



The Plight of Internally Displaced Children: A Case of Zimbabwe

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ABSTRACT

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) are some of the most neglected vulnerable populations in the world. They are often neglected because they are an internationally and legally unacknowledged group amongst the Moving and Vulnerable Peoples (MVPs) due to a lack of legislature pertaining to them. This study seeks to critically assess the educational opportunities available to internally displaced children in Zimbabwe who were affected by the farm invasions, illegal settlements and various government operations like "operation murambatsvina." The study also assesses the psycho social support afforded them as well as the economic and social issues arising due to their dilemma in Zimbabwe. In this study, a qualitative phenomenological design was used with focus group discussions, interviews and observations as data collection methods with eleven participants comprising of (4) four children, representing every ward in which they have been resettled, one traditional village leader, one ward councillor, two (2) school teachers, Chipinge district education officer, one YEP centre administrator and the education programme coordinator for the Norwegian Refugee Council. Findings from this study revealed that displaced persons face a high level of discrimination and ostracism from the host community arising from differences in culture and traditional beliefs. Jealousies also arise from the host community due to the somewhat elevated status of the resettled persons due to the assistance they receive from service providers which leads to feelings of inferiority in children and consequently affecting educational performance. The study also revealed that IDP children face a host of challenges from home ranging from economic to protection issues that may lead into them dropping out of school with no hope of ever recovering the lost time. The study highly recommends acknowledgement of the existence of IDPs such that they are afforded quick assistance within a legal framework for sustainability of livelihoods.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Conflicts force people to leave their homes and one of the measures of the severity of a conflict in addition to casualties and duration, according to Weiss & Korn (2006), is the extent to which people have been displaced from their communities. Internally Displaced Persons, who will be referred to as IDPs in this study, are defined in the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, (2009) as persons or groups of persons who have "been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border." This is a descriptive definition rather than a legal one mainly because IDPs have no binding international convention or dedicated UN agency charged with their protection and assistance. The responsibility for protecting and assisting IDPs lies with national authorities, which is obviously problematic in cases where national authorities have contributed to the displacement. Furthermore, as international recognition of the particular needs of IDPs dates back only 10 or 20 years, there is much less academic scholarship, legal jurisprudence, or international awareness of IDPs compared to that for refugees.

Displacement affects communities beyond the individuals who are themselves displaced, explains Rhodes (2010). Although receiving little attention from either academic researchers or policymakers, these displacement-affected communities (DACs) are significantly impacted on. The communities from which people were displaced may suffer economic, social and political consequences with the departure of specific groups. For example, the departure of educated professionals has consequences on the communities they leave behind. Pigozzi (2009) posits that the communities hosting refugees and IDPs, particularly when the numbers are large, clearly experience economic, social and political consequences for doing so. Sometimes this is positive as when the establishment of assistance provides health or education services to the local community, services which may not have been available in the past. However, it often has a negative result as community and public services are strained as these people are rarely accompanied by sufficient increases from central budgets to meet the needs of the returnees and thus can generate tensions between groups.

The Norwegian Refugee Council report of December 2012 that was prepared by the councils Geneva-based Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, reports that the number of IDPs has been rising worldwide due to long-running internal conflicts. Globally, IDPs number about 26 million; an estimated 50 percent of the 26 million people internally displaced by armed conflicts are children and youth under the age of 18. The report places Sudan as having the largest number of IDPs with more than 4.9 million

people estimated to be internally displaced while Iraq and the Democratic Republic of Congo closely follow with about 2.76 million and 1.9 million IDPs each, UNHCR (2013).

In Zimbabwe, people have been internally displaced since 2000 as a result of different government policies and actions. Groups of IDPs include former farm workers and their families who were either evicted from their homes on farms which were affected by the fast-track land reform programme, or forced to leave after losing their jobs on those farms. Others were displaced as a result of arbitrary evictions in Zimbabwe's towns and cities in a government operation code named "Operation Murambatsvina" and still others by government campaigns against informal mine workers, or by politically motivated violence. In 2011, the situation of IDPs in Zimbabwe varied widely, depending on the reasons for their displacement and the length of time they had been displaced. Accordingly, their needs ranged from emergency humanitarian assistance to interventions aimed at securing a durable solution.

Even though the total current number of IDPs in Zimbabwe is unknown due to a lack of system of accountability, some may have found solutions to their displacement; some are still in need of emergency assistance, while others require help in order to find durable solutions. In addition, forced returnees from South Africa and other countries require assistance with their reintegration in Zimbabwe. Information in unpublished situational reports by the IOM in Manicaland Province shows that the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in partnership with the United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP) assisted 4857 households in the year 2010. According to unpublished IOM situational report (2010), "183 households were displaced as a result of political violence, 3648 households were displaced as a result of the land reform programme, 693 households as a result of natural disaster and 333 households as a result of land disputes in Manicaland Province". Of these displaced households, 1654 have been resettled in Chipinge district, mainly in the Chiriga, Gwenzi and Musirizwi areas.

The Emergency Assistance Program (EAP) which is community based, was borne out of the need to respond to the emergency humanitarian needs of the Mobile and Vulnerable Populations (MVP) communities in Zimbabwe, which IDPs fall under, and provide the necessary background for a durable solution to their situation. This program is a UNHCR and IOM initiative implemented by the Norwegian Refugee Council in Chipinge District where a total of 1654 families have been resettled. Amongst these families, 663 are children between the ages of six and eighteen.

The beneficiaries receive non-food items (NFI), food, HIV/AIDS and Gender Based Violence (GBV) mainstreaming, emergency shelter, primary health care and emergency disease outbreak control as well as provision of water and sanitation facilities. To build on the emergency ongoing project, transitional shelter, early livelihood recovery strategies are also

delivered, to ensure food security and thus adopt positive coping strategies of MVP communities. The project is based on the strategy that recognises the different needs of affected communities from the onset of displacement, and in the process delivers a comprehensive humanitarian package, UNHCR (2010).

There are a number of common conditions faced, especially when considering education of displaced children and youth, such as the importance of education in supporting psychosocial adjustment to new settings, and ensuring long-term economic advancement of displaced communities. This study looks at the range of issues and conditions facing education attainment of displaced populations as well as the psycho social support they are accorded, in order for them to achieve their maximum potential.

As the Guiding Principles affirm, it is the responsibility of the national authorities to assist and protect IDP children and youth. Principle 23 affirms the right of IDPs to receive an education, "which shall be free and compulsory at the primary level" with efforts made to ensure full and equal participation of women and girls. With respect to post-primary education, Principle 23 also states that secondary education and training programs should be made available to IDPs, in particular adolescents and women, "as soon as conditions permit." It is clear, however, that IDPs' right to and need of education is broader than primary schooling and the policy is vague on post primary education as it merely states that when "conditions permit" and silent on who decides the conditions permit and when is it that they do so. It is also clear that the government of Zimbabwe does not have the economic capacity to assist IDPs hence the intention of donor agencies in conjunction with government departments like education, registry, health, social welfare and local government.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is informed by Maslow's theory of a hierarchy of needs which explains human development in stages where an individual moves to the next upon successful completion of the preceding one, Snowman & Beihler (2010). Maslow posits that only when the lower order needs of physical and emotional well-being are satisfied are humans concerned with the higher order needs of influence and personal development. Conversely, if the things that satisfy lower order needs are swept away, human beings no longer become concerned about the maintenance of the higher order needs. This model of needs was developed in the 1940s- 50s and it remains valid today for understanding human motivation and personal development.

Rathus (2006) puts it across that at the bottom of the hierarchy are biological and physiological needs which include air, food, drink, shelter, warmth, sex, sleep, child-abuse help-lines, and social security benefits. It is Maslow's belief that children will only be

able to learn effectively when they are coming from secure homes with enough food, love, warmth, shelter. This assertion is validated in a research by Chinyoka & Naidu (2013) which shows how an absence of these basic fundamental needs in a child's life can negatively affect learning and development.

The theory, explain Sprinthal & Sprinthal (2006), goes on to explain that with their physical needs relatively satisfied, the individual's safety needs take precedence and dominate behaviour in the second stage of the hierarchy. In the absence of physical safety, due to war, natural disaster, family violence, childhood abuse, people may (re) experience post-traumatic stress disorder or transgenerational trauma. In the absence of economic safety, due to economic crisis and lack of work opportunities, these safety needs manifest themselves in ways such as a preference for job security, grievance procedures for protecting the individual from unilateral authority, reasonable disability accommodations. Hence, there is need for protection of children from these negative elements and afford them some semblance of stability in their lives in order for them to achieve their maximum potential.

After physiological and safety needs are fulfilled, the third level of human needs, according to Maslow in Rathus (2006), is interpersonal and involves feelings of belonging. These feelings can be achieved through work group, family, affection, relationships, schools and dating. This need is especially strong in childhood and can override the need for safety as witnessed in children who cling to abusive parents as shown in a research by Martin (2005).

Deficiencies within this level of Maslow's hierarchy, probably due to ostracism, stigma, discrimination, hospitalism, and neglect can impact the individual's ability to form and maintain emotionally significant relationships in general, such as friendship, intimacy and family. According to Maslow, humans need to feel a sense of belonging and acceptance among their social groups, regardless if these groups are large or small. Many people become susceptible to loneliness, social anxiety, and clinical depression in the absence of this love or belonging element. This need for belonging may overcome the physiological and security needs, depending on the strength of the peer pressure.

In the fourth stage, Maslow posits that all humans have a need to feel respected; this includes the need to have self-esteem and self-respect, (Sprinthal & Sprinthal, 2006). Esteem presents the typical human desire to be accepted and valued by others. People often engage in a profession or hobby to gain recognition. These activities give the person a sense of contribution or value. Low self-esteem or an inferiority complex may result from imbalances during this level in the hierarchy. People with low self-esteem often need respect from others; they may feel the need to seek fame or glory. However, fame or glory will not help the person to build their self-esteem until they accept who they are internally. Psychological imbalances such as depression can hinder the person from obtaining a higher level of self-esteem or self-respect.

The highest stage, according to Maslow, is summarised by the quotation, "what a man can be, he must be," Kail & Cavanaugh (2010). This quotation forms the basis of the perceived need for self-actualization. This level of need refers to what a person's full potential is and the realization of that potential. Maslow describes this level as the desire to accomplish everything that one can, to become the most that one can be. Individuals may perceive or focus on this need very specifically. For example, one individual may have the strong desire to become an ideal parent. In another, the desire may be expressed athletically. For others, it may be expressed in paintings, pictures, or inventions. As previously mentioned, Maslow believed that to understand this level of need, the person must not only achieve the previous needs, but also master them.

Given the above, understanding the completion of these stages is therefore the key in understanding how children develop and what factors lead to their failure. While many situations may hinder children's successful journey to self actualisation, the researchers are interested in examining how internal displacement affects children's families to influence academic achievement by focusing on their interactions with the host community in which they have been resettled and their livelihoods in relation to academic achievement and psycho-social growth.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to highlight the plight of the internally displaced children in Zimbabwe whose government tends to turn a blind eye to their existence, as they are the main actors in the issues that cause the displacement. It is also the purpose of this study to draw international attention to the case of IDP children as to date, no policies or laws are in place with regards to their protection and education as in most cases, governments refuse to acknowledge their existence as this draws attention to its policies and rule of law. The research is guided by the research questions below,

1. What is the legal position of IDPs in Zimbabwe? How much recognition is their existence afforded?
2. What is the psycho social impact of displacement on IDP children in Zimbabwe?
3. How far have the measures put in place to address the plight of IDP children in Zimbabwe been successful?
4. What recommendations can be suggested to attenuate the negative impact of displacement on these children?

METHODOLOGY

A research design, according to Borg & Gall (2009), is a plan or blueprint of how a research is to be conducted. The paradigm in which this research was carried out is Qualitative, a research design that asks the question why and seeks to describe phenomena in words. Researchers working in this paradigm assume that people's subjective experiences are real and should be taken seriously. Phenomenology, a research strategy falling under the qualitative paradigm is the theoretical structure that was used in the study as it is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, bracketing taken for granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving. Bryman (2010) states that the phenomenological tradition requires of the researcher to immerse herself or himself into the world inhabited by those they wish to study. It is therefore imperative that the researcher be as much a part of the population under study as much as possible. One of the advantages of this approach is that it allows the researcher to gain an understanding of social phenomena from participants' perspectives in their natural settings (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). The main aim of the study was descriptive and exploratory (Dooley, 2010).

The study was carried out in Chipinge District of Manicaland Zimbabwe where a total of 1654 internally displaced families have been resettled by the IOM, of which 663 are children. The displaced persons have been placed in four wards under the leadership of a village traditional leader (Mutape) and political councilor. Of this population, four (4) youth were purposively chosen to represent each ward. One (1) traditional leader and political leader from the four wards were conveniently selected due to their availability because of their busy schedules. Two (2) teachers, one from a primary school and another from the secondary school were purposively chosen for their counseling roles in the schools. Of the three Youth Education Pack centers (YEP) in the district, one centre administrator was selected for reasons of proximity. The education programme coordinator for the Norwegian Refugee Council as well as the District Education Officer for chipinge district also took part, making a total of eleven participants.

In addition to the intensive review of related literature, data was collected through interviews with the target population comprising four youth, two teachers, one YEP centre administrator, village head, ward councillor, programme coordinator as well district education officer. During the focus group interview, the researchers created a social environment in which group members were stimulated by one another's perception and ideas. This technique was believed to increase the quality and richness of data, more than one-on-one interviewing could have done (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006).

Targeting teachers provided collaborative data about the performance of pupils and impact of displacement on pupils' academic performance and psychological wellbeing. Pupils also gave their views and perceptions towards the extent to which the impact of displacement affects their academic performance. The interviews were audio-taped and the

researchers made observations and copious notes during the interviews.

Ethical Considerations

Permission to conduct the study was secured from Chipinge District Education Office, Zimbabwe as well as from the selected school headmasters/principals. Further permission was sought from the parents of the selected learners as well as the village heads.

The participants were informed that their involvement in the study was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw at any stage of the interviews if they were not comfortable. Permission was first obtained from the participants for the interviews to be audio recorded. They were assured of anonymity in the research report.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Lack of educational opportunities

As might be expected, the researchers discovered that education was completely unavailable to the children in the emergency phase of displacement as international and national actors focused on security and provision of basic necessities of life. As time went on and the displacement became protracted, more attention was devoted to education, though not sufficient to meet the needs and expectations of the IDPs; as the availability of education depends on government policies. Through interviews and focus group discussions, it was discovered that only 65 % of the primary school going age was enrolled in the local primary schools while the other 35% was not in school. The major reason for non-attendance was a lack of documentation. 20% of the pupils said that they arrived in the area and joined the school on the promise that their documents were being processed by Christian care, another organization working to assist IDPs with legal documentation. However, they had reached grade 7 and a birth certificate was required in order for them to register for the exams but they had still not received their documentation. Officers working with the Registry department in attaining documentation for these children stated that it was not an easy task as some of the information required was not immediately available from the children while the department was always hit by power cuts, lack of personnel as well as lack of cooperation from unsatisfied and underpaid government workers.

Some of the children were not in school because of the need for them to work to earn money to support the family while some were staying at home to take care of their siblings so that the mother can work. While extended family may have played this role of child-caring back home, in displacement, the nuclear family often needs to provide these services, which

means an additional burden on children. This brings to light Mamwenda (2011) 's research showing the importance of the extended family in the African set up which provides an intricate web of moral, physical, spiritual and economic support for the good of the family. This also brings to light Maslow's idea of the need for a home and economic security as necessities for human development as the children are dropping out of school in a need to create a semblance of a whole life with their families.

The research also revealed that children have lost time in school because of the disturbances which caused their displacement and may find it difficult to catch up or may be embarrassed to be far older than other students in their classes. It was also discovered that teachers may not always be patient with them. The ministry of education has put in place a programme known as Performance Lack Address Programme (PLAP) in an attempt to assist pupils who are physically in a grade that does not match their intellectual aptitude due to the 2007/8/9 disturbances when the education system collapsed due to economic and political hardships. This programme allows a teacher to assist a student catch up with his age mates within the same class without having to drop out of school or going a grade back. Much as this programme helps the child, it has been met with resistance by the teachers as it is too much work when there is very poor remuneration, hence the teachers do not really carry out PLAP in the classes as the Education District Administrator lamented,

It is very unfortunate that PLAP, a very good programme that should help our pupils is being met with such high levels of negativity. The teachers are underpaid, overworked and unhappy that they have not received PLAP as well as they should.

The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) has introduced financial assistance in the form of incentives for teachers carrying out PLAP, materials as well as building facilities but this is only in selected schools hence this brings apathy to the teachers in other schools who are not being assisted by donor agencies. One teacher said,

It is very difficult for us to implement PLAP when there are no materials and very little time in which to do so. We are very busy chasing deadlines and finishing syllabi so that students are ready for exams. I cannot be bothered with PLAP, if someone is behind, they should go back to the appropriate grade. How can the ministry expect the teacher instead of the pupil to go back a grade or two? I find that very silly and to make matters worse, the NRC is supporting PLAP in the form of incentives and material at our neighbouring school while we are not getting anything so it is disappointing and hence we just ignore it.

Another one said,

Veduwe, PLAP yacho iyi hatitomboizwisisi kana ivo vakuru vacho havazvizwisisi ngekuti pakauya ma Education Inspector ndikavapangidza maPLAP records angu vakandibvunza kuti chii ichi? Ini iya, inga ndimwi Makati tizviite, ah, confusion basi basi. (We don't understand this PLAP and neither do our superiors because when education inspectors visited the school I showed them my PLAP records and they asked me what they were to my surprise.)

Another issue that was highly spoken of by the youth is the lack of secondary/ training education for those above twelve years of age. The NRC is not responsible for secondary school education and those who want to go for secondary education should do so on their own, which is very difficult for them, as they have no source of income. The NRC however has put in place a Youth Education Pack (YEP) which is aimed at imparting vocational skills (building, carpentry, beauty therapy, garment making, basic numeracy and literacy) to displaced and vulnerable youths in the community. There are three centres in chipinge namely UCCZ, based at chipinge Horticultural college, Chiriga and Muzite but the youth complained that some of the needy youth were not benefiting from this programme as ward councillors and the traditional leaders enrolled their relatives ahead of them. One of the youth at the centre said,

I was lucky to make it this year because Mutape does not like my family. When the NRC asked for names from our ward last year, the headman told my mother to her face that I would never make it for YEP because we are not originally from ward 16 and that he would make sure that only youth originally from this ward would benefit first. If it were not for the NRC people who came in person this year to do recruitment, I would still be at home right now tilling a very unproductive piece of land.

One of the headmen concurred with the youth's sentiments as he expressed displeasure at putting the displaced persons' needs ahead of his people. His statements showed lack of information and insight as to the nature and aims of YEP. He said,

Hazviteba kuti nditange kuendesa ana awa akabva kune dzimwe nzvimbo kofunda isu tiine vana vedu vemuno vasina zvavarikuita (Its not possible that we send these IDP children to school before we send our own local children).

Asked whether he was aware that the programme was specifically meant for the displaced and vulnerable children he said,

Vakadzingwa kupi? Vanga vamboitei? Isu hapana akambotidzinga patakagara wani? Ndiko kuda kureketa zviro zvakashata pamusana pehurumende yedu, hakuna munhu angambodzingwa paakagara pasina zvaaita.

Amweni acho aroyi saka anoda kugara nemuroyi ndiani? Amweni anoita zvinyangadzo pamberi pehurumende. Handina ndaa navo ba inini. (Where were they displaced from? For what? How come we were never evicted from here? Noone gets displaced for nothing, some of them are witches so who would want to live with them? Some of them are anti government. I do not care about them.)

The village head's sentiments revealed a very high degree of ignorance, which is common to most of the village people and this also revealed a gap in the implementation process of the EAP. Communities need to be educated deeply about displaced persons, returnees, integration as well as social healing.

Lack of infrastructure is another issue which is affecting education for IDPs in Chipinge district. The children have been placed in existing schools and these schools have been capacitated by renovating buildings, buying furniture and books. However, the schools are now overcrowded and teacher-pupil ratio has gone up to 1: 65 which is not healthy as the normal ratio should be 1: 30 in order for there to be meaningful learning. Headmaster at one of the schools expressed a great desire to accommodate these incoming students, he stressed the need for the assisting agencies to ensure adequate facilities like classrooms as some of the classes were learning outdoors. He expressed concern that the children and teachers learning outdoors were at the mercy of weather elements and this was not an ideal situation. He however confirmed that it was ministry policy not to turn away students from school due to unavailability of classrooms. He stated that the government was supportive by deploying more qualified teachers to the school though there existed a problem of accommodation, and the NRC have plans to build another block of classrooms at the school which should go a long way in attenuating the problem.

Economic responsibilities/ Livelihoods

The research also revealed that IDP children often miss school because their labour is needed at home or to generate household income. The researchers discovered that Post-primary dropout rates are particularly high for IDP girls burdened by domestic, childcare and/or agricultural responsibilities. A record 70% of post primary school dropouts are girls mainly due to traditional belief that a girl child's education is not important and thus they have to leave school to earn money for the education of male siblings.

The study also discovered that family poverty drives many IDP girls out of school and into early marriage, prostitution and trafficking. In addition, the Global Survey on Education in Emergencies has found that under-funding of educational services is particularly acute for IDPs and that their education suffers from the lack of a systematic international response to internal displacement. Cohen (2010) posits that overcoming these barriers is essential not

only for IDP children's development but going to school would also provides a degree of stability and normalcy for children whose lives have been traumatised by displacement. However, this is not possible as over 65% of these children are not in school.

In the EAP, NRC has assisted displaced families in the livelihoods sector in an attempt to ensure food security in the households by establishing nutritional gardens run by these families. The officer for livelihoods explained that these gardens had improved quantity and variety of food consumed which contributed to overall good health which led to high school attendance and improved performance. However, the researchers discovered that this was true for families involved in garden projects only as those involved in conditional cash transfers only improved for the period the programme was running. From the focus group discussions, it was revealed that the programme lacked sustainability and the funds provided were insufficient to enable beneficiaries to plan ahead and they faced difficulties in maintaining food consumption when payments ended and children had to drop out of school. At the time of research, the livestock programme, particularly the goat component, had not yet yielded nutritional or income benefits. The one year period set for the project, particularly the goat component, terminated before yielding results or before a cycle could be completed. Some of the projects lacked sustainability and were dropped as soon as support was terminated, for example, the poultry layer project as the families would not be able to access inputs.

The research also revealed that the livelihood projects carried out in groups also suffered from some dysfunctional members, for example one conditional cash beneficiary disappeared after receiving money and left his group mates in a lurch, others reported that some were uncooperative and unwilling to help others based on tribal differences, hence the need for some to drop out of school in order to fill the gap or else their project suffered. Some conservation farming beneficiaries allegedly emigrated to South Africa during the period between registration and disbursements and therefore disadvantaged their groups. However, in the families that were doing well in livelihoods, there was a significant improvement in family relationships due to less worry about food in the household, increased affordability of school fees, joy from possession of livestock, increased income and living standards, better health, and access to clean water and improved status in the community due to owning of property. Children coming from such households were happier and well adjusted in school and performed better but this was only 35% of the families, hence the remaining 65% had one problem or another besetting them economically, as explained in Chinyoka () that poverty has adverse effects on children's academic performance.

Lack of protection

There were concerns about the safety of children attending schools in unfamiliar settings raised by the participants. This seemed to particularly apply to girls as most teachers are men and parents feared sexual exploitation by male teachers as pupils were from other areas out of Chipinge District. Going to school for some of the primary school students entailed travelling long distances where anything could happen to them on the way. Threats of sexual violence *en route* to school kept many IDP girls at home and IOM in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Welfare, facilitated protection awareness sessions in the district in order to sensitize people to protection issues. The awareness sessions resulted in the development of Community Protection work plans on how to address the protection concerns using local resources. In addition, IOM hosted 8 social and sports tournaments in 8 wards to foster tolerance and forgiveness as part of the reconciliation initiatives. IOM through ZCDT also facilitated a workshop on psychosocial support and Trauma Healing for 43 participants.

Some of the students at the YEP centre felt they were not safe as they felt they were far from home and people did not understand their culture, looked down upon them as they practised their culture and were insulted by other students and the tutors did not do anything about it as they also did not understand it as one student said,

I have the spirit of my grandmother within me and I should not be stressed. When I get stressed I fall ill and have to take snuff and speak into a mud pot which I keep in my wardrobe. One day another student accused me of stealing her cell phone and I was so hurt that I fell into a deep sleep and only came to when my friend put snuff on me and pleaded with my grandmother by speaking into the mud pot and the other students as well as tutors ran away and later they tried to make me leave the school because they did not understand my background. I thought the tutors were going to protect me from the others but they were also afraid of me.

Pupils also said that whenever something goes wrong at the school, the other students gang up on them in accusation. The teachers were also reported to believe them more than any of the displaced pupils and this shows that they do not protect them. Another student said that there were always physical fights between the displaced children and the old ones and because they are always outnumbered, they are always beaten. The teachers turn a blind eye and one student said,

Ah maticha aya akaoma. Madam vakati ava vana vakabva kumwe vanonetsa, vanogara vachitanga nyaya and vanoba stereki. Regai vamborohwa, hatimbozvipindiri. (These teachers are bad, one teacher said that these displaced children are a problem. They always start problems and they steal a lot. Let the others beat them up, I wont get involved at all.)

The students also stated that the police in the area, especially the neighbourhood watch, have a negative attitude towards displaced persons. Instead of giving them a protective arm, they are suspicious of them. One of the policemen said,

Ah, ava vanhu havaite. Mungati henyu tivatambire zvakanaka naka asi vanonetsa. Vano nyepera kuva vanhu vakanaka asi takanzwa nyaya dzavo kwavakabva uko hadzidakadzi. Totogara takavatarisa nekuti masystems acho uum, hatisati tanyatsoaona. (These people are bad news. You might teach us to accept them but its very difficult because they pretend to be good. We have heard their stories from where they came from so its best that we watch them closely because we do not understand their moves yet.)

Cultural and Language Differences

75% of the families resettled in Chipinge are not originally from Chipinge though they are from Manicaland. Only 35% are from Chipinge and have blended in easily while the remaining 65% are finding it difficult to accept the culture. The language is predominantly Ndaue with some completely different words from the Manyika and Shangaan some of the families are used to. The Ndaue people are a naturally secretive and closed people who do not easily accept outsiders while the Manyika are open, friendly and communicative and as a result, are finding the Ndaue hostile. The Ndaue are well known for witchcraft and African magic while the Manyika are well known for thinking they are superior to all other people while the shangaan have been labeled inferior, uneducated and rather dull hence raising problems in social cohesion. One of the Shangaan youth said,

It is very difficult for us to carry out our traditions her as the headman does not know them. We wanted to go into the mountains last year in June for circumcision of the younger boys and the headman did not allow us as he said it was unhealthy and the children would miss school as we would be there for three weeks but back home in Mupinga village in Save we would be allowed. The education officers were well aware of this so I don't see what the problem is.

Another Manyika youth said,

These people do not know how to make rain. Back home in Mutasa District we would conduct rain making ceremonies and it would rain, we would never go hungry and that's why our boss' farm was taken but here they will not allow us to conduct a ceremony. They do not trust us at all.

Another said,

These people's traditions are strange and so is the language. One teacher used the word 'kuchingamidza', meaning to greet whilst we use 'kutekesa' so I failed to carry out an instruction at school and was punished for it yet it is not my language.

According to (Donald et al 2010), culture in its broadest sense, is a cultivated behaviour, the totality of person's learned accumulated experience. It is further explained to be a way of life, relating to a people's identity. All the children interviewed stated that they found it difficult to adjust to a new culture while one of the teachers said,

It is not our wish to make the resettled children forget about their culture and neither do we wish to change the existing culture. I am not Ndaue but I have adjusted so that I can live here comfortably. It is my wish that the new children do the same, adjust, accept and respect the new culture while the local children should also be open and welcoming, allowing for the differences. However, it is a difficult battle considering the Ndaue people are predominantly a closed group who do not easily open up to new people. My battle was long and hard but they have finally accepted me and we're all happy.

Another teacher said,

I believe culture to be the act of developing the intellectual and moral faculties especially by education, expert care and training therefore, I think that we can teach tolerance, acceptance, accommodation in the school which should then translate to the community, no matter how difficult it may be.

The headmen, however, were less accommodating. They did not preach tolerance of the new culture but emphasized that the local culture be observed, respected and upheld. They stated that they did not tolerate a dilution of their own culture and neither did they accept any of the practices brought in by the resettled people. One headman said,

Hatirambi kugariasanana nga anhu aya asi ngaashire zviro zvemuno, hatidi kunetsana ba ngemunhu anoya oda kuti isu tiite zvake. Isu tinoika munhu musoro uri kumabvazuva, ndizvozvo. Awa akuuya oda kuisa musprp wemunhu muguva kumadokero, hazi ndozvatoziya, iya, isu tiri munyika yedu peya. (We re not refusing to stay with them but these people must acceptour ways, we don't want people who come here and impose their ways on us, we bury the dead with the head in the west but they want to place their dead with the head in the East and they claim that is what they know buty we re in our land so they cannot do want they want.)

The resettlement officers stated that they had carried out workshops on cultural acceptance in the wards, partnered the local with the resettled families income generating projects in an attempt to foster relationships and this has helped to a certain extent though frictions between the participants along cultural lines were reported. It is unfortunate that the programme does not have a psychologist or a social worker to assist with counseling services.

It is difficult for us to accept these students because they are coming from very different backgrounds, they have lost so much, been traumatised and all so much that we do not know how to deal with them. It is not that we hate them but we don't know how to handle them because of their experiences. The psychology we have does not cater for their needs so there is need

Discrimination/ Ostracism

Previous research has shown that IDPs suffer discrimination as a result of their ethnicity or even the mere fact of being an IDP. In this study, the researchers discovered that some of the children had been turned away even before entering classrooms mainly because they are not from the area. One of the students said,

When I first went to school, all the IDP children were turned away for various reasons. Some were told they did not have documentation while some of us were just told that there was no place for us. Others were turned away for not having school uniform or fees. It took the Education DA to come and address the teachers as well as the other students.

The Education DA for chipinge stated that it was ministerial policy that children pay school fees before attending lessons and that they should have full school uniform. She also decried the fact that IDP children do not have policies in place for them but stated that it remained with the school to be compassionate as these are humanitarian grounds. Much as it may disrupt the school tone, the child is more important than any policy and has a right to be in school whether that have complete uniform or not and it is not their responsibility to pay school fees but their parents, hence it is a criminal offence to send them away from school for school fees. One of the school heads said,

We are very much aware of the fact that we are not allowed to chase children away for non payment of fees and not having uniform but how is the school supposed to function without money? Honestly we are in a difficult situation as some pupils are on BEAM(Basic Education Assistance Module) and we don't know when BEAM pays up. So if we allow everyone else to come to school without paying or make allowances for IDP children, how will we be able to run the school? It's a difficult position and the District Office should understand our dilemma.

On this issue, one of the school head said,

One of the teachers said,

Ini hangu handidi nezvavo vana ava nekuti vamwe vavo vabeberki vavo vakadzvingwa kwavaiva nehuroyi vouya pano vonyepa kuti taiva papurazi, ah, zvinonetsa kuvagashira. Ap varikuuya vakatengerwa uniform, mabhuku nemabag nedoneor asi vamwe vatitavo Havana kana chiro chazokosha paava chii? Kuti vaida kuti tiva ashire ngaatengere veshe zviro zvo kuti ava vasaona sekuti vasaririra.

It was clear that even the teachers have negative attitudes toward IDP children yet they have the role of teaching the community about acceptance and solidarity.

The youth reported that one of the boys was told by his teacher, "Ava vana ava vakapusa, ah, regai vadzingwe kwavaigara" (These children are dull, no wonder why they were displaced). The researchers discovered that bullying, taunts, insults and physical assaults are frequent occurrences for IDP children in their new communities. This phenomenon spills over into the schools, where teachers and pupils were reported to beat and insult the other children. Those who were able to attend school reported problems once they arrived, although education is often presented as a form of protection for IDP children, it is important to note that schools are not always safe spaces for children, as evidenced in the cases cited above. Discrimination, stigmatization and sometimes criminalization, are rampant, because of their displacement.

Relationships in the community were tense because of jealousies of the IDP families benefiting from various livelihoods projects. Their standard of living became better than the hosts, reducing begging and at times them being able to help out those in need as well as at funerals with the hope of integration and increasing acceptance but to no avail and instead, increasing hostilities.

Beneficiaries stated that NRC exercised a form of "discrimination" as there were reports that some deserving people did not attend meetings for selection due to old age, illness, disability or not being aware of the meeting at all. Some chronically ill patients (HIV; they had no cards) were reported not to have come for fear of victimization and some physically disabled persons did not receive any assistance. In some cases, ID requirements excluded people from the beneficiary list. So serious is the

jealousy that in one ward, too many host community were included in the beneficiary list to the detriment of target groups of IDPs and this was due to failure by NRC staff to verify beneficiary lists generated by community processes. Hatred was evident in tensions rising and resentment over sharing of borehole water, pigs getting into other people's fields, delays/perceived failures to act in good faith in the passing on of goats in the goat projects leading to a collapse of the income generating projects.

However, a significant percentage viewed IDPs as bringing positive benefits to the community as new boreholes were drilled; additional classrooms were built to ease the pressure of crowding, livestock, livelihood projects and community grants benefitted more than the IDP families as well.

RECCOMENDATIONS

Based on the findings made, this study recommended the following:

- ❖ Systematically ensuring provisional educational services, such as 'school in a box' kits
- ❖ Issuing IDPs with temporary documentation so they can register for school
- ❖ Ensuring IDPs have access to education in a language they understand
- ❖ Encouraging school enrolment through feeding programmes and other incentives
- ❖ Taking special measures, including the provision of clothing and sanitary materials, and the hiring of female teachers, to support the participation of displaced girls
- ❖ Providing alternative schooling or skills training programmes for IDP children and adolescents whose household or economic obligations impede school attendance.
- ❖ There is need for awareness, education and advocacy and also a trained social worker in each ward to provide psycho social support.

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