ABSTRACT

‘Land, Displacement and Coping Strategies’: A Social History of the Marange People,

Eastern Zimbabwe, 1960s-2015

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This thesis explores the social history of the Marange people of eastern Zimbabwe from the 1960s to 2015. It uses historical episodes like the recurring droughts, the 1970s war of independence, the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe,’ that has been traced from the late - 1990s, and the diamond mining story to demonstrate how the inhabitants interacted with their environment. It argues that the relocation project that began in 2010 had a severely disruptive impact on the families relocated to the relocation area - ARDA Transau - making the case that the Marange relocation project was a ‘development disaster.’ While the provision of accommodation had a notable positive impact on the majority of the displaced households, family needs were not always met. For instance, large families such as those of the dominant polygamous followers of the African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange were not provided with adequate housing. Also, the livelihoods of the displaced households were shattered by the relocation exercise. In their efforts to creatively adapt to these new constraints, the displacees had diverse coping strategies like selling firewood, illegally extending space for crop cultivation, artisanal mining, vending and begging for food to eke out a living.

Keywords: Marange, Land, Diamonds, Displacement, Development, Livelihoods, Coping strategies, ‘Crisis in Zimbabwe’, African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange.
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and

all the displaced families from Chiadzwa and Mukwada wards of Marange district who sacrificed their homes, cultural sites, cultural identity and above all, their land for the sake of the ‘diamond ring and necklace’ they will never wear.
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ACRONYMS

AACJM  African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange
AREX  Agricultural Research and Extension
ARDT  ARDA Transau Relocation Development Trust
CCDT  Chiadzwa Community Development Trust
DA  District Administrator
DFDR  Development –Forced Displacement and Resettlement
DMC  Diamond Mining Corporation
MRDC  Mutare Rural District Council
MIDR  Mining Induced Displacement and Resettlement
RENAMO  Mozambique National Resistance
ZANLA  Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU (PF)  Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZELA  Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association
ZINWA  Zimbabwe National Water Authority
ZMDC  Zimbabwe Mineral Development Corporation
ZMDC  Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation
ZIMVAC  Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Throughout the world, many rural and urban populations have been forcibly displaced from their homes due to diverse reasons. Among several others, the causes of involuntary population movements include urban renewal, government sponsored programs, natural resource extraction, railway and road construction, wars, violence, famines, floods, and other life-threatening situations. The majority of development-related programs that forced people to move from their homelands did not leave the moved communities better off than before. Several studies that focus on DFDR illustrate that, under the name of development, the moved population usually face challenges like poor, or even no compensation, stress and trauma, grief for lost homes, lack of social amenities, loss of income-generating projects to sustain their lives, as well as deprivation of many things fundamental to their lives-including livelihoods, cultural heritage, social networks, productive assets, and a sense of local belonging. Discussing the socio-cultural and economic impacts of mining-induced displacement and resettlement, Theodore Downing observed:

MIDR is accompanied by what displacement specialists call the resettlement effect, defined as the loss of physical and non-physical assets, including homes, communities, productive land, income-generating assets and sources, subsistence, resources, cultural sites, social structures, networks and ties, cultural identity and mutual help mechanisms. The effect introduces well-documented risks over and above the loss of land... Investigations into displacement have found nine other potential risks that deeply threaten sustainability; these include joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, loss of common lands and resources, increased health risks, social disarticulation, the disruption of formal educational activities, and the loss of civil and human rights...¹

This thesis is thus one in the long tradition of examining the effects of displacement on a community moved by a mining-related development project. Focusing on the diamond mining-induced displacement of the Marange villagers of eastern Zimbabwe that began in 2010, it seeks to examine the constraints and opportunities encountered by the displaced families and the coping strategies they developed to manage their vulnerabilities in the face of a heavy-handed state.

This thesis builds on my earlier research on the impact of diamond mining on schools conducted in the Marange community in Zimbabwe’s Manicaland Province. While conducting my fieldwork in 2012-2013, I learnt that although some informants interviewed appreciated relocation based on the fact that educational activities were saved from disruptions synonymous with diamond mining in Bocha, the majority of the informants suggested the relocation program had varied disruptive socio-economic, cultural and political impacts upon their lives. Fascinating as this was, I did not pursue the issue further as this was not within the ambit of my initial study. My interest in this topic was later aroused when I came across many newspaper articles (on Marange) with eye catching headlines such as: “Displaced Marange villagers threaten to return to their original home”; “Ex-Marange villagers wallow in poverty”; “Relocated Chiadzwa families remain disgruntled”; “Displaced villagers to demand full compensation”; “Displaced Marange villagers in quandary”; “Chiadzwa: The agony of displacement”; “ARDA Transau

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3 Marange is also known as Bocha, a name derived from the underground honey which is found in abundance in the area. This name will be used interchangeably with Marange throughout the study.  
4 Two schools (Chirasika and Rombe) at the heart of the diamond fields were demolished in 2011 and re-constructed at the relocation area.  
5 Staff reporter, “Displaced Marange villagers threaten to return to their original home”, The Zimbabwean, 12 June 2013.  
7 Ray Bande, “Relocated Chiadzwa families remain disgruntled” The Manica Post, 7-13 January 2011.  
relocation: A tale of unfulfilled promises” \textsuperscript{11} and many others.\textsuperscript{12} These and many other articles increased my interest in pursuing the paradox: why, would the relocated families threaten to go back to their ‘barren’ and drought-prone land despite the fact that the government had relocated them to a seemingly agriculturally rich settlement? This paradox forms the backbone of the arguments to be raised in this dissertation.

The central argument of this thesis is that the Marange relocation project was a ‘development disaster’: the wealth derived from the extraction of diamonds has not trickled down to the displaced households in a meaningful way despite the fact that they were the ones who have had to bear the brunt of the devastating impacts of mining operations. The study makes an intervention in the debates over landscape, agriculture, mineral-related conflict, development, social trauma and displacement. It also examines how African communities assign value and meaning to land as a territory and as a cultural, economic and political resource.\textsuperscript{13} It explores the impact of displacement not only on those villagers who were moved to the relocation area but also on those who remained behind in Marange. Also, it analysis the social relationships that developed between the ‘new comers’ and the host - Zimunya community.

The thesis is divided into four chapters where the concept of landscape along with James Scott’s concept of hidden and public transcripts are deployed at different points, where they seem appropriate. In chapter one the main concern is laying out the aim of the research, theoretical frameworks that underpin the whole thesis, definition of terms, and methodological overview. The chapter also contains a section with detailed literature review on DFDR starting with the

\textsuperscript{12} Other newspaper articles that focused on displacement of the Marange villagers include: Obey Manayiti, “Zinwa cuts water supply to Transau villagers”, \textit{The Standard}, 23 February 2014, Staff reporter, “Chiadzwa relocation hits land Snag”, \textit{The Financial Gazette}, 11 June 2013.
pioneering works of anthropologists up to the present works from disciplines like history, geography, International Development Studies and human rights - based organizations. Lastly, the chapter provides a brief geographical introduction to Marange and the historical context of the research. Chapter two provides background information which will make the subsequent chapters intelligible. It provides an overview of the peopling of Marange and examines the creative livelihood strategies developed by the inhabitants of this community prior to the relocation exercise. The pivotal chapter of this thesis is chapter three. It is devoted to the constraints and opportunities encountered by the displaced households at the new settlement. The main focus is on the questions concerning the mechanics of the relocation exercise and whether the project benefited the displaced households in a sustainable manner. Chapter four deals with the responses of the displaced families in coping with the challenges faced at the relocation area. At the centre of this chapter are the heterogeneous coping strategies developed by the displacees to survive their dispossession and displacement. The chapter also contains a section on conclusions of the whole study.

**Theoretical Overview**

This study is informed by the concept of landscape\textsuperscript{14} together with the subaltern theories: James Scott’s concept of “*hidden and public transcripts*.”\textsuperscript{15} In a bid to develop a nuanced understanding of how land was central, in particular, to the rural population in Zimbabwe and the interplay that


\textsuperscript{15} J. Scott, *Domination and the art of resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2010
existed between the Marange inhabitants and their environment prior to displacement, this thesis uses the concept of landscape. It borrows Cohen and Odhiambo’s definition of landscape as, “encompassing the physical land, the people on it, and the culture through which people work out the possibilities of the land.”16 This theoretical framework is useful in providing a better understanding of the multidimensional ways in which the Marange villagers were attached to their land: how they assigned value and meaning to land as both a territory and a spiritual space.17 The use of this concept is crucial in demonstrating how, since the 1960s, the villagers exuded diverse indigenous knowledge; harnessing immediate natural resources from the environment to shape their livelihoods; shrewd coping mechanisms to avert starvation during the periodic droughts and the political and economic crisis that has been traced from the late -1990s.18 Such a focus provides an enriched understanding of why the Marange villagers claimed to be the ‘rightful owners’ of the diamond resources, as well as why they complained about being excluded from their ancestral land by the post - colonial government.

Scott’s, Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts illuminates the relationship between the holders of power and those under domination.19 Considering the fact that a relocation exercise “is fundamentally a political phenomenon, involving the use of power by one party[dominant] to relocate another [the subordinate groups ]”20 a history of the Marange relocation story is better understood through the use of Scott’s concept of hidden and public transcripts. This concept is useful in analysing the contestations over diamond resources and land

between the Marange villagers on the one hand and the government along with the diamond firms on the other. It also provides a nuanced understanding of the mediums used by the displaced families in engaging the government and negotiating for space, social belonging and power at the relocation area.

Although the major weakness of Scott’s concept of hidden and public transcripts is that it reduces every action done by those under domination in their everyday life to be an act of resistance or defiance, this study still largely benefits from it in addressing the collision over natural resources that took place between the Marange villagers and those who wielded the power of the relocation exercise. However, while Scott opines that “every subordinate group, creates, out of its ordeal, a hidden transcript that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant.” This thesis acknowledges that the displaced families created a ‘counter transcript’ in responding to the actions and speech that was openly stated to them by the government (public transcript) in the so – called “development” effort. However, it suggests that the ‘counter transcript’ was not necessarily ‘hidden’: The removees shared their criticism against forced relocation with newspaper reporters, civil society organisations, and NGOs rights-based community trusts that campaigned against rights abuses. Examples of such trusts were the Chiadzwa Community Development Trust (CCDT) and ARDA Transau Relocation.

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24 The Chiadzwa Community Development Trust is at the center of Chiponda and Saunders’ chapter on the development of community resistance to mechanised mining. See M. Chiponda and R. Saunders, “Holding Ground:
Development Trust (ARDT)\textsuperscript{25} The displaced families also participated in civil gatherings such as the 2014 ‘Operation Hakudzokwi’ commemoration held to remember scores of diamond diggers and local villagers who were killed by the state security agents in 2008 during a joint military and police ‘clean - up’ exercise dubbed ‘Operation Hakudzokwi’ translated (You Will Not Return).\textsuperscript{26} The displacees used the aforementioned mediums to engage the government instead of facing it directly or carrying out an open demonstration because they were afraid of it. The majority, if not all, were traumatized by the gross human rights abuses carried out by the state security agents they witnessed in Marange.\textsuperscript{27}


\textsuperscript{27} During a ‘clean-up’ exercise that was targeted to get rid of all the diamond panners at the diamond fields (‘Operation Hakudzokwi’) more than two hundred people-including the local villagers were killed by the police and military. See for example Human Rights Watch, ‘Diamonds in the Rough: Human Rights Abuses in the Marange Diamonds Fields of Zimbabwe,’ Hew York: Human Rights Watch, Report, (2009); M. Chiponda and R. Saunders, “Holding Ground: Community, Companies and Resistance in Chiadzwa” in R. Saunders and T. Nyamunda(eds) \textit{Facets of Power: Politics, Profits and People in the Making of Zimbabwe’s Blood Diamonds}, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2016) pp. 176 and 180.
Definition of terms

**Displacement:** refers to a phenomenon where people are involuntarily transferred from their home to another settlement and the exercise is not followed by a clear plan to support their daily lives. The term also means a change in position.\(^{28}\)

**Resettlement:** is a planned process where provisions or mechanism to support the moved population is provided. In most cases, evaluators usually assess the value of the assets of the people expected to move and they are recompensed for what they leave behind.\(^{29}\)

**Development:** The term has been used to mean various things at diverse times, and in a different context, by various people in diverse organizations and professions. Although there is no general agreement over the definition of the term ‘development’, it is inextricably tied to the idea of progress and growth. In this dissertation I am using it to mean any ‘positive/good change’ which is intertwined with the idea of progress and growth: promoting economic growth, poverty reduction, sustainable livelihood aspects, social justice, human rights, and environmental protection.\(^{30}\)

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Development – forced displacement and resettlement: refers to a permanent situation in which people are “pushed” to move from their homes rather than “pulled”, following development-related projects.31

Affected Peoples (APS): refers to the groups of people or individuals left vulnerable following the initiation of the project. They may lose part or all of their tangible and intangible assets, including communities, homes, productive lands, livelihood sources, burial plots, cultural sites and cultural and social networks. “Host communities” may also be incorporated in this group. 32

Literature Review

Since the Second World War, there has been a growing body of literature from different fields on the subject of development – forced displacement and resettlement. Among these disciplines, social anthropology has played a leading role.33 The studies by social anthropologists stressed social impacts of displacement. Around the 1960s, scholars from the field of sociology began engaging debates on DFDR in the context of urban renewal or slum clearance projects. These scholars, who were dominant in North America did not shift their research from focusing on social

effects of displacement emphasised by social anthropologists. Sociologists stressed the sense of grief and mourning for lost homes felt by uprooted communities. Following a notable increase in development-related projects around the late-1970s to the 1980s, the literature on displacement and resettlement also expanded. For the first time, the term DFDR appeared in the literature that focuses on displacement and resettlement. At roughly the same time, there was an increasing consciousness of the fact that the majority of the people uprooted from their homelands in the name of ‘national development’ projects became worse-off at the new settlement. This realization influenced the international anti-dam movement that began since the mid-1980s. Around the 1990s and 2000s, researchers from disciplines like history, tourism, agriculture, geography, International Development Studies and human rights-based organizations began engaging debates on DFDR and pushed the boundaries of the subject. These researchers brought different dimensions and perspectives based on the concepts of livelihoods, human rights, social justice, human security, development and various others. In light of the above, I will divide the works to be reviewed into two segments. The first section: the field of social anthropology and sociologists. The second section represents works from historians and other disciplines.

**Social Anthropologists and Sociologists.**

Studies on displacement and resettlement began soon after the Second World War. Social anthropologists were the first to engage debates and literature on this subject. The main goal of the research was to resolve the social consequences of the victims of World War II, particularly the

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welfare of the massive numbers of refugees and other people who were displaced by the war.\textsuperscript{36} Oliver-Smith notes that Alexander Leighton’s study published in 1945; \textit{The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experiences at a Japanese Refugee Camp} is credited with being the pioneering document on research on displacement and resettlement.\textsuperscript{37} Focusing on a colonial developmental project, beginning from the mid-1950s, anthropologists Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder carried out extensive research in colonial Zambia and Zimbabwe on the impacts of the Kariba resettlement\textsuperscript{38} where, 57,000 Gwembe Tonga people who occupied the Zambezi Valley were displaced to pave the way for the construction of the Kariba Dam.\textsuperscript{39}

In her monograph: \textit{The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga}, Colson analyses the tangible and non-tangible material impacts of resettlement and argues that the decision by the Central African Federation (which comprised the now independent states of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi) of building a dam on the Zambezi, at Kariba Gorge emphasized economic benefits and did not consider the social costs of displacement upon the Gwembe Tonga people.\textsuperscript{40} The study was the first of its kind to examine the social effects of a mega development-related project upon the local community. Writing in 2005 on the same subject, Scudder argued that after resettlement, food challenges and inadequate

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36} A. Oliver-Smith(ed), \textit{Development and Dispossession: The Crisis of Forced Displacement and Resettlement}, (2009) p.6
\item \textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{38} The literature on the impacts of Kariba resettlement is immense. Though not writing from an anthropological or sociological perspective, Mashingaidze and Marowa’s PhD theses focus on this subject. See T. M. Mashingaidze, “Living and Struggling on the Margins”: A Post-Relocation History of the Zimbabwean Tonga’s Livelihoods in Binga District, 1950s-2009 (PhD Thesis, The University of Minnesota, 2012); I. Marowa, ‘Environment and Social Memories: Responses to Involuntary Resettlement in North-Western Zimbabwe, c.1960-2000.’ (PhD Thesis University of Bayreuth 2014)
\item \textsuperscript{39} T. Scudder and E. Colson, “Long-term research in Gwembe Valley, Zambia” in G.M. Foster et al (eds) \textit{Long-Term Field Research in Social Anthropology}, (1979)
\item \textsuperscript{40} E. Colson, \textit{The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga}, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971)
\end{itemize}
water supply became a critical problem to the displaced Gwembe Tonga. He observed that “inadequate food and water supplies were a serious problem immediately after removal, and remain a serious problem for tens of thousands of first, second and third generation resettlers today…”

More than any other studies, Colson and Scudder’s research on the social impact of displacement laid a strong foundation of the debates on the subject of DFDR.

Around the 1970s, responding to the challenges of populations displaced by development-related projects as well as diverse life threatening issues, Scudder and Colson formulated a theory on psychological, coping strategies as well as socio-cultural adjustment mechanisms adopted by the displacees. They proposed a four stages model, usually referred to as the Scudder (Scudder/Colson) stress model. The premise of the model is that, “rural communities undergoing compulsory resettlement respond in the same general fashion irrespective of their socio-cultural background and of the policy of resettlement authorities”.

Although development-forced displacement occurs the world over, two densely populated Asian countries, particularly, India and China are responsible for the bulk of such displacements. The mega displacements were in the context of post-colonial development-related projects. In India alone, mining displaced 2.55 million people between 1950 and 1990, while the construction of dams displaced between 21 and 41 million people during the same period. The Chinese

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National Research Center for Resettlement observes that, following development-related projects carried out between 1952 and 2000 in China, more than 45 million people have been displaced, about half of this number being subjected to urban development. According to Scudder, the reason behind the massive displacement associated with development-related projects in China is explained by the fact that nearly half of approximately 50,000 dams in the whole world, are in China. Scudder and Colson’s research on DFDR influenced a lot of post-colonial scholars in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to focus and expand on the social consequences and injustices of development-related displacements upon local communities.

Anthropologist Moore, writing in the 2000s, discussed how Chief Rekai Tangwena of eastern Zimbabwe and his people challenged the legality of colonial evictions in the 1960s. Moore argued that the colonial displacement had detrimental effects on the livelihoods of the poor Kaerezian farmers. He noted that the Rhodesian Front authorities on several occasions since 1964, tried to forcibly move Chief Rekayi Tangwena and his people from Kaerezi Ranch in eastern Zimbabwe. The Rhodesian government gave the Tangwena people an eviction order in 1965 but Chief Rekayi Tangwena questioned the legitimacy of the eviction in the law courts and physically resisted to be moved: “I will not be moved” argued Chief Rekayi Tangwena in 1969 “This is our home and I shall die here. They can kill me if they like.” Moore further noted that forced removals in the Kaerezi Ranch continued under President Robert Mugabe’s independent government in the

48 Writing in the same period, Amanda Hammar made an important contribution on DFDR studies in post-colonial Zimbabwe. She discusses numerous categories of displacements, for example urban removals under what was dubbed Operation Murambatsvina ‘drive the filth’ and farm invasions in post-2000 Zimbabwe, she emphasized that displacement stripped off the removees’ livelihoods and social networks. See A. Hammar, “Reflections on Displacement in Zimbabwe” Concerned African Scholars, Bulletin No.80. Issue II (2008)
context of a compulsory villagization program. And, as in the colonial era, the Kaerezians resisted being moved. Moore pointed out the threat and erosion of livelihoods as one of the chief reasons why the Kaerezians resented and fought against displacement throughout the colonial and post-colonial era.

In the same context of compulsory villagization program, but in Tanzania, anthropologist Scott analysed the impacts of the largest development – related involuntary resettlement project that took place in independent Africa up to 1976: The forced relocation of more than 5 million of Tanzania’s rural population by the government in *ujamaa* villages from 1973 to 1976. Scott argued that the *ujamaa* villages whose purpose was of “creation of a more productive, modern agriculture; and the encouragement of communal, socialist forms of cooperation”\(^50\) were a fiasco largely because of two reasons. Firstly, the designers of the resettlement scheme disregarded the local knowledge, and customs of the indigenous pastoralists and cultivators. The second reason was that the planers of the project used a ‘standardised approach.’ The government assumed that all the resettled peasants desired the same farming techniques, crop mix and yields. Yet, the families were heterogeneous - with different sizes, different resources and goals.\(^51\)

Studies discussing urban renewal or slam clearance - induced displacement are largely sociological in their approach. These studies which became dominant in Canada and the United States in the 1960s did not move forward from the earlier emphasis on social impacts of displacement stressed by social anthropologists. In Canada, the 1950s and 60s witnessed urban renewal programs that ushered in a new face on the urban landscape.\(^52\) The immediate result of

\(^{51}\) Ibid, pp. 223-262.
these projects was involuntary displacement of several communities in the provinces where such projects were implemented. Examples can be drawn from the provinces of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia where a number of urban renewal programs were carried out.  

Clairmont, Clairmont and Magill’s studies discuss the displacement of a Canadian Black community, Africville, in the province of Nova Scotia, which was razed following the City of Halifax’s urban renewal program in the 1960s. In their study, Clairmont and Magill show how, the development of railway systems in Nova Scotia during the colonial era (mid - 1850s) led to the first of a series of displacements to which the blacks were subjected. They noted that between 1855, when the Bedford Basin railway track, which passed through Africville was constructed, and 1912, when two additional railway tracks which passed through the same community were constructed, Africville’s land was expropriated and some buildings demolished - displacing the inhabitants of the community. The study goes on to show how, in the 1960s, the city authorities manipulated the urban renewal redevelopment program and demolished Africville community arguing that it was a “slum by the dump” which undoubtedly needed social change. Clairmont and Magill argued that although the Africville relocation was ‘clothed’ in the garb of liberal welfare relocation model that had an underlying ideology of benefiting the Africville inhabitants primarily, and directly, the removees did not benefit from such developments in a sustainable manner.

In the United States, Gans and Ryan’s studies discuss how, in 1958 -1960 houses were destroyed in Boston as part of the city’s program of slum clearance and urban renewal, while

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53 See N. Iverson and D.R. Matthews, Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland, (Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland,1968); D. Clairmont and D.W.Magill, Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1999)
54 D. Clairmont, “Moving People: Relocation and urban Renewal” (1992)
57 E.J. Ryan, “Personal Identity in an Urban Slum” (1963)
Bristol explores the urban renewal program in the city of St Louis, Missouri that led to the demolition of Pruitt-Igoe in 1972. These studies note that that the United States Housing Act of 1949 provided finance for slum clearance programs connected with urban renewal projects, leading to the displacement of tens of thousands of families in American cities. The literature emphasizes the sense of grief and loss of homes felt by the displaced families after their homes were razed by city authorities.

Dispossession and forced removals are key themes running throughout South African history. In this country, research on displacement and resettlement has primarily focused on apartheid-related forced removals. Racially-related removals in South Africa can be traced back to 1652 when Jan Van Riebeek displaced the local Khoi from their lands to establish a base for the Dutch East India Company at the Cape. Forced removals continued throughout the period of colonial conquest up to the apartheid era. Worth noting is a study by sociologist Walker and Platzky; *The Surplus people: Forced Removals in South Africa* which examines how the apartheid government’s policy of forced removals of black people fit into the whole apartheid system. The study focuses on the period 1960 to 1983 and argues that massive forced removals and exclusion lay at the heart of apartheid. Platzky and Walker estimate that apartheid led to the displacement of three and a half million people between 1960 and 1983. The successive white government forcibly moved black people from the so-called white areas into separate overcrowded areas called Bantustans. The study notes that some of the major effects of displacement encountered by the

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61 The Bantustans were separate ‘countries’ where Africans were dumped by the apartheid regime. These were, Gazankulu(Shangana/Tsonga), KaNgwane(Swazi), Bophuthatswana(Tswana), KwaZulu(Zulu), Qwaqwa (South Sotho), Transkei(Xhosa), Ciskei(Xhosa), Venda(Venda), Lebowa(North Sotho) and KwaNdebele(Ndebele). It was in
relocated people at their new settlements included but were not limited to loss of land, food insecurity, poor housing conditions, unavailability of employment opportunities and sheer absence of money.62

Though not arguing from a sociological perspective, Trotter63 and Smith’s64 studies are worth mentioning. The studies contribute significantly to the racially - related removals in apartheid South Africa. Trotter’s study explores the impact of Group Areas Act on the Coloured communities in Cape Town between 1957 and 1985, and illustrates how, the Act led to the displacement of over 150, 000 coloureds from their natal homes in Cape Town.65 Smith discusses the impact of the Group Areas Act on the Africans during the apartheid era. He notes that many African settlements were proclaimed White under the Group Areas Act leading to the evictions of the people who resided in such places. Smith notes that the first large - scale removals associated with the Group Areas Act include the eviction of over 60, 000 people who lived in Sofiatown, on the edge of Johannesburg, as well as over 60, 000 who resided in District 6, near Cape Town. According to Smith, after Sofiatown and District 6 were proclaimed White under the Group Areas Act, the apartheid government forcibly moved tens of thousands of Africans to South Western Townships (Soweto), while the Coloured population from District 6 was relocated in the Cape Flats.66

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Historians and works from other disciplines

As noted earlier, the field of history was not the pioneering discipline on DFDR studies. Historians, like scholars from other fields such as geography, environmental studies, religious and moral studies, International Development Studies, tourism as well as human rights - based activists began engaging debates on DFDR on a large - scale after the 1990s. The 1990s were a turning point in relation to the literature and debates on DFDR. After the 1990s, Scholars from the aforementioned fields began engaging literature and debates on DFDR from different perspectives and expanded the frontiers of the subject. The shifting and evolution of the term ‘development’ in the last quarter of the twentieth century had great influence on DFDR debates. In the 1990s, a new ‘development paradigm’ emerged, one that stressed sustainable livelihood aspects, social justice, human rights, poverty reduction, and environmental protection. Earlier on, around the 1950s and 1960s, the modernization theory informed the dominant view of the definition of development. It perceived development as transforming traditional, Third World societies into modern Westernized and Industrialized ones.

Historian Robin Palmer discussed the impact of colonial - related forced displacement on the indigenous communities in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). His 1977 publication aptly entitled, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia* argues that disposessions and evictions were part of the

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colonial conquest in Southern Rhodesia. The study examines how the colonial government enacted numerous Land Acts that racially divided land and dispossessed the indigenous populations of their land. For example, the 1930 Land Apportionment Act that divided land along racial lines: forcibly moving many Africans into Native Reserves, later Tribal Trust Lands (TTL) with unfertile soils while the settlers occupied the most agriculturally rich areas.70

During the same colonial period, environmental and conservation policies triggered huge population movements worth noting in African countries. These involuntary movements were prominent in East and Southern Africa. The creation of Hwange, Gonarezhou, Serengeti, Kalahari and Kruger National Parks, resulted in massive displacement of the local inhabitants.71 According to historian Shetler, the British colonial conservation policy in colonial Tanzania was connected with displacement of over 50,000 agro-pastoralists - including the Ishenyi, Ikizu, Nata, and Ikoma peoples.72 Mega relocation projects continued throughout the 1960s and 1970s under President Julius Nyerere73 In the same country and within the ambit of environmental and conservation policies, Sirima and Buckman note that the expansion of Ruah National Park in the 2000s resulted in the eviction of the communities from the five villages: Igomelo, Ikoga Mpya, Nyeregete, Muhango, and Luhango in the Usangu Plains. They argue that the extension of the park stripped the livelihoods of the villagers as the land used for pastoral and agricultural activities was

73 For example, the compulsory ujamaa villagization that displaced more than 5 million Tanzanians from 1973 to 1976. See J.C. Scott, Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed (New Haven, Yale University Press1998) pp.223-262.
now under the National Park. Studies on environmental and conservation policies emphasized the aspect of livelihoods that became dominant in DFDR literature beginning in the 1990s.

The ‘Bushman(San) question’ in Botswana sheds some light on the debates on the plight of the indigenous people in relation to state sponsored development-related projects. The creation of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) in the 1960s is associated with the eviction of the indigenous San people (Bushman), pejoratively called Basarwa from their homeland. The ‘Bushman case’ provides a lucid example of a development-related project in which the rights of indigenous communities were marginalized by the government over issues connected with the conservation policy and mineral resources. The CKGR case remains a controversial issue among academics, politicians and Human Rights activists. Among those who have written on this subject include Solway, Saugestad, as well as Sarkin and Cook. After the Bushmen were evicted from their ancestral land between 1997 - 2002, they received help from a British-Based NGO, Survival International. They eventually won their case in the Botswana courts in 2006, and had their land returned. For Solway, the removal of the San from CKGR was a form of ‘affirmative action’; part of a comprehensive strategy designed by the government to improve the lives of the Bushmen by moving them to centralized places with fitted infrastructures like agriculture.

77 S. Saugestad, The Inconvenient Indigenous: remote area development in Botswana, donor assistance, and the first people of the Kalahari. (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute,2001)
extension services, schools, boreholes and roads. Contrary to Solway’s perspective, Sarkin and Cook argue that the eviction of the San from their ancestral land represents an epitome of an indigenous group in Africa that was marginalized due to mineral exploitation. And, this challenges the reputation of Botswana as the ‘miracle of Africa’\textsuperscript{80} as the dislocation had a severely disruptive impact on the social and cultural rights of the San.

Writing in the 2000s, Allen Isaacman, one among the few historians to focus on research associated with DFDR examines the social and economic impacts of displacement on the riverine communities in the Zambezi Valley, Mozambique, when Cahora Bassa Dam was constructed during the late colonial era of the early 1970s. Isaacman observed that the development-related colonial project uprooted over 25,000 people who lived in the riparian of the Zambezi and those who lived on the highland plains at Songo. He noted that displacement eroded the livelihoods of the peasants by making them unable to depend on the fishing-based livelihoods, and incapable of cultivating the fertile soils of the plateau and the flood plains.\textsuperscript{81} In a separate but very much related publication: \textit{Dams, Displacement, and the Delusion of Development: Cahora Bassa and Its legacies in Mozambique, 1964-2007}, Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman observed: “most large state-driven development projects – whether dams or other initiatives that facilitate resource extraction and the export of cheap commodities - have not only failed to alleviate poverty and promote sustainable livelihoods but also often imperilled the lives of the poor”\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{80} Botswana has a reputation for political stability, democracy, sound economic management and good governance. This view is generally accepted and agreed upon by foreign governments and orthodox historians in the academic circles with some calling it the shining beacon of democracy in Africa. For a detailed discussion on Botswana, diamond resources, development, and democracy, see M.G. Mlomo et al, “Botswana” in G. Cawthra, A. Pisani, and A. Omari, \textit{Security and Democracy in Southern Africa}, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2007)


The United States-based environmentalist, Patrick McCully, in his book, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams* discuss how, the emergence of the international anti-dam movement, that began since the mid-1980s, influenced resistance against dam constructions in North and South America, Eastern Europe, and Asia. McCully illustrates how, for example, in India communities that were targeted for resettlement to pave the way for dam construction resisted being moved. Before the anti-dam crusade in the 1980s, McCully cites two cases where local villagers demonstrated against dam construction in India. The first one was in the context of the colonial era when thirty thousand people (local villagers and politicians) marched against the construction of Hirakud Dam in 1946. The second demonstration was held in 1978 when one hundred thousand demonstrators marched to the site of Chandil Dam in the state of Bihar. McCully states that the first significant success for the Indian anti-dam movement was the campaign held by environmental-based activists in the 1980s against Silent Valley Dam in the state of Kerala. According to McCully, the activists alerted the communities that were targeted to move of the potential danger on their livelihoods if they were to be moved. Within displacement and resettlement studies, the discourse on the sustainable livelihoods approach became common in the 1990s. According to Mungure, the sustainable livelihoods approach became popular “to assess development interventions and refine policies within governmental and international aid organizations”.

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86 Ibid, p.70.
the 1990s, researchers focusing on DFDR began utilising this approach for understanding the conditions of the populations dislocated by development-related projects, in particular the impoverished rural communities.

Published in the 2000s, articles from Manyanhaire et al.\textsuperscript{88} and Mutangi and Mutari’s\textsuperscript{89} examine the socio-cultural implications of displacement associated with the construction of Mpudzi and Tokwe-Mukosi Dams in Zimbabwe’s Manicaland and Masvingo Provinces respectively. The key argument of these articles is that development-related displacement is detrimental to the socio-economic and cultural aspects of local communities: decimate livelihoods, creates family divisions, cause loss of social networks and destroy shrines and cultural values.

Focusing on the challenge of food shortages among the displaced Marange villagers in Manicaland’s Province, Kusena’s article discusses the impact of relocation upon the Marange inhabitants who were forcibly moved from their ancestral land to pave the way for diamond mining. According to Kusena, the main challenge faced by the moved households at the relocation area was the absence of long-term sustainable solutions to food security. He argues that the displaced families were vulnerable to food insecurity as the farming space and mechanisms for securing a living were limited as compared to Marange.\textsuperscript{90} Another important study that contributes to studies on mining induced-displacement on the Marange case is an NGO report: ‘Marange


\textsuperscript{89}G.T. Mutangi, and W. Mutari, Socio-cultural implications and Livelihoods Displacement of the moved Communities as a result of the Construction of the Tokwe- Mukosi Dam, Masvingo, \textit{Greener Journal of Social Sciences}, Vol. 4, no.2, (2014)

Relocations leads to New Poverty.\textsuperscript{91} The report argues that the relocated villagers faced a plethora of challenges at ARDA Transau. It cites inadequate suitable land for farming, shortage of accommodation and lack of a source of livelihood as some of the major challenges affecting the displaced households at the relocation area.\textsuperscript{92}

Essays in an edited volume by Saunders and Nyamunda: \textit{Facets of Power: Politics, Profits and People in the Making of Zimbabwe’s Blood Diamond} contribute to the literature on African alluvial diamond conflicts and on Mining - Induced Displacement and Resettlement.\textsuperscript{93} Madebwe and Madebwe’s chapter examines the social and economic impacts of forced displacement on the first wave of 600 families relocated by Mbada Diamonds mining company in 2011. The Madebwes argued that the removal was done in a chaotic manner and the initial indicators of local development on one of the first groups of moved families remained difficult to see. The Madebwes noted that among others, the social and economic impacts of relocation on the first households moved by Mbada Diamond Company included lack of compensation, decimation of livelihoods, disruption of intra - community bonds and decimation of social support systems.\textsuperscript{94} In the same volume edited by Saunders and Nyamunda, Chiponda and Saunders’ chapter explores the development of community resistance and activism as villagers(both those who remained behind in Marange and those moved to the relocation area) reacted to the devastating effects of forced relocation. Chiponda and Saunders argue that while the community’s traditional structures were shattered by forced relocation, community resistance through a rights - based community trust formed in 2009: CCDT developed.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{91} Centre for Natural Resource Governance, ‘Marange relocations leads to new poverty’ (April 2014)
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid
\textsuperscript{93} R. Saunders and T. Nyamunda (eds) \textit{Facets of Power}, (2016)
My chapter in the collection edited by Saunders and Nyamunda focuses on the social impact of diamond mining on schools in Marange. I argue that both artisanal and mechanised diamond mining had a severely interruptive impact on primary and secondary schools in the diamondiferous administrative wards (Chiadzwa and Mukwada): Teachers and students abandoned teaching and learning respectively and joined the tens of thousands of fortune seekers who descended on the diamond fields. I noted that the impacts of diamond mining on schools within the vicinity of the diamond fields included, but were not limited to rampant student and teacher absenteeism, the widespread interruption of learning in schools by the *magwejas* (diamond panners) milling about in the school yard, extreme poor examination performance of students. And, above all, the relocation of families residing in Chiadzwa and Mukwada administrative wards -including two schools that were at the heart of the diamondiferous area (Chirasika and Rombe) to pave the way for mechanised mining.  

**Methodological overview**

Diamond extraction and trade in Marange is regarded as a very sensitive issue by the government of Zimbabwe many of whose policies cannot be made public largely for security reasons. Official records concerning the government’s diamond policies and the general management of diamond resources were not easily accessible. This was a general challenge for the entire research project. Reacting to this challenge, I utilised various newspaper articles and oral interviews. The oral interviews were conducted largely within the context of the life history approach or life stories.

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Wallace defines the life history approach as “narrative accounts of a person’s life, in part or as a whole, delivered orally by the person him - or herself…life stories allow researchers to study how people ascribe meaning to and communicate about life experiences within the framework of the present.”  

Besides choosing oral interviews as a way of addressing the challenge identified above, this particular research method was chosen because it provides a better understanding of feelings and perceptions that the Marange families shared towards forced relocation. Also, because the study is about people who would normally not appear in the government archival record.

The life stories approach was chosen because “a life history approach allows the unique experiences of individuals to inform the broader history of the community whilst allowing the nuances that would otherwise not be found in official documents to be revealed.”

My own assessment of oral interviews based on those carried out with the Marange villagers indicated that while this method of gathering data has shortfalls just like any other method, it is one of the best methods for reconstructing the history of the marginalized people. Through the use of this method, I was able to tap invaluable information from a fairly large number of informants including those who were illiterate.

Although the diamond mining story is a sensitive issue in Zimbabwe in general and Marange in particular, carrying out interviews was not a big challenge to me. This was mainly because I was not new to the Marange community. As a Zimbabwean who came from the same province (Manicaland), I had the social and cultural skills to navigate the Marange community. Besides working in this community as a teacher from 2006 to February 2015, I also participated

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in the artisanal diamond mining as a *gweja* (diamond digger) between 2006 - 2009. This made me familiar with the majority of my informants who did not ask me a lot of questions as to why I was carrying out interviews on the subject of diamond mining. Moreover, most of the interviews were conducted in Shona language which is my first language. This made it easy for me to converse with the local villagers in their own language. In cases where the informants requested confidentiality, I have used pseudonyms in the thesis. Where informants were not comfortable in having the interviews tape recorded, I used a pen and paper to take some notes. Most of the interviews were however, tape - recorded for future analysis.

More than sixty - five informal oral interviews were conducted between April 2014 and August 2015. Informal interviews were preferred in comparison with formal. This was largely because when I was carrying out interviews during the initial phase of my field work, I discovered that the formal ‘interview setting’ seemed to be intimidating to the majority of my informants. My informants, in particular, the elderly, saw me as a learned teacher who had come to judge them on what they know. Therefore, they were reluctant in responding to my questions as they thought they did not have the knowledge I was looking for. In reacting to this challenge, I resorted to the use of informal interviews which are like conversations. The interviewees were more comfortable and keen to give information that I needed. Moreover, informal interviews are mainly meant to stimulate discussion.

The interviews were drawn from different types of informants - including elderly Marange people, traditional chiefs, ordinary villagers, former diamond diggers, teachers, school children, officials from the M R D C, Ministry of education and from Community Development Trusts like

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CCDT and ARDT. Through oral interviews, I captured the migration histories of the people living in Marange community dating back to the pre-colonial era, the livelihood strategies they adopted to secure a living during the times of historical challenges like recurring droughts, the independence war in the 1970s as well as during the political and economic crisis in the late 1990s-2000s. Last but not least, I used oral interviews in capturing the villagers’ perceptions and feelings towards the diamond mining induced-displacement. Oral interviews, however, have their own shortcomings. The fact that memory is a social process means that, for several reasons bias cannot be separated from oral interviews.¹⁰⁰ In their study of social memories, Fentress and Wickham observed that “social groups construct their own images of the world by establishing an agreed version of the past…”¹⁰¹ In light of the above, there is no doubt that at times my informants were involved in selective memory to construct their own image of the past and to validate claims over land ownership and diamond resources. In dealing with this problem, I interwove oral interviews with archival material from the National archives of Zimbabwe along with data gathered from various newspapers articles.

Archives of the newspapers like The Standard, The News Day, The Zimbabwean, and The Manica Post were useful in accessing journalistic reports that provided evidence used in writing this study. The newspapers mentioned above were looked at from the period 2006 to 2015. They captured diverse conflicts related to diamond mining induced-displacement between the displaced families, on the one hand, and the government and diamond firms, on the other. The majority of the newspaper articles consistently reported that the relocation exercise had a severely disruptive impact on the displaced families. In cases where I was sceptical about certain information gathered

from the newspaper articles, I made a follow up on such issues using oral interviews. For instance, after reading a headline in the government - controlled *Manica Post: “Man with 17 wives benefits from Chiadzwa relocation exercise”*102 I was keen to hear more about the story during my field work at the relocation area. After interviewing sekuru103 Kambeni who was the subject of the article - headline, I discovered that the article was misleading: Sekuru Kambeni had 14 wives, and was never given houses that accommodated all his wives and married family members as the article claimed.104 In fact, after being moved from Chirasika in 2011, sekuru Kambeni was offered a small compound far less than what he owned in his former community. The compound did not accommodate his large family of 14 wives and more than 70 children. Based on these reasons, he refused the offer.105 The newspaper article cited above indicate that although newspapers are good primary sources, just like oral histories, they need to be treated with caution. As information obtained from them might be misleading due to various reasons. As such, information obtained from newspapers need to be verified with oral interviews or other sources.

In gathering the data used in providing the historical background of this study, the research utilized various archival material from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (from the period 1910 to the 1960s). Documents created by District Administrators also known as Native Commissioners (NCs) contain valuable information on specific districts.106 They were useful in providing the background information on Marange community. For example, capturing the colonial officials’

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102 Dorcas Mhungu, “Man with 17 wives benefits from Chiadzwa relocation exercise” *The Manica Post*, 4-10 March 2011.
103 Sekuru is a Shona word used for showing respect when referring to an elder male person in a society and mbuya for a female elder. I will use these terms throughout the thesis in showing age difference of my informants.
104 Dorcas Mhungu, “Man with 17 wives benefits from Chiadzwa relocation exercise” *The Manica Post*, 4-10 March 2011.
105 Interview with sekuru Kambeni, Displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 13 August 2015.
perspectives towards Maranke\textsuperscript{107} reserve and the colonial evictions that took place during the 1940s to 1960s and how these shaped the social history of the community.\textsuperscript{108} Although the documents were very useful, caution was taken when assessing information from these files because like some colonial records, there was a possibility that some of the Native Commissioners could have had manipulated information they obtained from the local communities to present their version of the Africans past. In most instances these files were verified with other primary sources like oral testimonies of the Marange elders to verify some of the information. In the end, I synthesized the data gathered from the National Archives of Zimbabwe, newspaper articles and oral interviews in writing this thesis.

Besides the above discussed primary sources, this thesis has also utilised various secondary sources. These were published books, journal articles, unpublished dissertations, research papers, reports as well as online resources. Most of the literature was from the disciplines of Anthropology and Sociology.

\textbf{The Area of Research and Historical Context}

Marange is a Shona - speaking community\textsuperscript{109} sandwiched between two perennial rivers; Save in the west and Odzi in the east. The Mutanda and Mabunji range of mountains form the northern border. Located about 80km south - west of the city - center of Mutare, it shares borders with

\textsuperscript{107} This is the colonial name for Marange

\textsuperscript{108} See NAZ.S2929/1/8 Delineation of communities Umtali District, 1969.

\textsuperscript{109}The Marange are Shona -speaking people: the largest linguistic and cultural group in Zimbabwe. For a more nuanced discussion of the Shona - speaking people, see M.F.C Bourdillon, \textit{The Shona Peoples: An ethnography of the contemporary Shona, with special reference to their religion}, (Gweru: Mambo Press,1976) ; D.N Beach, \textit{A Zimbabwean Past:Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions}, (Gweru: Mambo Press 1994)
territories of Chief Zimunya to the north - east, Chief Nyashanu to the west, Chief Mutambara to the south - east and Chiefs Mutasa and Makoni to the north. The boundaries between Chief Marange with Chiefs Zimunya and Nyashanu are the Odzi and Save Rivers respectively. (See map 1) Although the local people used the term King (mambo) referring to the principal ruler of Marange, and those of the neighbouring communities, this study use the term Chief (ishe). It explains the places bordering Marange using Chiefdoms and respective Chiefs because these were the terms used by both the colonial and post - colonial administrations when referring to the places and principal rulers in such areas.

The relocation area, ARDA Transau, falls under the jurisdiction of Chief Zimunya. It is about 70km, and 20km from Marange and the Mutare city - center respectively (see map 1). The 12 000 hectares piece of land was a desolate farm, previously belonging to the government of Zimbabwe through the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA). The farm ceased to function sometime in the early 2000s. The community is a quasi - urban area with tarred roads including houses constructed in a linear settlement pattern and some furnished with tapped water. It is divided into two parts by the Harare - Mutare railway line. In relation to the grand plans of the city of Mutare, ARDA Transau was to be included as part of an area within the ambit of Mutare urban area. All the communities mentioned above are located in Zimbabwe’s Manicaland Province.

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110 Interview with Mr. F. Nengoma, (Education Officer: Mutare Rural District Council), Mutare Rural District, 9 August 2015.
111 Ibid
MAP 1. MARANGE COMMUNAL LAND AND THE RELOCATION AREA (ARDA-TRANSAU)

Source: Drawn by Russel Kapumha, Archaeology Unit, University of Zimbabwe, August 2015.
In Marange, like any other communal areas in Zimbabwe, there are layers of power in association with land ownership. The villagers do not own land. They have use - rights: the right to use the land for agricultural purposes, pastures, and for building houses. Legal authority over communal lands is vested in the President. The local authority for Marange is Mutare Rural District Council. It is the administrative authority with power over land and the mineral resources in Marange, while Chief Marange has the overall power at the community level. The Ward Heads (Headman) manage the land issues at the Ward level. Last but not least, the Village Heads (masabhuku) are the custodians of land at the village level who distribute land to those in need of it.

Administrative wards in Marange community are not geographically homogeneous. However, all the wards fall either in Agro - ecological Zone IV or V, characterized by sandy soils, high temperatures, and erratic rainfall - making the community prone to recurrent drought and famine (See map 2 ) The southern part ( Mukwada and Chiadzwa) administrative wards 29 and 30 respectively from which families were moved to pave the way for diamond extraction is one of the driest parts of Bocha while the middle and the northern parts have a fairly good annual rainfall and this is where settlements were most dense during the pre - colonial era. Referring to the pre - colonial era, Beach observed that “the south was comparatively unattractive Lowveld, but

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112 In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, authority over land was vested in traditional Chiefs. Colonialism stripped off traditional Chiefs’ authority over land. Native Commissioners became responsible for allocating land to Africans. In 1965, the Tribal Trust Lands Act was enacted: changing the name, Native Reserves (which were created after the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930) to Tribal Trust Lands (TTL). After 1983, all the land previously in the category of Tribal Trust Lands became known as Communal land. For a detailed discussion of land policies and Acts, as well as the changes associated with the power of Chiefs in relation to land in Rhodesia See, R. Palmer, Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia, (1977) and A.K.H. Weinrich, Chiefs and Councils in Rhodesia: Transition from Patriarchal to Bureaucratic Power, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press,1971)


elephants bearing ivory, and salt springs on the Save, provided a certain amount of compensation, though hardly enough to outweigh the poor farming environment”.\textsuperscript{115} Indeed, successful crop production was a major challenge in the southern part of Marange. This was more so in those most vulnerable areas identified as “red zones” by the ZIMVAC and the AREX such as Chiadzwa, Mafararikwa, Buwerimwe, Mukwada, Chirasika, Masasi and Chishingwi.\textsuperscript{116} Despite of the harsh environmental conditions pointed out above, the area is ideal for livestock production. A point worth noting concerning Land in this community is that most families in all the administrative wards ‘owned’ huge tracts of land: usually between eight to ten hectares, or even more per household.\textsuperscript{117}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{117}There are layers of land ownership in Marange. The land is state owned but it is still privately owned. The state do not tell people what to grow in their pieces of land. Interview with Headman H. Mukwada, held at his homestead (Mukwada) 25 November 2014.
\end{flushright}
MAP 2. AGRO-ECOLOGICAL MAP OF ZIMBABWE AND THE AREA OF RESEARCH

Key

Region I- Specialised and diversified farming (>1000mm)
Region IIA- Intensive farming (750-1000mm)
Region IIB- Intensive farming (750-1000mm)
Region III- Semi-Intensive farming (650-800mm)
Region IV- Semi-Extensive farming (450-650mm)
Region V- Extensive farming (<650mm)
Red Circle - Area of research

In colonial times, Marange was the largest reserve in Umtali, with a total area of two hundred and fifty thousand morgens (242 square miles) as compared to Zimunya and Mutasa, the other two reserves that were in this district. Nevertheless, it was the most remote and economically marginalized reserve, prompting the Native Reserve Commission of 1914 to conclude that it was “practically valueless.” The creation of reserves can best be understood within the context of ‘white agricultural policy’ which resulted in the mass expropriation of the natives’ land. The indigenous people living in the eastern areas of Southern Rhodesia, in particular, agro-ecological region I, where plantation agriculture was dominant were moved into Native Reserves: usually regions III, IV, and V that received annual rainfall below 750mm. Region I and II which received annual rainfall between 800-1000mm were reserved for white commercial farmers (see map 2). It was in this context of ‘white agricultural policy’ that most of the mountainous northern parts of Marange were designated European lands in the 1930s, forcibly moving the local inhabitants into the drier southern part. From the 1940s to the late -1950s, massive populations from the neighbouring chiefdoms were also moved into Marange since it had a lot of space as compared to the bordering reserves.

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118 Colonial name for Mutare.
119 N.A.Z, NUA2/1/11, Native Commissioner Umtali, Annual Report 1913.
120 N.A.Z, NUA2/1/11, Native Commissioner Umtali, Annual Report 1913; N.A.Z, N9/1/17, Native Commissioner Umtali, Annual Report 1914.
The fact that Marange is located in the eastern part of Zimbabwe meant that the area was strategically important during the independence war (the Second Chimurenga). This was largely because when Mozambique attained independence from Portugal in 1975, it became the launch pad for the ZANLA forces. Consequently, between the late 1970s and 1992, communities in the eastern areas of Zimbabwe that shared the long border with Mozambique were affected by the liberation war and the RENAMO wars in a more devastating way as compared to other areas located further away from the border. Although Marange did not directly share a border with Mozambique, the impacts of the above mentioned conflicts had detrimental effects on the social lives of the inhabitants, in particular, how they secured their livelihoods.

The period of the political and socio-economic havoc commonly known as the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’ had severe detrimental effects on people’s livelihoods. As compared to the urban population, the rural dwellers were more vulnerable. Marange was not spared from the devastating political and economic challenges that bedeviled the country since the late 1990s. Examining the origins of the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’, Raftopoulos argued that the political and economic problems were caused by a multiplicity of factors; colonial legacy, poor and inconsistent

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125 The RENAMO wars can best be understood against the backdrop of the Cold War. RENAMO was an armed rebel movement in post-colonial Mozambique created in 1976 by Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organization to destabilize the FRELIMO government. It was taken over by South Africa after 1980.

126 Although the RENAMO wars were fought in Mozambique, they spilled over to the communities in Zimbabwe that shared the border with Mozambique like Chief Zimunya and Chief Mutambara’s places as well as Chipinge district. The rebel’s raids in the fore mentioned communities indirectly disrupted social activities in Marange. The villagers lived in fear that the rebels would raid their community; loot food and disrupt education activities. See, for example B. Tauyanago, ‘The RENAMO War and its Impact in South East Zimbabwe, 1982-1992’ (MA Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2002); A. Makuyana ‘The effects of the Second Chimurenga and RENAMO war on education in Zimbabwe with specific reference to schools in Chipinge Central from 1976-1992’ (BA honours dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007); M. Ruguwa, ‘A history of the Social Impact of diamond mining on schools in Marange, 2006-2013’ (2013) pp.11-13.

127 The political landscape was repressive in nature. It was characterized by an unprecedented political violence as President Robert Mugabe faced the most successful political opposition: The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) led by Morgan Tsvangirai.

government policies, the emergence of democracy and constitutional questions, and a labour reproduction organization characterized by shrinking wages. According to Raftopoulos:

The more immediate causes lay in a combination of the increased ‘threat’ around the land reform, the large payouts made to war veterans and the involvement in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The confluence of these issues became manifest on 14 November 1997, when the Zimbabwean dollar lost 74 percent of its value within a four-hour period.\textsuperscript{129}

The decade that followed was even worse. It was characterized by severe hyperinflation. As sufficiently captured by Zvobgo:

Due to economic mismanagement, the annual inflation in Zimbabwe rocketed past the 100,000 percent mark in February, 2008. In March it soared to 355,000\%. In June it galloped to 11,25 million \%. The highest note issued by the Reserve bank in July was ZW\$50 billion with an exchange rate of ZWS\$64 billion for US\$1: a teacher’s salary was about ZW\$66 billion per month, just enough to buy 2 litres of cooking oil and a bar of soap; an average worker earned about ZW\$25 billion a month while a loaf of bread cost 2 billion.\textsuperscript{130}

Responding to such an economic climate, the Marange inhabitants, like any other people in the rural areas in other African countries, for example, in Sierra Leone, Angola, Ghana, and the Democratic Republic of Congo resorted to artisanal mining as a way of securing a livelihood.\textsuperscript{131}

During this period, artisanal mining, which is largely widespread in developing countries was a dominant livelihood strategy in several African countries. As noted by Bryceson etal:

After more than three decades of economic malaise, many African countries are experiencing an upsurge in their economic fortunes linked to the booming international market for minerals. Spurred by shrinking viability of peasant agriculture, rural dwellers

\textsuperscript{129} Ibid, p.219.  
have been engaged in a massive search for alternative livelihoods, one of the most lucrative being artisanal mining...\textsuperscript{132}

In Marange, artisanal gold mining along the banks of Odzi River became a more important way of securing a living in the early 2000s. It is against the backdrop of the rise in international mineral trade, rise of artisanal mining as a livelihood strategy in African countries and the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’ that ngoda (colloquial for diamonds) were ‘discovered’ in 2006.

**Conclusion**

The Chapter has laid out the purpose of the research, the theoretical frameworks underpinning the study and the methodological approach used in writing the thesis. The literature reviewed in this chapter has shown that the discipline of anthropology has played a leading role on the field of development - forced displacement and resettlement. Other fields such as geography, International Development Studies and history engaged the debates on DFDR generally beginning in the 1990s and pushed the boundaries of the discipline. The chapter has also provided a geographical introduction to Marange including the historical context of the research - noting that while Marange community was prone to recurring droughts, the inhabitants were not passive victims of such an environment. They were creative: they turned out to the environment to eke out a living.

CHAPTER TWO

Land, People and Environment: A historical overview of Marange

Introduction

This chapter provides background information for a nuanced understanding of the effects of displacement from diamond mining on the relocated Marange families at ARDA Transau. It explores the social history of the Bocha inhabitants from around the 1960s up to 2010, analyzing how the villagers harnessed resources from their environment to make a living. The chapter opens by providing an overview of how people settled in Bocha and thereafter discusses how the Bocha inhabitants secured a living in their everyday lives, how they managed to survive during the times of historical challenges like recurring droughts, the independence war in the mid to late - 1970s and the ‘economic and political crisis’ of the late 1990s - 2000s. The chapter argues that people’s actions were not always subjected to environmental conditions. It demonstrates the creative strategies deployed by the people to secure a living in their harsh environment. The chapter, therefore, moves away from an environmental determinist discourse, and toward a history that analyses the interaction between humans and the physical environment - examining how people used non - human factors to construct their identities and culture. It focuses on rivers, mountains, foothills, trees, plains and graves – demonstrating how these affected the course of life.133

Contested history: Claims making and peopling of the Bocha area

Theories about population movements associated with the occupation of the area known as Bocha are far from conclusive. The major challenge associated with the reconstruction of this history is that the historical sources that date back to the pre-colonial era are difficult to interpret and not easily accessible. Given the histories of migrations in this community, it is challenging to identify the autochthonous inhabitants of Bocha. The key sources that provide information on how people settled in Bocha, written documents from colonial officials and historians, as well as oral evidence from the local inhabitants generally agree on the opinion that a group of people under Village Head NeChipindirwe occupied Bocha much earlier than any other people living in this area. These sources, however, differ on whether the people under NeChipindirwe were the indigenous inhabitants, or were outsiders who migrated to the Bocha area. Colonial officials who compiled the documents on Marange relied on oral testimonies gathered from the village elders during the colonial period.\textsuperscript{134} In spite of this, it is instructive to note that although the colonial archival sources and the local traditions tell us more about the social relationships between the colonial officials and the Marange inhabitants who, in many ways were striving to project themselves as the authentic owners of the land, written documents from colonial officials and oral traditions need to be handled carefully since they both have shortfalls.

On the one hand, the oral evidence gathered from the elders in Marange suggests that the people led by NeChipindirwe were the aboriginal inhabitants of Marange, but on the other, the Colonial officials and historian Beach refute this claim, suggesting that the people under NeChipindirwe came from outside the area the Marange dynasty is ruling. The colonial officials

\textsuperscript{134}See, T.O Ranger, “The Mobilization of Labour and the Production of Knowledge” (1979) p.507.
provided evidence to support the idea that NeChipindirwe came from outside the Marange area to show that he could not claim ownership using the autochthonous status since he also came from somewhere else. According to the colonial officials’ documents, around the late - sixteenth century, NeChipindirwe and his people migrated from the area of Salisbury (present day Harare), and they were led by a man called Chikumba who was accompanied by his brother Gudza. Chikumba settled in the present day Marange while Gudza continued migrating until he arrived in Portuguese East Africa. Reinforcing this opinion, Beach argued that “even the NeChipindirwe of the nzou house [elephant totem] that was settled early in the lowlands has a tradition of coming from the Mutapa area.”

The colonial officials’ documents further notes that after the settlement of NeChipindirwe in Bocha, in the mid - seventeenth century, another group of people migrated from the area of Seke (near present day Harare) under the leadership of Mutekwatekwa together with several of his relatives. Some of the royal houses which were under Mutekwatekwa’s migratory band included Marange (ruling dynasty) Mutsago, Mushunje and Mafararikwa. It is claimed that the group was attracted to Bocha by the good hunting grounds: there being an abundance of elephants and other wild animals. After Mutekwatekwa’s death, which is believed to be around 1720s – 1780s, Marange married NeChipindirwe’s daughter and he was given fairly large tracts of land and eventually gained control over the area.137

The colonial archival sources that speak to the peopling of the Bocha area were written in the 1960s: A period when evictions that paved the way for colonial developmental projects were in progress. These documents, reinforce the colonial stereotypical narratives, perceiving

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135 NAZ,S2929/1/8 Delineation of communities Umtali District, 1969
137 NAZ,S2929/1/8 Delineation of communities Umtali District, 1969; D.N Beach, A Zimbabwean Past: Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions, pp.31-34.
‘Maranke’ reserve as “an empty, unproductive land, ripe for exploitation.” Written documents from colonial officials emphasized the discourse of migration so as to justify the colonial state’s hegemonic status over Marange. As Ranger asserted: “In Southern Rhodesia, the men who administered Africans, [Native Commissioners] mobilized them for employment, and kept them working were also the men who produced the authorized versions of the African past, of African customs and of African ‘personality’ ” In light of the above evidence, it is highly possible that the Native Commissioners deployed information they secured from the oral testimonies gathered from the community in a manner that suited their own version of the Africans past. In particular, justifying the authority and power of the colonial government over Marange landscape.

While Beach is credited for being one of the pioneering historians who reconstructed the Shona dynastic histories through oral traditions, his relationship with the Southern Rhodesian Ministry of Internal Affairs in the 1970s left scholars sceptical about some of his works in terms of its classification. Although he was not an anthropologist per se, the manner in which he used the colonial archival sources in reconstructing the dynastic histories of the Central Shava Belt suggests that he was employing the same process as the colonial anthropologists: determining the original inhabitants of an area, therefore assigning people specific areas. As Shorter observed:

Colonial governments in Africa used to employ anthropologists to advise them on ‘native affairs’. They were especially in demand in British colonies, where an attempt was made to rule the people indirectly through their own, traditional, political institutions. The government anthropologists delineated tribal boundaries and helped the administration

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141 According to Beach, the Shava or nhuka (eland totem) belt was comprised of such dynasties as Marange, Nyashanu and Mutekedza. However, Beach’s use of the concept of the totem (mutupo) to assign people places, gives the impression that the Shava clan was a closed group, yet this was not necessarily so. The Shava did not marry among themselves (Shava to Shava). It was taboo in Shona custom to marry someone of the same totem. It therefore, shows that groups of people were not atomized as he seems to suggest. See, D.N. Beach, A Zimbabwean Past: Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions, (1994) p.28-80.
decide who were the legitimate local rulers. Colonial anthropology has been defined as how to take away the natives land according to native custom…¹⁴²

Although written sources suggest that NeChipindirwe and his people were outsiders who migrated to the Bocha area, local traditions accepts the claim that the group led by NeChipindirwe were the aboriginal people and all other people were ‘late comers’ who migrated from the neighbouring chiefdoms. One sekuru Murimba in Chipfatsura elaborated the core images or clichés of game-rich land and that of the NeChipindirwe as the earlier inhabitants of Marange¹⁴³:

Our clan is based in Chikukwa [under Chief Mutambara] Long ago, our forefathers went to help Chief Mutasa fight Chief Makoni during the Makoni - Mutasa wars over land disputes …On their way back home, they passed through this area [Chipfatsura] They were attracted by the underpopulated and good hunting - ground environment and decided to make a settlement here…NeChipindirwe and his people were already settled in the Southern part of Marange …¹⁴⁴

Although the oral interview above lacked evidence supporting that NeChipindirwe and his people were the indigenous inhabitants, it repeatedly conveyed the idea widely held among the Marange people that NeChipindirwe was the legitimate owner of the land. In this context, the traditions can best be understood as cultural resources used to support as well as assert social claims.¹⁴⁵ According to Tonkin, “Oral accounts of past events are also guides to the future, as well as being social activities in which tellers claim authority to speak to particular audiences…”¹⁴⁶ It can be argued that the Marange elders constructed the traditions in that way to validate claims over

¹⁴³For a detailed discussion of core images and clichés as understood by the studies of oral memory See, J. B. Shetler, Imagining Serengeti: A History of Landscape Memory in Tanzania from Earliest Times to the Present (2007) p.18.
¹⁴⁴Interview with Sekuru Murimba, Villager, Chipfatsura, 26 July 2015.
ownership of land and social belonging. The greatest challenge in using oral tradition in reconstructing the pre-colonial history of Bocha is that, it is difficult to deploy them in order to write a history that stretches back to the distant past. Beyond the seventeenth century. Their reliability, as Vansina noted, depends on memory, the context in which the story is being told and the audience for which it is intended; making the information susceptible to alterations and distortions.\textsuperscript{147} The traditions are not firmly fixed. As Shetler elaborates that:

> the content...changes from performance to performance over time and in relation to the various historical contexts in which the traditions are told...When the social context changes, features of the oral tradition that no longer have meaning drop out or change to reflect new meanings...\textsuperscript{148}

Another interview held with one elder whose clan migrated from Chipinge sometime in the nineteenth century, pointed out that most people inhabiting Bocha, including the Marange dynasty were late comers (\textit{vauyi}) who found the area occupied by NeChipindirwe. The elder explained that:

> The NeChipindirwe are indigenous to this place...long ago, our forefathers relocated from Chipinge and settled in Chakohwa[ under Chief Mutambara] They lived there for nearly twenty years, and thereafter, crossed Odzi River and settled in the Southern part of Bocha, an area abound with game. The area was occupied by NeChipindirwe and his people...Some families settled in Kuraoune, Rombe, and others in Mukwada... My father settled in Mukwada where I was born... If you go to Chakohwa today and ask people who are known by the surname Nenzema of the \textit{moyo} (ox heart totem) you will get them. We are the same people, we all came from Chipinge, it is only that we came and settled in Mukwada while they remained at Chakohwa ...\textsuperscript{149}

\textsuperscript{149} Interview with \textit{Sekuru} Nenzema, Villager, Mukwada, 08 August 2014.
Although the information from the interviews above can be criticized for lack of actual dates, which is one major weakness of oral tradition, the information is, however, essential in reflecting the core images of the NeChipindirwe being the earliest group to settle in Bocha. The evidence from the interview above probably suggests that sekuru Nenzema’s clan was one among several groups of the moyo (ox heart) people who migrated from the Muwushu area throughout the nineteenth century and crossed the Odzi River and settled in the southern part of Bocha, at Rombe. The Marange elders obviously use such memories to validate their claims over the Marange landscape. This will be fully discussed in Chapter Three which looks at the constraints and opportunities faced by the displaced families and how they evoked the discourse of claims making and belonging to argue that they were being excluded from their ancestral land and from benefiting from the diamond resources.

Population movement into Marange increased tremendously in the twentieth century. Mabulala noted that from the 1930s until the 1960s, a massive African population evicted from Mutasa chiefdom and the Eastern Highlands were moved to ‘Maranke’ reserve. In the mid-1970s, the pattern of population movements was different. Amid the height of the liberation war, in Marange, as in many other areas in Southern Rhodesia, the Rhodesian government created Protected Villages and forcibly moved the local inhabitants into these areas. Focusing on colonialism and violence in the Honde Valley area of eastern Zimbabwe, Schmidt noted that “approximately 750,000 people were resettled into more than 200 Protected Villages throughout the country between 1974 and 1979.” The Marange people were also among these people.

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150 See, N.A.Z N1/1/11-12 ANC Umtali to NC Umtali, 22 December 1896.
Interviews gathered from the village elders pointed out that, as part of their counter-insurgency strategy, the Security Forces introduced Protected Villages and curfews. While some people were confined to the Protected Villages that were created in the southern part of Marange, others, for example, those who lived in Banga and Mabvengwa were forced to desert their homes and cross the Odzi River to Chief Zimunya’s place where they were incorporated into Protected Villages.\footnote{154 Interview with Sekuru Mwanema, Mabvengwa, 8 August, 2015.} Although the villagers were free to go back to their homes after 1980, war-induced displacement triggered population movements out of Marange from the mid-1970s up to the late 1970s.

After the attainment of independence from Britain in 1980, various state-sponsored development-related displacements continued to haunt communities both in the rural and urban areas.\footnote{155 A. Hammar, “In the name of Sovereignty: Displacement and State making in post-independence Zimbabwe” in \textit{Journal of Contemporary African Studies}, Volume 26. No. 4.2008. p.417.} In the 1990s, hundreds of families were uprooted from Chief Mutasa’s area in the Manicaland province following the construction of Osborne Dam.\footnote{156 See M. Ndlovu, \textit{Against the Odds: A history of Zimbabwe project}, Weaver Press, Harare, 2011, p.306-313} While some of the affected people were moved to Headlands and Makoni, some were moved to Marange.\footnote{157 Interview with Mr F. Nengoma, 9 August 2015.} One informant who was relocated more than once by the government development projects revealed that before she was moved to ARDA Transau in 2011, she was moved from Mutasa to Marange district when Osborne dam was constructed in the 1990s.\footnote{158 Interview with Sanyabadza, relocated villager, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2015.}

As noted from the paragraphs above, the accounts explaining the peopling of Marange, in particular in the period before the twentieth century are far from being conclusive. Both the colonial officials and the Marange elders used the theory of migration to claim ownership of resources in Marange landscape. Since there is no evidence indicating that there was an indigenous
group of people that settled in Marange earlier than NeChipindirwe and his people, for now, the people under NeChipindirwe represents the autochthonous group.

**Land, environment, and livelihood strategies**

There has been a clear tendency, beginning with colonialists and continuing with the communities neighbouring Marange to depict the land in Marange as unproductive, agriculturally speaking. While this is true, the term ‘unproductive land’ has, however, been used to suggest that Bocha was a ‘wilderness’ where resources for the survival of the local inhabitants did not exist. Historians should not accept this dichotomy of productive and unproductive land without understanding the narratives of the actors themselves. Contrary to this widely accepted perception replete in archival material that the land in Bocha was unproductive, evidence gathered from this study demonstrates that the historical actors themselves were not passive observers of their environment characterized by sandy soils and erratic rainfall. In their history, they devised diverse livelihood strategies to make a living out of such a seemingly unproductive environment.

Livelihood strategies can be understood as the manifold activities and the choices deployed by people to ensure their needs of everyday life and subsistence. This should, however, not be viewed in the same way as regular employment or as in a job. Owuor defined livelihood strategies as “how individuals, households or other corporate groups gain access to, use and exercise control over any number of resources that they identify as important for their well -

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159 See for example, N.A.Z S 235/507 NC Umtali, Annual Report, 1929.
being.” In Marange, as in most rural areas in Africa, livelihood strategies were heterogeneous, ranging from farming to other activities like hunting, craft work, trading and fishing. Land, however, was the most important source of the inhabitants’ livelihoods. Above all, the everyday life was grounded in their social relations: they used family connections to mobilize resources.

Oral interviews gathered from many informants indicated that, although Bocha received erratic rainfall, the inhabitants, as in most Shona societies, largely depended on agriculture for a living. Cultivation of crops was supplemented by gardening of vegetables and these activities were an important means of securing a living in this community. It was uncommon to see a household without a garden. Although the majority of the gardens were located near river banks, a few were found at the homesteads where people took advantage of manure from nearby cattle enclosures and water from the borehole to maintain their gardens. The common crops grown were vegetables; tomatoes, beans, pumpkins and yams. The difference between cultivation of field crops and garden crops was that while gardening was done on a small piece of land throughout the year, watered by hand and or use of irrigation canals, cultivation of crops was done on a large piece of land and it was seasonal -from (late - October to April)

Maize, the most common crop grown in the majority of Shona societies was not popular in Bocha. Originally from the Americas, maize requires high rainfall and fertile land to do well. With its semi – arid conditions, Bocha is therefore not suited for maize. As one informant elaborated: “The soil in our crop fields is not suitable for growing maize… however, some people who live near Odzi, Singwizi, Mangure, and Save rivers grow few maize plants on riverbank gardens. In addition to nearby water… there is fertile soil favourable for growing maize”162. The villagers responded to the challenge of poor soil and unreliable rainfall by growing drought tolerant,

161 Ibid., p.11.
162 Interview with mbuya Mukuze, Villager, Chibiya 29 June 2014.
traditional grain crops which were a more reliable source of food security. These included sorghum (*mapfunde*), finger millet (*rukweza*) or (*zviyo*); bulrush millet (*mhunga*), and leguminous crops like cowpeas (*nyemb*) and beans.\(^{163}\)

Bulrush millet and sorghum grains were essential in the socio-cultural lives of the Shona people. Apart from being pounded, cooked and eaten like rice, the grains were also used as fowl and chicken feed. Bulrush millet was grown in abundance and it was the staple crop. After harvesting, the grains were pounded into fine flour used to prepare thick porridge (*sadza*) which formed the staple food of the Shona people and has remained the same even up to today.\(^ {164}\) The flour was also used for brewing traditional beer\(^ {165}\) which was consumed during social gatherings like work parties (*nhimbe*) or (*humwe*) and many rituals. Among the many Marange rituals that required beer was the rain-making ceremony (*musoso*). Beer for rain making ceremony was brewed by elderly women (*vana mbuya*), strictly in the postmenopausal stage as it was believed menstrual blood was unclean. Beer was consumed by both male and female elders during the ceremony, usually held annually between September and October. Part of the beer was put in clay pots and left in the sacred mountains like Ushonje, Nyaruhwe and Denda. The elders believed that it would be consumed by the spirits of the land\(^ {166}\) who guarded the area against enemies.\(^ {167}\)

Family connections and kinship networks were essential for mobilizing resources. Traditional grain crops tied the people socially through team work needed in the everyday life, in particular, during the planting and harvesting seasons. This also happened in other Shona societies

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\(^{163}\) Interview with sekuru Mutsago, Villager, Mabvengwa, 26 July, 2015.

\(^{164}\) *Sadza* has its varieties. For example, *sadza* prepared from maize (*sadza rechibage*); *sadza* prepared from sorghum (*sadza remapfunde*) *sadza* prepared from finger millet (*sadza rerukweza*)

\(^{165}\) For a more detailed discussion of the traditional millet beer and its importance in the Shon cultural lives see M.F.C Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*: pp.263-299.

\(^{166}\) For a more nuanced discussion on traditional religion of the Shona and the aspect of ‘spirits’ of the land see M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples*, pp.261-320.

\(^{167}\) Interview with mbuya Mutsago, Villager, Mabvengwa, 26 July, 2015.
where traditional grain crops were grown.\textsuperscript{168} Work parties were organized during high farm labor – demand periods of the year like sowing, weeding and harvesting. On the day of the work party, an indigenous brew from sorghum or millet flour was made available to the people (usually neighbours) to consume while working. As Schmidt observed in the Goromonzi District: “Harvesting was also a communal task. Work parties of friends and neighbours, who worked in exchange for food and beer prepared by women, shortened the duration of the task and made it more enjoyable…”\textsuperscript{169} During work parties, the beneficiary of the work party was responsible for providing a meal. Millet/ Sorghum sadza was the staple usually accompanied by meat from small livestock like goats. During the planting season, mobilization of mutual -aid labour in Marange typically unfolded in the following way:

With the first rains, most families get involved in \textit{magejo}[work parties specifically for ploughing and sowing] This year, my neighbour and his family came to help me in my field first… We worked for two days…In return, my family also worked in his field: ploughing the fields and sowing sorghum and bulrush millet… \textsuperscript{170}

With the escalation of the independence war in the mid - 1970s, the social networks and the livelihood strategies of the Marange residents were profoundly disrupted. The Rhodesian government created Protected Villages as part of a counter - insurgency campaign.\textsuperscript{171} As such, the

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{168} See for example B. Tavuyanago, M. Mutami, and K.Mbenene, “Traditional Grain Crops in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe: A factor for food Security and Social Cohesion among the Shona People” \textit{Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa}, Vol.12,No.6,(2010)
\item\textsuperscript{170} Interview with Tawanda. B, Villager, Betera, 25 July 2015.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
people were moved from their homes into the Protected Villages to cut the supply link between the insurgents and the civilian population. According to Cilliers, the concept of Protected Villages:

entails the concentration and resettlement of the local population into defendable villages…the emphasis is thus not towards providing depopulated areas in which Security Forces can roam freely in search of insurgents, but in denying the insurgents access to the local population…172

Displacement into Protected Villages had detrimental effects on people’s ways of securing a living, in particular, crop cultivation. By isolating the guerrillas from the local population, the Rhodesian government also separated people from their crop fields; their most important source of livelihoods. In her study that focusses on war - induced displacement during the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, Chadya observed that the creation of Protected Villages led to food shortages and starvation in rural areas. Agricultural activities were interrupted by dawn to dusk curfew including the long distance between the crop fields and the Protected Villages that reduced the time peasants were supposed to work in the fields.173 One elder in Mabvengwa, remembered how, the war affected the community’s livelihoods:

In 1976, 77, and 78, we had poor harvests… It was not because of the unreliable rains as in other years, but it was because of the war. Since we were moved into a Keep [Protected Village] near Mabiya primary school [in Chief Zimunya’s place] it became difficult for us to attend to our fields in Mabvengwa. …By the time we arrived at the fields in the morning, we found our crops eaten by quelea birds, baboons, wild pigs and monkeys…We also provided vakomana [guerrillas] with resources. Before 1975, it was not difficult to support them with clothes and food because they were few. It was only around 1976 that the number tremendously increased and they stopped begging and started demanding resources from us… Our chickens dwindled during this period as they demanded sadza and huku [chicken]… After preparing the food in the keep, women hid it and clandestinely took it to the mujibhas [local male liberation war aides] who would hand it over to vakomana in the bush…174

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174 Interview with Sekuru Muchekadzese, Villager, Mabvengwa, 26 July, 2015.
In light of the interview above, it can be observed that the liberation war had a profoundly disruptive effect on the social lives of the people inhabiting the Tribal Trust Lands in Southern Rhodesia. Although the colonial government claimed that protected villages were created to protect the civilian population from brutalities and demands of the insurgents, and other devastating impacts of the war, the fact remains was that, protected villages shattered the villagers’ ways of securing a living. Consistent with the revisionist liberation war history, since the 1990s, this interview further debunks the nationalist historians’ arguments that peasants always willingly supported guerillas 175

As in most African societies, livestock was an important asset of the economy in Marange. These included cattle, sheep and goats. Although rainfall was erratic in Bocha, the area was favourable for livestock production. The thick forests abundant of mopane trees (musharu) provided nutritious leaves for cattle and this encouraged the people to keep large herds of cattle, making the area a ‘cattle country.’ 176 Cattle were acquired mainly through bride wealth (roora), inheritance, barter trade, and court awards. From the late 1980s, most families owned an average of between ten and fifteen head of cattle and a few possessed up to 50 head. 177 Although cattle were important for a number of reasons like draught power, paying bride wealth and for indicating one’s economic status, they were particularly essential in times of food shortages/drought 178

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176 Interview with N. Mukwada, Villager, Mukwada, 26 July, 2015.

177 Ibid

During times of food shortages, people who possessed cattle were left with no option than bartering the cattle for grain with people from neighbouring communities. As one key informant indicated:

Our area receives very little rainfall… our greatest challenge here is nzara[hunger]…. I was left with only twelve head of cattle from nearly thirty that I possessed sometime in the 1980s. In years of severe drought like 1982/1984/1985/1991/1992 and in the early 2000s I was able to survive because I exchanged cattle for grain with Ngorima [owner of a local butchery] and some relatives who live in Chimanimani. For a cow I was given three or four bags of maize. In 1991 and 1992, I sold about eight cattle while six died because of the severe drought. At times I also sell cattle to pay school fees for my children …

Cattle keeping was a livelihood strategy that provided stability in the everyday lives of the villagers and particularly during the period of disaster. Cattle were also slaughtered for food during the period of food shortages. The Marange elders indicated that through the kinship networks, poor members of the society also benefited from cattle through the common cattle trusteeship (Kuronzera) system. Through this system, the person receiving the cattle had the rights to use the cattle for ploughing, milking, manure and any other work except slaughtering or selling. At any time, the owner of the cattle had the rights to take his cattle back. As one Shona proverb sufficiently suggests: Mombe yekuronzera kama wakaringa nzira literally: (When in possession of a cattle obtained through cattle trusteeship, anytime its owner may take it) but what the proverb really means is : do not get too comfortable when you are using something that belongs to someone else.

Although livestock keeping and crop cultivation were essential ways of securing a living in Marange, some families and individuals also depended on hunting for household survival. There were distinguished hunters (hombarume) who entirely depended on hunting even in the years of good harvests. In times of drought hunting was one of the main means of supplementing food.

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179 Interview with N. Mukwada, 26 July, 2015.
180 Interview with sekuru P. Bhasopo, villager, held in Gonora, 25 October 2014.
181 Ibid
Boys and men formed hunting parties and performed some ritual prayers before going on hunting expeditions in the thick forests and sacred mountains like Ushonje, Denda, Nyaruhwe and Makate. The most common animals hunted were rabbit (*tsuro*), duiker(*mhembwe*), kudu(*nhoro*) dassie (*mbira*) and warthog (*njiri*). The game was mainly hunted for meat but their hides were an added benefit. The hides were used to make drums (*ngoma*) and strings for the bows (*uta*). In times of want, the fresh hide was soaked in boiling water to remove the furs and it was cooked and eaten as food. However, the major challenge with this survival strategy was that by the 1980 - 90s, game became scarce as the increase in population led to the clearing of former hunting grounds to make room for settlements and agriculture.

Fishing and craft work were livelihood strategies largely practiced by people residing close to Odzi and Save Rivers. The relationship between fishing and craft work - in particular, weaving sleeping - mats (*maponde*) and baskets (*matengu*) was that, the villagers took advantage of the nearby rivers to catch fish and to harvest reeds (*tsanga*) that grew abundantly along the banks of rivers to weave sleeping – mats and baskets. Large quantities of fish were trapped by either using nets made of strong fiber (*mambure*) or a cone - shaped cage made of reeds known as *muduu*. One family that lived very close to the Odzi River survived from the proceeds obtained from selling fish and sleeping – mats. *Mbuya* Mambondiyani explained:

> Many families who live in this village make a living out of fishing and craft work… On a good day, we can catch three or four twenty liter buckets of fish using fish nets (*mambure*). A lot of people come and buy fresh fish from my house… After selecting some for cooking with my family, I smoke the rest to sale as dried fish. My husband was never employed in his life time yet all my six children attended school. We paid the larger part of school fees using proceeds we get from selling fish and sleeping - mats [the sleeping - mats were weaved from reeds obtained from the banks of Odzi River]

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182 Ibid
183 Interview with *mbuya* Mambondiyani, villager, held in Mabvengwa, 25 July 2015.
Figure 1. (top) Mbuya Mambondiyanzi weaving sleeping mats, Mabvengwa, Marange. Left to right: author, mbuya, Mambondiyanzi, sekuru Mambondiyanzi

From the interview above, it can be observed that although the land in Marange was not suitable for effective crop cultivation, the inhabitants developed indigenous knowledge systems to survive. They harnessed natural resources from the rivers, thick forests and mountains and created artefacts which they sold to secure a livelihood. The natural resources were essential to the villagers as they
provided the necessities of everyday life. Other craft works included blacksmithing and carpentry. From the locally available trees, the people in Marange carved out beautiful wooden artifacts. They sold the artifacts to the cross-border traders who traded the objects in neighbouring South Africa and Botswana.184

Gathering or ‘foraging’ is a livelihood strategy commonly associated with Aboriginal people in many continents. In African societies it was a very important coping strategy in particular during periodic food shortages. Food stuffs people gathered in Bocha included honey,185 fruits, mushroom and various edible caterpillars. Fruit gathering played an important role in supplementing food in everyday life. The indigenous fruits that were either traded or consumed by the local people were collected from the thick forest, plains, river-banks and mountains. They included fruits from trees like baobab (muuyu), berchemia discolour (munyii), diospyros mespiliformis (mushumha) sclerocarya birrea (mupfura)

Indigenous trees were not only important for harvesting fruits. In the 1990s and 2000s, weavers used baobab barks for weaving sitting-mats which were sold in neighbouring South Africa and Botswana.186 Other trees like mopane (musharu) iron wood (muwanga) and ebony (murwiti) were also valuable for producing charcoal( marasha) and indigenous timber. Some innovative traders sold their charcoal in the nearby city of Mutare. The residents of Mutare used the charcoal as a source of fuel for cooking and heating purposes. Mrs Mavhiza who lived in Gonora indicated that the selling of charcoal and baobab fruits187 were her major sources of income since the husband’s death in 1995. She explained:

184 Interview with Mr Mwatira, teacher: Banda Primary School, Banda school, Marange, 26 August 2014.
185 One Patrick lamented the loss of his bee-hives in Ushonje Mountain in Marange (diamonds were discovered in this mountain) which become inaccessible and a NO GO AREA beginning in November 2006. Interview with Patrick, relocated villager, ARDA Transau, 11 August 2015.
186 Interview with Mr Mwatira, 26 August 2014
187 The baobab fruits were crushed and the edible stuff soaked into hot water for some hours. The juice was used to prepare porridge which was eaten as part of meals.
After the death of my husband in 1995, I did not have someone to take care of my children… I then thought of selling charcoal and baobab fruits (mauyu) in Mutare as a way of obtaining income. I produced the charcoal from the locally available trees, particularly from mopane (musharu) and iron wood (muwanga)… I gathered the baobab fruits from the forest and in the mountains… Although it is a difficult task, I have been able to survive for a long time by trading these items…

From independence in 1980 up to the 2000s, the Government of Zimbabwe and the donor community, under the banner of rural development and poverty alleviation programs made an effort to improve the livelihoods of the rural population in some parts of the country. According to Kusena, the Mutare Rural District Council, on behalf of the government of Zimbabwe initiated food for work programs in the most vulnerable administrative wards in Marange. The work which was usually done by the local villagers included road maintenance and gully reclamation. Villagers were offered food as part of the wages. Beginning in the 2000s, Plan International (Non-Governmental Organisation) distributed cereals, corn-soya blend, vegetable oils including goats and guinea fowls to some families in administrative wards 24, 28, 29 and 30 to kick-start projects that sustain their livelihoods.

Although this was a good gesture by both the government and the donor community on the socio-economic lives of the rural population, this was short-lived as the country descended into an unprecedented political and economic crisis between the late-1990s and the 2000s.

Around the 2000s, all communities in the rural and urban areas were affected by the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’. As compared to the urban areas, the rural population were more vulnerable. Earlier, in 1991, the Government of Zimbabwe had officially implemented the Economic Structural

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188 Interview with Mrs Mavhiza, Villager, Gonora primary school, 27 August 2014.
190 Ibid
Adjustment Programme (ESAP) which had a detrimental effect on increasing poverty more on the rural dwellers as compared to the urban population. The Marange community was not safe from the challenges associated with ESAP and the ‘Zimbabwe crisis.’ The people in Bocha turned to the environment to eke out a living in what Jeremy Jones described as Kukiya - kiya (multiple forms of ‘making do’). Informal gold mining along the banks of Odzi River became increasingly important as a way of securing livelihoods. This may be explained by the broader context of the rise of international mineral trade.

In the early 2000s, groups of boys and unemployed men in Marange teamed up with their friends from communities in chiefs Zimunya and Nyashanu area in the adventures of gold panning in Musanditeera translated as: (do not follow me) a thick forest located in the Eastern part of Chimanimimani under Chief Mutambara. It was under such circumstances of seeking survival from the locally available resources that the local people came to know about the existence of diamonds in Ushonje Mountain. As Chimonyo, Mungure and Scott elaborated, “Diamond scavenging became popular because the local communities were used to this type of life, of

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194 Although mineral mining and trade played an essential role in the development of capitalism in colonial Africa (in particular, beginning in the 1860s) In post-colonial Africa (beginning in the late-1980s) there was an emergence of a ‘new’ mineral trade which was slightly different from that of the second half of the 19th century. Apart from the rise of a ‘new trade’ in minerals related to electronic products such as computers and cellular phones, in the 1980s, there was a rise of an illegal mineral trade in other valuable products such as diamonds and gold See, for example, D.F.Bryceson etal., Mining and Social Transformation in Africa: Mineralizing and democratizing trends in Artisanal production, (2014) ; G.A.Davis, ‘Trade in Mineral Resources’, Colorado: Colorado School of Mines, Working Paper(2010) pp.3-5. ; G.M. Hilson (ed), Small Scale Mining, Rural Subsistence and Poverty in West Africa, (2006); R. Maconachie and T. Bins, ‘Farming miners’ or ‘mining farmers’?: Diamond mining and rural development in post-conflict Sierra Leone’ (2007)
196 The De Beers Company operated in Marange between the 1990s and 2000s. The desperate former local De Beers workers prompted the local people into finding out that there were diamonds in Ushonje Mountain. Interview with N. Mukwada, 26 July, 2015.
scavenging for livelihoods.” It can therefore, be argued that diamond mining in Marange began as an alternative source of livelihood strategy by the local people who relied on the blessings of nature as a safety valve to the social and economic challenges that were bedeviling the community and the country as a whole. More than 35 000 people across the country and beyond descended on Marange hoping to strike a fortune. Although anyone could participate in mining the key resource, the Marange people began to invoke the discourse of belonging - claiming to be indigenous inhabitants of the land and the owners of diamond resources. As Katsaura observed:

residents of Chiadzwa…have internalized schemas of ‘we’ and ‘other’ The schemas of ‘we’ are based on cartographies of belonging to an autochthonous in-group composed of people originating in Chiadzwa…the schemas of ‘other’ are based on cartographies of out-group based on the notion of invasion which is enacted on those originating from places outside Chiadzwa.

The ‘discovery’ of diamonds in June 2006, totally transformed the Marange’s landscape. Ushonje Mountain, including all the adjacent areas where diamonds were extracted became commonly known as *manda* in the vernacular which means crop field. Allegorically, Ushonje Mountain became a field where people harvested diamonds to earn a living. Artisanal mining eclipsed other livelihood strategies and “established a thriving informal economy which directly benefited the rural and urban poor, particularly in Manicaland province but also more broadly in other parts of Zimbabwe”\(^{201}\). It became the most popular means of securing a living in and around Marange.

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\(^{200}\) Ibid pp.101-106.

up to late - 2008 when the government violently displaced the artisanal miners.\textsuperscript{202} The local inhabitants were resentful when the government excluded them from the ‘diamond gravy train’. Most of the people, if not all, believed that: “God and the ancestors had intervened to make diamonds a life - saver for the community”\textsuperscript{203} that had endured several decades of suffering from drought and hunger. As Hosea Chipanga, a popular Zimbabwean musician in one of his latest songs (2016) aptly entitled \textit{Kwa Marange} sang:

\begin{verbatim}
Mwari baba ndine chicemo, ndokumbirao kuziva kwenyu.
KwaMarange kwandinobva, ivhu racho rakaoma
Pamakatipa madiamonds ndakafara kuti tawana rugare.
Kutaura kuno, kwaChiadzwa kunofiwa.
Kutaura kuno, vanwe vakatoremara,
Zvirema zvega - zvega.
Kutaura kuno, kwaMarange ndakatotamiswa.
Kutaura kuno, kwaMarange ndakatodzingwa.
Pamakatipa madiamonds taiti vana vachashanda.
Kutaura kuno, vana basa vakatodzingwa,
Vamwe kutoripinda havana.

Translated as:

(Lord I ask for your guidance.
In Marange, the land of my birth we have poor sandy soils.
When you blessed us with diamonds we celebrated
The beginning of a better life
As I speak, in Chiadzwa people are dying.
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{202} Apart from being involved in diamond digging, local villagers were involved in other income generating activities like vending and provision of accommodation and other services to artisanal miners who did not want to stay in the mountains and thick forest. Diamond buyers evading police and detectives were also given a hiding place by local villagers. For accommodation, an individual artisanal panner paid US$ 50 while each diamond buyer paid US$300 for a single day. Interview with Mr Kadzima, teacher: Mukwada Secondary, Mukwada, 27 August, 2014.

\textsuperscript{203} See for example Staff reporter, “Spirit medium stalls plans to seal off diamond fields” \textit{The Standard}, 5 November 2006.
Some have been maimed, many are now crippled.
As I speak, my family has been relocated.
I was forcibly moved from the land of my birth.
When you blessed us with diamonds we all thought
the unemployed youths will finally find work.
Alas! Most, if not all, have lost employment.
Some were never employed.  

The Marange inhabitants claimed to be the rightful owners of the diamond resources because they believed the mineral was sacred and associated with the spirits of the land.  

“For several decades, we experienced famine in Bocha….” lamented one elder interviewed at the relocation area, “…the government did not relocate us…only after our ancestors responded to our prayers through the blessings of ngoda… did the government decided to move us from our ancestral land…”

Forced removal was one of the major immediate impacts of the discovery of diamonds in Marange. It had varied socio-cultural and economic effects upon the Marange villagers as will be discussed in detail in chapters three and four that examines the challenges and opportunities encountered by the displaced families and the coping mechanisms they developed to survive their dispossession.

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204 Hosea Chipanga, KwaMarange(At Marange), available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jN6AbaTimbl.
205 After the ‘discovery’ of diamonds in 2006, A number of rituals led by local spirit mediums were carried in Marange. For a detailed discussion of the idea of the sacredness of the diamonds see Staff reporter, “Spirit medium stalls plans to seal off diamond fields” The Standard, 5 November 2006.
206 Interview with sekuru Gamunorwa, relocated villager, ARDA Transau, 13 August 2015.
Conclusion

The chapter has provided a historical background for a better understanding of the effects of the relocation exercise on the Marange inhabitants. It discussed the history of the peopling of Marange and came to a position that although it is debatable, the people under NeChipindirwe represents the indigenous group. The chapter has demonstrated that the livelihood strategies undertaken by the Marange villagers from the 1960s to 2010, were multidimensional and to a larger extent determined by the culture and perception of the historical actors over their environment. To cope with the harsh environment and recurrent droughts, the people cultivated drought tolerant traditional grain crops, developed indigenous knowledge systems: trapping fish, weaving sleeping – mats and baskets, and making wood carvings for sale. With the intensification of the liberation war in the late -1970s, the villagers’ ways of securing a living, in particular, crop cultivation was disrupted: people were moved into the Protected Villages where it became difficult to attend their fields. Following the rise of the ‘new’ international mineral trade, the Marange inhabitants, as other people from rural areas in African counties like Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of Congo, beginning in the late -1990s, resorted to artisanal mining as a survival strategy. The ‘discovery’ of diamonds in 2006 mirrored the traditional livelihood strategies of relying on the environment by the Bocha inhabitants and an interplay that existed between them and their environment.
CHAPTER THREE


Introduction

This chapter examines the constraints and opportunities encountered by the displaced families following mechanised diamond mining in Marange. It questions the role that diamond resources played in the moved households and contends that the Marange relocation project was a ‘development disaster’\(^{207}\): The relocation exercise generated ‘new poverty’ on the relocated Marange households different from the “old poverty” they experienced in their old community.\(^{208}\) Although on the one hand, in the name of ‘national development’ forced removal created opportunities for the uprooted population such as provision of decent houses and furnishing of Transau secondary school with computers.\(^{209}\) On the other hand, these opportunities were far outweighed by the devastating socio-economic, political and cultural impacts that profoundly and irrevocably altered the lives of both the displaced and those who remained behind, as well as the host - Zimunya community. The chapter further argues that apart from decimating the livelihoods of the displaced families, displacement also triggered contestations over resources, in particular, land. Land-based conflicts became hotly contested as claims and counter-claims became more


\(^{208}\) The terms ‘new poverty’ and ‘old poverty’ were borrowed from T.E Downing, ‘Avoiding new poverty: Mining-Induced displacement and resettlement’ (2002).

\(^{209}\) All the primary and secondary schools in administrative wards 29 and 30 (Mukwada and Chiadzwa) were not furnished with computers.
pronounced between the diamond firms and the villagers (both those who remained behind and those displaced to ARDA Transau) as well as between the displaced households and the host community. The displaced households faced a plethora of challenges that to a large extent, can be attributed to absence of a clear policy underlying resettlement projects in the constitution of Zimbabwe, poor pre-relocation planning, lack of transparency and consultation involving affected populations, and, above all, the state’s heavy handedness. The challenges faced, include, but were not limited to loss of livelihoods, unavailability of employment opportunities, conflicts over land, loss of tangible and intangible assets, inadequate pastures, lack of health facilities, and disruption of formal education, cultural practices and social networks.

**Context and nature of relocation: An overview**

Nearly a decade after diamonds were ‘discovered’ in 2006, and five years after the first families were moved to ARDA Transau, the Marange families continued to curse the day when *ngoda* (colloquial for diamonds) were discovered in their community as it became increasingly clear that economic gain by the political elite took precedence over the very existence of the ordinary villagers who were the ‘indigenous’ inhabitants and the custodians of the land.\(^{210}\) In 2009, the government of Zimbabwe entered into partnership with private investors seeking mining claims in Marange. Mbada Diamonds was the first company to be awarded a concession followed by other firms like Marange Resources, the Chinese - led Anjin Investments, the Dubai - based DMC among

\(^{210}\) While the Marange’s case demonstrates that the displaced families continued to slide into abject impoverishment in five years - time after the first removals, the Costa Rican Arenal Hydroelectric Project was successful in making better the standards of living of the displaced population and making them manage their own lives in - five years - time after relocation, See W.L Patridge, “Successful Involuntary Resettlement: Lessons from the Costa Rican Arenal Hydroelectric Project” in M. M. Cernea and S. E. Guggenheim, *Anthropological Approaches to Involuntary Resettlement: Policy, Practice, and Theory*, (Oxford :Westview Press, 1993)
others.211 Except for Marange Resources which was wholly owned by the government through ZMDC, all other companies were licensed to extract the mineral under a joint venture agreement with the government.212 The government tasked each firm given a concession with the obligation to move the affected peoples in the area it operated to the relocation area and provide them with houses, a clinic, a primary and secondary school, electricity, and clean water.213

Of an estimated 4 300 households targeted for relocation by the time the project come to an end, only 1 400 from Mukwada and Chiadzwa administrative wards had been moved by 2015. This was, however, done in a haphazard manner.214 The chaos and flaws can be explained by a multiplicity of factors. Chief among them being: first the absence of a clear policy underlying resettlement projects in the constitution of Zimbabwe, and second, blurred policies concerning the awarding of mining concessions by the government. Third was the opaqueness of the contents of the concessions. And, lastly a lack of pre - relocation planning and failure to involve the affected peoples during the initial planning stage also played a role.215

211 Other firms awarded concessions to extract diamonds in Marange included Jinan Mining, Gye-Nyame Resources and Rera Diamonds. See also A. Martin “Reap what you sow: Greed and Corruption in Zimbabwe’s Marange Diamond Fields” in R. Saunders and T. Nyamunda (eds) Facets of Power: (2016)
212 Ibid
213 Andrew Mambondiani “The Curse of Marange Diamonds” The Standard, 4 November 2013. See also Centre for Natural Resource Governance, ‘Marange relocations leads to new poverty’, p.4.
The crux of the relocation process shows that the project was ill-planned. It was imposed on the people. As such, it was characterised by state repression, massive intimidation and lack of transparency for the population targeted for relocation. This was a recipe for a ‘development disaster’. As lessons drawn from the Costa Rican Arenal Hydroelectric Project completed in 1980 indicated, “Poor preparation of resettlement plans is the single most important reason for failure of resettlement components in development projects…the planning process played important roles in avoiding negative consequences and improving the lives of the people affected by the project…” The majority of the informants interviewed insisted that the relocation exercise was poorly planned and imposed. As one informant moved by Anjin Investments recalls:

It was in November 2011 when the DA and other government officials accompanied by armed soldiers and police came to Chirasika and told people at a community gathering that in three weeks - time from that day, each family was expected to have gathered all its’ belongings - including livestock as households were to be moved to ARDA Transau …We asked the DA several questions which he did not openly answer. We asked him how we were to be compensated for all the assets we were going to lose. We also asked him whether we were going to be compensated for our crops since the cropping season had just began… He told us that everything we needed to make a new life - including food, irrigation facility, schools, electricity and free tap water was awaiting us at the relocation area…When we arrived at ARDA Transau, we discovered that most, if not all, of the promises were broken. Food handouts were abandoned a few months after we were relocated, there was no irrigation facility and electricity, schools were still under construction. …Although there was tap water, beginning in 2014, we were forced to pay US$5 each month as fixed water rates, yet access to water was free at Chirasika as most families had drilled boreholes …

Madebwe and Madebwe also echoed the same sentiments by observing that:

Villagers felt vulnerable and became increasingly fearful due to the lack of consultation by government and mining companies, poor provision of information and lack of adequate notice for what was planned. They were not fully informed of the process by which their household assets would be praised and compensated, how and when they would be

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218 Interview with sekuru Gamunorwa, 13 August 2015.
replaced, when they would be moved and how the arrangements in the new settlement area would be made.\textsuperscript{219}

A critical element inherent with the Marange relocation project - as the relocation planners moved the affected people to ARDA Transau was villager resistance. However, resistance was not intense as compared to other cases of development - related projects where communities were forced to move.\textsuperscript{220} While Chiponda and Saunders observed that a local rights - based NGO: CCDT vigorously campaigned for the plight of the affected peoples and encouraged them to “refuse relocation without first obtaining compensation”\textsuperscript{221} evidence gathered from this research indicated that due to state repression and the nature of the judicial system of Zimbabwe which is not binding on issues related to human rights violations,\textsuperscript{222} villagers’ resistance against forced removal was moderate out of fear. From the outset of the diamond story, the government’s power and its heavy-handedness on the Marange villagers manifested in November 2006 when it claimed to bring to an end all notable illegal mining activities countrywide – (chief among these was diamond mining in Marange) by launching what was dubbed ‘Operation Chikorokoza Chapera’ (end to illegal mining).\textsuperscript{223} Later, in October 2008, the government unleashed more severe violence: dislodging

\textsuperscript{220} In India, some communities targeted for relocation in order to pave the way for dam constructions showed active resistance by demonstrating against such projects. See, P. McCully, \textit{Silenced Rivers: The Economy and Politics of Large Dams}, (1996) pp.281-308.
\textsuperscript{221} M Chiponda and R Saunders, “Holding Ground: Community, Companies and Resistance in Chiadzwa” R. Saunders and T. Nyamunda (eds) \textit{Facets of Power} (2016) p. 182
the *magweja* (artisanal diamond miners) of Marange through the launching of ‘Operation *Hakudzokwi*’ (You Will Not Return) which gained notoriety for the death of over 200 people, including the defenseless local villagers.  

224 One villager quoted in one newspaper commented:

> Trouble started when the government launched Operation *Hakudzokwi* where armed soldiers treated us like thieves or war enemies. They violated every right that we used to enjoy and brutalised us in a manner unimaginable for fellow countrymen. We couldn’t figure out their real mission. Women were raped, young boys and men were tortured and many were killed. A lot of our property was destroyed and the future of our children was shattered right before our eyes. It was bad…  

225 The evidence above suggests that widespread violence, massive rights abuse and the killing of many people by state security agents were chief among the factors that led to the thwarting of villagers’ potential for successful resistance. It also represents part of the evidence supporting what Richard Saunders calls “the modern face of conflict[blood] diamonds”  

226 After the massacre of October 2008, villagers’ potential for successful or sustained resistance continued being hindered by the diamond firms’ security guards and armed state security agents who milled about in the community intimidating and assaulting villagers.  

227 Some of the villagers assaulted were

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227 For more examples of cases of forced removals where state security agents abused the rights of the local villagers see. B.R. Johnston, “Development Disaster, Reparations, and the Right to Remedy: The Case of the Chixoy Dam, Guatemala” in A. Oliver- Smith(ed), *Development and Dispossession: The Crisis of Forced Displacement and*
permanently disabled while others died. The community chairman of the CCDT, Malvern Mudiwa was also arrested. The context and nature of the relocation exercise was therefore characterised by state repression, gross human rights abuses, lack of transparency, inadequate consultation and massive intimidation, and, above all, broken promises.

**Forced relocation and Compensation**

Lack of compensation was one of the most notable challenges faced by the displaced households. This deficiency was chief among the factors that made the Marange relocation project to be an epitome of what Barbra Johnston calls a *development disaster*: “those cases in which governments condemn and seize land and related resources in the name of economic development yet fail to provide due process, including meaningful compensation for losses and related injury.”

In other development-related projects sponsored by the government in Manicaland province during the post–independent era, for example, the construction of Osborne and Mupudzi dams, the affected...
people were compensated for lost assets like houses and orchards.\textsuperscript{231} When the Marange families were moved to ARDA Transau, each household regardless of size, was given one - hectare of land where the main - house, stand - alone rondavel kitchen and Blair latrine were constructed. This was the same piece of land used for crop cultivation as well as for constructing a goat and cattle pen. In addition, the families also received a standard ‘disturbance allowance’ of US$1 000 per household.\textsuperscript{232} What, however, remains unclear was the method used by the diamond firms to arrive at such a standard amount as evidence from this research reveals that the moved households were disgruntled for not being consulted. The testimony of a 78 – year old man about the loss of his unmovable assets and failure to be recompensed by the government and the diamond firms was compelling and representative of the feelings of the majority of the displacees towards lack of compensation:

Although we are longing for diamond - fuelled development in our community… what worries us most is that what kind of development is it which come to us without consultation with the community?; Which makes us poorer than what we were at Chiadzwa?; We left crops in our fields after being forced to move to ARDA Transau and we were not compensated. Our livestock is dying in large numbers here due to change of ecological settings and we did not receive any compensation... My orchard, seven – roomed house, including three boreholes I drilled at Chiadzwa were all razed and I did not receive any compensation...Now, chances for us of receiving compensation are slim because there was no valuation of assets nor are there any records listing the assets we lost\textsuperscript{233}

And as two Village Heads quoted in one newspaper also expressed:

\textit{Village Head 1}: We are the \textit{owners} of this land. It belongs to our ancestors. We should benefit from it… We have tried to get assistance from the provincial governor [Chris Mushowe] regarding the compensation but nothing has come our way. It is high time we

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\textsuperscript{232} Interview with Mr Gwayagwaya, Chairman: ARDA Transau Relocation Developmmt Trust, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2015.

\textsuperscript{233} Interview with \textit{sekuru} W. Bhasopo, relocated villager, ARDA Transau, 13 August 2015.
talk to Mugabe [President] and Tsvangirai [then Prime - minister] so that they can help us. These are the last people that can help us…

Village Head 2: I do not know why the diamond companies are punishing us like this. They have completely ignored our plight. They are busy sponsoring colourful sporting activities and political parties, while the real owners of the land are suffering. We want our money. ..They are driving expensive cars and splashing wealth everywhere yet they have ignored us. Vane chikwereti chedu [they owe us]. We will not allow that. We are seeking an audience with the highest offices so that we can be assisted …Villagers have tried several avenues to get compensation but to no avail… We are being blocked and threatened. We hope the country’s leadership will read the story and come to our rescue …

The evidence above indicates that the government and diamond firms were not sincere on the aspect of compensation. The Marange villagers regarded themselves as the legitimate owners of the diamonds who had the right to share the key resource with ‘others’ and not other people coming to share the resource for them. The Village Heads quoted above complained about being marginalized by powerful elites: they were resentful about the fact that the ‘rightful owners’ of the resources were not even getting their share while ‘foreigners’ were benefiting from the diamonds. Although, as noted by Downing, “Compensation by itself cannot adequately restore and improve the income levels and livelihood standards of people subjected to expropriation and forced displacement”235 it is indeed, a prerequisite for improving the living standards of a dislocated community, and, above all achieving successful resettlement. There was little, if any hope at all among the displaced villagers if they were going to be reimbursed for the losses they incurred. Informants interviewed reported that up to August 2015, no valuation of all forms of lost assets including ‘cultural assets’ were done.236 A difficult question arose: how was the government along with the diamond firms going to compensate for lost assets that had not been recorded?

234 Clayton Masekesa, “Displaced Marange villagers in quandary” 28 April 2013 quoting village heads Chirasika and Garahwa respectively.
236 Interview with sekuru W. Bhasopo. relocated villager, ARDA Transau, 13 August 2015.
Access to Land and Livelihood Strategies

Soon after the first phase of forced removals by Anjin Investments in 2010, Marange landscape was totally transformed. Landlessness, land-based conflicts and decimation of livelihoods became increasingly acute as more people were moved to ARDA Transau from 2010 through to 2015.237 The displaced families were powerless and defenseless against forced removal and loss of their productive land. This was largely because the Communal Lands Act: [Chapter 20:04] does not protect the rights of people inhabiting the communal areas of Zimbabwe. While the Act allowed the dwellers therein to utilize the land in a variety of ways “including the erection of any building or enclosure, ploughing, hoeing, the cutting of vegetation, the depasturing of animals or the taking of sand, stone or other material therefrom,”238 it stripped of the population living in the communal areas the right to own the land they inhabited, and thus, placing the lives of the inhabitants in jeopardy, especially during the post-independent era when state-sponsored development-related projects increased on a wide scale. At ARDA Transau, the displaced families became excessively vulnerable to the resettlement effects which included, but were not limited to landlessness, disputes over resources and loss of livelihoods. Of these, the most immediate challenge was landlessness. As observed by Downing:

MIDR raises the significant risk of landlessness by removing the foundations upon which productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are articulated. This form of decapitalization and pauperization occurs not only from the loss of land to mining, but also as a result of the inability of the displaced to find suitable replacement land….239

238 The government of Zimbabwe is restrictive on community rights concerning the ownership of land in communal areas. The people living in the communal areas only have ‘use- rights’ and do not own the land. See Part I, section 2 of The Communal Lands Act, [Chapter 20:04]
Downing’s observation concurs with Scudder’s who, when discussing the challenges faced by the displaced Gwembe Tonga at their new settlement in the 1970s noted that “Landlessness… has been the major resettlement related cause of impoverishment. It has also been a major cause of food insecurity…”240 The Marange relocation project validate the observations above as evidence from this study has shown that one of the greatest challenges encountered by the displaced households at ARDA Transau was a scarcity of land.241 The land set aside to accommodate the moved households was far too little to absorb all the population targeted for relocation. As Mr Cosmas Chiringa, the then Manicaland acting provincial administrator elaborated: “ARDA Transau will not accommodate 4 000 families that will be affected by the mining activities. There is therefore, need to look for another farm. We have proposed land that is undeveloped in Middle Sabi…” 242

While the soil in Marange was less fertile as compared to that at the relocation area, the land in Marange was more sustainable as both a major source of income and providing living space. In particular, for bigger families such as those of the dominant polygamous African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange (AACJM) known as Mapositori in the vernacular.243 One sekuru Kambeni, a devoted follower of the AACJM sect explained:

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242 Herald Reporter “Government identifies new farm to resettle Chiadzwa families” 2 April, 2012.
243 AACJM originated in administrative ward 16 (Mafararikwa) in Marange. The church doctrine encouraged any male member of the church to marry as many wives as he wanted. For more detail of beliefs and practices of AACJM, see N. Nyachega, ‘Responses of the African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange to HIV/AIDS in Honde Valley: 1985-2013’(BA Honours, University of Zimbabwe, 2013)
Although we received scant rains in Bocha, we were blessed with abundant land. When a son got married, a father would allocate a substantial piece of land to him so that he would start his own family... One of the biggest challenge at ARDA Transau is a lack of space for our children to start their families. In fact, the one hectare - piece given to each household is not adequate for a family’s subsistence ...

As evidence from the interview above testifies, forced removal quickly impoverished the displacees who largely depended on the land for subsistence. Agricultural opportunities were profoundly threatened, ultimately leading to food shortages. Another problem closely related to a lack of space in particular, for bigger families like those of the followers of AACJM sect was accommodation. At the new location, sharing houses became common as there was no land for allocating the newly married sons to begin their families. This will be discussed in detail in the next sections.

The host - Zimunya community was not spared either from facing challenges connected to land - based conflicts soon after the families from Marange were moved to ARDA Transau. Disputes over territorial boundaries, access to land and other resources largely informed by the discourse of belonging became more pronounced between those who claimed to be autochthons (Zimunya villagers) and the late comers (Marange villagers). Villagers displaced from Chief Zimunya’s place in the context of ‘white agricultural policy’ during the colonial era viewed the relocation of the Marange villagers in their ancestral land as the only opportunity available for

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244 Interview with sekuru Kambeni, 13 August 2015.
245 For a nuanced discussion of food shortage challenges encountered by the displaced villagers at ARDA Transau See, B. Kusena, “Coping with new challenges: The case of food shortage affecting displaced villagers following diamond mining activity at Chiadzwa, Zimbabwe, 2006-2013” (2015)
them to reclaim and control all the area in and around ARDA Transau. The Zimunya inhabitants used *matongo*, (old homes) graves and local shrines as traditional markers supporting their claim to indigeneity and evoked the discourse of social belonging to engage the ‘new comers’ and the government to repossess their lost ancestral land. As one villager argued:

This land belongs to our forefathers and there is no doubt that we are the real owners. …the government cannot stop us from reclaiming the land where our forefathers were buried by bringing ‘strangers’ from as far away as Bocha. We cannot accept this…the land belongs to us and we want it back...

The interview above indicates that, far from using title deeds to support land ownership, the villagers justified the discourse of land ownership by inheritance from the forefathers. While the land was regarded as state property by the government, the Zimunya villagers considered it as their asset inherited from their forefathers. They claimed that they had the right to keep the land for their children. If land-based conflicts were a threat to the relationship between the host community and the displaced families, the government added to it. There was little consideration done by the government and diamond firms to sustain the livelihoods of a community whose life was underpinned by land. The one hectare given to each displaced household was far less sustainable especially considering the fact that the families had no reliable source of getting income to buy fertilizers to maximize yields. This made access to livelihood one of the major, if not the most worrisome problem at the relocation area.

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247 In the 1890s, Chief Zimunya and Chief Marange lost tracts of land along the Mabunji and Mutanda range to settler farmers, See, D.N Beach, *A Zimbabwean Past: Shona Dynastic Histories and Oral Traditions*, (1994) p. 36.
249 Interview with Mbuya Mavhima, Villager, Zimunya, 13 August 2015.
Lack of livelihood, a common challenge affecting communities displaced by development-related projects severely affected the moved families at ARDA Transau. A lack of income generating projects, the absence of employment opportunities, and, above all, the unfulfilled promise of the irrigation equipment all contributed in limiting the opportunities for a sustainable livelihood at the relocation area. From the outset of the relocation exercise, the most critical question which was not sufficiently thought through by the relocation designers was that of providing the moved households with livelihood opportunities at the new environment. The government and diamond firms lacked foresight or they did not care and failed to consider how, the removees were to secure a living after being dislocated from an environment with abundant land for crop cultivation and various other necessities needed in their everyday lives.

One of the most notable effects of a lack of sustainable livelihood opportunities at the relocation area was food shortage. Kusena aptly observed that: “after their relocation…the villagers quickly became impoverished and food insecure, having been far removed from their known sources of traditional livelihood…” While food shortages were not new phenomena to the displaced households, however, as observed by Kusena and as stressed in chapter two, the difference with the situation at the relocation area was that in Marange, there were a lot of opportunities for the villages to secure the necessities of life, opportunities which were not found at the new environment. Another advantage enjoyed by the moved families when they were still in their former community was that after the discovery of diamonds, the opportunities of securing

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250 Lack of livelihood opportunities is a common challenge affecting families displaced by government sponsored development-related projects. For example, the affected people moved by the apartheid regime to Limehill resettlement camp in South Africa experienced the same challenge. The Government did not create employment opportunities, income generating projects or any other mechanisms to cater for the livelihoods of the moved families. See C. Desmond, *The Discarded People: An Account of African Resettlement in South Africa*, (1971), pp.11-12. For more examples, See also, L.Platzky and C. Walker, *The Surplus People*, (1985), pp.327-368.

a living became much wider. As Nyamunda noted that: “during the ‘free – for - all’ phase…the artisanal diamond economy became a crucial livelihood alternative”\(^{252}\) to the local villagers. A lot of opportunities for getting income opened up for the local villagers even to those who were not involved in diamond mining. For example, some villagers obtained income through providing hiding places in exchange for money to the desperate diamond panners and diamond buyers evading police while others were involved in trading of numerous agricultural products, foodstuffs and water\(^{253}\) at exorbitant prices to the diamond diggers. However, the emergence of mechanised mining and subsequent forced removal halted all the community’s available opportunities of getting income.

The means of securing the necessities of life were further disrupted by the change in ecological setting. As mentioned earlier in chapter one, Marange community experienced very high temperatures while the relocation area was fairly cool. The abrupt change in ecological conditions became a health hazard to villagers’ livestock in particular, cattle and goats that thrived well in hot areas. One informant observed that:

> Besides the scarcity of fodder for livestock, this place is too cold for rearing animals. In Bocha we had a lot of cattle and goats because, apart from the thick forests abundant with nutritious musharu trees, the area is very hot, making it favourable for animal keeping…. One year after I settled in ARDA Transau, three of the ten goats, and four of the thirteen cattle I came with from Bocha died due to changes in ecological settings. At the moment I am only left with three goats and five cattle…\(^{254}\)

The depletion of livestock had a multiple effect on the displacees lives. Firstly, and more importantly, in times of crisis, it meant the villagers had nothing to sell in order to get quick income.


\(^{253}\) Water was a scarce resource in Marange. Local villagers took this opportunity to sell water at unreasonably high prices to the thirsty and desperate diamond diggers.

\(^{254}\) Interview with Mujaho, displaced Villager, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2015.
as most of them had invested their wealth in livestock. Besides this, the death of livestock, in particular cattle at an alarming rate meant it became increasingly difficult for the villagers to till their land since cattle were used as the main source of draught power in rural communities.

Another vital livelihood strategy commonly practiced by the Marange families no longer feasible at the relocation area was gardening. This was due to water scarcity. The relocatees were restricted from drilling boreholes. They were also not allowed to use tap water for gardening purposes by the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA). Households that failed to abide by the rule faced a harsh penalty: supply was cut and the family forced to fetch water for domestic purposes from unprotected sources such as open water wells or in Odzi River - a distance of about 5km away from the relocation area. However, at Marange, water for garden maintenance was easy to access as most villagers had drilled boreholes at their homesteads while others had erected gardens along the banks of rivers.

Livelihood challenges were further worsened by the unavailability of employment opportunities at the relocation area and in the whole country. Due to economic mismanagement and corruption which became endemic in Zimbabwe as a whole, employment opportunities in the nearby city of Mutare and at the diamond companies were very limited. Major industries in the

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255 Obey Manayiti, “Zinwa cuts water supply to Transau villagers” 23 February 2014.
256 Interview with Vito, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2015, See also Obey Manayiti, “ZINWA cuts water supply to Transau villagers” 23 February 2014.
city of Mutare such as Karina Textiles, Pilkington Glass, Border Timbers and Mutare Board and Paper Mills had closed due to the Zimbabwean crisis. As Raftopoulos cogently observed:

A key aspect of the crisis was the rapid decline of the economy, characterised by amongst other things: steep declines in industrial and agricultural productivity; historic levels of hyperinflation; the informalisation of labour; dollarisation of economic transactions; displacements; and a critical erosion of livelihoods.  

Corruption, nepotism and the patronage system represent a stumbling block for the displaced households to secure employment at the diamond firms. Evidence gathered from this study indicated that employment agencies of the diamond firms were charging large sums of money to the prospective employees to guarantee them jobs. This narrowed down the chances of anyone from the displaced households getting employment. As the then Manicaland Provincial Governor, Chris Mushohwe expressed bitterness on the companies that operated in Marange for marginalizing the local people concerning employment opportunities: “We really cannot continue to take it” lamented the former Provincial Governor “They are busy employing people from all over the country while shunning locals, even for menial jobs. That is quite unfair. We have no choice… but suspect that mining company authorities are employing their kith and kin”  

And as Madebwe and Madebwe observed:

Employment and agricultural opportunities were limited in the new settlement area…Mbada did not offer many jobs to the local population. The company engaged little with displaced people around employment provision, apart from keeping a record of their names for future consideration…Jobs were being filled by ZANU - PF party loyalists ahead of local residents…The web of patronage extended overseas when it came to labour. Anjin,

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259 Interview with Vito, 14 August 2015.
one of the larger mining operations with a major Chinese shareholding, brought Chinese workers in large numbers into the country to work the company’s Chiadzwa claim...261

In light of the evidence above, it can be surmised that chances for the majority of the moved families to secure employment at the diamond companies were limited. Although the displaced families expected to benefit from a key national resource extracted in their former community through gainful employment, this was, however, a fantasy since only a few villagers were employed. This severely limited the villagers’ ways of securing the necessities of life.

**Provision of Housing Units**

Provision of housing units to the displaced households was a key development that, however, attracted ambivalent views from the families moved and various observers. Although many households in Marange were living in brick houses before the discovery of diamonds, the number of families living in brick houses roofed with asbestos sheets increased during the ‘free – for - all’ phase of diamond mining. However, it should be noted that even after the discovery of diamonds, there were some families who did not strike a chance of picking ngoda (diamonds) and who were still living in rondavel houses constructed from pole and mud.262 Although the informants interviewed expressed mixed feelings on housing structures provided by the diamond firms, more than sixty percent of those interviewed pointed out that they benefited from the provision of accommodation. While the brick - constructed and asbestos - roofed houses which were once a preserve for few families with financial resources in Marange were owned by almost each family relocated to ARDA Transau, some families, in particular, those in polygamous relationships

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262 Interview with sekuru Muchenga, Villager, Mabvengwa 26 July 2015.
(mostly followers of AACJM) were not provided with adequate housing. As Clara Magobeya, the deputy Chairperson of the ARDT indicated in 2015: “So far a total of 173 families are in need of houses…”

Figure 3 top, Sekuru Muchenga, standing near his home - made blast furnace in front of his rondavel house constructed from pole and mud and a thatched roof at his homestead in Marange.

Photo by Author, 31 July 2015.

A testimony by one elderly woman interviewed was representative of the feelings of the majority of the interviewees about provision of accommodation:

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In life, it is very difficult if not impossible to get everything you want…Although I am happy to be living in a brick - constructed house roofed with asbestos sheets which I didn’t have in Marange, on the other hand, it is now very difficult for me to secure a living because I lost my large crop field and my riverine garden where I cultivated a variety of crops like maize, yams, sweet potatoes fruits and vegetables…

Figure 4 (top) An example of houses constructed by diamond firms at ARDA Transau: Four roomed - house built from bricks and asbestos roof sheeting, a stand - alone brick - constructed and thatched rondavel kitchen, bathroom and Blair latrine.


264 Interview with mbuya Gamunorwa, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2015.
While on the one hand the provision of standardized housing units to the displaced families was a good gesture by the diamond firms, a closer look on the allocation of the housing structures, however, shows some of the deep flaws of the relocation project. The moved families were not homogeneous. Whilst some households lived in dilapidating rondavel houses in their former community, some had constructed modern houses from bricks and asbestos roof sheeting, yet they were all given a four - roomed house and a stand - alone kitchen as replacement of their houses bulldozed in Marange. Households that had left behind far more developed houses in Marange felt shortchanged by relocation since the housing units had nothing to indicate difference in social classes among the displacees. As one villager quoted in a newspaper complained:

The houses we were allocated have the same plans and you cannot separate those who have better lives from the poor. Some of us had acquired a lot of house - hold property at our old places because our houses were big enough to accommodate everything. I had a seven - roomed house at Chiadzwa and we are now being forced to pile some of the property because of lack of space. We even left behind our 30 head of cattle because we were not sure whether there was enough grazing land here. Surely we cannot be equated with some who had nothing before coming here. No one even explained to us whether we are allowed to carry out extension works on these houses.265

Basing on the evidence above, it can be observed that although the provision of housing units was a welcome development by the majority of the displacees, certain members of the community, for instance those who had invested extensively in housing at Marange felt aggrieved. This was further worsened by the lack of secure tenure of the new housing units. The displaced families wanted to own the houses yet they were not given a title deed nor any documentation to support that they were the owners of the houses.

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A common concern raised by the relocatees at ARDA Transau was that of being treated differently by the diamond firms in relation to how the houses were furnished and allocated to the households. While some houses had solar panels for generating electricity, others did not have; some had tap water while others had boreholes; some were constructed from material of poor quality resulting in cracked walls yet others were constructed from durable material. The Manicaland provincial administrator shared the same sentiments as he noted: “…some houses have solar panels while others don’t have. People are now complaining saying why should they be treated differently…”

The elites (Wards Heads) received better packages from the relocation exercise than the ordinary villagers. According to Madebwe and Madebwe, Ward Heads “received bigger houses of up to five rooms, and personal vehicles, with Chief Chiadzwa receiving an eight roomed house, a Toyota Hilux double cab and monthly fuel allocations and allowances from Mbada. This raised suspicion that some traditional leaders had either negotiated a better deal for themselves…”

The evidence above indicates that the government and the diamond companies used a “carrot and stick” approach. They used a ‘carrot’ to convince the Ward Heads. They were aware that the Ward Heads had a lot of influence with the whole community and this partly explains why they persuaded them through such incentives.

More worrying perhaps was the shortage of accommodation for bigger families like those of the polygamous followers of the AACJM sect. Due to the fact that the government did not allow the displaced villagers to carry out extension works on their houses, some bigger families...

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266 Interview with Mr Gwayagwaya, 14 August 2015.
267 Staff Reporter, “Chiadzwa relocation hits land snag” 11 June 2013.
were forced to share houses: violating the Shona culture of space allocation\textsuperscript{269} and the AACJM church doctrine which stipulates that each wife should not share a kitchen and a bedroom with another wife.\textsuperscript{270} Followers of the AACJM sect interviewed reported that they preferred their old houses at Marange which accommodated all their family members. Not all women in polygamous marriages who owned a kitchen at Marange prior to relocation were provided with houses after being moved to ARDA Transau.\textsuperscript{271} This resulted in the unprecedented scenario of wives, as well as sons and daughters being forced to share bedrooms. One woman, an AACJM follower whose family shared a house with another expressed resentment over a shortage of housing, and the whole life at the relocation area and threatened to go back to Marange:

\begin{quote}
We are going back to Chiadzwa and we are prepared for anything. They can destroy us if they want to because we cannot continue living like this…Women are now the breadwinners - taking care of their husbands through selling firewood and they walk this distance with children as young as seven. My life has really changed for the worse ever since we were moved to ARDA Transau.\textsuperscript{272}
\end{quote}

Of all the cases related to scarcity of accommodation at the relocation area, sekuru Kambeni’s was the most severe and widely documented.\textsuperscript{273} The public transcript of the holders of power conveyed

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{269} It is a taboo in Shona culture for wives in a polygamous marriage to share a kitchen and a bedroom. It is believed that sharing these houses lead into social tension; jealous and witchcraft accusations among other conflicts.
\item \textsuperscript{270} See, N. Nyachega. ‘Responses of the African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange to HIV/AIDS in Honde Valley: 1985-2013’ (2013)
\item \textsuperscript{271} If a family owned a kitchen in Marange it was regarded as independent (stand-alone) family. This was regarded as a measure for it to be provided with a house at the relocation area.
\item \textsuperscript{272} Staff reporter, “Displaced Marange villagers threaten to return to their original home”, 12 June 2013.
\end{itemize}
the message that the displaced families, including Sekuru Kambeni benefited from the relocation exercise. As the government - controlled Manica Post reported:

The discovery of the precious diamonds in Marange has shaken the dust off many former Chiadzwa settlers, who have for many decades lived in modest traditional grass thatched huts…Marange is also a renowned settlement area for the religious and polygamous Apostolic sect. The new “Zion” at ARDA Transau…is now home to the relocated Chiadzwa settlers. The commitment by the government to respect traditional norms, values and practices, and echoed by the Provincial Governor, Cde Christopher Mushohwe, will no doubt make Kambeni with 17 wives to sing “Halleluah” to the government’s “Amen” to give polygamists like him, homes to all his wives and married family members…

Contrary to the evidence indicated in the journalistic article cited above, sekuru Kambeni insisted that the government and diamond firms did not provide him with adequate houses for his family and the relocation exercise profoundly changed his life for the worse. He pointed out that after being moved to ARDA Transau in 2011, he was provided with a small compound by the Chinese - led Anjin Investments and refused to take it based on the reason that it was too small to accommodate his large family. For approximately four years, sekuru Kambeni was involved in a court battle against the government and Anjin Investments fighting for more houses until the government offered him six more houses in April 2015:

At Chirasika life was good. I had more than enough houses and land for my big family and life was far better… Each of my fourteen wives had sufficient houses…When we were moved to ARDA Transau in 2011, I was offered a very small compound far much unsustainable as compared to what I possessed at Chirasika… Land for crop cultivation and houses were inadequate …The company officials [Anjin Investments] persuaded me to take the offer arguing that the land was more agriculturally rich as compared to that at Marange, but I refused the offer… In April 2015, the government offered me six more houses in addition to a single main - house with 14 bedrooms, and separate kitchens [rondavel kitchens] I was initially given in 2011…

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274 Dorcas Mhungu, “Man with 17 wives benefits from Chiadzwa relocation exercise” The Manica Post, 4-10 March 2011.
275 Interview with sekuru Kambeni, 13 August 2015.
Another elder, a member of the AACJM also lamented shortage of accommodation:

Each of my four wives possessed her own kitchen and bedroom in Marange. When I was moved to ARDA Transau, only three of my four wives were provided with accommodation.... Although my fourth wife owned a kitchen in Marange, she was not given a house here. I erected a makeshift house from iron sheets for her... 276

The interviews above indicate that in relation to provision of accommodation, the relocation designers disregarded the local customs of the uprooted families, in particular, the polygamous followers of AACJM sect. Discussing the factors behind the failures of the forced Ujamaa villagization in Tanzania, Scott argued that for state - sponsored social engineering schemes such as the Marange relocation project to succeed, the government was supposed to have had recognised the importance of local customs of the displaced households.277 However, contrary to Scott’s view, the government of Zimbabwe was driven by the desire for economic gains and failed to pay attention to the cultural practices of the dominant religious group in Marange (AACJM).

Although the displaced households feared the government, they responded to the shortage of accommodation and other challenges they encountered by creating a “counter transcript” that was not completely hidden. They shared their criticism against forced removal with news reporters, civil society organisations and NGOs rights - based community trusts like the CCDT and ARDT. For example, sekuru Kambeni indicated that he was assisted with legal advice and support from the ZELA and ARDT respectively to face the government and Anjin Investments during his court

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276 Interview with sekuru Gamunorwa, 13 August 2015
cases over shortage of accommodation. And as Clara Magobeya, (the deputy Chairperson of ARDT) indicated:

So far we have done our part in trying to bring sanity to this community [ARDA Transau]. There are a number of issues we have managed to address that include identifying some families who were living in squalid conditions such as that of Johani Kambeni, a polygamous man with 14 wives who was given a single house with 14 bedrooms instead of houses equivalent to his family.

The displacees used the community trusts and civil society organisations to engage the government because they feared approaching it directly. As stressed earlier in this chapter, this was largely because the government was notorious for abusing people’s rights and ruthlessly suppressing their voices in relation to issues connected to diamond extraction and trade in Marange.

 Provision of social amenities and services

There is very little evidence suggesting that the diamond resources played a meaningful role in providing the social amenities at the relocation area: There was a lack of reliable clean water, absence of electricity, and a shortage of clinics and schools. The role that diamond resources have played in the families that remained behind at Marange and in the displacees’ social and economic life is inextricably tied to the debates concerning the notions of ‘resource curse’ syndrome. In resource – rich developing countries many observers have long been questioning whether the availability of natural resources is a blessing or an obstacle for socio-economic development.

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278 Interviews with sekuru Kambeni, and Mr Gwayagwaya, ARDA Transau, 13 August 2015.
Many studies have suggested that many resource-rich countries have indeed performed badly in developmental terms and Zimbabwe is no exception.  

Evidence gathered from this study indicated that “communities affected by the mining operations in Marange have not been benefiting from the riches discovered on their ancestral lands.” The Marange - Zimunya Community Share Ownership Trust launched by President Robert Mugabe on 26 July 2012 (the same day he opened the AACJM - led St Noah Primary School in Marange) did not provide any assistance to the displaced families. Like any other community share ownership trusts, the Marange - Zimunya trust was implemented by the government as a remedy to rural poverty: To ensure that all the impoverished administrative wards in Marange and Zimunya benefit from the natural resources in their areas. According to the former minister of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment (Saviour Kasukuwere) each diamond firm was obliged to contribute US$10 million towards developmental projects in Zimunya and Marange communities. However, the families, both those moved to ARDA Transau and those that remained at Marange did not gain anything from a community share ownership trust which only existed in theory. As available evidence indicates that the diamond companies “denied the existence of the trust when they appeared before the Parliamentary

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283 Post Reporter, “President opens Marange school” The Manica Post, 27 July-8 August 2012


Portfolio Committee on Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment. As such, there was no single infrastructure and mechanisms for income-generating projects provided from the funds of this community share ownership trust.

While a memorandum of understanding signed between the diamond firms and government prior to the relocation exercise stipulated that each diamond firm was supposed to “build a primary and secondary school, clinic, provide clean water for the relocated families while supporting income generating projects for their livelihood,” this was, however, not fulfilled. During the first four years after the first families were moved, the diamond companies made an effort to provide clean and free water facilities through sinking boreholes and providing tap water. In 2014, Anjin Investments reneged on the promise made: households displaced by this firm were forced to pay a standard fee of US$ 5 every month for water rates. This development came after the displaced families went for more than three months without clean water after ZINWA stopped supplies over unpaid rates. The displacees resorted to the use of unprotected water sources leading to a series of challenges which placed the villagers’ lives in jeopardy. For example, the emergence of waterborne diseases that claimed villagers’ lives, and the death of a child after she

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286 Ibid
288 Andrew Mambondiani “The Curse of Marange Diamonds” News Day, 4 November 2013. For more information of how the diamond firms were criticized for failing to provide social amenities at the relocation area See also Kudzai Chimhangwa, “Marange diamond firms fail to honour social responsibility obligations” The Standard, 27 April 2014.
289 Of all the companies that relocated households to ARDA Transau, only Anjin Investments provided tap water to the displacees, the rest drilled boreholes. Anjin Investments paid a fixed fee every month to the Zimbabwe National Authority (ZINWA), a government owned entity entitled with managing the water resources of the country.
290 See for example, Obey Manayiti, “Zinwa cuts water supply to Transau villagers” 23 February 2014; “Marange Voices”, (online version) a video documentary (2015)
drowned in Odzi River while fetching water for domestic use. Challenges encountered by the moved households in accessing clean and free water made them to complain and insist that relocation had made their lives worse off. As one villager remarked: “We have always had reliable water free of charge here in Transau. We now feel betrayed that our life style had been forced to change. We were far better off in Chiadzwa than we are now at Transau and I think it’s very unfair on the part of those that moved us”

Besides the challenge of accessing clean and free water, another serious concern raised by the informants interviewed was a lack of health facilities. In comparison to their former community where there were many clinics such as Mukwada, Chisingwi, Chiadzwa, and St Andrews Hospital, there was only one clinic constructed by Anjin Investments at the relocation area. As has already been discussed in the paragraph above, scarcity of water further worsened the health delivery system. One Mrs Chirasika reported that sometime between 2013 and 2014 pregnant women awaiting to give birth at the clinic constructed by Anjin Investments were forced to bring their own water for cleaning purposes after giving birth.

Delivery of formal education was also affected by forced relocation. Both schools in Marange (Ward 29 and 30) and those moved to ARDA Transau (Chirasika and Rombe) were affected. While some informants interviewed welcomed relocation based on the fact that it saved some of the schools in the heart of diamondiferous land (Chirasika and Rombe) from

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291 In 2013, one grade 3 pupil (Jane Chirasika Dirikwe) drowned in Odzi River and lost her life while fetching water for domestic use. Interview with Vito, 14 August 2015; Centre for Natural Resource Governance, ‘Marange relocations leads to new poverty’, (2014) p.22; “Marange Voices” (online version) a video documentary (2015)

292 Obey Manayiti, “Zinwa cuts water supply to Transau villagers” 23 February 2014.


294 Interview with Mrs Chirasika, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2014.

295 Of all the companies that relocated villagers to ARDA Transau, only Anjin Investments constructed a primary and secondary school, and a clinic, the rest did not construct any infrastructure.
disruptions associated with mineral extraction, the majority insisted that displacement had devastating impacts on formal education.\footnote{296} School children who attended school at Chirasika and Rombe and remained behind in Marange after the two schools were demolished in 2011 were left with no option than being forced to walk long distances of more than ten kilometers to receive education at the nearest schools, Kuruauone and Mukwada that were already experiencing a challenge of inadequate schooling facilities.\footnote{297} Moreover, uncertainty about the future in relation with the impending relocation forced some parents to be reluctant in contributing to long-term school developmental programs. This impacted negatively on the delivery of education in Marange. Even Plan International, an NGO that gained popularity for constructing and supporting local schools’ developmental projects for a long time in Marange was reluctant to continue supporting such projects.\footnote{298} As Chimonyo, Mungure and Scott observed:

> On hearing the news about the pending relocation, Plan International, an NGO that delivers educational and water infrastructure withdrew its construction material support from Gonora Secondary School and other schools on the basis that they could not donate to a school that was bound to be abandoned due to resettlement.\footnote{299}

While the environment at the relocation area was convenient for learning as compared to that at Marange which did not encourage meaningful learning because of disruptive factors connected to mining. For example, state security agents milling around the school yard, and noise as well as dust pollution from the mining complex, a plethora of new challenges that continued to corrode formal education emerged at ARDA Transau. Inadequate classroom blocks and a lack of learning

\footnote{296}{After being moved to the relocation area, Chirasika Primary maintained its name while Rombe Secondary was renamed Transau secondary.}
\footnote{298}{See for example, B. Kusena, ‘Hardly more than ameliorative?’ food aid programming in Zimbabwe with reference to Plan International in Marange, 2002-c2010’ (2010)}
resources were the chief problems. The Headmaster of Chirasika Primary school recounted the situation in 2012:

We have highly insufficient classrooms. We have seven classrooms, yet our enrolment is at 900 and 23 teachers. We had 15 classrooms at Chirasika Primary [Marange]. We are also confronted with the problem of insufficient furniture. It was also unfair for Anjin to give all the 100 computers to the secondary school without extending the same to us.  

In 2014, the School Development Committee Chairperson added that:

I am the school development chairperson…I can tell you about 1 300 children are made to share just seven classrooms. We had to erect pole and grass sheds to provide more learning room for our children. I question the quality of education that our children are getting under these circumstances.

In August 2015, the Headmaster of Chirasika reported that the enrolment rose to 1453 and only seven classrooms were still available to accommodate such a great number of children. While on the one hand furniture and other learning resources at the new schools did not meet the fast-rising numbers of children as more families were displaced from 2010 throughout to 2015, on the other hand, education at Transau secondary school was at least revolutionized through computers donated by Anjin Investments. This marked a huge gap in learning and communication skills of students as compared to the schools in Marange’s administrative wards 29 and 30 that had no computers. Nevertheless, this is not to conclude that forced removal had positive impact on formal education. It had profoundly interruptive impact on both the schools reconstructed at the relocation area and those in Mukwada and Chiadzwa wards.

302 Interview with Mr Mhlanga: Headmaster Chirasika Primary, 2 August 2015.
303 Interview with Mr Chandakabata, teacher: Transau Secondary, Transau Secondary, 2 August 2015.
Socio - cultural and political implications of relocation

The displaced households encountered a string of socio - cultural and political challenges when they settled at ARDA Transau. Socio - cultural and political cohesion was fractured: kinship ties, social networks, the sense of place attachment, cultural identity, the sense of belonging, norms and values which had developed among the villagers over the years were disrupted. For example, mutual help mechanisms such as cattle trusteeship (Kuronzera) system and mobilization of labour through various forms of nhimbe/humwe (work parties) that fastened the families together in their former community were decimated. This was partly because social connections and mutual help largely depended on mutual trust developed over staying together as a community for a long time.

In their former community, the displaced households had developed a set of feelings and networks about Marange as a geographic and cultural location that emotionally bound them as one community. Displacement interrupted the feelings of security, belonging and esteem associated with Marange as their ancestral home. While Downing and Garcia - Downing observed that the aim of resettlement projects is to minimize the disturbance of community’s routine culture, evidence from this study has shown that forced removal shattered the villagers’ cultural practices and assets. One elder interviewed showed concern about being detached from his place of birth with his ancestors’ graves, family burial plots, shrines, and sacred mountains. He pointed out that

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304 As has already been discussed earlier in this chapter, the government and diamond firms gave little attention in terms of providing adequate accommodation to the dominant polygamous followers of AACJM. This angered the traditional leaders as they saw the culture of their subjects being violated when sons and daughters, including wives in a polygamous relationship were forced to share bedrooms.


instead of burying the dead at a place of one’s choice after agreeing with the Village Head as they did in their former community, the conditions at the relocation area did not allow that. There were no family burial plots. To intern the dead, mourners now had to walk more than ten kilometres to the community burial plots.307

The displaced families also experienced a chain of misfortunes at the relocation area. Among others, these included destruction of the relocatees’ crops by large weevils (never seen by the Zimunya villagers in the area prior to the relocation of Marange villagers) and marauding hyenas attacking the displacees’ livestock.308 While one elder interviewed explained the misfortunes as having been caused by the failure of the moved households to propitiate the spirits of the land and failure to perform an important ritual musoso (rain making ceremony),309 Chief Zimunya insisted that all the misfortunes faced by the moved families was a sign indicating the anger of spirits of the land over the fact that traditional leaders in Zimunya community were sidelined in the whole relocation exercise. He complained that neither the government nor any representative from Chiadzwa ruling house asked permission or approval from him (kusuma) for relocating the Marange families in his territory.310 The Chief argued:

Although we are all in Mutare District, the norms and values of the people of Zimunya and Marange are different. Someone in the comfort of his office sanctioned the resettlement of villagers from Chiadzwa without consulting us. ARDA Transau is under Chief Zimunya, but I was viewed as a stranger in my own land and sidelined in everything. Until proper consultations are done, people at ARDA Transau will not enjoy their stay there… 311

307 The elderly believed the powers of the deity responsible for protecting them from enemies and providing good luck in their everyday life was embedded in such places as rivers, mountains, plains and other important sacred places of the landscape left behind in Marange. Interview with sekuru W. Bhasopo, 13 August 2015
308 Interview with Mbuya Mavhima, 13 August 2015
309 Interview with Sekuru Mavhima, Village Head, Mavhima: Zimunya Community, 13 August 2015.
310 See for example, R. Chinyangarara, ‘All that glitters is not Gold’: Diamonds and traditional leaders in Marange area, 2006-2014 (BA dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2015)
311 Cletus Mushanawani, “Government intervention in Chiadzwa long overdue” The Manca Post, 2-8 May 2014,
It can be observed that forced relocation eroded the status and power of both traditional leaders in Zimunya and Marange. The Village Heads moved to ARDA Transau lost power over their subjects. All administrative issues and problems emerging at the relocation area were reported to the District Administrator. One key informant reported that “At one community gathering, the District Administrator emphasized that in the event of any problem occurring at ARDA Transau, all the people moved from Marange should seek advice from Mutare Rural District Council and not from their former Village Heads or Chief Zimunya…”

It also became increasingly difficult for Headman Mukwada and Chiadzwa to make arrangements for court gatherings (dare) and solve disputes between their people since some of the court members and subjects involved were moved to ARDA Transau while others were still Marange residents. It is clear from the evidence above that forced relocation had profoundly disruptive effects on the displacees’ social, cultural and political landscape.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has analyzed the constraints and opportunities encountered by the displaced families at ARDA Transau. It has argued that the Marange relocation project is a perfect example of a ‘development disaster’. On the one hand, due to a multiplicity of factors such as lack of a policy underlying resettlement projects in the constitution of Zimbabwe, lack of pre - relocation planning, poor resource governance, corruption, gross human rights abuse, lack of transparency and, above all, state repression, a few opportunities opened up for the displaced families. The most evident opportunities were provision of decent accommodation and re - construction of two schools at an

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312 Interview with Mr Gwayagwaya, 14 August 2015.
environment free from disruption by mining activities. On the other hand, the chapter has noted that there is very little evidence suggesting that the key national resource extracted in Marange played a crucial role in improving the lives of the displaced families. Lack of compensation, scarcity of land, lack of social amenities, the unavailability of employment opportunities and income generating projects, the unfulfilled promise of irrigation equipment, and, above all the erosion of livelihoods, were more than enough indicators to show that the relocation project was a tragedy. The chapter has also shown that one of the greatest errors by the government and diamond firms was of not consulting the affected families and disregarding the local customs of the followers of the AACJM sect. The government and diamond firms assumed that the relocated villagers simply needed new houses, yet it was equally, if not more important for them to provide mechanisms for income-generating projects to sustain their lives. The constraints encountered by the moved families clearly demonstrated an irony emerging from Marange’s relocation story of a community sliding into abject poverty amid vast diamond resources. The challenges faced by the displaced households proved beyond any shadow of doubt that far from being a ‘national development project’ as the government insisted, the Marange relocation project was a fiasco.
CHAPTER FOUR

‘Surviving through Kukiya-kiya’\textsuperscript{313}: Responses and Challenges at ARDA Transau, 2010 - 2015.

Introduction

This chapter examines the varied and complex responses by the displaced Marange families in coping with livelihood challenges at ARDA Transau. It charts the dynamics that evolved in the everyday life of the displaced households and contends that the villagers were not passive victims. They responded to their situation through Kukiya-kiya: varied and complex ways of managing with inadequate means available during a period of crisis.\textsuperscript{314} A lack of access to land, absence of income-generating projects and employment opportunities at the relocation area were the major factors that crippled the livelihoods of the moved households. These became the major driving forces in prompting the moved households to develop heterogeneous coping mechanisms to manage their vulnerabilities. The chapter further argues that the adaptive strategies adopted by the displaced households were largely influenced by the broader socio-economic and political situation in the country and the removees’, previous experiences in their former community. The households that were forcibly moved to ARDA Transau were not monolithic in their social and economic status. Some households that had financial resources were able to negotiate their way out of the jaws of the constraints imposed on them by displacement. It is these families that managed to survive without much difficulties, while the majority of the families struggled to survive. The struggling families, however, developed diverse coping mechanisms such as selling


firewood, illegally extending land for crop cultivation, artisanal mining, migrating to surrounding communities in search of menial jobs, vending, cross-border trading, and operating flea markets as well as minibus/taxi transport services. Vulnerable members of the society, for example, the elderly, children from families mostly affected by poverty and orphans resorted to begging for food in the neighbouring communities. The new situation that emerged at the relocation area increased women’s contribution to family maintenance, in particular, the provision of food. Children were not left behind in helping secure necessities needed for everyday life and in the process, they ultimately became vulnerable to various forms of abuse.

**Context and nature of the coping strategies: An overview**

By 2011, only a year after the first families were moved to ARDA Transau, the majority of the displaced families became fully convinced that they had been impoverished by relocation. As discussed in the previous chapter, their livelihoods were eroded and food shortages became the norm. Although this was not the first time for these families to face livelihood challenges in their history, the situation at the new environment was complicated and different as compared to that at their former community: relocation was permanent whereas droughts that threatened their livelihood in Marange would come and go. The conditions in the new environment were further worsened by the fact that the promised irrigation equipment was never erected. Responding to these constraints, the displaced villagers resorted to a multiplicity of coping strategies to eke out a living. Coping Strategies are remedial actions inextricably tied to the idea of securing survival adopted by people whose ways of securing the necessities of life are damaged, compromised or
threatened. These were heterogeneous and were greatly influenced by the community’s past experience and socio-cultural factors. Like any other people faced with a crisis, the moved families resorted to varied coping mechanisms “because people have different experiences (habitus) and different assets and resources at their disposal when interacting with the environment and other people, and consequently take different decisions when confronted with similar environmental conditions.”

The survival reactions deployed by the displaced families were largely influenced by the broader coping strategies developed by most of the people in the country during the period of ‘crisis in Zimbabwe.’ The strategies were informed, in particular, by the idea of Kukiya – Kiya, defined by Jeremy Jones as: “cleverness, dodging, and the exploitation of whatever resources are at hand, all with an eye of self-sustenance.” However, as compared to the situation experienced by the majority of the people in the whole country, the conditions faced by the moved families was worsened by the ‘resettlement effect’. The dispossessed of their large tracts of land (their chief source of livelihood) and the government did not make an effort to provide them with alternative ways of making a living.

Coping Strategies of the Displaced Families

Twenty-five percent of the informants interviewed reacted to the challenge of smaller acreage by illegally extending space for crop cultivation. The greater number of those involved in this unlawful activity were households with members above seven, most of them were the followers

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of the AACJM sect. These families cleared the forests reserved for government projects and extended their crop fields while some erected gardens along the banks of Odzi River (river bank cultivation which is illegal in Zimbabwe) arguing that in their former community they left large tracts of land which played a key role as a source for their livelihoods. Some households used kinship ties to negotiate for extra pieces of land with inhabitants in the host - Zimunya community. As one informant interviewed in the host community reported that whereas some displaced households resorted to begging for food in the surrounding communities, others randomly cut down trees in the surrounding forests to create farming space and others negotiated for extra farming land with their relatives and the village Heads in Zimunya community:

The space allocated to the displaced villagers is too small for family’s subsistence. Even in years of good rains, it is difficult for them to get enough food to feed their families, in particular, the large families of the Mapositori [followers of the AACJM] … Two families relocated by Anjin Investments were allocated pieces of land by Village Head Mawone and they have extended their farming space…During the cropping season they migrate from ARDA Transau to their extra plots where they cultivate crops. After the cropping season they go back to their houses at the relocation area.

Although the families had to walk long distances to their extra plots, at least they had something to supplement the food crops they reaped on their one - hectare piece of land. Other families augmented what they gathered in their plots with food crops such as yams, sweet potatoes and a variety of vegetables grown in the riverine gardens that were however, far - away from the relocation area. The gardens were erected along the banks of Odzi River, more than six kilometers

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318 The fact that the relocation area was a quasi-urban area (where the issue of sanity was very crucial as compared to the rural areas) made it to be different from Marange in stringent measures. Random cutting down of trees to extend space for crop cultivation and stream bank cultivation were against the obligation of the Environmental Management Agency (EMA), a statutory body that ensured the management of natural resources through, among other things, restricting the random cutting down of trees and river bank cultivation.

319 Interview with Gilbert, Villager: Zimunya community, Zimunya Community, 16 August 2015.
from the relocation area. One woman who erected a garden along the banks of Odzi River explained:

When we were in our former community, the government promised us that our living standards would be far better at the relocation area. The government promised us an irrigation equipment. When we arrived here [ARDA Transau], we did not see it. The food handouts promised by the diamond firms were stopped just a few months after we were moved here. As a result, cases of severe food shortages are many in this community. Responding to the situation, I erected a garden along the banks of Odzi River where I cultivate maize, sweet potatoes and vegetables for both family consumption and selling. I use the proceeds I get to buy few items like salt, sugar and pay the water bill every month ...

The ordinary villagers’ conceptualization of resources and the state’s was different. Whereas the government jealously guarded the natural resources: forests, water, and game at the relocation area, the displaced families viewed these resources as God - given and meant to save them from the constraints they were facing. They did not understand land ownership as the bureaucrats do. The idea that land in communal lands is state owned did not make sense to them as they did not see any reason for cultivating crops on a limited space yet there where large virgin tracts of land lying idle. The common view was utilizing resources: cultivating in the riverbanks, clearing forests to make way for crop cultivation and to obtain firewood was not defying authority but just continuation of life as they had lived it in Marange.

Eighteen percent of the informants interviewed pointed out that their families resorted to firewood selling to gain a livelihood. The family members largely involved in this activity were women and children. They would travel to the surrounding plains and mountains and cut trees for firewood which they sold at Odzi Business Centre, a distance of more than seven kilometers from the relocation area. Apart from selling firewood to get hard cash, those involved also engaged in

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320Interview with Mrs Kusena, relocated Villager, ARDA Trabsau, 14 August 2015.
barter trade and obtained groceries and clothes. One female - student who attended school at Transau Secondary was involved in selling firewood. She revealed that through the proceeds accrued from selling firewood, her family managed to get food, clothes, and other necessities of life:

During weekends and sometimes school days, my mother, my young sister, my friends and our neighbors would go to the mountains and surrounding forests to cut firewood and then travel to Odzi Business Centre to sell the firewood…. My young sister and myself accompanied my mother so that we could get more money. For a big bundle of firewood like the one my mother and myself carry, we charge US$ 1 whereas for a small bundle that my young sister in grade three can carry, we charge half the price. We would also exchange firewood for clothes and a variety of foodstuffs like mealie - meal, cooking oil salt and exercise books and other resources needed at school…

Although selling firewood was an alternative way of securing a living, the greatest disadvantage with this coping strategy was that it was not reliable as a source of income. At times those involved in the business were forced to sell their bundles of firewood at half the price they would have had initially charged. This was largely because as more families resorted to this coping strategy, the market for firewood flooded. A more problematic aspect of this coping mechanism was that it profoundly resulted in the rise of child labour and disruption of learning since children were also involved in this trade even during school days when they were supposed to be attending classes.

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321 Interview with Sipho (Not her real name), student, ARDA Transau 15 August 2015.
Individuals from certain households turned to artisanal mining to secure a livelihood. Artisanal small-scale mining was one among the broader coping mechanisms developed by the people in Zimbabwe during the post-2000 period. As Mawowa aptly observed:
Zimbabwe’s post-2000 period has been characterised by a dramatic increase in artisanal small-scale mining (ASM), particularly gold mining. Economic decline and rising unemployment meant that ASM provided one of the very few opportunities for survival and capital accumulation.323

Those involved in ASM constituted twelve percent of the informants interviewed. They included men, children as well as women. They were largely influenced by their previous experience as magweja (colloquial for artisanal panners) in Marange. This time, the villagers were now panning for gold in a historic mining area: Mutari River, (about six kilometers North-west of the relocation area) and Penhalonga, located nearly 12 kilometers north-east of ARDA Transau.324 Beginning with the artisanal diamond mining of the 2000s, where women were among the tens of thousands of fortune seekers who descended on Marange diamondiferous land, the history of artisanal mining in and around Marange became increasingly associated with women. One widow, a ‘veteran gold panner’ who was part of a sindalo (syndicate)325 that panned gold in Mutari River told the author of this study:

I was pushed by circumstances into kugweja [artisanal mining]. I gained a lot of experience as a gwejeleen [female panner] at Chiadzwa between 2006-2011: sieving the diamond ore, evading, or sometimes negotiating with the police and soldiers who manned the diamond fields to give me a chance to dig for diamonds. After the government moved us to ARDA Transau in 2011, I did not find any other new way of taking care of my family besides Kukiya-kiya. I tried to look for employment several times at the diamond companies but none came my way. I was left with no choice than to turn to gold panning in the banks of Mutari River and in Penhalonga. I am supporting my family using the proceeds from gold panning…”326

324 Africans panned for alluvial gold in Mutari River and Penhalonga area centuries prior to the coming of the Portuguese. For a nuanced discussion of gold panning in the rivers located in Manicaland and the Penhalonga area during the period stretching from around 1540 to the late 1890s, See, H. Ellert, *Rivers of Gold*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1993)
325 People who came from the same neighbourhood formed their own group which had the same interest of panning gold. Syndicates were done mainly for security reasons, mutual support and for economic benefit obtained collectively. See O. Katsaura “Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Informal Diamond Mining in Chiadzwa, Zimbabwe’” (2010). p.118.
326 Interview with Mashaplaz (pseudonym), displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 15 August 2015.
Although proceeds from artisanal mining were not reliable as most informal businesses, those who were involved in this trade argued that it was far better than going to search for employment in the nearby city of Mutare where most of the companies had closed down due to the national economic crisis. Other factors which contributed to the instability of artisanal mining as a sustainable means of securing a livelihood were the risks associated with this trade. For example, being arrested by police if caught panning, and being robbed for gold or money by thugs locally known as *magombiro*. Artisanal mining also negatively affected the learning of children since some children attending school joined this trade due to its immediate gains.\(^{327}\)

Although the displaced families were given a standard ‘disturbance allowance’ and standard houses at the relocation area, this did not however, made them a homogeneous group. There were some families that were economically in a better standing. These included families with children or relatives who were employed by the diamond firms, families with children who had secured high - paying jobs in the major cities like Harare, Bulawayo and Mutare, and those with relatives or children in ‘diaspora’.\(^{328}\) This group, constituting fifteen percent of the informants interviewed contributed to cash flow in the community as some other households or individuals survived through doing piece - jobs provided by wealthier families. One Tawanda was asked by the author of this study how he was managing to survive at the new environment and he replied:

\(^{327}\) A group of boys interviewed at ARDA Transau shopping centre (who attended school at Transau secondary) revealed that during weekends and holidays they joined their friends for gold panning in Mutari River and at Penhalonga. Interview with a group of boys: students, ARDA Transau shopping centre, 17 August 2015.

Kungo Kiya - Kiyawo sezvirikuita vanwe (Just getting by like what others are doing). I do not have a reliable way of getting a living. I survive through piece jobs like cutting firewood, herding cattle or any other piece – jobs as long as it provides me with money or food to eat. For the past two years, I was getting most of my piece - jobs from my neighbor who is employed by Mbada Diamonds…. During the cropping season, I work in his plot, sowing, weeding and harvesting crops. I also drive his livestock to the pastures and attend them while his children are at school…

It can be observed that those employed by the diamond firms provided employment opportunities to the members of their community. However, not many people benefited because those who were employed by the diamond firms were very few. This was also similar with families who had relatives and children beyond the country’s borders. They survived through utilizing resources obtained from their children and relatives and sometimes provided piece jobs to other members of the society. One elder interviewed revealed that every month he received US$ 500 from his daughter in the United States of America. Another one indicated that she received R 2000 every month and some groceries from her son in South Africa. This was also part of the broader Zimbabwe situation of dependence on remittances.

Households that accrued wealth during the ‘free – for - all’ phase also fit into the category of those who were economically in a better position. Such families used their resources to start ‘small businesses’ like vending, tailoring, cross - border trading, flea market and minibus/taxi

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329 Interview with Tawanda. M, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 3 August 2015.
330 Interview with sekuru Chitsiku, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 18 August 2015.
331 Interview with mbuya Mujima, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 18 August 2015.
333 One Mr Chikonamombe was a community tailor when living at Chirasika. After being moved to ARDA Transau, he continued with his former job of sawing school uniforms and clothes. He sold the clothes to the members of the community. Interview with Mr Chikonamombe, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 16 August 2015.
transport services. They used the proceeds accrued in such trades to support their families and secure other necessities of life.

Vending was one of the adaptive strategies deployed by some families at the relocation area to secure a livelihood. Evidence gathered in this study indicated that in the post-2000 history of Zimbabwe, a new way of securing a living largely defined by Kukiya – kiya emerged in particular, among urban dwellers. Vending was one of the coping strategies deployed by many people to eke out a living. As Hosea Chipanga, in one of his latest songs (2016) aptly entitled Vendor, observed that due to the economic challenges in Zimbabwe, many families living in the urban areas resorted to vending as a coping strategy. Chipanga sang:

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\begin{align*}
Kana zvinhu zvakanaka tinoshanda kumabasa... \\
Asi kana zvaipa munhu vese rawe vendor... \\
Kana nyika yakanaka tinoshanda kumabasa... \\
Asi kana yaipa munhu wese rave vendor…
\end{align*}
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Translated (If things are good people work in formal jobs…
But if things are bad everyone becomes a vendor…
If the country is good we work in formal jobs…
But if the country is bad everyone becomes a vendor…)\(^{336}\)

Like the majority of the urban dwellers who turned to vending as a coping mechanism, some men and women from the relocation area joined the vending trade that was thriving in the nearby city of Mutare. They became part of the vendors who occupied every space available at Sakubva

Market, commonly known as *Musika wehuku* translated (Chicken market), Sakubva Flea market and in the streets. Vending was one of the most immediate options for securing a living for those who had some capital to buy goods at a wholesale price and re - sell them to the public. It was mostly done in places where it was regarded as illegal by the city authorities in particular, in front of shops, on the pavements in the CBD and at a popular place known as *Moto - moto* translated (Fire – fire) in the city where selling of assorted goods was brisk. One Funnuel, was one among the vendors involved in the selling of a variety of electronic gadgets at *Moto - moto*. Every morning he traveled from ARDA Transau to the city center to do his business and at sunset he had to go back to his family in the relocation area.

Other family members with financial resources had to travel beyond the county’s borders to the neighboring South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique to buy goods, in particular clothes for resale in flea markets. Discussing the coping strategies deployed by the poor urban dwellers during the economic crisis in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Setiawan observed that vending and re - selling of second hand goods in flea markets was a crucial way of securing a living: “As the economic crisis hit Indonesia, millions of people were forced out of their jobs, the flea market activity gained momentum…many more urban families depended on this business” As in Yogyakarta, severe food shortages and poverty at ARDA Transau forced some families to resort to vending and flea market business to secure a living. Those involved in this business would re - sell a variety of goods: cosmetics, electronic gadgets and second hand clothes. Flea markets such as the one at Meikles - Park and the other one at Sakubva were places where such business was

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337 Interview with a group of vendors from ARDA Transau, Sakubva market, 22 August 2015.
338 Interview with Funnuel, displaced villager, ARDA Transau 15 August 2015.
carried out. One Elisha who resorted to selling of used clothes locally known as (mazitye) at Sakubva Flea market had this to say:

In response to the livelihood challenges at the relocation area, I sold a cow and a bull and used the proceeds to start a business of buying second hand clothes in Mozambique and re-sell them at Sakubva flea market. We buy the clothes from our colleagues who smuggle them from Mozambique. Together with my friend who live in ARDA Transau and who is in the same business like mine, we rent a room in Nyausunzi, just near the flea market… Every Friday I usually go to see my family at ARDA Transau with food and other household goods …

A few villagers who had earlier on acquired cars and mini-busses through diamond proceeds accrued during the ‘free-for-all’ phase resorted to taxi/minibus transport services. While some plied the Musikawehuku (Sakubva Market) - Marange route, others ferried people from ARDA Transau to the Harare - Mutare road (Romeo’s place) where passengers connect with transport to the nearby city of Mutare or other places such as Rusape, Marondera and Harare. One Onwell Gamunorwa, a follower of the AACJM sect operated a fleet of minibuses that plied the Musikawehuku (Sakubva Market) – Marange route. He used the profits accrued from this trade to support his big family. Two taxi owners in the same trade with Onwell indicated that providing transport services through a taxi had been their way of getting income since they were relocated to ARDA Transau in 2011. They each revealed that they made a profit of between $ US 20 - 30 on a busy day and about $US 15 - 20 on a normal day.

Three percent of the informants interviewed resorted to operating shebeens and they were all women. One of the informants was a single parent and had long been in the business before

340 Interview with Elisha, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 15 August 2015.
341 Onwell was in marriage relationships with four wives. He used the proceeds he obtained from diamonds during the ‘free-for-all’ phase to acquire mini buses. The minibuses plied the Musikawehuku (Sakubva Market) – Marange route. Interview with Onwell, displaced villager, ARDA Transau, 14 August 2015.
342 Interviews with Gwinyai and Ephraim, displaced villagers, ARDA Transau, 17 August 2015.
she was moved from Marange. She revealed that she survived by selling beer and assorted alcoholic drinks that were particularly strong such as Zed, Kachasu and Vhinyu. She also indicated that she supplemented the proceeds obtained from selling alcoholic drinks by selling marijuana known as mbanje in the vernacular:

I survive through selling a variety of alcoholic drinks, marijuana and tobacco. I have been in this trade since 2007 when I was living in Chiadzwa…. I have colleagues who live in this community [ARDA Transau] who smuggle cases of Zed from Mozambique and supply me. Some supply me with marijuana and I sell all these right here. I know how to deal with police on a raiding mission. I give them money and they disappear… Although with some difficulties, this is the means I secure school fees for my children, food and clothing…

The interview above illuminates that the coping strategies deployed by the moved villagers were largely shaped by the displacees’s previous experience as well as the social, economic and political landscape of the country. Widespread corruption by state security agents, in particular, the police facilitated the Kukiya-kiya survival in the whole country. Some households at the relocation area took advantage of the rampant corruption and chaos in the country to create coping strategies that enabled them to survive.

Households that found it more challenging to make a living at the relocation area resorted to migrant labour. To secure an income to start small businesses, individuals from households that were not in good financial standing to secure income to start small businesses traveled to farms in nearby areas such as Nyazura, Rusape and Marondera where they became employed as migrant farm laboures. Children were not left out in assisting their parents and guardians securing income.

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343 A popular strong spirit smuggled from Mozambique.
344 A very strong home-brewed spirit.
345 An alcoholic drink made from fermented grapes.
346 Interview with Melisa(pseudonym), relocated Villager, ARDA Transau, 17 August 2015.
for the family. Some desperate families had to stop their children attending school and encourage them to search for menial jobs in surrounding farms, communal areas and cities to work as farm labours, herd boys and maids. One Malenzo who worked as a maid in Murambi, one of the low-density suburbs of the city of Mutare from 2013 - 2015 explained:

I dropped school when I was in grade seven. My father could not afford to pay school fees for me because he is unemployed. Only my brother proceeded to acquire secondary education…. My mother advised me to find work in the nearby city of Mutare so that I would help in supporting the family…Although I am getting a little income from my job, at least I am managing to send money for buying food to my parents every month…

Women and children, in particular, girl child were the most vulnerable as they had to bear the brunt of the challenges encountered by the displaced families at ARDA Transau. This was exacerbated by the fact that Marange was a patriarchal society where husbands or men dominated in most family affairs. This resulted in a boy child given preference to go to school over a girl child in a scenario where there was limited resources and only one child could be chosen.

Vulnerable members of the society, for example, the aged, children from families mostly exposed to poverty - including orphans, found it more challenging to survive at the new environment. This group constituted twenty - two percent of the informants interviewed. People from this group resorted to begging for food from other members of the community, host - Zimunya community and from other neighbouring communities. Individuals from this category also benefited from food hampers provided by community trusts such as the ARDT. While such

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349 Interview with Malenzo(pseudonym) displaced villager, Murambi, 16 August 2015.
351 Interview with sekuru Gamunorwa, 13 August 2015. See also Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association(ZELA), “Untold stories from Mining Communities: A collection of Stories of Mining Impacts,
help was far-reaching in the community, the conditions at the relocation area remained profoundly challenging to the vulnerable members of the society. This was largely because of the absence of sustainable ways of getting an income.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the displaced households managed to survive at their new settlement. It has argued that the moved Marange families survived through *Kukiya - Kiya*, and noted that, the families were not homogeneous, and they reacted to the livelihood challenges at ARDA Transau by developing heterogeneous coping mechanisms. The coping strategies developed cannot be understood outside the context of the broader socio-economic and political landscape of the country, social stratification of the community as well as the displacees’ past experiences. While some households that were in a financially better position, for example, those with children and relatives who had secured well-paying jobs in the urban areas, those with relatives in ‘diaspora’, and those who had secured wealth during the ‘free – for - all’ period, managed to survive without much difficulty, the majority of the households struggled to survive. The chapter has further noted that most of the coping strategies, such as begging for food, artisanal mining, migrant labour, the operating of shebeens, taxi/minibus transport services, vending and cross-border trading, were not unique to the displaced families at the relocation area but these

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were part of the broader coping strategies that became common to many inhabitants of the country in the post-2000 period characterised by an economic meltdown and widespread corruption. While on the one hand, coping mechanisms like selling firewood, artisanal mining and migrant labour greatly contributed in making the displaced families survive, the darker side was that they were inextricably tied to child labour and therefore, interfered with children’s education. This was mainly because children also helped their parents and guardians in securing necessities of life.
CONCLUSION

Drawing on a wide range of both primary and secondary sources such as oral interviews; archival material from the National Archives of Zimbabwe; various newspaper articles; published and unpublished secondary sources, this study has produced a social history of the Marange people of eastern Zimbabwe from the 1960s to 2015. Through examining historical episodes such as therecurring droughts, the 1970s war of liberation, the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’, and, above all, the rise of diamond mining, it has demonstrated that land was inextricably linked to the socio-economic and cultural lives of the Marange inhabitants. The thesis has argued that from the 1960s to 2010, the inhabitants’ actions were not always subjected to environmental conditions: The people were creative as indicated by their heterogeneous livelihood strategies such as riverine gardening, hunting, craft work, fishing, and artisanal mining. The study has shown that artisanal mining was not a unique livelihood strategy in Marange community. Beginning in the 1990s, many rural inhabitants in African countries like Ghana, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola resorted to artisanal mining as a way to eke out a living. In responding to the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’ that had a profoundly devastating impact on both the rural and urban dwellers, the Marange villagers likewise, turned to informal mining as a means of securing the necessities of life. It was against the backdrop of the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’ that the ngoda (diamonds) were ‘discovered’ in 2006.

The Marange diamond story echoes the broader situation in many resource-rich African countries – of impoverished communities amid abundant resources. The relocation program that began in 2010 represented one of the most devastating impacts of the discovery and subsequent mining of diamonds in Marange. While on the one hand the majority of the displaced households
benefited from the provision of accommodation and from the computers donated to ARDA Transau secondary by Anjin Investments. On the other hand, the constraints encountered had a severely disruptive impact on their socio-economic, cultural and political lives. Far from saving the relocated households from decades of impoverishment and starvation experienced in their former arid and drought-prone community, the relocation project in fact, added “new poverty” to approximately 1 400 families moved to the relocation area - ARDA Transau by 2015.

The thesis has shown that the relocation project was a debacle largely because of the following factors: Lack of a policy underlying resettlement projects in the constitution of Zimbabwe, lack of transparency, lack of pre-relocation planning (the families were moved before social amenities were provided at the relocation area), poor resource governance, corruption, inconsistency in conforming to the rule of law, gross human rights abuse, and, above all, state repression. The government’s failure to consult the affected families and the ‘standardized approach’ used during the relocation exercise resulted in the violation of the customs of the indigenous peoples: Shortage of accommodation led to an unprecedented scenario in Shona culture of women in polygamous families such as those of the Mapositori (followers of the AACJM) sharing houses. The government’s disregard of the customs of the indigenous people was cogently captured in the story of the Kambeni family: Sekuru Kambeni was given a small compound that did not accommodate his large family. Through legal advice and help from the ZELA and the ARDT, he engaged the government and Anjin Investments in a four-year court-case battle over shortage of accommodation until the government provided him with more houses.

A lack of the means of securing the necessities of life was one of the major challenges bedevilling the moved households at ARDA Transau. The relocation planners did not consider
how a community whose livelihood was underpinned by land was going to survive after being moved to a new environment with far less land for crop cultivation. The challenges faced by the displacees such as lack of compensation, a shortage of land, absence of mechanisms for generating income, absence of employment opportunities, lack of reliable water systems, disruption of social networks, and, above all, the broken promise of the irrigation equipment had a multiple effect on livelihood opportunities at the new settlement. The issue of corruption, nepotism and the patronage system which became endemic not only in Marange but in the whole country contributed in restraining the livelihood opportunities of the displaced families.

The relocated households were however, not passive victims. They reacted to the constraints encountered at the relocation area by resorting to diverse coping mechanisms to survive their dispossession and displacement. The adaptive strategies developed were inextricably linked to the broader coping strategies developed by the people in the whole country during the ‘crisis in Zimbabwe’ and the displacees’ experiences in their former community. While a few households that were financially better off managed to survive without much trouble, the bulk of the families survived through Kukiya - kiya. The coping mechanisms developed included selling firewood, artisanal mining, illegally extending land for crop cultivation, migrant labour, vending, cross-border trading, begging for food, the operating of shebeens, and taxi/minibus transport services. Although the above mentioned coping mechanisms significantly contributed to making the displaced families acquire the necessities of life, these had a detrimental effect on the delivery of education. As children were disrupted in learning while helping their parents and guardians eke out a living through such activities. Despite all the coping mechanisms developed to secure a living, the question of livelihoods remained a critical issue that continued vexing the Marange
families at ARDA Transau. This largely explains why the displacees kept on threatening to go back to their former community despite the fact that it was a drought-prone area.
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Magaya, Aldrin, PhD candidate: University of Iowa (Photographer): *Figure 1, mbuya*


Ruguwa, Mathew (Photographer): *Figure 3, sekuru Muchenga, standing in front of his rondavel house constructed from pole and mud and a thatched roof at his homestead in Marange’, 31 July 2015.*