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Full Length Research Paper

Involuntary displacement and resettlement to make way for diamond mining: the case of Chiadzwa villagers in Marange, Zimbabwe

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Rural communities bear a disproportionate burden of the cost of development projects. The paper is a preliminary examination of the displacement and resettlement in May 2011 of villagers from Chiadzwa in Marange communal area to make way for diamond mining. Data was collected using semi-structured questionnaires and key informant interviews. Snowball sampling was used to recruit respondents. By December 2011, a total of 600 families will have been resettled at ARDA Transau farm in Odzi in Manicaland Province. More displacements from the mining concession are planned for 2012 and 2013 as determined by stages in mining development. To avert homelessness, landlessness and food insecurity each displaced family was allocated a 3-bedroomed house, 11hectares of arable land including 1 hectare earmarked for irrigation and a once off US$1 000 disturbance allowance. Each family will also get agricultural inputs for the first agriculture season post resettlement and basic food items every four months until the next harvest. Five months after relocation displaced families do not know how much and when they will get compensation for loss of economic and non economic assets. Two months before the start of the agriculture season land preparation has not started. Secondary school pupils travel 8 km to the nearest school. Pre- displacement the families' derived livelihood from agriculture and artisanal diamond mining. Current initiatives foster dependency rather than rehabilitation, development and livelihood sustainability.

Keywords: Chiadzwa, displacement, resettlement, development, Zimbabwe.

INTRODUCTION

Development projects, natural disasters and wars can trigger internal or international population movements. Some population movements are voluntary whereas others are involuntary (Gebre, 2003). There is a recursive relationship between population and development. Displacement is an unintended negative externality of developmental projects (WCD 2000). Displacement by development projects is the single largest cause of involuntary migration in the world (Oliver-Smith, 2002; de Wet, 2006; Pankhurst and Piguet, 2009: 250).Cumulatively development projects rather than war cause the greatest population movement (Robinson, 2003). Such projects displace approximately15 million people a year (Cernea, 2008). Infrastructural development in the period 1990-2000 caused the displacement of 90-100 million (Cernea and McDowell, 2000). This translates to 10 million people a year worldwide who were displaced by infrastructural development projects (Cernea, 2000; Hordofa 2003). The greatest burden of displacement is to date caused by dam construction which is credited with the displacement of 40-80 million people (Cernea, 2000; WCD, 2000).

In Africa the dominant population movements are attributed to refugees and development induced displacement (Cernea1997). Whereas drought and civil wars in Africa have received widespread coverage as fundamental causes of population movement, mine induced displacement on the other hand is under reported and less documented (Oucho and Rodgers,

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2005; Munshifwa, 2007). There are no data bases of people affected by development projects as a separate sub population group from those classed as internally displaced (Mcdonald et al., 2008). Perhaps this is due to the fact that the number of people displaced by mining tends to be smaller and the phenomenon more localised compared with displacement by other developmental projects such as dam construction, urban renewal and infrastructural projects. Furthermore communities affected by mining projects are often hidden from public view. Construction of the Kariba dam (1953-1958) displaced 57 000 Gwembe-Tonga people in both Zambia and Zimbabwe from submergence zones (Cernea1997; World Commission on Dams 2000). Urban renewal code named Operation Murambatsvina (or Operation Restore Order) displaced 700 000 people in Zimbabwe (Mpava et al., 2005; Tibaijuka 2005). The largest number of mining induced displacements in the world is in India where 2.55 million people were displaced from 1950-1990 (Lassey, 2002). Development project inception is often marked by political grandstanding with emphasis placed on the need for trade-offs between meeting national socio-economic developmental targets and debt servicing rather than on the welfare of development impacted communities.

In the last 25 years there has been increasing recognition that the number of involuntarily development displaced people has become a global problem that warrants investigation (Rajagopal, 2002; Gebre, 2003; Robinson, 2003). Whereas the Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states have only 2% of the world's population, they are home to 10% of displaced people in the world (IRIN 2006). Displacement exacts social, environmental and economic costs on exceedingly vulnerable and marginalised communities with tenuous and variable livelihoods (Thukral 1992: 51; Cernea 1999). A disproportionate number of displaced people live in rural areas. Loss of land bodes on loss of means of survival and recovery to economic conditions before displacement is often not guaranteed. In 2000, World Bank funded projects put 2.6-3.6 million individuals at risk of displacement and relocation (Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) 2002; World Bank 2002).

In Zimbabwe mining is the fastest growing economic sector and a major stimulus for economic recovery (African Development Bank, 2011). In 2010 the mining sector contributed 65% of total exports (Ministry of Finance 2011; Mtisi, Dhliwayo and Makore, 2011).Of the top ten exports in Zimbabwe in 2008 diamonds were ranked 9th. Globally the country is among top ten diamond producers with estimated revenue of US$334 million (Partnership Africa Canada 2009). In the foreseeable future rural communities will most likely continue to be impacted negatively at various stages of a mine's lifespan, exploration, inception, closure or during the life course of the mine. The mining sector requires large areas for prospecting, mining development and dumps.

The Chiadzwa diamond field covers an area of 66 640 hectares in Marange Communal area (Mtisi et al., 2011). The first discovery of diamonds was by De Beers in 2002.There is contestation over ownership of the deposits. Government wrestled ownership from Africa Consolidated Resources in 2006 following the discovery and subsequent artisanal mining of the diamonds by villagers. To mine the deposits government formed a 50% joint partnership each with Mbada and Canadile mining companies. Since then more mining licenses have been granted to a Chinese company (Anjin) and other companies in a not so transparent manner.

Mbada diamond mining company will cause the physical displacement of 600 households to make way for diamond mining in Chiadzwa a rural area in Marange, 100 km south of the town of Mutare in Manicaland Province (Katsaura, 2010). The first 50 families were displaced and relocated in May 2011 and resettled in two villages at ARDA Transau a government owned farm in Odzi in Manicaland Province 25 km from Mutare. The two villages each with 25 households have been named Chiadzwa and Betera. By December 2011 an additional 550 families will have been resettled. Subsequent displacements and resettlement are scheduled for the next 2 years. As countries compete for foreign direct investment (FDI) expansion in the mining sector will no doubt continue to displace more people (Downing, 2002). According to Twerefou (2009) the mining sector in Africa in the past 50 years attracted vast financial resources by way of (FDI). Most of FDI flows to Africa have gone into the mining and petroleum sector. FDI to sub-Saharan Africa rose from US$17 billion in 2005 to US$30 billion in 2007 (UNCTAD, 2008). In many countries in Africa, minerals are a major export and contribute immensely to GDP. Firming prices of mineral commodities on the international market will spur continued investment in the sector.

Objectives

The research was undertaken to:

- find out the context of the displaced villagers' reactions to their displacement and resettlement
- capture villagers' perspectives regarding their displacement and resettlement
- examine how the relocation process was managed

METHODS

Since this is a preliminary study of displacement and resettlement of the Chiadzwa villagers, the case study research design was chosen because of its explanatory utility (Agergaard, 1999). An exploratory case study

attempts to provide an exposé of little known phenomena and generate and document new information. The case study allowed the researchers to collect detailed information from multiple perspectives as determined by the context and experiences of respondents (Denzin and Linoln, 2000). Furthermore a case study is amenable to using mixed methods which increases validity and reliability of research findings (Creswell, 2002; Yin 2003; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004:15). Stake (1994) posited that apart from a case study's uniqueness it has functional specificity. It is not a methodological choice but a choice of objects to study. Though results cannot be generalized to the broader population, Orlikowsi and Baroundi (1991) opined that insights from the concrete case may be transposed to the social totality beyond the individual case.

Villagers were involuntarily moved from the Chiadzwa diamond fields and relocated at ARDA Transau farm. Some displaced people were reluctant to talk about their experiences. They think that negative comments about their experiences may compromise their chances of getting compensation in the future. In a politically polarized country villagers fear that if they complain too much they may be branded opposition supporters and meet an even worse fate. Considerably therefore displaced people are generally invisible and dispersed making it difficult to get large samples. Some villagers currently live with relatives elsewhere while waiting and hoping that socioeconomic conditions at the resettlement farm improve sufficiently to support sustained livelihoods. To counteract the above problems purposive snowball sampling was employed to identify respondents. According to Atkinson and Flint (2001) snowball sampling can be used to gain entry to difficult to locate and recruit population sub-groups. The sample builds up as the research evolves. Potential interviewees were found through chain referrals. Entry point to the community was through the village heads or their proxies and respondents who had already been interviewed (Jacobean and Landau, 2003; Mckenzie and Mistiaen, 2007).

Semi-structured questionnaires were the primary data collection method. The questions were designed and formulated to explore a range of issues related to socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, their valuation of lost non economic assets, comparison of their situation before and after and how resettlement ought to have occurred had they been consulted. Questionnaires were supplemented by key informant interviews. Field observation was carried out for the purposes of ground truthing to ascertain living conditions, resources to support livelihoods and access to basic resources and amenities.

The account focuses on the first wave of displacement and resettlement of villagers by Mbada diamond mining company. Choice to study the Chiadzwa villagers that were physically displaced and resettled by Mbada diamond mining company is due to reasons outlined below. Diamond mining in Chiadzwa in Zimbabwe attracted negative international publicity due to the legal wrangle over ownership of the diamond claims, the opaque way of granting mining concessions, the 2009 human rights violations regarding removal of artisanal miners from the diamond fields and national non-compliance with the Kimberly Process Certification Scheme (KP) when selling diamonds. Furthermore Mbada diamond mining company is a private- public owned company.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Fifty percent of respondents were aged between 40-50 years while 30% and 20% were aged between 29-39 years and 51-60 years respectively. Some male household heads were away looking for employment in Mutare, the nearest urban area, which explains why half the heads of households are women. Fifty –five percent of the respondents were married, 30% were widowed and 15% divorced. The average household size is 5. Fifty families or 250-300 individuals were displaced in the first wave of relocation.

In the first phase of relocation, displacement truncated the education of 33 primary school and 30 secondary school pupils. Some students have since dropped out of school. The rest had to undergo a period of adjustment to new learning and teaching environments. Changing schools also entails additional costs to parents related to purchase of new uniforms and ancillary costs. The mining company did not build schools or a health centre in the resettlement area. It refurbished an existing primary school at a cost of US$ 58 000. However, secondary school students have to walk 8 km to the nearest school.

While respondents surveyed were literate they do not have the requisite training and skills to be hired by the diamond mining company. Modern mining operations are capital intensive, highly mechanized and therefore less likely to require unskilled labour. In 2002 the mining sector employed less than 1% of the global workforce (Mineral Policy Centre, 2002). The majority of those displaced by the diamond mine derived livelihood from agriculture and artisanal diamond mining. The community's expectation was to get an inheritable employment quota. The mine officials were noncommittal about offering displaced people jobs but agreed nonetheless to keep a list of young people from among the displaced people Table 1.

Context of the displacement and resettlement

As with most development induced displacements those

Table 1. Background characteristics of displaced household heads

Characteristic	Percent
Age	
29-39	30
40-50	50
51-60	20
Sex	
Male	50
Female	50
Marital Status	
Married	55
Divorced	15
Widowed	30
Household size at time of displacement	
3	10
4	15
5 and above	75
Average	5
Number of school going children at displacement	
Primary	33
Secondary	30
Education level of household heads	
Primary	35
Secondary	45
Tertiary	20
Employment status of household heads	
Employed	20
Unemployed	80

affected are excluded from the planning and decision making process. Chiadzwa villagers were given a month's notice before they were evicted from their homes to make way for diamond mining. Phase one of relocations occurred in May, 2011 in the midst of the crop harvesting period. Some displaced families were relocated before they had quite finished harvesting their crops which has implications on household food security. Displacement was involuntary and 80% of those interviewed underscored the fact that they would have resisted the move if they could before hired lorries were used to transport them to ARDA Transau farm. Displeasure with the planned relocation was expressed during community gatherings where villagers conveyed their displeasure with the impeding displacement through oral submissions. Villagers however never directly lobbied mine officials against the move. Lack of civil society presence in rural areas makes it difficult for affected families to mobilize a critical mass of people to challenge the displacement. Although they did not want to be moved the villagers did not resist the evacuation. Villagers were not directly involved in the physical planning of the resettlement area. Just before the relocation the mining company arranged a reconnaissance tour of the resettlement area by community leaders Table 2.

Entitlements

Displaced families had hoped for a wide range of entitlements. Common forms of compensation range from transport cost, compensation for lost economic and non economic assets, lost income and common property resources. So far displaced people got three types of benefits. The mining company hired lorries to move them and their livestock from the mining concession to ARDA Transau farm. Each household irrespective of size was paid a once off US$1000 disturbance allowance and 4 months' supply of groceries valued at US$400-480. Mine officials promised to distribute food to each family once every 4 months until the next harvest. The food items consist of basic food items like maize meal, rice, sugar, salt, beans, kapenta (dried fish) and cooking oil.

Under the house replacement scheme each family that had a kitchen at origin was allocated a house including to adult sons who had built houses within the precincts of their parents' homestead. Having a kitchen was used as a measure of independence of a familial unit. Families meeting the house allocation criterion were allocated one pre-built 3 bed- roomed house, a stand-alone kitchen and a toilet on one hectare piece of land. Village heads got bigger houses (5 bed rooms) raising suspicion that they had been corrupted by mine offi-

Table 2. Context of the displacements

Issue	Percent respondents
Duration of notice for relocation	
1month	90
2 months	10
Villagers were consulted before displacement	
Yes	0
No	100
If you had been consulted what could you have done?	
Organise and resist the move	80
Accepted the move	20
Were you forced to move against your will?	
Yes	80
No	20
How did you communicate your displeasure about the displacement?	
Had meeting with community leader	100
Was force used during evictions	
No	100
Yes	0
Did you convey your disaffection with relocation?	
Yes	80
No	20
Did you make oral or written submissions during community meetings?	
Oral submissions	80
Contacted mine official	20
What mode of transport moved you?	
Hired Lorries	100
Other	0

cials. Replacing houses lost to mining activities in like manner for all households is fraught with problems. It creates a sense of social sameness among a differentiated group of people. Additionally many displaced people who had several houses or cumulatively more room space than the houses they were allocated in the resettlement area feel aggrieved and want to be compensated for their loss. Responsibility for asset valuation was delegated to the Ministry of Local Government. Five months after the first phase of relocation results of asset assessment have still not been communicated to mine officials so that the valuation amounts can be used for the purposes of budget formulation.

Displaced people do not know the valuation criteria that officials from the Ministry of local government used. It is not clear whether they used the market or replacement value of their assets. Provision of houses post relocation averted homelessness but in some families it reduced the number of rooms available per family creating conditions of overcrowding in some households. In a land for land compensation each family was allocated 10 hectares of dry land and 1 hectare of irrigable land. This is meant to restore the community's land based livelihoods. However two months before the start of the agriculture season, the mining company is yet to clear the land for the displaced families. The irrigation canal system is dysfunctional so the displaced families will not be able to irrigate their one hectare plot until the canal system has been repaired. The company promised to give relocated families agricultural inputs (seeds and fertilizers) to enable them to get good yields and secure livelihoods to levels pre-relocation but timely land preparation is critical for a good harvest Table 3.

Expected compensation

According to their own valuation, displaced families reckon that they have lost between US$25 000-30 000 as a consequence of displacement and resettlement. They consider that they must be compensated accordingly in order to recoup losses. However they were never meaningfully engaged by the mine officials to discuss matters pertaining to compensation valuation criteria and commitment to pay by a set date. An asset inventory register agreed upon by affected individuals was countersigned by village heads, the District Administrator

Table 3. Benefits paid to respondents

Type of benefit	Amount (US$)
Disturbance allowance	1 000
Groceries for a 4 month period	400-480
Compensation	Issue pending
One 3-roomed house	-
One hut used as a kitchen	-
One toilet	-
10 hectares of dry land	-
1 hectare of irrigable land	-
Agriculture inputs	-

Table 4. Expected Compensation

Amount of compensation expected per self-valuation by respondents (US $)	Percent
25 000	60
30 000	40
Expected date for payment of compensation is:	
Known	0
Unknown	100
Are you certain that compensation will be paid in future?	
Certain	0
Uncertain	100
Do you have information regarding commitment of mine officials to pay compensation?	
Yes	0
No	100
How should communities like yours benefit from mineral resources in your area?	
Negotiate shareholding	10
Get guaranteed quota profits	90

and mine officials. Ten percent of respondents consider that a more appropriate model of compensation is whereby the community benefits from diamonds through negotiating shareholding in the mine. The majority (90%) however would have wanted a guaranteed quota of profits and jobs Table 4.

Non-economic assets lost

Villagers lost several non-economic assets for which they think they must get additional compensation of amounts ranging from US$500-1000. Some villagers had sunk deep wells at their homesteads, had well tended gardens, mature fruit trees and woodlots to meet fuel wood needs in the future. They also had built granaries and cattle kraals. These assets were not included in the official asset inventory. Displaced families are concerned that these assets may not have been evaluated appropriately (WCD 2000). Sonnenberg and Münster (2001) recommend the use of resource economists to do the valuation of non economic assets. Displaced people regret leaving behind their ancestors' graves. They consider it an act of betrayal. They also feel that it is like casting away one's identity. The diamond mining company has not paid out money to allow for exhumations. Reburial dates, site and compensation have not been decided. Such socio-cultural issues are the hidden costs of involuntary displacement which are not captured in assets inventories Table 5.

Choice of resettlement area

Villagers say they were not consulted about choice of resettlement area. Government is in partnership with the diamond mining company hence the choice of resettling the displaced people on a government farm not too far

Table 5. Non-economic assets lost

Asset type	Percent of respondents
Fruit trees	70
Deep wells/boreholes	50
Fences	58
Crops not harvested	60
Eggs that wont hatch	10
Vegetable gardens	80
Forest resources	100
Ancestors' graves	100
Valuation of lost non economic assets and resource losses by respondents (US$)	
US$ 500-600	10
US$700-800	30
US$ 900-1000	60

away to reduce costs. However had affected people been consulted they would have opted to be resettled at government farms located elsewhere as indicated on the table. Affected people reported that the mining company told villagers that it would not cover costs for people opting out of the designated resettlement area. Furthermore such people opting out of the planned resettlement process would forfeit all forms of compensation. As a result displaced families went to ARDA Transau farm. Thirty percent of displaced families plan to move out of the resettlement area in the future. They will stay for now until compensation is paid out. The major cause of dissatisfaction with the current resettlement area is that there are few amenities. There is poor access to health services, water, transport and grazing land. The mining company has promised to build a clinic in the future and drill 6 boreholes per each displacement phase but borehole yield is low and borehole sites are not easily accessible to all households. Seventy –five percent of villagers blame the mining company for their displacement while 25% blame the government. They are particularly upset that they were not paid compensation before resettlement Table 6.

Things that villagers will miss the most

At the resettlement site each family was allocated ten hectares of dry land farming. This land has not yet been cleared. In addition each family was allocated one hectare of irrigable land. This land has been cleared and allocated but the mining company is working on building the irrigation canal infrastructure. Relocation disrupted social support systems. The families that were relocated in the first phase are a collection of people who are not necessarily related. The mining company displaced families from areas within the diamond mining concession where mining operations would begin with subsequent displacement coinciding with the mine's development phases. Displaced families' names were listed randomly in the house allocation list. The order of house allocation at the new site followed the order in which names had been recorded at point of displacement. Therefore communities were fractured from the onset. As a consequence displaced people were separated from their communities, their relatives and neighbours and social support systems. This undermined their social support structures by diffusing their social networks (Lassey 2002).

The majority of people are small scale farmers dependent on agriculture for a living. Livelihood options are limited in the new area of settlement. The mine did not offer young people jobs apart from keeping a record of their names. Some of the men have since gone back to illegal artisanal mining while others have gone to Mutare to look for work Table 7.

CONCLUSION

Globalization and economic liberalization will continue to drive the pace of development in Africa. Mining induced displacement of rural communities is a negative externality of development. Rural communities continue to bear a disproportionate burden of the cost of development projects. Development induced displacement destabilizes affected communities and exposes them to impoverishment risks. With regards to mining, communities can be displaced at various stages during mining exploration, development, during the life span of a mine and at closure. According to Cernea (1997) development induced displacement can cause landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, morbidity, food insecurity, loss of access

Table 6. Alternative settlement places suggested by respondents

Issue	Percent
Were you consulted about choice of resettlement	
Yes	100
NO	0
What places would you have chosen for resettlement	
ARDA Chiredzi	25
ARDA Masvingo	20
ARDA Chipinge	40
Mutasa farm	15
Did you tell the mine officials about these alternative resettlement places	
Yes	10
No	90
Do you want to stay at resettlement farm permanently	
Yes	70
No	30
What is main cause of dissatisfaction with current area of settlement	
Lack of amenities (schools, hospitals)	80
Poor access to water	90
No transport	100
Lack of grazing land	90
If you had opted out and chosen to go to another area would they have provided transport?	
Yes	0
No	100
Who do you blame for your relocation?	
Government	25
Mining company	75
What do you detest the most about your relocation?	
Relocation without compensation	100
Did you benefit from the relocation	
Yes	30
NO	70

Table 7. Five things villagers will miss the most on account of the relocation

Issue	Percent
Arable land	90
Ancestors' graves	80
Relatives	90
Natural resources	70

to common property resources and social disarticulation. These risks leave displaced communities worse off than they were before relocation.

Project developers often consider that their responsibility ends with payment of compensation. Evidence abounds in the literature on development induced displacement and resettlement that compensation is never adequate to allow for sustainable rehabilitation of communities uprooted from their ancestral land. According to World Bank guidelines on displacement and resettlement, project developers should incorporate in their resettlement action plans initiatives that allow displaced communities to have sustainable livelihoods at levels above pre-displacement income (World Bank 2001).

Diamond mining in Marange in Zimbabwe will result in

the displacement of several families over a three year period. To prevent homelessness, landlessness and food insecurity, displaced families were allocated pre-built houses, arable land and quarterly supplies of basic food items. Pre-displacement, the families derived livelihood from agriculture and artisanal diamond mining. Following displacement the latter is no longer a viable livelihood option. Income from agriculture is uncertain in a new environment. Although the mining company has promised to distribute agricultural inputs less than two months before the start of the agriculture season the diamond mining company is yet to clear agricultural land and set up irrigation infrastructure. Five months post relocation displaced families have not yet been paid compensation. There is a crisis of expectation tinged with frustration. Displaced families do not know how much money they will be paid and when. The families are heavily dependent on the largesse of the diamond mining company. Going forward this is likely to inculcate a dependency syndrome which exacerbates the displaced families' socio-economic vulnerabilities forestalling rehabilitation and adjustment. Livelihood initiatives should have been instituted before displacement to allow for displaced families to rebuild their livelihoods and reclaim their dignity (Asif 2000; Harrell-Bond, 2002).

The mining company promised to build a clinic, schools and to sink more boreholes. In the interim however the families have great difficulty accessing basic services and amenities. The community is fractured as social capital is dispersed. Initial displacement was of families immediately within the focal points of the mining concession. Consequently resettled families are not clustered in the same way as at origin causing social dissonance. For this particular group of displaced families seeking recourse to their grievances is particularly difficult as government owns a 50% stake in the mining company which displaced them.

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