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Struggling on the periphery for survival: The impact of the Lowveld Sugar Estates on the Shangane environment in south-east Zimbabwe, 1951-2008.

Ishmael Makanyisa (1271884)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

Supervisor: Professor Muchaparara Musemwa

Declaration

I, Ishmael Makanyisa, declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has never been submitted to any other institution to obtain other qualifications. Where I have consulted the published work of others, I have fully acknowledged them. The thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Development studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Date: 15 March 2022 Signed: 

KEY TERMS

Displacement, displacees, disarticulation, ecology, environmental degradation, eviction, impact, Lowveld, poverty, Shangane, self-relocation and sugar estates.

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DEDICATION

This research is a dedication to my dear late mother, Mayetera Makanyisa, who was untimely taken away from our midst on 4 February 2020. Indeed mother, you were a source of inspiration, encouragement and above all, a symbol of family unity. Just like what you did in 1997 when I graduated with my first degree from the University of Zimbabwe, I would have once again loved to have you present at my doctoral graduation in celebration of this noble achievement as a further demonstration that disability does not connote inability.

ACRONMYS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AR	Assessment Report
BBBP	Build Back Better Principle
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CSFAZ	Commercial Sugarcane Famers' Association of Zimbabwe
CLA	Communal Land Act
CSOT	Community Share Ownership Trust
DDT	Dichloro diphenyl trichloroethane
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FA	Forestry Act
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
HIV/AIDS	Human Immuno Virus, Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IHR	International Health Regulations
IRR	Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LAA	Land Apportionment Act
LSE	Lowveld Sugar Estates
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MRC	Masvingo Records Centre
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NRB	Natural Resources Act
PWA	Parks Wildlife Act
RDC	Rural District Council
TTL	Tribal Trust Land
TLA	Traditional Leaders Act
VIDCOs	Village Development Committee
WADCOs	Ward Committees

WHO	World Health Organisation
ZANU (PF)	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZIMCOLD	Zimbabwe National Committee on Large Dams

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

'A tree that has been transplanted will never make as pleasant a shade as a tree which grows where it has always stood'. (A Baule proverb translated by Veronique Lassailly-Jacob, 1996).[1]

1.0 Introduction

This thesis explores the impact of the development-induced displacements of the Shangane people of south-east Zimbabwe. The displacements were orchestrated by the need to establish the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe. This thesis contends that displacement as an overarching theme has numerous ramifications which include but are not limited to the following: loss of land; decimation of livelihoods; environmental degradation and the rupture of the socio-political and religious institutions of the affected communities. The foundation of this study is predicated upon an analysis of the problem statement; the rationale and objectives of the study; the research questions; the study delimitation and limitations; the methodology and the organisation of the study.

1.1 Problem statement

The issue of forced displacement for either economic or political motives dates back to the precolonial times when massive involuntary movements of people from Africa to American plantations took centre stage.[2] A similar episode was witnessed in East Africa where many people were forced off their traditional homes to work as slaves on the Islands of Zanzibar and

[1] Lassailly-Jacob, V. 'Land-Based Strategies in Dam-Related Resettlement Programmes in Africa' in McDowell, C. (ed.), *Refugee and Forced Migration: Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development–Induced Displacement*, (Vol. 2), (Oxford: Berghan Books, 1996), p. 187.
[2] Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1972), Williams, E. *Capitalism and Slavery*, (London: Andre Deustch Ltd, 1964).

Pemba, while others were exported outside East Africa.[3] Furthermore, the policies and practices of colonial and post-colonial governments also contributed to the rising numbers of displaced people the world over. In cases where compensation was offered, it was usually inadequate. Hence, the displaced people often suffered from the risks of landlessness, homelessness, and un/under-employment among others.[4]

To my knowledge, a number of scholarly works on development-induced displacements in Zimbabwe only emphasise the bitter experiences of displaced people who were at least resettled[5], but overlooked the plight of the unsettled Shangane on the basis of their minority status. Moreover, existing literature on south-east Zimbabwe and the sugar estates, in particular, also concentrates on the history behind the introduction and expansion of the Lowveld Sugar Estates without delving much into the post-eviction ecology or on the socioeconomic nor does it explore the political and religious institutions of the displaced Shangane people.[6] However, exceptions to this narrowed view are Mavhunga and Tavuyanago who both make significant contributions to existing literature on the Lowveld: the former espousing the human-animal interaction while the latter mainly dwells on the displaced Shangane people`s responses to displacement under Chief Sengwe to the colonial state in

[3] Maxon, R. M. *East Africa an Introductory History*, (Nairobi: West Virginia University Press, 1986), p. 115.

[4] Cernea, M. 'Understanding and Preventing Impoverishment from Displacement: Reflections on the State of Knowledge' in McDowell, C. (ed.), *Refugee and Forced Migration: Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development–Induced Displacement,* (Vol. 2), (Oxford: Berghan Books, 1996), p. 13, Laura, J. *New Ethnographies: Chagos Islanders in Mauritius and UK: Forced Displacement and Onward Migration*, (Great Britain: Manchester University Press, 2011).

[5] Nyambara, P. S. 'The Closing Frontier: Agrarian Change, Immigrants and the 'Squatter Menace' in Gokwe, 1890 – 1990s', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 1, No. 4, (October 2001), pp. 534 -549. McGregor, J. *Crossing the Zambezi: the Politics of landscape on a Central African Frontier,* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009). ,
Mashingaidze, T. M. 'Living and struggling on the margins: A Post Relocation History of the Zimbabwean Tonga's Livelihoods in Binga District 1950's to 2009', PhD Thesis, University of Minnesota, 2012.

[6] Most of the following scholars dwell at length on the production and expansion of the sugar estates. See, Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle, MacDougall Home Stead Museum,* (Chiredzi: Triangle Limited Company, 1989), pp. 7-123. , Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe, 1920 – 90,* (Harare: UZ Publications, 1996), Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions: Conservation and Development in Zimbabwe's South-east Lowveld,* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2007). , Mlambo, A. S., Pangeti, E. S. and Phimister, I., *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing 1890-1995*, (Harare: UZ Publications, 2000), Fontein, J. *Remaking Mutirikwi: Landscape, Water and Belonging in Southern Zimbabwe*, (Great Britain: James Currey, 2015).

reaction to the forced removal from their Gonarezhou ancestral home lands[7]. This forced displacement was specifically meant to pave way for the establishment of a national game park and not the introduction of the sugar estates. In fact, the area which the current research focuses on is unique in that it was occupied by Chief Tshovani's people who were later displaced to make way for the introduction of the Lowveld sugar estates. However, both Mavhunga and Tavuyanago's studies remain critical in that they inform this study partly on the pre-eviction Shangane ecology, in addition to socio-economic, political, and religious dynamics. The Shangane ecology implies their relationship with the physical environment which consists of soil, grass, trees, water, and wild animals (see p.137). Furthermore, they slightly share the same experiences suffered by the evicted Shangane inhabitants since both groups had continued to exist on the periphery right from their time of evictions during the colonial regime into post-independence Zimbabwe, though the nature of resistance to the forced removal and the onward migrations differed between the two Shangane chiefdoms of Sengwe and Tshovani. Thus, literature on the sugar estates is critical to the study because it enables the researcher to investigate in depth the knowledge gaps left uncovered by these scholars on the post-eviction period of the Shangane people since much of the available scholarly work is biased towards the settler economy, as stated above.

Furthermore, displacement also disrupted the livelihoods of the affected communities and good examples could be Mark Nyandoro's article which documented the displacement of the Gowe people to the dry-lands of Sanyati communal area thereby exposing them to poverty.[8]

[7] Mavhunga, C. 'The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human-Animal Interaction in Gonerezhou National Park, 1850-Present', PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, 2008. , Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2016.

[8] Nyandoro, M. 'Zimbabwe's land struggles and land rights in historical perspective: the case of Gowe-Sanyati irrigation, 1950-2000', in *Historia, Historical Association of South Africa (HASA),* Vol.57, No 2, (2012). Nyambara, P. S. 'The Closing Frontier: Agrarian Change, Immigrants and the 'Squatter Menace' in Gokwe, 1890 – 1990s'.

Similarly, Nyambara`s work also confirms the forced removal of the Karanga people who were removed from the Rhodesdale area in 1950 and dumped in the arid lands of Gokwe.[9] Thus, as a consequence of the evolving sugar plantation, several groups of Shangane-speaking people were forced off their traditional living homes and took up self-resettlement under Chief Bota, while the other group, under Chief Tshovani Muteyo, whom the Karanga people refer to as 'Tovani' in their dialect, also infiltrated into chiefs Ndanga and Nhema of Zaka District, respectively.[9] In short, the agency of the downtrodden ethnic 'minority' groups, such as the Shangane, of seeking to shape their own destiny, by resettling themselves and struggling to salvage livelihoods against an inhospitable background of exploitation and marginalisation by hegemonic forces, had increased their vulnerability to poverty. Therefore, poverty among the Shangane people was generated by their forced eviction and the reluctance by the colonial state and the capitalist sugar company to allocate them substitute land for resettlement.

1.2 Rationale

Global trends suggest that because of development-induced displacements, people often suffer from the risk of impoverishment due to deficiency in policy planning and implementation of resettlement programmes. In essence, the success of technological developments should be tied in with the social and economic transformation of the displaced people, regardless of their minority status. In fact, both internally and externally displaced persons, whether as a result of large-scale national projects such as dam construction, roads, or irrigation schemes, have a right to education, primary health care, water, shelter and above all, land.[10] Ideally, those who have caused the displacement, particularly governments, local authorities and commercial

[9] *NAZ*: MIA. DI, 'A Short Political and Economic History of the Tsovani, Chisa and Mahenye Dynasties of the Ndanga, Chiredzi and Chipinge Districts', From Bannerman, J. H. to CA, undated, p. 19.
[10] Cernea, M. M. 'Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model for Population Resettlement', *Hydro Nepal: Journal of Water, Energy and Environment* Vol. I, Issue No. 1, ISSN 2392-4101, 2007, p. 35.

organisations, should adequately compensate the displaced communities and undertake comprehensive resettlement policies benchmarked upon ethos of environmentally sustainability.[11] Despite the fact that the sugar industry has been key to the Zimbabwean economy since the colonial period, the victims of the resultant evictions have remained largely marginalised.

The post-colonial Zimbabwean state, for example, has always had enough sugar to satisfy its domestic, regional and international markets[12] thus, making Hippo Valley and Triangle home to some of the most sophisticated sugar producing value chains on the continent generating millions of foreign currency earnings[13]; yet the displaced minority groups have always been struggling on the periphery for survival. After all, both vulnerable and powerful groups have inalienable rights to places which they call home.

Scholars who have researched on development-induced displacements have focused little on the Shangane people displaced when the Lowveld Sugar Estates were established. This thesis makes a significant contribution to the academic literature on development-induced displacements by focusing on the experiences of the Shangane, a marginalised 'minority' ethnic group in south-east Zimbabwe during the period 1951-2008. While much of the prevailing literature worldwide focuses on the hardships experienced by resettled communities after they had been evicted to pave way for developmental projects, this thesis, however, dwells on those marginalised 'minority' communities who were not successfully resettled. Good examples include the Tonga people of Zimbabwe who were displaced during the construction

[11] McDowell, C. (ed.), *Refugee and Forced Migration Studies: Understanding Impoverishment: The consequences of Development – Induced displacement,* (Vol. 2), (UK: Berghan Books, 1996), p. 3.
[12] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 97.
[13] Ngwenya, R. 'The Village Griot-Capitalism is not the root of all evil', Chilonga, 7 March 2021, Unpublished article.

of the Kariba Dam in 1950[14] and the Kalanga in 1946 respectively. In addition to displacement, Dube argues that the Kalanga also faced marginalisation by both the colonial state and the Ndebele.[15] Therefore, this thesis seeks to demonstrate that marginalized groups such as the Kalanga and Shangane people did not lie idle lamenting their predicament. Rather, they became agents of their own destiny who sought to fight for their cultural identity, resettling themselves to salvage some sustenance respectively. Indeed, the encroachment of some Shangane communities into their neighbourhoods and their migration to distant areas in Zaka District attest to this.[16] This self-relocation, however, had mixed fortunes as some of the Shangane migrants endured further landlessness, increased poverty, food insecurity and environmental degradation on the new lands.[17] It should also be noted that when people are evicted from their land, which is the basis of their livelihood, without adequate compensation and/or rehabilitation, the consequences could be extremely disastrous.[18] Thus, the displaced and self-relocated Shangane people continued to struggle on the periphery for survival because both the colonial and post-colonial governments had failed to address their plight. Therefore, this study reveals that minority groups are always the target for displacement and exploitation by state institutions and other dominant powers in their respective areas. The situation becomes unpalatable on communities which are not resettled after their evictions since they lack political voices and decision making on issues which relate to their displacement[19]. According to Mazuru, politically marginalised people are often at the receiving end since their plight is not

[14] Mashingaidze, TM. "Beyond the Kariba Dam Induced Displacements: The Zimbabwean Tonga's Struggles for Restitution, 1990s–2000s." *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights,* 20, 3 (January 2013):381-404.

[15] Dube, T. 'Shifting Identities and the Transformation of the Kalanga People of Bulilimamangwe District C. 1946-2005' A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2015.

[16] *NAZ*: MIA. DI 'A Short Political and Economic History of the Tsovani', Bannerman, J. H., p. 19.

[17] Downing, T. E. 'Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development: Report No. 58', Avoiding New Poverty: Mining-Induced Displacement and Resettlement, International Institute for Environment and Development, April 2002, p. 8.

[18] Ibid, p. 11.

[19] Todaro, M. P. and Smith S. C. *Economic Development*, (England: Pearson Education Limited. 2011), p. 202

recognised by government. Therefore, such social vulnerability has negative implications on the development of affected communities.[20]

1.3 Aim

This study explores the history of development-induced displacement and its effects on the post-eviction ecology, socio-economic, political, and religious environment of the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe from 1951 to 2008. This is largely because the history of the Shangane people, as a minority group, has been ignored since the colonial times; hence, not much scholarly work has been conducted on their post-eviction period.

1.4 Research objectives:

1. To examine the extent to which the forced removal of the Shangane people and the political dynamics in the country affected their livelihoods.

2. To analyse the social and political disarticulation of the Shangane institutions after their forced displacement.

3. To examine the environmental damage caused by the capitalist sugar project and the displaced Shangane locals in the region.

4. To determine the extent to which the Zimbabwean Fast Track Land Reform programme, ushered in a new dispensation for sustainable development among the colonially displaced Shangane inhabitants.

[20] Mazuru, N., 'Social vulnerability during disasters and its impact on community development: the case of the 2014 Tokwe-Mukosi dam floods in Masvingo, Zimbabwe'. A thesis submitted to the Department of Development Studies, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, (2021), p.5.

1.5 Research questions:

1. To what extent did the eviction of the Shangane inhabitants from their traditional living spaces and political dynamics in the country affect their economic life?
2. How did the forced displacement of the Shangane locals interfere with their sociopolitical and religious institutions?
3. What were the ecological destructions caused by the sugar estates and the Shangane displacees in the Lowveld?
4. To what extent did the Fast Track Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe ameliorate the plight of the colonially displaced Shangane people?

1.6 Delimitation of the study

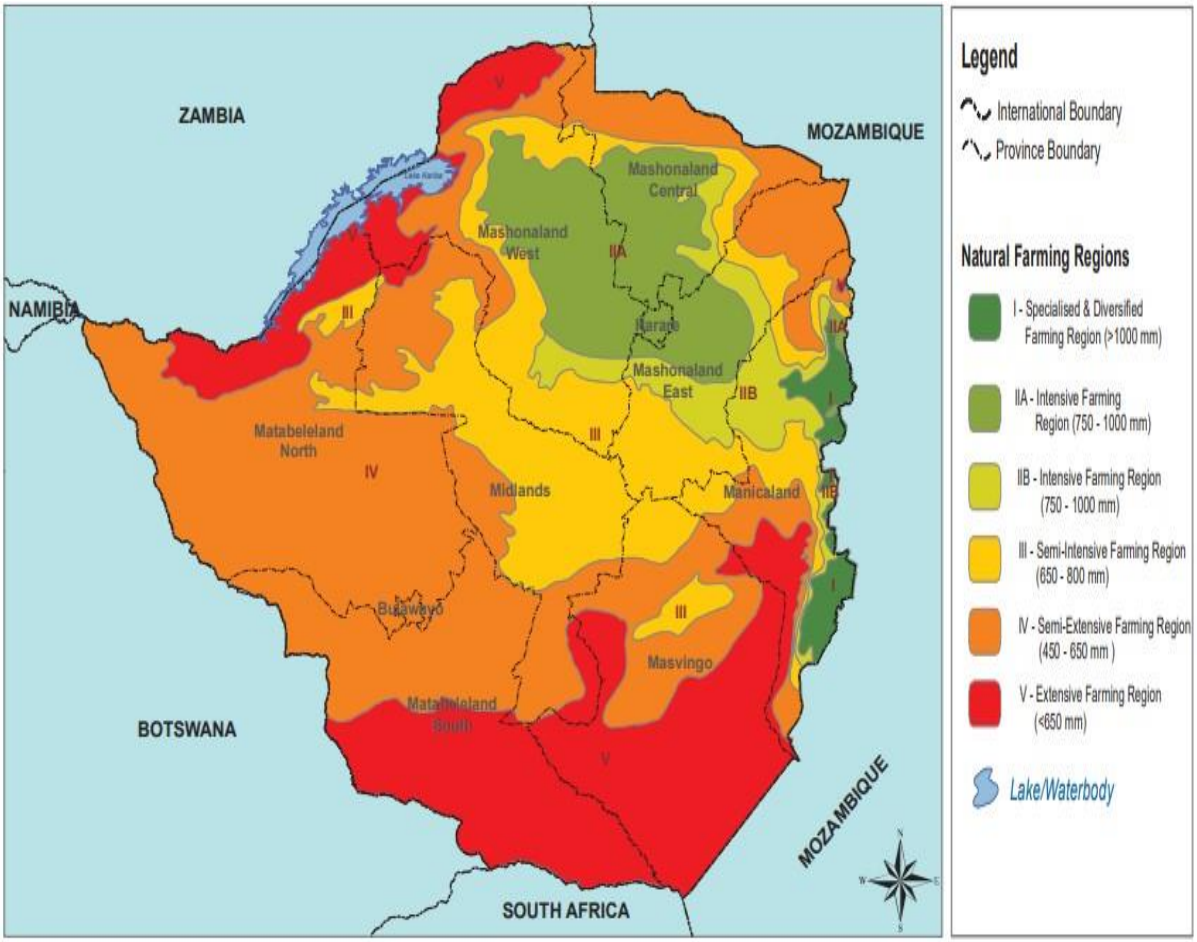
Mlambo and Pangeti posit that Zimbabwe has two known regions which are in the Lowveld areas, namely, one which lies along the southern bank of the Zambezi River in the north and the other one in the south-east part of Zimbabwe.[21] The latter, hereafter referred to as the south-east Lowveld, is the area under study. It is bound by the Eastern Highlands in the east, the Masvingo Middleveld in the north-west, the Limpopo River in the south-west and the Mozambican border in the south-east. Furthermore, the topography of the study area is incised and dissected by many rivers on their way to the Indian Ocean, notably: Save; Mwenezi; Mtirikwi; Runde; and Chiredzi, respectively. The Lowveld area in question is characterized by low rainfall patterns, high temperatures and infertile soils and therefore, falls in Regions Four and Five of the country's ecological regions.[22]

[21] Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe*, p. 9.
[22]Ibid, p. 10.

Zimbabwe is divided into five agro-ecological regions with variations in rainfall pattern, soil quality and vegetation, among other features. Region I is suitable for intensive diversified agriculture and livestock production such as dairy farming, while region II is for intensive cropping and livestock production, especially the production of beef and pork.[22] Region I and Region II receive about 750-1000mm of rainfall and have good soils. Region III receives about 650-800mm of rainfall and production systems are based on drought-tolerant crops and semiintensive livestock farming based on fodder crops, while region IV receives an annual rainfall of 450-650mm. Region IV is characterised by severe dry spells and frequent seasonal droughts hence is suitable for cattle rearing.[23] Finally, region V is generally dry and is suitable for extensive cattle production and game-ranching. Thus, both regions four and five are too dry for intensive crop production; hence, households on the communal lands in these regions grow drought-resistant crops such as sorghum and millet for their food security as well as cotton for cash.[25]

[22] Hosier, R. H. (ed.), *Energy, Environment and Development in Africa: Energy for Rural Development in Zimbabwe*, (Sweden: The Beijer Institute, 1988), p. 62.
[23] Ibid, p. 62.; See also Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe*, p. 10. Hosier, R. H. (ed.), *Energy, Environment and Development*, p. 62. , Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 19342008', p. 49.

Fig 1.1 below is a map showing the agro-ecological regions in Zimbabwe.

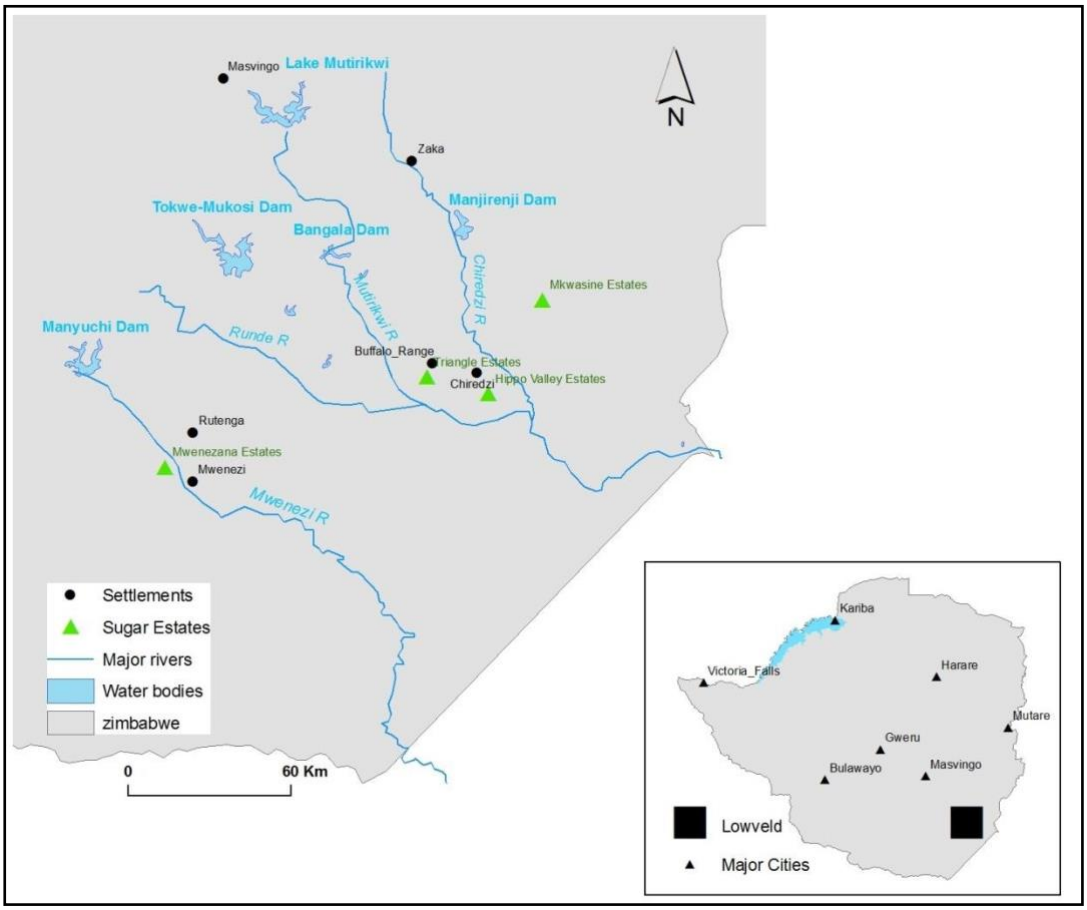


Source: *Zimbabwe: Agro-ecological Zones Map [with administrative boundaries] (as of 05 Oct 2009) - Zimbabwe | ReliefWeb*

The Lowveld Sugar Estates are located in Masvingo Province and the distance from the City of Masvingo to the Triangle Sugar Estate is approximately one hundred and ninety kilometres. This sugar estate occupies an area of thirteen thousand and two hundred hectares. The Hippo Valley sugar estate is within the radius of thirty kilometres from Triangle and its hecterage is eleven thousand, while the distance from Hippo Valley to Mkwasine Sugar Estate is about forty-five kilometres and the estate covers an area of seven thousand hectares.[24]

[24] Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe*, p. 9.

Fig 1.2 below is the map of the Lowveld in south-east Zimbabwe, illustrating the river network within the area, alongside the major dams which supply water to the sugar estates, sugar plantations and the location of the Shangane people under study.



Source: Zimbabwe National Committee on Large Dams (ZIMCOLD)

The Lowveld is 700 metres above sea level and forms 16% of the total national landscape.[25] The area has average temperatures ranging from 21 to 38 degrees Celsius which promote the breeding of mosquitoes and tsetse flies; consequently, there are frequent outbreaks of malaria and *trypanosomiasis*. Research by Manamere also supports the idea that the ecology of south-east Zimbabwe was well known for malaria cases prior to the inception of colonial rule and thereafter. Thus, as cited by Manamere, McGregor and Ranger argue that colonial forced

[25] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 48.

relocations of African people in the post-war period undid any success that the World Health Organisation and the colonial government had, to some extent, achieved in the fight against the disease.[26]This was also confirmed by a respondent from the area who remarked that while malaria cases were common on the estates, the company often sprayed the estates with malaria insecticides. This made Triangle, Hippo Valley and Mkwasine estates relatively free from malaria.[27] However, some few cases within the estates are usually of migrant labourers.[30]

The south-east Lowveld in Zimbabwe is largely dry and, as a result, most agricultural activities in this arid region have largely depended on irrigation schemes.[31] Irrigation in the Lowveld is, probably, the most intricate and expensive operation that buoys sugar production. Generally, there are two types of irrigation. The first type is a condition where water is applied to increase the yields obtainable under rainfall conditions, known as "supplementary irrigation." The second mode is a condition where irrigation is applied to produce yields in semi-arid areas, known as "total irrigation".[28] In the Lowveld, total irrigation is commonly practised largely because the rainfall pattern in Zimbabwe starts in November or December and folds up in March. Therefore, supplementary irrigation is not quite possible in the Lowveld due to low rainfall in the area, which is often accompanied by high temperatures, leaving total irrigation as the only possible option.

[26] Manamere, K. 'A History of Malaria in the Southeastern Lowveld of Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 to 1979' A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Humanities for the Centre for Africa Studies, University of the Free State, South Africa, (2016). p.17.

[27] Interview with Simbarashe Chibhememe, Hippo Valley, sugarcane out grower, Chiredzi, 16 June 2021 [30] Manamere, K. 'A History of Malaria in the Southeastern Lowveld of Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 to 1979', p.18.

[31]Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 49

[28] Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe*, p. 9.

1.7 Population

Most of the Shangane people in Zimbabwe are found in the district of Chiredzi in Masvingo Province. The district consists of 31 wards, 15 of which are occupied by the Shangane inhabitants under Chief Sengwe and Tshovani, while the remaining 16 wards are made up of both Shangane and Karanga people.[29] In the year 2008, the population of Chiredzi District stood at 274 973, with a total number of 64134 households. However, the above figures do not necessarily imply that the Shangane population was static since it changed from time to time owing to several variables which could be drought, war, diseases, and natural calamities, among others. During the period under review, the area under Chief Tshovani's jurisdiction comprised of seven wards with 78 registered village heads. The diagram below shows the total population of Chief Tshovani's people as of 2008.[30]

Name of Ward	Ward Number	Males	Females	Total	Number of Households	Average Size
Triangle	18	6651	6603	13254	3794	3,5
Mkwasine	21	5649	4807	10456	3040	3,4
Triangle	27	3411	3242	6653	1946	3,4
Triangle	28	7546	6877	14423	4216	3,4
Hippo Valley	30	5098	3863	9182	2752	3,1
Hippo Valley	31	4614	3170	8477	1576	3,9

[29] Interview with Takudzwa Chimanya; executive Officer Technical Services Chiredzi Rural District Council, Chiredzi, 24 May 2017.
[30] Records: Chiredzi District Administrator's Office, 19 May 2017.

Mkwasine	32	3034	3170	6204	1576	3,9
TOTAL				68649		

Source – Chiredzi DA's Office Records.

The above statistics include the Karanga, Ndebele and Ndau splinter groups found in the area.[31]

The words 'Tsonga', 'Hlengwe' and 'Shangane' are popularly used with reference to the southeast Lowveld people who are jointly known as the Shangane, as will be explained in Chapter Three of this thesis. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the researcher used the word Shangane as it best captures the collective identity of these groups.

1.8 Period of study

The research covers the period from 1951 to 2008, mainly because the year 1951 saw the promulgation of the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA). In her doctoral thesis, Dube posits that the NLHA was rooted in the Rhodesian agrarian policies of the 1930s and 1940s which were designed to conserve natural resources such as soil and water.[32] Makanyisa, Chemhuru and Masitera share the same sentiments with Dube that the NLHA was designed to address the ecological effects caused by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which pushed the local Africans into dry and sandy areas.[33] In the same vein, further attempts to conserve the

[31] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 5., *NAZ*: MIA. DI 'A Short Political and Economic History of the Tsovani, Bannerman, J. H. Undated p. 492., Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 6. *NAZ*: S2929/8/4, Nuanetsi Delineation Report, Kaschula, B. P. (Delineation Officer), 1967, p. 93.

[32] Dube, T. 'Shifting Identities and the Transformation of the Kalanga People of Bulilimangwe District C. 19462005' A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, 2015, p. 74.

[33] Makanyisa, I., Chemhuru, M. & Masitera, E., The Land Tenure System, and the Environmental Implications on Zimbabwean Society: Examining the Pre-colonial to Post-independent Zimbabwean Thinking and Policies through History and Philosophy, *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 14, No. 6, ISSN 1520-5509, (2012), pp.177-178

environment were enhanced through the enactment of the 1941 Act which served to curtail the deleterious effects of over-grazing in the reserves. This is where the idea of destocking was initially muted.[34] Just like any other act before it, the NLHA further impoverished the displaced Shangane people through the reduction of their farming area and livestock to a minimum of eight acres and five beasts per family, respectively.[35] The attempt by this Act to temper with the minimum number of cattle per household greatly affected the Shangane inhabitants given that most of them largely depended on livestock production as their main source of wealth.

A respondent from Headman Magatse's area confirmed this when he argued that their forefathers had a lot of cattle before the displacement. Had it not been for the stringent measures associated with the Native Husbandry Act of 1951 which forced them to sell their beasts at £4 each to the white farmers.[36] This was also echoed by Wolmer who notes that the Shangane were well known for keeping cattle.[37] It is highly likely that the forced sale of their cattle as a result of the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, made the Shangane people worse off than before.

The year 2008 temporarily put the economic crises in Zimbabwe on halt since this was followed by the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) between the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) on 15 September 2008 and the succeeding formation of the Inclusive Government on 11 February 2009.[42] In fact, ZANU PF was formed in 1963 as a revolutionary party which ousted the colonial regime in 1980 under the leadership of Robert Mugabe. While the MDC was formed

[34] Dube, T. 'Shifting Identities and the Transformation of the Kalanga People of Bulilimangwe District C. 19462005' p. 74.

[35] Moore, J. L. *Zimbabwe's Fight to the Finish,* (USA: Kegan Paul Limited, 2003), pp. 31-32., Falola, T. and Usman, A. A. *Movements, Borders, and Identities in Africa,* (USA: University Rochester Press, 2009), p. 220.
Moyo, S. 'The Land Question' in Mandaza, I. (ed.), *Zimbabwe the Political economy of Transition 1980-1986.* (Dakar: Codesria, 1986), p. 171.

[36] Interview with Lehinga Tshavani, Lehinga village, Zaka, 9 November 2017.

[37] Wolmer, W. From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions, p. 126.

in 1999 by Morgan Tsvangirai as a formidable opposition political party to the ruling ZANU PF. [42] The coming together of the two political parties paved way for the introduction of the United States Dollar as a legal tender which replaced the Zimbabwean dollar in the form of bearer cheques. The new currency gave a reprieve to many people through price stability and the subsequent economic revival.[38] Therefore, the year 2008 is critical in that it enables the researcher to come up with a comprehensive evaluation on whether the plight of the Shangane people was also transformed in line with the changing economic and political developments in the country or else it was a continuation of their struggle for survival on the periphery.[39]

1.9 Limitations

As noted in the methodology section, the Shangane people are a closed society as compared to their Karanga neighbours. This is largely because of the strict adherence which they place on the value of their social life. As a result, a deep insight into their cultural aspect was difficult to research on. Furthermore, the Shangane society is patriarchal in nature; hence, this made it extremely challenging for women to participate in the exercise, except in homes without male heads. Therefore, considering this development, it was problematic to verify some of the information gathered from oral interviews. This was further exacerbated by the outbreak of the Corona Virus disease in 2019. Following the declaration of Covid-19 by WHO as an international disaster, the President of Zimbabwe also declared the pandemic as a natural catastrophe and effected a national lockdown on 27 March 2020.[40] Thus, the Lowveld of south-east Zimbabwe was more prone to Covid-19 than other areas because of, firstly, its proximity to South Africa where high numbers of Covid-19 infections were reported on the African

[38] Muguti, T. *et al,* 'Untenable Marriages: Situating Governments of National Unity in Africa's Political Landscape', *International Journal of Developing Societies*, Vol. 1, No 4, (2012), pp. 149-158.
[39] Raftopoulos, B. & Mlambo, A. S., Becoming Zimbabwe, p.49.
[40] Ibid, p.49.

continent and, secondly, because of huge numbers of illegal border jumpers who crossed into neighbouring South Africa and Mozambique without passing through Covid-19 testing centres. As a result of this, movements in and out of Chiredzi District were strictly monitored by the law enforcement personnel since

Chiredzi District was eventually declared a Covid-19 hot spot. The lockdown restrictions made it extremely difficult for the researcher and interviewees to carry out fieldwork. For instance, under WHO guidelines, focus group interviews became difficult to conduct. Hence, in some cases, I had to reduce the number of participants to maintain social distance while in other circumstances, I resorted to tele-interviews. Consequent to these dynamics, the whole study took five years to complete.

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Tools of analysis

The data collected was analysed qualitatively. The qualitative technique has the advantage of affording an in-depth analysis of issues holistically. It is also a flexible technique that allows the researcher to interpret data from various perspectives emanating from a wide range of sources.[41]

[41] Avdhesh, S. *Research Methodology*, (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 2014), p. 154.

1.10.2 Oral Interviews

The interview method involves the presentation of oral – verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral – verbal responses.[42] Given that there are limited archival and secondary documents on the forced migration of the Shangane, it was imperative to employ the interview method for intensive research. This allowed the researcher to get first-hand information on how the Shangane people were economically affected by the introduction of the sugar estates and the political dynamics in the country, the extent to which the forced eviction of the Shangane locals interfered with their once intact social and political institutions among other related research questions. Such information was obtained from elderly members of the Shangane society. Thus, interviews, as social interactions, cultivated intimacy between the interviewer and respondent which, in turn, led to the disclosure of vital information. The mutual trust between the informants and the researcher was enhanced through my four months stay in Zaka District among the Shangane people of headman Magatse and eight months in Chief Thsovani`s area. In this area, interviews were conducted based on both individuals and groups. Overall, much information was obtained easily since most of my interviewees showed high level of co-operation. However, the silences of the method such as subjectivity were verified through library research and archival documents. The researcher was only proficient in English and Shona languages, and this left a language gap given that the area under study was dominantly Shangane. To circumvent the communication barrier, the researcher enlisted the help of research assistants who were proficient in Xishangane language. This enabled me to capture rich data expressed in Xishangane proverbs and idioms, among other things.

[42] Kothari, C. R. *Research Methodology Methods, and Techniques,* (Third Edition), (New Dehli: New Age International (Pvt) Ltd Publishers, 2014), p. 92.

The most common sampling methods which were employed in conducting interviews were: purposive sampling, quota sampling, as well as snowball sampling. For instance, the snowball sampling was critical in that it involved the participation of key informants who were, in most cases, elderly figures among the displaced Shangane people. The method had several advantages to the research process, especially on cases where I had doubts as I was often referred to other key informants of the same generation for further clarification. Furthermore, the quota sampling was also essential in that it enabled me to cater for diversities within the Shangane society such as class, generation gap, geographical location, gender, and ethnicity.

The targeted potential informants included teachers, agriculture extension officers, Chiredzi District officials, the police personnel, chiefs, sub-chiefs, village heads and elderly members of the Shangane community, among others. Here, the purposive sampling technique was very useful since the researcher knew that the people in the categories mentioned above had information on the displaced Shangane. Therefore, using purposive sampling, 101 participants were selected to participate in the study. The population was represented as follows:

Table 1.2 Sample of participants for the study

Population	**Total Members**	**Sample**
Sub-chief/Chief	4	3

Village Heads under Chief Tshovani in Chiredzi	78	7
Village Heads under Headman Magatse in Zaka	19	4
District Administrators	2	2
Hippo Valley Sugarcane Out growers (CSFAZ)	350	3
Displaced Shangane people	68649	85

Source: Author

1.10.3 Focus group discussion

Closely related to individual interviews, the researcher also employed the focus group discussion method. The method was very ideal in carrying out in-depth interviews, especially from 2016 up until the outbreak of Covid-19 pandemic which was then followed by restrictions on movement and social interactions. Group interviews were, therefore, slightly difficult to conduct under such conditions; hence, the researcher had to change tactics and employed teleinterviews among others. Focus group discussions usually involve the participation of groups of key informants. In this case, ordinary people and local authorities such as village heads, subchiefs and chiefs were grouped according to their classes so as to trigger memories and motivation to participate freely without fear. Given the limited documentation on the

displaced Shangane people, the method was, therefore, quite useful in authenticating data gathered from individual interviews.

1.10.4 Participant observation

This is an anthropological approach meant to access internal information on the Shangane. The participant observation method has several advantages among which are the reduction of subjectivity and bias in the data provided by informants and secondary sources.[43] In order to effectively employ the observation method and other related research techniques, as mentioned above, the researcher spent some considerable time in Zaka communal areas among Chief Bota and Headman Magatse's people. The interaction of the researcher with such displaced people assisted in the comparative analysis on the extent to which the displacement affected their ecology, socio-economic and the political landscapes. This was done by observing their day to day socio-economic and political activities at meetings and other social gatherings. The same visits were also extended to Chief Tshovani's area where most of the displaced people from the sugar estates stay lived. Here, the researcher spent more time than in Zaka, largely because much of the people displaced by the sugar estate authorities and the colonial state are found in this area, as alluded to earlier on. After this interaction with the displaced Shangane people, the researcher then left the field to verify and analyse the information gathered with library research and archival documents.

1.10.5 Archival and documentary sources

Development studies generally deals with current developmental issues. In essence, development has historical implications; hence, this field could be understood from an

[43] Avdhesh, S. *Research Methodology*, p.250.

interdisciplinary perspective. As a student of both history and development studies, I found it imperative to leverage on this background to employ Zimbabwean history so as to enrich my thesis in tracing the trajectory of displacement and the post-eviction existence of the Shangane community.

In principle, archival sources also form the crucial component of Development Studies, especially files which focus on development-induced displacements. In this context, archival sources were used to explore the pre-colonial Shangane modes of livelihoods, their social and political life, as well as their ecology. Such an assessment enabled the researcher to reflect on the magnitude to which the Lowveld Sugar Estates affected the Shangane environments.

As the researcher, I was privileged to be a resident of Masvingo town and this afforded me ample time to peruse archival records housed at Masvingo Records Centre (MRC) - a subsidiary of the National Archives of Zimbabwe located in Harare. Here, I was exposed to delineation reports of Shangane chieftainship compiled by early European settlers in the Lowveld and these included the Tshovanis, Sengwe and Chitanga chieftainships. This enabled me to have good knowledge of boundaries and areas under the jurisdiction of the affected Shangane people by the establishment of the sugar project. Thus, a juxtaposition analysis of the Shangane lands before and after the displacement shed more light on the extent to which the eviction affected the livelihoods, ecology and the socio-political landscapes of the displaced people. More archival sources were also obtained from the National Archive of Zimbabwe. Information gathered from the archives was very useful, particularly in the verification of data obtained from the Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA). However, pitfall associated with NADA documents is that they are decidedly more biased towards the settler regime as they always reflected the official colonial position and characteristically denigrated Africans whenever they made mention of them; but, overall, they simply silenced the African voice. For

this reason, therefore, they had to be used with great caution. In his thesis, Tavuyanago also confirms that NADA documents were grossly subjective since they were used to depict the indigenous people as a backward and primitive people.[44]

The researcher had access to the Zimbabwe National Committee on Large Dams (ZIMCOLD) documents housed at the Zimbabwe National Water Authorities (ZINWA) provincial offices in Masvingo town. Such documents provided the researcher with information on the river networks and dams which supplied water to the sugar estates in question. The issue of harnessing water towards irrigation purposes clearly demonstrates the role played by the colonial state in facilitating the displacement of the Shangane inhabitants from their traditional homelands of Triangle and Hippo Valley. Moreover, supplementary information was also obtained from university libraries such as Wits University, Great Zimbabwe University and the University of Zimbabwe. Given the nature of the current political environment in Zimbabwe, where the carrying out of any academic research is put under strong political surveillance and also to gain confidence of my interviewees, I had to use an approval letter obtained from the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage and the other one from my supervisor at the University of the Witwatersrand. I was impelled to follow this route in a bid to clear misconception, fear, and suspicion among the informants.

Given that Zimbabwe had experienced a reign of terror in 2008, because of the tightly contested elections in March of the same year; hence, memories of such atrocities were still vivid in the minds of people and this might have affected the willingness of informants to participate freely, if not cautiously and transparently approached.

[44] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p.41.

In a nutshell, the study on the Shangane largely depended on oral interviews, focus group discussion, participant observation method and archival sources. The library research was also used.

1.11 Ethical Considerations

The four broad issues of ethical consideration were highly upheld. Thus, the researcher largely depended on the audio recordings for future use in the compilation of data after field work. However, the consent of informants was first obtained before any recordings. Confidentiality and anonymity were also assured as per the will of the informants. The researcher equally made it clear to the interviewees that the exercise was entirely voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw anytime they wished to do so. In addition, informants from both Chiredzi and Zaka districts were informed that the exercise had no monetary benefits.

1.12 Organisation of study

My chapters are thematically and chronologically arranged in an attempt to explore the extent to which the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe from 1951 – 2008 affected the Shangane community. Thus, Chapter One sets the research agenda while Chapter Two is a critical analysis of related scholarship on development induced displacements. It exposes arguments advanced by the Zimbabwean and International authors on the discourse of development-induced displacements to effectively situate my own study within its proper context. The chapter answers the theoretical questions on how impoverishment occurs through displacement or how it could be prevented and how the livelihoods of the displaced self-relocated minority groups could be reconstructed in their post eviction era.

Chapter Three provides a discussion on the historiography of the new Shangane community in south-east Zimbabwe from the pre-colonial epoch to the early years of colonialism. It further unravels how the Shangane exercised dominion in the Lowveld. This chapter also traces the origins, development and expansion of the Lowveld Sugar Estates as a consequence of the colonial land policies which pushed the local Africans away from their traditional living spaces of Triangle, Hippo Valley and Mkwasine. Issues of labour mobilisation and the corporate social responsibility of the company are an integral component of this chapter.

Chapter Four details the pre and post eviction Shangane economies, together with the political dynamics in the country. In other words, it examines the magnitude to which the political changes in the country affected the livelihoods of the displaced Shangane people who resided within the vicinity of the Lowveld sugar plantations and those who self-relocated to Zaka communal lands.

Chapter Five explores how the forced displacements of the Shangane people disturbed their social, political and religious institutions. This was more evident among the Shangane people who took up economic refugee in Zaka District where they established marriage alliances with their Karanga counterparts. Thus, the existence of such groups under Karanga chiefs also created ethnic tensions.

Chapter Six presents a discussion on the ecological effects exerted by the sugar company on the physical environment through the propagation of sugar cane and also by the displaced Shangane people in their new environment as they struggled to salvage for sustenance in densely populated areas with scarce resources. It further examines how poverty and climate change relate to displacement.

Chapter Seven assesses the strategies employed by the post-colonial state as a reprieve to the colonially marginalised groups through the land agrarian policies. It demonstrates how the

agenda of political expedience was manipulated to service the political mileage of ZANU (PF) officials much to the disadvantage of minority groups. It further reflects how the same political players were obsessed with politics, rather than the preservation and conservation of natural resources.

The conclusion ties down the overarching argument through a reflection of the following research questions: To what magnitude did the eviction of the Shangane inhabitants from their traditional living spaces and the political dynamics in the country affect their economic life?; How did the forced displacement of the Shangane locals interfere with their socio-political and religious institutions?; What were the ecological destructions caused by the sugar estates and the Shangane displacees in the Lowveld?; To what extent did the Fast Track Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe ameliorate the plight of the colonially displaced Shangane people

1.13 Conclusion

The chapter outlines the scope of the study through an exploration of the problem statement, justification, objectives of the study among others to enhance the magnitude to which displacement as an overarching theme in this thesis affects the livelihoods of the Shangane people. The methodology employed in the collection of both the primary and secondary data was also analysed, highlighting the strength and weaknesses of each research instrument in line with the current study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

To comprehend the trajectory of development-induced displacement on communities, this study draws scholarship from the body of mostly salient and recent Zimbabwean authors, whose writings attend to the issues of displacement and directly speaks to my thesis. In the same vein, existing world literature was consulted to draw on global experiences related to displacements, with special emphasis on the impoverishment risks among which are landlessness, destruction of people's livelihoods, forced displacement and environmental degradation. This chapter unravels the effects of development-induced displacements, on large ethnic communities in general, and on the Shangane people. It unlocks how the failure by both state and developer to provide alternative lands to the displaced communities resulted in unprecedented levels of poverty. It is for this reason that this chapter is predicated upon the following thematic threads:

- Landlessness/homelessness
- Destruction of people's livelihoods
- Forced Displacement and Environmental Degradation
- Socio – political and religious effects of forced displacement
- Land reform, a panacea to the colonially displaced and marginalised communities

2.1 Key Concept

2.1.1 Poverty

The meaning .and what constitutes poverty is highly contested among scholars. Webster views poverty as a relative term, a condition that can only be defined by comparing the circumstances

of one group of people or an entire economy with another one.[45] Mawere agrees with Webster that poverty differs with individuals or communities; for instance, one who is poor in Britain may not be poor when he or she comes to Africa. Accordingly, poverty is based on the framework of either of the two territories mentioned above.[46] Harris's study shows similarities with Mawere and Webster in that poverty depends upon the culture of the people and, as a result, what is considered as poverty in one society is not necessarily poverty in the next society. Consequently, it is difficult to standardise poverty.[47] Sen, as cited by Mawere, has it that poverty implies lack of food, shelter, education, and employment opportunities among other basic necessities.[48]

But the problem of defining poverty arises since the measures used to compare populations will depend on a whole range of assumptions about 'adequate standards of living' which some enjoy and others do not. A careful examination of various ethnic groups in the Lowveld shows that the displaced ethnic Shangane minority group are more vulnerable to poverty than the other groups which were not affected by development-induced displacements. It is, against this background, that poverty is classified into two pre-dominant classes; namely, absolute, and relative poverty. In his work, Osman defines absolute poverty as an assessment of the biological and physiological demands of the human body for food, warmth, and shelter.[49] While Webster looks at relative poverty as lack of resources to obtain the types of diet as well as participation in the socio-political activities. This usually occurs when one fails to have the living conditions

[45] Webster A, *Introduction to the Sociology of Development*, (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1984), p. 16.
[46] Mawere M, 'Poverty and Inequality: Unpacking the Pragmatics of Poverty and Inequality in Africa', in M. Mawere, (ed) *Theorising Development in Africa: Towards Building an African Framework of Development*, Bamenda, Langaa RPCIG, (2017).
[47] Harris, J. R. *The Nurture Assumption: Why Children Turn out the Way They Do*, (New York: Touchstone Rockefeller Centre, 1998), pp. 1-2.
[48] Ibid
[49] Ibid, p. 19. Osmani, S. R. 'Nutrition and the Economics of Food: Implications of some recent controversies', in Dreze, J. and Sen, A. (eds.), *The political Economy of Hunger*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 273.

and amenities which are customary, or at least, widely approved in the society to which one belongs.[50]

In an attempt to dissect what constitutes poverty, Harris argues that the parents' poverty and failure in life is passed on to the children who grow up poorly equipped to compete for jobs and other services. The disadvantages are further inherited by the next generation of children who, because of lack of better paying jobs, continue to stay poor like their parents and grandparents before them.[51] This observation also relates to the displaced Shangane people of south-east Zimbabwe; the majority of whom had a dire existence owing to poor living and working conditions, except for a few who got menial work on the Tongaat Huletts' sugar plantations.

The research by Todaro and Smith also reflects that the high economic characteristics of poverty groups include women, indigenous populations, as well as ethnic minorities. These scholars note that poverty falls heavily on minority ethnic groups and indigenous populations since about 40% of the world's nation-states have more than five sizable ethnic populations, one or more who face serious economic, political, and social discrimination.[52] The Shangane people of south-east Zimbabwe belong to a minority group who are socially, economically, and politically separated from the rest of the population. To justify the quick displacement of minority groups for national projects, the developers usually regarded them as less cost effective as was the case with the displaced Tonga and Kalanga people, respectively.[53] Thus, the forced eviction of the Shangane people by the European sugar company in south-east Zimbabwe followed a similar pattern of displacement.

[50] Webster, A. *Introduction to the Sociology of Development*, p. 20.
[51] Ibid, pp. 1-2.
[52] Todaro M. P. and Smith S. C. *Economic Development*, p. 202.
[53] McGregor J., Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of landscape on a Central African Frontier, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009), p. 109. Dube T. Shifting identities and the transformation of the Kalanga people, 2015.

Todaro and Smith sum up their discussion by alluding that in recent years, domestic conflicts and even civil wars have arisen out of ethnic groups' perceptions that they are often excluded competition for limited resources and job opportunities. Similarly, the post-colonial state in Zimbabwe has failed to provide the Shangane people with poverty relief through its land reform programmes as there was stiff competition for land allocation for the acquired farms and sugar estates for resettlement.[54]

In his studies, Epstein contends that people are not a homogeneous entity in real life but, rather, a heterogeneous lot composed of individuals and groups whose struggle for survival often forces them to compete with each other for access to limited opportunities and resources.[55] He further notes that the poor come from different cultural backgrounds and have different needs and aspirations.[56] In light of Epstein's observation, the Shangane population to date consists of both the "rich" and poor people. Rich in the sense that they are some Shangane who can meet their daily basic needs while others' livelihoods were destroyed because of the forced displacement. It is against this backdrop that, teachers, nurses, agricultural extension officers, sub-chiefs, chiefs, and other government officials cannot be categorised in the bracket of the poor. However, it should be noted that the percentage of the poor people among the Shangane is relatively large. In summation, Sen has it that relative deprivation is essentially incomplete as an approach to poverty but, rather, supplements the approach of absolute dispossession; as such, poverty means deprivation of some kind.[57] Therefore, this study takes cognisance of Sen's view of poverty, largely because the Shangane people were further impoverished by the development of a capitalist, sugar project aided by the policies and actions of a colonial state

[54] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p.197., Scoones, I. *et al Zimbabwe's Land Reform Myths and Realities*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2010), pp. 967-993.
[55] Epstein, S. 'Poverty, Caste and Migration in South India', in Narayan, D. and Petesch, P. (eds.), *Moving out of Poverty Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Mobility*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 199.
[56] Ibid, p. 199.
[57] Sen, A. *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. (UK: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 17.

which, in turn, gave rise to dispossession and deprivation of material resources upon which the Shangane people originally relied.

2.1.2 Environment

The issue of environmental conservation in Zimbabwe came about because of global conventions on environmental management. Thus, in line with the global trends, the government of Zimbabwe also put on cards the Environmental Management Agency in 2003 whose Act came into fruition in 2007.[58] On the other hand, Irwin Altman, and Martin Chemers view people as an inherent part of nature, like animals, trees, and rivers, trying to live in harmony with the environment.[59] Thus, the environment consists of air, land, vegetation, wildlife and water. This is normally the physical surrounding. However, it should be observed that the environment goes beyond this to include the socio-economic, political and religious environments.

In the same vein, scholars like Elizabeth Barnett and Michele Casper argue that the human social environment encompasses the immediate physical surroundings, social relations and cultural milieus within which defined groups of people function and interact.[60] The two scholars further suggest that components of the social environment include government, race relations, social inequality, cultural practices, religious institutions and practices, beliefs about places and community. Thus, the social environment subsumes many aspects of the physical environment given that contemporary landscapes, water resources and other natural resources have been at least partially configured through anthropocene.[66] In short, embedded within contemporary social environments are historical social and power relations that have become

[58] Tafanenyasha, C. and Dzinomwa, T. Land-use impacts on river water quality in Lowveld sand river systems in south-east Zimbabwe: Land use and water resource research 5, 2005, Unpublished Paper, p. 1.
[59] Altman, I. and Chemers, M. *Culture and Environment*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press 1984), p. 15.
[60] Barnett, E. And Casper, M. *American Journal of Public Health*, Washington Vol. 91, Issue Mar 2001, p. 1499. [66] Ibid, p. 465.

institutionalised over time.[61] This relates very well to the Shangane people who, upon arriving in the Lowveld of south-east Zimbabwe from South Africa via Mozambique, established hegemony over the Tsonga and other Karanga splinter groups whom they found in the region and integrated into their culture. Thus, the entire Lowveld was dominated by the Shangane; hence, came to be known as the land of the Shangane inhabitants. However, due to their minority status, the Shangane people continue to occupy peripheral places in the Zimbabwean society.

In their research, Charlse L. Happer and Monica Snowden concur with the above scholars and further suggest that the worldview which people share consists of their totality of cultural beliefs and belief systems about the world and reality.[62] Hence, it is a broader concept than their ideologies; meaning the parts of worldviews that people purposely use to justify action and choices. Thus, cognized environments are also components of worldviews that are related to ideologies about the environment.[63]

Central to the whole discourse is embodiment culture which Irwin Altman and Martin Chemers claim has several key components ranging from beliefs, perception, values, norms, customs and behaviours of a group or society.[64] Thus, culture includes what people believe to be true of the world, their lives, and the environment. It also includes their values, or what they hold to be good and bad, acceptable, and unacceptable, while another part of culture is a set of rules and beliefs about how to behave and do things.[71] This was quite typical of the displaced Shangane people whose rules on circumcision were generally strict and that every graduate

[61] Ibid, p. 465.
[62] Happer, C. L. and Snowden, M. *Environment and Society: Human perspective on the Environment,* (New York: Routledge, 2017), p.14.
[63] Ibid, p. 14.
[64] Altman, I. and Chemers, M. *Culture and Environment,* p. 15. [71]
Ibid, p. 15.

from the rites of passage ritual was exhorted to keep the secrecy of the ceremony. In fact, some aspects of the Shangane cultural or social environment have remained intact up to this day.

Similarly, a set of rules about how to behave or do certain things also formed part of their political institution or environment which was partly disturbed by the forced displacement, resulting in some of the remnants of Chief Tshovani's people migrating to Zaka communal lands in search of sustenance. This was another blow to their once vibrant political landscape or environment.

Altman and Chemers further alluded that people have positive and negative feelings about sites and the wilderness; hence, have diverse attitudes towards various places such as mountains and Oceans.[65] This view is echoed by Wolmer who argues that the removal of the Shangane from their land associated with the graves and spirits of their ancestors was a pure separation from their protective sphere; hence, they attributed this to the increased incidence of drought and poverty, respectively.[66] Therefore, the research on the Shangane people seeks to enhance a comparative analysis on the magnitude to which the forced displacement had reconfigured their once rich environment and how the same disturbance led to poverty and underdevelopment of the Lowveld.

2.2 Overview of displacements

The following scholars have theorised human mobility as a continuum from relatively free to relatively forced movements and have outlined this continuum through a range of oppositional terms: Richmond talks of voluntary versus involuntary,[67] while Van Hear has proactive versus

[65] Ibid, p. 15.
[66] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 81.
[67] Richmond, A. *Global Apartheid,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 59.

reactive[68] and Turton discusses migration versus displacement.[69] In addition, Turton posits that 'forced' implies lack of choice, whereas 'migration' carries associations of choice agency and purposive actions; thus, the concept 'forced migration' is an oxymoron.[70] In sync with the above, Turton and Cernea concur that forced displacement refers to movement induced by development projects, environmental change, conflicts or militarisation; particularly within a country, resulting in internally displaced people who are often marginalised and live in a refugee-like situation in a country of their origin and nationality.[71] In short, displacements are; therefore, viewed as a global concern since they contribute to the impoverishment of societies, leading to the subsequent risks such as the destruction of people's livelihoods, environmental degradation and the fragmentation of communities.

2.3 Landlessness/homelessness

Studies by Colson and Downing maintain that people who are uprooted from their homelands often suffer loss of control over their own destinies.[72] Similarly, Laura advances the notion that the sense of place is fundamental to all human beings as organisms; people are part of the ecosystems like all animals; hence, they seek continuity and security through having food, shelter, companionship, and suitable settings for nurturing the young. People develop deep attachment to places they call home and to those whom they share with, starting from the place of birth and growth.[73] It is, against this backdrop, that people ordinarily resist forced

[68] Van Hear, N. *New Diasporas*, (London: UCL Press, 2007), p. 44.
[69] Turton, D. 'Conceptualising Forced Migration: RSC Working Paper No. 12', *Refugee Studies Centre: International Development Centre*, (Queen Elizabeth House: University of Oxford, 2003), pp. 7-9.
[70] Ibid, pp. 7-9.
[71] Ibid, pp. 7-9., Cernea, M. *Understanding and Preventing Impoverishment*, 1996, p. 14.
[72] Downing, T. E. *Avoiding New Poverty*: p. 12.
[73] Laura. J. *New Ethnographies*, 2011.
[81] Ibid.

displacement. This is because moving from one place to another is seen as disruptive, sometimes excruciatingly so, especially when the move is involuntary or made under duress.[81]

In line with the foregoing perspective, Cernea suggests that the expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems and livelihoods are constructed.

This, he claims, constitutes the principal form of de-capitalisation and pauperization of the displaced people as they lose both natural and man-made capital.[7475]

Displacement, as a global phenomenon, has resulted in loss of land or homes to many communities. Good examples could be the displacement of people during the construction of the Narmada Sandor Sarovar Dam in India, which displaced 127 000, roughly 0,013% of the country's population.[76] Ibaba and Opukri's research in Nigeria indicates the same trend of displacement spilling over to Africa, resulting in the displacement of 30 000 people in Kaduna and 10 000 people in Kano[77]. A related displacement was witnessed by Stanely during the construction of the Akosombo Dam in Ghana which displaced about 80 000 people, approximately 1% of the country's population.[78] Thus, projects in African countries sometimes affect a higher percentage of the host country's territory than projects elsewhere.[79] It is further argued that the type of development projects that bring about physical displacement are dams and their related infrastructure such as power stations and irrigation schemes which stand out as the largest contributors of dislocations.[80]

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[74] Cernea, M. M. Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model, 2007, p.
[75] .

[76] Stanley J. *Development – Induced Displacement and Resettlement,* Forced Migration Online, 2014.

[77] I.S Ibaba, C.O Opukri, 'Oil Induced Environmental Degradation and Internal Population Displacement in the Nigeria's Niger Delta', North Carolina, Fayetteville, Fayetteville State University*, Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa,* Volume 10, No.1, ISSN: 1520-5509, (2008) p177

[78] Stanley J. *Development – Induced Displacement and Resettlement,* Forced Migration Online, 2014.

[79] Ibid, 2014.

[80] Ibid, 2014.

Robinson also indicates similar trends in East and Southern Africa with Uganda displacing 35 000 people from the Kibale forest to facilitate for the development of game parks, Lesotho with over 27 000 people to create space for the water project earmarked to supply the province of Gauteng in South Africa, while Madagascar displaced 2 341 households to pave way for urban development.[81]

Furthermore, Zimbabwe was not spared since she received her own share with the displacement of about 23 000 Tonga, Korekore and Goba people who were displaced to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam and there were no plans for compensation since they were believed to be living in an unassigned crown land.[82] This was, according to McGregor, a flagship project of the complex political entity of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, set up by the British Government in 1953 with the support of the majority of white settlers in the Southern and Northern Rhodesia in disregard of African opposition. Kariba Dam became the largest man-made lake in the world and displaced those who had lived along what had been called a marginalised part of the valley by the British to justify their colonial rule.[90] In addition to earlier examples on displacement, Potts also claims that about 570 000 people were earmarked for displacement which accounts for 133 534 households during 'Operation Murambatsvina'.[83]

[81] W.C. Robinson, Risks and Rights: *The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement,* New York, The Brookings Institution-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement, 2003

[82] McGregor, J. *Crossing the Zambezi,* 2009., Mashingaidze, T. M. 'Living and struggling on the margins: A Post Relocation History of the Zimbabwean Tonga's Livelihoods in Binga District, 1950's to 2009', 2012. p. 112 [90] McGregor, J. *Crossing the Zambezi,* 2009

[83] Potts, D., 'Displacement and livelihoods: the longer-term effects of Operation Murambatsvina' in Vambe, M. T. *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe,* Harare, Weaver Press, 2008, p.53

Recently, the construction of the Tokwe Mukosi Dam in Masvingo Province had also voluntarily or involuntarily displaced about 20 000 people, which is roughly 2 500 families.[8485] This ideology dovetails neatly with Arrighi's theory of Political and Economic Choices where, during the colonial era in Southern Rhodesia, the superstructure was in the habit of crafting policies which favoured the elite at the expense of the generality. The situation became worse if the group targeted for displacement was a minority one.

In addition, a body of scholarship by Zimbabwean authors has greatly enriched this study through their contribution on the importance of land to Africans. Several communities were also displaced by both the colonial and post-colonial regimes. Thus, the works of the following scholars point to the centrality of land to the indigenous Africans: Nyambara (2002); Mashingaidze (2012); Dube (2015); Tavuyanago (2016); Nyandoro (2012); Duri (2009); Nyamunda (2012); Mazuru (2020), among others. These scholars agree that minority groups are the usual target for displacement; hence, are often at the suffering end and, if resettled, their areas are often dry or unproductive. For instance, research by Nyambara indicates that many Africans in the 1950s were forced off from the Rhodesdale Crown Estate to Gokwe communal lands by the colonial state. This manoeuvre was meant to accommodate the land demands of European ex-servicemen, as well as accommodating growing numbers of other European immigrants/settlers in the country.[86] The Shangwe people used a pejorative epithet to refer to the migrants and called them *Madheruka* which literally implies people who were dumped by

[84] N Mazuru, 'Social vulnerability during disasters and its impact on community development: the case of the
[85] Tokwe-Mukosi dam floods in Masvingo, Zimbabwe'. Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Development Studies, School of Social Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, (2020), p.2.
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[86] T Nyamunda, The State and the Bloody Diamond Rush in Chiadzwa: Unpacking the Contesting Interests in the Development of Illicit Mining and Trading, c.2006–2009. *Journal of Southern African Studies;* Volume 38, Issue 1, February 2012.

Government lorries.[87] (Also see, Mlambo, 2000).[88] Furthermore, the manner in which the migrants were transported to Gokwe indicates the colonial state's deliberate lack of proper resettlement plans, as this was dictated by racial prejudice against the indigenous people. Mashingaidze, Dube and Tavuyanago all discuss how the displaced minority groups, the Tonga, Kalanga and Shangane were politically marginalised by the colonial state which tended to neglect their plight after the post eviction epoch.

Just like the displaced Shangane locals, the Tonga displacees also continued to struggle for survival on the periphery largely because, they were resettled on dry lands. It is against this backdrop, that Mashingaidze's research becomes critical to this study because, it reveals similar experiences endured by both groups after their forced displacement especially on the economic aspect. The two groups were also classified as small ethnic groups but occupied different areas of the Zimbabwean Lowveld. However, the only difference between the Shangane displacees and the displaced Tonga was that the latter were officially resettled after their forced removal, a privilege the Shangane people never experienced. In other words, the colonial state provided the Tonga people with alternative land as compensation to their forced displacement unlike their Shangane counterparts.

Indeed, there seems to be an established pattern by both the colonial and the post-colonial ZANU (PF) government that each time people are removed from an area to pave way for developmental projects, both governments lacked preparedness to cater for the needs of the displaced people in the post-eviction era. The same trend was also noticeable in the works of Duri, Nyamunda and Mazuru. My research is, therefore, predicated upon the wider

[87] Ibid

[88] Mlambo, A., 'Some are more white than others: Racial chauvinism as a factor in Rhodhesian immigration policy, 1890 to 1963', *Zambezia,* XXVII (II), University of Zimbabwe, Economic History Department, 2000.

implications of the same trend.

As noted above, Nyamunda observes that diamond mining activities in Chiadzwa systematically displaced the interests and hegemony of the original, mostly apostolic inhabitants of Marange.[89] Therefore, the analysis by Zimbabwean scholars seems to reflect a trend of neglect, unpreparedness, and marginalisation of the displaced communities by the state to provide them with post relocation relief. This kind of attitude is not peculiar to the ruling ZANU (PF) alone, but also points back to the colonial regime. Vambe sums it up by noting that in the event of protecting power or technological developments, a chicken, a goat, a cow and even a human being can be sacrificed.[90] While acknowledging the findings of the above scholars, this research does not intend to discredit or undermine their contributions to the existing literature but, rather, brings into the fold the post-eviction experiences of minority groups who were not officially considered for resettlement; those who embarked on what I termed self-relocation.

2.4 Destruction of people's livelihoods

According to Vesalon and Cretan, displacement affects people in two ways; that is, physically and economically. They argue that physical displacement involves loss of shelter and assets, resulting from the acquisition of land for developmental projects, while economic displacement involves loss of income or livelihoods, resulting from land acquisition or obstructed access to resources caused by forced displacement.[98] Similarly, the research conducted by Robinson i also reflects that development-induced displacement dismantles existing modes of production,

[89] T Nyamunda, 'The State and the Bloody Diamond Rush in Chiadzwa: Unpacking the Contesting Interests in the Development of Illicit Mining and Trading, c.2006–2009'.
[90] Vambe, M.T. *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe*, Harare, Weaver Press, 2008.
[98] Vesalon, L. and Cretan, R. 'Development Induced Displacements in Romania: The Case of Rosia Montana Mining Project', *Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis*, Vol. 4, Issue 1, (2012).

causes the impoverishment of many of those uprooted; hence, contributing to the risks of epidemics and health problems.[91] Robinson further discusses how the establishment of the Pak Mun Dam disrupted the fishing opportunities of villagers. However, as a matter of priority, the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand compensated the fishermen for 30 years.[92] This was in line with the reversal strategy propounded by Cernea which requires adequate financial backing as is the case in most developed countries.[93]

Africa also witnessed indistinguishable destruction of communities which were displaced to pave way for mining, irrigation schemes, road construction and other related large scale technological developments. This view is confirmed by Duri who observes that some traditional leaders in Chiadzwa diamond mining area and their communities were not happy because of the disrespect for their rights demonstrated by the mining companies. The villagers argued that despite staying in their rich ancestral land, they were not benefiting from the resources. In fact, the locals complained that apart from displacement, they had their environment degraded and polluted, thereby resulting in the erosion of their livelihoods.[94]

The same political expediency by the ruling ZANU (PF) Government is also noted by Nyambara who critiques the decision by the state to implement the Build Back Better Principle (BBBP). This entails the recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction phases after a disaster/displacement to increase the resilience of nations and communities through integrating disaster risk reduction measures into the restoration of physical infrastructure and societal

[91] W.C. Robinson, *Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement*, p.10.
[92] Ibid p.18.
[93] Cernea, M. M. 'The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations', The World Bank, Environment Department, Washington DC, USA, August, 1997, p. 1.

[94] F.P.T. Duri, *Development perspectives from the south: Troubling the Metrics of [Under-] development in Africa*, p.418.

systems, and into the revitalization of livelihoods, economies, and the environment.[95] For instance, artisanal mining activities in Chiadzwa were, in the first place, tolerated by the ZANU (PF) central state, though, later on, condemned following the March 2008 elections in which ZANU (PF) lost only to recover in the controversial runoff election held in June 2008 in which Mugabe was the only contestant.[104] Drawing from Nyambara`s observation, it seems as if both the colonial and post[96]-colonial state were in a habit of paying lip services to the development of the displaced people. The same trend happened to the displaced Shangane (which is my study area); the Tonga during the construction of Kariba Dam; the eviction of villagers from the Rhodesdale area to the dry lands of Gokwe; the Tokwe- Mukosi villagers in 2014, among other displacements.

In summation, the principal beneficiaries of diamond exploitation have not been the people of Chiadzwa; but, rather, the foreign mining companies and their ZANU (PF) partners exploiting Chiadzwa.[97] Thus, Vambe confirms the same trend through digging back to the colonial period. His research findings in 'Operation Murambatsvina' indicate that the operation was initially imposed in the British colonial system in Rhodesia where Africans were stripped of their natural and material resources and so were the victims of this exercise.[98] In line with Vambe's observation, Potts notes that the immediate impacts of Operation Murambatsvina were unprecedented, by African standards, in terms of the scale of destruction and livelihoods.[99] Whilst most displacements affect people's livelihoods in agriculture, Mazuru is

[95] United Nations General Assembly 2016, UN. Office for Disaster Risk Reduction.

[96] T Nyamunda, 'The State and the Bloody Diamond Rush in Chiadzwa: Unpacking the Contesting Interests in the Development of Illicit Mining and Trading, c.2006–2009', 2012.
[97] Ibid
[98] M.T. Vambe, *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe,* p.1.
[99] D.Potts, 'Displacement and livelihoods: the longer term effects of Operation Murambatsvina', in, T*he Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe,* p.53.

of the view that there was also need to consider a series of knocks and shocks to the local economies and societies.[100]

Drawing from the preceding discussion, it seems that the destruction of the displaced people's livelihoods was more severe on communities which were not officially considered for resettlement as was the case with the evicted community under review. Thus, poverty among the minority groups was often generated by the failure of the state and the developer to prioritise the needs of the displaced people, a dimension which this study seeks to add in relation to the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe.

2.5 Forced Displacement and Environmental Degradation

Environmental degradation is the deterioration in environmental quality from ambient concentrations of pollutants and other activities and processes such as improper land use and natural disasters.[101] The research by Ghosh advances the notion that environmentallyunsustainable implementation of developmental policies and the ever increasing demand for wood and farm produce have been responsible for large scale disappearance of much of the habitats of biotic components.[110] In essence, development-induced displacements have a negative bearing on the physical environment. Among other issues, such displacements often result in land degradation as displaced people congest new resettlement areas. Ghosh's work is confirmed by Watts who argues that ecological problems in some development projects, such as the Caribbean sugar estates, were a result of felling and burning of forests to make way for the plantations.[102] This resulted in massive nutrient losses, significant decline in soil quality and poor crop harvests.

[100] Mazuru, N., 'Social vulnerability during disasters and its impact on community development'
[101] https://lisbdnet.com/what-is-environmental-degradation/ [110]
Ghosh, A. *Environment and Development*, p. 240.
[102] Watts, D. *The West Indies: Patterns of Development*, p.536. [112]
Ibid, p. 536.

Watts further notes that sugar cultivation was inherently exploitative and rapacious in its depletion of soil fertility as well as energy from woodlots, animals and people.[112] The same ecological effects were also transferred to Natal Sugar Estates of South Africa and the Zimbabwean Lowveld sugar estates respectively.

Zuurbier and Vooren aver that the common environmental challenges include air pollution from pre-harvest sugarcane burning, water pollution from cultivation and processing of sugarcane, as well as soil erosion and compaction as a consequence of sugarcane cultivation; hence, the displaced Shangane people were exposed to such effects since some of them continued to live within the proximity of the sugar estates.[103] Worse still, forced migration also presents adverse impact on the host's environment, as the displaced migrants often come to areas of already declining environmental and socio-economic conditions. In this case, the depletion of resources such as fish, wild animals, water and fertile lands are a common phenomenon. Ghosh adds that in India, the development of national projects sacrificed many prime-forests, thereby disturbing the old age bond between forest dwellers and forest, causing changes in the land use pattern, soil erosion and an increase in water logging.[104] In such a scenario, regeneration of forests becomes problematic.

Much comparable, ecological damage was also witnessed among the displaced communities in Zimbabwe. For example, Duri highlights complains by the local people in Chiadzwa on environmental degradation caused by companies jointly owned by foreigners and the national elite.[105] The issue of partnership between the Government and private mining companies often made the state to craft elite oriented policies which tend to preserve the interest of some privileged members of the society against poor minority groups (see Arrighi's theory of

[103] Zuurbier, P. and Vooren, J. *Sugarcane Ethanol: Contributions to Climate Change Mitigation and the Environment*, (Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2008), p.43.
[104] Ghosh, A. *Environment and Development*, p. 2.
[105] F.P.T. Duri, *Development perspectives from the south: Troubling the Metrics of [Under-]development in Africa*

Political and Economic Choices). Nyamunda`s work dovetails with that of Duri in the sense that both scholars reflect the displaced communities at the losing end of environmental degradation, resulting from the mining activities. Without taking anything away from the above two scholars, this study however adds a new dimension on the discourse of anthropocene as the displaced people also tend to harm the environment in their quest to salvage for sustenance.

In addition, Cernea advances the notion that in most of these cases, three types of measures which are preventive, migratory and rehabilitative, can be adopted.[106] In fact, those who have caused the displacement should provide compensation for the displaced and should undertake environmentally sustainable resettlement measures that guard against land degradation.[117]

These recommendations are quite relevant for Zimbabwe's Lowveld Sugar Estates where the authorities should have implemented various measures to mitigate environmental degradation.

Thus, the above scholars focus more on the impact of forced displacement, as exerted to the physical and economic environments by the sugar company, whilst ignoring the anthropogenic factors on the same aspect by the displaced people and the subsequent climate change which were all induced by the forced displacement. This is the yawning gap which this study intends to plug.

2.6 Socio-political and religious effects of forced displacement

In his research, Robinson asserts that forced displacement dismantles social networks and threatens the cultural identity of the affected communities.[107] This view is quite peculiar to many displaced minority groups, especially if they are resettled or relocated themselves in areas

[106] Cernea, M. M. *Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model*, p. 38. [117] McDowell, C. *Refugee and Forced Migration studies: Understanding Impoverishment: The Consequences of Development–Induced Displacement*, p. 3.
[107] Robinson W.C. Risks and Rights: *The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement, New York, The Brookings Institution-SAIS Project on Internal Displacement*, 2003, p.10

already inhabited by other people, since their domination by foreign people tends to undermine their language and political voices.

The religious cosmology was highly treasured by many African societies since they believed that their health, food security and wealth were propelled from the underworld. It is, against this backdrop, that the claim by McGregor on the loss of the Batonga ancestral graves, as well as the Malende shrines, which regulated the rhythm of their life, made them vulnerable to disasters.[108]This followed their removal to the unfertile arid tsetse infested hinterland. The same respect was also accorded to the Nyatongwe Hill which was a shrine for the Shangane under Chief Sengwe (Tavuyanago 2016) and so were the Kalanga people who had reconstructed their identity around the *Mwali* or *Ngwali* cult whose shrines include *Njelele, Dula, Wililani, Neyile, Ntogwa* and *Manyangwa,* amongst others.[109]

Therefore, the effects of forced displacement did not only affect the religious world view of the affected communities; but, rather strongly interfered with their social and political life since they were ruled by hegemonic forces which often subjected them to marginalisation. Whilst this thesis acknowledges the contribution made by the preceding scholars, it, however, brings another dimension on the same aspects from the perspective of the displaced minority communities in Zimbabwe who were not officially resettled.

2.7 Land reform: a panacea to the colonially displaced and marginalised communities

Many studies on Zimbabwe's land reform programme tended to reflect more on the large ethnic groups as beneficiaries of the programme and these are, but not limited to the works of Scoones

[108] McGregor, J. *Crossing the Zambezi*, p.112.
[109] Dube, T. Shifting identities and the transformation of the Kalanga people, p.51

et al (2010), Wolmer, (2007), Tavuyanago (2016), Alexandar (2006), and Shuma (1997) (see Chapter 7 of this thesis).

The colonisation of African societies by the European powers led to the reconfiguration of the social, economic and political landscape of the local people. Colonial land policies were enacted to drive the Africans into reserves which had little rainfall, with sandy soils and this greatly affected their livelihoods.[110] Makanyisa *et al*. further note that the colonial land policies isolated Africans from their traditional environment since, among other things, they were no longer allowed to hunt game, which was then enclosed in game parks.[111] Good examples could be: the Yellowstone National Park located in Wyoming in the United States of America, Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania and the Kruger National Park of South Africa.[112]

The plight of the displaced Africans in colonial Rhodesia was worsened by the promulgation of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930, which divided the land between the whites and the blacks, with the whites taking over land along the Highveld and the blacks were pushed into low lying areas.[124] This was followed by the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 which, among other issues, limited Africans to five head of cattle per family, as well as encouraging them to conserve their natural environment.[113] The Land Tenure Act of 1969 was an adjustment to the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and this Act further deprived the Black people of their fertile lands.[114] Mumbengegwi further notes that the peasants in Zimbabwe saw the essence of political Independence as the satisfaction of their land hunger and the reversal of discriminatory

[110] Moyana, H. V. *The Political Economy of Land*, p.3. , Ncube T. G. *Barnished to the Wilderness*, p. 35.
[111] Makanyisa, I. et al. The Land Tenure System and the Environmental Implications, p. 4.
[112] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p28. [124] Moyana, H. V. *The Political Economy of Land*, p. 27.
[113] Moore, J. L., *Zimbabwe's Fight to The Finish*, pp. 31-32. , Makanyisa, I. *et al. The Land Tenure System and the Environmental Implications*, p.5.
[114] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and Change in Agricultural Policy', in Mandaza, I. (ed.), *Zimbabwe the Political Economy of Transition 1980-1986*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1986), p. 204. [127] Ibid, p. 210. [128] Ibid,

elements of colonial agricultural policies.[127] This was largely because people were full of euphoria for the promised new lands, jobs, heaven on earth, but much to no avail; hence, the people suffered from anxiety, anger, impatience and apprehension. From a scholarly point of view, it appears as if the same political expedience is, again, conspicuous in post-colonial Zimbabwe where people are forced off their traditional lands to pave way for developmental projects and, in the process, given empty promises.[128]

In an attempt to address the plight of the colonially displaced and marginalised communities, the chaotic Fast Track Land reform Programme in Zimbabwe benefited only the well-endowed with capital and, quite often, relatively wealthy individuals, who were politically wellconnected to the local ZANU (PF) hierarchy such as war veterans and local businessmen.[115] It is, against this backdrop, that the current study seeks to interrogate the magnitude to which the new dispensation had ushered in land re-distribution as a poverty relief strategy to the long colonially displaced minority Shangane community of south-east Zimbabwe.

Closely related to my research is the most recent scholarship by Mazuru. She is credited for contributing to the body of existing literature in development studies through her articulation of risks which emanate from disaster-induced displacement such as: mortality and diseases, joblessness, destruction of livelihoods among others.[116] Apart from differences in research areas and the status of the affected people, my line of departure is that my research is situated in the colonial period and overlaps into the post-independence epoch, while Mazuru's research takes place in the post-colonial period.

In essence, my research has colonial implications which imply a total break with the colonial past in the post-colonial period. However, from a scholarly point of view, there seems to be no

[115] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions* p.197.
[116] Mazuru, N., 'Social vulnerability during disasters and its impact on community development', pp.23-33

rupture but rather a perpetuation of the same neglect and unpreparedness on both the colonial and post-colonial ruling ZANU (PF) regime to provide the post displacement people with sustainable livelihood resources or a (BBBP). It is, against this background, that my research looks at the displaced Shangane in a way which has not been done by contemporary scholarship on displacement and, mostly, by Zimbabwean authors.

2.8 Frameworks on development-induced displacements

2.8.1 The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model (IRR)

In-order to come up with a comprehensive analysis on the displacement of the Shangane community in south-east Zimbabwe, my study draws upon the theoretical framework employed by Cernea. The increase on the impoverishment risks experienced by many displaced communities the world over has forced scholars to come up with theoretical frameworks which focus on the voluntarily and involuntarily displaced people in terms of their successes and failures on the new lands they were resettled. In essence, several conceptual frameworks took centre-stage from the late 1960s, but the preponderance of them discusses resettlements which were successful, while neglecting those that were not successful.[117]

Cernea suggests that reconstructing and improving the livelihood of displaced people requires explicit risk-reversal strategies, backed up by adequate finance.[118] These views are embodied in Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model which attempts to foster successful and unsuccessful resettlement programmes.[119] This model raises the following theoretical questions: How does impoverishment through displacement occur? How can it be prevented and how can the livelihoods of displaced people be reconstructed? The model is

[117] See for example Scudder, T and Colson, E. *From Welfare to Development*, 1982.
[118] Cernea, M. M. 'The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations', The World Bank, Environment Department, Washington DC, USA, August, 1997, p. 1.
[119] Cernea, M. M. *Impoverishment Risks Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model*, p.37.

critical to the study because it provides an appropriate basis for analysing the experiences of the Shangane against a background of displacement during the colonial and post-colonial periods. It shows how the failure by the state and the developer, in providing the displaced people with alternative lands for resettlement, can generate poverty, degrade the environment, contribute to climate change or under develop the affected community

In most cases, people who are forced off their lands often experience impoverishment risks. This usually occurs in situations where improper resettlement or non-resettlement of displaced communities occur. Cernea highlights the risks associated with forced displacement as follows: landlessness; joblessness; homelessness; marginalisation; increased morbidity and mortality; food insecurity; loss of access to common property and social disarticulation.[120] These are some of the risks the Shangane people experience after their forced displacement. However, by its adverse effects, forced population displacement remains a social pathology of development and efforts should always be made to avoid displacement, wherever possible.[121]

One of Cernea's critics, Dwivedi, argues that while other losses of displacement could be reversed, one cannot do the same with the dislocation of communities, institutions, networks, values, or violations of customary rights to resources, ways of life and traditional institutions.[122] Thus, Dwivedi argues that Cernea's model diagnoses the problems of displacement from the viewpoint of the planner.[123] According to Dwivedi, Cernea's model fails to provide what displaced communities need most, such as decision-making voices on displacement and, if consenting, a say in the planning and priorities of resettlement.[124] He also criticised Cernea for failing to capture other consequences of displacement such as violations, humiliation and

[120] Ibid, p.36
[121] Ibid, p. 36
[122] Dwivedi, R. 'Models and Methods in Development induced displacements', *Development and Change,* Vol. 33, Issue 4, September (2002), p.718.
[123] Ibid, p. 718.
[124] Ibid, p. 718.

indignation.[125] Furthermore, the IRR model is insensitive to people's voices and opinions as the reconstruction strategy does not quite consider people's rights to development. However, despite the limitations of Cernea's framework, the model was still relevant as a working theory to my case study as it works well in conjunction with the theory of Economic and Political Choices.

2.8.2 The Theory of Economic and Political Choices (EPC)

My study also benefits from Arrighi's Theory of Economic and Political Choices. Arrighi proposed the Theory of Economic and Political Choices which focuses on the interaction between the economic base and the super structure.[126] According to Arrighi, the economic base is related to the co-existing set of social-political events and attitudes observable in the social system.[127] The theory analyses the role of the state in the formulation of policies which, in turn, affect the economic base. Kohli concurs with Arrighi in that most governments use powers at their disposal to impose social and economic developments which, sometimes, work against the interests of the ordinary people.[128] For instance, in 1965; Ian smith, who was then the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, announced a rupture from the British Government through the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). The UDI times were very hard for the sugar industry as the British Government announced a complete embargo on the export of sugar from Rhodesia, while poor sugar prices compounded the difficulties.[129] The Chirundu Sugar Estates

[125] Ibid, p. 719.
[126] Arrighi, G. *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, Publications of the Institute of Social Studies, (Netherlands: The Hague Publishers, 1967), pp. 53-57.
[127] Ibid, pp. 53-57.
[128] Kohli, A. *State Directed Development; Political Power and Industrialisation in the Global Periphery*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 27.
[129] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p.89. , Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and Change in Agricultural Policy', p.204.

also shut down during the same period.[130] The Lowveld estates were forced to diversify into other produce.[145]

Thus, the thrust of agricultural policies in colonial Zimbabwe were aimed at perpetuating and maintaining the dominance of white agricultural interests at the expense of Africans.[131] Arrighi's theory is relevant to the study because it illuminates how governments often initiate development projects to fulfil the economic interests of some privileged sections of the society, while neglecting the livelihood needs of marginalised communities. Therefore, the thesis seeks to illustrate that the Shangane, just like any other minority group, were often marginalised by the state and elite-initiated development programmes. Likewise, the same theory extends into the post-colonial state where the Superstructure continues to direct events in the economic base, as was witnessed during the advent of the Zimbabwean land reform programmes.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter was enhanced through the analysis of mostly the definitive forms of literature on displacement written by Zimbabwean authors. World literature was also consulted in an attempt to compare global experiences on forced displacement. The impoverishment risks as themes emanating from development-induced displacement were at the centre of this discussion guided by the appropriate frameworks of the Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction model by

Cernea in conjunction with Arrighi's theory of political and economic choices. Above all, the study challenges the previous scholarship on displacement by exposing the trend or established pattern of both the colonial and post-colonial regimes' unwillingness to cater for the livelihoods

[130] *The Herald*: 'The Fifth Rhodesia Sugar Refinery Birthday Anniversary', Tuesday November 12, 1985, p. 3.
[145] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p.98.
[131] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and Change in Agricultural Policy', p. 203.

of the displaced people in the post-eviction era. This kind of attitude/ behaviour of unpreparedness on the part of the government was more severe on the lives of minority communities whose relocation was self-oriented.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SHANGANE AND THE LOWVELD SUGAR ESTATES IN SOUTH-EAST ZIMBABWE

3.0 Introduction

Scholars like Mavhunga, Tavuyanago and Wolmer have made some significant strides on the origins of the people who had occupied the south-east Lowveld of Zimbabwe before the inception of colonialism. In addition, they have successfully managed to explore the political dynamics of power in the region, particularly Tavuyanago's work which enhanced the domination of the Lowveld by none other than the new arrival of the Shangane people into the area.[132] Thus, scholarship on the ethnographies of the various Shangane groups found in Lowveld focuses little on the lifestyles of the Shangane people under Chief Tshovani. This group was forced off their traditional living spaces of Triangle and Hippo to pave the way for the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates. I seek to contribute to the existing literature on development-induced displacements in this area. While this chapter mainly focuses on the arrival of the Shangane people in the Lowveld, and the subsequent establishment of the sugar estates, Saunders (1989), Wolmer (2007), Manamere (2020), amongst others, concentrate on the development and expansion of the sugar plantations. They also focus on land reserved for the Whites, without delving specifically on the post-eviction ecology, socio-economic, political

[132] Mavhunga, C. 'The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present', 2008. , Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016, Wolmer, W. *From wilderness vision to farm invasions*, 2007.

and religious environment of the Shangane displacees.[133] The post-colonial regime finally ordered the companies operating in the area to plough back part of their proceeds to the local community through the Community Share Ownership Trust so as to benefit the Shangane.[134] This view was in sync with Cernea's suggestion that risk-reversal strategies were a *sine qua non* measures towards the reconstruction and improvement of the displaced people's livelihoods; but, he argues the Shangane instead require adequate financial backing.[135] Again, the need for financial support leaves another knowledge gap in the existing literature relating to development-induced displacements.

First and foremost, the chapter provides a brief historiography of the new Shangane community in south-east Zimbabwe from pre-colonial times to early colonialism. It discusses the arrival of the Hlengwe in the Lowveld and how the group had, over time, subdued the Karanga locals. It further unravels how the Lowveld had also played host to the arrival of the Shangane who, finally, dominated the area and assumed new lordship; even to the later arrivals of the Ndebele from Filabusi, the Karanga from Fort Victoria Reserve, and the Karanga from Gutu and the Duma from Chikwanda area. The chapter also traces the origins, development, and expansion of the Lowveld Sugar Estates due to the colonial land policies that pushed the local Africans away from their traditional living spaces of Triangle, Hippo Valley and Mkwasine to pave the way for the capitalist business venture. Thus, in the process, the evicted Shangane people lost all or part of their physical and non-physical assets, which included homes, communities, productive lands, forests, fishing areas, income-earning opportunities, social and cultural

[133] Saunders (1989), Wolmer (2007), Manamere (2020).
[134] *See* Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, 2007. , Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle,* 1989. , Mabhena, C. and Moyo, F. 'Community Share Ownership Trust and Empowerment: The Case of Gwanda Rural District, Matabeleland South Province in Zimbabwe', 2014, *The Herald:* 'Government probes community Share Ownership trusts', 23 January, 2014. , Nechena, H and Kurebwa, J. 'Community participation in community share ownership Trusts in Bikita Rural District of Zimbabwe', 2018.
[135] Cernea, M. M. 'The Risks and Reconstruction Model for Resettling Displaced Populations', p.1.

networks.[136] The chapter also highlights the colonial state and the sugar capitalists' relations. Issues of labour recruitment and their remunerations indicate footprints of the continuous impoverishment of the Shangane people. Finally, the chapter unpacks the socio-economic transformation of the region by the Lowveld Sugar Estates, which, however, tended to be largely biased towards the development of the White community at the expense of the Shangane displacees. However, in reaction, the post-colonial Government also stepped in through its indigenous policy where mining, sugar estates and other related companies were mandated to plough back part of their proceeds into the communities where they operate. This financial injection occurred through the Community Share Ownership Trust model.

3.1 The origins of the Shangane appellation

The title, 'Shangane', when referring to the current inhabitants of the Lowveld, is at the centre of much controversy among contemporary scholars and some of the Tsonga or Hlengwe who are resident in the area. In his 1978 research, Bannerman claims that the Tsonga existed in the following groups: the Ronga group, who lived around the Delagoa Bay in Mozambique; the Djonga group, who resided along the Limpopo and Shengane Rivers in Mozambique; the Nwalungu group, living south of the Limpopo, in Mozambique and the east Transvaal; the Hlanganu group, between the Delagoa Bay and the Lubombo; the Bila group, who resettled on the flood plains of the Limpopo River; and, lastly, the Hlengwe, who were the largest of the Tsonga group.[137]

In line with the above, Tavuyanago argues that the largest of the Tsonga sub-groups that settled in and controlled the area that later became the Lowveld was called the Hlengwe (people of an

[136] Downing, E. T. 'Avoiding new poverty', p.6
[137] Bannerman, J. H. 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people of the south of Rhodesia', *NADA*, Vol. 12, (1978), p. 484.

unbearable place); so-called because the site had limited rainfall and was a tsetse-fly zone.[138] He further alludes that there were four sub-groups of the Hlengwe: the Chauke, Mavube; Mbezana; Magumane; but the majority of those who ended up settling in what became Rhodesia belonged to the Chauke sub-group. At the time of European occupation, the Hlengwe of the Chauke *xibongo* spread across the southern part of Chipinga District under Chief Mahenye, in present-day Chiredzi and Ndanga Districts, under Chief Tshovani, in what is now Matibi No. 2 and Sengwe Communal Areas and under Chief Sengwe and in Matibi No. 1 in Nuanetsi District, under Chief Chitanga.[139] Hyatt, cited in Bannerman, avers that in 1896, there was also a Hlengwe community of the Chauke sub-group living south of Chivamba, in Ndanga Tribal Trust lands.[140]

Perhaps the adoption of Xishangane language in the Lowveld had much to do with Soshangane's effective conquest of local groups, some of whom proudly associated themselves with him as a new ruler. Thus, some of the Hlengwe adopted the lifestyle of their new overlords, such as the wearing of the Nguni head ring and piercing their ear lobes. Many assumed the rulers' language and took great pride in being absorbed in the new Shangane community.[141]

In essence, the term Shangane has been dramatically distorted as the inhabitants of the area were not always known as such and did not all want to be identified using this label.[142] In fact, they maintain that their identity has remained as of old; hence, they do not take any pride in being identified with the Shangane, though they were at one point under their hegemony. According to Mtetwa, as cited by Tavuyanago,[143] the designation was first used by accident in

[138] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p.53.
[139] Ibid, p.53
[140] Ibid, p.53
[141] Ibid, p.53
[142] Ibid, p.60
[143] Ibid, p.60.

1884 when Richards, a colonial official based in Natal, referred to Mzila's emissaries to the High Commissioner in Natal as 'Amashingani'; the people of Soshangane. In short, the term Shangane is believed to be a colonial invention; hence, the Tsonga or Hlengwe are historically not direct descendants of Soshangane; instead, they were just like their fellow Karangas, who also fell conquest to the Shangane.

Bannerman expresses the same sentiments that, the name Shangane is associated with the Nguni followers or descendants of Soshangane Manukosi, and not the other ethnic groups in south-east Zimbabwe, such as the Tsonga/Hlengwe, Ndebele, Duma and Ndau. These groups often conveniently referred to themselves as Shangane for the simple reason that using the title Shangane made it easier for them to obtain employment at the Rand, where the Shangane had already established a good reputation.[144]

A similar pattern of incorporating the conquered people into the kingdom of the new arrivals was not only peculiar to the Shangane community. The Ndebele people did the same. Around 1840, when they arrived in Zimbabwe, they conquered and assimilated the Rozvi remnants. Similarly, the Tsonga or Hlengwe, with their Karanga and Ndebele migrants in the Lowveld, were also *shanganenised,* or absorbed, into the new Shangane community. However, for this study, as alluded to in the first chapter, I refer to them as the Shangane since historical events had overtaken the original identity of the Tsonga or Hlengwe because of the dominance of the Xishangane language in the Lowveld. Moreover, the most recent success story is that Xishangane language is a subject in primary school, secondary and university levels, showing its wider acceptance as one of the official languages which is examinable in the country.

[144] Bannerman, J. H. 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people', pp.484-485.

3.2 The arrival of the Shangane

The Karanga were the early inhabitants of the Lowveld before the arrival of the Hlengwe and Shangane people. The latter were the descendants of Soshangaane, who migrated northwards due to the upheavals in Zululand.[145] In essence, Zhari was a paramount Hlengwe ruler in the region of the Save River to the east of the Save-Lundi junction in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Zhari and the Hlengwe are believed to have moved from Mozambique and crossed Save to the north and, in the west, they advanced into Zimbabwe along with the Save, Lundi, Chiredzi and Mkwasine Rivers, either defeating or absorbing the Ndau, Duma and Rembetu people with whom they came into contact. The Hlengwe people called the Karanga people the 'Nyai'. This movement was part and parcel of the southern political upheaval ripple effect.[146] Zhari had many sons whom he appointed as chiefs to the conquered Nyai lands. Good examples were Mhingo, the founder of the Chisa Dynasty in Chiredzi, and Tshovani, the founder of the Tshovani Dynasty, again, in Chiredzi. The Magatsi and Mahenye dynasties are cadet branches of the Tshovani and Chisa dynasties.[161] Tshovani had advanced up the Lundi and Chiredzi River by the nineteenth century, conquering the Duma. His son, Tshovani Muteyo, probably lived in the present-day Triangle-Hippo Valley Complex, expanded the chiefdom's authority.[147]

Sithole presents another tradition that suggests that the Shangane people migrated north from South Africa in the later nineteenth century. Some settled in the east-south of what is now Mutare. They mingled with the Ndau. Another portion of the Shangane settled south of presentday Masvingo, around Chiredzi.[148] Finally, the Shangane migrated from South Africa

[145] Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry*, p. 7.
[146] Bannerman J. H. 'A Short Political and Economic History of the Tsovani', p. 2. [161]
Ibid, p. 3.
[147] Ibid, pp. 4-5.
[148] Masipula, S. 'Managing Ethnic Conflicts in Zimbabwe in Nnoli Okwudiba', (ed.) *Ethnic Conflicts in Africa,* (Nottingham: Codesria Book Series, 1998), p. 355. , Mlambo, and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry,* p. 7, Wolmer, *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* pp. 4-6.

with Soshangane and settled in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). The ancestor of chief Chitanga (Ngwena) then left Portuguese East Africa for Rhodesia, where they settled in the Sengwe Tribal Trust Land area. Chitanga narrated the following people as his relatives: Headman Chilonga; Mpapa; Ngwenyenye; Masuamele; Chis; Magudu; Foromela; Samu; Gezani; as well as Chiefs Sengwe and Tshovani. Tavuyanago, Bannerman and Kaschula concur that Chiefs Sengwe, Chikwarakwara, Vurumela, Chitanga, Mpapa and Magudu have the same claimant to the same ancestor.[149] Therefore, linking the first, second and third traditions shows that the Shangane are somehow interrelated.

Upon arrival in the Sengwe Tribal Trust Land area, Ngwena is believed to have encountered the Karanga people, drove them out and later moved eastwards and northwards to the vicinity of Matibi Stores. With alienation of land in 1918/19, Chief Chitanga and his people relocated to Matibi 1 Tribal Trust Land; but the Shangane under Chitanga in Matibi 2 Tribal Trust Land were not affected. Kaschula further notes that the Shangane people are interrelated as the majority of them share the same *Mlilo/Chauke* totem. Another tradition suggests that some of them have lived in the area along the banks of the Lundi River since the occupation.[150] However, the movements of the Ndebele from Filabusi in 1953 and the Karanga from Victoria Reserve, the Karanga from Gutu and vaDuma from Chikwanda Reserve, who also moved into the area between 1952 and 1956, diluted the Shangane people.[151] The wave of land appropriation in the country triggered these movements. As a result, many indigenous people were left homeless and impoverished. Thus, in most cases, the land evictees were driven into infertile areas, such as the Lowveld. Nyambara argues that several people were also evicted

[149] Tavuyanago B. **'**Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016. , Bannerman, J. H. 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people', 1978. , *NAZ*: S2929/8/6 'Zaka Delineation Report', B. P. Kaschula (Delineation Officer), 1965, p.58.

[150] *NAZ*: S2929/8/4 'Nuanetsi Delineation Report' B. P. Kaschula Delineation Officer, p.70.

[151] Ibid, p 93. , Bannerman, J. H. 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people', p. 492. , Wolmer, *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p.6.

from the Rhodesdale Crown Estates area and resettled in the poor and dry lands of Gokwe in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe.[152]

Bannerman claims that at the time of the European occupation, the Shangane inhabited most of the Lowveld in the present-day Chiredzi District and parts of the Chipinga, Ndanga and Nuanetsi districts.[153] Chief Tshovani's people lived in the present-day Triangle and Hippo Valley Estates area. Chief Chitanga and Headman Mpapa lived in the European ranching area between the main Beitbridge-Fort Victoria road and the present-day Matibi II Tribal Trust Land. The other Shangane lived in the present-day GonareZhou area. The Shangane of Tshovani, Chisa, and Mahenye, did not get any land allocated to them as reserves, as was the case in Rhodesia. Thus, the Shangane were not initially affected by the colonial British South Africa Company (BSAC) administration's land policies until after 1908, in what Palmer called 'the beginning of the squeeze'.[154] People living on unalienated lands were, by policy, supposed to pay one pound sterling per annum, in addition to their tax. This tax primarily affected the Shangane, who started drifting into Zaka from 1909 onwards into reserves. But the numbers were minimal since the exercise was voluntary. However, others crossed into Mozambique for the simple reason that they were banned to hunt and had their guns confiscated.[169]

Furthermore, the authorities moved people off the area between the Chivonja Hills and the Save - Lundi junction thereby creating the GonareZhou Game Reserve Controlled Hunting area which further compressed the Sengwe area. As a result, it became an overpopulated area with a density of 64 persons per km2.[155] The Shangane people became further compressed into the Sangwe and Tshovani areas because Europeans moved into the Lowveld with their capitalist

[152] Nyambara, P. S. 'The Closing Frontier: Agrarian Change, Immigrants and the 'Squatter Menace' in Gokwe, 1890 – 1990s'), pp.536.
[153] Bannerman, J. H. 'Towards a history of the Hlengwe people', p.492.
[154] Bannerman J. H. 'A Short Political and Economic History', pp.18-19.
[169] Ibid, pp. 21-22.
[155] Ibid, p. 23.

sugarcane project.[156] According to a respondent from the area under study, some of the forced displaced Shangane people resettled themselves under Chiefs Nhema, Ndanga and Bota in Zaka District. However, most of them remained in the periphery of the sugar estates up to this date. The colonial state created this political geography in the Lowveld by Murray MacDougall during the forced displacement.

3.3 The origins of the Sugar Estates in Zimbabwe

3.3.1 Background

To date, there is no consensus on the number of species of sugar cane as well as over the time and place of domestication. However, in his research, Galloway talks about five species of the genus *Saccharum: S. barberi Jeswiet; S. officinarum L.; S. robustum Brandes* and *Jeswiet, ex. Grassl; S. sinense Rox b.;* and *S. spontaneum.*[157] However, both *S. robustum* and *S. spontaneum* can exist naturally; but, the other three depend on man for their propagation.[158]

The various forms of the afore-mentioned species interbreed, so the genus is very diverse. The origins of *Saccharum, S. barberi,* and *S. sinense* occur widely, and the latter two were, respectively, the sugar canes of the early industries of India and China. *S. robustum*, probably, evolved and emerged in Indonesia and spread into New Guinea, where *S. officinarum* evolved from it as the population selected the juicier forms with softer rinds to plant for chewing.[159] The tougher *S. robustum* is still used in New Guinea for fencing and roofing. Still, the attraction of the sweet cane led to its diffusion widely through the Islands of the Pacific and back to Asia.

[156] *NAZ*: S2929/8/6 'Zaka Delineation Report' B. P. Kaschula Delineation Officer, p. 2.
[157] Galloway, J. H., *The sugar cane industry: A Historical Geography from its origins to 1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 11.
[158] Ibid, p.11
[159] Ibid, p.11

S. officinarum was probably the cane which found its way into Africa through the Indian Ocean trade connection.[160]

3.3.2 What is Sugarcane?

In his writings, Mlambo defines sugarcane as a succulent, perennial grass that grows to above 3, 6 metres. It belongs to the same family of bamboo, sorghum, Indian corn and a wide variety of forage grasses. Sugarcane requires hot to warm climatic conditions and adequate moisture for maximum growth.[161]

In addition to Mlambo's contribution, Galloway notes that in the past, sugarcane was both a preservative and a fermenting agent, whilst in the contemporary world, sugarcane is now a source of calories.[177] In Zimbabwe, sugar cane products are used for direct consumption in many homes, especially tea for breakfast. Food manufacturing companies in confectionaries, fruit and beverages.[162] Therefore, the sweetness of sugar lingers in many products. Still, the question remains whether the displaced Shangane people ever tasted the same sweetness in terms of employment, compensation, smooth relocation, or else it generated bitter selfresettlement, poverty and underdevelopment of their area.

The history of sugar estates dates back to pre-colonial times with the establishment of large plantations of sugar cane. For instance, between 1750 and 1850, attorneys in Jamaica managed sugar estates on behalf of absentee proprietors. A good example was the Golden Grove Estate, established in 1734. But unfortunately, this was the time when the system of plantation slavery

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[160] Ibid, p.11

[161] Mlambo, *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe*, 1920 – 90, p. 9. [177] Galloway, J. H., *The sugarcane industry*, p. 1.

[162] *The Herald*: 'The Fifth Rhodesia Sugar Refinery Birthday Anniversary', Tuesday November 12, 1985, p.3 [179] Higman, B. W, *Plantation in Jamaica, 1750 – 1850; Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy*, (West Indies: University of the West Indies Press, 2006).

was in its most mature and profitable form.[179] Higman further notes a vicious system of labour exploitation geared toward the enslaved people forced to live and work on the estate.

Therefore, the sugar industry in the Caribbean was a direct product of European colonial conquest and settlement of the area. There is no doubt that the establishment of sugar plantations in Africa also followed a similar pattern of occupation, as was the case with the Natal Sugar Estates of South Africa and the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe. Thus, the creation of the Lowveld sugar estates was similarly a result of the forced removal of the poor Shangane people who were unjustly displaced from their traditional living spaces by the colonial regime. As if this was not sufficient, the local people were, again, compelled to provide cheap labour in the newly established sugar plantations, as was the case elsewhere. As a result, sugar cane was grown in Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana in the Caribbean. In these areas, sugar cane production reached its peak in the 1960s.[163]

However, over time, the production of sugar began to dwindle, owing to several reasons, including problems associated with soil fertility, the rise of trade unionism and nationalist independence movements as well as the increased land pressure by the peasantry.

The history of sugarcane cultivation in the tropics was also associated with slavery, indenture, war, conquest, colonisation and some of the worst brutalities ever practised. Furthermore, in Latin America, sugarcane, like other cash crops, such as cotton, was sometimes referred to as the "hunger crop". It was associated with starvation, low wages, irregular employment, and job security. Worse still, after working for so long on sugar estates, one was referred to as a casual worker.[181]

[163] *NAZ:* IDRC-244e.GEN/THO, 'Sugar: Threat or Challenge? An assessment of the Impact of Technological Developments in the High-Fructose Corn Syrup and Sucro chemicals Industries', Clive Y.T. p. 7. [181] Ibid, p.7.

In the same vein, the established sugar plantations in Africa reveal similar features as those of the early sugar estates. For instance, most of the people employed by the Triangle Sugar Estate in Zimbabwe today are casual labourers earning meagre wages. Thus, Thomas essentially devotes his work to sugar production, its marketing and other salient properties. He also examines the welfare of labourers on sugar estates as punctuated by poverty and job insecurity.

In essence, sugar production in southern Africa originated with plantations established in Mauritius at the same time as the Caribbean slave plantations that marked the early European colonial expansion during the eighteenth century. In the mid-nineteenth century, immigrants from Mauritius brought sugar planting and processing technology.[164] Thus, the colonisation of Africa brought with it a variety of technological developments which earmarked for sustainable growth. However, the problem with these developments was that the displaced people were not beneficiaries of such projects. Thus, colonialism transferred technology on sugar estates to Africa, with its cheap labour; hence, the impoverishment of Africans, as was the case with the Natal Sugar Estates.

The cultivation of sugarcane in Natal dates back to pre-colonial times, around 1635, when the cane, known in the Zulu dialect as the *umoba,* was grown by the indigenous people. The evidence suggests that the occurrence of sugar cane along the south-east coast of Africa does not imply cultivation. Instead, it means the environment was viable for future intensive cultivation.[165] Evidence from a report which was presented to the governor of the Cape in 1843 by Captain Smith, claimed that Natal was colonised for its sugarcane.[166] Thus, South Africa's sugar history was born out of rampant colonialism, indentured labour and massive profit.[167]

[164] Lincoln, D. 'The Historical Geography of the Southern African Development Community's Sugar Protocol', *Illes I Imperis*, 9 (2006), pp. 117–30.
[165] *City Press:* 'The bitter story of South African sugar', 2 August 2015.
[166] McMartin, A. 'David Livingstone in Mocambique: Further Evidence of Sugar Making at Tete', The South African Sugar Journal, February 1970.
[167] *City Press:* 'The bitter story of South African sugar' 2 August 2015.

McMartin further notes that in 1838, Boshoff, who later became second President of the Orange Free State, described the growth in Natal of cane like a Spanish Reed which are indigenous while, in 1841, the Wesleyan missionary, Reverand Archbell, recorded the development of cane in Port Natal in abundance.[168] In addition to the cultivation of sugarcane, the Zulu people also grew crops like sorghum, maize, gourds, melons, beans and millet.

When Britain took over Natal in 1845, the area was occupied by British settlers, a few Dutch colonists and the original Zulu inhabitants. After the annexation, the colonisers allotted 809 000 hectares of land to the Zulu people 1 million hectares to white settlers. The rest of Natal was considered "crown land" and left uncultivated and unoccupied.[169] The *City Press* further published that it was unsuitable for white settlers and the black population to live together; hence, the Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes, Theophilus Shepstone, started setting up "native locations" for black people.[188] However, the resettlement process for the Zulu was peaceful, and, as a result, the rest of Natal was subdivided into white-owned farms. Shepstone used persuasive language which made the Zulu people move to the designated areas on their own accord.

However, some Zulu people refused to move into their allocated areas; hence, they became squatters and were unwilling to provide labour to the white farmers. Perhaps this was one way of showing their resistance to eviction. The striking feature about the Natal sugar estates of South Africa and the Lowveld Sugar Estates in Zimbabwe is that the forced removal of the Shangane people from their ancestral homelands of the south-east part of the country almost followed a similar pattern of displacement. In this context, the Shangane people were not violent; they left peacefully. Furthermore, Tongaat Hulett owned large shares of the estate, and

[168] McMartin, A. 'David Livingstone in Mocambique', 1970.
[169] *City Press:* 'The bitter story of South African sugar', 2 August 2015.
[188] Ibid, 2 August 2015.

it is the same corporation currently in charge of the Lowveld sugar estates in Zimbabwe. Moreover, when Murray MacDougall built his first sugar cane mill in 1939, he also brought some parts from the Natal Sugar Estates.[170] This shows a good relationship between the Natal Sugar Estates in South Africa and the Lowveld sugar estates in Zimbabwe.

As mentioned earlier, in colonial Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia), cane production was confined to the low-lying areas in the south-east part of the country.[171] In addition, a second but smaller centre of production was situated in the northern part of Rhodesia, on the southern bank of the Zambezi River, at Chirundu in the Zambezi valley and, in this area, sugar was grown for ten years.[172] However, sugar cane growing in this area lasted for a short period, mainly because in 1965, the UDI attracted economic sanctions, which led the Tate and Lyle family of companies to close down the Chirundu sugar estates.[173]

Therefore, it is notable that the ongoing analysis of current scholarship focuses on the establishment of the sugar estates but is silent on the people evicted from their traditional lands to their establishment. For instance, *The Herald of (1985)* reported that Sir. Henry Birchenough, President of the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and Lieutenant Colonel George Hornung, one of Sena Sugar Estates directors, discussed with the Southern Rhodesia Government officials, and their deliberations resulted in the formation of the Rhodesia Sugar Refinery Ltd in 1935 and the subsequent building of the refinery in Bulawayo in 1936.[174]

[170] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions*, 2007.
[171] Martin, G. C. 'Plant Parasitic Nematodes Associated with Sugarcane Production in Rhodesia', *Food and Agriculture organisation of the United Nations. Reprint from the FAO Plant Protection Bulletin*, Vol. 15, No.3. 1967. p. 7.
[172] Ibid, p. 7.
[173] *The Herald*: 'The Fifth Rhodesia Sugar Refinery Birthday Anniversary' Tuesday November 12, 1985, p. 3.
[174] Ibid, p. 3.
[193] Ibid, p. 3.

However, during the early days, sugar in Rhodesia was imported from Sena Sugar Estates because the local raw sugar production only matched demand in 1962. This was primarily credited to Tom MacDougall. He pioneered the Lowveld sugar growing in the 1930s.[193]

The movement of Shangane people off 'European farming areas' accelerated after the Second World War, especially with the coming of sugar estates at Triangle and Hippo Valley, which, in turn, transformed the area into a more lucrative adventure Existing literature on sugar estates to the area under study concentrates more on the establishment and expansion of the sugar industry at the expense of the ecological and socio-economic costs of the displaced Shangane people.[195] The picture below shows part of the Hippo Valley sugarcane field



[195] [195] Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle*, pp.7-123., Mlambo, A. S., Pangeti, E. S. and Phimister, I. R., *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing, 1890-1995*, 2000. , Wolmer, W. From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions, 2007, Scoones, I. *et al*. *Zimbabwe's Land Reform Myths and Realities*. Harare, Weaver Press, 2010.

Picture 1.1 source: Author

3.4 The Colonial State and the LSE

The man behind the establishment of the LSE was Murray MacDougall. He negotiated with the BSAC for the vast land between the Mtirikwi, Chiredzi and Runde rivers, which he successfully got after the First World War and named it Triangle, after his registered cattle brand.[175] As already mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, the area was initially inhabited by the Shangane people who subsisted on hunting and fishing though, later on, kept cattle and acquired seed of sorghum which they grew whenever the season was favourable.[176]

Having failed as a cattle rancher, MacDougall, with local Shangane cheap labour, built a weir at Jatala on the Mtirikwi River. They also made a thirteen-kilometre long canal, in part, tunnelled through solid granite to supply irrigation water to a small sugar plantation on his ranch during the early 1930s.[177]

Having decided to grow sugarcane, MacDougall visited South Africa where John Murray of Durban introduced him to Reynolds and Crooks brothers in Natal. MacDougall acquired all the necessary components for his mill from various natal Mills, principally Beniva, La mercy, Umfolosi and Mount Edgecombe. All the machinery was railed to Beitbridge from where MacDougall and his helpers transported it to Triangle. For this purpose, MacDougall had to cut a road to Ngundu, and the transportation took two weeks.[178] Ken Kean was engaged to erect a mill which took just over a year, and the official opening was on 11 September 1939. After the first month of operation, MacDougall personally took the first ten tonnes of sugar to the refinery in Bulawayo, and ninety-six tonnes was the first season's total.[179] On my visit to Murray

[175] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 94.
[176] Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle*, pp. 7-123.
[177] Scoones, I. , Mavedzenge, B. and Murimbarimba, F. 'Sugar, people and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', *Journal of Southern Africa Studies*, vol. 43, Issue No. 3, (2017), pp. 567-584, Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 94.
[178] Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle*, pp. 7-123.
[179] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 96, Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle*, pp. 7-123.

MacDougall's Homestead Museum in Triangle, I discovered that the LSE were of great impotance to the national economy. This was largely because, the pictorial history in the gallery is mainly dedicated to MacDougall and his establishment of the Sugar Estates. Similarly, Ian Scoones, Blazio Mavedzenge and Felix Murimbarimba also point out that MacDougall's Museum contains a catalogue with photographs of influential leaders who visited the estates from the British governors of Rhodesia to Smith and Mugabe[180] This, alone, shows how crucial the Lowveld Sugar Estates were to the Zimbabwean state and the international community's economies.

Picture 1.2 shows Mac's first Sugar cane mill in 1939

[180] Scoones, I., Mavedzenge, B. and Murimbarimba, F. 'Sugar, people and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', pp. 567-584.



Picture 1.2 source: Murray MacDougall Homestead Museum.

The Government and the South African Tongaat Hulett provided bulldozers, rippers and ploughs for large scale bush clearances and preparation for cane planting. Cement lined canals, pumping stations and workers' compounds were also built.[181]

Documents in the custody of the Zimbabwe National Water Authority regional office in Masvingo also indicate that the expansion of the sugar estates was complemented by the colonial state, through the construction of Lake Kyle, near Masvingo town, which commenced

[181] Wolmer, *W. From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 95.

in 1958 and was completed by 1960. The primary purpose of this large scale technological development was for irrigation. The dam has a volume of 55 000 cubic metres and covers 9 105ha. It should be noted that Kyle Dam is the highest concrete arch dam in Zimbabwe, after Tokwe-Mukosi and Kariba, and has the greatest storage capacity of all internal dams.[182] It is the prime water storage source for irrigation on the large Lowveld estates to the south. The water is released down the river and diverted into the Triangle Canal at Esquilingwe Weir.[183] Furthermore, Manjirenji Dam was built on Chiredzi River from 1964 to 1967, and it feeds water directly into the Chiredzi left bank canal for conveyance to the irrigation scheme at Mkwasine Estates.

Thus, the 1960s saw further massive infrastructural developments, such as the new sugar mill at Triangle, a tarred road, an airport at Buffalo Range and the entire town of Chiredzi.[184] Such infrastructural development was primarily designed for the sole benefit of the White population in the Lowveld. However, Africans only benefited in inform of entertainment through the socially built beer hall, dubbed Chigarapasi and, perhaps, the Gibbo Stadium, which, coincidentally, helped the few Shangane labourers who Tongaat Hulett Corporation employed. Whilst much development was taking place on the part of the colonial Government, and the Lowveld Sugar Estates, it should be noted that there was simultaneous impoverishment Among the Shangane people since Chiredzi District was not developing at the same pace with other Districts in the country. Therefore, the construction of the biggest beer hall in the country could not, in any way, have socially and economically transformed the livelihoods of the long marginalised Shangane locals; rather, it made them to carelessly spend their hard-earned meagre wages.

[182] Dams of Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe National Committee on Large Dams (ZIMCOLD), Zimbabwe National Water Authority, Masvingo, p. 7. , undated.
[183] Ibid, p. 8.
[184] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 97.

In his quest to establish a fully operational sugar estate, Murray MacDougall was confronted by several financial challenges; hence, he had to ask for the Government's intervention periodically. For instance, after completing the first sugar mill in 1939, the company faced financial challenges; hence, it was sold to the Rhodesian Government in 1944 on a caretaker basis.[185] However, the project failed to be a viable enterprise because of the ecological problems of smut infestation, frost and drought; hence, it was sold back to a syndicate of Natal sugar planters in 1954.[186] Again, in 1957, the company was sold to the Natal Sugar Hulett Corporation, which significantly transformed the Lowveld sugar estates and was in the process, as mentioned earlier on, aided by the Rhodesian Government through the construction of the Kyle Dam near Masvingo for water supplies to the Triangle sugar plantations.[187]

The research by Wolmer also indicates that the Hippo Valley sugar estate was introduced in 1956, and the Rhodesian Government stepped in, again, through the construction of the Bangala Dam in 1963, to service the cane estates. In 1965, the Mkwasine sugar estate was also introduced, initially to grow wheat; but, later on, overtaken by sugarcane production.[188]

Therefore, the LSE kept on changing ownership from private to the colonial state and is currently run by the Tongaat Hulett Corporation. This shows that the colonial state and the LSE closely worked together for the development of the sugar industry in Southern Rhodesia; but, what is worrying some to note is that the two did not do the same for the evicted Shangane people who were fast exposed to poverty and underdevelopment of their area, as is reflected by their continuous struggling for survival on the periphery. In this case, the Government, as the, highest authority had the power to control events in the economic base, such as a smooth

[185] Scoones, I., Mavedzenge, B. and Murimbarimba, F. 'Sugar, people and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', p. 569.
[186] Ibid, p. 569.

[187] Fontein, J. 'Remaking Mutirikwi: Landscape, Water and Belonging in Southern Zimbabwe', 2015.
[188] Wolmer, *W. From Wilderness vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 97.

relocation of the displaced Shangane people to alternative productive lands. However, the colonial state chose not to do so, since it was working in cohort with the sugar company in undermining both the political and economic powers of the Shangane inhabitants.

3.5 The Lowveld Sugar Estates and the Socio-economic transformation of the Shangane people

Development is predicated on the wish to improve human socio–economic conditions and eradicate scarcity.[189] In other words, development must be tied in with the social and economic transformation of the displaced people, regardless of their minority status. Thus, development can be referred to as the elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the context of a growing economy.[211] However, this was not the case with the evicted Shangane people who, in the first place, became squatters on their land of birth. For instance, the period from 1908 onwards marked the continuation of land alienation in Southern Rhodesia, as Africans were denied the right to occupy areas officially designated as 'commercial land' or 'Crown land'; hence, they were relocated into 'Native Reserves.[190] In actual fact, land alienation started with the establishment of the Shangane and Gwai Reserves in 1903.[191] Those who refused to vacate the lands became squatters and were subjected to taxation. This mechanism by the colonial state was designed to flash out the Africans onto the job market, and the Shangane people were not an exception since most of them became labourers on the sugar estates.

[189] McDowell, C. (ed.), *Refugee and Forced Migration Studies: Understanding Impoverishment: The consequences of Development – Induced displacement,* (Vol. 2), p. 1. [211] Todaro, M. P. and Smith S. C. *Economic Development, 2011.*
[190] Wolmer, *From wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 78.
[191] Moyana, H.V*, The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, p. 1.

One informant from Chief Tshovani's area revealed that the relationship between the sugar company and the Shangane people during the colonial era was not fair since Shangane people were taken on forced labour without pay or wages. They were made to work on the sugar plantations and road construction. There is no sound relationship to talk much about since the Shangane people, who are employed by the sugar company, do not go beyond menial jobs.[192] The same sentiments were echoed by another respondent who noted with great concern that some of the able-bodied Shangane people were enslaved during the introduction of the estates and worked without food or wages; but, instead, got paid in the form of game meat which could not socially and economically transform their lives.[193] There was also no compensation, and there was no fair employment during the construction of roads and working in the fields. The sugar capitalists also used intimidation tactics to keep the evictees in fear.[194]

Two displacements happened in the area, according to yet another informant under Chief Tshovani. The first one occurred in 1950 and the second one in 1966. During the first displacement in 1950, people were moved out of the Triangle-Hippo Valley areas, and these locals took up self-relocation in Zaka District. However, some of them were readmitted back into the Shangane area to work as labourers in exchange for small pieces of land, only suitable for peasant farming and wages of $1.50 per month.[195] Employment was given to the displaced Shangane people, but the wages were equivalent to $0.75, which was insignificant to sustain them and their families.[196] The respondents agreed that their remuneration was not commensurate with their labour since they lived from hand to mouth.

[192] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani people, 20 May, 2017.
[193] Interview with Chilo Matawa, Village head, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May, 2017.
[194] Interview with Daniel Mundau, War detainee Village 8, Tshovani, 22 May, 2017.
[195] Interview with Ngomu Ngomu Garape, village head, Village 3, Tsovani, 21 May, 2017.
[196] Interview with Kazamula Mapimele, village head, village 9, Tshovani, 22 May 2017.

Several youths from Sub-chief Magatse's area also went back to Chiredzi to look for work on the sugar estates, and the trend has continued to date.[197] Most of their youths were offered employment on the Lowveld Sugar Estates, as echoed earlier on by one informant. However, payment was unsustainable for employees since they were given meagre wages.[219]

Most of the Lowveld Sugar Estates employees lived in labour compound houses where conditions were unfavourable. In addition, other houses were reserved for seasonal cutters.[198] These labourers were mostly drawn from chief Tshovani's area. The compound houses were always full, with visitors who came for either fishing or illegal hunting. Thus, numerous single men, who were often poor or without pay, resulted in a rise in crime levels related to theft.[199] Therefore, these activities, among others, negatively affected the social environment of the Shangane displacees.

On my visit to the administration block at Triangle plant milling, I saw a statue at the entrance to the building just outside the offices. The sculpture portrays an African labourer cutting sugar cane with a machete. This, alone, shows the type of work designed for Africans unlike their European counterparts who occupied white collar jobs. During the colonial period, white employers were physically cruel to black employees. One informant from the area remarked that blacks were often ill-treated for amusement, and such cases went unreported. If reported, no legal action was taken against the sugar estates authorities.[200] The same views were also confirmed by Manamere, who posits that failure to meet one's daily target was punishable by

[197] Interview with, Gogo Joana Lehinga, Lehinga village, Zaka, 8 November 2017.
[219] Interview with Lehinga Tshavani, Lehinga village, Zaka, 9 November 2017.
[198] Scoones, I., Mavedzenge, B. and Murimbarimba, F. 'Sugar, people and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', p. 577.
[199] Ibid, p. 577.
[200] Interview with Esau Mahlamba, acting Headman Magatse, Village Mahlamba, Zaka, 17 November, 2017.

either imprisonment or death.[201] In her research, Manamere further indicates that such labourers were taken to the current day Mpapa area and instructed to dig shallow graves under the supervision of Dunuza. At the end of the working day, the white managers would go to the site and instruct the labourers to look into the ditch. They were shot the moment they turned to look, and Dunuza would quickly bury them.[202]

The above incidents demonstrate that the Shangane people in Zaka and those who remained behind in Chiredzi communal areas after the displacement concurs in their work experiences on the sugar estates. Here, Cernea's reversal effect of the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model takes shape in that the once displaced and jobless Shangane people were then employed on the Sugar Estates. However, the unsustainability of the type of employment dismisses the whole issue. However, it should be observed that the LSE management also attempted to reverse some of the incurred risks through its participation in the realm of corporate social responsibility, though not much progress was realised in this regard.

3.6 Tongaat Huletts and the Community Share Ownership Trust

Mabhena and Moyo argue that, since independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has lagged behind in establishing an enabling legal and policy framework for sustainable and equitable mineral resource development.[203] This was because the extended colonially displaced small ethnic groups, like the Shangane, had since been scratching the periphery for a living. Yet, the Government had amassed and is still making huge profits from an area they had evicted the

[201] Manamere, K. 'Remembering Tom the boss boy: the place of black immigrants in the establishment of the south eastern Lowveld Sugar Estates, Zimbabwe, 1906–1972', *Settler Colonial Studies,* University of the Free State, VOL. 10, NO. 3, 2020, p.414.

[202] Ibid

[203] Mabhena, C. and Moyo, F. 'Community Share Ownership Trust and Empowerment: The Case of Gwanda Rural District, Matabeleland South Province in Zimbabwe', p. 74.

Shangane people to pave the way for sugarcane growing. Against this backdrop, the new regime had now realised that there were some disparities in the distribution of state resources. Thus, to resolve this crisis, the Government came up with a legal framework in the name of indigenisation, which also gave birth to other economic blueprints such as the Community Share Ownership Trust.

President Mugabe officially launched the Community Share Ownership Trusts in 2012 to transform the communities in which various companies operate.[204] This was the best community economic empowerment program the Government had introduced since 1980. However, despite its success the scheme also recorded some failure. According to Mabhena and Moyo, the Community Share Ownership Trust was a pro-poor mining policy that ensured the harnessing of mineral resources to empower local indigenous communities.[205] In other words, the CSOT was specifically designed to meet the basic needs of the local people from part of the company profits. This was about the corporate social responsibility of mining companies that operate in Gwanda rural district Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe. Thus, the launch of the Trust in Gwanda in 2012 saw the Trust raising over one million US dollars, which was channelled towards improving the education sector, with schools in the district benefiting in form of science laboratories.[206] The companies contributing towards the Trust are Blanket Mine, Gaths Mine and Pretoria Portland Cement (PPC). In addition, the Trust had built science laboratory blocks under each of the five Chiefs in the district. [229]

Meanwhile, the Marange Zimunya CSOT pledged fifty million US dollars at the inception of the scheme but only paid four hundred US dollars.[207] While some companies reneged in

[204] *The Herald,* 'Government probes community Share Ownership trusts', 23 January 2014.
[205] Mabhena, C. and Moyo, F. 'Community Share Ownership Trust and Empowerment', p. 72.
[206] *The Chronicle,* Share ownership trust 'best scheme since independence', 18 April, 2015. [229]
Ibid, 18 April, 2015.
[207] *The Herald,* 'Government probes community Share Ownership trusts', 23 January, 2014. [231]
Ibid, 23 January, 2014.

meeting their social corporate responsibility, Unki Mine availed ten million US dollars to the local community through the Tongogara Community Ownership Scheme, in Shurugwi, which saw the Trust building Msasa Primary School, a mortuary at Zvamavande Clinic.[231] The Trust also drilled more than 200 boreholes, reconstructed Chirume Dam, and provided a grader for road maintenance. [208]

In Zvishavane, Mimosa paid ten million US dollars to Zvishavane CSOT, which mainly was used for building classroom blocks and renovating old structures.[209] However, the Zvishavane Trust was marred by fights after the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB) ordered the Trust to cede half of the ten million US dollars given to it by Mimosa Mining Company to Mberengwa Community Share Ownership Trust since the mine's operations are in both districts; hence, should equally benefit the two.[234] However, on the issue of sharing CSOT funds between Mberengwa and Zvishavane, the *Sunday Mail* reports that Mimosa Mining Company was of the view that its operations were mainly in Zvishavane and; hence, splitting the pie evenly with Mberengwa would be unfair to the former. [210] This was also an argument that the displaced Shangane people had against the current situation. The CSOT funding from Tongaat Huletts is shared among the seven districts of Masvingo Province.

In the wake of contentious debate over CSTOTs, in 2014, the government probed to investigate 59 CSOTs, owing to the abuse of funds by chiefs and politicians. [211]This is a problem most trusts have faced since they rushed to make renovations and build a few classroom blocks, among other projects, which is all good, but without considering how they would continue with

[208] Ibid, 23 January, 2014.
[209] *The Herald*, 'Zim share ownership schemes a mixed bag', 22 February, 2017. [234]
Ibid, 22 February, 2017.
[210] *The Sunday Mail,* 'CSOTs: The good, the bad and the ugly', 08 October, 2017.
[211] *The Herald,* 'Government probes community Share Ownership trusts', 23 January 2014. [237]
The Herald, 'Zim share ownership schemes a mixed bag', 22 February 2017.

such work once the money was exhausted. [237] Unlike the Mhondoro - Ngezi scheme and a few others, which had made huge investments on the money market, most trusts have run out of cash to fund projects. The absence of proper investment plans left too many loopholes that exposed the funds to looting and mismanagement.[212]

Similarly, the lithium mine in Bikita District of Masvingo Province was also mandated to empower the local community from its proceeds economically. Herbert Nechena and Jeffrey Kurebwa, point out that companies were obliged to avail 10% of shares out of the total value of the company's proceeds to a community represented by a trust.[213] Furthermore, the two scholars argued that the Indigenisation Act should be harmonised with the Rural District Council's Act. This harmonisation will ensure that empowerment is integrated into all legislation focused on rural development and promote sustainability utilising the Community Share Ownership Trust.[240] They further cited Botswana as an example, which the country's discovery of diamond in 1967 enabled the state to collect sufficient revenue for funding investments in infrastructure, education, health and other developmental projects.[241] This is what probably, closed inequality gaps among the diverse ethnic groups of Botswana.

What made the plight of the Shangane displacees worse was that the Lowveld Sugar Estates authorities failed not only to provide the displaced Shangane people with alternative land for resettlement but, instead, displayed gross negligence in meeting their corporate social responsibility. The company was, by law, supposed to plough back some of its profits to the community in which the organisation operates. Interviews conducted in Chief Tshovani's area indicated that the LSE management did not realise much in terms of development since the villagers had to walk very long distances to access social services, such as clinics and schools.

[212] Ibid, 22 February, 2017.
[213] Nechena, H. and Kurebwa, J. 'Community participation in community share ownership Trusts in Bikita Rural District of Zimbabwe', p. 34. [240] Ibid, p. 72. [241] Ibid, p.72.

Roads in the area are bad, and there are no bridges linking villagers with their relatives. This was confirmed by one respondent who argued that the Government should help the Shangane people to benefit directly from their resources, just like what is happening in other districts, where mining operations are taking place. The assistance could either be in the form of food procurement during drought, infrastructural development, employment creation or alternative projects. He further argued that the Government was engaged on these issues, but nothing has materialised up to this day.[214] This demonstrates the failure by the state to meet its millennium development goals on equity distribution of resources. According to another respondent from Chiredzi Rural District, the money availed by the Sugar Estates, through the Community Share Ownership Trust, was insignificant for them to embark on meaningful projects.[215] Many respondents in Chief Tshovani's area disclosed that, instead of ploughing the money specifically to Chiredzi District, the financial assistance ended up benefiting the whole province of Masvingo at the expense of the long-oppressed and marginalised small ethnic Shangane locals. The interviewee further argued that the Government's argument concerning the disbursement of CSOT funding is that Mutirikwi Dam, which supplies water to the Lowveld for irrigation purposes, is located outside Chiredzi District; hence, it is upon this basis that the state insists the financial assistance should equally benefit the whole province, an argument that the Shangane people are not happy with.[244] For instance, at one point, Chiredzi Rural District got a share of only six thousand US dollars, out of the disbursed total amount of five hundred thousand US dollars, which Tongaat Huletts Company donated as part of its corporate social responsibility.[216]

[214] Interview with Chilo Matawa, village head, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May, 2017.
[215] Interview with Jephias Maluleke, project supervisor, Chiredzi Rural District Council, Chiredzi, 24 May, 2017.
[244] Ibid, 24 May, 2017.
[216] Interview with Takudzwa Chimanya, Executive Officer Technical Services, Chiredzi Rural District Council, Chiredzi, 24 May, 2017.

The above figures were also confirmed by an interviewee who avers that Tongaat Sugar Company paid a total of five hundred thousand US dollars towards the Community Share Ownership Trust, and out of this amount, two hundred thousand US dollars was distributed in the form of maize, while three hundred thousand US dollars. This was shared among the seven districts of Masvingo Province; therefore, the share meant for the District of Chiredzi ended up benefiting other districts, further away from the estates, much to the displeasure of the Shangane displacees.[217] However, further interrogations into the matter revealed that part of the disbursed amount saw three hundred thousand US dollars cash distributed among the seven districts. Some of the respondents confirmed this in the area.

According to a Government official from the Ministry of Youth, Indigenization and Economic Empowerment in Masvingo Province, as cited by *The Sunday News*, the Lowveld sugarcane grower and processor giant, Tongaat Huletts in Chiredzi, injected three hundred thousand US dollars into Masvingo's Community Share Ownership Trust (CSOT) to be shared among the seven districts in the province.[218] Two districts, namely Mwenezi and Chiredzi, each got 20 per cent, and 12 per cent was channelled towards the five remaining districts. As a result, Chiredzi and Mwenezi received sixty thousand US dollars each, while Bikita, Chivi, Zaka, Gutu and Masvingo districts received thirty-six thousand US dollars each.[219] However, the differences in the exact amount received by each rural district in the province is a clear testimony on the abuse of CSOT funds. However, one anonymous informant from Chief Tshovani's area was quick to point out that the problem with CSOT funds is too much external interference from chiefs and politicians, as mentioned earlier. In line with this development, the researcher suggests that what is ideal for transparency in the disbursement of CSOT funds is a

[217] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May, 2017.
[218] *The Sunday News*, 'Tongaat Huletts injects three hundred US dollars into Masvingo Share Trust', 21 August, 2016.
[219] Ibid, 21 August, 2016.

harmonisation of the CSOT policy with the Rural District Development Act, as earlier on recommended by Mabhena and Moyo.[220] This is because rural districts are the best custodians of rural development in their respective constituencies; hence, they are knowledgeable on the priority areas in need of urgent action and, in this case, the Chiredzi Rural District Council should preside over the CSOT funds from Tongaat Huletts for the betterment of the entire south-east Lowveld.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has shed some light on the origins of the Shangane title in south-east Zimbabwe and on factors contributing to its adoption in the Lowveld. The historical background to the arrival of the Shangane in the Lowveld had been a centre of much debate. The chapter has also examined, at length, the origins of sugar cane, its adoption and propagation in the Lowveld of south-east Zimbabwe. It highlighted the role played by Murray MacDougall in the establishment and expansion of the Lowveld Sugar Estates with the assistance of the colonial state. Thus, the capitalist sugar company and the colonial regime kept on changing ownership and, in the process, undermined the livelihoods of the Shangane displacees and orchestrated the underdevelopment of the entire Lowveld. I equally shed some light on the company's current ownership, which is Tongaat Huletts. Through the company's efforts, the once dry land was converted into a green belt, together with the emerging town of Chiredzi. Finally, the chapter attempts to evaluate the extent to which the LSE management alleviated the plight of the Shangane displacees through the CSOT programme which, just like any other programmes of its nature, failed to provide the much-anticipated poverty relief to the Shangane locals.

[220] Mabhena, C. and Moyo, F. 'Community Share Ownership Trust and Empowerment: The Case of Gwanda Rural District, Matabeleland South Province in Zimbabwe', p. 72.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PRE-AND-POST EVICTION SHANGANE ECONOMY AND ITS ADAPTATION TO THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS IN THE COUNTRY

4.0 Introduction

Scoones *et al.,* Manamere, Mlambo *et al.*, Saunders and Wolmer have compiled detailed narratives on the origins, development, and expansion of the sugar plantations.[221] However, the same scholars did not write much about the post-displacement economic landscape of the Shangane people. In this chapter, I examine the extent to which the forced removal of the Shangane people had affected their economic lifestyle. Whilst much is said about the inhabitability of the region, I argue that the survival of the Shangane people before the advent of colonialism demonstrates how the Lowveld environment is conducive to sustaining the basic needs of the indigenous people. Further, the prevalence of a vibrant mixed economy used to support them before their forced displacement.

Similar to the above, the economic landscape of Matabeleland, was also arid and often experienced droughts and poor harvests. Faced with such a scenario, the Ndebele people, just like the Shangane, devised methods to mitigate the shortage of water. Therefore, the disruptive nature of the colonial conquest overwhelmed the indigenous traditions of coping with scarcities.[222] So the current phenomenon of poverty among the Shangane inhabitants of Chief Tshovani originated with their forced removal from their traditional living spaces of Triangle and Hippo Valley. Therefore, in this chapter, the researcher seeks to interrogate the extent to which the forced removal of the Shangane people by the sugar company had interfered with their once intact economic lifestyle. The country's unfolding political events further

[221] Scoones, I. Mavedzenge, B. and Murimbarimba, F. 'Sugar, people and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', *Journal of Southern Africa Studies*, vol. 43, Issue No. 3, (2017), Manamere, K. 'Remembering Tom the boss boy: the place of black immigrants in the establishment of the south eastern Lowveld Sugar estates, Zimbabwe, 1906–1972, 2020, Mlambo, A. S. Pangeti, E. S. and Phimister, I. *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing 1890-1995*, 2000, Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle,* 1989, Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, 2007.

[222] Musemwa, M. *Water, History and Politics in Zimbabwe*, 2014.

exacerbated the situation. While the Lowveld eventually became more productive in the early 1970s, this however, did not benefit the Shangane people.

4.1 The Pre-Colonial Shangane survival mechanisms

The changing environmental and political dynamics have led to complex accommodations and adaptations by many states and stateless societies of Southern Africa and Zimbabwe. The political and ecological flux highly influenced economic activities in the Lowveld. Drought, wars and climatic changes determined the levels of agricultural output.

The pre-colonial Shangane economy consisted of hunting, gathering, fishing and agriculture, in addition to external and internal trade also formed an essential part of their economy.

4.2 Hunting and gathering for subsistence.

Certain fruits were gathered all year round; for instance, the fruits of *nkanyi* (marula) and *kwakwa tree* (monkey orange) and the *kwangali* palm, which is still used in the production of the highly intoxicating *nyajima* wine. There were numerous other wild fruits and plants that were and are still eaten by the Shangane today. For instance, roots of certain trees were also used as a source of food, such as the roots of *Shukutsu,* which were stamped and soaked in water and, after discarding the roots, the nutritious water was boiled for drinking.[223]

Some fruits were eaten fresh, while others were dried and stored for future use. In their collection of the wild fruits, the Shangane people were cautious not to over harvest or exploit the resources upon which they relied. In other words, the wild fruits were used in a sustainable manner.

[223] Jackson, A. P. 'Ample Food without Ploughing', *NADA,* Vol. 7, (1954), p. 63.

To reinforce sustainability, taboos were introduced to ensure that people would abide by the social mores of the society. For example, the taboos prohibiting the harvesting of unripe fruits or the wanton cutting down of trees were meant to conserve the environment in its natural state.[224] Thus, the afore-mentioned taboos were designed to restrain people from harming the environment by way of pollution, deforestation, indiscriminate killing of other sentient beings and overexploitation of resources.[225] Common property was regarded as private property for a group in the same vein. In this case, it was the group, and not an individual, who had the sole right to include or exclude other individuals or groups from using or benefiting from the resources.[255]This was meant to ensure full responsibility through the participation of all community members in the management and conservation of resources in their natural environment. This kind of collective resource ownership also demonstrates the democratic nature of pre-colonial African societies, which placed more emphasis on the group rather than on the individual ownership of resources, as was the case in the Western World.

Furthermore, the flora of the Lowveld was diverse since there were more species than there were on the plateau; hence, it was sometimes referred to as the hunter's paradise. Like the wild fruits, the Shangane people hunted wild animals as a source of meat, but this was done sustainably. According to Mavhunga, the Shangane people knew how to track wild game. For instance, if an animal's footprint was dark in colour with dew on it, the hunter knew an animal passed during the night. However, before people embarked on hunting, they consulted with the traditional healers for anticipated immunity from misfortune. [226]

[224] Mawere, M., 'Traditional Environment Conservation Strategies In Pre-Colonial Africa: Lessons For Zimbabwe To Forget Or To Carry Forward Into The Future?' *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol. 4, No. 4.1 Quarter ISSN: 2229 – 5313, (2013), p. 8.
[225] Ibid, p. 8.
[255] Ibid, p. 9.
[226] Mavhunga, C. 'The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal-Interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present', 2008, p. 82.

In his research, Mavhunga reflects the Shangane people's co-existence with the wild, based on the ontological view that animals and people lived in one world; they spoke the same languages and socialised the same spaces; hence, animals such as antelopes would stop travellers and warn them of danger.[227] This shows the importance of the indigenous knowledge systems in the prediction of natural disasters by wild animals and fruit trees, such as the abundance of wild berries, which, in most cases, symbolised drought. Thus, hunted animals included, among others, hare, kudu, buck, warthog, and the big game such as elephants.[228] As was the case with wild fruits, the meat from the wild game was also eaten fresh, while some of it was carefully dried and stored for future use.

Mavhunga further argues that totemism (*mitupo*) was a form of identity and, at the same time, acted as a strategy to ensure sustainable use of resources in the natural environment.[229] It is also an intimate relationship within a group of kindred people, on the one hand, and a species of natural or artificial objects, on the other. In other words, totemism may be taken as an intimate relationship that is believed to exist between an individual or group of individuals, on one hand, and some animal or species of a natural or manufactured object, on the other.[230] Bullock further defines totemism as a social bond between members of the same clan and, sometimes, as a collective designation of the clan. It was used as a clan oath; hence, a taboo or semi taboo was attached to the animal, part of a carcass, or even organ of the body, the name of which was used or implied in the totem word and, usually, there were magical sanctions meant to enforce such a taboo.[231]

[227] Ibid. p. 56.

[228] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 74.

[229] Ibid, p. 10.

[230] Foggin, J. M. 'Totemism', *NADA*, Vol. 4, (1936-37), p. 64.

[231] Bullock, C. 'On the origin and nature of totemism', *NADA*, Vol. 3, (1931-35), p. 11.

The belief that eating the meat of a totem animal results in a person losing their teeth enforced the taboo. The enforcement of such taboos saved many wild animals from extinction, thereby preserving the environment in its natural state. For instance, among the Shangane people of south-east Zimbabwe existed a corpus of totems to which they subscribe, and these range from Ndlovu (elephant), Valoyi (baboon), Siwela (sheep) and Chauke (fire). Most of the Shangane people, in this area belong to this totem Humba/Mlilo; hence, a snail is a sacred species to them. In short, all animals linked with such totems were spared since they were sacred. The same religious significance was also attached to some forests in which trees were not allowed to be chopped down. All these efforts conserved the environment in its natural state and, whether it was fortuitous or not, this is something else, which is outside the parameters of this research.

In fact, the pre-colonial environment was conserved through '*Ubuntu*' and the enforcement of taboos. In this case, people were exhorted not to take unripe fruits and urinate in water among others. According to Mawere, the concept of *Ubuntu* is enshrined in taboos or *zvierwa*, avoidance rules or *mhiko* and other such traditional systems as proverbial lore.[232] Thus, he advocates the revival of *Ubuntu* in environmental conservation projects, its full recognition, restoration, and reinstitution, along with science in national environmental conservation projects and policy making. In short, Mawere defines *Ubuntu* as the reinforcement of unity; oneness and solidarity among the Bantu people; or humanness.[263] In essence, upholding this concept enhances the preservation and conservation of natural resources as it spells out the communal ownership of resources in a sustainable manner. Mawere argues that:

> To start with the colonial government, the latter instead of seeking ways to merge the local people's *Ubuntu* embedded in their Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) with expert science in the national conservation project, it despised and castigated to the dustbin of oblivion all conservation practices that were considered traditional or indigenous. By default, or otherwise it failed to realise that *Ubuntu* as a philosophy of life of the local people was a

[232] Mawere, M. 'Buried and forgotten, but not dead: Reflections on 'Ubuntu' in Environmental Conservation in South-eastern Zimbabwe', *Global Journal of Human Social Science Geography and Environmental Geo Sciences*, Vol.12, Issue 10, ISSN 2249-460X, (2012), p. 3. [263] Ibid, p. 3.

> rich system that the bearers had used successfully for centuries now in conserving their natural environment.[233]

Furthermore, there were other events which unfolded in the Lowveld. For example, in the twentieth century, hunters from Ndau and Tsonga migrated into Shangane country and settled under Shangane rulers so that they could carry out their chosen occupation. The ivory obtained from the area was traded at the coast, while the biltong was exchanged for hoes. Other hoes were also obtained from the Venda people at Messina. It was also a common practice among the Shangane that upon killing an elephant, one tusk was surrendered to the chief as a sign of loyalty.[234]

Honey gathering provided food security among the Shangane locals. For example, the most plentiful and best known was the ordinary honey. In addition to this, there were other types of honey made by small bees. But these were only found in small quantities. These included the *monga*, *wodza* and *mwande*. The *monga* was always made in ant heaps or holes in the ground, while the *wodza* and *mwande* were commonly found in tree trunks. The *mwande* honey is made by the *Mopani* bee is generally believed to be the sweetest honey. Another name for *mwande* was *munungira* and the *monga* was also called *basi*.[235] Apart from consumption purposes, honey was also used for medicinal functions, especially for the healing of dry coughs.

4.3 Fishing

The Shangane people also survived on fishing as they were riverine people. The Shangane people largely employed two methods of fishing: one method used a barrier of reeds across a river known as *saila* and fish were driven towards the barriers; the other method was the use of

[233] Ibid, p. 4.

[234] Bannerman, J. H. 'A Short Political and Economic History', p. 9. , Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 68.

[235] Jackson, A. P. 'Ample Food Without Ploughing', p. 63.

fish traps known as *muvasa.*[236] In addition, fish were also caught by netting with reed baskets (*matuvo*) or captured in the shallows by the simple process of driving them to the edges and flicking them out by hand or with the aid of branches or sometimes, by spearing them. Poisoning fish was also practised though it was highly discouraged since it was believed to be unsustainable. In this case, the poison was obtained from indigenous bushes which included the *bombge, mukonde, cherekese* and *jero*.[237]

Most of the Shangane methods of fishing ensured them of sustainable development since the fishermen only collected the big fish for their relish; hence, fish provided them with a source of protein. However, in an interview with one informant from Chief Tshovani's area, he revealed that their usual supply of fish dwindled as soon as they relocated to Zaka.[238] This was largely because the areas to which most of the displaced Shangane people resettled were very dry, infertile, and far away from rivers; hence, this denied the new arrivals fishing opportunities. Cernea echoes the same sentiments when he remarks that the expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems and livelihoods are constructed. He views this as the principal form of de-capitalisation and pauperization of the displaced people, as they were bound to lose both natural and man-made capital.[239]

However, the two methods of fishing employed by the Shangane inhabitants were good in that, water was allowed to pass through: but, trapping aquatic life. The trapped small and pregnant fish were carefully selected from the shoal, and these were thrown back into the water. This was meant to allow the small fish to grow into big fish for future use and for the pregnant ones

[236] Bannerman J. H. 'A Short Political and Economic History', p. 10. , Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 75.

[237] Jackson, A. P. 'Ample Food Without Ploughing', p. 63.

[238] Interview with Ngomungomu Garepe, village head, Village 3, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.

[239] Cernea, M. M. Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model, p.36.

to multiply. Thus, it was the duty of everyone in the community to jealously guard their resources.

People who violated the environmental ethics were severely dealt with by the local authorities. For instance, culprits were fined or faced banishment from the area. However, the advent of colonialism saw many of their best pools for fishing closed to them through the creation of the GonareZhou National Park which was, again, a capitalist project and not conservative in nature, though outside the parameters of this study.

4.4 Crop farming

Scholars have argued about the suitability of the Lowveld to crop cultivation. For instance, Wolmer argues that one year in every four years, the Shangane people would experience a severe drought, as was the case in 1910/11.[240] The dryness of the region sometimes affected their economy; hence, the Shangane people would name such a drought *ma lembe a ndlala* which literally implies 'year of hunger'.[241] Saunders concurs with Wolmer that in 1910, the Rhodesian Government hired MacDougall who was then involved in the business of transport to deliver food relief to the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe.[242] However, this does not nullify the fact mentioned in Chapter One that, apart from the dryness of the Lowveld region of south-east Zimbabwe, the inhabitants always had adequate alternatives to food security except in extreme severe years as stated above.

[240] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 69.
[241] Bannerman, J. H. '*A Short Political and Economic History*, p. 8, Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 69.
[242] Saunders, C. *Murray MacDougall and the story of Triangle,* pp.7-123, Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 70.

This, again, does not imply that once hit by a drought, the Shangane people would give up crop farming, as was seen by their continuous cultivation of dry lands, wetlands and riverbanks.[243] In an interview with another informant, he stated that the rainfall pattern in the Lowveld was quite reliable as they were able to carry out their crop cultivation with much success.[244] The same sentiments were also expressed by many respondents under Chief Tshovani; hence, dismissing the fact that, the Lowveld was inhospitable. In other words, the region was able to sustain the livelihoods of many Shangane locals; hence, the poverty which now characterises the Lowveld was generated by their forced removal from the environment with which they had already established some kind of a natural bond.

One key informant also remarked that before the displacement, the rainfall pattern in the Lowveld was quite predictable and reliable. In the event that thunder rumbled, and it failed to rain, the chief would usually seek divine guidance on the matter. He was, however, quick to point out that there were a lot of disturbances in terms of their cultural and religious lifestyles as would be explained in the next chapter.[276]

For instance, religiously, they used to go to their ancestors' graves to conduct prayers for rain; but, after the displacement, that was no longer possible since their shrine was then within the parameters of restriction. The LSE management would not tolerate people who interfered with the cultivation of sugarcane on the estates. However, in 1992, there was a severe drought which coincided with the effects of the introduced economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP). During this time, estates could not make adequate profits largely because the sugarcane crop had dried up and this compelled the sugar authorities to engage the chief and

[243] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 74, Bannerman, J. H. 'A Short Political and Economic History', p. 8, Wolmer, W. From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions, p.69.
[244] Interview with Chilo Matawa, village head, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.
[276] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May 2017.

his people to access the Bendezi Mountain within the Hippo Valley area for rain making ceremonies. Usually, such ceremonies were followed by heavy down pours.[245]

Bannerman indicates that the Shangane people also grew millet, sorghum, pumpkins, maize, groundnuts and sweet potatoes, using water from the Lundi River.[246] The Shangane grew a variety of sorghum and this was done in an attempt to curb the risk of crop failure and each variety had its own specific function such as for beer brewing and for food.[247] Just like in other agro-ecological regions of Zimbabwe, during plentiful rainfall seasons, the Shangane inhabitants could also produce a considerable surplus of grain which was stored in granaries; this provided them with a crucial cushion against lean years.[248] There is no doubt that the time spent by the Shangane people in the same locality, without migrating to other areas since their arrival in the early nineteenth century up to the colonisation of Zimbabwe in 1890, demonstrates the sustainability of the Lowveld to the needs of its inhabitants. In most cases, much of the agricultural work was carried out by women since many of the Shangane males went to work in South Africa before colonisation; especially at Kimberly mines and the Transvaal.[249]

Wolmer shares similar sentiments with Bannerman that some of the Shangane people worked in the Natal Sugar Plantations long before the opening of the Kimberly mines. He further argues that the number of Shangane males employed on the Witwatersrand totalled nearly 80,000 and, by 1936, this number had almost doubled; hence, the Shangane males brought remittances home as part and parcel of their livelihood strategy.[282] Therefore, the interaction between the

[245] Interview with, Chilo Matawa, Village head, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May 2017
[246] Bannerman J. H. '*A Short Political and Economic History*, p.14, Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 70.
[247] Ibid, p. 70.
[248] Ibid, p. 70.
[249] Bannerman J. H. 'A Short Political and Economic History, p. 8. [282]
Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 76.

Shangane in Zimbabwe and South Africa dates back to this period where the two groups had established mutual relations which were largely based on ethnic lines.

4.5 Domestic and long-distance trade

Furthermore, the economy of the Shangane was also enhanced through trade. This included local and long-distance trade in such commodities as salt, dried fish, palm wine and clay pots, among others. Wolmer further suggests that commodities such as ivory and animal skins were used in trade at the coast.[250] Locally, the Shangane people traded in furs, skins, iron, salt, gold, rubber, beeswax, copper, baskets, clay pots, cloth and, sometimes, the same products were also used for long distance trade.[251] This took place in the nineteenth century as many of them adopted the dress patterns of the Nguni. In addition, biltong was also a commodity of exchange among the Shangane, Duma and the Ndau. Usually, the money obtained from the sale of biltong was used to purchase grain from the Karanga people during the lean years.[285] Therefore, the purchasing of grain from the Duma and Ndau people by the Shangane is a reflection that the land originally occupied by these people was sometimes affected by drought. The biltong strategy was, in fact, a mechanism adopted by the Shangane inhabitants to cushion themselves from the effects of drought; hence, the poverty among the Shangane locals was a colonial invention.

4.6 Livestock production

The dryness of the Lowveld did not imply the absence of animal domestication; rather; this was one of the pillars of wealth in the area. Goats, sheep, and cattle were reared in the Lowveld.

[250] Ibid, p. 73.
[251] Ibid, p. 73, p. 75.
[285] Ibid, p. 74.

Wolmer has it that, even the Native Commissioner for Ndanga District confirmed that the Shangane were extremely wealthy in highbred cattle.[252] This shows that their cattle were better off than those of their Karanga neighbours. The quality of Shangane livestock was largely attributed to the sweetness of the Lowveld grasses. Manamere agrees with Tavuyanago in that, ecologically, the Lowveld offers a suitable environment for natural grazing which is the most important source of livestock food.[253] Similarly, Chief Gezani asserts that cattle rearing was part and parcel of their tradition when he said, "We don't want to lose our forefathers' nature of being cattle rearers."[254]

Cattle in the Lowveld were used for meat, milk and transport; for instance, interviews conducted revealed that after the forced displacement, the Shangane people used sledges pulled by cattle to transport their goods from the Hippo Valley-Triangle area to Save and Zaka communal areas.[255] Apart from being a source of wealth, cattle were also used as payment for lobola or as fines for crimes committed by the locals, among other uses. While the Lowveld was generally said to be dry, the local inhabitants were heavily involved in both crop and animal farming; but, using drought resistant species which favoured the climatic conditions of the Lowveld.

The discussion on the Shangane mechanisms for survival has enabled the researcher to come up with a comprehensive analysis on the economic lifestyle of the Shangane prior to the displacement and after. Thus, most respondents among the Shangane displacees concurred that their forced removal from the Triangle-Hippo Valley area presented them with acute food

[252] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 89, Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p. 126.
[253] Manamere, K. A. 'History of Malaria in the South Eastern Lowveld of Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 to 1979', Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Humanities, University of the Free State, South Africa, 2016, p.115.

[254] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 126.
[255] Interview with Chilo Matawa, village head, Village 7, Tshovani, 20 May 2017.

shortages, scarce pastures for their animals, fewer game meat and fishing areas and, above all, inadequate arable lands; particularly to those who migrated to Zaka communal lands. The same sentiments were also expressed by Cernea who states that the expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems and livelihoods are constructed. This was the principal form of decapitalisation and impoverishment of the displaced people, as they were deprived of both natural and manmade capital.[256][257] He further notes that when people are evicted from their land, which is the basis of their livelihood, without adequate compensation and/or rehabilitation, the consequences are extremely disastrous.[258]

In their research, Vesalon and Cretan claim that displacement affects people in two ways, that is, physically and economically.[259] They argue that physical displacement involves loss of shelter and assets resulting from the acquisition of land for developmental projects, while economic displacement involves loss of income or livelihoods resulting from land acquisition or obstructed access to resources caused by the establishment of development projects.[260]The above sentiments were also shared by one informant who confirmed that their first stopover was near the Mungezi River and, then, to the area around Musiso Mission. [261] However, because of the economic unreliability of these areas, the Shangane displacees were forced to move further to the Chinorumba area from where they spread further east to cover the area around Tovani School. This, alone, shows that the area had already depleted natural resources since it was already occupied by the Karanga locals who, in the first place, welcomed the

[256] Cernea, M. M. Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model, 2007, p.
[257] .
[258] Ibid, p.11.
[259] Vesalon, L. and Cretan, R. 'Development Induced Displacements in Romania: The Case of Rosia Montana Mining Project', *Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis*, Vol. 4, Issue 1, (2012), pp. 63-75.
[260] Ibid, pp. 63-75.
[261] Interview with Lehinga Tshavani, Lehinga village, Zaka, 9 November 2017.

Shangane displacees; but, later on, changed their mind set by constantly reminding the new arrivals that they should go back to Save and join the other Shangane under Chief Tshovani, as will be explained in the next chapter.

A visit to the area under Headman Magatse revealed that the area is sandy, infertile, and dry, with small shrubs, few hunting and fishing networks, among other basic natural resources which can sustain humanity. Another informant also remarked that they did not even benefit from the government's Land Reform Programme which, according to her, tended to be biased towards the large Karanga ethnic groups at the expense of the small ethnic landless Shangane displacees.[262] As if this was not enough, poverty among the Shangane inhabitants was further promoted by the changing political landscape which grossly affected the economic base. Thus, the post-eviction era exposed the Shangane displacees to the economic hardships which were associated with the unfolding political events in the country as explained in the following paragraphs.

Picture 1.3 shows the infertile lands of Zaka communal area

[262] Interview with Gogo Magatse, Lehinga Village, Zaka, 8 November 2017



Picture 1.3 source: Author

4.7 The fortunes and misfortunes of the Shangane displacees on the economic front

Most of the youths from Headman Magatse of Zaka communal lands and Chief Tshovani's area were employed by the Lowveld sugar estate companies on the basis that they were originally displaced from the area. However, most of them occupied menial jobs that could not

economically empower them; hence, they remained poor just like their parents who were exposed to poverty due to the forced displacement. Their solace, though, was that they were employed, while the unfortunate part was that they received meagre wages. One informant from Headman Magatse area revealed that the sugarcane workers were exposed to harsh treatment on the estates. Their remuneration was not commensurate with the type of work they did.[263] The plight of the Shangane was comparable to that of wage-earners in Latin American plantations where a cash crop like cotton was sometimes referred to as the "hunger crop" on the basis that it was associated with starvation, low wages, irregular employment and lack of job security and; worse still having worked for so long on sugar estates, one was referred to as a casual worker.[264] Similarly, this was the kind of experience that most of the Shangane workers went through on the sugar estates.

Even though the sugar companies in the Lowveld made huge profits, their employees continued to receive meagre wages. The situation was worsened by the political developments initiated by the elite in the country. According to Arrighi, the economic base is related to the co-existing set of social-political events and attitudes observable in the social system.[265] This theory analyses the role of the super structure in the formulation of policies which in turn affect the economic base. Kohli shares the same sentiments with Arrighi in that most governments use powers at their disposal to impose social and economic developments which, sometimes, work against the interests of the ordinary people.[266]

[263] Interview with Esau Mahlamba, acting Headman Magatse, Village Mahlamba, Zaka, 17 November, 2017.

[264] *NAZ*: IDRC-244e.GEN/THO. 'Sugar: Threat or Challenge? An assessment of the Impact of Technological Developments in the High-Fructose Corn Syrup and Sucro chemicals Industries', Clive, Y. T., p. 7.
[265] Arrighi, G. *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, pp. 53-57.
[266] Kohli, A. *State Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialisation in the Global Periphery*, p. 27. [300] Mlambo, A. S. *A History of Zimbabwe*, p. 124, Wolmer, W. *From the Wilderness to Farm invasions*, p. 96.

For instance, the amalgamation among the three central African States; namely, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), economically benefited Zimbabwe more than its counterparts such as the abundance of cheap labour which was recruited from its partners; especially the relatively poorer Nyasaland.[300] This was, perhaps, done because of the initial protests or resistance which the LSE faced from recruiting local Shangane labourers.

As mentioned above, resources were harnessed towards the development of colonial Zimbabwe. This was seen through the designation of Harare as the federal capital city, the establishment of the light industry in Harare, the introduction of Rhodesia University College, among other economic enterprises. In addition, labour was largely recruited from Nyasaland for the mining and farming sectors. Thus, the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe greatly benefited from this exercise.

Pangeti suggests that Southern Rhodesia benefited more from the massive inflows of investment capital and skilled manpower as well as from the wider domestic market. However, it was also Southern Rhodesian manufacturing sector which benefited the most from these investments, boosting its contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP) by 1963 to about 18% and to formal employment to 13% of the total.[267] Pangeti shares the same sentiments with Mlambo that the Federation registered an economic success.[268] Thus, 1953 -1963 was of such rapid economic development that the region soon became the most industrialised block in subSahara Africa.

[267] Pangeti, E. S. 'The Economy Under Siege: Sanctions and the Manufacturing Sector 1965-1979', in Mlambo, A.S., Pangeti, E.S. and Phimister, I. (eds.), *Zimbabwe: A History of Manufacturing 1890-1995,* p. 52.
[268] Ibid, p. 52., Mlambo, A.S. 'From the Second World War to UDI 1940-1965', in Mlambo, A.S. and Raftopulas, B. (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe,* (Harare: Weaver press, 2009), p. 91. [303] Ibid, p. 91.

Being the most industrialised and having the most diversified economy, there was no doubt that southern Rhodesia greatly benefited from the Federation at the expense of its partners. However, Nyasaland remained essentially a supplier of cheap labour to Southern Rhodesia farms and mines, while Northern Rhodesia contributed its copper exports earnings, most of which were invested in Federal projects and this, again, largely benefited Southern Rhodesia.[303] For instance, the Lowveld sugar estates realised massive gains in form of migrant cheap labour from Nyasaland as stated above.

However, Mlambo further argues that the inequalities of economic benefits created resentment against Southern Rhodesia in the other territories and fuelled anti-Federation sentiment; critical factors that led to its collapse.[269] It was largely because Africans in the Federation remained politically and economically marginalised and the Shangane were not an exception. In fact, racist policies and practises persisted with African workers continuing to be paid lower wages than their European counterparts and being barred from patronising social service facilities used by Europeans.[305] For example, in the Lowveld sugar estates of Triangle, Hippo Valley and Mkwasine, there were separate facilities for Europeans, black middle-income Africans and the Shangane casual labourers. For example, the Europeans in the Lowveld enjoyed facilities such as the Buffalo Range Airport and Chiredzi town among others. Thus, the Federation, in its early years of inception, transformed the social and economic lifestyles of the white settlers in the three colonies, in general, and Southern Rhodesia, in particular. The same development was not experienced by the displaced Shangane locals. Therefore, both the colonial regime and the sugar company had no plans for the Shangane displacees even during the times of economic booms in the federal state. All they needed from the poor Shangane locals was cheap labour.

[269] Ibid, p. 92.
[305] Ibid, p. 92.

Pangeti has it that the collapse of the Central African Federation in 1963 was followed by the granting of independence to Malawi and Zambia. Thus, it was within the same context that the Southern Rhodesia Government pressed Britain for her own independence under minority white rule on the basis of the 1961 Constitution; but, this was repudiated.[270] Angered by this move, Ian Smith went ahead to declare Southern Rhodesia independent from the British control through his Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. This, however, presented a lot of negative implications on the economic and political sectors of the country.[307] Thus, the resultant economic sanctions imposed from 1965 had a mixed impact on the economy, in general, and on manufacturing, in particular. In fact, the sanctions period was divided into two phases: one of very significant high growth (1965-1979); and the other of serious economic slowdown (1974-1979).[271] Pangeti avers that first sanctions imposed by Britain in 1965 included the expulsion of Rhodesia from the Sterling area, the withdrawal of Common Wealth trade preferences on Rhodesian exports goods, and the exclusion of Rhodesia from the London money markets.[309]

Mtisi *et al*. agree with Pangeti in that the ban of sugar and the removal of Rhodesia from the Stock exchange negatively affected her economy. After all, the state was making huge fortunes out of the Lowveld Sugar Estates through the sale of sugar to the international markets. Thus, Chiredzi and Triangle are home to some of the most sophisticated sugar producing value chains on the continent that generate millions of foreign currency earnings, not to mention local employment. In fact, capitalism harnesses human capital to combine with machines, money and land in producing wealth, not just for investors; but also, for the communities.[272]

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[270] Pangeti, E.S. 'The Economy Under Siege: Sanctions and the Manufacturing Sector 1965-1979', p. 52. [307] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and change in agricultural policy' in Mandaza I. (ed.), *Zimbabwe: The political economy of transition 1980-1986*, p. 204.

[271] Pangeti, 'The Economy under Siege: Sanctions and the Manufacturing Sector 1965-1979', p. 51. [309]Ibid, p. 53.

[272] Ngwenya, R. 'The Village Griot-Capitalism is not the root of all evil', Chilonga, 7 March 2021, Unpublished article.

Hard hit by the economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia, the Rhodesian Front political party decided to cushion the white section of the population from the effects of sanctions through economic reorganisation and the extension of state power.[273] The ban of sugar from the European market meant that the government had to diversify to the production of wheat maize, bananas, and other ventures.

Paradoxically, the ban on the production of sugar coincided with the falling world prices and a shrinking export market; hence, the colonial regime decided to scale down production with the possibility of diversification, as stated above.[274] However, the expansion of local production in the absence of export market translated to an oversupply in domestic market and falling prices which, ultimately, meant lower profits margins for white farmers.[275]

The above scholars further argue that the freezing of Rhodesian Reserve Bank financial and gold reserves held in London, the imposition of an embargo on oil and petroleum imports to Rhodesia and the ban on tobacco and sugar exports to Britain, combined together, severely paralysed the economic base of Southern Rhodesia.[276] The ban on sugar did not only affect the colonial regime but also its ripple effects affected the poor Shangane casual labourers whose wages were always below the poverty datum line. Thus, the lower profit margins which the Lowveld Sugar Estates experienced during this time translated to the low expenditure on labour costs; hence, wages remained at meagre levels. This was confirmed by most informants under Chief Tshovani who concurred that they usually got not more than one dollar and fifty cents per month.[277] Thus, their employers made sure that the workers just got enough in order to

[273] Mtisi, J. *et al*., 'Social and Economic Developments during the UDI period', in Mlambo, A.S. and Raftopulas, B. (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe,* p. 128, Pangeti, E. S. 'The Economy Under Siege: Sanctions and the Manufacturing Sector 1965-1979', p. 53.
[274] Mtisi, J. *et al*., 'Social and Economic Developments during the UDI period', p. 129.
[275] Ibid, p. 129.
[276] Ibid, p. 53.
[277] Group Interview, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.

continuously provide them with the much-needed labour on the estates. According to Mumbengegwi, the episode of sanctions meant loss of access to foreign markets and the subsequent increase on the political and economic isolation from the rest of the world.[278] As a result, the government was supposed to diversify the structure and composition of the agricultural sector. Here, the state was, again, conspicuous in shaping the economic base. This was reflected through increased state intervention in directing and allocating resources as these became a necessity to ensure Rhodesia's survival in a hostile world.[279]

In his research, Mumbengegwi claims that when the UDI attracted economic sanctions, the state in response diverted from the production of sugarcane to wheat, bananas and citrus fruits in the Lowveld so as to cushion the white farmers from the negative impact of economic sanctions, as presented by the 1965 UDI.[280] What is interesting to note is that agricultural policies during UDI presented the fortunes of white commercial farmers and the continued underdevelopment and impoverishment of the communal sector and the displaced Shangane people were not spared.[319] The same justification used during their eviction was, once again, employed here. This was mainly because the Shangane inhabitants were regarded as t third-class citizens, whose small numbers could not worry the colonial regime much. Even today, the voices of minority ethnic communities are always suppressed, despite the numerous calls from the United Nations for member states to respect other people's Human Rights to basic resources such as land entitlements.

The above sentiments are also echoed by Palmer who argues that ethnographically, Zimbabwe is dominated by the Shona who make up of nearly 80% of the total population. Their larger

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[278] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and change in agricultural policy', p. 204.
[279] Ibid, p. 204.
[280] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and change in agricultural policy', p. 207, Wolmer, W. *From the Wilderness Vision to Farm invasions*, p. 98. [319] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and change in agricultural policy', p. 208. [320] Palmer, R. *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia*, p. 5.

percentage placed them in a privileged position for a fair share of national resources. They are followed by the Ndebele (15%) and several small minorities: Sena, Hlengwe, Sotho, Shangane and Tonga, who inhabit the peripheral areas of the country.[320] Such groups are still marginalised when it comes to the distribution of state resources. For instance, the displaced Shangane people were often considered as a minority group, and this had led to their displacement. Thus, their welfare was never and is still not prioritised by the government, due to their small numerical numbers.

4.8 The road to economic recovery for the displaced Shangane locals

The advent of nationalism in Africa soon after the end of the Second World War in 1945 had, on one hand, re-ignited the fading hopes for economic recovery for the colonially marginalised communities such as the Shangane people of southeast Zimbabwe. This was mainly as a result of the assurance which the peasants usually got from the *pungwe* meetings which were presided over by guerrillas that upon independence, people would return to their original homelands among other promises.[281]

The world over, wars had tended to be detrimental to development, be they civil, political or liberation wars. This was seen during the First and Second World War through to wars of liberations in Africa. In most cases, wars cause political instability which, in turn, results in economic stagnation of the entire society. Usually, basic infrastructure is damaged during war situations and the livelihoods of the generality are sometimes put in danger; particularly that of small ethnic groups such as the Shangane people. The war of liberation in Zimbabwe also negatively affected the sugar industry since it became very difficult to access both the local and

[281] Mandaza, I. *Zimbabwe the Political economy of Transition 1980-1986*, p. 7. [322] Wolmer, W. *From the Wilderness to Farm invasions*, p. 98.

international markets. The intensification of the war, coupled with the adverse effects of UDI, culminated in a sharp economic decline of the sugar industry in the country.[322]

However, it should be noted that some White farmers also supported the War of Liberation in the country. For example, Lieutenant Colonel Macleod during a parliamentary session in 1965 questioned the then Minister of Law and Oder, Lardner Burke on whether he was aware that the Tobacco companies were in the habit of bringing gifts to the restrictees at Gonakudzingwa Detention Camp. In response, the Minister indicated that he was aware and that it was not necessary to obtain permission for anyone wishing to make such gifts to restrictees.[282] This was the same time the Shangane locals were also allowed to bring in presents to restrictees.[283]

Furthermore, a study by Mtisi *et al.* reflects that those deliveries of sugar in the rural areas became increasingly difficult because of the intensification of the war in the country; hence, some white farmers entered into alternative arrangements with the guerrillas in order for them to secure their protection from the attacks and, in return, the farmers had to provide the guerrillas with food, medicines and clothing.[284]

The above scholars further argue that in the rural areas, the escalating war also disrupted the pattern of peasant production, and this was coupled by the inaccessibility of rural markets, since most of the roads in the rural areas were planted with land mines.[285] Moreover, increased requests by guerrillas for food and clothing taxed the local businessman, making the accumulation of capital increasingly difficult. Hence, a remedy was required to cushion both the sugar industry and the impoverished Shangane indigents.

[282] Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 60, Second session, Tenth Parliament, 23 February - 19th March, 1965, p. 97.
[283] Wolmer, W. *From the Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 58.
[284] Mtisi, J. *et al*., 'Social and Economic Developments during the UDI period', p. 38.
[285] Ibid, p. 139.

However, participation in the war of liberation in Zimbabwe cut across ethnic lines; hence, the minority Shangane people were equally involved through the provision of war logistics, food, money, clothing and intelligence about the regime forces and informers.[286] In essence, villagers had no choice, but to combine their resources to cope with the demands of either a small or bigger group.[287]

However, interviews conducted in Chiredzi District reveal that the rural people never took advantage of the war situation and connived with the guerrillas to burn the Sugar Estates in retaliation for their forced removal from the area. Perhaps, it was because the displaced Shangane inhabitants had then come to a realisation that, with their land gone, the only source of survival left for the proletariats were the Sugar Estates. Thus, embarking on acts of arson would only militate against their source of income as they had experienced during the time of the UDI. It was during the war of liberation that the colonially displaced Shangane inhabitants and other evicted people were fed with a lot of promises towards economic recovery in a new Zimbabwe.[288]

Having failed to honour up the economic promises made during the war of liberation, the Government of Zimbabwe adopted the International Monetary Fund / World Bank sponsored Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991. This was done in an attempt to resuscitate the ailing economy and resolve the problem of unemployment.[289] However, instead of improving the country's economy, Mlambo argues that the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes, in fact, promoted dependency; it worsened the balance of payments problems, leading to the denationalisation of the economy and; thus, destroyed the local industries.[331] It

[286] Kriger, N. J. *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla war: Peasant voices*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1992), p. 116.
[287] Ibid, p. 117.
[288] Mandaza, I. *Zimbabwe the Political economy of Transition 1980-1986*, p. 7.
[289] Mlambo, A. S. 'The Manufacturing Sector under ESAP', p. 110. [331]
Ibid, p. 110.

should be noted that the livelihoods of people in south-east Zimbabwe, and the surrounding areas, relied on the sugar industry. For instance, about twenty-five thousand people were directly employed in this industry.[290] There was also an additional workforce of seasonal casual labourers who were employed only during the harvesting times.[291] However, many of the casual labourers from the Lowveld Sugar Estates were laid off as the management scaled down production, citing viability challenges, coupled by a severe drought. As mentioned before, one informant from the Save area, remarked that the year 1992 witnessed a devastating drought which coincided with the negative effects of ESAP. During this time, estates could not make adequate profits, largely because the sugar cane crop was drying up; hence, the sugar company engaged the chief and his people for them to access the Bendezi Mountain for the rain making ritual.[334]

Studies by Musemwa, Muzondidya and Mlambo dovetail neatly with Chief Tshovani's remarks that the reform programme coincided with the country's worst drought on record during the 1991/92 agricultural season which drastically reduced farm incomes, severely strained the Government coffers and disrupted normal economic activity.[292] Therefore, it should be noted that currency devaluation matrices of ESAP had a negative impact on local manufacturing industries as it increased their costs of importing vital production inputs and spare parts; the trickle down effects were severe upon the Lowveld sugar cane mills.[293]

[290] Chandiposha, M. 'Potential impact of climate change in sugarcane and mitigation strategies in Zimbabwe', *African Journal of Agricultural Research*, Vol. 8 (23), ISSN 1991-637X, (2013), pp. 2814-2818.
[291] Scoones, I. *et at*., 'Sugar People and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', p. 577. [334]
Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May 2017.
[292] Musemwa, M, *Water, history and Politics in Zimbabwe: Bulawayo's struggles with the environment, 18942008*, p. 127, Muzondidya, J. 'From Buoyoncy to crisis' in Raftopoulos, B. and Mlambo, A. S. (eds.), *Becoming Zimbabwe*, p. 188, Mlambo, A. S. 'The Manufacturing Sector Under ESAP, 1991-1995', 2000, p.112.
[293] Mlambo, A. S. 'The Manufacturing Sector under ESAP, 1991-1995', p. 118.

Mlambo further argues that a report from the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe indicated that the devaluation exercise had raised input costs and reduced the affordability of imported inputs and equipment for most local companies. This had resulted in some industries being forced to cut down operations, retrench or even fold up.[294] This explains why many Shangane casual labourers were laid off in the early 1990's. The sacking of Shangane workers further accelerated their poverty since these people were earlier on displaced from their ancestral productive lands. In short, during ESAP, the poor majority suffered a serious decline in their standard of living under IMF type reform programmes through reform-induced retrenchments, its cost-recovery programmes; reform induced high inflation levels and high interest rates, as well as the removal of subsidies on basic consumer items, among other measures.[295] hile the LSC tried to cushion its white employees from the adverse effects of ESAP, the hardest hit people were the long colonially disadvantaged small ethnic Shangane minority.

In his research, Muzondidya alludes that the plight of the rural population also increased during this period since there was a de-industrialisation of the agro-industrial sector; hence, rural poverty intensified as a result of ESAP's adverse effects on the agricultural output of the poor.[296] Muzondidya further argues that the structural adjustment increased pressure on rural land and natural resources as retrenched urban workers either sent their families to their rural homes or went with them.[340] This probably explains why the Shangane people under Headman Magatse were continuously losing their lands to the encroachers from Chief Nhema's people, as explained below.

[294] Mlambo, A. S. 'The Manufacturing Sector under ESAP, 1991-1995', p.118, Muzondidya, J. 'From Buoyoncy to crisis', p. 188.
[295] Mlambo, A. S. 'The manufacturing sector under ESAP', p. 120, Carmody, P. and Taylor, S. 'Industry and the urban sector in Zimbabwe's political economy'. *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 7, Issue 2 and 3, (2003), p.
[296] Muzondidya, J. 'From Buoyoncy to Crisis', p. 189.
[340] Ibid, p. 189.

Thus, Muzondidya sums it up by noting that the increased pressure on land and natural resources worsened as retrenched people led to a flare-up of underlying social tensions that had not been resolved in the first decade of independence, such as those concerning racial inequalities and land ownership.[297] This is true of many Shangane respondents under Headman Magatse who revealed that there were constantly reminded by their Karanga neighbours that they should go back to their original area of Save.[298]

According to an informant from the same area, the Shangane people were well received by Chief Nhema. The major problem which most of the Shangane villages currently experience is that of land boundaries. A good example is that of Chapwanya and Mahohoma villages which have infiltrated into Mahlaule's area, thereby depriving the Shangane arrivals of their much needed resource. Thus, it emerged that Magatse's area is said to be diminishing in size, while Chief Nhema's area is expanding into Shangane land. The area which was left by Chief Tshovani is now smaller than its original size. However, the attempts by the post-colonial state to recover the economy for the colonially disadvantaged members of the Zimbabwean society will, once again, be interrogated in Chapter Seven of this thesis.

4.9 Conclusion

The chapter has examined at length the pre-colonial Shangane mechanisms for survival. The issues raised above put the researcher in a good picture to enhance a comparative analysis on the extent to which the forced removal of the Shangane people from their traditional living spaces of Triangle and Hippo Valley had affected their economic organisation. The decimation of the Shangane livelihoods forced them to embark on self-relocation to survive. However, this

[297] Ibid, p. 189.
[298] Interview with Damson Nyongwa, village head, Nyongwa Village, Headman Magatse's area, Zaka, 10 November 2017, Interview with Chigodo Mahlaule, village head, Mahlaule Village, Zaka, 16 November 2017.

kind of manoeuvre by the Shangane displacees marked the genesis of poverty and under development of their area since some of the displaced Shangane people self-resettled in places with depleted natural resources which could not economically sustain them as was the case prior to the displacement. The chapter has also shed light on the difficult economic times which the company went through during the Federation of Central Africa, UDI, the war of liberation and ESAP. It examined the economic implications of such events on the marginalised ethnic Shangane minority. Thus, I argue that while there was development in the Lowveld, the people who were originally forced off their ancestral lands to pave way for the Sugar Estates became impoverished, largely because the meagre wages which the majority of them got from the company could not economically sustain them and their families. All this was attributed to the reluctance by both the colonial state and the LSE authorities to provide the Shangane locals with substitute fertile lands after the displacement. The next chapter focuses on the rupture of the once vibrant and cohesive social institutions of the Shangane community.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DISARTICULATION OF THE SHANGANE INSTITUTIONS

5.0 Introduction

While chapter four pre-occupies itself with the dominant economic issues which confronted the Shangane during their post-displacement period, this chapter features Wolmer, Mavhunga and Tavuyanago as the most salient scholars who have discussed in detail the wealthy Shangane socio-political and religious institutions before the inception of colonial rule, and the subsequent forced displacement.[299] However, the above authors have paid little attention to the same aspect with regards to the Shangane post-eviction era. This is an area in which the current research seeks to contribute to the discourse of development studies literature by interrogating the magnitude to which the forced displacement of the Shangane people interfered with their institutions.

5.1 Background

The Shangane cosmology consists of tripartite relationships, including the physical and spiritual worldviews and underworld. These are what Mbiti refers to as the three-tier creation.[300] The Shangane conceived the underworld as a composition of the soil, water, body of mermaids, tree roots, minerals, and the dead bodies of their departed ones; hence, it was believed to have the power of sustaining humanity. The cultivation of sugarcane on the estates was, therefore, perceived by the Shangane displacees as an insult and a rupture of their

[299] Wolmer, W. From wilderness vision to farm invasions, 2007, Mavhunga, C. 'The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present', 2008. , Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016.

[300] Mbiti J. S. *Introduction to African Religion,* Second Edition, (USA: Waveland press, 2015), p.35.

traditional connection with the underworld, which they usually looked up to for protection against diseases misfortune and hunger. In addition, the same people viewed the physical world as encompassing vegetation, insects, birds, waterfalls, rivers, mountains and other related landmarks. [301] Thus, the Shangane inhabitants formed an integral part of the physical environment; hence, they were connected to the underworld through spiritual cosmology. Therefore, steps taken by the Lowveld Sugar Estate Management of restricting the Shangane locals from accessing their religious shrine on the Bendezi Hill was disconnecting them from their world of spirituality; in turn, exposing them to droughts, diseases and other calamities. Wolmer notes that the Shangane view that their removal from their ancestral land was a pure separation from their protective sphere; hence, they attributed this to the increased incidence of drought and poverty, respectively.[302] One respondent had similar views and alluded that, in erratic rainfall, the Chief often sought divine guidance from the Bendezi Hill.[303] In short, the forced displacement of the Shangane inhabitants from their traditional lands of Hippo Valley Triangle substantially interfered with their political, social and religious lifestyle, thereby exposing them to poverty and underdevelopment of the Lowveld. Thus, Cernea's IRR model sums it up by noting that the displaced people usually suffered from the risks of socio-political and religious disarticulation— an issue which the current chapter attempts to unpack.

5.2 The pre-eviction Shangane Political, Social and Religious Landscapes

The research by Makahamadze, Grand and Tavuyanago reveal that traditionally, the most senior headmen among the Shangane people installed chiefs in the area in consultation with the

[301] Ibid, p.36.
[302] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to farm inversion,* p.81, Tavuyanago, B. Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 19342008', pp.89-91.
[303] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May 2017.

spirit mediums of the chiefdom.[304] The medium acted as the voice of the ancestors in the whole process of the installation. This procedure was meant to curb any possible dispute from the people. These authors further argue that the ancestors' involvement in the choice and appointment of the Chief made the spirit-medium an important religious functionary.[305]

Therefore, the Shangane inhabitants had a vibrant political institution presided over by a Chief under the dynastic title of Tshovani. The Chief governed the kingdom with the help of notable members from the ruling house and village heads who were carefully chosen for their wisdom and personal integrity. The village heads were given the authority to preside over small cases brought before them by the villagers, while crimes of higher magnitude were referred to the Chief. According to an anonymous informant from Chief Tshovani's area, payment of fine also depended on the severity of the crime; but, in most cases, minor crimes which were brought before the village heads usually demanded minor penalties in the form of chicken, grain, cash, goats or sheep.[306] Conversely, cases that were presided over by a chief often drew a huge penalty such as cows or banishment from the land, among other related harsh fines. All cases were tried in observance of the Shangane traditional value system, for instance, the village head could do so alone; but, in consultation with the headman and chief. Land among the Shangane people was communally owned. This implies that every tribe man was entitled to a fair share of the common heritage, though the land itself was vested in the Chief, he did not hold it for himself, but rather in trust for his people. Jaap de Visser *et al.,* also held the same views. They revealed that the primary responsibility of chiefs was to provide traditional leadership to their

[304] Makahamadze, T., Grand, N. and Tavuyanago, B., 'The Role of Traditional Leaders in Fostering Democracy, Justice and Human Rights in Zimbabwe', *The African Anthropologist*, Vol 16, ISSN 1024-0969, Nos. 1and2,(2009), p.34.
[305] Ibid, p.37.
[306] Anonymous interviewee, Chief Tshovani's area, 23 May 2017.

communities and settle minor disputes.[307] However, these were mainly civil issues rather than cases of criminal nature.

Therefore, it was the right of every individual to cultivate where and as he pleased within the tribal area, to graze his stock, to take honey, timber, fruit and other produce; but, in observance of the social mores of the society on the sustainable use of such resources.[308] This resource management ensured the inhabitants of sustainable development in their area. Furthermore, it was within the prerogative of the Chief to expel culprits from the land under their jurisdiction and to demand tribute from his subjects.[353] However, the sound political system of the Shangane was disturbed by the colonial state, which led to their forced eviction from the Triangle-Hippo Valley area.

Therefore, it should be observed that the democratic structure and function of the institution of the chieftaincy that existed in the pre-colonial period came to an end with the coming of colonial authorities in the country in 1890.[309] The colonial masters introduced administrative structures and legislative laws that reduced the function of a chief to that of a government officer. The Chief was no longer answerable to the ancestors in matters about the day-to-day happenings in his chiefdom but to colonial administrators.[310]

5.3 The Shangane rites of passage

The same sound pre-eviction Shangane political institution was also extended to their social organisation. Thus, among the Shangane community, the right to life for every human being

[307] Jaap de Visser, Nico Steytler and Naison Machingauta (2010), 'A policy dialogue, Local government reform in Zimbabwe', Community Law Centre, pp. 88-89, Unpublished article.
[308] Fleming, C. J. W. 'System of Land Tenure', *NADA*, Vol. 11 (1974), p. 53.
[353] Ibid, p.154.
[309] Ibid, p.37.
[310] Interview with Daniel Mundau, War detainee Village 8, Tshovani, 22 May 2017. [356]
Interview with, Gogo Joana Lehinga, Lehinga village, Zaka, 8 November 2017.

was treasured right from the day the child was conceived in their mother's womb. This was observed through the traditional herbs administered to a pregnant woman to enhance a healthy baby; hence, abortions were not tolerated.[356] This was a clear demonstration of fundamental human rights observation in pre-colonial Africa, in general, and Zimbabwe, in particular. Other medicinal herbs were also used to prepare the way or passage of the woman's vaginal tract to avoid unnecessary complications when delivering the child. It was the duty of the traditional midwife to constantly check on the condition of the pregnant woman until the child was delivered. As soon as the child was born, the umbilical cord was carefully cut and buried in the ground, connecting the new-born baby with the underworld.[311] This was also followed by a special naming ceremony in which names of either living or dead relatives were suggested, and these were purely Shangane names. The naming ceremonies among the Shangane people were accorded respect.

In sync with the preceding observations, Gennep, Maposa and Humbe advance that several anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and liberation theologians uphold that every ethnic group has its own unique culture, assumptions about life, myths and legends of origin that narrate all the aspects of their history. This history moves backwards from the moment of intense trans-historical experience to the period beyond, which tends to be telescoped through the oral tradition. Thus, it must be clear that people cannot ordinarily understand the peculiar nature of indigenous African people, except in conjunction with their ideas and practice of naming.[312] Deluzain, as cited by Maposa and Humbe, also argues that the person who receives a name also receives the identity and a place within the society.[313] In line with the above, names were crucial in African society, and the Shangane community was not an exception since their

[311] Van Gennep, A., *Rites of passage*, (New York: Routledge, 2004).
[312] Maposa, R. and Humbe, B. 'Spirituality in the Christian Naming System', in Nyambi, O. Mangena, T. and Pfukwa, C. (eds.), *The Post Condition of Names and Naming Practices in Southern Africa,*(UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016). pp. 106-107.
[313] Ibid, p. 107.

culture was deeply embedded in names such as Chauke, Mlilo, Mahenye and the like. Similarly, Mutami *et al.* agree with the above scholars that a name is a basic form of identity and, sometimes, it can tell a story.[314]

In his research, Pongweni takes the issue of names further by indicating that there are six categories of names though, these depend on the circumstances prevailing in the family or clan at the time one was born.[315] In addition, Mbiti argues that many African names of people and places have meanings that are often religious. Therefore, they are given to mark religious ideas and experiences.[362] It is, against this background, that names in the Shangane culture were greatly valued since they acted as a reminder of their origins and identity; hence, perpetuating their norms and cultural legacy. Even today, names in most African societies are closely related to the language spoken by every ethnic group. After the naming ceremony, the child was further strengthened through the rubbing of some herbs on the head, which was designed to protect the child from evil spirits. In some cases, a unique string with a knot containing protective medicine tied inside was put around the waist of the baby. Upon reaching adolescence, either the boy or girl was ready for the famous Shangane initiation ceremony.

In his Thesis, Tavuyanago discusses on the significance of forests in the African context. For instance, forests among the Shangane people were used for hunting, collection of wild fruits or spirituality, and cultural practices such as *kuchineliwa* (male) and *khomba* (female) rites of passage.[316] Thus, among the Shangane, the transition from childhood to adulthood was completed through a traditional process of circumcision. This was a platform designed to

[314] Mutami, N., Muguti, T. and Magudu, S., Political Dialoguing through the Naming Process: The Case of Colonial Zimbabwe (1890-1980), *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.3, No.10, September 2010, p.17.
[315] Pongweni, J. C. *What's in a Name? : A Study of Shona nomencluture*, (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1983), p.3.
[362] Mbiti J. S. *Introduction to African Religion*, (London: Heinemann International Literature and Textbooks, 1975), p.28.
[316] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p.108.

initiate adolescent boys and girls into their masculine and feminine roles, respectively. The Shangane indigents conducted such ceremonies under the tutorship of specialised instructors who, in most cases, were the elderly members of the clan. The initiation school was usually set up in the forest, and it was sub-divided into two initiation schools: one for boys and the other one for girls. Adults who aspired to be circumcised were incorporated into the schools, regardless of ethnicity. Infect, the initiates were quarantined for between four and eight weeks and, during that time, went through a rigorous curriculum that covered lessons on endurance, moral behaviour, discipline, obedience, and manly responsibilities, such as imparting of hunting skills; girls who had reached puberty were also taught their roles or duties as future women and were trained by their aunties.[317]

It should, however, be observed that the forest in which the initiation ceremony was taking place excluded other people who were not part of the proceedings. If a stranger, by any chance, passed through this place, such a person was subjected to severe torture. This was done to preserve the secrecy of the Shangane tradition.[318]

Before the circumcision process, the Shangane men would gather at night in a ceremony known as '*chilala*'. This served as a preparatory meeting where the would-be initiates were educated on the expectations of the whole programme. In most cases, the initiation ceremony took place a day before the ritual. A total of ten men usually conducted the circumcision process, with the patient's face covered with a black cloth so that he could not witness the circumciser at work. In the process, a very sharp object was used on different clients, and the possibility of sterilisation, by then, was far remote, which increased the chances of infections. The circumcised people were served with a special meal, a mixture of dried maize and herbs. The

[317] Ibid, pp.108-109.
[318] Interview with Matsaure Yeukai, Councillor, Ward 20, Chiredzi, 21 August 2017.

two ingredients were boiled and then administered to the newly initiated youths to give them courage.[319] Then, after circumcision, the clients were immediately dipped in cold water to promote clotting. The continuous dipping of circumcised people in the same water increased the chances of infections, given that the clients would have open wounds.

Some of the interviewed members of the Shangane community revealed that, upon the completion of the rites of passage, graduation ceremonies were arranged throughout the participating villages. Such ceremonies were usually accompanied by music and dance. The celebrations were also punctuated with massive feasting, where beer and meat were availed for people to enjoy. On completion, graduates assumed new names, signifying their changed statuses.[320] This was a meaningful ceremony among the Shangane inhabitants; it was highly honoured.[321] The above ceremony was carefully designed to equip young boys and girls with special livelihood skills, which would enhance the sustainable development of the entire community. However, the practice was greatly interfered with due to the forced displacement, especially to those who relocated themselves to Zaka communal areas.

5.4 The Shangane and their Religious Cosmology

Scholars who researched on the Shangane spiritual world had different perceptions on the use of the forests with Mavhunga, suggesting that they were initially used as burial places for vengeful spirits of dead enemies, whose blood new occupiers had spilt to establish their settlements given that the area was established as a result of the conquest of the Nyai people

[319] Makanyisa, I. and Tobias, D. 'A historical perspective on the transmission of HIV and AIDS through African cultures, with special reference to Zaka District in Zimbabwe', (Unpublished article), pp.9-12.
[320] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p.109.
[321] Interview with Matsaure Yeukai, Councillor, Ward 20, 21 August 2017.

whom the Shangane found in the area.[322] So it is, against this backdrop, that the Shangane feared and respected burial sites and ruins of the former inhabitants of the land. Thus, the Shangane believed that the spirit of the dead stayed in the forests and had to be appeased to prevent misfortune overtaking later occupiers; hence, they were strongly tabooed. Moreover, spirits of dead people were also believed to occupy deep, sacred pools where witches and bodies of enemies were thrown. [323]

Furthermore, Mavhunga argues that the Shangane believed that their God *Shikwembu* lived on the hilltop, and Tavuyanago also echoed the same sentiments. [324] However, contrary to Tavuyanago's observations, Mavhunga further argues that *Shikwembu* (God) will send a whirlwind to take up the good people (Elijah-Style) or cast them down if they are evil and kill them or send them back without memory and insane.[372]

The Shangane people had their elderly members buried in caves. For instance, Chief Tsovani Muteyo was buried on the Bendezi hill, which is now within the parameters of the Hippo Valley Sugar Estate. One respondent from the area confirmed this.[325] While Chief Tshovani's sacred hill was the Bendezi Hill, in Hippo Valley, the Sengwe people had the Nyatongwe sacred hill, located inside the present-day Gonarezhou National Park.[326] This is also confirmed by Mbiti, who argues that African religion is found in shrines, sacred places or religious objects. It is,

[322] Mavhunga, C. 'The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present', p.55.

[323] Ibid, p.55.

[324] Mavhunga, C. 'The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present', p.56, Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016. [372] Mavhunga, C. The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present, p.56.

[325] Interview with Jephias Maluleke, project supervisor, Chiredzi Rural District Council, 24 May 2017

[326] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016. [375] Mbiti J. S. *Introduction to African Religion*, p. 28.

therefore, observed that some of the sacred places belong to families or chieftainships such as the Bendizi Hill for Chief Tshovani's people and the Nyatongwe Kopje for Chief Sengwe's people, respectively.[375] The spirits of elderly people were also purified by understanding that they would return and look after the living. In short, forests were strongly revered to such an extent that no one could gather firewood, light fire or even indiscriminately cut down trees. Tavuyanago concurs with Mavhunga that permission for the locals to use the forest resources were obtained from the *mutameli we ntimu* (guardian of the cemetery).[327] While all this was in keeping with the Shangane traditions, the sacredness accorded to forests also helped fortuitous preservation and conservation of natural resources and guarded against adverse climate changes.

It is, against this backdrop, that, should any misfortune affect them, they usually attributed this to the anger of their ancestors. In the same vein, Wolmer notes that the Shangane view that their removal from land associated with the graves and spirits of their ancestors was a pure separation from their protective sphere; hence, they attributed this to the increased incidence of drought and poverty, respectively.[328] The same sentiments were also echoed by a respondent who avers that the rainfall pattern in the Lowveld before the displacement was entirely predictable and reliable. If thunder rumbled and it failed to rain, the Shangane elders would usually seek divine guidance on the matter.[329] However, just like the wealthy political and

[327] Mavhunga, C. The Mobile Workshop: Mobility, Technology, and Human Animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National Parks), 1850-present, p.56, Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016, p.107, respectively.
[328] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to farm inversion,* p.81, Tavuyanago, B. Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of Southeast Zimbabwe, 19342008', pp.89-91.
[329] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May 2017.

social organisations, the sound Shangane religious cosmology also faced a similar fate of disarticulation after their forced displacement from the Triangle-Hippo Valley area.

5.5 The dilution of the Shangane political landscape

During Zimbabwe's colonial and post-colonial period, the state exercised almost unfettered power over their citizens in communal lands. Therefore, their condition of poverty and deprivation was an advantage to the State as it preserved their role as the benefactors in exchange for dependency and political allegiance by the citizens of communal lands. The idea of communal land traces back to colonialism, where it stood as one side of the binary, and the other side was private land reserved for the white settlers. This played into the disputed control of undesignated land in Southern Rhodesia between the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the British Crown and was presided over by the Privy Council of the House of Lords.[330] However, the verdict favoured the British Crown, and the blacks got nothing. Thus, the Privy Council of the House of Lords argued that:

> The estimation of rights of the aboriginal tribes is always inherently difficult. Some tribes are so low in the scale of social organisation that their usages and conceptions of rights and duties are not reconciled with the institution of the legal ideas of civilised society. Such a gulf cannot be bridged. It would be idle to impute to such people some shadow of the rights known to our law and then to transmute it into the substance of preferable rights of property as we know them. [380]

There is no doubt that such racial tones sowed the seeds of the marginalisation of small ethnic groups in colonial Africa, resulting in the subsequent displacement of many minority groups for developmental projects. Therefore, the binary of the civilised/uncivilised was the discourse deployed to justify the colonial enterprise and the expropriation of land from and the removal of the black people to the reserves. This was the land that became known as communal land

[330] Magaisa, A.T, 'At the Mercy of the State: Plight of the Chilonga Community', undated.
[380] Ibid, undated.

after independence in 1980.[331] Against this backdrop, the post-colonial regime inherited the myth as its current legal order to justify further displacements.

After the 1965 UDI, the native reserves were changed to tribal trust lands, held in trust for the people through the Tribal Trust Lands Act of 1979, No. 6. Chiefs were conferred to allocate land in the tribal trust lands (ttls).[332] The period between 1982 and 1983 saw the post-colonial state adopting the Communal Land Act (CLA) to replace the Tribal Trust Lands Act, and this saw the allocation of land given to rural district councils (rdcs), Ward Committees (WADCOs) and Village Development Committee s (VIDCOs).[333] However, the chiefs had their powers to allocate land restored through the Traditional Leaders Act (TLA) in the late 1990s; but had to do this in consultation with the (rdcs). The move by the post-colonial State made tremendous re-configurations on the political landscape of the Shangane community. In Addition, Section 4 of the (CLA) provides that, "Communal Land shall be vested in the president, who shall permit it to be occupied and used in accordance with the Act." It should be observed that the word "inhabitant" is used in the (CLA) to refer to the citizens of communal areas. Therefore, the inhabitants of communal land, just like in the colonial period, are perennially vulnerable to the whims of the President and the minister of local government on issues relating to displacements.

The area under Chief Tshovani is composed of seventy-eight registered village heads in seven administrative wards.[384] The Chief also exercised partial authority over the Shangane remnants, which went to Zaka. This is so because the area to which some of the Shangane relocated is under Chief Nhema's jurisdiction; hence, it automatically falls under his rule by location. According to a respondent in the same area, the Shangane people agreed to come under the

[331] Ncube T. G. *Barnished to the Wilderness*, p.37.
[332] Communal Land Act, 1st February, 1983, Chapter 20:04.
[333] Fleming, C. J. W. 'System of Land Tenure', *NADA*, Vol. 11 (1974), p.40.
[384]Records, Chiredzi District Administrator's Office, 19 May 2017.

authority of the leadership in the area; hence, a Shangane Sub chief title was created to service the interests of the nineteen Shangane Villages under Headman Magatse. [334] Another respondent from Zaka further remarked that the new arrivals were left to pursue their cultural practices but in accordance with the laws and rules of Chief Nhema.[386] They even went as far as developing a school in their name (Tshovani Primary school). This was a *sine qua non* development endorsed by Chief Nhema as his gesture to recognise the rich Shangane heritage. Another critical informant, however, quickly pointed out that their culture was observed under their original Chief, headman, village heads and the entire clan; but, as far as leadership was concerned, this was exercised in observance of Chief Nhema's authority.[335]

Therefore, the once sound Shangane political institution was initially disturbed by the colonial regime and later by the post-colonial state, which, as stated earlier on, simply inherited the former colonial administrative structures. The research established that some of the displaced Shangane people who were in the first place forced off to Zaka moved back to the Save area with Tshovani Muteyo. This was because part of his people who remained in the Save area were without a chief, since he had gone with the group which went to Zaka. Against this backdrop, the colonial regime persuaded him to return and join his other group in the Save area. The return of the Chief to Save area meant that the Shangane who remained in Zaka District were, as stated above, supposed to stay under the leadership of a Shangane inhabitant and, thus, a Shangane sub-chief post was created to service the political and social interests of the Shangane displacees; but, under a Karanga chief. Therefore, to this day, there is a sub chief by the title Tovani, which is a Karanga dialect for Tshovani.

[334] Interview with Esau Mahlamba, acting Headman Magatse, Village Mahlamba, Zaka, 17 November 2017. [386] Interview with Chief Ranganai Nhema, Zaka, 12 November 2017.
[335] Ibid, Ranganai Nhema, 12 November 2017.

Thus, the Shangane are represented by a sub-chief under the dynastic title of Magatse. What is interesting to note is that, on the one hand, Headman Magatse operates under two chiefs, namely, Nhema and Tshovani, respectively; hence, he was, by his designation, supposed to carry orders from both chiefs with impartiality. On the other hand, the two Shangane chiefs, Tshovani and Magatse, are from the same ruling house and were, by this ancestral bond, supposed to uphold the Shangane secrecy on all matters of top political life. The two chiefs regularly visit each other as per their culture. When they ordain a Chief, they do as per Shangane culture and Zimbabwe's law but presided over by Chief Nhema.[336] This, alone, shows that Chief Nhema has total power over the other two Shangane chiefs.

Again, the perspective above has compromised the once sound political institution of the Shangane people since the operation of their sub-chief, under a Karanga chief, was limited by Karanga ethnicity and geography. For instance, if a Shangane inhabitant violated one of their social mores, such a culprit was unlikely to receive a fair or severe penalty, primarily if the case was presided over by a Karanga chief who, in this case, might not be well acquainted with the Shangane culture. This meant that on weighty political issues, the headman had to go back to Save to consult with Chief Tshovani, who, by his designation, had the right to access their traditional shrine in the Bendezi Hill for political consultations of which the place is now within the restricted perimeters of the Hippo Valley Sugar Estate. Therefore, the forced removal of the Shangane people from their original homeland severely fragmented their political structures.[337]

Furthermore, in a group interview, some village heads under Headman Magatse's jurisdiction remarked that, on severe political issues which the Shangane locals disagreed with Chief

[336] Interview with Lehinga Tshavani, Lehinga village, Zaka, 9 November 2017.
[337] Interview with Daniel Mundau, War detainee, village 8, Tshovani, 22 May 2017.
[390] Group interview with village heads in Magatse's area, Zaka, 9 November 2017.

Nhema, the Shangane inhabitants would usually seek the intervention of the District Administrator of Zaka.[390] A good example was the case of boundary conflicts between the Mahohoma-Chapwanya villagers from Chief Nhema and Mahlaule village under Headman Magatse. The latter accused the former villagers of encroaching onto their lands. The matter was later handled through Zaka Rural District Council. This overarching role of mediation by Zaka Rural District Council was well within the legal frameworks of both the (CLA) and the (TLA) on land allocation.[338] This shows political conflict between Chief Nhema and Headman Magatse's people. However, the situation was unpalatable, especially to the Shangane displacees who resettled in Chief Bota's area under Headman Munjanja. This Karanga headman presided over several Shangane villages, including Mahoya, Mahlekete, Tsumele and Hlaise. Thus, the existence of these Shangane inhabitants among the Karanga people meant that their political organisation was severely interfered with since they subscribed to the rules prescribed by a Karanga headman who, by ethnicity, tended to be subjective on judiciary issues involving Karanga and Shangane people. Therefore, the displaced Shangane people were politically impoverished and, instead, marginalised based on ethnicity. This kind of segregation significantly increased their poverty and the subsequent underdevelopment of their area. Political poverty among the Shangane people was further enhanced by the ruling ZANU (PF), which, in 2000, used the land as a political gimmick to win supporters to its side. The land was allocated first to those citizens who subscribed to ZANU (PF) political party. Therefore, the above selective land distribution resulted in the Shangane displacees, failing to get pieces of land within the Mkwasine Sugar Estate in 2002.

[338] Traditional Leaders Act, Chapter 29:17, 2017.

5.6 Social disarticulation

Interviews conducted in the specific areas resided by the Shangane migrants in Zaka District revealed that the reception of the Shangane people by their neighbours was exceptionally good. The existence of some of the splinter Shangane displacees in Chief Ndanga, Bota and Nhema, respectively, stands as a true reflection of their acceptance in these areas. One informant confirmed this, by alluding that their first arrival in the Karanga area was quite good. Still, the situation changed due to the growing population, which failed to correspond with the natural resources found in the area.[339] Moreover, the Shangane people were at liberty to name the villages in their languages, as most of them showed, except a few villages under Headman Magatse, as will be explained in this chapter. On my visit to this area, I came to a homestead where the Shangane village head and his elder brother were invited to a dinner by a Karanga villager who remarked co-existing with the peace-loving Shangane was easy. He further argued that intermarriages had consolidated the Ndau and Shangane relations.[340] This interviewee had also migrated initially from the Chipinge in 1953 area; he was a Ndau who had also embraced the Karanga culture.

Having discussed the Shangane-Karanga social relations, I now pay particular attention to the disruption of the once rich Shangane cultural heritage due to their interaction with the Karanga people of Zaka communal lands. Thus, the forced displacement of the Shangane affected their political institution and equally fractured their social organisation. In line with this, scholars like Colson and Downing share the same sentiments that people uprooted from their homelands often suffer from losing control over their destinies.[341] In essence, the term place/home is fundamental to all human beings as organisms. This is largely because, people are part of the

[339] Interview with, Gogo Joana Lehinga, Lehinga village, Zaka, 8 November 2017.

[340] Interview with Enock Chamisa, Village Head, Chamisa village, Zaka, 14 November 2017.

[341] Downing, T. E. Avoiding New Poverty, p.12. [395]
Laura. J. *New Ethnographies*, 2011.

eco-systems, hence, like all animals, seek continuity and security through having food, shelter, companionship and suitable settings for nurturing the young. As a result, people develop a deep attachment to places they call home and those they share with, starting from birth and growth.[395] Therefore, it is, against this backdrop, that people ordinarily resist forced displacement. This is because moving from one place to another is seen as disruptive, sometimes excruciatingly, especially when the move is involuntary or made under duress.

In line with the above, evidence gathered from the field also revealed a social conflict between the Karanga inhabitants of Zaka communal lands, as was reflected by their constant boundary disputes over animal grazing pastures and arable lands between Chief Nhema and Headman Magatse's people. Given that the former inhabitants are in their traditional lands and under a substantive Karanga chief, they saw themselves in a dominant and privileged position to infiltrate the lands inhabited by the new arrivals of the minority ethnic Shangane people. A similar permeation had even extended to intermarriages between the Karanga and Shangane speaking people. In fact, the co-existence of the two groups tended to benefit more the host Karanga inhabitants than the new Shangane arrivals.

There are several intermarriages between the Shangane displacees and their Karanga neighbours. Surprisingly, children born of Shangane parents cannot speak fluent Xishangane language due to the interaction necessitated by the established Karanga dominance. Therefore, it appears that the Shangane arrivals were assimilated by their Karanga neighbours or rather *Karangarised.* In other words, identifying an actual Shangane speaker in the area is gradually becoming a rare commodity. This research also established that even children born out of Shangane parents now carry Karanga names in this area. This appears to be a severe distortion of their family histories, as is the tradition with African names.

Moreover, schools in the whole of Zaka, to which most of the Shangane relocated, do not offer Xishangane language; hence, children of Shangane origins are by the prevailing circumstances forced to learn Karanga, which, in turn, led to the erosion of their rich Shangane culture. While this research was in progress, the Zimbabwean government, through its parent Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education was making great strides towards the inclusion of the Xishangane language in the country's education curriculum. Furthermore, at the conclusion of this study, there was also another development in the Lowveld in which a new Tsonga community radio station, 'Avuxeni' (which literally implies 'greeting') was launched.[342] It appears as if the Tsonga are now fighting for their cultural identity, just like the Kalanga against the Ndebele, as stated by Dube.[343] This could be another exciting fertile ground for research. However, diagram 1.1 shows the extent to which the interaction between the Shangane people and their Karanga neighbours had affected their social landscape through the naming of some of the Shangane villages after Karanga names.

[342] ZBC News bulletin, 'Avuxeni Community Radio Station launched in Chiredzi', 13 February 2022.
[343] Dube, T., 'Shifting identities and the transformation of the Kalanga people of Bulilimamangwe district c. 19462005', 2015.

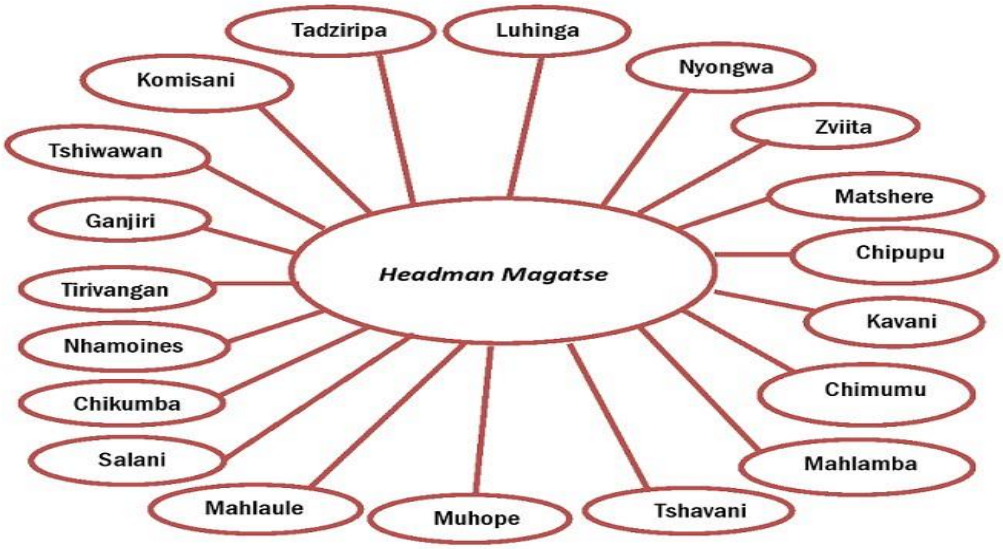


Diagram 1.1 Source: Author

The adoption of Karanga names by some of the villages under Headman Magatse demonstrates how the interaction of the two ethnic groups in Zaka communal lands had affected the oncewealthy social institution of the Shangane society. For instance, names like *Nhamoinesu,* which implies (poverty is still with us), *Chimumu* (cannot speak out), *Tadziripa* (we have paid for our crimes), among others, echo the muffled inner turmoil of the displacees. These names reflect bitter people confronted with socio-economic and political marginalisation by

hegemonic forces. Thus, their efforts to salvage sustenance in the host environment proved to be a fiasco. Therefore, the name *Nhamoinesu* (poverty is still with us) seems to point to social isolation as shown in the perennial boundary conflicts with Chief Nhema's people who constantly remind them to join their remnants in the Save area, as alluded by one informant.[344]

The monetisation of the Zimbabwean economy also led to the introduction of a new pattern of life which consisted of rural and estate life. As a result, many family heads of Shangane origin had to sell their labour on the sugar estates, either as casual labourers or as seasonal workers. This implied that the welfare of many homes was left in the hands of females. A former employee of Tongaat Huletts remarked that, after obtaining employment on the estates, some of the adult males never returned to their rural homes but rather married wives from other ethnic groups.[345] Therefore, such incidents further impoverished the Shangane displacees. The same informant further remarked that prostitution was quite rife on the estates, especially when it was the time for seasonal workers.[400] In addition to casual labourers and seasonal sugarcane cutters on the Estates, Scoones *et al.* note that there was also a flow of visitors, relatives of labourers from the communal lands, who were coming either for fishing or illegal hunting. Therefore, these people increased crime levels and cases of sexual violence.

Moreover, child-headed families were also on the increase in rural areas. In short, the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates led to the breakdown of many homes, as cases of deserted rural families under Headman Magatse and Chief Tshovani's areas increased. Thus, during my fieldwork, I also came to some of the affected homes with sad narratives on how the sugar estates had ruined their family integrity.

[344] Interview with Damson Nyongwa, Nyongwa village, Zaka, 10 November 2017.
[345] Tele-interview with, Michael Matsilele, HippoValley Sugar Estate, Chiredzi, 20 June 2021.
[400] Ibid, Michael Matsilele, Hippo Valley Sugar Estate, 20 June 2021.

While the Shangane people strictly observed their traditional practice of circumcision, the exercise was however, diluted by their Karanga neighbours. For instance, not all members of the Zaka District subscribe to this practice since the community is highly polarised. The cultural tenets in Zaka epitomise a melting pot where people from diverse ethnic backgrounds converged and intermingled over a long period, resulting in a cross-pollination of traditional practices, making the Shangane process of circumcision very difficult.[346]

During their first days of arrival in the area, the Shangane inhabitants revert to Save to join the remnants of Chief Tshovani for the initiation ceremonies. Perhaps, it was because of their conservative nature that the Shangane people had maintained their culture through language and traditions, regardless of migration and the onslaught of colonialism.[402] Nabudere further argues that social mores are part and parcel of most African communities. It is believed that a violation of such traditions would anger the ancestral world. Thus, an African's identity is embodied in his culture as the source and essence of identity.[403]It was, therefore, to this effect that the displaced Shangane people continued to uphold their cultural practices for some time.

However, with time, their continuous existence among the Karanga inhabitants of Chiefs Nhema, Bota and Ndanga in Zaka District gradually diluted the Shangane rites of passage, as some of them were no longer visiting the Save area for the traditional ceremonies. Firstly, this was the intermarriages among the Shangane and their Karanga hosts, which produced a mixed culture and, secondly, the distance factor from Zaka to the Save area, which is approximately 100 kilometres. Therefore, travelling back to Save for ritual ceremonies became increasingly difficult for most Shangane displacees in Zaka.

[346] Makanyisa, I., and Tobias, D., 'A historical perspective on the transmission of HIV and AIDS', pp.9-12 [402] Nabudere, D. W., *Racism, Pan- Africanism and Resistance, In Identity, Culture and Politics*, Vol. 4 Number 1, (Bangladesh: University of Dhaka, 2003), p.31. [403] Ibid, p.31.

The situation was further exacerbated by the absence of thick forests in their host environment, which are typically used as schools for circumcision rituals. This meant that social structures and family setups were severely fragmented to the extent that, up to now, some of the Shangane inhabitants, under Chief Tshovani in Chiredzi District, no longer relate well with their relatives who were displaced and relocated to Zaka. While other displacement losses can be reversed, one cannot do the same with the dislocation of communities, institutions, networks, values, or violations of customary rights to resources, ways of life and traditional institutions.[347] Here, Cernea's IRR model failed to adequately deal with such issues which most displaced people often experienced.

To date, the practise of circumcision has taken a clinical dimension where people are now circumcised for health reasons and not for identity or sexual pleasure. For instance, there is much emphasis on the clinical circumcision of males to curb the spread of HIV and AIDS, and this practice does not target the minority ethnic Shangane people alone; but, instead, it is now a national project which cuts across all the ten provinces of Zimbabwe. This, however, does not connote that all the Shangane people in the Lowveld have abandoned their original circumcision practice since those directly under Chief Tshovani and Sengwe are still engaged in serious circumcision ceremonies. Perhaps, this idea of male circumcision was adopted by the health professionals from the Shangane inhabitants after a realisation that the percentage rate of infected and affected people with HIV and AIDS was relatively low among the

[347] Dwivedi, R. *Models and Methods in Development*, p.718.

Shangane communities, as compared to other ethnic groups of Zimbabwe, which do not practise circumcision as their rites of passage.

5.7 The Shangane Religious dilution

One respondent from the area acknowledged that there were a lot of disturbances in terms of their cultural and religious lifestyles. For example, religiously, they used to go to their ancestors' graves to hold prayers for rain; but, after the displacement, that was no longer possible since their shrine in the Hippo Valley Sugar Estate was then within the area of restriction.[348] Furthermore, the sugarcane company would not tolerate people who interfered with their production on the estates. The most unpleasant thing to the Shangane displacees was that the graves of their departed relatives were then covered by sugarcane fields, yet they used to look up to them for protection against hunger, diseases and misfortunes; but, all this was lost after their forced displacement. Thus, instead of restoring social inclusion as embodied in Cernea's reversal strategy, the sugar capitalists instead severed the links between the physical and spiritual worldviews of the Shangane displacees. This was a similar style in which the Tonga locals have also pushed off their traditional living spaces of the Zambezi Valley, to allow for the construction of the Kariba Dam and, in the process, lost their ancestral graves, as well as the Malende shrines, which regulated the rhythm of the Batonga life.

Similarly, the powers of the Shangane spirituality were shown in 1992 when the Lowveld was hit by a severe drought which coincided with the effects of the introduced economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP). During this time, estates could not make adequate profits

[348] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May 2017.

mainly because the sugar cane crop was drying up. Therefore, the sugar company engaged the Chief and his people to access the Bendezi Hill for rain-making ceremonies.

Surprisingly, this was followed by heavy downpours.[349] Whether this was by coincidence or not becomes another area for further research. However, scholars like Musemwa, Muzondidya and Mlambo agree that the country experienced a severe drought in 1992.In other words, it rained after the divine intervention initiated by the Shangane elders in answer to the Lowveld Sugar Estate authorities, hence, demonstrating the efficacy of their ancestral powers. However, all this was lost since the Shangane inhabitants were no longer at liberty to access their sacred shrines, as before their forced displacement. This was so because each time they wanted to make spiritual consultations or to perform rituals, the Lowveld Sugar Estate authorities always escorted them with the estate security guards. This act made the Shangane elders less comfortable.

Furthermore, the forced displacement of the Shangane also resulted in some family heads going to the sugar estates for employment. Thus, in a group interview, some villagers remarked that women left in charge of rural homes by their spouses could not perform the family rituals, as this was a preserve for senior male or elderly family members. Again, children could not perform the same rituals as these were minors, which created a spiritual vacuum, exposing the family to misfortunes and other related evil forces.[407] In short, the significance attached to religion by the Shangane people was severely interfered with because of their forced displacement.

[349] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani area, 20 May 2017.
[407] Group interview in Lehinga village, Zaka, 8 November 2017

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the magnitude to which the forced displacement of the Shangane inhabitants from their original homelands had contributed to the political, social and religious fragmentation of their once rich institutions. Thus, the chapter argues that the self-relocation of the Shangane displacees to distant areas like the Zaka communal lands had extensively exposed their political, social, and religious organisations to erosion. Thus, the political powers of traditional chiefs were drastically curtailed to that of mere colonial puppets in their day-to-day functions, and the same administrative structures were also inherited by the post-colonial regime, which also continued to short-change them. Furthermore, the interaction between the new arrivals and their Karanga hosts also resulted in inter-marriages and the subsequent governance by hegemonic forces. Worse still, the Shangane inhabitants, who remained in the Save area under Chief Tshovani, had access to their religious shrine restricted by the Lowveld Sugar Estate authorities who would not tolerate any interference with the production of sugarcane on the estates. Therefore, all these political, social and religious restrictions further pushed the Shangane people to peripheral places where they struggled for emancipation.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ECOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF FORCED DISPLACEMENT

6.0 Introduction

The works of Duri, Nyamunda, Gosh, and Watts, among others, focused on the damage caused to the physical environment by large scale technological developments but with little focus on the same ecological disasters caused by the displaced people as was the case with the Shangane community in south-east Zimbabwe.[350] Against this backdrop, I seek to explore the environmental damage caused by both groups of the Shangane displacees, the one which remained in the Save area and the other which went on self-relocation to Zaka. It is an interrogation of the Anthropocene discourse.

Globally, socio-economic, and political activities are grossly responsible for the adverse environmental impact. Plant processing machines in industries such as the mining sector, agriculture and waste management systems contribute to ecological deterioration. While the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe are critical to the national economy, environmentalists have blamed the estates for causing soil salinity, water and air pollution, land degradation and climate change. Therefore, I demonstrate that the propagation of sugarcane in

[350] Duri, F.P.T, Development perspectives from the south: Troubling the Metrics of [Under-] development in Africa, Nyamunda, T. 'The State and the Bloody Diamond Rush in Chiadzwa: Unpacking the Contesting Interests in the Development of Illicit Mining and Trading, c.2006–2009', 2012. Ghosh, A. Environment and Development, 2009, Watts, D. The West Indies, Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492, 1987.

the Lowveld and the subsequent self-relocation of the displaced Shangane people to new lands of Zaka communal areas negatively affected the physical environment of south-east Zimbabwe.

This was the same environment upon which Shangane's livelihoods were originally constructed where they did well. In fact, the forced displacement led to the acceleration of food insecurity and the succeeding poverty among the Shangane displacees. The above situation was enhanced by the evicted Shangane locals who migrated to the congested territories and thereby created competition for the scarce natural resources.

6.1 The forced displacement and the ecological configuration of the Lowveld

In his research, Davidson reflects that almost all developmental activities affect the surroundings, especially in both urban and rural areas. Changes in agriculture, forestry, water and waste management systems have local environmental implications.[351] A case in point was the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe. The estates contributed to traits of land degradation. In this context, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) defines land degradation as a negative trend in land condition, caused by direct or indirect human induced processes, including anthropogenic climate change, expressed as long-term reduction or loss of at least one of the following: biological productivity, ecological integrity, or value to humans.[352] For instance, the sugarcane pre-planting period was characterised by massive deforestation, which resulted from land clearance. In this national project, the colonial regime assisted the sugar company by availing bulldozers to clear up large tracks of land for the sugarcane crop.[411] This was confirmed by one respondent from the area who remarked that:

> We were surprised to learn that the colonial state was working together with

[351] Davidson, J. 'Women's relationship with the environment' in Geraldine Reardon, (ed.), *Women and the Environment*, (UK: Oxfam, 1993), p.5.
[352] Assessment Report Six (AR6): Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2016.
[411] Wolmer, W. From the Wilderness vision to farm invasions, p. 95.

> MacDougal when large machinery was dispatched to clear our forests. Big and small trees were ruthlessly uprooted, scaring away our game, among other things.[353]

The following shows how forests in the Lowveld were destroyed cleared vast lands: Triangle Sugar Estate alone had 13200 hectares. In comparison, Hippo Valley also recorded about 11000 hectares in the initial production phase, with prospects of expanding further in the future.[354] The above figures, demonstrate that quite vast lands were initially cleared during the first phase of the establishment of the LSE. The use of tractors to prepare the land for planting led to deep ploughing, a practice detrimental to soil conditions. Ox-drawn ploughs only partially turn over the soil. Continuous use of heavy machinery during land preparation leads to soil fertility.[355]

Furthermore, the land was also cleared to pave the way for the construction of labour compound houses that catered for casual and seasonal workers. Apart from the accommodation facilities, the construction work for Chiredzi Town and the residential suburbs, especially Tshovani Township, designed for Blacks, also came underway. The high-density residential area was named in honour of Chief Tshovani of the displaced Shangane people. Therefore, the development of basic infrastructure in the Lowveld led to habitat loss. *Fauna* and *flora* were destroyed, and the river water polluted. The few animals left was relocated to the protected territories, such as the Gonarezhou National Park and the surrounding Save conservancies. Therefore, the Lowveld development interfered with the sound natural human-wildlife interaction that had been in existence since time immemorial. The Shangane survival strategy

[353] Tele-interview with, Letwin Mapindani, village 8, Chiredzi, 24 June 2021.
[354] Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. *The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry in Zimbabwe*, p. 9.
[355] P.T. Zeleza. *A Modern Economic History of Africa, Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century,* Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers, 1997, p.93.

of hunting was disrupted, and this forced them to hunt in the Save conservancies. Consequently, the state labelled the hunters as poachers.[356]

The Shangane displacees were also negatively impacting the environment, as they struggled to survive right from their place of eviction to Zaka District. According to an informant from the area, the Shangane locals were evicted from their ancestral lands in 1950 when the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 also gathered momentum.[357] He further remarked that, on realising the shortage of labour on the estates, the sugar company re-admitted some of the Shangane displacees on the estates as sharecroppers. As a result, the Shangane people faced a second eviction in 1966, resulting in some of them infiltrating into the Chilonga area of Chief Sengwe and the remaining ones into Chief Tshovani's place of jurisdiction.[358] However, on their way to Zaka District, the Shangane displacees cut down trees to make sledges for easy transportation of their goods after the first eviction. One respondent remarked that sledges could wear out on their way to Zaka, and new ones were made until people finally reached their destination.[359] However, it was observed that the use of sledges had problems of causing soil erosion along the way to Zaka and that a lot of trees were also chopped down.

The evicted Shangane people from the Triangle-Hippo Valley areas decided to relocate by encroaching on lands already inhabited by other people. They first occupied the area near Mungezi River and then moved on to Musiso Mission before finally settling in the Chinorumba area.[360] The areas mentioned above fall under Chief Ndanga and Nhema. The areas were already exhausted, crowded and with inadequate arable lands and pastures, among other essential resources. Faced with such a scenario, the Shangane displacees had no alternatives

[356] Interview with Max Mapindani, Village head, Mapindani village, Tshovani, 23 May 2017.
[357] Interview with NgomuNgomu Garape, village head, Village 3, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.
[358] Ibid, NgomuNgomu Garape, village head, Village 3, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.
[359] Interview with Chief Tshovani, 20 May 2017.
[360] Interview with Lehinga Tshavani, Lehinga village, Zaka, 9 November 2017.

except to take up farming along river banks, further accelerating the rate of soil erosion and river siltation, as was the case with the Jekele villagers. They resettled themselves along the Ndanga River in Zaka District.[361] These were some of the Shangane displacees who remained under Chief Ndanga up to this day. The vegetation around the area occupied by the new arrivals was further depleted, as people looked for firewood, poles and grass-thatch to build their new homes. Such wanton activities threatened the environment with possible desertification. The practice was much in violation of the rules and regulations of the Forestry Commission of Zimbabwe, whose mandate was to take care of all the forests in the country, whether sacred or not.

Momsen posits that water was also becoming scarce and increasingly polluted in many places as population density and agricultural chemicals increased.[362] The reason was mainly because rainfall in southern Africa is usually experienced from October or November and lasting until March or April.[363] However, the problem became severe when rains were bad and unreliable.[364] As a result, people who were pushed to dry lands often experienced difficulties in their efforts to cultivate the land. The reason was that attempts to grow subsistence crops in highly marginal environments on land which was unstable, dry or subjected to waterlogging, pest-ridden and disease-prone resulted in severe soil erosion and the related destruction of forests and water resources.[365] The exercise enhanced a cycle of accelerating the impoverishment of people and the environment. Thus, Davidson claims that poor farmers are often caught on the wrong side of land use. [425]

[361] Tele-interview with, Michael Matsilele, HippoValley Sugar Estate, Chiredzi, 20 June 2021

[362] Momsen, J., *Gender and Development*, p. 121.
[363] Palmer, R. 'Enduring the drought: the responses of Zambian women', in Geraldine Reardon, (ed.), *Women and the environment*, p.40
[364] Ibid, p.40
[365] Davidson, J. *Women's relationship with the environment,* p.5
[425] Ibid, p.5

6.2 The impact of sugarcane cultivation on the environment

While the use of fertilisers on sugarcane plantations is recommended by agronomists to maximise yields, the practice however has several challenges. Because, as we have seen, highly mechanised cultivation diminishes soil fertility.[366] It should also be noted that, the continuous use of fertilizers on sugarcane pollutes water bodies. Concerning the area under study, the polluted water was not only a hazard to aquatic life but equally important, this was also a threat to human life, given that most of the displaced Shangane people who remained behind under Chief Tshovani resided downstream. These people and their animals used the polluted water from the sugarcane fields. The use of such water, impacted negatively on the livelihoods of the already impoverished Shangane inhabitants, given that cattle were their primary source of wealth, hence, they did not dare losing any beast. The maintenance of herds was especially critical because of the drastic reduction of their herds through the colonial oppressive Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951, which reduced the number of cattle per household to five beasts.

Furthermore, the same polluted water also deprived the Shangane displacees, who remained in the Save area of fishing opportunities as aquatic life could hardly survive in such waters. The above respondent further lamented the lack of fishing opportunities which had also disappeared with their glorious past before the eviction.[367] Worse still, some fishing pools were now within the parameters of restricted areas, such as the Gonarezhou National Park.

The promulgation of The Environment Management Bill, in March 2003, was designed to curb the problem of polluted water, such as that of the Runde River. Thus, the scholarship by Tafanenyasha and Dzinomwa advances the claim that in the polluted water of the environment of south-east Zimbabwe, environmental factors affected both the presence and absence of

[366] Davidson, J. *Women's relationship with the environment,* p.6
[367] Interview with Kazamula Mapimele, Village head, village 9, Tshovani, 22 May 2017

aquatic life.[368] Thus, the above scholars observe that the Runde River was often enriched with nutrients while passing through an agricultural area and sewage effluent from the sectional housing units that supported an algal bloom. Furthermore, nitrates, phosphates and sulphates in crops, such as sugarcane, posed a threat to aquatic life.[369] Therefore, it was on this basis that the Runde River water was believed to be having a high rate of nutrient loading in the form of artificial fertilisers from agricultural run-off, which, subsequently, made the river water hypereutrophic, leading to algal bloom.[370]

Furthermore, the cultivation of sugar plantations also presented the region with another negative ecological effect: the depletion of groundwater.[371] The practice, in turn, led to the loss of much vegetation, as was experienced in some parts of Chief Tshovani's area, which are close to the Lowveld Sugar Estates. Davidson also raised the same sentiments. He argues that the cultivation of sugarcane plantations has the problem of drying up groundwater, which eventually affects the surrounding natural resources, as was the case with the Lowveld geography. He gave an example of the Indian State of Rajasthan, which was also on the brink of desertification because most rivers and wells were dry.[372]The same effect was because of the introduction of sugarcane growing in an area with just an annual average rainfall of sixty centimetres. Similarly, on my visit to the Lowveld Sugar Estates in Zimbabwe, I also observed that some of the places near the estates where most of the Shangane people under Chief Tshovani's stay today have acute water shortages, and this was forcing the inhabitants to travel as far as Save River for watering their animals, as stated above. One respondent from the area

[368] Tafanenyasha, C., and Dzinomwa, T. 'Land-use impacts on river water quality in Lowveld sand river systems in south-east Zimbabwe', Land use and water resource research 5, 2005, Unpublished article, p.1.
[369] Ibid, p.2
[370] Ibid, p.2
[371] Assessment Report Six (AR6): Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2016.
[372] Tafanenyasha, C., and Dzinomwa, T., 'Land-use impacts on river water quality in Lowveld sand river systems in south-east Zimbabwe', p.1.

concurred that their present home was dry and wished the government could drill boreholes to meet their domestic requirements.[373]

Moreover, the research also established that the use of canals for irrigation had, of late, contributed to the outbreak of malaria in the Lowveld Sugar Estates. The problem was mainly caused by the continuous water flow in the canals culminated in water logging, thereby providing fertile grounds for mosquito breeding. The preponderance of malaria cases is often associated with irrigated agricultural activities.[374] Malaria usually results in loss of life, loss of productive time, the burden of health services, increased costs of disease control, and a reduction in the welfare of affected individuals and communities**.**[375] **A** respondent from Hippo-Valley Sugar Estate confirmed that malaria cases were more pronounced in March. This was largely because seasonal workers' houses were sometimes locked up during their absence. In other words, the homes were unoccupied for a long time; hence, they became breeding grounds for mosquitoes that cause malaria.[376] Manamere confirms the same and further added that the Lowveld was sprayed twice with residual insecticide in December at the onset of the rains and, again, at the peak of malaria in March.[437] Against this backdrop, Kennedy, as cited by Manamere, advances the claim that Malaria in the Lowveld was endemic.[377]

This situation negatively affected the already impoverished Shangane people since they were, again, supposed to pump out a lot of money towards their health needs. The reason was that biological hazards, such as pests and diseases, often cause untold suffering on the populace,

[373] Interview with Daniel Mundau, War detainee, Village 8, Tshovani, 22 May 2017.
[374] Momsen, J., *Gender and Development*, Second Edition, (USA: Routledge, 2010), p.121.
[375] Sanzanje, A., Hackeniz, E. and Chitima, M., 'Malaria and Irrigated agriculture in Zimbabwe: Impact assessment, costing and quantification under field conditions', in Boelee, E., Konradsen, F. and Hoek, W. (eds.), *Malaria in irrigated Agriculture*, Montreal, SIMA Document, 23 July 2002, p.16.
[376] Tele-interview with, Sekai Matimura, Sugarcane Out grower, Hippo-Valley Sugar Estate, 16 June 2021. [437] Manamere, K. A. 'History of Malaria in the Southeastern Lowveld of Colonial Zimbabwe, 1890 to 1979', 2016, p.115.
[377] Ibid, p.117.

resulting in food insecurity and the subsequent loss of lives, not mentioning low production on the sugar estates, since more workers spent more time seeking medication, than being at work. The most affected were casual labourers, whose wages were calculated upon meeting their daily targets. Thus, Chitima *et al.* argue that irrigation schemes are known for their negative impact on the environment. As alluded to above, irrigation systems have been associated with an increase in the spread of water-related diseases, such as malaria.[378] However, the emphasis given by Cernea in his IRR model on the risks reversal activities, could lead the Shangane displacees from increased morbidity and mortality to improved health care; but this had to be supported by adequate financial backing.[379]

Furthermore, the continuous propagation of sugar cane on the same land has had adverse ripple effect on the physical environment. Watts points out that the loss of massive nutrients was one of the negative effects of the numerous ecological problems that prevailed on the estates due to the felling and burning of forests to pave the way for the sugar plantations. In addition, the successive crop harvest also accelerated the decline of yields and soil quality.[380] Thus, sugarcane cultivation on the estates was inherently exploitative and rapacious in its consumption of soil fertility, as well as energy from woodlots, animals and people.[442] Similarly, many scholars also note that sugarcane production in the Lowveld Estates of Zimbabwe was characterised by monoculture, which presented soil quality challenges over time due to the extraction of the same nutrients from the soil year in and year out.

Furthermore, monoculture had certain limitations. One of them was that it put Tongaat Huletts at risk of economic instability. For instance, the continuous cultivation of sugarcane only made

[378] Chitima, M., *et al* 'Malaria and Irrigated agriculture in Zimbabwe: Impact assessment, costing and quantification under field conditions', in Boelee, E., Konradsen, F. and Hoek, W. (eds.), *Malaria in irrigated Agriculture,* Montreal, p.16.
[379] Cernea, M. M. I*mpoverishment Risks Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model,* p.36.
[380] Watts, D. '*The West Indies, Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492,* p.536. [442] Ibid, p.536

the LSE dependent on a single market and a particular set of economic conditions, resulting in the estates experiencing some difficulties in marketing the product, owing to the economic sanctions of 1965 as is explained in Chapter Four of this thesis. Monoculture also accelerated the degradation of topsoil due to the repeated cultivation of a single crop like sugarcane.[381]

While monoculture has several disadvantages, the above scholars argue that forces that pushed farmers toward monoculture and limited rotation began in the 19th century with the development of the steam engine and the steel plough. Therefore, with a heavy investment in specialized machinery, the farmer had a strong incentive to grow only the crop for which the machinery was designed. The second push was the need for the farmer to improve the crop variety.[382] The issue was to choose and propagate plants that exhibited superior or desirable traits. This served in producing superior varieties which were resistant to pests and diseases; but, at the same time, producing high yields.[445] However, in the context of sugarcane cultivation, the demerits seem to exceed the merits far, as was reflected by the environmental degradation in the Lowveld Sugar Estates of south-east Zimbabwe.

Michael points out that inappropriate land use results in soil degradation and accelerated soil erosion in his research. Thus, poor water management causes excessive salinization in irrigated areas since they result in soil chemical and physical degradation.[383] The exhaustion of soils on the Lowveld Sugar Estates in Zimbabwe did not only affect production; but indirectly affected the wages of the casual labourers. This was because once hit with low-profit margins, the LSE authorities always transferred the loss to the workers whose salaries had for a long time remained on the lower side. This was confirmed by a former employee of Tongaat Huletts from

[381] Ibid, p.83.
[382] Ibid, p.79.
[445] Ibid, p.81.
[383] Michael, A. M. *Theory and Practice*, Second Edition, Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD, 2007, p.42.

the Tshovani area, who remarked that, in poor yields, the workers' representatives were often informed of salary cuts in advance.[384]

Due to the poor irrigation management systems, an avalanche of environmental stresses was induced. Thus, Rietz et al. argue that poor irrigation and drainage management are normally the main causes of salinization.

> Salinization occurs when the water tables rises, and salts dissolved in the groundwater reach the soil surface by capillary movement. This, in turn is aggravated if the area has high temperatures which increase the rate of evaporation, leaving salt crystals or crusts on the surface or in the top few centimetres of soil. In addition, the accumulated natural soluble salts impede soil fertility, and plant growth as the ions hinder water uptake and also be phototoxic.[385]

Therefore, the salinization of soil on the sugar estates and the surrounding areas has grossly affected vegetation growth. This had, in turn, affected the Shangane displacees, who remained in the Save area since they partly depended on vegetation for fruits, herbal medicine and wild animals, not mentioning the spiritual use of forests, as stated in Chapter Five of this thesis. In addition, the absence of vegetation had also negatively contributed to climate change since the region sometimes experienced floods, droughts and heat waves, as was experienced during the past few years. Furthermore, one informant from the study area confirmed that many birds died from the excessive heat in 1992, which also resulted in drying up of much vegetation, thereby exposing the soil to erosion.[386] Therefore, instead of improving the livelihoods of the evicted Shangane inhabitants, such a disturbed ecology, rather accelerated the rate of poverty among the above-mentioned group. The situation was also exacerbated by the prevalence of soil erosion during the initial phase of the Sugar Estates, as there was excessive soil erosion caused

[384] Tele-interview with Aleck Baloi, Triangle Sugar Estate, 23 June 2021.
[385] Rietz et al, 'Effects of soil salinity induced under sugarcane in the Zimbabwean Lowveld on soil microbial activity, 2001, Unpublished article.
[386] Tele-interview with Simbarashe Chibhememe, Hippo Valley, sugarcane out grower, Chiredzi, 16 June 2021

by water that flowed through the canals. This was mainly because the canals were not originally lined up with concrete walls; hence, exposing them to soil erosion.[387]

In essence, human impacts on the environment are often the product of pressures created by the demand of a population for resources and pollution of the environment by the by-products from use of these resources.[388] This is also primarily determined by the level and pattern of influence of the population and technologies available, both for resource extraction and processing the products.[389] As mentioned above, the two processes usually released a lot of carbon gases into the atmosphere, thereby polluting the environment, as was the case with the Lowveld sugar estates. All the sugarcane farmers in the Lowveld depended on the sugar mills in Triangle and Hippo Valley, respectively. This implies that all the newly resettled farmers from Mkwasine Sugar Estate had to rail their produce either to Triangle or Hippo Valley sugar mills. Therefore, the congested mills usually release a lot of carbon emissions into the atmosphere, thereby contributing to global warming. Thus, Satgar sums it up by noting that the Anthropocene-centred discourse was myopic to the powers whirled by capitalism as a historical imperial force with devastating effects on the Earth's planetary ecosystems, as discussed above.[390]

6.3 The displaced Shangane people and their new environment

Having embarked on self-relocation to Zaka communal lands to survive, the Shangane displacees were also confronted with boundary conflicts, as people competed for the scant resources found in the area. A good example was the continuous fight between Chief Nhema

[387] Wolmer, W. *From wilderness vision to farm invasions*, 2007.

[388] Feresu, S.B. (ed) 'Zimbabwe Environment Outlook: Our Environment, Everybody's responsibility', The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management, Zimbabwe, 2010, p.21.

[389] Ibid, p.21.

[390] Satgar, V. 'The anthropocene and imperial ecocide: Prospects for just transitions', In Satgar (ed) *The Climate Crisis: South African and global democratic eco-socialist alternatives,* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2018), p.47.

and Headman Magatse's people over both pastures and lands for farming. This was shown by the encroachment of those from Nhema's place into the area inhabited by Headman Magatse. The unauthorised infiltration of Chief Nhema's people into the said area was largely caused by the negative effects of the newly introduced Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in Zimbabwe around the early 1990s. This programme resulted in the retrenchment of many workers including the Shangane people who then sorted out for alternative livelihoods in the rural areas thereby exerting pressure on land, as is explained in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Moreover, damage to the physical environment was also enhanced through disordered human activities. For instance, a scramble for portions on the Lowveld Sugar Estates of Hippo Valley and Mkwasine, to be particular, witnessed massive land invasions during the chaotic Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe. Such unorganised land invasions of 2000 brought with them a whole package of ecological damage since the invaders disregarded African taboos and embarked on wanton destruction of vegetation and animal extinction. (See Chapter Seven of this thesis).

Due to lack of adequate knowledge and farming implements, legions of the newly resettled farmers in Zimbabwe around 2000 resorted to the indiscriminate chopping down of trees for sale, such as firewood in urban areas and gold panning, among other environmentally unsustainable activities. Even some small dams on farms had their water drained away to allow the new tenants easy access to fish. The above information was also confirmed by a respondent from the area who remarked that the birth of an independent Zimbabwe meant liberty to resources previously owned by the Whites.[391] This unwise use of the environment has led to the extinction of natural resources in some places.

[391] Tele-interview with Letwin Mapindani village 8 24 June 2021.

Furthermore, veld fires were a common sight on the new farms, and this destroyed much vegetation, wild animals and their habitat, not forgetting the adverse effect of soil erosion. Such mismanagement of natural resources was practised by large ethnic groups in Zimbabwe and by the minority ethnic communities, including the displaced Shangane people. The situation was, rather, unpalatable among this group, largely because the fewer lands to which they were resettled were dry and unproductive. Therefore, poverty was quite severe among such communities. Thus, poverty among the Shangane people was generated by their forced displacement by the colonial regime and the sugar company, which failed to provide them with substitute fertile lands for resettlement.

Muringaniza and Jerie echo the foregoing sentiments by noting that vegetation losses were also attributed to tree cutting in search of firewood, construction and cultivation purposes. Thus, the population increase in the Lowveld was caused by the Land Reform Programme, which was implemented by the post-colonial regime in Zimbabwe.[392] This, in turn, created stiff competition for the scant resources in the area. The above scholars further argue that the land fragmentation during the redistribution exercise led to the desire by the Black new farmers to maximise profits, thereby encroaching onto the forested areas, which, in turn, led to deforestation and possible desertification.[456] Deforestation is defined by the IPCC as the conversion of forest to non-forest land and can result in land degradation; hence, affecting people's livelihoods, while desertification refers to land degradation in arid, semi-arid, and dry sub-humid areas, which are collectively known as dry lands resulting from many factors such as human activities and climatic variations.[393] Thus**,** desertification had already reduced

[392] Muringaniza, K. C. R., Jerie, S., Land Use and Land Cover Changes in Commercial Farming Region, p.139. [456] Ibid, p.139.
[393] Assessment Report Six (AR6): Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2016.

agricultural productivity and incomes (high confidence) and contributed to the loss of biodiversity in some dry land regions.[394] This was precisely how the new farmers had reconfigured the natural environment of south-east Zimbabwe during the FTLRP. Thus, the Lowveld area was amongst the most affected places, making life unpleasant for the already poverty-stricken Shangane displacees. In essence, people involved in the Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe were mainly obsessed with politics rather than the preservation and conservation of natural resources. Thus, it is observed that economic development has the problem of generating adverse environmental impacts, through waste production and pollution.[459]

The farm invasions of 2000, which cut across the entire nation, provided the impetus towards the promulgation of acts such as the Environment Act (EA) of 2003, which, in turn, resulted in the formulation of the government arm of the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) in 2007 (mandated to check on the preservation and conservation of the natural environment).[395] In essence, the idea to conserve the environment was muted during the colonial epoch. Initially, the colonial state conserved and improved the environment through the Natural Resources Act (NRA) of 1941. The Act was revised in 1996, with the same objectives and a few amendments.[461] However, it should be observed that the first two acts did not stress much on air pollution and waste management. Therefore, because of this, the Act was further revised in 2003, in relation to the Forestry Act (FA) [Chapter 19:05], Parks and Wildlife Act (PWA) [Chapter 20:14] and, equally, in relation to communal land or resettlement. This means that, the rural district council (RDC), for the area, assigned the responsible Minister environmental

[394] Ibid, 2016.
[459] Ibid, p.21
[395] Tafanenyasha, C., and Dzinomwa, T. 'Land-use impacts on river water quality in Lowveld sand river systems in south-east Zimbabwe', Land use and water resource research 5, (2005), Unpublished article, p.1 [461] Natural Resources Act [Chapter 20:13]

management functions as stipulated in section one hundred and thirty-three of the Act.[396] According to the Environmental Management Act, every person has the obligation to protect the environment for the benefit of present and future generations. The Act further encourages people to participate in policies and measures that prevent pollution and environmental degradation and secure ecologically sustainable management and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development. This was enhanced through the activities of the Environmental Management Agency (EMA), established in 2007, as noted above. Its main function was to regulate and monitor the discharge or emission of any pollutant or hazardous substance into the environment. It was also the responsibility of EMA to regulate and monitor the management and utilisation of ecologically fragile ecosystems. In short, EMA was mandated by the government to formulate quality standards on air, water, soil, noise, vibration, radiation and waste management.[463] As noted above, this was largely because the people who had moved into the new farms were, on the one hand, taking a toll on the environment, thereby threatening the extinction of fauna and flora and, on the other hand, the sprouting industries were also emitting greenhouse gases into the atmosphere and the displaced Shangane people and the Lowveld sugar mills were not an exception. In short, environmental degradation was largely caused by overpopulation, deforestation, veld fires, and farm invasions, among a host of other anthropogenic activities.[397]

6.4 The post-eviction Shangane environment and climate change

The worsening climate crisis is part of the destruction of the global commons, which are land, forests, rivers and biosphere that have been intensified by a system that puts profits before life.[398] The same was also common with the Lowveld sugar capitalist project in south-east

[396] The Environmental Management Act [*Chapter 20:27*]: *Act 13/2002, 5/2004(s. 23), 6/2005(s. 28)* [463] Ibid, The Environmental Management Act [*Chapter 20:27*].
[397] Mawere, M., 'Buried and forgotten, but not dead', p.2
[398] Report: The Climate Justice Charter Draft 1, 2019, p.4
[466] Ibid, p.4.

Zimbabwe, whose operations had disregarded environmental degradation. Thus, more climate shocks, such as droughts, heat waves, floods, and ecological crises, imply more suffering for the majority, particularly the poor and landless workers.[466]This relates very well with the Shangane people, who lost all their fertile lands after the forced displacement.

Poverty among the Shangane displacees appeared to be on the increase, mainly because of the effects of climate change which had, as stated above, seen the region also experiencing natural disasters. Thus, recent heat-related events, such as heat waves, have been more intense, due to anthropogenic greenhouse gases (GHG) emissions in most land regions and causing intensive droughts in the Mediterranean and most parts of Southern Africa.[399] In short, such calamities were more severe in regions which are already drought-prone, such as the Lowveld of southeast Zimbabwe; hence, affecting the ecosystems and food security.

Most of the interviewed people in both Chiredzi and Zaka Districts agreed that the prevailing natural calamities were because of their forced displacement which inevitably, configured their ecology, socio-economic, political and religious landscapes. Similar sentiments on human influence on the environment were also highlighted by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) which reports that, the more human beings disrupt the climate, the more people risk severe, pervasive and irreversible impact.[468] In other words, the more people carelessly use the natural resources, the more pandemics they would face. Thus, Satgar argues that over 200 000 years of modern human existence has seen men being a geological force, shaping, determining, and disrupting the Earth's biophysical system.[400] He further notes that twenty years of multi-lateral negotiations had not produced solutions to climate change; instead, people have continued to emit pollutants and use fossil fuels. As a result, the world has recorded

[399] Assessment Report Six (AR6): Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), 2016.
[468] Ibid, 2016.
[400] Satgar, V. 'The anthropocene and imperial ecocide: Prospects for just transitions', p.47.

the hottest years on the planet.[401] This is largely attributed to the carbon emissions from the industries and vehicles. Bassey also concurs with Satgar in those the last twenty years of international negotiations had not yielded any positive results on carbon emissions; rather, the levels have gone up to sixty-one per cent, with devastating effects in the world, including Africa, whose carbon emissions turns at four per cent.[402]

Satgar avers that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), in its fourth and most recent fifth report, affirmed the notion of 'human-induced climate change'; hence, putting the Anthropocene-centred approach to the climate crisis.[403] This entails that all people are equally involved in the fore-mentioned climate crisis. For instance, the Anthropocene-centred discourse is blind to the power wielded by capitalism as a historical imperial system that has devastated and destroyed planetary ecosystems, involving human and non-human life forms, since its origins.[404]

As mentioned earlier in this research, the above remarks relate very well to the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe, where the colonial state and the sugar company cleared large tracks of forests to pave the way for the establishment of the sugar plantations; not mentioning the destruction of wild animals and their natural habitat. The soil within the Estates has also lost its fertility due to the continuous application of fertilisers. In short, climate change is also induced by capitalism. Crutzen, as cited by Satgar, echoes the same notion that

> Fossil fuel burning and agriculture have caused substantial increases in the concentration of greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide by thirty per cent and methane by over a hundred per cent).[405]

[401] Satgar, V. 'The climate crisis and systemic alternatives', in (ed) *The Climate Crisis: South African and global democratic eco-socialist alternatives,* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2018), p. 1.
[402] Bassey, N. 'The climate crisis and the struggle for African food sovereignty', In (ed) *The Climate Crisis: South African and global democratic eco-socialist alternatives,* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2018), p. 190.
[403] Satgar, V. 'The anthropocene and imperial ecocide: Prospects for just transitions', pp. 47-48
[404] Ibid, p. 48.
[405] Satgar, V. 'The anthropocene and imperial ecocide: Prospects for just transitions', pp49-50.

While, on one hand, carbon emission from the vehicles transporting the cane to the milling plant and the milling process, itself, became a common practice, on the other hand, the displaced Shangane people were also taking a toll on the environment, particularly the few Shangane displacees who benefited from the A1 farm models during the Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe. As explained before, just like those who took up self-relocation to Zaka communal lands, these farmers embarked on wanton depletion of the scarce resources. Therefore, such undesirable behavior on the forests exposed the Lowveld to possible desertification, which has resulted in hot climatic conditions of the region.

Even though the Shangane inhabitants had their herds substantially reduced through the NLHA of 1951, they still had restocked their numbers. This was against the recent studies, which revealed that the largest global emission of methane into the atmosphere comes from cattle, which emits close to ninety per cent.[406] This in part could also have contributed to global warming without mention the vast cattle of Australian, American and Argentinian ranchers.

Furthermore, Bassey argues that human activities on the climate system is conspicuous and rates the highest contributors of anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gases in history.[407] If no adequate measures are taken, global temperatures are expected to rise by an average of 2.5 to 7.8ºC by 2100; hence, Africa would experience severe heat, especially in dry areas, such as the Lowveld areas of Zimbabwe. The most unfortunate part is that the area is already experiencing high temperatures, which are within the range of 21-38 degrees Celsius.[408] One informant in Chiredzi town remarked that, the temperatures have since changed, and

[406] GZU campus Radio News bulletin, 'Cattle rearing contribute to climate change', Monday 22 March 2021.
[407] Bassey, N. 'The climate crisis and the struggle for African food sovereignty', p. 190.
[408] Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', p. 48.

temperatures in the Lowveld are now within the range of 38-42 degrees Celsius.[409] If these statistics are anything to go by, the Zimbabwe Lowveld Sugar Estates would be equally affected. Therefore, the issue of climate change can affect all people; however, it would be more severe on people residing in arid areas since these would be exposed to periods of long droughts; hence, the Shangane, by virtue of their geographical location, would not be an exception.

6.5 Conclusion

The chapter has highlighted that prior to the eviction, the Shangane inhabitants had established a sound relationship with their natural environment, which was free from environmental degradation, climate change, droughts and subsequent food insecurity. This was also supported by one informant who argued that, before the displacement, the rainfall pattern in the Lowveld was quite predictable, had it not been for the forced displacement which had exposed the natural environment to the mercy of the sugar project and the landless Shangane displacees, as they struggled for sustenance in the periphery.[410] It has further examined the physical environmental impact of sugarcane cultivation in south-east Zimbabwe. The continuous use of agricultural chemicals on the sugarcane fields has grossly affected the soil texture and polluting river waters. Closely related to this, the land around the estates has been highly degraded. The operations of the sugar mills have also been held accountable for air pollution. The situation was exacerbated by some of the new farmers who took up resettlement on the former colonial commercial White-owned farms. The new farmers, who also included a few of the once

[409] Tele-interview with Ruben Gorimbo, High School teacher, Tshovani high density suburb, Chiredzi, 28 December 2021.
[410] Interview with Chilo Matawa, Village head, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.

displaced Shangane people, were poverty ridden; hence, took a toll on the environment, thereby upsetting the natural environment resulting in adverse climatic conditions which had threatened the region with possible floods, heat waves and prolonged droughts. All such natural calamities have accelerated the rate of poverty among the displaced Shangane inhabitants. In short, the chapter has established that both the capitalist sugar project and the displaced Shangane people had re-configured the physical environment of the Lowveld, thereby exposing the Shangane inhabitants to poverty, as discussed above. The next chapter presents a discussion on the proffered solution to the economic, social, political, religious and ecological effects of the displacement under review.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE POST-COLONIAL LAND POLICY AND THE CONTINUOUS ISOLATION AND IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE SHANGANE DISPLACEES

7.0 Introduction

The chapter begins by giving a brief outline of forced land acquisition in colonial Zimbabwe, with the formalisation of oppressive land policies. The Order-in-Council Act of 1894, 1898, and the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 were discriminative and oppressive among many such related policies. The enactment of such colonial land policies bestowed the inferiority complex on the indigenous people and robbed them of their vibrant survival strategies. Thus, the period of land dispossession accelerated the poverty rate, particularly among the minority ethnic groups of south-east Zimbabwe, who included the Shangane inhabitants. In essence, the liberation struggles in the country (from 1896-to 1980) were meant to address the colonial land imbalance. As if this was not enough, the same trend has continued into postcolonial Zimbabwe, where the state grossly perpetuated the legacy of selective land allocation.

Against this background, this chapter examines the most definitive scholarship on the Fast TrackLand Reform Programme in Zimbabwe, which are but are not limited to Scoones et al., Fontein, Marongwe Alexander and Wolmer.[411] These scholars have discussed, in detail, the impact of the chaotic land distribution in Zimbabwe, with special emphasis on large ethnic groups across the country and, in the process, overlooked the minority ethnic groups, which included the displaced Shangane people. Thus, I uphold that while the prime objective of the

[411] Scoones, I. *et al, Zimbabwe's Land Reform Myths and Realities,* 2010. Fontein, J. 'We want to belong to our roots and we want to be modern people, New Farmers, Old claims around Lake Mutirikwi'2009. Marongwe, N. 'Farm Occupations and Occupiers in the New Politics of Land in Zimbabwe' in Hammar A, Raftopoulos B & Jensen S (eds.) *Zimbabwe Unfinished Business, Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis,* 2008. Alexandar, J., 'Squatters, Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe' in in Hammar A, Raftopoulos B & Jensen S (eds.)*Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business, Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the context of crisis,* 2008. Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, 2007.

liberation struggle in South Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) was to address the colonial land imbalance across the length and breadth of the country, the same programme was not equally extended to the Shangane people who were also colonially displaced from their traditional living spaces of Triangle and Hippo Valley to pave the way for the establishment of the Lowveld sugar company. In essence, the colonial regime had subjugated the Shangane people and placed them in a subordinate position where they had long been struggling for survival on the periphery. The impoverishment of the Shangane people was further accelerated by the controversial Fast Track Land Reform Programme, introduced by the Mugabe regime, where, in the process of land restitution, the state did the opposite of what it had promised to do soon after independence. The acquired Mkwasine Lowveld Sugar Estate for resettlement bears testimony on this.

Even though the FTLRP gained popularity in some sections of the Zimbabwean society, the same programme was, however, condemned by the Shangane community from within the country and also by the international community, with its negative publicity on the whole exercise.[412] Thus, this chapter discusses the ambivalence of the rhetoric and commissioning of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) on the Shangane speaking people of southeast Zimbabwe. However, it remains to be seen whether the touted 're-independence' of the country from the Mugabe regime would be able to deliver on its promises, by leading the displaced Shangane people from landlessness to land-based resettlement, from joblessness to re-employment, from marginalisation to social inclusion and from increased morbidity to improved health care.[413]

[412] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p.194
[413] Cernea, M. M. I*mpoverishment Risks Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model,* p.36.
[483] Moyana, H.V, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, p. 1.

7.1 Background

In his body of literature, Moyana reveals that the history of land segregation in Rhodesia dates back to 1894, when two Reserves, Gwayi and Shangani, were allocated to the land dispossessed people in Matabeleland by the British South African Company (BSAC).[483] This was after the effective occupation of Matabeleland in 1893. The BSAC then proceeded to issue an Order-in-Council on 18 July 1894, which announced the appointment of a land commission to deal with all questions in relation to settlement of Africans in Matabeleland.[414] The area to which the Africans were pushed into was dry and infertile; hence, unsuitable for human settlement.

Shuma shares the same sentiments with Moyana that a Native Reserve Commission set up in 1914 recommended to the British Government that land should be put aside in the native reserves, which would be for the sole occupation and use by Africans.[415] He further argues that the British Government adopted the request in 1920, which formed the basis of the Southern Rhodesian Order-in-Council of the same year.[416] Therefore, this meant that the British High Commissioner held the reserves in trust for the use and occupation by the local people.[417]

However, the only problem was that, despite the in-hospitability of the reserves, this land was declared as state land, regardless of the presence of the indigenous people on it. The power of the colonial state as the highest authority was, thus, used to interfere and re-organise how Africans occupied and used land.[418] For administration efficiency, the colonial administration roped in the services of traditional African chiefs in regulating all social, economic, religious and political issues affecting Africans. The British used the Indirect System of administration,

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[414] Ibid, p. 2.
[415] Shuma, T. *Matter of (Injustice: Law, State and the agrarian Question in Zimbabwe)*, (Harare: SAPES Books, 1997), p. 20.
[416] Ibid, p. 20.
[417] Ibid, p. 20.
[418] Shuma, T. *Matter of (Injustice: Law, State and the agrarian Question in Zimbabwe),* p.21. , Arrighi, G. *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, pp.53-57.

whose advantages were that the indigenous rulers did not have to be paid high salaries, nor would the colonisers take time to know the area and people and; moreover, it was easy to mobilise labour and revenue collection from the locals through the services of African traditional chiefs.[419] On the other hand, the French employed the policy of assimilation, which was the absorption of Africans to European culture and European acceptance of Africans as partners in government business and missionary enterprise.[490]

The same wave of land dispossession cut across the entire nation, with most Africans pushed to peripheral places, as was the case with some indigenous Karanga groups who were forced off the Rhodesdale farm and resettled in the dry lands of Gokwe in the Midlands Province.[420][421] The same strategy was also applied to the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe who, by virtue of their small ethnic status, found themselves being pushed and thrust further deep into the Lowveld.

Such situations were quite common, particularly among the minority ethnic groups in the country whom the colonial state often despised. However, this was because of their small numbers, which could not present them with much resistance at all. In addition, Moyana posits that it was the easiest thing in the world to show good and sufficient cause for the removal of Africans from an area. For instance, the discovery of minerals, the need for railways, public works and towns, were always used as good and adequate causes for most of the forced displacements during the colonial era in Zimbabwe.[422] The consent of Africans was never sought after, since the indigenous people were taken as third-class citizens. However, as for the

[419] Tidy M, and Leeming D, *A History of Africa 1840-1914*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, 1981), p.115. [490] Ibid, p. 114.
[420] Nyambara, P. S. 'The Closing Frontier: Agrarian Change, Immigrants and the 'Squatter Menace' in Gokwe,
[421] – 1990s', pp.534 -549
[422] Moyana, H.V, *The Political Economy of Land*, p. 4.

Shangane, their forced displacement was necessitated by the need to establish sugar plantations in the Lowveld of south-east Zimbabwe.

7.2 The Native Land Husbandry Act

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 resulted in massive ecological disasters in the rural areas; hence, there was need for the colonial regime to swiftly address the matter. However, instead of availing more arable lands to the already congested rural populace, the colonial Government, introduced yet another discriminatory act in 1951. The World Bank supported this act on the basis that it was going to relieve people in the reserves.[423]

However, the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) was met with stiff resistance from across all the rural areas.[424] This was largely because the Act interfered more with the people's livelihoods than curtailing the prevailing ecological disasters in the reserves. The colonial Act essentially reduced the peasants' arable lands to eight acres and five beasts per household. This subsequently accelerated the rate of poverty and underdevelopment among the Shangane people, given that there were historically marginalised.[425] Moreover, it should be observed that cattle were regarded as a source of wealth in the Zimbabwean traditional society; hence, the people were not prepared to part away with any single beast. Thus, the Act was viewed as an abrogation of the moral economy.[426] Alexander further argues that, instead of making the rural areas more productive, the act provided an impetus for rural nationalism.[497]While the Act was

[423] Alexander, J. *The unsettled land; State-making and the politics of land in Zimbabwe 1893-2003*, p. 41.
[424] Ibid, p. 50.
[425] Moyana, H.V, *The Political Economy of Land,* p.4.
[426] Alexander, J. *The unsettled land; State-making,* p.51.
[497] Ibid, p. 51.

noble in that it employed people to dig contour ridges to mitigate soil erosion rampant in the rural areas, its prescription was however forced on the patients.

7.3 The Mugabe regime and the new twist on land restitution

The dawning of independence to Zimbabwe marked the genesis of land satisfaction amongst the hungry landless peasantry thus, land was viewed as the basis for economic and political emancipation of the long-oppressed local people. This anticipation by the Zimbabwean polity was provided for in the 1979 Lancaster House agreement through the provision of a twenty million pounds pledge by the British Government towards land for resettlement of the landless Zimbabwean people in the early 1980s.[427] This was, however, to be done through the willing seller willing buyer approach.[499]

However, the purported strategy did not yield the desired goals, and the land enthusiasm of the colonially displaced Zimbabwean people since it tended to be characterized by an unwillingness to relinquish land on the part of White commercial farmers, the process became slow and expensive. This could have pushed the Mugabe regime to disregard the provisions of the Lancaster House Agreement. Scoones *et al.* further argue that, by 1996, around 71 000 families had been resettled, of which 93% was on village-based schemes (A1 model).[428] Thus, the first ten years after independence did not provide much in terms of land restitution because, in the early 1990s, the land which was available was rented out at nominal rents to key political officials, civil servants, army personnel and others.[501]

[427] Scoones, I. *et al Zimbabwe's Land Reform Myths and Realities,* p. 14. [499]
Ibid, p. 14.
[428] Ibid, p. 15.
[501] Ibid, p. 18.

It should; however, be noted that while the key government officials benefited from this exercise, a small portion of the acquired land was availed to the large ethnic groups at the expense of the minority groups such as the Shangane people of south-east Zimbabwe; hence, the economic and social transformation of such groups became a difficult task, though a few respondents in Chief Tshovani's area acknowledged having benefited from the A1 Model Land Resettlement. However, the only problem was that most of the land to which they were resettled was dry, and it could not provide them with sustainable livelihoods, as was the case before their forced displacement.

While the Shangane people appreciated the part played by the state in decongesting the rural areas, they still felt that the newly independent state could have taken a further positive step by making sure that key national resources, such as land, were equally distributed to all citizens, regardless of their small numbers. While few of the Shangane displacees, who remained under Chief Tshovani in the Save area, benefited from the A1 farm distribution, the same fortune was not with those who migrated to Zaka communal lands since they did not benefit at all. This was confirmed by one informant who alluded that the whole exercise appeared to be biased towards the large Karanga ethnic groups. [429]

Thus, poverty among the Shangane people emanates largely from how resources, such as land, are distributed by those who wield political and economic power since they allocate the preponderance of resources to themselves and inadequate resources to the socially marginalised groups.[430] Thus, race, class, gender, ethnicity and regionalism are usually considered as guiding principles to resource allocation.[431]

[429] Interview with Tshavani Lehinga, Lehinga Village, Zaka, 8 November 2017
[430] Musemwa, M., *Water, history and Politics in Zimbabwe, Bulawayo's struggles with the environment, 18942008,* p. 135.
[431] Ibid, p.xviii.

Why did the independent government discriminate against the Shangane? The Shangane people argued that the war of liberation in Zimbabwe was supported by all people in the country, regardless of ethnic lines. For instance, Wolmer has it that the Lowveld was quite critical in that the nationalists were at one time detained at Gonakudzingwa camp, which is in the Lowveld.[432] He further argues that the restricted nationalists (Joshua Nkomo, Lazarus Nkala and Joseph Msika) repealed the Rhodesian Law and Order Maintenance Act in the High court, which they eventually won. Having succeeded in this way, the nationalists were granted the liberty to mingle with the Shangane locals, whom they insidiously and craftily politically mobilised to revolt against the colonial regime.[506] However, the settlers were quick to respond and had the nationalists, once again, confined to Gonakudzingwa, and the Shangane locals were also put in protected villages. The colonial state designed this kind of manoeuvre to curtail the locals from providing the restrictees with food and information. Despite this restriction, the Shangane people still sneaked out to meet the nationalists with their daily provisions. Therefore, having sacrificed their lives to this end, the Shangane people strongly felt that the post-colonial state should not use ethnic lines when allocating national resources since the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe was all inclusive. Therefore, the Shangane displacees still believe that they did not benefit from the resettlement in parts of the sugar estates. In fact, the estates were subdivided and much of the land given to people from other provinces.[433]

The same sentiments were also echoed by one of the informants who revealed that the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe benefited mostly the liberation fighters and that the new generation of the Shangane people is still clamouring for productive lands. It is generally believed that a small percentage of the Shangane speaking people benefited from the A1 Land

[432] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, 2007, p. 58. [506]
Ibid, p. 58.
[433] Interview with Lehinga Tshavani, Lehinga village, Zaka, 9 November 2017.
[508] Musemwa M. *Water, History and Politics in Zimbabwe*, p.xvi.

Scheme. However, most of the areas which they were allocated are dry. This was largely because marginalised social groups in Zimbabwe and throughout Africa, regularly experience acute water shortages.[508]By so doing, the people would be disregarding the fact that human security and environmental sustainability are in inseparable.[434]

Therefore, despite the aridity of the Lowveld, in general, and the farms upon which the displaced Shangane people were resettled the Government, in post-colonial Zimbabwe, was supposed to have drilled up boreholes for the local communities. On the A2 Land Reform Scheme, the Shangane people did not benefit. Perhaps, the problem was that A2 farm distribution was administered by the Ministry for Lands and Resettlement at the national level and this created stiff competition. Therefore, the Shangane people were at a disadvantage, considering their ethnic demography.[435]

While a small percentage under Chief Tshovani benefited from the A1 Model, the situation was worse for those who had self-relocated to Zaka communal area after their displacement by the colonial regime to facilitate the capitalist sugar project in the Lowveld. For instance, most of the respondents in the area revealed that, instead of being allocated with new lands, the Shangane had continuously lost even their little available lands to their Karanga neighbours from Chief Nhema's area. It is believed that the encroachment of these people on the land occupied by the Shangane inhabitants had much to do with ethnic tension rather than greed. Thus, an informant from Headman Magatse's area revealed that their Karanga neighbours constantly demanded that they return to their original area of Save, where the other Shangane remnants, under Chief Tshovani, are found today. This shows that the Shangane, as a small

[434] ibid, p. xvi.
[435] Interview with Damson Nyongwa, Nyongwa village, Zaka, 10 November 2017, Interview with, Gogo Joana Lehinga, Lehinga village, Zaka, 8 November 2017, Interview with Headman Gogo Magatse, Lehinga Village, Zaka, 8 November 2017.

ethnic group, are continuously discriminated against in the allocation of state resources; hence, the generation of poverty among them.

A good example could be, the Large-Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) which occupy most of the highest quality land (Region 1 and 2), while the majority of poorest land (Region 4 and 5) is within the Communal Areas (CA). Therefore, Zimbabwe's regions 1 and 2 were owned by white farmers; hence, this reflects that the concentration of Zimbabwe's prime land fell in private hands, and this was the land that the Lancaster House Agreement most protected.[436] But, again, the same land fell into the hands of a few Black elites (those who subscribed to the above ruling political party) and the large ethnic groups during the FTLRP in the country, leaving the poor sandy soils to the small ethnic communities.

Thus, the first phase of land distribution in Zimbabwe accelerated the land hunger amongst the colonially displaced Shangane people. This kind of unrest positioned the Shangane people for land seizure from those who had unlawfully acquired the land of their ancestors.

Furthermore, the research by Davidson indicates that women own no more than one per cent of the world's land, and even where they have access to it for farming, their tenure is often costly and uncertain.[437]Thus, without secure access to land ownership, women are denied access to credit, training, and other support services for production; hence, they cannot engage in the long-term conservation practices they have traditionally used.[438] Davidson further argues that, despite efforts by most governments in independent Africa to embark on agricultural revolutions, land remains in the hands of males.[439] Thus, most poor women have become

[436] Moyo, Sam. 'The Land Question' in Mandaza, Ibbo, (ed.), *Zimbabwe the political economy of transition 1980 – 1986*, 1986.
[437] Davidson Joan, *Women's relationship with the environment*, 1993.
[438] Ibid, p. 5.
[439] Ibid, p. 5.
[515] Ibid, p. 5.

landless or been forced onto the less productive areas, where yields are lower, and output is of poorer quality.[515] Women, among the displaced Shangane people in Zaka, have gone through similar experiences on their arrival in this new environment

7.4 The unplanned land restitution

The role of war veterans was certainly crucial in the *jambanja* period (which literally implies un-organised forceful seizure of land).[440]For example, on 29 November 2000, Chenjererai Hunzvi, the then Chairman of the Zimbabwe National Liberation War Veteran Association (ZNLWVA), addressed people at the Chief's Hall in Masvingo town and urged them to go and invade farms.[441] The same actions were complemented by the then Governor of Masvingo Province and the Member of Parliament (MP) for Chiredzi South, who, on numerous occasions, addressed rallies exhorting people to invade farms and, on some occasions, even went as far as arranging transport to ferry the land invaders.[442]

In 2000, ZANU (PF) promised the land, but at the price of an extreme and violent political intolerance that severely undermined the long-standing popular aspirations for a 'good' state and labelled as enemies a range of social groups that had once been included in the nationalist constituency.[443][444] This sudden twist was necessitated by the gathering forces of opposition, especially the one from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), under the leadership of Morgan Richard Tsvangirai. In the last-minute bid for votes and very much under pressure from the disgruntled war veterans over their extended unpaid services during the struggle for

[440] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 194.
[441] Scoones, I. *et al Zimbabwe's Land Reform Myths and Realities*, p. 45.
[442] Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p.194.
[443] Alexandar, J., 'Squatters, Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe' in Raftopoulos, B. *et al* (eds.), Zimbabwe's *Unfinished Business, Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the context of crisis*, (Harare: Weaver Press, 2008), p.
[444] .

independence in Zimbabwe, Mugabe threw caution to the wind and allowed the chaotic invasions of farms.[445]

Marongwe shares the same sentiments with Alexander that the 2000 land invasions were precipitated by politically motivated intentions rather than by social, moral or economic considerations. The ruling ZANU (PF) party used farm occupations as their official campaigning strategy to mobilise communities for the June 2000 Parliamentary elections.[446] According to Marongwe, the rejection of the 2000 Referendum and the June Parliamentary elections of the same year shaped the dynamics of land invasions in Zimbabwe. Upon occupation of a farm, military-type bases were set up as temporary resident areas where the new farmers indiscriminately cut down trees and grasses for such structures, not regarding the environmental degradation the model would create.[447] In fact, the village model had the advantages of maintaining community cohesion, boosting morale of the occupiers and, for defensive purposes, in the event of security threats; most probably, by the farm owners.[448]

It should be observed that while the farm invasion process was disorganized, it was selective in approach since some farms were occupied and others were not. This suggests various reasons for the unplanned and chaotic land invasions, as being propelled by proximity to communal areas, social relations between farmers and bordering communal areas, historical land claims by communities, in relation to colonial land appropriations, multiple farm ownership and underutilization of land, political affiliation with the ruling party or the opposition and urban demand for residential land.[449] It appeared as if the post-colonial state had taken a back seat on the social and economic transformation of its people, particularly those small ethnic groups

[445] Ibid, p.99., Wolmer, *W. From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions,* p.194.
[446] Marongwe, N. 'Farm Occupations and Occupiers in the New Politics of Land in Zimbabwe' Raftopoulos, B. et al (ed.), *Zimbabwe Unfinished Business, Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, p. 165.
[447] Ibid, p. 165.
[448] Ibid, p. 168.
[449] Ibid, p. 171.

who were previously disadvantaged by the colonial regime. This was largely because the political environment was not conducive for any meaningful, sustainable development, since the majority of the Zimbabwean populace was obsessed with the politics of land seizure and nothing more beyond this.

The motivational factors for the Shangane inhabitants of south-east Zimbabwe were none other than a return/reallocation of land within their ancestral homelands, even though the whole area was now under sugarcane cultivation. The land invasions did not; however, target farms which were only occupied by White farmers but equally the same also befell some isolated farms owned by Blacks. The major reason for the sole occupation of the indigenous lands had much to do with political affiliation rather than racial tension. In this case, the typical targets were those black farmers who subscribed to the MDC political party. This appeared as if the ruling ZANU (PF) was carrying out a cleansing ritual of all those who paid allegiance to MDC and the white farmers, respectively. The issue of whether some farms were of key national importance or not, was never seriously considered by the land invaders.

The foregoing situation was because the peasants in Zimbabwe saw the essence of political independence as the satisfaction of their land hunger and the reversal of discriminatory elements of colonial agricultural policies.[450] In essence, Fontein avers that the FTLRP in Zimbabwe was unplanned.[451] The chaotic 2000 farm invasions cut across the entire nation, with the colonially displaced Shangane people reverting to their ancestral lands of Triangle and Hippo Valley. However, the Government never tolerated the invasion of such key areas; hence, the marginalised Shangane locals, again, suffered eviction.

[450] Mumbengegwi, C. 'Continuity and Change in Agricultural Policy', in Mandaza, I. (ed.), *Zimbabwe the Political Economy of Transition 1980-1986*, p. 204.
[451] Fontein, J. 'We want to belong to our roots and we want to be modern people, New Farmers, Old claims around Lake Mutirikwi', pp.16-21.

The onset of the FTLRP in 2000 saw the Mkwasine Sugar Estate repossessed for resettling the landless locals. The problem associated with this acquisition was that people of high status, from within the area and far afield, made applications to the Ministry of Lands for sugar plots which were later known as A2 farms, and these were granted in 2002.[452] By and large, the beneficiaries of the Mkwasine estate were the land seekers beyond the Lowveld. Thus, the people who benefited from the situation were those most well-endowed with capital and subscribed to the ideologies of ZANU (PF) hierarchy, such as war veterans, local business people, and salaried black middle-classes, like the Triangle and Hippo Valley Estate managers, as well as urban-dwellers from beyond the Lowveld.[528] For instance, about sixteen thousand hectares were transferred to over eight hundred resettlement farmers on irrigated 'A2' plots of around 20 ha each.[453] However, most respondents in the area showed great displeasure for being left out in this particular scheme, as they were direct victims of the displacement.[454]

As the Shangane were reeling under the traumatic effects of institutionalized discrimination and marginalization, the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement proposed reducing the Tongaat Huletts Sugar Estates by 4000 hectares to resettle over 190 new farmers. This, however, raised fears among the Shangane chiefs who felt that they would, again, be discriminated against, as was the case during the colonial period and in post-independence Zimbabwe, where the whole exercise was designed to benefit the few white elite and blacks, respectively. For instance, in post-colonial Zimbabwe, the exercise was championed by ZANU PF officials from outside the Lowveld; hence, the then-president, Robert Mugabe, was forced by the sudden turn of events around the unfair distribution of sugar portions within the Lowveld sugar estates to fly into the

[452] Scoones, I. *et al*, *Zimbabwe's Land Reform Myths and Realities*, p. 49.
[528]Wolmer, W. *From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions*, p. 197.
[453] Scoones, I. Mavedzenge, B. Murimbarimba, F. 'Sugar, people and Politics in Zimbabwe's Lowveld', pp. 567584.
[454] Scoones, I. *et al*, Zimbabwe's *Land Reform Myths and Realities*, p.49.

area and resolve the political impasse.[455] The Shangane people feared that if land were continuously taken away from them, they would remain poor and underdeveloped. Here, the influence of the state was, once again, conspicuous in shaping the economic base of post-colonial Zimbabwe. Thus, Mandaza argues that the ruling political party in Zimbabwe was in the process of becoming the opposite of what it had promised to be doing during the armed struggle and the first years following independence.[532]

The continuous discrimination of small ethnic groups in resource allocation, such as the Shangane, seriously retarded development in the colonially isolated areas of south-east Zimbabwe. The situation was worse, particularly for those who relocated to Zaka since there was serious competition for scant resources in the host lands. Generally, like the displaced Shangane, most poor people often suffer from political marginalisation and social vulnerability.[456] This is quite typical of Headman Magatse's area, where some Shangane displacees took up self-resettlement. There is stiff competition for the scant resources available since the area is heavily congested. As a result, the Shangane people, in Zaka communal lands, are deprived in all facets of life. This is largely because they lack political voices on issues of sustainable development.

In line with the discourses of institutionalized poverty, Todaro and Smith argue that the high economic characteristics of poverty groups range from women, indigenous populations, as well as ethnic minorities. These scholars note that poverty falls heavily on minority ethnic groups and indigenous population since about 40% of the world's nation-states have more than five sizable ethnic populations, one or more of which faces serious economic, political and social discrimination.[534] Todaro and Smith further argue that, in recent years, domestic conflicts, and

[455] *The Mirror*: 'Mugabe to resolve Tongaat fields grabbing', Friday 24 to Thursday 30 June 2016, pp.1-2. [532] Mandaza, I. *Zimbabwe the Political economy of Transition 1980-1986*, p. 7.
[456] Todaro, M. P. and Smith S. C. *Economic Development*, England, Pearson Education Limited. 2011, p. 202 Ibid, p. 202

even civil wars, have arisen out of ethnic groups' perceptions that they are losing out the competition for limited resources and job opportunities. Similarly, the post-colonial state in Zimbabwe has failed to provide the Shangane people with poverty relief through its land reform programmes, as there was stiff competition for land allocation for the acquired farms and sugar estates for resettlement.[457]

Most of the events which took place during the chaotic Fast Track Land Reform period had no respect for the Constitution of the land, as was witnessed through rampant squatting, poaching and arson on commercial property in the Lowveld. The latter two were tactics deployed by the guerrillas during the liberation war to target the isolated white ranchers.[536] In the same vein, the same strategy was employed by the land invaders in the Lowveld. In essence, the farm invasions picked up momentum in September and October, targeting the ranching areas; hence, the areas in the Lowveld were probably the most seriously affected in the country since huge areas had been burnt out, cleared and poached of game and, by November, the occupied farms were being ploughed and planted with maize.[458]

The chaotic land reform was largely guided by the war veterans who, in this case, became law enforcing agents and, at the same time, usurped some powers of the Lowveld traditional chiefs like Gudo, Sengwe and Tshovani in the allocation of land. Thus, Mugabe was controversial in his accelerated land reform because he tended to legalise the whole exercise, not in an attempt to provide the landless with the critical resource, but rather, for political expedience, to sustain his lifetime regime. This is largely because the poor small ethnic groups have continued to struggle for survival on the periphery, despite the dawning of independence to Zimbabwe. The table below shows the 2009 Fast Track Land Reform Programme for both A1 and A2 model

[457] Wolmer, W. From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions. p.197
[536] Ibid, p.193
[458] Ibid, p.193

schemes in Masvingo Province:

Table 1.3 The 2009 Fast Track Land Reform Programme for both A1 and A2 model schemes in Masvingo province

Scheme Type	Settlement Patterns	Gutu	Masvingo	Chiredzi	Mwenezi	Province
A1 Villagised	Total Farms Settled	83	56	33	72	244
and Self-contained	Total Area (ha)	154,522	70,455	248,176	722,411	1,195,564
	Total Settlers	5,479	3,209	11,155	12,754	32,597
	Average Area/Settler (ha)	28.2	21.9	22.2	56.6	36.7

A2	Total Farms Settled	18	21	73	64	176
	Total Area (ha)	58,281	27,755	73,927	211,557	371,520
	Total Settlers	179	372	672	372	1,169
	Average Area/Settler (ha)	326	75	110	569	318

Source: Scoones et al. 2010 Zimbabwe's Land Reform p.34

Even though large tracks of land were acquired for resettlement in Masvingo Province, it is surprising to note that not much of it was put aside for those minority groups who were forced off their traditional lands to pave the way for the capitalist projects. The people who benefited were mostly those from large ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. Mugabe did not have the poor at heart since state resources had nothing to do with the people from which the resources were

extracted. For instance, in an interview with one informant from Chief Tshovani's area of jurisdiction, it came out that people from Chiredzi are not benefiting from the production of sugar taking place in their backyard.

The Shangane inhabitants believe that they have been short-changed when it comes to the issue of land allocation of sugar plots within the Lowveld. Conducted interviews point out that the Shangane people could have been partially satisfied if, at least, only the chief had acquired a farm during the redistribution of land within the sugar estates.[459] While some informants under Chief Tshovani claimed to have been side-lined on the redistribution exercise, some scholars argue that most of the chiefs in the Lowveld benefited in the form of valuable farmhouses in a battle dubbed the 'war of the houses'.[460] However, it is not clear whether Chief Tshovani also benefited in this struggle for houses.

7.5 The Mugabe regime and the Shangane relations

Having sacrificed their lives for the newly independent country, the Shangane people felt that their role during the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe had never been acknowledged by the nationalists, especially those detained at Gonakudzingwa Detention Camp. The villagers used to supply the nationalists and liberation fighters with information, food and other logistics required for the war's progression; but, surprisingly, the dawn of independence to Zimbabwe had presented them with a gloomy picture.

As mentioned earlier on in this chapter, Mugabe's visit to the sugar-producing area of Chiredzi in early 2000 was meant to resolve the alleged planned takeover of 4000 hectares for the resettlement of over 190 new farmers by the then Resident Minister of Masvingo Province

[459] Interview with Esau Mahlamba, acting Headman Magatse, Village Mahlamba, Zaka, 17 November 2017
[460] Scoones, I. (et al), 'Sugar, People and politics in Zimbabwe', p.579.

Shuvai Mahofa, who was aided by the Minister of Lands and Rural Resettlement, Douglas Mombeshora.[461] Twenty-six Members of Parliament in the province, including three traditional chiefs (namely: Gudo, Sengwe and Tshovani), were against this move since this would result in massive job losses and further impoverishment of the already poverty-stricken Shangane inhabitants.[541] Mugabe did not, however, manage to provide a solution to this political impasse. His removal from power had, however, left a legacy of poverty among the Shangane displacees and the underdevelopment of the Lowveld since he had been reluctant to provide quick solutions to the grievances of the Shangane people. This was largely because he knew very well that he had dished out portions of the Mkwasine Sugar Estates to his political favourites at the expense of the landless Shangane locals. One informant from the area remarked that they were frustrated that the Mugabe regime did not allow them to benefit from projects within their province; yet people from beyond the region were continuously allocated plots in their proximity.[462]

In essence, the colonial Government had disposed some sections of the Zimbabwean society of their traditional productive lands for either national projects or individual White settlements and, at the same time, failed to provide them with alternative lands for resettlement. A similar approach was also adopted by the Mugabe regime which had disregarded the plight of the colonially disadvantaged small ethnic groups, such as the Shangane inhabitants. In this case, the post-colonial state failed to honour the promises made to the Shangane and other groups of people during the armed struggle in the country, that they would, upon gaining independence, regain their lost lands. Therefore, the only legacy which the dramatic departure of Mugabe

[461] The Mirror: 'Mugabe to Resolve Tongaat Fields Grabbing' 24 – 30 June 2016, pp.1-2
[541] Ibid, pp.1-2.
[462] Interview with Esau Mahlamba, acting Headman Magatse, Village Mahlamba, Zaka, 17 November 2017

from office left for the Shangane people is nothing short of land deprivation, continuous marginalization and poverty among the long-oppressed minority groups.

7.6 Conclusion

The chapter has shed light on the colonial land policies, which were solely designed to dispossess the indigenous people of their fertile and productive lands for national projects. The Native Land Husbandry Act was one such segregation act that was meant to impoverish the majority of Africans, in general, and the Shangane inhabitants, in particular. The chapter has also discussed, at lengthy, the chaotic manner in which the Land Reform Programme was carried out. Issues of selective resource distribution were examined, with much focus on the role of the Superstructure and its negation of the small ethnic communities, regardless of their equal participation in the War of Liberation in Zimbabwe. The chapter has also exposed the environmental damage caused by the new farmers, as they competed for the few resources found on the former white-owned farms. The new tenants were largely obsessed with politics rather than preserving and conserving natural resources. Thus, instead of implementing Cernea's reversal strategy on the plight of the Shangane displacees, from landless to land-based resettlement, the post-colonial regime accelerated the rate of poverty among the group mentioned above. The next chapter focuses on the conclusion of this study.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

The thrust of this thesis was to explore the history of displacements and its effects on the displacees due to development projects, particularly that of the minority Shangane people. The study was enhanced by consulting the most salient Zimbabwean scholarship on the subject as well as international authors to compare the experiences of displaced people worldwide as highlighted in the literature review. In other words, a body of existing literature on development-induced displacement (McGregor, 2009; Mashingaidze, 2012; Tavuyanago, 2016; Wolmer, 2007; Nyandoro, 2012; Duri, 2016; Nyamunda, 2012; Mazuru, 2021) was consulted.[463] These scholars are credited for their detailed narratives on development-induced displacements, with special reference to the forced displacement of large ethnic communities and their subsequent smooth relocation. However, the above scholars overlooked the posteviction era of minority groups who were not officially considered for resettlement; but, rather, embarked on self-relocation as was the case with the displaced Shangane people.

This study was, therefore, inspired by the increasing poverty among the Shangane people of Chief Tshovani's area. The impoverishment of this community occurred despite Zimbabwe's independence. The newly introduced Land Reform Programme facilitated the return of people to their ancestral lands. The state did not resettle the Shangane community because they had embarked on what I termed self-relocation.

[463] McGregor, J. Crossing the Zambezi, 2009., Mashingaidze, T. M., 'Living and struggling on the margins: A Post Relocation History of the Zimbabwean Tonga's Livelihoods in Binga District 1950's to 2009', 2012, Tavuyanago, B., 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016., Wolmer, W. From Wilderness Vision to Farm Invasions, 2007, Nyandoro, M. 'Zimbabwe's land struggles and land rights, 2012. Duri, F.P.T., Development perspectives from the south: Troubling the Metrics of [Under-] development in Africa, 2016., Nyamunda, T., 'The State and the Bloody Diamond Rush in Chiadzwa: Unpacking the Contesting Interests in the Development of Illicit Mining and Trading, 2006–2009', 2012., Mazuru, N., 'Social vulnerability during disasters and its impact on community development: the case of the 2014 Tokwe-Mukosi dam floods in Masvingo, Zimbabwe', 2021.

Thus, the displaced Shangane people were placed at risk, following Cernea's Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction model. Apart from landlessness, the Shangane people were exposed to joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation.[464] While Cernea acknowledges the above mentioned losses, he failed to capture other losses such as networks, values, or violations of customary rights to resources, ways of life and traditional institutions.[545] In addition, environmental degradation and climate change are further elements which Cernea's model fails to capture. As I have shown, the above phenomena had exacerbated the plight of the displaced Shangane people, both those who remained in the Save area and those who migrated to Zaka communal lands, as the Lowveld is prone to either floods or droughts. These are some of the challenges which the Shangane displacees, continue to experience in the posteviction era.

As represented by Arrighi's theory of political and economic choices, the role of the superstructure was quite conspicuous in perpetuating capitalism, through the crafting of elite initiated policies which tended to consider only the interests of the rich and powerful sections of the society, at the expense of the minority groups.[465] This theory augments Cernea's IRR model in unpacking issues surrounding the forced displacement of the Shangane inhabitants from their ancestral homelands of Triangle and Hippo Valley, with special focus on their posteviction epoch.

The research has illuminated the history of the arrival of the Shangane people in the region and how, in the process, the new arrivals conquered the early inhabitants of the area who included the Karanga and Tsonga speaking people. The Shangane eventually exercised dominion over

[464] Cernea, M. M. Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model, p.36.
[545] Dwivedi, R. Models and Methods in Development induced displacements, p.718.
[465] Arrighi, G. *The Political Economy of Rhodesia*, Publications of the Institute of Social Studies, pp. 53-57.

the indigenous inhabitants who, in turn, embraced the Shangane title and culture. In fact, the Shangane people are believed to have migrated from South Africa and crossed into Zimbabwe through the eastern highlands, conquering the small ethnic groups along the way to south-east Zimbabwe. These people were a splinter group of Soshangane who also fled from Tshaka.[466] While the Tsonga speaking people in south-east Zimbabwe argued that they are not Shangane, history has shown that, just like the Ndebele and other Karanga groups found in the Lowveld, the above-mentioned groups were assimilated by the new arrivals of the Shangane people. The history of the Shangane people is also linked to trade on the southeast coast of Africa. These were groups of Tsonga which served as retinues for Portuguese and Indian traders.

At the time of this research, the Lowveld of south-east Zimbabwe was known as *KumaChangana* in the Karanga dialect, which literally implies the area occupied by the Shangane inhabitants. Similarly, what is of interest to note is that all the various ethnic groups in south-east Zimbabwe publicly speak Xishangane as their official language and not Tsonga or Ndebele. In short, the Shangane people had established hegemony over all the other ethnic groups which they found in the area, and these had embraced the Shangane culture.

I located the study within its historical context, i.e., the history of sugarcane cultivation, spanning from the Caribbean to south-east Zimbabwe, where it was finally adopted owing to the suitability of both the soil and the climate but under total irrigation. It also illuminates trends of private to public partnership which existed between the colonial regime and the sugar capitalists in their quest to set up a thriving sugar plantation in south-east Zimbabwe.

While the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe was good for the entire economy, the displaced Shangane people did not benefit from this agricultural development because they were relegated to the rank of labourer. The Shangane inhabitants of

[466] Mlambo, A. S. and Pangeti, E. S. The Political Economy of the Sugar Industry, p.7

Chiredzi town did benefit from the infrastructural developments in the district, such as the district hospital, shops, road network and the general industrialisation. But as most of the development was concentrated in Chiredzi Town, the majority of the Shangane residing in the rural areas did not see any benefit from the growing infrastructure.

Such kind of separate development in the British colonies was in tandem with the colonial power's policy of administration of her conquered territories. In this case, the British employed the policy of indirect rule in all her colonies. The policy of indirect rule entails that the dominant power had to administer the colony through the existing African traditional institutions.[467] In this scenario, the British ruled Southern Rhodesia through the existing traditional African chieftainships, such as that of Chief Tshovani in this particular context. This was because Britain knew that the administration of overseas territories with her own personnel was too expensive; hence, had to rope in the services of African chiefs. Thus, the use of African chiefs in the recruitment of human capital meant that Britain was assured of cheap labour for any technological development, such as the establishment of the sugar plantations, as was the case with the Lowveld Sugar Estates.

The above sentiments were confirmed by some informants in Chief Tshovani's area who testified that they were compelled to work for no payment during the initial phase of the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates.[468] In cases where they were paid, the Shangane labourers got as little as one dollar fifty cents per month, which could not sustain them and their families at all. Therefore, right from its inception, the policy of indirect rule ensured that areas for Whites and Blacks were, by colonial law, supposed to be developed separately. Thus, the White community in the Lowveld greatly enjoyed facilities such as the Buffalo Airport,

[467] Michael Tidy and D. Leeming, *A History of Africa 1840-1914*, p. 122
[468] Group Interview, Village 8, Tshovani, 22 May 2017.

Chiredzi town, the South-East College for the quality education of their children and a host of recreational areas on the Save conservancies, as well as the Gonarezhou National Game Park.

Furthermore, special infrastructures within the estates were named after important white figures who were at one time directors or managers of the sugar company, such as the Gibbo Stadium and Murray MacDougall Home Museum, among others. Only a primary school in Triangle Sugar Estate was named after an African by the name of Dunuza who, in actual fact, was the right-hand man for McDougall.[469] Dunuza is the man with whom MacDougall had travelled together with, all the way from South Africa; but, surprisingly, his name does not feature prominently in the pictorial history preserved in the museum dedicated to MacDougall in Triangle Sugar Estate. This, alone, shows the spirit of racial discrimination which existed in colonial Rhodesia and the Lowveld Sugar Estates. This was a type of life which the Shangane people were subjected to up to the advent of independence in Zimbabwe.

Just like in the colonial period, the dawning of independence to Zimbabwe also made it mandatory for large scale companies operating in the country to surrender part of their proceeds to the communities in which they do their businesses. According to some informants from Chief Tshovani's area, not much was realised in terms of the Community Share Ownership Trust funds since they had to walk long distances to access clinics, schools, and other related infrastructural developments.[470] The most unfortunate part was that there was too much external interference from politicians who, instead of leaving the administration of such funds to Chiredzi Rural District Council, whose mandate was constitutionally geared towards the development of rural areas, politicians from across the province often occupied the driving seat.

[469] Manamere, K., Remembering Tom the boss boy: the place of black immigrants in the establishment of the south eastern Lowveld Sugar Estates, Zimbabwe, 1906–1972, 2020, 409.
[470] Group Interview, Village 7, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.

Furthermore, most of the interviewed Shangane people pointed out that they were also not happy with the way the CSOT funds were disbursed. For instance, the majority displayed great displeasure over the inclusion of all the seven districts of Masvingo Province regarding the distribution of funds from Tongaat Huletts. In fact, they cited a lot of inconsistencies as other districts did not do the same with their CSOT funds. However, it appears to be the norm that small ethnic groups are usually side-lined to peripheral places when it comes to the allocation of state resources. This was also confirmed by Todaro and Smith, who argue that the high economic characteristics of poverty-riven groups range from women, indigenous populations, as well as ethnic minorities. These scholars note that poverty falls heavily on minority ethnic groups and indigenous population since about 40% of the world's nation-states have more than five sizable ethnic populations, one or more of which faces serious economic, political and social discrimination.[471] This explains why small ethnic communities are often the target for displacement when it comes to the setting up of large scale technological developments, as was the case with the Lowveld Sugar Estates in south-east Zimbabwe, which displaced the group under study. This thesis has, therefore, established that there seems to be an established pattern by both the colonial and post-colonial regimes of neglect or unpreparedness to cater for the livelihoods of the displaced people in the post eviction era.

Chapter Four of this thesis has made some important revelations that, despite its geographical location, south-east Zimbabwe (now known as Shangane land) was, prior to the displacement able to sustain the basic needs of its people. This was evidenced by the sound economic activities which characterised the region such as plenty of wild animals, fish, wild fruits, crop cultivation, cattle rearing, bee harvesting and trade, among other economic activities. Most of

[471] Todaro, M. P. and Smith S. C. *Economic Development*, p.202

the informants in the area concurred with their chief that their livelihoods were quite sustainable, had it not been for the forced removal from the area. [472]

One key respondent from the same locality further revealed that, each time the region failed to get sufficient rainfall for the season, the chief often sought divine intervention on Bendezi Hill, which is now within the restricted Hippo Valley Sugar Estate and this was usually followed by heavy down pours of rain. [473] He was, however; quick to point that, just like any other communities on the Zimbabwean plateau, in the event of drought sprees, the Shangane could trade for grain with their Karanga neighbours.[555] Therefore, this chapter argues that poverty and underdevelopment of Chief Tshovani's area was a pure colonial manufacture which resulted from the forced removal of the Shangane people from their area by the sugar capitalists. This was so in that the removal of people from an area upon which their bases of livelihoods were rooted usually produced disastrous socio-economic and political effects on the displacees.[556]

Whilst the Shangane people entirely depended on the south-east environment for survival, they, however, made sure that the fauna and flora of the Lowveld were carefully preserved in their natural state through the enforcement of societal taboos and strict adherence to their traditional farming techniques. This chapter has clearly demonstrated how the locals embarked on their economic activities which the informants agreed were very intact prior to colonialism and their subsequent displacement. This chapter, therefore, provides a window of comparative analysis of the Shangane's economic aspect against their post-eviction period, with special focus on their levels of poverty and development of the region in question. This kind of comparative analysis enabled the researcher to assess whether the forced displacement per se promoted the

[472] Group Interview, village head, Village 3, Tshovani, 21 May 2017.
[473] Interview with Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani people, 20 May 2017 [555] Ibid, Hlaisi Mundau, Chief of the Tshovani people, 20 May 2017 [556] Downing, T. E. Avoiding New Poverty, p.8.

much-anticipated economic transformation of the Shangane society or, rather, it generated increased poverty and underdevelopment of their area. Thus, most of the informants from the displaced Shangane people concurred that the current level of poverty amongst them was as a result of their forced removal from the originally fertile lands of Triangle-Hippo Valley area to self-resettlement on sandy and dry areas of Zaka communal lands. A visit to this area also showed that, indeed, the soils and vegetation in the locality were very poor; hence, could not economically sustain their livelihoods, as was the case prior to their forced displacement from the Triangle-Hippo Valley area. The same struggle on the periphery by the displaced Shangane people who were employed by Tongaat Huletts was also visible during the time of economic sanctions imposed on Southern Rhodesia after Prime Minister, Ian Smith, had declared the colony as independent from Britain in 1965. In fact, the Shangane workers in the sugar plantations continued to endure low wages and increased poverty during both the times of U.D.I and the war of liberation in Zimbabwe. The colonial regime cushioned the White farmers from the adverse effects of the economic sanctions and low supply of sugar in the rural areas owing to the inaccessibility of most of the roads since the dusty roads were planted with landmines or explosives by the freedom fighters. Thus, the state assisted the White sugar cane farmers into diversified agriculture which saw them growing wheat and bananas in place of sugarcane.

Just like the colonial state, the 1990s saw the Zimbabwean Government embarking on the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) to resuscitate the ailing economy. However, the programme brought with it a lot of economic hardships, which resulted in the retrenchment of many Shangane workers from the LSE and other companies across the country. In other words, the downsizing of workers by Tongaat Huletts resulted in many people sending their families home. This, probably, explains why Chief Nhema and Headman

Magatse's people were engaged in a confrontation over arable lands and grazing pastures in the early 1990s. In short, state-initiated policies often militated against the small ethnic communities such as the Shangane displacees. Therefore, ESAP left a legacy of poverty among the retrenched Shangane sugarcane workers. The thesis has also exposed the unwillingness of both the colonial state and the sugar company to provide the displaced Shangane people with alternative land for resettlement and this is what, probably, triggered their self-relocation to Zaka communal lands; a process which, in turn, presented them with mixed fortunes as the Shangane people were exposed to further landlessness and increased poverty.

Chapter Five of the thesis argues that scholars like Wolmer, Mavhunga and Tavuyanago have dwelt at length on the socio-economic, political and religious organisations of the Shangane prior to the inception of colonial rule and the subsequent forced displacement, without focusing on their post-eviction era.[474] This is an area in which the current research has made a contribution on the discourse of development studies literature, by interrogating the magnitude to which the forced displacement of the Shangane people had interfered with their once rich institutions. The chapter maintains that most of the Shangane traditional practices have remained intact, despite the onslaught of colonialism and the recent phenomenon of globalisation, had it not been for the forced displacement of the Shangane under Chief Tshovani which had pushed off some of the displacees to Zaka in self-relocation. This was the group which had exposed the Shangane heritage to serious political and social dilution and the antecedent impoverishment of their once rich culture.

Thus, the research among the Shangane people in Zaka communal areas has established that the Shangane names have mostly been distorted due to the interactions between Karangas and

[474] Wolmer, W. From wilderness vision to farm invasions, 2007, Mavhunga, C. The mobile workshop: Mobility, Technology, and human animal interaction in Gonarezhou (National parks), 1850-present, Tavuyanago, B. 'Living on the fringes of a protected area: Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) and the indigenous communities of South East Zimbabwe, 1934-2008', 2016.

their Shangane neighbours; for instance, *Lehinga* is pronounced by the Karangas as *Ruhinga*, Tshovani School pronounced as Tovani School and this reflects the magnitude to which their social organisation was severely interfered with. Another example to illustrate this point could be a sudden adoption of Karanga names by Shangane villagers; particularly those under Headman Magatse of Chief Nhema's area, such as *Chimumu, Nhamoinesu, Muhope, Tadziripa, Tirivangani*, among others.[475] This is also a sign of social or cultural erosion which now characterises most of the Shangane homes in Zaka communal area. For interest's sake, names like *Nhamoinesu,* which literally connotes poverty is still with us suggests that these people are still in poverty, despite having embarked on self-relocation to Zaka communal lands where they expected a better life after their forced removal. The process of assimilation is a natural one which is evident throughout time when groups migrate and intermarry with another group.

One informant remarked that the Shangane generation after him are no longer able to communicate in their vernacular language, Xishangane.[559] This implies that all those born after 1952 fall in this category. After all, the only school in Sub Chief Magatse's area of jurisdiction does not teach Xishangane as part of their language subject, although the school was named after Chief Tshovani. Worse still, most of the homes which the researcher visited had traits of inter-marriages, which resulted in most of the originally Shangane families adopting Karanga language as their official language; hence, most of the children from such families are given Karanga names.

The impact of forced displacement was also visible on the Shangane ritual of circumcision since most of them are no longer visiting their original Save area for the traditional ceremonies. This was, probably, attributed to the absence of thick forests to conduct the ceremony in their new environment of Zaka or the distance factor from Zaka communal lands to Save, which is

[475] Interview with Damson Nyongwa, Nyongwa village, Zaka, 10 November 2017.
[559] Ibid, Damson Nyongwa, Nyongwa village, 10 November 2017.

approximately 100 km. Apart from the above reasons, it appears as if participation in the circumcision process was also exacerbated by general economic hardships and the complacence by the new Shangane generation born after the forced displacement which, because of the inter-mingling with their Karanga age groups, lacked the moral adherence to their original culture.

Coming out of the research is that the establishment of the LSE had also introduced a new pattern of life which was the commercialisation of labour. In fact, the simple communal Shangane life was divided into rural and estate life, which saw many of the Shangane males tracking to the estates for employment. Interviews conducted in the area revealed that many divorce cases were recorded as some of the casual labourers let go of their rural life for estate life, which was often characterised by high levels of prostitution. Thus, instead of alleviating their plight upon securing employment, some unfaithful Shangane males, rather, accelerated their poverty through new marriages. In short, the responsibilities of a male, as a father figure, was removed in many homes, leaving women with the burden of bringing up the children; of course, with some vacuum on family rituals.[476] The kind of behaviour by some Shangane labourers calculated a vicious circle of poverty. Thus, in sync with the above, Harris notes that the parents' poverty and failure in life is passed on to the children who grow up poorly equipped to compete for jobs and other services. The disadvantages are further inherited by the next generation of children who, because of lack of better paying jobs, continue to stay poor, like their parents and grandparents before them.[477] Therefore, the compound life on the sugar estates could be another area which requires further research.

The research has also shown that the advent of the Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe has totally reversed the traditional authority of chiefs on land distribution. A good example could

[476] Group Interview, Hippo Valley sugar out growers, Chiredzi, 21 June 2021
[477] Harris, J. R. *The Nurture Assumption: Why Children Turn out the Way They Do*, pp. 1-2.

be the chaotic Fast Track Land Reform Programme which usurped the powers of traditional chiefs on land allocation. Worse still, the new farmers, who took up land on some pockets of the sugar estates, refused to come under the existing traditional boundaries and this, further, fragmented the political institutions of the once vibrant judiciary system of small ethnic communities, particularly that of Chief Tshovani. Moreover, traditional chiefs had their powers further reduced through the CLA of 1983 which replaced the colonial TTLA. By this act, chiefs no longer had power to allocate land, as was the case before. However, they were, rather, compelled to do so, in consultation with the rural district councils of their respective constituencies.

As if this was not enough, the Shangane religious cosmology was seriously disturbed by restrictive measures put in place by the Lowveld Sugar Estate authorities. The Shangane displacees were no longer allowed to access their religious shrine on the Bendezi Hill within the Hippo Valley Sugar Estate, except under heavy estate security guards; an act which they viewed as an infringement of their privacy to freedom of worship and a sign of disrespect for traditional authorities. According to an informant from the area, this move by the sugar capitalists totally disconnected them from the usual protection by their ancestors, thereby exposing them to hunger, diseases and other related misfortunes.[478]

Chapter Six of the thesis has exposed both human beings and capitalism as having the potential forces of shaping, disrupting or even devastating the Earth's planetary ecosystems.[479] While human influence on climate change was clear, it was equally observed that capitalism, as a historical imperial force, also contributed to climate change, in addition to the destruction of the biodiversity upon whose Shangane people's livelihoods were originally constructed prior

[478] Interview with, Letwin Mapindani, village 8, Tshovani, 24 June 2021.

[479] Satgar, V. 'The anthropocene and imperial ecocide: Prospects for just transitions', pp. 47-48 [564] Wolmer, W., From the Wilderness vision to farm invasions, p. 95.

to their eviction. In other words, the setting up of the LSE negatively configured the outlook of the physical environment, especially the areas around the sugar plantations, as well as the host lands to which the displaced Shangane people migrated. Initially, the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates had caused the destruction of much vegetation and animal habitat, among other ecological damages since the area was supposed to be first cleared off in preparation for sugarcane cultivation.

In fact, Wolmer points out that the colonial state assisted the sugar company by availing bulldozers to clear off the land in preparation for sugarcane cultivation.[564] While the capitalist sugar project was taking a toll on the environment, the displaced Shangane people were also exerting the same ecological damage, right from the place of their eviction to Zaka Communal Lands. Upon arrival to their destination, these people also settled in areas with already depleted natural resources and this largely contributed to further deterioration of the physical environment. River siltation became a perennial problem since some of the displacees settled along river banks, where they practised unauthorised farming.

Momsen's research reveals that canals also became breeding grounds for mosquitoes.[480] Thus, the Lowveld Sugar Estates were well known for Malaria cases; hence, this put a financial strain on the already poverty-stricken Shangane casual labourers. However, Cernea's emphasis on the IRR model reversal strategy was only possible if both the colonial state and the sugar company had prioritised the health needs of the Shangane displacees. He further argues that only adequate financial backing would make the reversal strategy possible and, if fully implemented, this would lead the Shangane people from the predicament of increased morbidity and mortality to improved health care.[481]

[480] Momsen, J., Gender and Development, p.121
[481] Cernea, M. M. I*mpoverishment Risks Reconstruction: An Operational Risks Reduction Model,* p.36.

Findings from the research also point out that the continuous application of fertilisers on the fields had negatively affected aquatic life in the nearby rivers of Runde and Chiredzi, respectively. Water from the two rivers also carried sewage from the labourers' sectional housing units. The polluted water was not only a problem to aquatic life but also the lives of people downstream as well as their animals.[482] My visit to the villages near the sugar estates revealed that the area inhabited by the remnants of Chief Tshovani, who remained in the Save area, have some difficulties in accessing clean water for domestic purposes since the area has suddenly become dry. Similarly, scholars like Tafanenyasha and Dzinomwa have attributed this sudden drying up of areas around sugar estates to the cultivation of sugarcane, as the agricultural practice causes the ground water to dry up.[568]

Furthermore, the researcher also observed that the sugarcane mills in Hippo Valley and Triangle produced carbon gases during the milling processes, thereby polluting the environment. This was also worsened by vehicles in and around Chiredzi Town and the sugar estates. Apart from carbon gases, the environment was also polluted through the emissions of methane gases from cattle, since recent research has indicated that about ninety per cent of the global methane gas emissions come from cattle.[483] This leaves one wondering as to how much damage has already been caused to the ozone layer by the Shangane people since most of them were into cattle rearing before and after their forced displacement.

In line with the above perspective, environmental degradation was further accelerated by the chaotic FTLRP in Zimbabwe, which resulted in some of the land-hungry citizens occupying pockets of the sugar estate and, these, became known as sugarcane outgrowing farmers. Some

[482] Interview with Simbarashe Chibhememe, Hippo Valley sugarcane out grower, Chiredzi, 11 December 2020.
[568] Tafanenyasha, C., and Dzinomwa, T. Land-use impacts on river water quality, p.1
[483] GZU campus Radio News bulletin, Cattle rearing contribute to climate change, Monday 22 March 2021. [570]Satgar, V. 'The anthropocene and imperial ecocide: Prospects for just transitions', p.47.

of the new sugarcane farmers who took up farming in Mkwasine and some pockets of the Hippo Valley Sugar Estates had no good practical knowledge on agriculture; hence, this negatively affected the natural environment. Animals in the surrounding areas were hunted down, grasses and trees destroyed, to increase areas of cultivation, on one hand, and to get supplies of game meat, on the other hand. This was largely because the FTLRP was neither organised nor did it prioritise environmental conservation. In sync with the above, Satgar avers that human beings have become a geological force in shaping, determining, and disrupting the Earth's planetary eco-systems.[570] This has, in turn, led to the climate change which is now experienced in the Lowveld, as reflected by either floods or droughts, among other natural calamities.

Pursuant to the foregoing dialectic, the food insecurity of scourge in the area has led to an avalanche of non-governmental organisations providing food relief in Chiredzi District. These include: the World Vision; Ox Farm; Plan International, just to mention a few. The above-mentioned organisations mainly form part of the social economy, as was the case with the South African soup kitchens. Thus, a social economy refers to organisations and enterprises that seek to achieve limited, but progressive change within the confines of the current social order by ameliorating the effects of market failure through initiatives that target particular problems such as hunger, unemployment and poverty or even the training of the disabled people, as is done by some of the organisations.[484] Recent studies have revealed that most of these non-governmental entities create a dependence syndrome in their field of operations, instead of equipping the inhabitants with sustainable livelihood centred skills. Thus, a forced displacement, if not properly implemented, often generates serious ecological effects on the livelihoods of the displacees, such as poverty and other related misfortunes.

[484] Williams, M. 'The Solidarity economy and social transformation', Satgar, V, (eds) *M. The Solidarity Economy Alternative: Emerging Theory and Practice,* (South Africa: University of Kwazulu Natal press, 2014), p.46.

Apart from the ecological damage, Chapter Seven of the thesis has specifically dealt with the land tenure system in post-colonial Zimbabwe, to unravel the disparities endured by small ethnic communities in the allocation of state resources. Thus, the selective land distribution, especially during the unorganised FTLRP had, instead of alleviating poverty among the displaced Shangane people, rather accentuated it to gargantuan proportions. The Government's preferential allocation of state resources to the large ethnic groups, at the expense of small and marginalised communities, lies at the centre of this thesis since this had seriously aggravated poverty among the colonially disadvantaged Shangane inhabitants of south-east Zimbabwe. The displaced Shangane people were of the view that, having been forced off their traditional lands during the colonial period, the dawning of independence in

Zimbabwe implied a return to their Triangle-Hippo Valley area, as was the case elsewhere. The research has established that people from across the entire nation were free to apply for land allocation within the Lowveld sugar estates since this was said to be a national project. Thus, just like any other citizens, the displaced Shangane people claimed to have also applied to the Ministry of Lands and Resettlement for the state acquired Mkwasine Sugar Estate, only to discover that their names were allegedly struck off the list somewhere in Harare. However, a further interrogation into the matter showed that the Shangane people were not, in the first place, interested in getting pieces of land in the sugar estates until after they realised that sugarcane farming was lucrative; hence, started protesting, a claim which they strongly refuted.[485]

However, it should be noted that some of the Shangane displacees also got portions of the A1 farms, though not the majority, as claimed by some informants in Chief Tshovani's area. Those who migrated to Zaka communal lands did not benefit, but those who got land still complained

[485] Interview with, Takudzwa Chimanya; executive Officer Technical Services Chiredzi Rural District Council, Chiredzi, 24 May 2017.

that they were allocated land in dry places which could not economically sustain them, as was the case prior to their eviction from the Triangle-Hippo Valley area. Moreover, the displaced Shangane people are of the view that they are continuously losing out their ancestral lands to people from outside the district.

Recently, the Mugabe regime tried to engage the Shangane chiefs on this issue, but nothing was realised to this end. As if this was not sufficient, another wave of eviction was, again, looming for the Shangane people who resided in Chilonga. This pending eviction is necessitated by the need to establish yet another irrigation scheme, but not for sugarcane this time; but, rather, for the growing of Lurcene grass, meant for dairy cows. Thus, it appears as if the small ethnic communities in Africa, in general, and Zimbabwe, in particular, always had their places targeted for technological developments. The case of the Shangane people of southeast Zimbabwe clearly demonstrates the way both the colonial and post-colonial states dealt with the Shangane issue. This is largely because small ethnic groups lack political voices or decisions on national projects and the distribution of state resources, since they are often side-lined to peripheral places where they continue to struggle for emancipation.

Therefore, the thesis has demonstrated that poverty among the displaced Shangane people, who remained in the Save area, and those who took up self-relocation to Zaka communal lands was a product of their forced displacement as reflected by the failure of both the sugar company and the colonial and post-colonial states to provide them with alternative productive lands after the eviction.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Guide for in-depth interviews

a) Development-induced displacement victims

Background information

1. What were the pre-eviction economic activities in this area?

2. What were the social, political and religious activities in your community before the displacement? Do you, by any chance had shrines for performing ritual ceremonies if yes, do you still have access to them?

3. Who were your local authorities prior to the displacement?

4. What was your reaction to the forced displacement?

5. Why did you embark on self-relocation to Zaka communal lands and why again did some of you remain in the proximity of the sugar estates?

Information on the establishment of the Lowveld Sugar Estates and the forced displacement of the Shangane people under Chief Tshovani.

1. Were there any displacement plans by the government before the forced displacement?

2. If yes, how did you feel upon hearing the displacement news?

3. If yes, did you agree to be displaced?

4. What were the compensation procedures if any?

5. Were you engaged in the displacement and compensation plans and procedures?

6. Did the sugar company assist you in the post-eviction era through its corporate social responsibility?

The displacement process:

1. When were you forced off your traditional living space of Hippo Valley-Triangle area?

2. Had you ever experienced a displacement of this nature before?

3. How did you transport your belongings to your current residential area?

4. How were you received in your host environment?

5. Were you satisfied by the response of both the government and the LSE management?

Post-eviction experiences of the Shangane people in Save or Zaka area

1. To what extent did the forced displacement affect your economic lifestyle?

2. To what magnitude did the eviction affect your social, religious, and political institutions?

3. What challenges did you confront in your interaction with your new Karanga neighbours? Were you by any chance given any first preference in terms of employment by Tongaat Huletts Sugar Company?

Sub-chief/Chief

1. Were all the villages under your jurisdiction affected by the forced displacement?

2. Why did you in the first place leave the other Shangane people in the Save area when you self-relocated to Zaka communal lands?

3. Why did you then return to Save and leave another group again in Zaka?

District administrator's Office/Chiredzi Rural Council

1. Which chiefdom was affected by the displacement?

2. What assistance is given by the LSE management towards the development of Chief Tshovani's area?

3. How far has the post-colonial state addressed the land imbalance in the Lowveld?

Appendix 2: Guide for focus group discussions

Displaced Shangane women in Save/Zaka communal lands

1. What is your general description of life in your host land?

2. To what extent has the forced displacement affected you as women?

3. To what magnitude have you been socially affected by the intermarriages in this area?

4. Are there any efforts that have been put in place by the government to engage you in the decision-making process that seek to improve your conditions as colonially displaced women?

5. What ecological damage do you think as women have also exerted on the environment?

6. To what extent has the FTLRP in Zimbabwe relieve your plight?

Male Shangane displacees in Save area or Zaka communal lands

1. What is your general description of the post-eviction life in this area?

2. What were your experiences as labourers under Tongaat Hulett Company?

3. Did the employment by any chance transform your economic and social lifestyles?

4. Are there challenges or benefits that you think are peculiar to males or females after the displacement?

5. Has the government consulted you on what can be done to solve the challenges that you face?

6. Were you given first preference of sugar portions in the 2002 Mkwasine Resettlement programme?

Displaced Shangane males and females in Save area/Zaka communal lands

1. What is your general perception of this post-displacement area?

2. Are there any benefits or challenges you are facing in this area? If there are challenges, what do you think should be done to address those challenges?

3. What do you think should be the best method of disbursing funds from the Chiredzi Community Share Ownership Trust (CCSOT)?

4. What do you think were the ecological damage caused by operation of the sugar company in the Lowveld?

5. How do you think you can best help at individual and community level to curb climate change?

Appendix 3: In-depth Interviews Participant information sheet

28392 Hillside Extension
Hillside, Masvingo
Zimbabwe

In-depth Interviews Participant Information sheet

Struggling on the periphery for survival: The impact of the Lowveld Sugar Estates on the Shangane environment in south-east Zimbabwe, 1951-2008.

Dear prospective participant

My name is Ishmael Makanyisa, and I am a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. As part of the requirements of my programme, I am conducting research whose title is as stated above.

In fact, the study seeks to explore the history of development-induced displacement and its effects on the post-eviction ecology, socio-economic, political, and religious environment of the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe from 1951 to 2008. In other words, it examines how the forced removal of the Shangane people and the political dynamics in the country

affected their livelihoods. It further demonstrates on how the Zimbabwean indigenous policy of the Land Reform programme ushered in a new dispensation for sustainable development among the colonially displaced Shangane inhabitants.

It is against this backdrop, that I am kindly inviting you to be part of the study and participate in in-depth interviews. The in-depth interviews will take 30 to 40 minutes. I selected you to be part of this study because, I considered you to be knowledgeable about the issues under investigation. Your involvement in this study will be during your spare time. May I also bring to your attention that participation in this research is entirely voluntary, hence there are no monetary benefits. In addition, refusal to participate or to answer the questions will not warrant any consequences. In the event that you feel you want to withdraw from participation in the study, you are free to discontinue and there will be no penalty. Your participation in this study will be kept anonymous. I do not compel you to provide me with your actual names or addresses in conducting this research and upon your request I can replace your real names with pseudo names for the sake of confidentiality. The data gathered from this study will be stored anonymously and also secured in password protected computer files. The study involves audiorecordings, however, your consent would be first sought before the recording.

If you want to access my completed thesis, it will be available on the Wits world-wide web. The findings of this study may help the government and developers to implement measures that may help you to recover from the effects of the forced displacement through the provision of alternative productive lands for resettlement.

Should you have any questions related to this study, feel free to contact me on my mobile number, +263775130494 or on my email, makanyisaish@gmail.com. I would be highly appreciate your participation in this study.

Yours sincerely

Ishmael Makanyisa

Appendix 4: Focus Group Discussions Participant Information sheet

28392 Hillside Extension
Hillside, Masvingo
Zimbabwe

Focus Group Discussion Participant Information sheet

Struggling on the periphery for survival: The impact of the Lowveld Sugar Estates on the Shangane environment in south-east Zimbabwe, 1951-2008.

Dear prospective participant

My name is Ishmael Makanyisa and I am a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. As part of the requirements of my programme, I am conducting a research whose title is as stated above.

The study seeks to explore the history of development-induced displacement and its effects on the post-eviction ecology, socio-economic, political and religious environment of the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe from 1951 to 2008. In other words, the study examines how the forced removal of the Shangane people and the political dynamics in the country affected their livelihoods. In fact, the study further demonstrates on how the Zimbabwean indigenous policy of the Land Reform programme ushered in a new dispensation for sustainable development among the colonially displaced Shangane inhabitants.

It is against this backdrop, that you are being invited to take part in a focus group discussion of 8 to 10 people with some of your community members. I selected you to be part of this study because as victims of the forced displacement, I considered you to have knowledge and experience on the issues under investigation. The focus group discussion will take 45 minutes to 1 hour.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and there are no monetary benefits. In the event that you feel you want to withdraw from participating in the study, you are free to do so, and there will be no penalty.

The study may involve the audio-recording of the group interview and confidentiality will be highly uphold. Thus, neither your names nor any other identifying information will be associated with the audio recording. Only the researcher will have access to the recording hence the audios will be deleted after data compilation.

Since a focus group involves a group interview, it may be difficult to provide complete confidentiality or anonymity, but however participants will be reminded to respect the privacy of fellow participants to ensure that the focus group will be a safe space for open discussion. Participants are free to use pseudo names in place of their actual names so as to protect your confidentiality. May I once again, remind all participants that all data will be kept in a password protected computer file.

I will use the collected data to write my thesis which will be available on the Wits world-wide web. The findings of this study may help the government and developers to implement measures that may help you to recover from the effects of forced displacement through the provision of alternative productive lands for resettlement.

Should you have any questions related to this study, feel free to contact me on my mobile number, +263775130494 or on my email, makanyisaish@gmail.com. I would highly appreciate your participation in this study.

Yours sincerely

Ishmael Makanyisa

Appendix 5: Observation Participant Information sheet

28392 Hillside Extension
Hillside, Masvingo
Zimbabwe

Observation Participant Information sheet

Struggling on the periphery for survival: The impact of the Lowveld Sugar Estates on the Shangane environment in south-east Zimbabwe, 1951-2008.

Dear prospective participant

My name is Ishmael Makanyisa and I am a PhD student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. As part of the requirements of my programme, I am conducting a research whose title is as stated above.

The study seeks to explore the history of development-induced displacement and its effects on the post-eviction ecology, socio-economic, political and religious environment of the Shangane people in south-east Zimbabwe from 1951 to 2008. In other words it examines how the forced removal of the Shangane people and the political dynamics in the country had affected their livelihoods. In fact, the research further demonstrates on how the Zimbabwean indigenous

policy of the Land Reform programme ushered in a new dispensation for sustainable development among the colonially displaced Shangane inhabitants.

It is against this backdrop, that I hereby seek approval to observe you whilst you carry out your daily activities either at individual or community levels. May I also be allowed to participate where possible in some of your social, religious, political and economic activities? The findings of this study may help the government and the developers to implement measures that may help you to recover from the effects of forced displacement through the provision of alternative productive lands for resettlement.

Should you have any questions related to this study, feel free to contact me on the following mobile number, +263775130494 or on my email, makanyisaish@gmail.com. I would highly appreciate your participation in this study.

Yours sincerely

Ishmael Makanyisa

Appendix 6: Approval letter from the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage

All correspondence should be addressed to
"The Secretary for Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage"
Telephone: 783484-7, 783508

ZIMBABWE

Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage
15th Floor, Mukwati Building
Corner Selous Avenue and Fourth Street
Harare
ZIMBABWE

MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE & HERITAGE
2016 -12- 12
HUMAN RESOURCES
MUKWATI BUILDING

Ref: RDM/23/8

12 December 2016

Mr Ishmael Makanyisa
20519 Bandwe Street
Rujeko C, Masvingo

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH: ISHMAEL MAKANYISA: WITWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY

The above subject refers.

It is my pleasure to inform you that the Head of Ministry has authorized your field research on the topic entitled, **"The establishment of the Lowveld sugar estates and its impact on the Shangane environment of south-eastern Zimbabwe".** The intended research is to be carried out in Chiredzi District, Masvingo Province.

Please not that you are to sign an Official Secrecy Act before you commence your research. Information gathered is confidential and should not be divulged to any un-authorised members of the public.

The Ministry would be grateful to receive a copy of the end product.

B. Kandemiri
For: Secretary for Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage