lives and livelihoods of those affected by these 'developmental' projects. According to Nhodo (2018) what is clear is that the victims of these mega developmental projects have been perceived by the state as 'people in the way of development'. This has culminated in the emphasis on quantitative development as opposed to qualitative development which is critical to the poor and marginalized citizens.

Following the same philosophy, the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) saw the violent displacement of the white farm owners and their black farm workers from their land. These

displacements were orchestrated by the militant war veterans across Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2005). Notwithstanding the moral, political and economic undertones, it is believed that these displacements led to the loss of life, production, livelihoods, and more importantly food security in Zimbabwe (Sachikonye, 2003).

The inception of mega projects is often marked by political grandstanding with emphasis placed on the need for trade-offs between meeting national socio-economic developmental targets rather than on the welfare of development impacted communities. Globally, in the last 25 years there has been increasing recognition that the number of involuntarily development displaced people has become a problem that warrants investigation (Rajagopal, 2002; Gebre, 2003; Robinson, 2003). According to Cernea (1999) displacement exacts social, environmental and economic costs on exceedingly vulnerable and marginalized communities with tenuous and variable livelihoods.

## 2. Research Methodology

The study is premised on both secondary and primary data. Secondary data involved reviewing empirical findings on development-induced displacements (DIDs) in other parts of the world and Zimbabwe in particular. Primary data was collected from key informants who included government officials from ministries of local government, agriculture and land resettlement, community leadership (both traditional and elected), development workers from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the resettled peasant families of Chingwizi in general.

The study was carried out in three phases namely: i) the first phase involved the review of literature on development-induced displacements in general and Zimbabwe in particular, ii) the second phase involved a preliminary visit to Chingwizi Area in the sugar estate to sensitize the key informants of purpose of the study (the displaces, community leaders, and government officials). Subsequent trips were dedicated to information gathering from displaces, community leaders and government officials. The researchers used interview guides, questionnaires, focus group discussions as well as narrative cases of specific incidences/experience. The information was captured in both audio and video forms. Analysis of all qualitative and quantitative data

was done using thematic content analysis.

## 3. Findings and Discussion

The major finding of the study observed was the conflict between the displaced people from Chivi and Masvingo rural districts and the autochthonous Shangani people of Chingwizi Area in Mwenezi. The conflict is deeply entrenched in the struggle over resources as pointed out by one of the resettled households:

“When I was allocated this piece of land by government resettlement officials, I thought I would fall under the jurisdiction of my headmen who I had been relocated together with from Nyajena in Masvingo District. To my surprise, there was someone who claimed to be the headman of the area. The person claimed to have settled in the area way back in 2006 during the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme. However, the person had no offer letter to support his claim.”

The conflict was also traced to the two schools in the area. These are Tugwi Mukosi Primary School and Nyuni Government Secondary School respectively. Based on the claim that they are the rightful owners of the Chingwizi area, the Shangani people legitimately claimed the right to name the two schools in line with their cultural imperatives and social identity. From their expectations the two schools ought to have been named Bongo Primary School and Bongo Government Secondary School respectively. This means the schools would have been named after the nearby Bongo Mountain which had both religious and symbolic status of the Shangani people. Of note was the fact that many of the Shangani ritual practices, including the rites of passage are conducted in this mountain.

What it means therefore is that the Chingwizi area has been turned into a space of contestation with four primary social actors. These actors are the state (which resettled the people), Billy Rautenbach (a white biofuels mogul who intends to establish an ethanol plant in the area), Triangle Sugar Estate (which owns sugar plantations across Mutirikwi River and the traditional Shangani people. The interest and more specifically, the life worlds of these actors are at loggerheads. All these actors are therefore competing to position themselves in line with the real or perceived benefits in this region. Such contestations and conflicting life worlds inevitably have negative implications on the sustainability of this relocation project.

Paradoxically, for the displaced people from Masvingo and Chivi, this was an opportunity to revitalize their hitherto compromised social identity through the naming of such important local institutions. They therefore demanded that the two schools be named Tugwi Mukosi Primary School and Nyuni Government Secondary School respectively. Tugwi Mukosi Primary School and other places they named corresponded with their original villages in Chivi and Masvingo where they came from.

The study further established contradicting perceptions in terms of time and the projected horizon in the Tugwi Mukosi Dam project between the state and the Chingwizi community. The state (as pointed out by line ministry officials) is preoccupied with projected-distant or future benefits of the dam while the affected households have very little concern about the far horizon. Their interest is specifically on the present circumstances and how to bring back their displaced fortunes.

Based on futurism which is the buzzword by the state, the dam project is anchored on a combination of drivers of 'development'. These are:

- Technological development, modernity and rationality.
- Establishment of an agro-based town around the dam.
- Generation of foreign currency through tourism.
- Hydro-electricity generation for Masvingo province.
- Fishery and world life management.
- Sugarcane plantations in the Chiredzi and Triangle areas.
- Small holder irrigation around the dam.

These prime movers of 'development' are also presented as the eventual destination which the displaced should cherish. These 'valuable' outcomes were the painful but necessary justification for the suffering bestowed on the Chingwizi resettled people. They were seen as only suffering in the interim but in future the whole nation would enjoy the benefits. What was clear is that the Chingwizi villagers remain marginalized notwithstanding the projected and favourable horizon. The study established from government officials from line ministries of agriculture and land resettlement that the above

stated movers of development for the construction of the Tugwi Mukosi Dam were the long-term development projections by the Zimbabwean state.

These projections in a way have connotations of fantasy and futurism which are irresistible. This distant future had also been made public by being included in many government policies and the state media before the construction of the dam. The study further established that the state glorified the construction of the dam project and the benefits subsumed but very little was said in terms of the unintended consequences of the dam project. The near future of the Chingwizi people which had been evaporated was of very little significance in the state's desire to reach the projected horizon.

The movement of households from Chivi and Masvingo to Chingwizi, which was the first phase of relocation, led to the dislocation of the villagers from subsistence and livestock farming. At Chingwizi the households were held in a transit camp where they were provided with tents as temporary shelter. During that time livelihoods were based on donor largesse from non-governmental organisations. The vulnerability of the households was compounded by the failure of the state to honour its promises during the relocation period. Chief among these promises was the provision of four-hectare plots the relocated upon their arrival at Chingwizi.

The second relocation phase which was achieved after a protracted struggle. This phase involved the movement of the households into one hectare plots in the hinterland. These infamous plots are popularly known as 'Kumahekita' (one-hectare plots) among the displaced households. The dilemma now is that the state is yet to secure the land for additional three hectares per household to make it four hectares each initially promised. The District Administrator for Mwenezi lamented this precarious situation and appealed to the state to secure the land in order to bring finality to the struggle at hand. He indicated that the extra land would be acquired on the southern part of the Rutenga-Chiredzi railway side as it passes Chingwizi. This land would be subdivided into three-hectare irrigable plots that would use water from Tugwi Mukosi Dam on its way to sugarcane plantations in Triangle.

A closer analysis however shows that this was

just a smokescreen, aimed at obfuscating the capitalist undertones masked in this resettlement. Given the fact that the Chingwizi area is situated at the confluence of two important rivers in Masvingo Province, the area was very attractive for the establishment of a mega ethanol plant. The plant was believed to be under the auspices of Zimbabwe Bio Energy (ZBE), which is also owned by Billy Rautenbach. It was believed that ZBE at some point dangled an irresistible US\$400 million for investment in the said project (The Herald of 2017). This therefore put the state in a huge dilemma. However, the ZBE project is yet to materialise.

In recent times there has been a mantra for mega-development deals to drive the economy in the post 'Second Republic' dispensation, leaving the state in a compromising position. Given the connections and links that the business mogul has in the ruling party Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the state, the chance that the Chingwizi people will stay permanently in this area becomes remote. The move to relocate these people again will ultimately lead to development that eludes the people.

The study further established that in as much as they belong to the same community, share the same status and geographical location one should understand that the Chingwizi people have different life worlds based on family backgrounds, educational qualifications, class, skills, age inter alia (Long, 1999). These different life worlds inevitably affect how the villagers respond to their social condition and the various livelihood strategies that they muster to survive marginalization and aspire for better life.

Based on the interviews and interactions that we had with the resettled, we deliberately avoid generalizing their responses to the problem. While many of the respondents showed resourcefulness, resilience, the tenacity to aspire and redefine the projected futures, there were also some respondents who switched to the waiting mode. This refers to a period of inaction by the villagers as they anticipated future programmes by the state as per its promises. The majority of those interviewed indicated that they had resigned to fate and were awaiting the state to determine their future.

A significant portion of the youths at Chingwizi in particular were also trapped in the waiting mode. It should be pointed out that many of the

youths did not have their own one-hectare plots, a social condition that pushed them to rely on their parents for material support. Their livelihood opportunities were also limited. Tafara (21) who came to Chingwizi as a teenager now has two children said:

"I recently got married and looked forward to having my own piece of land but alas I was told to write an application to the Ministry of Lands for the piece of land. I did a year ago, Meanwhile I am still with my parents. I do not know when I will get a positive answer to my application."

It was not the intention of this study to look at the implications of this waiting mode on the lives of the future generations. Further research on this may therefore be needed. Nevertheless, during interviews with the youths and the newly married, they constantly referred to the serious implications of their waiting conditions on the future of their children. The state on its part declared free education for children at Chingwizi but concerns have been raised on the learning conditions at these schools. The study established that the schools so far built in the area did not have proper infrastructure and support material for quality education. The prevailing situation and failure to provide adequate education for children at Chingwizi therefore points to another lost generation in this development.

A significant number of residents, particularly men also exhibited the waiting mode. Some residents resorted to buying small second-hand cars, motorbikes, bicycles and associated luxuries upon receiving their partial compensation packages from the state. This was also influenced by the lack of investment opportunities in the new area.

Many of these second-hand cars were proving to be very expensive to maintain, considering the remoteness of Chingwizi. This led to further impoverishment for some of the households that invested in these cars. At the micro level this situation points to the unsustainability of the 'new' money. In line with this, one respondent in a focus group discussion (FGD) conducted at Bongo business centre, where many of those cars were parked (and others dumped) said:

"Tingavashora hedu ivava vakatenga zvimota asi ingofungai kuti mari yacho yaishandei zvine musoro. Muno medu hatina zvikoro zvatingati ungaendesa vana

kuchikoro, hatikwanisi kutenga mombe kana kuvaka dzimba, dambudziko haro nderekuti zvimota zvacho hazvina kutana kufa nekuti vazhinji vaitenga zvakangosakara nekuda kwehutsotsi hevanotengesa. Uyewo tisakangamwa kuti mugwagwa wedu hauite”.

(“We are failing to understand why these villagers did what they did but what else did you expect them to do with the money given the circumstance. In this area you cannot invest in your children’s education because there are no proper schools, at the same time you cannot buy cattle or build proper accommodation. The only problem is that the villagers were duped because those cars are too old and they cannot survive in these remote roads.”)

This waiting mode has been theorized by many scholars in sociology literature and it has come to be known as the *waithood* condition (Hanwana, 2012). This condition for this category of the Chingwizi residents is epitomized by uncertainties, precariousness, insecurity and stagnation in socio-economics terms (Gukurume, 2018).

To this end villagers, at Chingwizi have been bunched under the flood “victims” status or more importantly the *victimhood* approach to forced displacement. In sociological theory this philosophy is derived from key structuralist like Durkheim, Parsons and Marx who tended to reduce human beings to passive victims of their social situations.

As argued above, during our initial visit and stay in Chingwizi, there were serious stereotypes and otherisation of the residents who invested in small cars and associated luxuries. Subsequent visits and interviews then called for the rethinking of this popular but reductionist narrative. These residents actually have a different way of looking at this whole issue. Notwithstanding the unforeseen challenges thereof, some of the residents were futuristic since the main purpose was to use cars as pirate taxis in and around the Chingwizi areas.

In the beginning owning a vehicle appeared to be an astute and viable option given the remoteness and transport challenges afflicting the area. Such ingenuity and ability to see opportunities out of an otherwise compromised situation signal their ability and capacity to aspire. Furthermore, investing in movable

property was a rational decision given the transitory and temporality of the Chingwizi settlement. By taking an emic approach to the understanding of the displaced, we then empathized with those that bought cars for personal use, motorbikes and bicycles. To that end, we realized that their ‘displaced’ status and the trying conditions in Chingwizi did not stifle their capacity to aspire for living in a better world. Moreover, a car in particular is a status symbol in the local culture.

Some villagers mobilized a plethora of livelihood assets and social capital into a cocktail of livelihood strategies. Traditional beer brewing and trading by women is very common among the residents. This strategy is mainly pronounced in the summer season. The trend was to have beer drinking and selling parties in every two days in the many Chingwizi villages sampled for this study. In this study it was observed that this venture was dominated by women, signifying the gendered dimension to livelihood strategies. Many respondents who adopted this livelihood strategy highlighted that they were able to sustain their families and in some cases supplement family requirements. These family needs included but not limited to food, clothing and educational requirements for the families who had children learning outside the Chingwizi settlement. This livelihood strategy is not a new one for it started long back in the Chivi and Masvingo rural areas.

Over and above being a labour-intensive strategy, there was an acute shortage of small grain which was a key ingredient in this process in the area. The limited space in the one-hectore plots coupled with unreliable rains made it impossible to produce crops like millet sorghum and rapoko for beer brewing purposes. Considering the unavailability of these commodities, their price in Chingwizi was actually inflated compared to the official prices at the Grain Market Board (GMB) and other localities outside Chingwizi.

Some residents in the spirit of innovation opened shops at the two business centres in the Chingwizi area namely Bongo and Mukosi. Before the opening of the shops, residents travelled about 40km to Triangle to buy basic necessities. The first one is a relatively smaller but expanding shopping centre in the Nyuni village. The second and bigger shopping centre is at Mukosi and it is popularly known as ‘PaBongo’. Popular businesses included grocery

shops, bottle stores, clothing shops, and hair salons. These entrepreneurs are exhibiting creativity to the extent that most of the products that the residents need are available at competitive prices. To deal with the energy challenges, the entrepreneurs have embraced clean energy and other alternative sources of energy like gas. Consequently, almost all the bottle stores and grocery shops use either gas or solar powered freezers.

During our initial visit based on the etic approach, we were surprised to buy cold Coke drinks at both Bongo and Mukosi shopping centres. The above-mentioned feeling was also influenced by the remoteness of the area as well as the makeshift structures thereof. Notwithstanding the social marginalization, the bottle stores in the two shopping centres were furnished with good facilities including television sets, radios and pool tables. It was highlighted that based on the upgraded facilities; the two business centres are even attracting patrons from as far as Triangle estate. These developments clearly show that despite their displacement and dislocation from the mainstream society, the Chingwizi people continue to aspire for better lives.

In as much as the interviewed entrepreneurs at both Bongo and Nyuni shopping centres were generally content with their businesses, just like many innovative residents, they were worried about the temporality of the second relocation phase. This temporality inevitably had an impact on the sustainability of this venture. They continue to operate in a very informal way and the situation has been exacerbated by the state which insists on the construction of temporary structures. Lamenting the situation, one respondent who operated a vibrant liquor store said,

“Dambudziko nderekuti zvose zvatakavaka ndezvokukiya kiya nekudaro hapana chiripamutemo. Izvizvinoreva kuti hatikwanisi kuwana malicence okuoperata apa makambaini makuru anoda licence kuti vatisupplaye. Sezvazviri tirikunyanya kungo hodha kublack market saka profit inobva yaita shoma.”

“The problem is that these are all temporary and therefore informal structures. What it means is that we cannot get licenses to operate and the major suppliers of our products require licenses in order to supply the products. As it stands, we

are just informally buying the products and this situation has an impact on the profit margins.”)

While the failure to get operating licences was cited as the major challenge faced by many small business operators at the said shopping centres, there was a remarkable change at the beginning of January 2019. Respondents revealed that liquor store operators collectively lobbied DELTA Beverages (The major liquor producer in Zimbabwe) to supply them the products just like what it did with established operators nationwide. When one bottle store operator was interviewed, his narrative was:

“Mudhara iye zvino zvati dzorei mbijana nekuti takapiwa ne pump price paDELTA ichiuya naro futi but zvemuZimbabwe hapana chiri straight. Iye zvino vakuti unofanira kutenga kireti imwe yedoro nemaUSA (USD) kuti ugotengeserwa four nebond kanaRTGS bond manje muno USA haribatikwe zvokumhanya.”

“My man, things are far much better because we now get beer at pump price (actual price) because DELTA now supplies it here. The problem however is that nothing is straight here, now 149 they are demanding that we buy one crate of beer in USD\$ for us to get four more crates of beer in bond notes or RTGS bond.”).

The propensity to persuade DELTA beverages to supply the product despite the high level of informality at the two shopping centres point to the aptitude of the resettled to mobilize linking social capital in a vertical way. The entrepreneurs at both Nyuni and Bongo have not been spared from the ZANU PF cum the state’s modus operandi. In recent times the ownership and control of the two business centres have since been hijacked by the party officials who in the usual kleptocratic manner determine who gets access to the stands at the said business centres. For an individual to get access to a shopping stand or to remain in business, they had to remain politically correct or at least have connections. They should always be seen to be supportive of the party and its functions through material and or monetary sponsorship. This position can be corroborated by the statement made by a respondent, who said

#### 4. Conclusions

This study examined the socio-economic opportunities or lack of them as well as vulnerabilities encountered by the Chingwizi

Community in Mwenezi Rural District in Masvingo Province. It depicts how the displaced Masvingo and Chivi households have inadvertently been pushed into the vulnerability context and forced to adopt new livelihood portfolios. This was a direct product of their unplanned and abrupt dislocation from their ancestral land by the state due to floods caused as a result of Tugwi Mukosi Dam.

From the above findings it can be safely concluded:

- That the many survival strategies employed by the Chingwizi people at Chingwizi are symptomatic of how the poor, the marginalized, and the socially excluded groups like women endeavour to aspire. In spite of their situation, the marginalized citizens always have a voice, which in this context is expressed through negotiation with the same political and cultural conditions that mediate their predicament (Appadurai, 2004).
- The state had arbitrary projected specific horizons in the Tugwi Mukosi Dam project and consequent displacement. As rational actors, some of the Chingwizi people have nonetheless set or at best redefined the same projected horizons through various survival strategies. Suffice to say, many of the survival strategies are at variance with the state's horizons. The end result is a conflict of aspirations between the state and the Chingwizi residents.
- In tandem with this line of thinking, Narayan et al (2000) reflecting on the voices of the poor argue that the marginalized residents are neither simple sponges nor secret revolutionaries, instead as highlighted above they are survivors. In the final analysis, they are only after strategically maximizing the terms of trade between recognition and redistribution in the immediate future (Appadurai, 2004). While survival strategies like poaching, illicit beer brewing and illegal electricity connection as highlighted above border on illegality, there are serious moral concerns underlying such stratagems. One may go on to question if at all we have alternatives given the protracted nature in which the relocations were undertaken. Added to this matrix is the state's lack of political will to bring sanity to the whole resettlement debacle.

- By framing this vulnerability context within the concept of time and the futures, we were able to show the differential life worlds between the state and the locals with regards to the immediate futures and the projected horizons. While the immediate futures for the Chingwizi people have evaporated, the study underscored the tenacity of the marginalized persons to aspire, redefine and at times bring back the future that is appearing in the distant horizon. This is achieved by the mobilization of various livelihood assets and social capital to produce livelihood outcomes. In the same vein, it shows that the various livelihood strategies deployed by the residents are a manifestation of agency aimed at improving their social condition. The study therefore calls for the jettisoning of reductionist tendencies that have hitherto dominated the evaluation of the Chingwizi displacees leading to the 'victims' status. Without generalizing their experiences, we argued that the Chingwizi people are rational, resourceful and strategic actors.

## 5. Recommendations

From the above findings and conclusions, the study makes the following recommendations to ensure sustainable development at Chingwizi:

- The state should fulfil its promise of four-hectare plots so as to improve the tainted state-people relations at Chingwizi.
- There is need to adopt an interface analysis that will help to reconcile the contestations and conflicting life worlds between different social actors at Chingwizi.
- To prioritize the youth and the newly emerging families in the forthcoming relocations.
- The state should prioritise people suffering from double marginalization such as women and people with disabilities in its intervention programs.
- The state, working with the Civil Aviation Department (CPU) should work towards strengthening disaster management and preparedness to avoid what happened at Chingwizi in future.
- Based on the displayed ingenuity and resourcefulness by the Chingwizi villagers, the state should desist from the portrayal of



the Chingwizi villagers as 'victims'. It should therefore make efforts to support some of the more sustainable survival strategies in the forthcoming relocation of the villagers to another territory.

- The state should work towards the strengthening of local institutions, social capital and social networks to build resilience and ensure sustainable development for the Chingwizi people.

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### Conflict of Interest

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### Authors' Contributions

Both authors discussed the results and contributed to the final manuscript.

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