

Borderless boundary? Historical and geopolitical significance of the Mozambique/Zimbabwe border to the Ndau People (c. 1940-2010)

J Hlongwana

 **orcid.org 0000-0002-7938-9017**

Thesis accepted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree *Doctor of Philosophy in History* at the North-West University

Promoter: Prof E S van Eeden

Co-promoter: Prof H J van der Elst

Graduation: June 2021

Student number: 25846434

DECLARATION

I, **James Hlongwana**, solemnly declare that this thesis entitled: **Borderless boundary? Historical and geopolitical significance of the Mozambique/Zimbabwe border to the Ndaou People (c. 1940-2010)** is my own original work. All sources used, cited or quoted have been duly acknowledged by means of complete references. This thesis has not been submitted in part or in its entirety by me or any other person for degree purposes at any other institution. It is being submitted for the degree **Doctor Philosophy in History at North-West University**.

Signature: 

Date: 18 December 2020

DEDICATION

To my late mother (Mutendeni) and brother (Manyoni).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to register my profound gratitude to my promoters, Professors Elize S. Van Eeden and Herman J. van der Elst for their constructive criticism and encouragement to remain focused on the dream to attain a PhD. In this regard, their extraordinary attention to detail and tactful presentation of information significantly shaped the thesis' ideas. Indeed, without their unfailing commitment to duty the study could not have been completed. I wish also to express my hearty thanks to Professor, Van Eeden for facilitating my attendance and participation at an International Conference that was held at the University of Eastern Finland in Finland in 2016. In addition to her encouragement, she paid for my travel, accommodation and meal expenses at the conference. Not only did I deliver a well received presentation at the conference, but also the occasion resulted in established links with colleagues and the conference organisers who in 2018 assisted me to attend another high-profile conference at the University of Cagliari, in Sardinia Italy. Also, Professor Van Eeden made timely interventions to help me secure registration fees for my 2019 and 2020 academic years from the North-West University Bursary Department.

Further, I am deeply indebted to my current and former colleagues at Great Zimbabwe University, as well as those from outside the University, for reviewing and editing my draft chapters. These colleagues are: Professors - F. Sibanda, F.T. Duri and R. S. Maphosa (late), Doctors- T. Gwaravanda, E. Konyana, T. Thondhlana, C. Chibango, R. Kapumha, B. Tavuyanago (late) and Mr. Mpofu, for the shared insightful comments on the thesis.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation of the contribution of individuals and institutions in the conduct of this research. My special thanks go to the Mozambican Embassy in Harare for graciously offering me the permission to conduct research in Mozambique. Each time I produced the document, either on demand or to lend weight to requests, I received acceptance from Mozambicans. Still on that note, I wish also to thank the Arquivo Historico de Mozambique staff for helping my research assistant to access archival material from their institution. I wish also to extend my gratitude to Dr. Eugenio Mumbai from the Department of History at Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique for identifying a reliable research assistant from his class, Rui Antonio Mutemba who became my research assistant in Maputo, Mozambique. Being conversant in both English and Portuguese, the research assistant became useful in the

identification and translation of archival material. In Zimbabwe, I wish to thank institutions and individuals such as the Ministry of Local Government which granted me the permission to do research in Chipinge district. I would also like to thank the National Archives of Zimbabwe for permitting me access to the archive. I wish also to thank Mr. Moyo for proof reading the thesis.

Finally, I am deeply indebted to my family for their support and encouragement throughout the study period. I am greatly indebted to my wife, Lowin, who had to endure loneliness while I was away collecting data in Mozambique and Chipinge district of Zimbabwe. To my two daughters, Euphrasia and Charleen as well as my two sons, Larry and Ingram, I would like to express my gratitude for their prayers and good wishes during my PhD studies. While I remain greatly indebted to the aforementioned institutions and individuals, I bear responsibility for the omissions in the thesis and I am answerable for the views expressed in this study.

ABSTRACT

This study explored cross-border migration on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. The Ndaou speaking people, who inhabit the borderland, were separated by the colonial border in 1891. Vast expanses of land were parcelled out, especially to Europeans who migrated to Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) from South Africa. Owing to a bitter and protracted geopolitical rivalry between the British and Portuguese over the Manica region where the Ndaou area is located, the British and Portuguese encouraged European settlements and plantations in the region that was populated by the Ndaou prior to the advent of European colonialism. Furthermore, plantation owners and missionaries gained access to large tracts of land. Some viewed these developments as a gimmick by the British and Portuguese colonialists to strengthen their colonial positions in the Ndaou region. However, the European settlements had far-reaching ramifications on the Ndaou society which, in addition to being segmented by the colonial border, lost possession of its long-time land in the region. In particular, the Ndaou on the Zimbabwean side of the border were left with limited land to subsist on. Consequently, they had to resort to cross-border search for land in the borderland as a survival pursuit. Equally, the post colonial government in Zimbabwe has contributed to the misery of the Ndaou as regards land ownership and usage. In addition to their failure of availing land to the landless Ndaou people, it carried out the Land Reform Programme in 2000 which had far reaching effects on the Ndaou. Most importantly, the Ndaou lost their employment as Zimbabwe's commercial farming system and the economy collapsed. Taking advantage of their proximity to Portuguese East Africa (now Mozambique) and their cross-border ethnic relations with the Ndaou in Mozambique, the Ndaou from Zimbabwe sought farming land in Mozambique. While survival initiatives such as relocation to Mozambique, cross-border farming and trading ameliorated the plight of the landless Ndaou people in Zimbabwe, "cross-border farming" in general had negative impact on the border itself. Uncontrolled human traffic across the border rendered the colonial border obsolete, making the boundary region "borderless". In addition to compromising regional and international security, informal cross-border farming is causing land-related conflict in Mozambique. This thesis focuses on the borderland discourse that mainly historically outplayed between 1940 and 2010. Other emphases in this study are the Ndaou people's position and challenges within the Bantu migration history, the shaping of Ndaou identity, the British/Portuguese geopolitical rivalry, colonial land alienation policies, estate farming and cross-border farming. Thus, this study on the Ndaou fills a historiographical

lacuna in existing literature on cross-border migration by providing a fresh perspective on the causatives of cross-border migration in the borderland. Land shortage, as a cause of cross-border migration in the borderland, is the central focus of this thesis. The contribution of other causes of cross-border migration such as cultural explanations is not overlooked.

James Hlongwana

December 2020

Key words

Border, Borderland, Boundary, Land shortage, Livelihoods, Migration, Partition, Ndau, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Colonial history.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
LIST OF MAPS	xiv
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
GLOSSARY OF TERMS	xvi
CHAPTER 1	1
MAPPING RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES ON THE NDAU PEOPLE’S CROSS-BORDER DYNAMICS	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Orientation and Background	1
1.2.1 Orientation.....	1
1.2.2 Background.....	7
1.3 Problem statement.....	12
1.4 Research questions	13
1.4.1 Main research question	13
1.4.2 Secondary questions.....	13
1.5 Research objectives	14
1.6 Central theoretical statement.....	14
1.7 Research methodology	15
1.7.1 Literature review.....	15
1.7.2 Interviews and other data collection methods	16
1.7.2.1 Oral histories- Interviews	16
1.7.2.2 Archival data collection.....	17

1.7.3 Secondary sources	18
1.7.3.1 Unpublished Secondary Sources	19
1.7.3.2 Literature on prehistoric cross-border/frontier migrations outside Africa..	19
1.7.3.3 Literature on cross-border migrations in selected case studies in and outside Africa.....	21
1.7.4 Literature on cross-border migration on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland.....	26
1.7.5 Limitations of the study	31
1.7.6 Ethical care	34
1.8 Significance of the study	35
1.9 Conclusion.....	36
CHAPTER 2.....	37
INTELLECTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON BOUNDARY AND TRANS-BOUNDARY HISTORIES OF REGIONS.....	37
2.1 Introduction.....	37
2.2. Global interpretation of boundaries and the essence of cross border migration .	37
2.2.1 Borderland permeability and classification	40
2.2.2 Boundary conceptualisations	42
2.2.3 Historiographical reflections in understanding boundaries on borderland studies.....	45
2.2.4 Natural selection and evolution of “living space”	45
2.2.5 Dynamic boundaries and territorial expansion	47
2.2.6 The Westphalia Treaty: Boundaries as markers of state sovereignty	49
2.3 Underpinning boundary related scholarly frameworks: Migration, Imperialism, Political Culture and Socialisation.....	53
2.3.1 The significance of migration as a determinant of cross border movement ..	53
2.3.1.1 Ravenstein’s Laws of Migration	54
2.3.1.2 Imperialism as a determinant of cross border movements	55
2.3.1.3 Imperialism and the export of capital to less developed nations.....	57
2.3.1.4 Imperialism and territorial division of the world	58

2.3.1.5 Imperialism as monopoly capitalism	59
2.3.2 The significance of political culture and socialisation as determinants of cross-border movement.....	60
2.4 Conclusion.....	63
CHAPTER 3.....	66
POSITIONING IN AFRICA'S HISTORY, REFLECTING IN PARTICULAR THE NDAU PEOPLES IN A MIGRATION THEORY FRAMEWORK	66
3.1 Introduction.....	66
3.2 The Bantu speaking people from West-Africa (5000-4000 years ago)	67
3.2.1 Explanations for the southwards Bantu migration	69
3.2.1.1 Agricultural development as a motivation for the southward expansion ..	69
3.2.1.2 The advent of foreign crops and Bantu population expansion	70
3.2.1.3 Bantu expansionism and the desire to conquer foreign territories	70
3.3 Bantu Migration route	71
3.3.1 Bantu migrants enter present-day Zimbabwe 200-1000 AD.....	71
3.4 The Ndau in Bantu migration history before 1000 AD.....	72
3.4.1 The Ndau as descendants of the Hungwe Bantu migrants (c.700-800 AD) ..	73
3.4.2 The Mbire (Rozvi)/Ndau (c.1000-1050 AD).....	74
3.4.3 The Ndau as later Mbire (Rozvi) migrants (c.1600 AD).....	76
3.4.4 Ndau migration from Guruuswa (Rozvi state) to their present-day location ..	79
3.4.5 Ndau groups in the Ndau territory	79
3.5 Conclusion.....	81
CHAPTER 4.....	84
THE NDAU IDENTITY IN ZIMBABWE/MOZAMBIQU BORDERLAND, 1800-2010..	84
4.1 Introduction.....	84
4.2 Geographical location, origins (of the term Ndau) and demography.....	85
4.2.1 Origins of the name Ndau – a toponymical angle.....	88
4.2.2 The detrimental Gaza-Nguni interlude as a destruction phase of Ndau polity	91

4.3 Contemporary demographics of the Ndau	95
4.4 Migration patterns among the Ndau.....	97
4.5 The Ndau political system.....	99
4.6 The Ndau as a social and religious society.....	102
4.6.1 The Ndau in African traditional religion	102
4.6.2 Ndau strength of tradition: Ndau cultural dances	104
4.6.3 The influence of Christianity as belief on the Ndau	106
4.7 Features of the Ndau economy since the 17 th century.....	107
4.7.1 Farming.....	107
4.7.2 Hunting, gathering and fishing.....	109
4.7.3 Internal and external trade	111
4.7.4 Cross-border trade on the Ndau borderland.....	112
4.7.5 Educational consciousness	113
4.8 Conclusion.....	116
CHAPTER 5.....	118
GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BORDER ON NDAU LAND	
OWNERSHIP, C.1890-1940.....	118
5.1 Introduction.....	118
5.2 Portuguese interests in the Manica region since 1500	119
5.2.1 British interests in pre-colonial Zimbabwe and the Manica region since the	
1880s	121
5.2.2 Lobengula’s default in the race for colonial territory	124
5.2.3 Anglo-Portuguese Boundary Treaty 1891	126
5.3 Towards colonial territorial interference and transformation	128
5.3.1 Portuguese settlements and mission stations on the Ndau borderland.....	132
5.3.2 Land alienation and implications for the Ndau.....	137
5.4 Conclusion.....	140
CHAPTER 6.....	145

COLONIAL AGRARIAN POLICIES IN ZIMBABWE AND NDAU CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION INTO MOZAMBIQUE (C.1940-1970s)	145
6.1 Introduction	145
6.2. The nature of the Land Tenure System in Pre-colonial Zimbabwe	146
6.2.1 European perception of the traditional land tenure system	149
6.2.2 Colonial economic policy and the significance of land in the 1920s	150
6.2.3 Relocation of the indigenous population to the reserves	154
6.2.4 The Morris Carter Land Commission (1924) and the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act (1931)	156
6.2.5 Land Apportionment Act and the eviction of the Ndau people from Chipinge highlands.....	159
6.2.6 The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and its impact on the Ndau	166
6.2.7 Land Tenure Act (1969) and landlessness among the Ndau	169
6.3 Ndau people's relocation to Mozambique	172
6.3.1 Ndau cross-border settlements and implications on trans-boundary mobility	174
6.4 Conclusion	176
CHAPTER 7	178
ESTATE FARMING FURTHER ENFORCING NDAU DISPLACEMENT, C.1940-2010	178
7.1 Introduction	178
7.2 Coffee and tea plantations along the border	179
7.2.1 Establishment of natural forests	181
7.2.2 The creation of exotic forests	183
7.2.3 The impact of forestry on Ndau land ownership	185
7.2.4 Sugar plantations in south-eastern Chipinge	186
7.2.5 Ndau displacement into Mozambique (2009)	189
7.3 Structural impediments to the government land redistribution policy in Chimanimani/Chipinge region.....	190

7.3.1 Lancaster House Conference Constitution (1979)	192
7.3.2 The Policy of Reconciliation 1980	195
7.3.3 Unsuitable resettlements for the Ndaus amidst arable estate owned land (1980-2010)	199
7.4 Conclusion	201
CHAPTER 8	204
THE NDAU AND CROSS-BORDER FARMING ENGAGEMENT 1950-2010	204
8.1 Introduction	204
8.2 Relocation of the Ndaus into the African Purchase Areas and Mission Stations: The 1950s	205
8.2.1 Tenant farming in the African Purchase Areas	205
8.3 Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme: A backward step for Ndaus farming and economy	208
8.3.1 White farm occupations in the FTLRP-phase, and its impact on the Ndaus people's livelihoods	209
8.3.2 Ndaus peasantry as a beneficiary of land grabbing and underutilisation practices since 2000	215
8.4 Ramifications of cross-border farming on the borderland	217
8.4.1 Ndaus border settlement and continued reliance on Mozambique for land ..	218
8.4.2 Population growth and conflict over land in Mossurize (Mozambique)	222
8.4.3 Cross-border conflict between Ndaus farmers and Mozambican residents ..	225
8.5 Conclusion	227
CHAPTER 9	230
ON THE QUESTION OF A BORDERLESS BOUNDARY: AN INTEGRATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL AND GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NDAU IN ZIMBABWE/MOZAMBIQUE BORDERLAND	230
9.1 Introduction	230
9.2 Integrating some scholarly thoughts (and multidisciplinary theories) into the research findings from the study	232

9.2.1 The Ndaus in historical perspective	233
9.2.2 Land expropriation and cross-border migration	235
9.2.3 Borderlessness in the Ndaus borderland	239
9.3 Contribution of the study	243
BIBLIOGRAPHY	247
ANNEXURES	301

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: The Ndaus political hierarchy	100
Figure 4.2: Muchongoyo dance by the Ndaus	105

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1.1: Chipinge and Melsetter districts in Zimbabwe and Mozambique	6
Map 2.1: Pre-Colonial map on kingdom settlement in Africa before 1800	44
Map 2.2: Colonial map of Africa 1914	49
Map 3.1: Huffman's migration streams	72
Map 4.1: Places in Zimbabwe and Mozambique inhabited by the Ndaus people since the 17 th century	86
Map 4.2: Formal States in Zimbabwe since the 17 th century as places of origins of the Ndaus people	88
Map 5.1: The contested Manica region	122
Map 5.2: British and Portuguese settlements in the border region	129
Map 6.1: Some of the reserves in the Chipinge/Chimanimani region in the 1950s	161
Map 7.1: Displaced Ndaus people find land in Mozambique after 2000	188
Map 8.1: Cross-border migration by the Ndaus people whose livelihoods were undermined by violent farm occupations in Zimbabwe	214

LIST OF TABLES

Table 6.1: Ndaou Population Distribution in Melsetter /ChipingeDistrict after 1930 163

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AD	Anno Domini
AHM	Arquivo Historico de Moçambique
AIDS	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
APA	African Purchase Area
AUBP	African Union Borderland Programme
BSACO	British South Africa Company
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
EPZ	Economic Processing Zones
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
EU	European Union
FGDB	Fundo do Governo Districto da Beira
FISANI	Fundo do Inspeção dos Servicos Administrativos dos Negocios Indignas
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LAA	Land Apportionment Act
LTA	Land Tenure Act
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change

NADA	Native Affairs Department Annuals
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NC	Native Commissioner
NLHA	Native Land Husbandry Act
RENAMO	Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SE	Seççao Especial
UN	United Nations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisations
USA	United States of America
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU/PF	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZAR	South African Republic
ZCM	Zimbabwe Coffee Mill
ZDERA	Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Colonial name	Post-colonial name
Chipinga	Chipinge
Melsetter	Chimanimani
Sabi	Save
Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
Umtali	Mutare
Vila Peri	Chimoio

CHAPTER 1

MAPPING RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES ON THE NDAU PEOPLE'S CROSS-BORDER DYNAMICS

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explored the cross-border migration on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. It sought to argue that the cross-border migration which obtained in the borderland was a consequence of land expropriation by the British and Portuguese colonial governments which undermined the livelihoods of the Ndau-speaking people. The land seizures were a result of the disputed border demarcation in the 1890s between the British and the Portuguese. An increased European presence on the borderland displaced the Ndau people from their ancestral land. Due to the limited availability of arable land on the borderland, Zimbabwean Ndau people resorted to cross-border search for land in Mozambique as a survival pursuit. The argument advanced in this thesis is that cross-border mobility in search of land has rendered the boundary ineffective to control human movement across the border.

1.2 Orientation and Background

This section provides important information on the subject being investigated; for example, drawing attention to existing foundational studies and referring to significant historical episodes which inform the study. Functionally, this section situates the study in academic discourse and, in doing so, the reader develops a mental map about the topic being investigated.

1.2.1 Orientation

There has for the past two decades been intense scholarly debate over the demarcation and implications of Africa's international borders. Since the Europeans' scramble on the continent in the nineteenth century. Colonial boundaries either enclosed diverse communities or separated people of the same origin. This was the case with the Ndau

from Mozambique and Zimbabwe,¹ who were the main focus of this study. The Ndaus inhabit a region which stretches from south-eastern Zimbabwe to western and central Mozambique. The artificial boundaries created by the colonial powers after the 1884 Berlin Conference have been a source of friction in Africa since the attainment of independence in the 1960s.² The Zimbabwe/Mozambique geographical boundary, which was established through an agreement between Britain and Portugal in 1891,³ bisected the Ndaus community. This was because the British in Zimbabwe (earlier known as Rhodesia) and the Portuguese (Mozambique) colonisers were concerned with territorial spoils. Consequently, the Ndaus families were torn apart, falling into the British and Portuguese spheres of influence.⁴ This accounts for the segmented chiefdoms along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border such as Mapungwana, Gwenzi, Musikavanhu, Garahwa and several others in the borderland.⁵ As a result, freedom of movement for Ndaus people and goods got restricted as they had to cross the border through designated entry points. This put an end to the concept of traditional “borderlessness” which existed and permitted flawless movement of individuals and goods across regions in pre-colonial Africa. The restrictions prompted the precolonial Ndebele King (Lobengula) to lament in 1887 thus: “In the olden times... we never spoke about boundary lines... it is only now that they (the British) talk about boundaries”.⁶ In this regard, it can be argued that the “borderlessness” which exists in the study area is reminiscent of the pre-colonial “borderlessness”. Yet, it is significant to note that the

¹T. Kevill, “Borders of Violence-Boundaries of Identity: Demarcating the Eritrean Nation State”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(6), 1999, pp.1037-60; H. Kalvin, *The State, War and State of War*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 62; P. Englebert, “Dismemberment and Suffocation: A contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (10), 2002, p.1096; B. Davison, *The Black Man’s Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, (New York, Time Books, 1992), p. 31; A. M. Howard, “Actors, Places, Religions and Global forces: An Essay on The Spatial History of Africa Since the 17th century”, in U. Engel & P. Nugent, (eds.), *Reshaping Africa*, (Boston, Leiden, 2010), p.11.

²A. Nhema & P. Zeleza, (eds.) *The Roots of African Conflicts: Causes and Costs*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2008), p. 8.

³M. Patricio, “Legal Pluralism in Mozambique: boundaries between the Local state and Traditional authorities in Mossurize district,” 56th ASA Annual Meeting (African Studies Association), 2013, p. 4; D.N. Beach, “The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Paiva de Andrada, de Companhia de Mocambique and African diplomacy, 1881-91”, Seminar Paper 89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1999, p. 2.

⁴C. Singauke, “The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana 1891-1974”, BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p. 21.

⁵E. G., Konyana, “Euthanasia in Zimbabwe? Reflections on the management of terminally ill persons and the dying in Ndaus traditions of Chimanimani and Chipinge southern-eastern Zimbabwe” in D. O’Lagula. (ed.), *Death and Life after Death, African Philosophy and Religious, A Multiple Disciplinary Engagement*, (Harare, Africa Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance studies, 2014), p. 122.

⁶D.M. Hughs, “Cadastral politics: The Making of Community Forestry in Mozambique and Zimbabwe”, paper presented to the biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington, Indiana, USA 31 May-4 June 2000, p.4.

current “borderlessness” obtaining on the Ndaou borderland is a consequence of defiance by the Ndaou people against the restrictions imposed by the colonial border.⁷

The colonial border sowed seeds of division among the people.⁸ Most of the Ndaou living in Mozambique are regarded as “Danda” while those in Zimbabwe belong to the Tomboji group.⁹ The Danda are more traditional in orientation and outlook and are generally viewed as backward looking people;¹⁰ in stark contrast, the Tomboji are less reserved and are considered to be cleverer than the former. According to Dube, the Tomboji speak a diluted version of the Ndaou language because of their proximity to Ndaou non-speaking groups such as the Karanga and Manyika.¹¹ Nevertheless, the different perceptions have not entirely destroyed the Ndaou unity.¹²

The Tomboji are found on the Zimbabwean highlands and have been affected by external influences such as Christianity and western education, while the Danda are predominantly located in the eastern and southern margins of the Mossurize District and have managed to maintain contact with the past; hence, are considered to be ‘more Ndaou’ than their counterparts in Zimbabwe.¹³ Both groups became victims of European colonisation of southern Africa; they lost their prime land to the British and Portuguese, respectively. While the colonisers expropriated land from the local African population, the Portuguese brutal colonial system forced the Ndaou to seek ‘refuge’ in remote and unproductive areas of the Mossurize District. In Zimbabwe, the capitalist-inspired legislations inflicted permanent damage on the African society. A capitalist economy which rested upon ownership of resources, such as land and labour (both of which the African society could provide) and the maximisation of profits, was introduced by the British settlers in Zimbabwe with far-reaching consequences on the Ndaou society. To provide a veneer of legality, successive Rhodesian governments enacted discriminatory

⁷ See: F. Duri, “Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia - Mozambique Border With Particular Reference to the City of Umtal 1900 – 1974”, (PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012)

⁸ (PC-JH), D. Gwenzi, (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December, 2015.

⁹ C. Vijfhuizen, “Rainmaking, Political Conflicts and Gender Images: A Case from Mutema Chieftaincy in Zimbabwe”, *Zambesia*, XXIV (I), 1997, p.44; E. E. N. Dube, “Getting Married Twice: The Relationship between Indigenous and Christian Marriages among the Ndaou of Chimanimani Areas of Zimbabwe”, PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017, p. 48.

¹⁰ (PC-JH) F. Chigodho, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize District, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

¹¹ E. E. N. Dube, “Getting Married Twice: The Relationship Between Indigenous and Christian Marriages Among The Ndaou...”, PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017, p. 48.

¹² (PC-JH), E.Z.S., Chikaka, E. Z. S., (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

¹³ (PC-JH) J. Chitoronga, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 6 December 2018.

laws to support the systematic expropriation of land from the Africans. The pieces of legislations which included, among others, the Land Apportionment Act of 1931,¹⁴ facilitated the confiscation of fertile land from the Ndau people in Zimbabwe and contributed to chronic food shortage among them. The result was that the Ndau, particularly those living near the border with Mozambique, relocated to Mozambique or established cross-border families as creative pursuits to mitigate hunger and starvation.¹⁵

Whereas geo-politically determined state borders have generally been viewed as walls to restrict movement, ¹⁶recent scholarship on borderland discourse describes boundary regions as arenas of cultural interaction and exchange between individuals from diverse backgrounds, hybridisation, creolisation and negotiation.¹⁷Pursuant to the above, Larmarque has described borderlands as analogous to semi-permeable membranes, representing the interface between a wide range of adjacent entities, such as business organisations and nations.¹⁸ In the biological and industrial applications, membranes allow selective transfer of different matter between regions; similarly, international borders permit selective movement of people and commodities between countries.¹⁹ However, the semi-membrane border metaphor largely represents the state's conceptualisation of the border, where the border simultaneously permits and denies entry to people and wares into a country. While, officially, the border represents an impenetrable barrier, the border's sanctity has been violated by borderland residents who cannot continue to respect it in the face of existential problems. In this regard, the Ndau people regularly cross the border to transact economic and social business on the

¹⁴ See: V.H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002).

¹⁵ NAZ, S235/511 Volume 111: Native Commissioners- Report of the Native Commissioner for Melsetter 31 December 1933; NAZ, S235/516 District Reports: Native Commissioners, Report of the Native Commissioner, Chipinga, 31 December 1938.

¹⁶ T. Muguti & N. Marongwe, "The Moral Economy of Border Transgression: Smuggling Across the Beitbridge Border Post by Zimbabweans in the New Millennium," in F.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean borderlands...*, p.316; R. Jones, Why Build a Border Wall, *Nacla Report on the America*, 45(3), 2012, p.69; A. Grichting, Fences, "Walls and Borders: State of Insecurity", International Conference, University of Quebec at Montreal, Canada 17th-18th May 2011, p.1.

¹⁷ C. Alexander & J. Hagen, *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the nation state*, (Toronto, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), p.10.

¹⁸ H. Larmarque, "On Asymmetry and Imbalance in Urban Borderlands," Materiality and Immateriality in the Reproduction of African Borders", African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Workshop, University of Cagliari, Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy 2018.

¹⁹ B.K. Mbenga, "One Ethnic Community Straddling an International Border: Tshidilamomo Villagers in South Africa and Botswana", Symposium On Border Regions in Sub-Sahara Africa, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finland, 2016; A. Brah, "Policing Borders, Boundaries and Bodies", *Centre for Migration and Diaspora Studies*, 2016, p.4.

borderland. For example, Mozambican peasant farmers sell their produce at market centres in Zimbabwe such as Mundanda, Tamandai, Chako, Jersey tea Estate, Chipinge Town and Checheche.²⁰ The desire to cross the border is, therefore, a consequence of asymmetrical conditions obtaining on the borderland.²¹ These asymmetries range from social, economic to political variations in the borderland which, however, blend together to produce a broad sense of borderland space among the residents. Borderlands have become spaces of contestation,²² as adjacent communities cannot survive without the cooperation of the other; hence, the border remains an imaginary line with no practical value to the local communities.²³ Consequently, the arrangement of the different asymmetrical properties across a particular border sheds light on how local populations interact with it and also illuminates the broader logic of borderland space. Practically and, ironically, the boundary region has become borderless.

Official disclosures hardly expose any narratives or memories on problems related to the demarcated boundary between Zimbabwe and Mozambique and about the impact of the borderline on the Ndaus who reside in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border area since 1891. The Ndaus community, not only got fragmented, but also lost arable land to the white settlers, with their geopolitical situation grossly undermined. Consequently, their existence became insecure and precarious.²⁴ Against the background of the perspective that the unavailability of arable land has been one of the causes of large-scale cross-border mobility from Zimbabwe into Mozambique, this research on boundary discourse intended to explore and highlight the impact of land shortage on cross-border mobility on the Mozambique/Zimbabwe borderland, specifically in Chipinge and Mossurize districts of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, respectively. While the thesis

²⁰ (PC-JH) J. Chitoronga, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 6 December 2018.

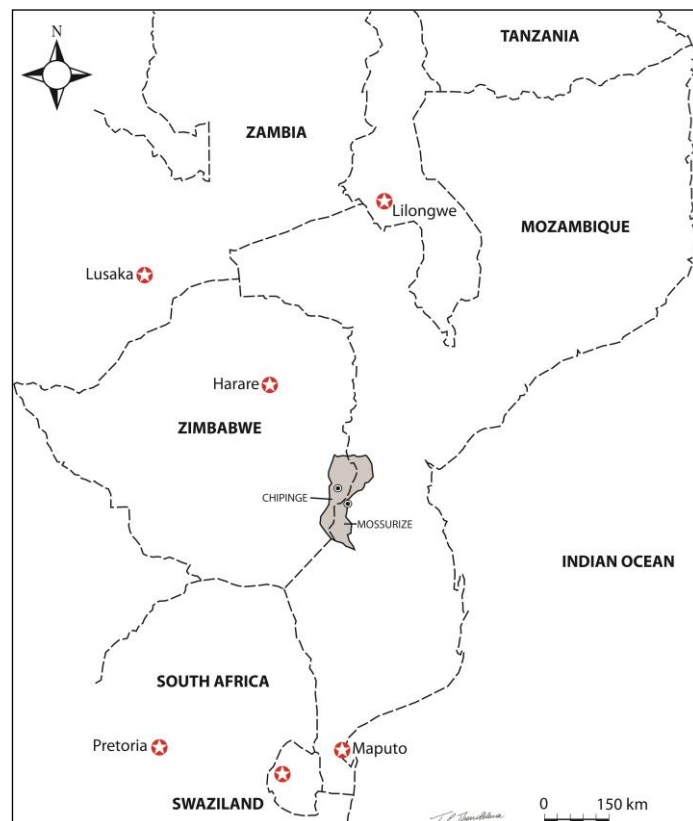
²¹ H. Larmarque, "On Asymmetry and Imbalance in Urban Borderlands," Materiality and Immateriality in the Reproduction of African Borders, African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Workshop, University of Cagliari, Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy 2018; L.V. Ortiz & O.F. Contreras, "The Border as a Life Experience: Identity, Asymmetry and Border Crossing between Mexico and the United States", *Frontera Norte*, 2014, pp.37-56; A. Pecoud & P.D. Guchteneire, "International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Accessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 2006, 21(1), pp. 69-86.

²² M. Dear & A. Bridge, "A cultural Integration and hybridisation at the United States-Mexico borderlands", *Cahiers de Geographie de Quebec*, 49(138), 2005, p.305; F. Adugna, "Overlapping nationalist projects and Contested Spaces: The Oromo-Somali borderlands in Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12, pp.773-787.

²³ (PC-JH) Jara, B., (Immigration officer), Zona Immigration Border Post, Mossurize, Mozambique, 5 December 2016.

²⁴ C. Sigauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana Chiefdom...", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2012, p. 9.

drew essential historical information on the Ndaus and land debates from earlier periods, the study commences in the 1940s because that is when the migration of the Zimbabwean Ndaus into Mozambique occurred in considerable proportions, following the resolve by the Rhodesian government to develop white agriculture in the country. The study ends in 2010, to evaluate the role of Zimbabwe's Agrarian Reform Programme in causing cross-border movement by the Ndaus from Zimbabwe into Mozambique in search of land. Landlessness and declining livelihoods became pronounced among the Ndaus former farm workers because the Land Reform Programme destroyed the commercial farming system which provided employment to thousands of the Ndaus who, for many years since the advent of colonial rule, had been supplementing their meagre peasant lives with wage labour. The map that follows has been used to illustrate the spatial dynamics of the Ndaus region.



Map 1.1: Chipinge and Melsetter districts in Zimbabwe and Mozambique

Source: A. Davidson, Cecil Rhodes and His Time, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1988, p. 1.

As illustrated in Map 1.1, Mozambique and Zimbabwe share a common border. The shaded area represents the area featured in this study: Chipinge District in Zimbabwe and Mossurize in Mozambique, both of which are predominantly populated by the Ndaus

speaking people. A contextual background on the Ndau will provide insight to the study topic and intended scholarly focus.

1.2.2 Background

The 21st century colonial-related state system in Africa was borrowed from the European Conference that was held in Westphalia in 1648.²⁵ One of the resolutions adopted at the Conference was the creation of the modern state system.²⁶ It is imperative to argue that the notion of “sovereignty” was popularised by the precursors of nationalism and nation state such as Jean Bodin. For their part, the delegates at the Westphalia Conference resolved to do away with the Roman Empire and papacy overlordship in favour of territorial realms (nation-states).²⁷ Arguably, the European colonisers used the Westphalian template in demarcating boundaries in Africa in the 19th century.²⁸

The interest by Europeans to abandon vague boundaries in favour of clear borders, both at home and abroad, had its own challenges. For example, European colonial states did not have acceptable criteria to determine colonial boundaries. Amongst the many suggestions that were made, they settled for the idea that boundaries should be determined by natural features as these would not easily cause contestations between neighbouring states.²⁹ The European rulers and administrators were, therefore,

²⁵ J. Lambert, F.-J. Pretorius, L.H. Classen, L.E. van Niekerk, J.W. Mckenzie & S. Kew, *Aspects of European History, 476-1848*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2001), p. 251.

²⁶ C. Alexander & J. Hagen, *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation State*, (Toronto, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010), p. 5; S. Okhonmina, “States Without Borders: Westphalia Territoriality Under Threat”, *Journal Of Social Sciences*, 24(3), 2010, pp.177-182; B. Teschke, “Theorising the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 8(1), 2002, p. 6; S. Pickering, “Borderlines: Maps and The Spread of The Westphalian State from Europe To Asia , Part One. The European Context, International Archives of Photogrammetry”, *Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences*, XL (4/W3), 2013, p.111; S. D. Krasner, “Rethinking the Sovereign State Model”, *Review of Internal Studies*, 27, 2001, pp.17-42; Y. I. Diba, “The Legacy of colonialism and its Contribution to Conflicts in among Communities living in the Marsabit County of Kenya (1964-2011)”, *Journal of Global Peace and Conflict*, 3(1), 2015, p. 27.

²⁷ A. Edward, “Jean Bodin on Sovereignty’, Republics of Letters”, *A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics and Arts*, 2(2), 2011, p.78; A. I. Dar & J. A. Sayed, “The evolution of Sovereignty: A historical Overview,” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 2017, 6(8), p. 8; F. Celik & K. Sahin, “Determining the Sovereignty on the Ground of State-Citizen Relations in Cicero and Bodin’s Works, *Review of Historical and Political Science*, 2014, 2(3&4), pp. 43-67.

²⁸ F. N. Ikome, “Africa’s International borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and security”, *Institute for security studies*, paper 233, May 2012, p. 3; W. Okumu, “Resources and border disputes in Eastern Africa”, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 4(2), 2010, pp. 279-297.

²⁹ J. P. Laine, “A Historical View on the Study of Borders” in S.V. Sevastianov, J. P. Laine & A. A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies*, Far Eastern Federal University, 2015, p. 22; E. C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York, Henry Holt, 1911), p. 407; H.V. Houtum, “The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries”,

encouraged to create their states in accordance with natural boundaries.³⁰Where possible, the Europeans made use of natural features such as rivers and mountains. Nevertheless, natural features were not found in all situations and, consequently, delineation of boundaries was determined by other considerations which were mainly economic and political. In the majority of cases, borders were arbitrarily marked,³¹ resulting in some straight colonial borders being drawn on the then African continent.³²

While colonial boundaries had many adverse effects,³³ they may also have had some positive impacts. One advantage in the case of Africa, as perceived by Smith and Nothling, was that colonial borders contributed to the rise of contemporary states in Africa. Here, Smith and Nothling argue that pre-colonial Africa consisted of numerous kingdoms with little or no sense of a formal demarcated nationhood.³⁴Therefore, the establishment of boundaries on the African continent became an opportunity for state consolidation.³⁵It prevented the multitudes of traditional leaders from claiming the right to sovereignty at the cost of the creation of a singular or comprehensive nation state with a multitude of ethnic communities as part of its citizens. Thus, Thompson has argued that in some instances, colonial boundaries did not split pre-colonial cultural

Geopolitics, 10, 2005, pp. 672-679; A. Murphy, "The Sovereign State System as Political Territorial Ideal: Historical and Contemporary Considerations," in T. J. Biersteker & C. Weber, (eds.), *State Sovereign as Social Construct*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 81-120.

³⁰ C. Alexander & J. Hagen, *Borderlines and Borderlands...*, p. 7.

³¹ G.N. Uzoigwe, "European Partition and Conquest of Africa: An Overview," in A. A. Boahen, (ed.), *General History of Africa. VII Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, (London, Heinemann, 1985), p.19; A. Thomson, *An Introduction to African Politics*, (New York, Routledge, 2010), p. 15; A. Nhema & P. Zeleza (eds.), *The Roots of African Conflicts...*, p. 89; M. B. Ahmad, *African Boundaries and Imperative of Definition: Delimitation and Demarcation of Boundaries in Africa*, (Addis Ababa, African Union Border Programme (AUBP), 2014), p. 14.

³² P. Englebert, S. Tarango & M. Carter, "Dismemberment and Suffocation...", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(10), p.1096; E. Green, "On the Size and Shape of African States", *International Studies Quarterly*, 2012, p.1; A. Alesina, W. Easterly & J. Matuszeski, "Artificial States", *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 7, 2010, p.7.

³³ S. Michalopoulos & E. Papaioannaou, *The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa*, (Cambridge, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011), p.1; A. Weber, *Borders with Issues: Soft Border Management as a solution*, Friedrich EbertStiftung, 2012, pp.1-5; C.U. Rodrigues, *Introduction: Crossing African Borders- Migration and Mobility*, (Lisbon, Center for African Studies, 2012), pp. 1-14.

³⁴ K. Smith & F.J. Nothling, *Africa North of the Limpopo Since 1800*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1993), p.148; E. D. Green, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Pre-colonial Africa: The case of Buganda", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 16(1), 2010, pp.1-28.

³⁵ W. Teshome, "Colonial Boundaries of Africa: The Case of Ethiopia's Boundary with Sudan", *Age Academic Review*, 9 (1), 2009, p. 343; F.N. Ikome; "The Inviolability of Africa's Colonial boundaries: Lessons from Cameroon-Nigeria border conflict", Occasional Paper 47, Johannesburg, 2004, pp.5-7; F. N. Ikome, "Africa's International borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and security", *Institute for security studies*, paper 233, May 2012, p. 3; C. Clapham, *Africa and the International System*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.163.

entities like those in Rwanda, Burundi, Lesotho and Swaziland.³⁶In rationalising administrative functions, it enhanced the stability in the administration of the colonial state.³⁷ Thus, it can be argued that the British, for example, created protectorates in Swaziland and Lesotho in order to preserve ultimate indigenous autonomy under circumstances of an indirect form of colonial governance.³⁸Despite some apparent “beneficial positives” of colonial borders, which also contributed to the formation of artificial states,³⁹arbitrary boundary demarcations also resulted in the creation of hostile ethnic groups (such as the case of the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda, as well as the Luo and Kikuyu in Kenya) being fused together.⁴⁰Other examples are in East Africa where the Somali people, for example, are scattered in the states of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya.⁴¹ This tended to promote regionalisation of conflicts in some African borderlands; for example, the north eastern Kenyan borderland with Somalia has become a sanctuary for the Somalia Al-Shabaab insurgents who have been launching cross-border terrorist attacks against the government of Kenya since 2011.⁴²It should be noted, however, that Al-Shabaab fighters are capitalising on strong cross-border ethnic relations in the borderland.⁴³

³⁶ A. Thomson, *An Introduction to African Politics...*, p. 15; J. Gerring, D. Ziblat, J.V. Gorp & J. Arevalo, “An Institutional Theory of Direct and Indirect Rule”, *World Politics*, 63(3), p. 377; K. Bentley & R. Southall, *African Peace Process: Mandela, South Africa-Burundi*, (Cape Town, HSRC, 2005), p. 32; E. Ndaura, “Ethnic Relations and Burundi’s Struggle for Sustainable Peace”, US House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing On the Current Political Situation in Burundi, 2015, p.1.

³⁷ W. Teshome, “Colonial Boundaries of Africa...”, *Age Academic Review*, 9(1), 2009, p.343.

³⁸ D. H. Gillis, *The Kingdom of Swaziland: Studies in Political History*, (London, Greenwood Press, 1999), pp. 132-139; A. Thompson, *An Introduction to African Politics*, p.63.

³⁹ F.N. Ikome, “Africa’s International borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and...”, *Institute for Security Studies*, Paper no.233, Johannesburg, May 2012, p.8; K. Smith & F.J. Nothling, *Africa north of the Limpopo since 1800*, Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1993, p.148.

⁴⁰ R. Venkatasawmy, *Ethnic Conflict in Africa: A Short Critical Discussion*, *Transience*, 6(3), 2015, p.26; F.N. Ikome, “Africa’s International borders...”, *Institute for Security Studies*, Paper no. 233, Johannesburg, May 2010, p.3; J. Angstrom, “The Sociology of Studies of Ethnic Conflict : Explaining the Causal Status of Development”, *Civil Wars*, 3(3), 2000, p.6; M.A.O. Aluko, “The Ethnic Problem in Africa”, *Anthropologist*, 5(2), 2003, pp.93-99; C. Ksoll, R. Macchiavello & A. Marjaria, “Post-Election Violence on Flower Exporting Firms”, *CSAE WPS/2009-6*, p.5; R. Stavenhagen, *Ethnic Conflict and the Nation-State*, (London, Macmillan, 1996), p.1; A. Wimmer, R.J. Goldstone, D.L. Horowitz et. al, *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Towards A New Realism*, (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), p. 1; L.A. Jinadu, *Explaining and Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy*, (Uppsala, Nordic African Institute, 2007), pp.1-38.

⁴¹ J.O. Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Leiden, Koninklijk. Brill NV, 2002), p. 7.

⁴² A. Tandia, “Borders and Borderlands Identities: A Comparative Perspective of Cross- border Governance in the Neighbourhoods of Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea Bissau”, *African Nebula*, 2, 2010, p.18.

⁴³ B.C. Omondi, “Kenya Foreign Policy Towards Somali 2011-2016: A contribution to insecurity”, Master’s Thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2016, p.2; W. Vilikko, *AL Shabaab, From External Support to Internal Extraction*, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), UPPSALA, 2011, p.3; E. Tagliacozzo, “Smuggling and states along a South East Asian frontier”, in *Ilas Newsletter*, No.42, 2006, p. 1. F. M. Bay “Implications of the Bakassiresolution”, *African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes* (ACCORD), *AJCR*, 10(1), 2010, p.9.

In spite of the instability that has been caused by colonial borders, African leaders have insisted on the preservation of colonial boundaries.⁴⁴ Such leaders argue that boundary reversion would cause chaos on the continent. The Latin principle of *uti possidetis possideatis* (that which you own, you own it forever) has consistently been observed by African leaders in their determination to maintain the territorial sovereignty of their national states – those based on colonial borders.⁴⁵ This has, however, created border conflicts between some African states. Malawi, for instance, is embroiled in an oil-rich Lake boundary with Tanzania.⁴⁶ Likewise, relations between Botswana and Namibia have also been strained over the control of the Okavango region.⁴⁷ However, it is imperative to note that in other parts of the continent, people have ultimately taken measures to erase these artificial colonial borders. In recent years, for example, Eritrea attained independence from Ethiopia in 1993,⁴⁸ and South Sudan from Sudan in 2012⁴⁹ after waging bitter civil wars. Mozambicans, especially members of the opposition political party, *Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana* (RENAMO), whose leadership is dominated by the Ndauspeaking people,⁵⁰ have expressed concern over their western border with Zimbabwe (Ndauspeaking borderland). RENAMO argues that the current border

⁴⁴ S. Elden, “Contingent Sovereignty, Territorial Inequality and the Sanctity of Borders”, *SAIS Review*, XXVI(I), 2006, pp.11-24; A.C., Ulaya, “The Doctrine of Uti Possidentis and its Application in Resolution of International Boundary in Africa”, Masters Law (LL.M) Dissertation, Mzumbe University, 2015, p. IX. African Union Commission, African Union Border Programme (AUBP), Delimitation and Demarcation of Boundaries in Africa, Addis Ababa, 2014, pp.1-83.

⁴⁵ See examples in P. R. Hensel, M. E. Allison & A. Khanani, “The colonial Legacy and Border Stability: *UtiPossidetis* and Territorial claims in the Americas”, Paper Presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the (*International Studies Association*, Montreal, March, 2004). p. 1; S. J. Gatsheni-Ndhlovu & B. Mhlanga, (eds.), *Bondage of Boundaries and identity politics in post- colonial Africa*, (South Africa, Africa Institute, 20 October 2013), p.3; P. Englebort, *et al.*, “Dismemberment and suffocation....”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(10), 2002, pp.1093-1118.

⁴⁶ J. I. Maseko, “An Assessment of the Malawi-Tanzania Border Dispute Since 2012 and Its Effects On The People Of Malawi”, MA Dissertation, University of Ghana, 2014, p. XI; A. N. Kenneth, “Mediating the Lake Nyasa Border Dispute Between Tanzania and Malawi”, PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2016, p. II; M. Yoon, “Colonialism and Border Disputes in Africa: The Case Study of Lake Malawi/Nyasa”, *Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies* 1(1), 2014, pp.75-89; C. Mahony, H. Clark, M. Bothwell, T. Simcock, R. Potter & J. Meng, “Where Politics Borders Law; The Malawi-Tanzania Dispute”, New Zealand Centre for Human Rights Law, Policy and Practice, 2014, pp.1-20.

⁴⁷ A. R. A. Griggs, “Boundaries, Borders and Peace-Building in Southern Africa: The Spatial Implications of the African Renaissance”, *Boundary and Territory Briefing*, 3(2), 2000, pp.1-29; J. Moser, “Border Contracts-Border Conflicts: Examples from Northern Namibia”, Symposium on Shifting Boundaries: Cartography in the 19th and 20th centuries, Portsmouth University United Kingdom, 10-12 September, pp.1-11; C. J. B. Roux, “Namibia Boundary Dispute. Towards A Boundary Solution or Military Confrontation”, *New Contre*, 44, 1998, pp. 80-93.

⁴⁸ A. Mazrui, “Conflict in Africa: an overview”, in A. Nhema & P. Zeleza (eds.), *Roots of African Conflicts....* 2008, pp.36-49.

⁴⁹ J. Hlongwana, T. Muguti, & B. Tavuyanago, “Untenable Marriages: Situating Governments of National Unity in Africa’s Political Landscapes since 2000”, *International Journal of Developing Societies*, 1(4), 2013, p.151; J.M. Mbaku & J. Smith, South Sudan, *One year After Independence: Opportunities and Obstacles for Africa’s Newest Country*, (Massachusetts, Brookings, 2012), p.1.

⁵⁰ M. F. Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development, The Political Economy of War in Mozambique*, 1975-1992, (Avenbury, Aldershot, 1996), p.16.

should be revised as the Portuguese were said to have been cheated by the British into accepting the current border which resulted in the dismemberment of the Ndauspeaking people.⁵¹ According to RENAMO, the legitimate border is the Save River on the Zimbabwean side. To fully contextualise this argument, a concise historical background on the Ndaus is required which will be explored at great length in Chapters Three and Four.

The Ndaus are an ethnic group that is predominantly found in south-eastern Zimbabwe, and in the central and western parts of Mozambique.⁵² As succinctly deliberated in chapters Three and Four, the Ndaus are the descendants of the Hungwe and Mbire Bantu migrants who invaded present-day Zimbabwe from north of the Zambezi River.⁵³ Internal conflicts within the Rozvi confederacy forced some Rozvi generals, together with their followers, to migrate eastwards and, eventually, settled in some parts of present-day Zimbabwe and Mozambique in the 17th century.⁵⁴ The colonial border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, where the Ndaus live, was arbitrarily drawn in 1891,⁵⁵ leaving them with limited arable land to subsist on. The Ndaus, who had earlier lost part of their land to the Nguni invaders in the 1830s, became landless. Hence, the search for land across the border has become a salient feature of the Ndaus society since the establishment of the border in 1891. Essentially, the role of land shortage as a trigger to cross-border migration in Mozambique and Zimbabwe borderland requires a detailed study, and was the motivation for engaging in this research. Currently, limited historical research and other scientific forms of insights exist with regard to the contribution of borders to the development of land shortage and the subsequent cross-border search for land which has made the boundary obsolete. Scholarly focus has so far tended to explain cross-border movement among the Ndaus in terms of traditional explanations such as cultural affinity and border porosity,⁵⁶

⁵¹ B. Tavuyanago, "The Renamo War...", MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2000, p. 33.

⁵² C. Sigauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana Chiefdom...", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p. 9.

⁵³ D.N. Beach, *Zimbabwe Before 1900*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1995), p. 24; J. Hlongwana, R.S. Maposa & D. Gamira, "'Aluta Continua': A critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaus People in Chipinge district South-eastern Zimbabwe", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.175- 84.

⁵⁴ J.K. Renne, "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial cult in Rhodesia", in J. M. Schoffeleer (ed.), *Guardians of the Land*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2000), pp.257-285.

⁵⁵ F. Duri, "Negotiating the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border: The pursuit of survival by Mutare's poor, 2000-2008", in S. Chiumbu & M. Muchemwa (eds.), *Crisis, What Crisis: The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2012), p. 124.

⁵⁶ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland*, (Lisbon, ISCTE, 2010), p.10; A. Hortsman, "Incorporation and Resistance: Borderlands, Transnational Communities and Social Change in Southeast Asia",

resulting in the lack of ahistorical appraisal of the role played by land shortage on cross-border movement in the borderland.

1.3 Problem statement

Since few historians have developed interest in borderland studies in south-east Africa;⁵⁷ there is a definite need, within the field of borderland history, to conduct research on factors that cause cross-border mobility in southern Africa. These are critical insights and, in this study, the emphasis was on the Ndau who inhabit the borderland area that involves regional spaces of two countries; namely, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Borderland history, as a research direction for analysis, highlights the socio-cultural dimensions of human action and draws attention to the Ndau who have resorted to trans-boundary migration as a survival imperative in the face of threatened livelihoods because of the limited availability of arable land. A demand for research on micro histories of the impact of cross-border migration on borderlands remains equally prominent.⁵⁸Limited scholarly work exists on the histories and causes of cross-border mobility on the Ndau borderland as most contributions seem to have been published or submitted as post graduate research since the early 21st century. MacGonagle,⁵⁹ for example, conducted a research on the Ndau people's ethnicity in 2007, premised on the view that the Ndau people regarded the colonial border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique as an imaginary line and, hence, viewed themselves as one borderland people. In a related study on the Ndau people's identity on the Mozambique and Zimbabwe borderland in 2010. Patricio argued that cross-border cooperation among the Ndau was a result of cultural affinity.⁶⁰Equally significant on this topic is Pophiwa's 2007 Masters' dissertation in economic history, hinged on the exploration of cross-border informal survival practices on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. Pophiwa's work provided valuable insights to this study because he observed that, in the face of difficult

Research Institute of Languages and Culture of Asia, 2004, p.8; S. J. Gatsheni-Gatsheni & B. Mhlanga (eds.), *Bondage of Boundaries and Identity Politics...* p. 3.

⁵⁷ E.S. van Eeden, "Debating some Past and Present Research Frameworks and Methodologies...", *African Historical Review*, 45(2), 2013, pp. 113-141; A. Isaacks & G. Haldanarsen, "Introduction: Regional and Transnational History in Europe", in S. Ellis & I. Michailidis (eds.), *Regional and Transnational History in Europe*, (Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2011), p.14; C. Applegare, "A Europe of the Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times", *American Historical Review*, October, 1999, pp.1157-1182.

⁵⁸ F. Duri, "Informal Negotiation of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border for Survival by Mutare's Marginalised...", *Journal of Development Studies*, 26(2), 2010, pp. 125-163.

⁵⁹ E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity...*, p. 109.

⁶⁰ M. Patricio, *Ndau Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe*, p.10.

situations, the subaltern exploit governing and managerial loopholes in order to survive.⁶¹ Consequently, this study endeavoured to provide new insights on the underlying causes of cross-boundary mobility. The study's aim was to highlight the impact of land shortage on cross-border movement as a survival mechanism in a poverty-stricken borderland and to argue that such trans-boundary mobility undermined the capacity of the boundary to control human traffic across the border. Therefore, the primary task was to identify, debate and contribute, by way of some insights to the major questions, a revisionist interpretation,⁶² of cross-border migration in the Ndau borderland. The questions that follow sought to address the research problem.

1.4 Research questions

In pursuance of the study's aim, the following questions were asked:

1.4.1 Main research question

Did land shortage cause cross-border migration among the Ndau in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland?

1.4.2 Secondary questions

- Will scholarly literature survey on cross-border/boundary theories in regional history studies, inclusive of migration, imperialism, political culture and socialisation, expose historical (and geopolitical) debates and insights of value to consider in the study of Ndau people experiences?
- How should the Ndau be positioned in African history?
- What are the aspects of the Ndau identity?
- To what magnitude did early migration movements, the British and Portuguese geopolitical interests impact on the Ndau people regarding arable land?
- What was the impact of the colonial agrarian policies on cross-border mobility between Zimbabwe and Mozambique?
- How far did estate farming displace the Ndau from arable land?

⁶¹ See N. Popiwa, "A History of Smuggling among Borderland Communities astride the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border, With reference to Pemhalonga and Nyaronga c1990-2006", MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007.

⁶² Revisionist scholars such as Duri and Ndumeya explain cross-border migration largely in terms of economic challenges such as land shortage in the borderland.

- What is the impact of cross-border farming on the Ndau, and should a borderless boundary be considered?
- How far did land shortage cause borderlessness in the border region?

1.5 Research objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives:

- To review the scholarly literature debate on cross-border/boundary theories in regional history studies, inclusive of migration, imperialism, political culture and socialisation, to expose historiographical (and geopolitical) insights of value to consider in the study of Ndau people experiences.
- To trace the Ndau people's origins to Bantu migration history in Africa.
- To examine the aspects of Ndau people's identity.
- To highlight the magnitude of early migration movements, the British and Portuguese geopolitical interests in the Ndau people's loss of land.
- To establish the impact of colonial agrarian policies on cross-border mobility between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
- To examine the impact of estate farming on the displacement of the Ndau from arable land.
- To evaluate the impact of cross-border farming on the Ndau.
- To debate the question of a borderless boundary way forward for the Ndau.

1.6 Central theoretical statement

The demarcation of the colonial border in 1891, which brought European settlements and investment in the region, displaced the Ndau from their native land. Concomitantly, the expropriation of land undermined the livelihoods of the Ndau people, leading to desperate pursuits in order to survive in the harsh borderland environment. The Ndau people's immediate responses to the land loss ranged from relocation to the reserves and mission stations, entering labour tenancy agreements with white and Ndau landlords, to seek farm employment. However, all the means of survival cited above hardly ushered an era of productive and satisfying existence for the Ndau people. As a result, poverty and underdevelopment became salient features of the Ndau society.

These realities suggest that the present-day cross-border migration into Mozambique is a sequential outcome of reduced space to carry out productive farming. The next section describes the methodological orientation utilised in this thesis.

1.7 Research methodology

This section focuses on the research design and data collection methods adopted for this thesis, which is mostly historical with a social science angle. A predominantly phenomenological qualitative⁶³ research design was utilised, with an emphasis on oral histories, to capture the lived experiences of the Ndaus in the borderland. The research paradigm presented a chance for the researcher to understand the perceptions of the Ndaus regarding their historical and social reality and the value they attached to the phenomenon (namely the borderline debate) under investigation. This section also discusses both primary and secondary data collection methods which fore mostly relates to the historical method. In this regard, data were analysed and assessed by means of internal and external critical source analysis (source interpretation). The crucial elements in source interpretation included knowledge (background/context), evidence, language, and reliving of past experiences (psychological interpretation or historical mindedness).⁶⁴ A nuanced consideration of these elements of source interpretation contributed to an improved understanding and contextualisation of statements in the documents being interrogated.⁶⁵ The next section focuses on the methodology and literature that informed the current study.

1.7.1 Literature review

In this section, the discussion centres on cross-border migration (the central focus of the study) in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. A more nuanced discussion on borders and borderlands is made in Chapter Two of this thesis. The study engaged with different scholarly views related to cross-border mobility. The review of literature in this thesis took a concentric approach where, prior to focusing on the study area, the analysis of literature began from prehistoric times and in locations situated outside

⁶³ Y. Lincoln & E. Guba, "Paradigmatic Controversies", in N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, (London, Sage Publications, 2000), p.3.

⁶⁴ J. Tosh, *Pursuit of history*, (London, Longman), 2015, pp. 59-71; A. Marwick, *The nature of history*, (London, Macmillan, 1989), pp. 220-233; R. J. A *guide to historical method*, (Chicago, The Dorsey Press, 1980), pp. 150-170.

⁶⁵ H.C. Hockett, *The critical method in historical research and writing*, (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1977), pp. 41-44.

Africa. This global approach helped not only to see historical commonalities on the topic, but also highlighted the gap which the thesis sought to fill.

1.7.2 Interviews and other data collection methods

Primary sources of data are original sources which document events, ideas or persons in time.⁶⁶The researcher utilised them because they provide first hand information which narrows down the margin of error in the final product. The section that follows unpacks the interviews which were carried out during the study. Informal interviews with respondents in the borderland were conducted to ensure that this study covered the bottom-up indigenous knowledge experiences and thoughts of the Ndaou people.

1.7.2.1 Oral histories- Interviews

Key respondents were drawn from various backgrounds and oral interviews were conducted in Chipinge and Mossurize districts of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, respectively. The majority of the respondents live in the borderland and several of them indicated that they had personal experience in cross-border movement in search of land on the borderland. The interviews were carried out between 2015 and 2018 during Great Zimbabwe University's inter-semester breaks and end of year vacations. Respondents were drawn from various backgrounds and ranged from border-post personnel, district administrators, politicians (ward councillors), traditional leaders and ordinary men and women. These interviews sought to capture the lived experiences of the Ndaou in the borderland.

The researcher interviewed a total of 44 Ndaou respondents (24 Zimbabweans and 20 Mozambicans). The questions sought to get views on the causes of cross-border migration in general, the impact of colonial agriculture on land shortage in the region, cross-border farming and the establishment of the settlement on the no man's land and on regional integration debates. The sample size of 44 respondents was in keeping with the nature of the study being qualitative research, which utilises a small sample in order to achieve an in-depth understanding,⁶⁷ of the issues being investigated. To solicit data

⁶⁶J. Tosh, *Pursuit of history*, pp. 59-71; A. Marwick, *The nature of history*, (London, Macmillan, 1989), pp. 220-233.

⁶⁷ K. Charmaz, "Grounded theory for the 21st century: Application for advancing Social Studies", in N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks: CA, Sage, 2005), pp. 507-535.

from the informants, personal unstructured questions were asked.⁶⁸ This was through qualitative research interviews which placed emphasis on the interviewee's thoughts. For example, the researcher introduced a theme and then allowed the interviewees to develop their own ideas and pursue their train of thoughts. Allowing the dialogue to proceed according to the pace of the respondent minimised the chance of obtaining terse and useless responses.⁶⁹ The next section looks at the archival sources which were consulted.

1.7.2.2 Archival data collection

Archival sources which were analysed included a collection of original documents related to the origin of the Ndauspeaking people, the social, economic and political organisation of the Ndaus, demarcation of the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border, cross-border migration, cross-border farming and the establishment of settlements along the border. The collection consisted of African Commissioners' Reports, newspaper clippings, field notes and diaries on the history of border establishment in the region, border management and cross-border movement amongst the Ndaus in Mozambique and those in Zimbabwe. The files are kept at the National Archives in Harare (Zimbabwe) and Maputo (Mozambique). Both archives are open to the public and the researcher visited them because archival data is important in history theses' writing.

The researcher collected data at the AHM in Mozambique from 1 to 30 June, 2016, with the aid of an assistant researcher, a Bachelor of Arts final year History student at the Eduardo Mondlane University. The assistant researcher, who turned out to be very helpful, was recommended to the researcher by the Chairperson of the History Department at the Eduardo Mondlane University in 2015. The research assistant is fluent in both English and Portuguese. The researcher was primarily concerned with documents covering Manica Province although, occasionally, attention was given to Sofala Province as well because, during the colonial regime, the two provinces were treated more or less as one region and it is also predominantly inhabited by Ndauspeaking people. Among other things, the reports captured issues such as: the Portuguese policy that the natives in Mozambique were supposed to contribute to the

⁶⁸ D. Kale, *Interviews*, (London, Sage Publications, 2002), p.14.

⁶⁹ See M. Saunders, P. Lewis & A. Thorhill, *Research Methods for Business Students*, (Essex, Pearson Education Limited, 2007, p. 320), C.K. Adenaike & J. Vansina, "Prologue", in C.K. Adenaike & J. Vansina (eds.), *In Pursuit of history*, (Oxford, James Murray, 1996).

development of the colony, leading to the promulgation of the forced labour policy; restriction of Ndau population movement within their domicile district to curb internal and cross-border migration and strategies that were devised by the Ndau population to minimise contact with the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique.⁷⁰

The National Archives of Zimbabwe's records provided useful information on the early history of the Rhodesian colony, boundary disputes, colonial policies on land and white settlers' activities in Chipinge/Chimanimani region. The next section highlighted the importance of secondary sources in the study.

1.7.3 Secondary sources

The secondary sources that were examined included academic literature found at various institutions in and outside Zimbabwe. Scholarly literature on borderland debates was analysed to deepen the researcher's understanding of cross-border dynamics pursued by the Ndau community in order to survive in the marginalised borderland. Books, theses, journal articles and other sources containing the history of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, were consulted to establish the history of the two countries, ranging from colonial to post-colonial policies and their bearing on cross-border migration and further migration into Mozambique by the Ndau speaking people. Library material examination was carried out at institutions of learning in Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Institutions that visited in Zimbabwe to get library material were Masvingo and Mutare Teachers' Colleges, Great Zimbabwe University and University of Zimbabwe.

In Mozambique, however, the researcher had access to a *Produção* (located at Espungabera) library ostensibly to see how the history of the Ndau people had been recorded. The small library at the institution contained useful books on Ndau history and, interestingly, the Portuguese accounts of Ndau history were more detailed and informative than the British texts available in Zimbabwe. The reason given for the differences in the accounts is that the Portuguese had close contact with the Ndau people prior to the coming of the British in the 1890s. The academic materials that were

⁷⁰ AHM, FGDB, CX 683, Administração da Concelho de Manica, no, 1761/B/ 17, Villa de Manica, 24, Setembro de 1948.

consulted mainly comprised books. In spite of time limitations and language constraints in Mozambique, the literature collected provided a sound background to this study.

Reports from newspapers, obtained from Harare and Mutare, were also consulted. These were *The Herald* and *Manica Post* newspapers, whose Head offices are located in Harare and Mutare, respectively. *The Herald* extensively covered land segregation debates and the reaction of the Africans to land shortage. On the other hand, the *Manica Post* covered land-related disputes occurring in the borderland. The greater part of information obtained from newspapers is largely found in chapters Six and Seven of this thesis. While the newspapers provided valuable literature, they were largely written from the perspective of the state; they seldom covered issues concerning marginalisation, underdevelopment and the poverty affecting the Ndaou society following the loss of land to the white settlers. The researcher also utilised electronic information sources such as the internet. The next section discussed the importance of unpublished secondary sources in this study.

1.7.3.1 Unpublished Secondary Sources

The study utilised a wide range of unpublished sources mainly Masters dissertations and PhD Theses. The majority of these were obtained from the internet. Most of these post graduate documents centred on general boundary discourse, Ndaou history and cross-border migration in the Ndaou borderland. A common argument advanced by these sources is that cross-border migration in the Ndaou borderland is driven by cultural forces. The sources' emphasis on cultural causes of cross-border migration helped to expose the thesis' gap, the "land shortage explanation" in cross-border migration among the Ndaou.

1.7.3.2 Literature on prehistoric cross-border/frontier migrations outside Africa

Migrations have been a salient feature of human history from the remote past to modern historical times.⁷¹ While some migrations were small in magnitude, others were quite significant. However, it should be noted that such cross-frontier expansions were a sequential outcome of environmental determinism. The most popular cause of such migrations was the need to acquire land in distant locations. It has, however, been

⁷¹ A. Singer, "Contemporary Immigrant Gateway in Historical Perspective", *Daedalus the Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Science* 142(3), 2013, pp.76-91.

disputed that these prehistoric migrations were pursued usually by revolving communities with strong social and blood connections, rather than single sources; for instance, the migratory Iban people of Malaysia.⁷² This was particularly the case with the migrations undertaken by agrarian communities during the Holocene,⁷³ era.

Since Bellwood argues that cross-frontier migrations in prehistoric times were also a consequence of ideological considerations, this implies that migrations were undertaken to exercise political power over the conquered subjects in new settlements, particularly in communities which accepted genealogical hierarchy by birth order.⁷⁴ This was a cultural proclivity practised by expansive societies; for example, the Polynesians,⁷⁵ in the Pacific area. It was usually a practice among traditional communities in which junior sons were given poor land and; consequently, they resorted to out-migration to establish new settlements. For example, the establishment of new settlements in remote locations was seen as a lucrative exercise by communities in the Oceania who regarded such accomplishments as a source of heroism and mythology.⁷⁶ In such traditional environments, “founder rank enhancement” supported the social and political standing of descendant individuals in the society. Specific cases in this regard include the rice- farmers (Kerabit) of the Sarawak region of Malaysia and the Chinese Shang Dynasty during the 16th and 17th centuries BC.⁷⁷ Commenting on the Shang Dynasty, Chang Kwang-Chin has argued that:

At some point in the royal lineage’s life there would arise reasons for sending one of its male members away from the royal domain to establish a new polity. He would be a brother, an uncle or a cousin of the ruler and he might be accompanied by a sizable group of people in order to relieve population pressure to open up new arable land or to shore up defense.... Thus, a new line of lineage segments would be initiated.⁷⁸

⁷² P. Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global Perspective*, (West Sussex, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2013), p.12.

⁷³ The name given to the last 11700 years of the Earth’s History- the time since the end of the last major glacial epoch or ice age. Since then there have been small scale shifts notably the “Little Ice Age” between 1200 and 1700 A.D.

⁷⁴ P. Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global...*, p.12.

⁷⁵ Polynesia is a sub-region of Oceania made up of 1000 islands scattered over central and southern Pacific Ocean. The indigenous people who inhabit the islands of Polynesia are termed Polynesians.

⁷⁶ See: D. Anthony, “Prehistoric migration as social process”, in J. Chapman & H. Hamerow, (eds.), *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, Oxford, BAR, International Series 6645, 1997.

⁷⁷ P. Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global...*, p.13.

⁷⁸ K.C. Chang, *Art, Myth and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China*, (Cambridge, MA Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.16.

A cursory glance at ancient history reveals that many great cross-boundary migrations took place. For example, Turks migrated from Asia into present day Turkey,⁷⁹ and the Vikings migrated from Norway and colonised Iceland in the late 9th century A.D.⁸⁰ The pull factor in this context was the “emptiness” of Iceland which had only been visited rarely by Irish Christian monks and hermits prior to the colonisation of the area by the Vikings.⁸¹ Another interesting case of ethnographic population migration was of the Iban of Sarawak, whose desire to acquire farming land forced them to occupy vast land between Kalimantan and Brunei Bay. The territorial expansions were a result of pressure on land due to population expansion in Malaysia. Commenting on the incentives that underlay Iban migration, Derek Freeman argues that:

The main incentive behind the remarkable migrations of the Iban has been a desire to exploit new tracts of primeval forest and the tendency has been for communities to abandon their land as soon as a few lucrative harvests have been replaced and move on to fresh precincts.⁸²

In this manner, the frontier was pushed forward by successive waves of migrants from the rear. It should be noted that the migrating communities belonged to common tribes. What emerges from the preceding analysis is that cross-frontier migrations in most prehistoric regions were motivated by agrarian and political considerations. As illustrated later in this chapter, cross-frontier migration in the study area is a result of agrarian and political interests, among other causes. The next section focuses on cross-border migrations in selected case studies in and outside Africa.

1.7.3.3 Literature on cross-border migrations in selected case studies in and outside Africa

The causes of cross-border migration are almost the same in all places. There are initially those that are unique to migrant-sending countries, such as social and political upheavals, deteriorating environments, economic instability and lack of social and economic prospects. Additionally, there is another set of factors that facilitates the people’s movement to the destination of their choice: for example, the receiving

⁷⁹ P. Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global...* p.1.

⁸⁰ K. Smith, “Landnam: the settlement of Iceland in archaeological and historical perspective”, *World Archaeology*, 26, 1995, pp.319-47; J. Sigurdsson, Iceland, in S. Brink (Ed), *The Viking World*, (London, Routledge, 2009), pp.571-8.

⁸¹ P. Bellwood, *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global...* p.9.

⁸² D. Freeman, *Report on Iban*, (London, Athlon, 1970), p.76.

countries' policy on immigration.⁸³The USA, arguably the richest country among American countries, has become a destination of choice by Central Americans who are running away from poverty and violent situations from countries such as Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras.⁸⁴ In addition to the Central American nationals, Mexicans, especially those from northern Mexico, are displaced by the harsh economic environment and drug-trafficking related violence.⁸⁵ In line with the foregoing, studies which were carried out in 2010 revealed that the USA was home to 11.4 million illegal immigrants from Mexico and outlying regions in America.⁸⁶ In relation to the illegal immigration problem, for example, the USA (though outside the scope of this study) is currently erecting a boundary wall against Mexican and other economic refugees from the continent. While President Trump has persistently argued that the border wall intends to bar criminals from entering the US, the project resonates with the Trump administration's "America first"⁸⁷ economic mantra which, among other things, centres on protecting the American economic space from foreigners.

In a similar vein, Europe has been affected by the cross-border migration problem in recent times. European proximity to conflict ridden and undeveloped regions of Africa, alongside promising economic conditions in some parts of Europe, have resulted in increased illegal immigration into Western Europe.⁸⁸ In addition to African illegal immigrants, Europe has recorded an unprecedented influx of cross-border migrants from the unstable Middle East region. Germany, Portugal and Italy remain the prime destinations. Also, illegal migrants from the former communist countries in Eastern Europe cross into Western Europe.⁸⁹ Broadly, the prevalence of illegal immigrants in the European Union has made governments unpopular, leading to the rise of separatism in countries such as Germany, France, Spain, Scotland,⁹⁰ and the British decision (Brexit)

⁸³ C.V. Marie, "Preventing Illegal Immigration: Judging Economic Imperatives, Political Risks and Individual Rights", Council of Europe Publishing 2004, p.11.

⁸⁴ A. Selee, "A New Migration Agenda Between the United States and Mexico", W/Wilson Centre, Mexico Institute, 2017, p.3.

⁸⁵ Norwegian Refugee Council, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Forced Displacement in Mexico due to Drug Cartel Violence December 31 2010, <http://www.internal-displacement-org/briefing/mexico>.

⁸⁶ M.R. Rosenblum, W.A. Kandel, C.R. Seelke & R. E. Wasem, "Mexican Migration to the United States: Policy and Trends", *CRS Report for Congress*, Congressional Research Service, 2013, p. 2.

⁸⁷ D. Smeltz, I. Daalder, K. Friedhoff & C. Kafura, ted States and Mexico", W/Wilson Centre, Mex*The Chicago Council on Global Affairs*, 2017, pp. 1-2.

⁸⁸ See: P.M. Orrenius & M. Zavodny, "Irregular Immigration in Europe Union", *Spieps*, 2016.

⁸⁹ C.V. Marie, "Preventing Illegal Immigration: Judging Economic Imperatives, Political Risks and Individual Rights", Council of Europe Publishing 2004, p.11.

⁹⁰ M. Bieri, "Separatism in the EU," *ESS in Security Policy*, no 160, September, 2014, p.1, A. Pantovic, *The Economic Impact of the European Union on Sub-National Separatist Sentiment*, Honours Long Essay, University of

to leave the European Union.⁹¹ Rightly, the populist movements are protesting against the challenges caused by immigration to European public service, welfare, identity and security; hence, the decision to resurrect internal borders.⁹² It is important to note that security concerns and economic challenges, while driving migrants into the US and the European Union, respectively, also caused cross-border migration in the study area. For example, several Ndaou families who were running away from political persecutions and the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe successfully sought informal refuge in Mozambique. Also, the construction of the boundary wall to stop migrants from the American continent, especially Mexico, into the US, is synonymous with the land mining that was carried out by the Rhodesian government in the 1970s along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border to prevent Zimbabwean guerrillas from crossing into Zimbabwe.⁹³ Such initiatives, as elaborated in Chapter 2, result in alienated/closed borderlands.⁹⁴

A brief examination of the history of Africa reveals that the continent has experienced migratory movements that have shaped the region's demographic landscape. Some of the ancient known population migrations were those by the Indians into Madagascar during the trans-Indian Ocean movements about 2000 years ago. Furthermore, the 15th century Arab invasions of North Africa and Sudan and the general southwards movements of various Nilotic and Hametic groups in Eastern Africa, constituted other important waves of migration.⁹⁵ Related to the above, the Bantu migrants, who are thought to have originated from the Cameroon/Nigerian borderland, crossed several regional frontiers during their southwards expansion.⁹⁶ Moreover, pastoral nomads

Colorado, 2014, p.3; A. Botticher & M. Mares, Conceptualising New Forms of Separatism in Europe, Paper Presented at the 7th CCPR General Conference, "Panel, State of Union and Crisis of National Unity in Times of EU Crisis", Bordeaux, 4-7 September 2013.

⁹¹ K. Swales, *Understanding the Leave Vote, The UK in a changing Europe*, (London, Natcen Social Research, 2012), pp.1-29; A. Renwick, *The Process of Brexit: What Comes Next?* UCL European Institute, 2017, pp. 1-56; S. Biscop, *Brexit, Strategy and the EU: Britain Takes Leave*, (Brussels, Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, 2018), pp.1-17.

⁹² M. J. Goodwin, "Brexit: Causes and Consequences", *Japan Spotlight*, 2017, p.61.

⁹³ M.R. Rupiah, "A Historical Study of Lasnd Mines in Zimbabwe 1963-1995", *Zambezia* 23(1), 1995, pp.63-78.

⁹⁴ O.J. Martinez, *Border and People: Life and Society in the US- Mexico borderlands*, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1994), p. xviii

⁹⁵ Y. Gebresellasie, "International Migration in Africa: An Overview", *Refugee* 12(8), 1993, pp.1-6; A. Adepoju, "International Migration in Africa, South of the Sahara", *International Migration Today*, 1, 1988, p.78.

⁹⁶ I. Ntaganzwa, "Bantu Theory's Troubling Issued: A Close Examination of Bantu Theory And Many Of Its Unanswered...", *European Journal of Logistics, Purchasing and Supply Chain* 1(1), pp.23-33; D. Nurse & G. Philippson, "Introduction", in D. Nurse & G. Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu*, (London, Routledge, 2003), pp. 1-13; B. Pakendorf, K. Bosoen & C. De Pilippo, "Molecula perspectives on the Bantu Expansion: A synthesis", *Language Dynamics and Change* 1, 2011, pp. 50-88.

migrated from one region to another as a result of climatic changes. For example, the Maasai cattle herders have been crossing borders in East Africa while looking for pastures.⁹⁷ In southern Africa, people of Nguni origin who were running away from Tshaka's tyranny, migrated northwards and settled in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania.⁹⁸

There is another version of migration known as "migration as revolt", which has been recorded in Africa.⁹⁹ Migration as revolt was a spontaneous expression of anger over brutal colonial rule in some parts of Africa. In this regard, Africans had to migrate to other relatively peaceful parts of the continent. For example, the Banyarwanda from Rwanda were forced by Belgian oppressive rule to migrate to Uganda.¹⁰⁰ As shown in Chapter Five, this kind of migration was recorded in the study area when the Ndaus escaped into Southern Rhodesia in protest of the Portuguese oppressive colonial rule in Mozambique.¹⁰¹ These migrations were a result of political, social and economic pressures. It can be postulated that, in spite of the global focus on illegal migration to Europe, more than 80% of African cross-border migration takes place within Africa.¹⁰² The main traditional receiving countries of migrants in West Africa; for example, have been the comparatively wealthy countries in the region such as Ivory Coast, Ghana and Nigeria, with the other countries such as Burkina Faso, Mali, Togo and Guinea playing the role of sending countries. Political conflicts, among other triggers, have also contributed to cross-border migration in the Great Lakes Region.¹⁰³ Ethnic-based armed

⁹⁷ See: J.O. Oucho, *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Leiden, and Koninklijk. Brill NV, 2002).

⁹⁸ J. Hlongwana, "Nguni Conquest of the Ndaus and the Transformation of the Ndaus Society: Costs and benefits", in E. G. Konyana & D.O. Laguda, *Religious Violence and Conflict Management in Africa: Phenomenological and Epistemological Engagements*, (Harare, Africa Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies, 2019), pp.23-38.

⁹⁹ V. Bilger & A. Kraler, Introduction: African Migrations. Historical perspectives and contemporary dynamics", *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für Kritische Afrikastudien* Nr. 8/2005, 5, pp.1-21.

¹⁰⁰ See: A. Richards, *Economic Development and Tribal Change. A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1973).

¹⁰¹ AHM, FGDB, CX.683, Administracao da circunscricao do Buzi, No 917B/ 17 Nova Lusitania, 29 de Julho de 1947; AHM.FGD, CX.683, Reparticao Central dos Negocios Indigenas, No. 678/B//4 Lourenco Marques, 27 de Fevereiro de 1948.

¹⁰² AU 2016 Evaluation Report of AU Migration Policy Framework, p. 9; A. Adepoju, "Migration in West Africa", Paper presented for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, September 2005, p.1.

¹⁰³ R. Venkatasawmy, "Ethnic Conflict in Africa: A Short Critical Discussion", *Transience*, 6(3), 2015, p.26; F.N. Ikome, "Africa's International borders...", *Institute for Security Studies*, Paper no. 233, Johannesburg, May 2010, p.3; J. Angstrom, "The Sociology of Studies of Ethnic Conflict : Explaining the Causal Status of...", *Civil Wars*, 3(3), 2000, p.6; M.A.O. Aluko, "The Ethnic Problem in Africa", *Anthropologist*, 5(2), 2003, pp.93-99; C. Ksoll, R. Macchiavello & A. Marjaria, Post-Election Violence on Flower Exporting Firms CSAE WPS/2009-6, p.5; R. Stavenhagen, *Ethnic Conflict and the Nation-State*, (London, Macmillan, 1996), p.1; A. Wimmer, R.J. Goldstone, D.L. Horowitz et. al, *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Towards a New Realism*, (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers,

conflicts, disputed elections and poor governance, among other triggers of cross-border migration, have made the Great Lakes Region a refugee-producing geopolitical zone.¹⁰⁴ What emerges from the above discussion is that most people migrated largely as a result of environmental factors such as drought, overpopulation, overgrazing, and others.¹⁰⁵ As highlighted in Chapter Four, the Ndaus in the area, for example, sought refuge across the Save River in the present Masvingo Province of Zimbabwe because of attacks perpetrated against them by the Nguni invaders from South Africa.¹⁰⁶

Ricca, who researched on cross-border movement in the African continent, contends that cross-frontier mobility was influenced by socio-economic marginalisation.¹⁰⁷ Similar views are expressed by Gaidzanwa whose study focused on the migration of medical professionals from Zimbabwe to the Republic of South Africa in the 1990s. The author's findings revealed that the socio-economic challenges which were experienced in Zimbabwe after the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991,¹⁰⁸ caused people to migrate. ESAP caused company closures, unemployment, high cost of living and inflation which eroded people's savings.¹⁰⁹ Also, Solomon's research on informal cross-border migration into South Africa highlights that social, political and economic problems were the underlying causes of cross-border movement in the southern Africa.¹¹⁰ Likewise, Gastrow has argued that southern African countries constitute 'a common market' for criminals as impoverished citizens have been forced to rely on criminal activities as means of livelihoods.¹¹¹ Furthermore, Kiplin and Harrison point the rise of cross-border crimes such as trade in firearms, vehicle theft and smuggling of banned substances. One such notorious transnational space is

2004), p. 1; L.A. Jinadu, *Explaining and Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy*, (Uppsala, Nordic African Institute, 2007), pp.1-38.

¹⁰⁴ J.M.K. Mbombo, "Rethinking Constitutionalism as a border management strategy in the Great Lakes Region of Africa", Paper presented at the Symposium on Border Regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finland, 7th-9th September 2016.

¹⁰⁵ Y. Gebresellasié, "International Migration in Africa: An Overview", *Refugee* 12(8), 1993, pp.1-6.

¹⁰⁶ See J. K., Rennie, *Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies among the South-eastern Shona 1500-1890*, (Nairobi, Heinemann Educational Books, 1968).

¹⁰⁷ S. Ricca, *International Migration in Africa: Legal and Administrative Aspects*, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1989), p. v.

¹⁰⁸ See: A.S. Mlambo, *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe 1990-1995*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1997).

¹⁰⁹ R. Gaidzanwa, *Voting with Their Feet: Migrant Zimbabwean Nurses and Doctors in the Era of Structural Adjustment Programme*, (Uppsala, Nordic African Institute 1999), p.1995, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ H. Solomon, *Of Myths and Migration: Illegal Immigration into South Africa*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2003), p. 54.

¹¹¹ P. Gastrow, "The SADC Region: A Common Market for Criminals?" *African Security Review*, 10(4) 2001, pp.1-3. 2001.

the Mozambique/South Africa borderland where stolen cars from South Africa find a market in Mozambique.¹¹² Muzvidziwa's study of clandestine cross-border economic activities by women in southern African countries confirms the above sentiments.¹¹³ The main argument in the Muzwidzwa case is that the majority of Zimbabwean women who embraced informal cross-border trade as a survival imperative were responding to economic decline in Zimbabwe. The aggregate argument in these studies is that socio-economic challenges are the underlying causes of cross-border migration in Africa. In previous studies, except in the cases of Bantu expansion and Masaai pastoralism, most cross-border migrations were not concerned with the need to obtain land elsewhere as is the case on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. Rather, most of the migrations in Africa were a consequence of political and economic pressures. The next section focuses on cross-border migration in the study area so as to highlight the gap which this thesis intended to fill.

1.7.4 Literature on cross-border migration on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland

Despite the existence of literature on borderland studies, by scholars such as Elizabeth MacGonagle, Nedson Pohwa and Zhou Takavarasha,¹¹⁴ more research is still needed on cross-border mobility. Duri's works on cross-border informal activities have, however, influenced debate on cross-border mobility.¹¹⁵ Drawing from Coplan,¹¹⁶ Duri argues that ordinary people usually initiate an 'informal economy of illegality' in the struggle for survival by exploiting borders. Duri's argument is that the rebellious conduct by borderland communities is in response to the failure by central governments- who regard borderlands as wild spaces- to integrate their economies into the national

¹¹² J. Kiplin & K. Harrison, the *Future for Policing and Crime Prevention in SADC*, (Montreal: International Crime Prevention Centre, 2003), pp. 8-9.

¹¹³ See: V. N. Muzvidziwa, *Women without Borders: International Cross-border Trade among women in the Southern African Development Community*, (Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2005).

¹¹⁴ E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity...* pp. 1-185; N. Pophiwa, "Mobile livelihoods-the players involved in smuggling of commodities across the Zimbabwe- Mozambique border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 25(2), 2010, pp. 65-76.

¹¹⁵ See F. P.T. Duri, "Informal Negotiation of Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border for Survival by Mutare's Marginalised...", *Journal of Developing Societies* 26(2) 2010, pp. 125-163; F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities across the Rhodesia...", PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012, pp.11-12.

¹¹⁶ D. Coplan, "Introduction: From Empiricism to Theory in African Border Studies", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25(2), 2010, pp.1-5.

economy.¹¹⁷ Just like Duri, Zhou's study on cross-border interactions among ethnic groups posits that cross-border informal activities were basically a means of sustenance in harsh borderland environments.¹¹⁸ In summarising the creativity of common people in the manipulation of borders, Baud and Van Schendel have reasoned that:

No matter how clearly borders are drawn on official maps, how many customs officials are appointed or how many watchtowers are built, people will always ignore borders whenever it suits them...People also take advantage of borders in ways that are not intended or are anticipated by their creators. Revolutionaries hide behind them; local inhabitants cross them whenever services or products are cheaper or more attractive on the other side; and traders are quick to take advantage of price and tax differentials. Because of such unintended and often subversive consequences, border regions have their own social dynamics and historical development.¹¹⁹

The implication from the above citation is that even though borders were primarily established as restrictive mechanisms, they are vibrant spaces which common people exploit in order to survive. Duri's significant contribution to this study is that international borders are ignored by marginalised border communities in times of serious socio-economic crisis. Duri further argues that people do not sit back and relax in the face of hunger, but resort to creative strategies in order to survive; one of which is cross-border migration.¹²⁰ For example, when Zimbabwe experienced world record economic meltdown in post- 2000, there was a rush among Zimbabweans for the exit. Millions of Zimbabweans left the country for neighbouring and overseas countries.¹²¹ While a fraction of the immigrants entered the receiving countries legally, the majority crossed into Zimbabwe's neighbours via informal entry points. However, though Duri's study offers useful insights, it has limited geographical and temporal scope. In particular, while the study focused on informal cross-border activities by the subaltern, it was largely situated within the Mutare/Chimio borderland, far away from the area of focus in this

¹¹⁷ F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia...", PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012 p.12.

¹¹⁸ See: T. M. Zhou, "Partition of Africa and Impact of borders on African Societies in Colonial...", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean borderlands & beyond since the colonial period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018), pp.73-131.

¹¹⁹ M. Baud & Van Schendel, "Towards a comparative history of borderlands", *Journal of History* 8 (2) 1997, pp. 211-212.

¹²⁰ F.-P.T. Duri, "Negotiating the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border: The pursuit of survival by Mutare poor...", in S. Chiumbu & M. Muchemwa, (eds.), *Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis* (Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2012), p. 222.

¹²¹ J. Crush & D. Tevera, Existing Zimbabwe, J. Crush & D. Tevera(eds.), *Zimbabwe's Exodus*, (Pretoria, Unit Press, 2011), p. 1.

thesis and was also not focused on a particular ethnic group.¹²² Additionally, the research study by Duri did not capture borderland dynamics between 1974 and 2010, which is the period covered by this study.

Cultural historians have made important contributions to the historiography of cross-border migration. Scholars such as MacGonagle,¹²³ Patricio,¹²⁴ Daimon,¹²⁵ Zhou,¹²⁶ and several others have underscored the importance of cultural ties in cross-border migration in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. It is asserted by the aforementioned scholars that cultural connections are causing cross-border migrations in the borderland. Influenced by MacGonagle's book on the Ndaou identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, cited above, Patricio has provided a nuanced analysis of the influence of state borders on African societies. The author argues that ethnic societies living astride the border are bound by a common history and culture which influences human traffic across state borders.¹²⁷ Patricio's analysis builds on earlier studies by Cooper who argued that cross-border cooperation in remote regions is largely determined by historical ties.¹²⁸ A common thread among these studies was that the need to survive in the borderlands forced residents to construct transnational identity around a sense of common history and culture.¹²⁹ This has led to the existence of a cross-border society, whose members enjoy unrestricted mobility in the exploitation opportunities and resources in the borderland. This, therefore, makes borderlands realms of trans-boundary flows. Zhou, in particular, explains cross-border dynamics in the Ndaou borderland in terms of cultural history.¹³⁰ In other words, what emerges from the above analysis is that cross-border interaction in the study area was not an invented

¹²² F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia...", PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012,

¹²³ See E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2007).

¹²⁴ See: M. Patricio, *Ndaou Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland*, (Lisbon, ISCTE, 2010).

¹²⁵ A. Daimon, "Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31(4), 2016, pp.463-479.

¹²⁶ T. M. Zhou, "Partition of Africa and Impact of borders on African Societies in Colonial...", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean borderlands & beyond since the colonial period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018), pp.73-131.

¹²⁷ Compare with, M. Patricio, *Ndaou Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland*, pp.7-11.

¹²⁸ F. Cooper "Networks, moral discourse and history", in T.M. Callaghy, R. Kassimir & R. Lathan (eds.), *Intervention and trans-nationalism in Africa: Global -local networks of power*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹²⁹ D. K. Flynn, "We are the border: Identity, exchange and the state along the Benin-Nigeria", *American Ethnologist*, 24(2), p.315.

¹³⁰ T. M. Zhou, "Partition of Africa and Impact of borders on African Societies in Colonial...", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean borderlands & beyond since the colonial period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018), pp.73-131.

phenomenon, but was rather informed by strong historical connections among the Ndauspeaking people. While these studies laid the basis and influenced interest in the study, this thesis sought to go beyond and argue that cross-border migration, among other factors, is a consequence of landlessness in the borderland.

Tornimbeni's contribution to cross-border migration is worth mentioning in this study.¹³¹ The author's key argument is that economic inequality in the borderland, especially on the Mozambican side, forced Mozambicans to cross the border into Rhodesia in search of employment. While, officially, the border represents an impenetrable barrier, its sanctity has been violated by borderland residents who cannot continue to respect it in the face of existential economic challenges.¹³² The Ndaus, for example, criss-cross the border in pursuit of economic business on the borderland, corroborating the observation by Nerves that the majority of Ndaus from the Mossurize District of Mozambique sneaked into Southern Rhodesia in search of employment as their domicile district was largely undeveloped.¹³³ Furthermore, Grier has argued that the economic problems became acute at independence in 1975 when the Mozambican economy collapsed, prompting the Ndaus in Mozambique to rely on Rhodesia for all services.¹³⁴ This reliance on Rhodesia led to what Daimon called 'commuter border settlements' along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border,¹³⁵ which traversed the border on a daily basis. In furtherance of this line of argument, Grier stresses that border communities cross the border during the day to perform economic business in Zimbabwe and return to Mozambique in the evening.¹³⁶ Taking this thread forward, Patricio discussed the impact of Zimbabwe's economic meltdown since 2000 on cross-border migration by Zimbabweans to Mozambique.¹³⁷ What can be drawn from these studies is that the boundary has been rendered obsolete by unregulated cross-border migration. This study drew inspiration from these studies, particularly the argument that economic inequality promotes cross-border migration. However, this thesis sought to go

¹³¹ C. Tornimbeni, "Migrant Workers and State Boundaries: Reflections on the Transnational Debate from the Colonial Past in Mozambique", *Lusotopie*, 11, 2004, pp. 107-120.

¹³² E. Alliana-Pisano, "Borders, Borderlands, Boundaries and the Contours of Colonial Rule in Manica District, Mozambique, 1904-1908", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* xxxvi (1), 2003, p. 67.

¹³³ J. M. Nerves, "Economy, Society and Labour Migration in Central Mozambique 1930-1965: A Case Study of Manica Province", PhD Thesis, University of London, 1998, p. 37.

¹³⁴ B.C. Grier, *Invisible hands: Child labour and the in colonial Zimbabwe*, (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2006), p.163.

¹³⁵ A. Daimon, "Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique...", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31(4), 2016, pp. 463-479.

¹³⁶ B.C. Grier, *Invisible hands: Child labour...* p.163.

¹³⁷ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe...*, p.9.

beyond the issue of economic asymmetries in the borderland which has frequently been employed as the main lens through which cross-border interactions have been examined.

Worth highlighting in this study is the role of political problems in cross-border mobility in the borderland. In addition to Portuguese colonial policies that unsettled the Ndaou people in Mozambique, the borderland has experienced several wars that displaced the Ndaou people, either to Zimbabwe or Mozambique. Commenting on the displacements of Mozambicans; Alao asserted that in the 1980s, thousands of Mozambicans, mainly the Ndaou from Mossurize District, streamed into Zimbabwe as they fled the brutal civil war. To reinforce this point, the author estimated that over 200000 Mozambicans sought refuge in Zimbabwe.¹³⁸ Conversely, political instability in Zimbabwe, especially after the year 2000, compelled Zimbabweans to relocate to Mozambique.¹³⁹ Implicit in the above analysis is the argument that population movements across the border due to civil wars weakened the governments' ability to manage territory and people in the borderland. Although the above studies were useful in highlighting the impact of political problems on cross-boundary migration in the borderland, they did not exhaust the seam of research as they solely focused on the contribution of political problems to cross-border mobility. As shown in Chapter Five of this study, this thesis made a significant addition to the discourse of cross-border migration in the borderland by highlighting that, among the political refugees during the colonial period, there were people who had lost their land to Portuguese settlements and plantations.

Land shortage in some regions and its availability in others has been one of the underlying causes of cross-border migration in some places.¹⁴⁰ Related to Malthus' theory is Bradford and Kent's claim that people respond to land shortage by migrating to other areas.¹⁴¹ In Japan and many Western countries, in addition to the reduction in human fertility, people resort to migration in the face of land shortage.¹⁴² A discernible

¹³⁸ A. Alao, "The Metamorphosis of the Unorthodox: The integration and Early Development of the Zimbabwean National Army", in N. Bhebhe & T. O. Ranger, *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War vo. 1*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995), p.114.

¹³⁹ L. Kachena & S.J. Spiege, "Borderland Migration, Mining and Trans-Frontier Conservation: Questions Belonging along the Zimbabwe/ Mozambique border", *Geo Journal*, 84(4) 2019, pp.1021-1034.

¹⁴⁰ E. Chimbambo & B. Mutukudzi, *Introduction to population and settlement studies* (Harare, Zimbabwe Open University, 2000), p. 55.

¹⁴¹ M.G. Bradford & W.A. Kent, *Human Geography: Theories and their applications* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977), p.149.

¹⁴² E. Chimbambo & B. Mutukudzi, *Introduction to population...* (Harare, Zimbabwe Open University, 2000) p. 56.

strand of thought in the above analysis is that land shortage engenders out migration. Carr has argued that poor families in Brazil relocated to marginal upland areas in the Amazonia as a result of land shortage in their native region.¹⁴³ Rennie, Moyana and Ndumeya's¹⁴⁴ contribution is also worth mentioning in this study; these scholars offered a revisionist analysis of the land problem in colonial Zimbabwe and their studies became valuable sources of information for scholars writing on the agrarian crisis in the Mesetter/Chipinge region. Rennie is concerned with racial implications of land ownership among the Ndau people; Moyana discusses the skewed land ownership problem in Zimbabwe, in particular, among the Ndau, while Ndumeya focused on politics, economics and the use of land resources in Gazaland. Taken together, these studies provide a long historical account of land dispossession and the development of poverty and underdevelopment within the Ndau society. Crucially, they provided a foundation on which to study and understand cross-border migration dynamics in this thesis. Yet, the major limitation with these studies was that they made tangential references to cross-border migration to which this thesis paid attention at a broader level. As shown in the preceding discussion, studies on cross-border migration focused on the conventional causes of cross-border migration such as social, economic and political causes. Largely overlooked was the role of land shortage in promoting cross-border mobility, a fundamental factor which this thesis explores. The next section discussed limitations that constrained the study.

1.7.5 Limitations of the study

The study was affected by a number of challenges. Owing to the poor road network, especially in rural areas, the researcher and his assistants experienced problems in accessing informants who lived in the countryside. While traditional leaders played their part to market the researcher's presence in the countryside, the community members were generally conservative; hence, the respondents were reluctant to provide details on issues they thought were too esoteric and others took time to warm up and, consequently, the researcher had to adjust to their pace in order to win their cooperation. To make matters worse, respondents' cooperation was affected by the

¹⁴³ D. Carr, "Rural migration: The driving force Behind tropical deforestation on the settlement frontier", *Prog Hum Geogr* 33 (3)2009, pp. 355-378.

¹⁴⁴ See J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935", PhD Thesis, North-western University (USA), 1973; V. H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002); N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources in South East Zimbabwe, 1929-1969", PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2016.

poor security situation in Mozambique caused by military clashes, between RENAMO and FRELIMO forces. While community leaders played their part to introduce the researcher to the respondents, some respondents in rural areas suspected the researcher to be a man on a reconnaissance mission on behalf of one of the belligerent forces and, therefore, were less willing to cooperate. Indifference to participate in the interviews was noticeable in areas that are notorious for growing cannabis. The researcher gathered that respondents in places such as Muzite, Nyabanga, Chikwekwete and Nyakufera were sceptical of the researcher's intention because they suspected him to be a policeman who would later come to apprehend them for growing marijuana. The above-mentioned areas are characterised by mountains, steep-sided river valleys and are far away from the district's administrative offices at Espungabera where the police are stationed. Some of the residents in these places have large gardens of cannabis and have ready cross-border markets in Zimbabwe, Botswana and South Africa.¹⁴⁵ However, the presence of assistants who were known to most of the community members helped to motivate the respondents to speak freely. In addition, the researcher's surname motivated informants to participate in the research because it is the name of one of the respected clans in the district.

While the researcher got valuable data from AHM and NAZ documents, it should be stated that the material is embedded in the official narrative which captures the activities of state actors, while giving less attention to the Ndaus. In analysing the primary sources, the researcher was conscious of the limitations of those resources as they had myths and biases which compromised objectivity in the stories that were recorded. The palpable grain of subjectivity in the sources came, especially from the colonial African Commissioners (who compiled information that was eventually filed), whose understanding of the African life was compromised by differences in language and culture.¹⁴⁶ However, despite the glaring element of subjectivity, the researcher attempted to reduce the margin of error by consulting other sources, for example the incorporation of oral interviews in the study. Informal interviews with respondents in the borderland were conducted to ensure that this study covered the bottom-up indigenous knowledge experiences and thoughts of the Ndaus. In the final analysis the voice of the Ndaus in this study, filled the gap that was created by official documents.

¹⁴⁵ PC-JH.K. Manganje (Chief), Cita Mossurize, Mozambique, 24 May, 2016.

¹⁴⁶ E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...* p. 36.

In spite of the valuable support the researcher got from the National Archives of Zimbabwe, it was not possible to access records covering the period beginning 1980 when Zimbabwe attained independence. The explanation given was that the information that was recorded between 1980 and 2016 was too contemporary for public consumption as the history makers in Zimbabwe such as Robert Mugabe and his associates in the liberation struggle and the administration of Zimbabwe were still in office. To make matters worse, some important files, especially those covering the debates on land alienation in Rhodesia in the 1930s, could not be accessed as they were stored in rooms that did not have electricity and, consequently, researchers could only access such files if they had brought torches or lamps. In addition, some staff members were not very motivated to assist due to economic problems and were only forthcoming after they were given incentives (money).

While valuable literature was obtained from the local institutions, most of these libraries did not have books that cover the history of the Ndaou people in detail. Ndaou history has not been adequately documented because of two main reasons. The first reason is that Zimbabwean historians have neglected the history of minority groups such as the Ndaou. Secondly, there is a problem of language as most of the Ndaou people history is written in Portuguese.

Furthermore, the researcher wishes to highlight constraints which somehow affected data gathering from the Mozambican archival source. While the researcher learned Portuguese at primary school in the early 1980s, his understanding of the language was so poor that he had to enlist the services of an interpreter who understood both English and Portuguese. However, it should be noted that reliance on a translator has its weaknesses as some nuances inevitably get lost in the process of translation, thereby compromising the quality of the interpretations and conclusions drawn from the data. This, therefore, prompted the researcher to consult several sources such as oral interviews in order to make up for the weaknesses of the former. The section that follows outlines ethical issues which were considered in this study.

1.7.6 Ethical care

In accordance with the North West University's ethical requirements for conducting research, the researcher sought permission from the Mozambican Embassy in Harare and the Ministry of Local Government (Zimbabwe), prior to conducting research in the two districts in the two countries. Permission was accordingly granted to the researcher to interview the informants. Furthermore, prior to conducting this research, the researcher sought the consent of carrying out the study from district administrators, traditional leaders, immigration officers and politicians (ward councillors). These were important civil and political figures in the administration of the districts' affairs where the study area is located. The researcher subsequently introduced himself to the above-mentioned leaders with the aid of letters obtained from the governments of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, respectively. The researcher explained the purpose of his visit to the respondents and equally explained to them that participation in the research was on a voluntary basis and that there was no financial gain for contributing to the research. The researcher also indicated that the data gathered from the interviews would be used to write the thesis and could also be used in writing academic papers for publication or conferences. The researcher equally advised participants that they would take part in being interviewed (inclusive of electronic recording) by the researcher, only after reading and signing a form of informed consent. Those who indicated displeasure against being tape recorded were not interviewed.

The researcher obtained an ethical clearance Letter (FH-BaSc-2014-0009) from the North West University Ethics Committee (BaSSREC) and assured the Committee that he would not plagiarise and would duly acknowledge all the sources consulted/used. Additionally, the researcher promised to compile a name list of the respondents who would have participated in the study. The researcher also assured the Ethics Committee that all data used would be safely kept by the promoter of this study, Prof ES van Eeden. The researcher also undertook to submit copies of the thesis to the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments. The next section focuses on the importance of the study, mainly in academia and countries' policy planning and implementation as regards the land problem on the Ndau borderland.

1.8 Significance of the study

In addition to complementing the existing debate on the Ndaou and exploring new insights from new sources of information regarding the Ndaou, the study also adds value to an understanding of trends on border integration and debates. It is postulated that trans-boundary partnerships facilitates contacts between regions, thereby providing a basis for target-oriented communication and cooperation. Consequently, cross-border collaboration improves the recognisability of border areas, thereby helping the latter to get involved in regional efforts and, in this way, represent the interests of the borderland residents. This instrument of trans-boundary collaboration does not only facilitate spatial integration, but also forms vertical cooperation between public administrations of local character, companies and other institutions and civil society organisation. Trans-boundary collaboration and regions are progressively turning into vital instruments for developing and supporting integration processes in the borderland. In this context, trans-boundary interactions between regions function as instruments for consolidating internal unity and integration in the Ndaou borderland. The aim would be the removal of economic and social differences between or among member states through improved regional interaction. In these circumstances, trans-boundary regions function as 'contact' spatial formations whose role, among other things, is to prevent the separation of global territory into regional entities.

The study contributed to a nuanced understanding of the role that border-induced land shortage plays in cross-border movement in the borderland area under discussion. Most importantly, it should be noted that as the Ndaou shuttled between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, while undertaking cross-border farming, cross-border interaction was enhanced. The border is traversed numerously, especially during the summer season as farmers will be attending to the demands of crop farming such as land preparation, crop management and harvesting, thereby making the border region "borderless". It can be argued that cross-border farming has contributed to the survival of families whose livelihoods had been undermined by the loss of land.

This study aimed to add value to the existing, yet limited, body of literature on borderland studies. The thesis is important in academia as it has the capacity to engender fresh empirical research, examining the same area of study to broaden the scope or to challenge some of the findings of the current thesis.

1.9 Conclusion

The introductory chapter presented a mapping to the research possibilities and objectives on the Ndaou people of Zimbabwe's cross-border dynamics in history. An overview of the topic of study, and the intended research methodology were included. In this regard, it was pointed out that in the required historical research, some multidisciplinary considerations inevitably but also necessarily will be required for obtaining a comprehensive perspective. It was highlighted in the chapter that library research, involving print and electronic media sources, enabled the researcher to get primary and secondary data on the topic under investigation. Equally, methodologies such as semi-informal interviews were applied to ensure dialogue between the researcher and Ndaou informants. It was argued that such methodological engagement enabled the researcher to capture the experiences and perceptions of the Ndaou on borderland dynamics. Ethical clearance was justified. In Chapter Two, the borderland discourse in scholarly work will be the main focus of the debate.

CHAPTER 2

INTELLECTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON BOUNDARY AND TRANS-BOUNDARY HISTORIES OF REGIONS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the theoretical frameworks that jointly anchored and informed the study. The research question that underpins the intentions for reporting in this chapter is whether a literature survey on cross-border/boundary theories in regional history studies, inclusive of patterns of migration, imperialism, political culture and socialisation, will expose historiographical insights to consider in the study of Ndaup people experiences. In summation, the chapter opines that the scholarly historiographies and some multidisciplinary related theories provide a foundation and structure in this study. It also served as a beacon upon which findings were measured in this study. The discussion that follows is centred on Border/Boundary theories.

2.2. Global interpretation of boundaries and the essence of cross border migration

Ranking and Schofield define the term “boundary” as a line that functions to mark the bounds or limits of anything whether material or immaterial.¹ Closely related to the preceding definition, Bakashab describes a boundary as a line that marks the edge of one state and the beginning of the other.² Kristof adds a new dimension to the debate by explaining boundaries as legal institutions which promote global political order.³ Sayel *et al* argue that international boundary marking starts with the intention of two or more countries interested in the boundary demarcation. The above-mentioned authors further contend that countries concerned implement their boundaries by setting the requirements and specifications in a treaty negotiated between them or, for example, in the current era, countries call upon the United Nations to make arrangements to demonstrate that the boundaries between them have mutually been accepted.⁴ For instance, the United Nations (UN) witnessed the ratification of the new border between

¹ K. Ranking & A. Schofield, *The Troubled Historiography of classical Boundary Terminology*, (Belfast International Border Research, 2004), p.2.

² O.A. Bakashab, “The Legal Concept of International Boundary”, *JKAU: Econ*, 9, 1996, p.133.

³ L. Kristof, “The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries”, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 49(3), 1959, pp.269-282.

⁴ M. A. Sayel, P. Lohmann & C. Heipke, “International Boundary Making: Three Case Studies”, *Institute of Photogrammetric and Geo-information*, Hanover, 2009, p.1.

Eritria and Ethiopia in 1993.⁵ Scott essentially notes that boundaries are imposed upon the landscape to institutionalise and perpetuate differences between nations.⁶ What emerges from these definitions is that a boundary is a human-imposed line that marks the territorial limits of a nation state. Taking this thread further, Marxen argues that territorial integrity is an important concept in international law. In his 1884 treatise on European public law, A.W. Heffer, cited in Marxen, spoke of the territorial principle (*ius territorii*) that grants a “a right to integrity or inviolability of states”.⁷ Also, the concept gained traction after World War One when Woodrow Wilson, the USA President of the time, called for the observation of peace in Europe.⁸ Further, the concept occupies a special place in the United Nation (UN) Charter where it is used as a mechanism to protect member states from aggression.⁹

According to Korkor, quoted in Teshome, boundaries are divided into fixed and general ones.¹⁰ While in the general boundaries, the boundary line does not exist, fixed boundaries are clearly marked on the map. In the same vein, Smith categorised boundaries into ‘*bona fide and fiat*’ boundaries.¹¹ Unlike *fiat* boundaries which are created by man; *bonafide* boundaries follow natural features such as rivers, coastlines and, consequently, are not a function of human cognitive action.¹² Laine argues that natural frontiers were close to ideal boundaries and did not easily cause misunderstanding between nations.¹³

⁵ See: European Parliament Report [on Eritria] “Directorate-General for external Policies of the Union Directorate B.”, 2008.

⁶ J.W. Scott, *Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-Border Cooperation in Europe*, (Geneva, Springer International Publishing, 2015), p. 32.

⁷ C. Marxen, “Territorial integrity in International Law-Its Concept and Implications for Crimea”, *Zao* 75, 2015, p. 8.

⁸ W. Wilson, 65th Congressional 2nd Session, Congressional Record 56 (8.1), 1918, p. 681.

⁹ C. Marxen, “Territorial integrity in International Law-Its Concept and Implications...”, *Zao* 75, 2015, p.8; I.U. Libarona, “Territorial Integrity and self-determination: The Approach of International Court of Justice in the Advisory Opinion”, *REAF*, 2012, p. 108.

¹⁰ W. Teshome, “Colonial Boundaries of Africa: The Case of Ethiopia’s Boundary with Sudan”, *Age Academic Review*, 9 (1), 2009, pp.337-367.

¹¹ B. Smith, “On Drawing Lines on a Map”, A.U. Frank, W. Kuhn & D. M. Mark (eds.), *Spatial Information Theory, Proceeding of COSIT ’95*, (Berlin, Springer Verlag, 1995), pp.475-484.

¹² W. Teshome, “Colonial Boundaries of Africa: The Case of Ethiopia’s Boundary with ...”, *Ege Academic Review*, 9(1), 2009, p.339; G. Cederl, “Fixed boundaries, fluid landscapes: British expansion into Eastern Bengal in the 1820s”, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46(4), 2009, pp. 513-40; B. Smith, “On Drawing Lines ...”, A.U. Frank, W. Kuhn & D.M. Mark (eds.), *Spatial Information Theory, Proceeding of COSIT ’95*, (Berlin, Springer Verlag, 1995), pp.475-484.

¹³ J. P. Laine, “A Historical View On the Study of Borders”, in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A.A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies, Far Eastern Federal University*, 2015, p. 22; E.C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, (New York, Henry Holt), 1911, p. 407.

Boundaries are further classified on the basis of the role they play in the society such as geo-political, symbolic and social functions.¹⁴The geo-political function is related to territorial sovereignty which basically constitutes the primary function of boundaries.¹⁵ The geo-political argument, therefore, underscores that the demarcation of a boundary materialises from a political perception which is concerned with the creation of territorial spaces. In support of the above view, Agnew argues that boundaries ensnare people and their possessions within a restricted territorial space.¹⁶Undeniably, the state administering the territorial space uses the boundary intermittently as an identity indicator and also as a warranty of its sovereignty.¹⁷

Moreover, it is vital to realise that boundaries also fulfil a symbolic function.¹⁸Lamont acclaims Emile Durkheim and Marx Weber for their contribution in highlighting the function of symbolic boundaries. While Durkheim is credited for emphasising a classification system on relationship with moral order, Weber is extolled for stressing the boundary role in the development of inequality between people. Symbolic boundaries are defined as lines that are used to differentiate people.¹⁹ The peculiarities are articulated via prohibitions; for example, cultural practices and patterns of likes and dislikes. One commonly used case of symbolic boundaries is that of religion which has been used to separate holy from wicked things.²⁰Similarly, Veblen opines that forms of thought are important devices which construct lines of demarcation between groups of people in the society.²¹ It can, thus, be noted that the boundary between groups matches with those that delimit the superior from the inferior. Expressing similar sentiments, Weber asserted that symbolic boundaries undermine social unity. Weber likened people to animals that are constantly competing over meagre resources and they (people) use cultural distinctions; for example, race to discriminate against other

¹⁴ J. Cassarino, *Approaching Borders and Frontiers: Notions and Implications*, (San Dominico di Fiesole, European University Institute, 2006), p.3.

¹⁵ F. Durand, "Theoretical Framework of the Cross-border Space Production-The Case of the Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 30(3), 2015, p.312.

¹⁶J. Agnew, "Territorialisation", In, D. Gregory, R. Johnston, G. Pratt, M. Watts & S. Whatmore (eds.), *Dictionary of Human Geography*, (London, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p.745.

¹⁷ F. Durand, "Theoretical Framework ..." *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 30(3), 2015, p.312.

¹⁸ C. Bail, "The Configuration of Symbolic Boundaries against Immigrants in Europe", *American Sociological Review*, 73, 2008, pp.37-59.

¹⁹ M. Lamont, "Symbolic boundaries", J. Wright, (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science and Behavioural Science*, (Oxford, Elsevier, 2001), p. 851; E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (New York, Free Press, 1965), p.23.

²⁰ E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (New York, Free Press, 1965), p.234; M. Lamont, "Symbolic ..." in J. Wright, (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science and Behavioural Science*, (Oxford, Elsevier, 2001), p.851.

²¹ T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure class*, (New York, Penguin, 1979), p.49.

groups of people.²²In this context, the dominant group has more access to resources than the inferior members of the society.

Commenting on the importance of symbolic boundaries, Epstein argues that they are tools by which people struggle about and assist people in defining reality. Epstein further notes that the examination of these boundaries enables scholars to understand social relations which develop during the production and institutionalisation of new guiding systems.²³ Lamont concurs and claims that symbolic boundaries divide community members on the basis of shared experiences. The author further opines that symbolic boundaries are media through which people acquire status and monopolise resources.²⁴Viewed in this way, boundaries play a strong symbolic function.²⁵ Closely related to the above are social boundaries which, according to Ozani and Lewis, define social differences in terms of access to opportunities and resources.²⁶Commenting on the thin line dividing symbolic and social boundaries, Lamont and Molnar argue that while symbolic boundaries are located at the inter-subjective stage, the other show themselves as grouping of beings.²⁷ The section that follows discusses borderland permeability in order to determine borderland classification.

2.2.1 Borderland permeability and classification

Another pertinent aspect on the boundary discourse which this thesis drew attention to is the closure and openness of the boundary.²⁸ It is critical to examine boundary porousness as it influenced cross-border transgressions in the study area and beyond. An exponent of the boundary closure and openness is Martinez, who articulates this using a borderland typology comprising of four models: alienated; coexistent;

²² M. Lamont, "Symbolic..." in J. Wright, (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science and Behavioural Science*, (Oxford, Elsevier, 2001), p. 852.

²³ C.F. Epstein, "Tinker-bells and Pinus: The construction and reconstruction of gender boundaries at work", in M. Lamont & M. Fournier (eds.), *Cultivating differences: Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*, (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992), p.232.

²⁴ M. Laramont & V. Molnar "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences", *Annu. Rev.Sociolo.* (28) 2002, p.168; C. Bail, "The Configuration of Symbolic Boundaries...", *American Sociological Review*, 73, 2008, pp. 37-59; A. M. Kuznetsov, "Symbolic Boundaries of Social Systems", in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A.A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies* (Vladivostok, Dalnauka, 2015), p.80; M. Lamont, *Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press Books, 1992), p.1.

²⁵ H. Donnan & T. Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*, (Oxford, Berg, 2001), p.21.

²⁶ R. Ozkai & J.R. Lewis, "Boundaries and the Meaning of Social Space: A Study of Japanese House Plans," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, 2006, p.91; D. Newman, "The Lines that Continue to Separate Us: Borders", in J. Schimanski & S. Wolfe (eds.), *Border Poetics De-limited*, (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2007), p.33.

²⁷ M. Laramont & V. Molnar "The Study of Boundaries...", *Annu. Rev.Sociolo.* (28), 2002, p.169.

²⁸ B. Tavuyanago, "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, p. 21.

interdependent and integrated borderland models.²⁹ Tavuyanago observes that governments that share alienated borderlands prohibit border crossing as the adjacent states view each other as enemies; for example, the former two German states during the Cold War era.³⁰ In a co-existent borderland, limited contacts across boundaries are permitted as states consider unregulated movement of people across the boundary a security threat.³¹ An interdependent borderland is characterised by a common boundary understanding between adjacent states which is further characterised by mutual trade and cross-border interactions. Here, economic complementarities engender cross-border interactions and business.³² Commenting on the Tonga borderland between Zambia and Zimbabwe, McGregor contends that it exemplifies the interdependent borderland.³³ Rightly, the Tonga people who live astride the border transact freely, both economically and socially across the border. According to Martinez, the most 'liberal' borderland is the integrated borderland whose main characteristic is the absence of barriers to trade and movement of people across frontiers.³⁴ This results in the intensive cross-boundary mobility of capital, services and humans. Moreover, the adjacent countries are further drawn into integration as a consequence of membership to international organisations. Hence, nationalism is eradicated in favour of international solidarity based on peaceful coexistence.³⁵ This borderland model exists within the European Union where restrictions against the movement of citizens and goods across

²⁹ O. J. Martinez, *Border and People: Life and Society in the US- Mexico borderlands*, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1994) p. xviii; M. Pratt, "The Scholar Practitioner Interface in Boundary Studies"; Paper presented at the Symposium: First Contact: Bringing Together Community of Border Studies" at Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, December 19, 2009, p.33; K. Mirwaldt, "Contact, Conflict and geography; What factors shape cross-border citizen relations?", *Political Geography* 29(8), 2010, pp.434-443.

³⁰ B. Tavuyanago, "Living On the Fringes of a Protected Area: Gonarezhou National Park(GNP) and the Indigenous Communities of South East Zimbabwe...", PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2016, p. 21; B.L. Brager, *Arbitrary Borders, Political boundaries in World History*, (Chelsea, Chelsea Publishers, 2004), p.3; O.J. Martinez, *Border and People...* p. 3; D.G. S. Mangku, "The Borderland of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with other countries", *South East Asia Journal of Contemporary Business, Economics and Law* 9(4), 2016, pp. 54-58; P. Kladivo, P. Ptacek, P. Roubinek & K. Ziener, "The Czech-Polish and Austrian-Slovenian Borderlands-Similarities and Differences in the Development and Typology of Regions", *Marovian Geographical Reports* 20(3), 2012, p. 23.

³¹ Amnesty International, 2010, pp.1-8.

³² H. Tamas, "Asymmetries in the formation of the transnational borderland in the Slovak-Hungarian Border Region" *Scientific Basic Research, ID: Huskua*, 2013, p. 3; C. Parham, "Borderland Theory as a Conceptual Framework for Comparative Local US and Canadian History", *Advances in Historical Studies* 2(2), 2013, pp. 94-104.

³³ J. McGregor, *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape on a Central African Frontier*, (Oxford, James Currey, 2009).

³⁴ O.J. Martinez, *Border and People...* p. xviii.

³⁵ D.G.S. Mangku, "The Borderland of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with other...", *South East Asia Journal of Contemporary Business, Economics and Law* 9(4), 2016, pp. 54-58; H. Tamas, "Asymmetries in the formation of the transnational borderland in the Slovak-Hungarian Border ...," *Scientific Basic Research, ID: Huskua*, 2013, p.3; M. Pratt, "The Scholar Practitioner Interface in Boundary Studies"; Paper presented at the Symposium: First Contact: Bringing Together Community of Border Studies" at Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, December 19, 2009, p.33.

boundaries were lifted.³⁶ This European community also successfully introduced a common currency (Euro) and a visa travel free zone for citizens in the European community. It can be argued that the integrated community constituted expanded space for exploitation by the European Union citizens. The next section examines global boundary perceptions.

2.2.2 Boundary conceptualisations

As highlighted in the previous section, boundary conceptualisation is a globally contested phenomenon as people have tended to view the concept “boundary” from different perspectives. In this study, attention is paid to the African interpretation of the term boundary in order to drive home the argument that although Africans had their own boundaries, the concept of a hard boundary, one which demarcates the territorial integrity of a nation state, was a European construct imposed on Africa. However, both historians and anthropologists who have produced considerable literature on the subject, remain divided on whether pre-colonial Africa had territorial boundaries or not (see Map 2.1). Englebert and Tarango, posit that the concept of territorially defined statehood was foreign to Africa before the advent of colonial rule.³⁷ To add on, Englebert and Tarango further argue that pre-colonial Africa was characterised by low population and technology levels which did not warrant strong political systems and clear territorial demarcations. Commenting on the territorial character of the Yoruba and Ewe kingdoms of West Africa, Gaal remarks that:

Not only cannot one precisely define the political relationship between the central authorities in each area, be it Dahomey or Yorubaland, and the peripheral communities owing allegiance to it but there was no precisely defined boundary between their respective areas of jurisdiction... A territorial boundary of minimal width between Dahomey and Yoruba people did not exist and could not be defined.³⁸

³⁶ C. Coleman, *Shengen Agreement: A Short History*, (London, House of the Lords Library, 2016), pp.1-13.

³⁷ P. Englebert & S. Tarango, “Dismemberment and Suffocation: A contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(10), 2002, pp.1093-1118.

³⁸ B.A. El Gaal, “Boundaries in Africa: A Case Study of the Diplomatic Evolution and Legal Aspects of the International Boundaries of the Sudan, With Special Emphasis on the Boundary with Egypt”, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1975, p.10.

Supporting the above analysis, Crawford argues that it was an exercise in futility to attempt to find any clearly marked line separating states in pre-colonial Africa.³⁹In agreement with the above view, Mazarire suggests that such arguments were strengthened by the lack of cartographic practices and literacy in pre-colonial Africa.⁴⁰What emerges from the above analysis is that the concept of boundary was virtually unknown in most places in Africa before the establishment of colonial rule.⁴¹

Contrary to the argument that pre-colonial Africa was devoid of boundaries, Duri argues that pre-colonial Africa had boundaries which separated one sphere of influence from the other. Duri has also claimed that scholars failed to recognise the presence of boundaries in pre-colonial Africa owing to their inability to differentiate between the central states and outlying tributaries because of the blurred zone of transition between the so-called urban centres and tributary areas.⁴² On this issue, Kopytoff postulated that pre-colonial Africa viewed political terrain as a phenomenon that evolved from the central point and grew outwards.⁴³ In support of the argument that precolonial Africa had boundaries, Jacobs proffered that a more or less similar situation existed among the Maasai of East Africa where each sub-ethnic unit had clearly defined territory.⁴⁴ Beach posited that the central state implied a core compact area which received tribute from the outlying tributaries.⁴⁵ Asiwaju echoed the above view when he argued that frontier boundaries existed in some parts of Africa before the onset of colonial rule. For example, the author cited the Yoruba states of Nigeria as one of the places in Africa where topographical features such as the sea, the lagoon, lakes, rivers, boulders, hills,

³⁹ A.I. Asiwaju, "The Concept of Frontiers in the Setting of States in Pre-colonial Africa", Symposium on The Problematique of the State in Black Africa, Dakar, 30 November, 1981, p.5; J. Negrao, *One hundred Years of rural African economy: The Zambezi delta in retrospective analysis*, (Lund: University of Lund, 1995), pp.159-166; M. Baud and W. Van Schendel, "Towards a comparative history of borderlands" *Journal of World History*, 8(2), 1997, p.223.

⁴⁰ G.C. Mazarire, "Changing landscape and oral memory in south-central Zimbabwe: Towards a historical geography of Chishanga, c1850-1990", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(3), 2003, p.707.

⁴¹ A.I. Asiwaju, "The Concept of Frontiers..." Symposium on The Problematique of the State in Black Africa, Dakar, 30 November, 1981, p.3.

⁴² F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of informal Socio – Economic Activities across the Rhodesia...", PhD thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012, p.46.

⁴³ I. Kopytoff, "The internal African frontier: The Making of African political culture", in I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), p.67.

⁴⁴ H.A. Jacobs, *The Pastoral Maasai of Kenya: A report of Anthropological field research*, (Urbana 3, University of Illinois, 1963), p.38.

⁴⁵ D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1980), p.113.

mountains and valleys represented boundaries between one kingdom and another.⁴⁶ Although the tribal lands were close to each other, it is postulated that they hardly overlapped and were separated by topographic features, constituting a boundary referred to in the Maasai language as *empaka*.⁴⁷ Also, a cursory look at Map.2.1 shows that pre-colonial Africa was not a mere geographical expression, but had visible separate kingdoms. Closely related to the preceding argument, Mpofo, Tavuyanago and Mutami claimed that the Mutapa state was structured into central, provincial and district administration.⁴⁸



Map 2.1: Pre-Colonial map on kingdom settlement in Africa before 1800

Source: African History: Oxford Research Encyclopaedias, Loyola, University of Chicago Libraries.

Contrary to Hughes’s assertion that pre-colonial African societies hardly identified with particular geographical boundaries,⁴⁹ Patricio asserted that the concept of “boundary”

⁴⁶ A. I. Asiwaju, “The Concept of Frontiers ...,” Symposium on the Problematique of the State in Black Africa, Dakar, 30 November, 1981, p.2.

⁴⁷ A.I. Asiwaju, “The Concept of Frontiers...,” Symposium on the Problematique of the State in Black Africa, Dakar, 30 November, 1981, p.3.

⁴⁸ S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa c1400-1902*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1982), p.14; T. G. Mpofo, N. Mutami & B. Tavuyanago, *A Total History Book 3*, (Harare, Priority, 2009), p.19.

⁴⁹ D. Cadastral, “The making of community-based resource management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique”, *Development and Change*, 32, 2001, pp.759-763.

predates colonialism as the term *mugano* (meaning boundary) had been part of the Shona people's vocabulary from time immemorial.⁵⁰ What emerges from the foregoing analysis is that while territorial demarcations did not exist in the Westphalian sense, African kingdoms were clearly defined from one another (See: Map 2.1).

The next section examines the historiography of boundaries to contextualise the borderland studies historically.

2.2.3 Historiographical reflections in understanding boundaries on borderland studies

In this section, the discussion sought to provide a background that contextualised the study historically by analysing the evolutionary trajectory of boundary from earlier times to the advent of colonialism in Africa. It also drew attention to the boundary historiographical narratives. The focus of such narratives is a demonstration that on one hand, a boundary is a barrier (political mechanism) and, on the other, a boundary is a point of contact and opportunity. Moreover, it was discovered that cross-border migration is viewed as a survival imperative by boundary communities. What has been further learned is that boundaries and states simultaneously evolved. In this regard, the evolution of the term "living space" in geopolitics and its place in the borderland discourse, requires consideration.

2.2.4 Natural selection and evolution of "living space"

Scott claims that border studies originated from historicist and cultural determinist traditions advanced by scholars such as Helder, Hegel, Darwin, Ratzel and others.⁵¹ Laine attributes much credit for the development of boundary discourse to Ratzel who drew inspiration from Thomas Malthus and Charles Darwin to create a politico-geographical corpus which tied physical and human elements together.⁵² The approach advanced the idea of space and people, where states strove to push boundaries outwards in order to have more territory at their disposal.⁵³

⁵⁰ M. Patricio, *Ndau Identity in Mozambique/Zimbabwe...* pp.1-11.

⁵¹ J.W. Scott, "Border Politics and Cross-border Cooperation in Europe", in F. Celata, & R. Coletti (eds.), *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*, (Geo-Journal, 2015), p.29.

⁵² J. P. Laine, "A Historical View..." in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A. A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies*, (Vladivostok, Dalnauka, 2015), p.18.

⁵³ S. Costachie & N. Damian, "Ratzel and the German Geopolitical School-The Inception of Culture as Essential Element and Factor in the Political Geography", *Revista Romana de Geografie Politica* XXII (2), 2010, pp.298-308;

Prior to delving into a greater analysis of Ratzel's contribution to this topic, it is prudent to present an overview of the environment in which Ratzel's ideas developed. According to Abrahamsson, the rise of German geographical thought in the 19th century was influenced by Charles Darwin's works on the origin of species.⁵⁴ Darwin's publication attracted attention from German geographers such as Peschel, Ratzel's predecessor who began to promote Darwinian ideas, resulting in the development and popularisation of living space in geopolitics.⁵⁵ Most significantly, the reception of Darwin's theory coincided with German politics during the Second Reich which showed unbridled ambition in the acquisition of colonies. It is apparent that the colonial project was envisaged as a panacea to economical and demographical challenges that faced Germany.⁵⁶ In this context, German politicians argued that the country was supposed to acquire foreign land to satisfy the needs of its expanding population.⁵⁷ It can, thus, be concluded that Darwin's ideas presented a rationale for the conquest and subjugation of indigenous overseas populations. Peschel, quoted in Abrahamsson, asserted that the extinction of minor human races was "the historical course. If we review it with the cycle of a geologist and indeed a geologist which accepts the Darwinian Theory we must say that this extermination of human races is a natural process like extinction of secondary animal and plant forms".⁵⁸ Also, the reception of Darwinian thought by German geographers is explained in terms of professional training which some of the German geographers received. While Ratzel had studied animals and geography,⁵⁹ Kirchhoff attended lectures which made him develop an affinity to biology-related issues. Here, Kirchhoff remarked that:

The struggle for existence between the people causes the extermination of the crude, immoral hordes...Not the physically strongest but the best one's triumph. If there were not a diversity of peoples, if there were no international rivalries,

L.H. Larsen "The need and ability for expansion": Conceptions of living Space in the small-state geopolitics of Gudmund Hatt", *Political Geography* 30(1), 2011, pp.38-48.

⁵⁴ E. A. Lloyd, "The Nature of Darwin's Support the Theory of Natural Selection", *Philosophy of Science* 50(1), 1983, pp.112-129; N. Eldredge, Darwin's Other Books: "Red" and "Transmutation", Notebooks, "Sketch", "Essay", and Natural Selection", *PLOS BIOL*, 3(11), 2005, pp.1864-1867.

⁵⁵ C. Abrahamsson, "On the genealogy of Lebensraum", *Geographica Helvetica*, 8, 2013, pp.37-44.

⁵⁶ D.W. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of the Nazi Imperialism*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986), p.1.

⁵⁷ M. Bassin, "Imperialism and the Nation State in Friedrich Ratzel's Political Geography", *Prog. Hum. Geo*, 11, 1987, pp. 473-495; S. Danielsson, "Creating Genocidal Spaces: Geographers and the Discourse of Annihilation, 1880-1933", *Space Polity*, 13, 2009, pp. 55-68; R. Weikart, "Progress through Racial Extermination: social Darwinism, Eugenics and Pacifism in Germany, 1860s-1918", *German Studies Review*, 26, 2013, pp. 273-294.

⁵⁸ C. Abrahamsson, "On the genealogy..." *Geographica Helvetica*, 8, 2013, pp.37-44.

⁵⁹ W. D. Smith, "Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum", *German Studies Review* 3(1), 1980, pp.51-68.

where would be the guaranteed for the preservation of the fitness of the peoples not to mention for the progress of humanity.⁶⁰

Such was a comment from somebody who had received training in some aspects of biology. Ratzel was further influenced by Moritz Wagner's studies on Migration, which concluded that migration among other things was a consequence of insufficient space.⁶¹ In Ratzel's political geography, acquisition of colonies was key in the development of great nations. Clearly, his argument was that most conflicts were motivated by the desire to control space.⁶² In this context, it can be argued that the position of state borders was determined by the country's demographic requirements.

Ratzel further described living space as a notion which comprises anthropological, biological and geographical elements of a location. As a synthesis notion, its central goal was to explain the relationship between living things and their geographical location.⁶³ In this regard, the living space refers to the "geographical surface area required to support a living species at its current population size and mode of existence".⁶⁴ Consequently, a rise or decline in the population will affect the spatial requirements of the existing population. In Ratzel's own words, "...every new form of life needs space in order to come into existence and yet more space to establish and pass on its characteristics".⁶⁵ What emerges from the above discussion is the argument that space is central to the survival of living things. The next section examines the concept of dynamic boundaries.

2.2.5 Dynamic boundaries and territorial expansion

Ratzel's argument acquired a number of followers who developed it further. Cohen claimed that Kjellen was one such scholar who expanded the Organic Theory and defined the state as a geographical phenomenon in space.⁶⁶ Drawing from Ratzel's line of reasoning, Kjellen claimed that there was a strong connection between the growth of

⁶⁰ R. Weikart, "Progress through Racial Extermination: social Darwinism, Eugenics and Pacifism in Germany, 1860s-1918", *German Studies Review*, 26, 2013, p.274.

⁶¹ W. D. Smith, "Friedrich Ratzel and..." *German Studies Review* 3, 1980, p.67.

⁶² C. Abrahamsson, "On the genealogy..." *Geographica Helvetica*, 8, 2013, pp.37-44.

⁶³ H. Onal, "Reflections of Environmental Determinism in the Questions Prepared by Geography Teacher Candidates" *Review of International Geographical Education Online* 8(1), 2018, pp.74-92; M. Kosegi, *etal*, "Human-environment relationship in modern and postmodern geography", *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin* 64 (2), 2015, pp.87-99.

⁶⁴ W. D. Smith, "Friedrich Ratzel and..." *German Studies Review* 3, 1980, p.53.

⁶⁵ M. Bassin, "Imperialism and the Nation State in Friedrich Ratzel's Political ..." *Prog. Hum. Geo*, 11, 1987, p.477.

⁶⁶ S. B. Cohen, *Geopolitics of the World System*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), p.8.

the human material of the state and its capacity to grow.⁶⁷ Laine also asserts that Kjellen likened the state to a living organism, having brain and soul personified in the Government and, according to him, this geographical unit was demarcated by natural boundaries.⁶⁸ Like Ratzel, Kjellen argued that the boundary line was not cast in stone, as it could be changed. In somewhat similar fashion, Mackinder, who was a geographer, drew attention to the role played by geography in state development.⁶⁹ According to Kearns, Mackinder was of the opinion that the map of the World was continuously being redrawn as a consequence of imperialism.⁷⁰ The Organic State concept was expanded by Haushofer, who subscribed to the notions of bio-organic perception of state and physical expansion of territory.⁷¹ Rana reinforced this view by arguing that, contrary to the belief in static boundaries, Haushofer argued for boundaries which were open to adjustment.⁷² Viewed in this context, boundaries were not cast in stone, but were malleable; lending credence to the argument that super powers in search of living space could expand into the territory of others.⁷³ Ratzel, Kjellen and other scholars in geopolitics accentuate the naturality of bordered boundaries under state administration.⁷⁴ In so doing, however, they rejected the static conception of boundaries and, instead, viewed the state as an organism which, to exist normally, required boundaries that were dynamic and prone to change.⁷⁵ The next section discusses the Westphalian boundary system in Europe and Africa.

⁶⁷ S. Holdar, "The Ideal State and the power of Geography: The Life Work of Rudolf Kjellen", *Political Geography* 11, 1992, pp.307-323; O. Tuander, "Swedish-German Geopolitics for a New Century Rudolf Kjellen's: The State as Living Organism", *Review of International Studies*, 27, 2001, pp.451-463.

C. Abrahamsson, "On the genealogy..." *Geographica Helvetica*, 8, 2013, pp.37-44.

⁶⁸ J. P. Laine, "A Historical view ...", in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A. A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies*, (Vladivostok, Dalnauka, 2015, 2015), p.20.

⁶⁹ S. R. Gokemen, "Geopolitics and the study of International Relations", PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010, p.15.

⁷⁰ G. Kearns, "The Political Pivot of Geography", *Geographical Journal*, 179, 2004, pp. 337-46.

⁷¹ B. Teschke, "Geopolitics", *Historical Materialism*, 14(1), 2006, pp.327-335;

⁷² G.S. Rana, "Geopolitics and the Study of International..." PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010, p.29.

⁷³ H. Van Houtum, "The Geopolitics of Borders and boundaries", *Geopolitics*, 10, 2005, p.674.

⁷⁴ G. O.' Tuathail, "Thinking Critically about geopolitics", in G.O.' Tuathail, S. Dalby & P. Routledge (eds.), *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London, Rutledge, 2003), p.4.

⁷⁵ B. Haselsberger, "Decoding borders. Appreciating border impacts on space and people", *Planning Theory and Practice*, 15(4), 2005, p.507.

2.2.6 The Westphalia Treaty: Boundaries as markers of state sovereignty

The evolution of the contemporary state system has been linked to the 1648 Treaty of the Westphalia.⁷⁶ The Europeans sought to establish a stable international order by developing international law and a territorial balance of power.⁷⁷ The delegates at the conference opposed the interests of the Counter Reformation and the Austrian Habsburgs to reassert Catholic and imperial universalism and, instead, established the principles of international order, based on sovereign states with borders as markers of statehood.⁷⁸ In this regard, Buzan and Little, who are both political scientists, argued that the Treaty ushered in an era of modern state system and defined its structure and characteristics.⁷⁹ The map below illustrates colonial boundaries in Africa.



Map 2.2: Colonial map of Africa 1914

Source: African History: Oxford Research Encyclopaedia, Loyola, University of Chicago Libraries.

Accordingly, the contemporary state system in Africa owes its origins to the Treaty of the Westphalia (1648) as its principles were applied during boundary demarcation in

⁷⁶J. Lambert; F. J. Pretorius, L.H. Classen, L.E. van Niekerk, J.W. Mckenzie & S. Kew, *Aspects of European History, 476-1848*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa,2001), p. 251.

⁷⁷ K. Muller, *German History in Documents and Images volume 1, From the Reformation to the Thirty Years War, 1500-1648*, (Frankfurt, Lang, 1975), p.1.

⁷⁸ R.N. Taylor & E. Macaskill, "Need for a new world order", *News Day*, 2014-09 03, p.8; J. Lambert; F. J. Pretorius, L.H. Classen, L.E. van Niekerl, J.W. Mckenzie & S. Kew, *Aspects of European History, 476-1848*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa,2001), p.251.

⁷⁹ B. Buzan & R. Little, "Beyond Westphalia? Capitalism after the fall", *Review of International Studies*, 25, 1999, p.89.

Africa⁸⁰ (see Map: 2.2 above). However, in Africa, boundaries were arbitrarily drawn as Europeans' geo-economic and political interests were considered primary rather than the impact of such boundaries on the African communities during boundary marking.⁸¹ The result was that the arbitrary demarcation of colonial boundaries in Africa forced peoples of different cultural descent into the same political entity.⁸²

Coplan argued that while boundaries in Africa were created by colonial rivalry at the end of the 19th century, interest in border related issues was witnessed in the 20th century when colonialism and its ills in Africa drew attention from African scholars.⁸³ In line with the above view, Pophiwa observed that studies in this field paid attention to American and European boundaries.⁸⁴ As far as African historiography was concerned, the process was initiated by European scholars such as Hertel and Brownie, among others. Their publications reflected European imperialism, rather African interests.⁸⁵ Anthony Asiwaju, one of the leading African scholars on border studies, debated his thoughts from the perspective of state officials.⁸⁶ The author viewed many boundaries as solid lines that separated one state from the other.⁸⁷ Expressing similar thoughts on the functions of a boundary, Durand commented that:

Indeed the territorial power overseeing this spatial construction uses the border variously as an identity marker, [with] which it can unify, codify and establish its spatial imprint; as a symbol of its authority with which it imposes control over a society and filters the inflows

⁸⁰ T. Zhou, "Partition of Africa and the Impact of Borders on African Societies in Colonial...", in F. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *The Paradox of borders and Borderlands and Diasporic Spaces: Contested Enclaves, Restrictive Mechanisms and Corridors of Opportunity*, (Gweru, Booklover Publishers, 2017), p. 45; J. Lambert, F.J. Pretorius, L.H. Classen, L.E. vanNiekerk, J.W. Mckenzie & S. Kew, *Aspects of European History...* (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2001), p. 251.

⁸¹ A.I. Asiwaju, "Respacing for Peace, Security and Sustainable Development: The African Union Border Programme in the European Comparative Historical Perspective", in U. Engel & P. Nugent (eds.), *Reshaping Africa*, (Boston, Brill, 2010), p.90.

⁸² A. Mazrui, "Conflict in Africa: An Overview", in A. Nhema & P. T. Zeleza (eds.) *The Roots of African Conflicts: Causes and Costs*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2008), pp.36-49; S. Loisel, "The African Union and African Border Conflicts: Assessing the Impact of Development Cooperation", *UACES Student Forum Regional Conference*, Cambridge, 2004, p.4.

⁸³ D. Coplan, "Introduction: From Empiricism to Theory in African Border Studies", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25 (2), 2010, p.1.

⁸⁴ N. Pophiwa, "Mobile Livelihoods: The Players involved in the Smuggling of Commodities Across the Zimbabwe/Mozambique...", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25(2), 2010, p. 67.

⁸⁵ A.I. Asiwaju, "Centring the Margins: Fifty Years of African Border Studies", *Africa Review of Books*, 7(2), 2011, pp.1-12; See for example: E. Hertel, *Map of Africa by Treaty*, (London, Harrison & Sons, 1909); I. Brownlie, *African Boundaries: A Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, (London, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1979); E.S. Crowe, *The Berlin West African Conference 1884-1885*, (London, Longman, 1942).

⁸⁶ F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia...", PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012, p.10.

⁸⁷ A. S. Asiwaju & P.O. Adeniyi, *Borderlands in Africa: A Multidisciplinary and Comparative focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, (Lagos, Lagos University Press, 1989).

and outflows; and as a guarantee of its sovereignty with which it gives legitimacy to its actions and anchors its territorial ambition over the space.⁸⁸

So, boundaries in contemporary Africa were viewed as the locus of state territoriality.⁸⁹ This resonates well with Mbembe's view that the scramble for Africa turned the continent into enclosed and guarded spaces where Africans became illegal migrants and could not move except under punitive conditions.⁹⁰ While, for a long time, boundaries had been conceptualised as fixed lines marking limits of state sovereignty,⁹¹ there was a paradigm shift in the 1970s in the study of borders and borderlands. Scholarly views on borders fell within the frameworks of modern border studies in which attention was paid to the dynamics obtaining in the borderland.⁹² Here, scholars argued that the local focus facilitated a deeper understanding of how boundaries affected individual experiences of local residents.⁹³ Asiwaju singled out Mills and Akinyere as some of the scholars who feature prominently during this era.⁹⁴ The focus of these scholars was succinctly captured by Strassoldo, who argued that they concentrated on economic and social conditions in borderlands.⁹⁵

The period after the Cold War witnessed growing interest in borderland studies. During this epoch, scholars began to pay attention to the positive function of boundary regions and view borderlands as points of human contact and opportunity.⁹⁶ This has resulted in

⁸⁸ F. Durand, "Theoretical Framework ..." *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 30(3), 2015, p.312.

⁸⁹ B. Haselsberger, "Decoding borders: Appreciating border impacts on space and people", *Planning Theory and Practice*, 15(4), p.507.

⁹⁰ A. Mbembe, "Africa needs free movement", *The Mail Guardian*, 25 July 2017.

⁹¹ P. Taylor, "The State as Container: Territoriality in the Modern World System", *Progress in Human Geography* 18(1994), pp.156-62; A. Paasi, "Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality In The World of Flows", *Geopolitics*, 3(1), 1998, pp.69-88.

⁹² A.I. Asiwaju, "Cantering the Margins:...", *Africa Review of Books*, 7(2), 2011, pp.1-12; J.P. Laine, "A Historical view ...", in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A. A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies*, Vladivostok, Dalnauka 2015), p.29.

⁹³ A. C. Diener & J. Hagen, "Borders, Identity and Geopolitics", in A. C. Diener & J. Hagen (eds.), *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State* (Toronto, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2010), p. 11.

⁹⁴ A.I. Asiwaju, "Cantering The Margins:...", *Africa Review of Books*, 7(2), 2011, pp.1-12; See for example :L.R. Mills, "The Development of a frontier Zone and border Landscape Along the Dahomey-Nigeria Boundary", *Journal of Tropical Geography*, 34, 1973; R. T. Akinyere, *Contemporary Issues on Boundaries and Governance in Nigeria*, (Lagos, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005).

⁹⁵ R. Strassoldo, "The State of Art in Europe", in A.I. Asiwaju and P.O. Adeniyi (eds.), *Borderlands in Africa: A comparative and Multidisciplinary Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, (Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1997), pp.383-384.

⁹⁶ M. Weiner, "Trans-border Peoples", in W. Connor (ed.), *Mexicans and Americans in Comparative Perspective*, (Washington DC, Urban Institute, 1985), p. 561; D. Newman, "The lines that continue to separate us:...", *Progress in Human Geography*, 30(2), 2006, p.143; D. K. Flynn, "We are the border: Identity exchange and state along the Benin-Nigeria border", *American Ethnologist*, 24(2), 1997, p. 313.

some regions attempting to promote regional integration to promote human and commodity movement across their borders; for example, the East African block has issued a common passport for its citizens. Typical scholars in this genre include Igue, Soule, MacGaffee, Acke-Ougutu and Bakindo.⁹⁷ These scholars argue that even though boundaries were created primarily to restrict mobility, boundary regions are important spaces which borderland residents exploited to survive.⁹⁸ However, the movement of boundary communities across national frontiers has attracted opposition from central governments who view boundary regions as wild places and also as places of dissent.⁹⁹ What is significant to note is that borderland communities have resorted to an economy of illegality because they have been ignored by central governments.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, borderland communities view central governments as being oppressive and inconsiderate.¹⁰¹

Flynn notes that borderland communities, owing to existential challenges, have established a cross-boundary society whose opportunities and resources are mutually exploited to mitigate common suffering.¹⁰² Donnan and Wilson contend that borderland residents produce their own boundary philosophy rooted in social practice, one that ignores state sovereignty and claim transnational citizenship in the borderland for personal survival.¹⁰³ The argument is that national boundaries are ignored in times of socio-economic problems as people cannot afford to sit back and relax in the face of starvation; instead, they devise coping strategies such as informal cross-border activities.¹⁰⁴ Such transnational citizenship, and the attendant cross-border mobility,

⁹⁷ A.I. Asiwaju, "Cantering the Margins:" *Africa Review of Books*, 7(2), 2011, pp.1-12; See similar discussions in: J. Igue & B. Soule, *L. Eta-entrepot au Benin: Commenceiformal ou solution a crise?* (Paris, Karthala, 1992); J. MacGaffee, *The Real Economy of Zaire: the contribution of Smuggling and other unofficial Activities to National Wealth*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990); B.M. Barkindo & A. Lipede (eds.), *Human Trafficking and Economic Crimes across Nigeria's International Borders*, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2007).

⁹⁸ A. Hortsman, "Incorporation and Resistance: Borderlands, Transnational Communities and Social Change in Southeast Asia", *Research Institute of Languages and Culture of Asia*, 2004, p.23.

⁹⁹ E. Tagliacozzo, "Smuggling and States along a South-East Asia Frontier", *Ilas Newsletter*, no.42, 2006, p.1.

¹⁰⁰ M. Baud & Van W. Schendel, "Towards a comparative History...", *Journal of World History*, 8(2), 1997, p. 229.

¹⁰¹ E. Tagliacozzo, "Smuggling and States ..." *Ilas Newsletter*, no.42, 2006, p.1.; D. Alpe & E. Brunet-Jailly (eds.), "Special Issues: Rarely Studies Borderlands", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25(3), 2008, p. 2.

¹⁰² D.K. Flynn, "We are the border" *American Ethnologist*, 24(2), 1997, p. 315.

¹⁰³ H. Donnan & T. M. Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers...* (Oxford, Berg, 2001), pp. 58-59.

¹⁰⁴ F.T. Duri, "Negotiating the Zimbabwe/ Mozambique border: The Pursuit of Survival by Mutare's Poor...", in S. Chiumbu & M. Muchemwa (eds.), *Crisis, What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2012), p.123; S. Chiumbu & M. Musemwa, "Introduction: Perspectives of the Zimbabwean Crisis," in S. Chiumbu & M. Muchemwa (eds.), *Crisis, What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2012), p. xv.

renders the border “borderless.”¹⁰⁵ The next section discusses the theories which underpin this study.

2.3 Underpinning boundary related scholarly frameworks: Migration, Imperialism, Political Culture and Socialisation

Definitions and scholarly debate on migration, imperialism, political culture and socialisation are espoused in this section. While migration and imperialism serve as economic and power paradigms, political culture and socialisation largely focus on social issues.

2.3.1 The significance of migration as a determinant of cross border movement

This thesis was given shape and impetus by the Migration Theory. Migration is defined as a movement of people which encompasses a change in residence for a considerable duration.¹⁰⁶ Eisenstadt regards migration as the physical transition of people from one locality to another. This movement involves leaving one social location and entering another.¹⁰⁷ Eisenstadt’s emphasis is on abandoning the entire setting of peoples’ residential region and creating a new home in another region. Similarly, Weeks regards migration as a practice of changing residence and taking one’s complete set of social actions from one location to another. In an analysis of migration, Weeks places emphasis on traversing political boundaries; for example, international boundaries.¹⁰⁸ What can be drawn from the above conceptualisations, as encoded in the definitions proffered by the scholars, is that migration is a human adjustment to socio-economic and environmental conditions. Although this thesis made reference to several migration theorists, it appealed strongly to Ravenstein’s Theory of Migration. The theory’s tenets that were explored in this chapter to ground the study include the causes, relationship between distance and migration and migration streams.

¹⁰⁵ J. McGregor, “Rethinking the Boundaries of the Nation: Histories of Cross Border Mobility and Zimbabwe’s New Diaspora”, *Critical African Studies*, 2012, p.50; J.A. Scholte, “The Globalisation of World Politics”, J. Bylis&S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ B.R.K., Sinha, “Human migration: Concept and approaches”, *FoldrajziErtesito*, LIV (3-4), 2005, p.404; E.S. Lee, “A Theory of Migration”, in D.G. Ross & H.M. Scnell (eds.), *An Introduction to Population*, (New Archives Books, 1970), p.286.

¹⁰⁷ E.S. Eisenstadt, *Analysis of Patterns of Migration and Absorption of Migration in Population Studies*, (London, London School of Economics, 1953), p.167; S. Mishra, “Factors and Process of Migration in Developing Economy”, in R.B. Mandai ((ed.), *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, (New Dehli, Concept Publishing, 1981), p.227.

¹⁰⁸J.R. Weeks, *Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues*, (Belmont, Worlds Publishing, 1989), p.186.

2.3.1.1 Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

Arguably, Ravenstein, with his ground-breaking paper in 1885 on the Laws of Migration, is the pioneer of migration studies.¹⁰⁹ The author derived those laws from the analysis that was made of the inter-district's migrations within England. Ravenstein argued that migration was a result of uneven development in the country and also concluded that economic factors were the prime movers of such migrations.¹¹⁰ In this regard, the push and pull premise was developed in order to explain the motivation for migration. Here, Ravenstein made reference to the pull and push factors of migration in which the destination exerts a pull on the migrants.¹¹¹ In addition to the push and pull factors, Ravenstein also acknowledged the role of intervening factors in the occurrence of migration such as distance. Regarding the place of distance in migration, the author argued that the size of migration was inversely proportional to the distance covered by migrants to reach the destination. In this context, it was argued that shorter distances tended to increase migration volumes between places and, vice versa.¹¹² However, the author argued that migrants were prepared to walk considerable distances if, in the end, they would find land to settle.¹¹³ Ravenstein's argument was that spatial differences, relative to economic opportunities, were key determinants of migration. The author further contended that people migrated in search of more rewarding opportunities than those available in their place of birth.¹¹⁴ In an argument similar to that of Ravenstein, Deshpande and others surmised that migration occurs when positive conditions in the receiving region are outnumbered by negatives in the region from which the immigrants come.¹¹⁵

Related to the above discussion is the theme of "migration stream". Ravenstein, cited in Grigg, has argued that migration unfolds in stages.¹¹⁶ In support of the above assertion, Lee argued that migration occurs in the form of well-defined routes and proceeds along well-defined routes to highly specified destinations. Taking the argument further, the

¹⁰⁹ D.B. Grigg, "E.G. Ravenstein and the Laws of Migration", *Journal of Historical Geography* 3(1), 1977, pp. 41-54.

¹¹⁰ M. J. Greenwood, "The migration legacy of E.G. Ravenstein", *Migration Studies* 7(2), 2019, pp.269-278.

¹¹¹ D.B. Grigg, "E.G. Ravenstein and the Laws...", *Journal of Historical Geography* 3(1), 1977, pp.41-54.

¹¹² F.C. Velazquez, "Approaches to The Study of International Migration: A Review", *Estudios* 1(1), 2000, pp.137-168.

¹¹³ C. John, "Ernest George Ravenstein 1885", *CSISS Classics*, 2003, p.6.

¹¹⁴ M. J. Greenwood, "The Migration legacy...", *Migration Studies* 7(2), 2019, pp.269-278.

¹¹⁵ C. D. Deshpande, B. Arunchalarm, & L.S. Bhart, *Impact of Metropolitan City on the Surrounding Region: A Case Study of South Kolaba*, (New Dehli, Concept Publishing Company, 1980), p.4.

¹¹⁶ D.B. Grigg, "E.G. Ravenstein and the Laws...", *Journal of Historical Geography* 3(1), 1977, pp. 41-54.

author argued that the efficiency of migration is higher if the major factors behind such streams are push factors at the point of origin.¹¹⁷ These strands of thought are integrated in the thesis to render contextual validity to issues raised in the study. The next section discusses the theoretical contribution of imperialism to this study.

2.3.1.2 Imperialism as a determinant of cross border movements

Though this thesis borrowed insights from related theorists, it is mainly theoretically framed by Lenin's Theory of Imperialism. The key proponents of Imperialism include Hobson, Schumpeter, Bukharin, Lenin and several others. Barratt defined imperialism as the outward urge of certain peoples to create overseas colonies and advantaged places in politics and business.¹¹⁸

Also, Hobson viewed imperialism as an attempt by the capitalists to improve the conduit for the movement of riches by creating exterior markets and investments for the surplus commodities which had saturated the home market.¹¹⁹ The transplanting of capitalism from Western Europe to Africa was accomplished through colonisation and imperialism.¹²⁰ The major classical writers on imperialism such as Hobson, Lenin and Schumpeter, appear to concur that the impetus for imperialism is related to the process of capital accumulation, though they differ in their accounts of the precise nature of the character and manifestations of these interests and the precise connection between capitalist accumulation and the development of imperialism.

Hobson viewed some of the psychological drives which have been suggested as an explanation of imperialism such as national pride, quest for glory and bellicosity.¹²¹ While acknowledging that these dynamics might be applicable to the explanation of imperialism, the author dismisses them as being less significant among the key drivers to European imperialism.¹²² The scholar claimed that the underlying cause for imperialism was the need for foreign markets and opportunities for the realisation of increased returns on investments. According to Hobson, cited in Smith, the desire for

¹¹⁷ E. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", *Demography* 3, 1966, pp. 47-57.

¹¹⁸ B.M. Barratt, *The Economics of Imperialism*, (Victoria, Ringwood, 1974), p.22.

¹¹⁹ J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism, A Study*, (New York, James Scott & Company 1902), p.91.

¹²⁰ C. Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa*, (Harlow, Longman, 1981), p.20.

¹²¹ See: J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism, A Study*, (New York, James Scott & Company 1902)

¹²² C. Ake, *A Political Economy...* p. 20.

colonies was caused by the western industry which needed imports of raw materials, food for the increasing urban population in response to the industrial revolution and products to satisfy the rising appetite for luxury goods created by a rising standard of living. Hobson argued that a more important cause of imperialism was the tendency for production to outgrow consumption; a tendency towards over-saving and over-investment and under-consumption.¹²³

However, there is no end to the variety of economic arguments that have been advanced. Austen argued that as other areas of the world were being opened up, Africa's role in the world economy, so far from growing, was, in fact, shrinking because the world economy was increasing rapidly than the African economy. Despite the fact that Smith questioned the plausibility of the above assertion, Austen defended his argument that technological developments in Europe made it cheaper and easier to take over Africa. The author further argued that Africa may not have been very profitable, but to take it over was a cheap exercise in terms of the technological gap that existed between Europe and Africa.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, it can be strongly argued that the European determination to colonise Africa and to militarily defend colonial possessions during the era of decolonisation indicated that colonies played a vital role in European economies.

In spite of the objections and semantic dissonance raised by scholars such as Austen, imperialism provides a window mirror to visualise the scramble and the subsequent exploitation of human and non human resources by the colonising powers in the colonised territories. Harvey gave a convincing account of the dialectical connection that underlines capital and imperialism.¹²⁵ The epoch of capital accumulation and the export of imperialism has resulted in the subordination of states to capital and subordination has been sustained by colonial connections.¹²⁶ Without overlooking explanations offered by other scholars, the discussion in this chapter was guided by Lenin's version of imperialism. What made Lenin's conceptualisation of imperialism relevant to this study was the author's analysis of imperialism. A key merit in his theory is the characterisation of imperialism, which is defined as follows:

¹²³ K. Smith & F.J. Nothling, *Africa North of the Limpopo Since 1800...*, p.91.

¹²⁴ Compare with R. Austen, *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency*, (London, Heinemann, 1987).

¹²⁵ D. Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), p.33.

¹²⁶ M. Noonan, "Marxist Theories of Imperialism of a Concept", PhD Thesis, Victoria University, 2010, p.2.

...capitalism is the stage of development in which the dominant of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance, in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun and in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.¹²⁷

The definition succinctly captures the key characteristics of imperialism which were discussed in this chapter to provide a theoretical footing to the study. The next section highlights the role of capital expansion in the development of imperialism.

2.3.1.3 Imperialism and the export of capital to less developed nations

Lenin drew attention to the export of capital by developed nations to the underdeveloped world. In contrast to the pre-monopoly capitalism which was marked by an export of commodities, Lenin also argued that the epoch of imperialism is marked by an export of capital to Third World countries to ease under-consumption in the industrialised world.¹²⁸ For instance, in 1897, the USA had about seven hundred million dollars in overseas investment; by 1914, the figure had increased to five billion.¹²⁹ Other Western countries such as Germany, Britain and France, also have big overseas investments.¹³⁰ In a sense, this changing of production to the developing countries has been a consequence of the past export of money to places controlled by imperialist powers. For Sombart, the growth of imperialism is not influenced by the acquisition of colonies; alternatively, he argues that an enlarged political sphere provides conditions for the expansion of capital.¹³¹ What flows from Sombart's above argument is that political power is a pre-condition for the growth of capital.¹³² Underlying this analysis is the idea of economic saturation which results in diminishing returns, if corrective measures are not put in place. Richardo, cited in Mill, argued that the profit gained determines the flow of capital between regions.¹³³ The same holds true of Baurer who

¹²⁷ P. I. Nikitin, *The Fundamentals of Political Economy*...pp.162-200.

¹²⁸ S. Ilyin & A. Motylev, *ABC of Social and Knowledge. What is Political Economy?* (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1986).

¹²⁹ US. Commerce, Dept. Historical statics of the United States Colonial Times to 1970, Washington DC:1975, "Internastional Investment Position of the United States: 1843-1970", Services U-6, pp.866-869.

¹³⁰ J.K. Jackson, "U.S. Direct Investment Abroad: Trends and Current Issues", Congressional Research Services Report for Congress, 29 April 2005.

¹³¹ W. Sombart, *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, Bd.3 Zweiter Halbband: Der Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter des Hoochkapilismus, Munich, 1927, p.71.

¹³² J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, p.50.

¹³³ J.S. Mill, *The Principles of Political Economy*, (Gutenberg, Ebook, 2009).

argued that the inequality of profits is the sole reason for the migration of capital.¹³⁴The export of money is, thus, a means employed to move accumulated capital into circulation. Guided by the determination to send capital to the developing world, the global economic environment has become intensely competitive and toxic as great powers did everything in their capacity to hedge their colonial spheres of influence against rival European powers.¹³⁵It is important to note that the export of capital has serious ramifications on both recipient and sending countries of capital. While the metropolitan countries realise high returns, the capital-importing countries experience an accelerated development of capitalism, ruin and impoverishment of the masses, exhaustion of land and the squandering of national resources.¹³⁶ The next section discusses the impact of imperialism in partitioning the world into territorial spheres of influence for the great powers.

2.3.1.4 Imperialism and territorial division of the world

During the period of the transition to imperialism, colonies were seized on a vast scale. For example, from 1876 to 1914, the great powers seized about twenty-five million square kilometres of colonial territory. In 1876, Britain had about twenty-two million square kilometres of foreign land with a population of two hundred and fifty million; by 1914, the country's colonial possessions had increased by eleven million square kilometres and their populations by one hundred and forty one people.¹³⁷At the onset of the 20th century, the partition of the world was complete and there was no free land left. Therefore, the only way to acquire territory was to seize it from its former owner. The first war for the redivision of the world was between the USA and Spain in 1898 and the result was that American imperialists seized the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam, Cuba, the Hawaiian and Samoan Islands.¹³⁸ Such wars lent credence to Lenin's argument that imperialist competition had driven capitalist countries into a conflagration which had never been recorded before.¹³⁹Consequently, Lenin's ideas became widely popular in the analysis of imperialism, especially by Marxist scholars. As a result of

¹³⁴ O. Baurer, *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, (Minneapolis, tr. Joseph O'Donnel, 2000), p.377.

¹³⁵ R. Hilferding, *Finance capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*, (London, Route ledge, 1981), p.325.

¹³⁶ See: S. Iyin & A. Motylev, *ABC of Social and Knowledge, What is Political...?*

¹³⁷ P. I. Nikitin, *The Fundamentals of Political...*, p.180.

¹³⁸ R.S. Sumpter, "Censorship liberally administered", Press, U.S. military relations in the Spanish-American War", *Communication Law and Policies* 4(4), 1999, pp.463-481.

¹³⁹ M. Noonan, "Marxist theories of imperialism of a concept.", p.83.

imperialism, the globe was decidedly split between extremely powerful nations and poor colonies. Expressing similar sentiments, Nikitin argued that in spite of the imperialists' argument that imperialism civilised the colonies, the development of the colonies was one-sided as they had been turned into agrarian-raw material appendages of imperialist powers.¹⁴⁰The section that follows focuses on the development of monopoly capitalism and its impact on business.

2.3.1.5 Imperialism as monopoly capitalism

Another important feature of imperialism espoused by Lenin and, worth discussing in this chapter, is monopoly capitalism. Lenin described monopolies as big enterprises which concentrate, in their hands, a sizeable part of production and marketing, so as to ensure their predominance in one or several industries and this enables them to receive monopoly high profits.¹⁴¹Commenting on the significance of monopolies, Hilferding, cited in Lenin, remarked that:

...combinations level out the fluctuations of trade and therefore assure to the combined enterprise a more stable rate of profits. Secondly, a combination tends to abolish. Thirdly it renders possible technical improvements and consequently the acquisition of additional profits as compared with those obtained by the pure [non-combined] enterprises. Fourthly it strengthens the position of the combined enterprise compared with the "pure" ones in the competitive struggle during periods of serious depression [a slump in business, a crisis] when the fall in prices of raw materials does not keep pace with the fall in the price of manufactured articles.¹⁴²

It can, thus, be commented that a monopoly is a large combined enterprise which thrives where business competition has been eliminated.

Owing to the extraction of huge profits, as a result of exploitation of the colonised nations, monopoly capitalism is also described as parasitic capitalism. In simple language, a parasite is a living organism that derives its nourishment from another organism. Here, Nikitin argues that imperialism is not only monopoly capitalism, but also parasitic, implying that "Monopolies, oligarchy [are] striving for domination...exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations."¹⁴³ The parasitic character of imperialism is manifested in the fact that

¹⁴⁰ P.I. Nikitin, *The Fundamentals of Political...*, p.180; J. An, "Lenin's Theory of Imperialism: Historical Debate and Contemporary Appraisal", *Social Sciences in China* 36(3), 2015, pp.20-36.

¹⁴¹ S. Iyin & A. Motylev, *ABC Of Social and Knowledge, What is Political...?*, p. 238.

¹⁴² V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1937), p.19

¹⁴³ P. I. Nikitin, *The Fundamentals of Political...*, p.186.

the monopolies are, in no way, connected with the production process. In essence, they have become shareholders; the owners of the state bonds and other securities that bring in an income. Meanwhile, the actual running of enterprises is by comprador or¹⁴⁴bourgeoisie.¹⁴⁵Furthermore, parasitism is enhanced by the elimination of business competition by monopolies in the era of imperialism. It is argued that prior to the advent of imperialism, free competition predominated the pursuit of profit which was, however, replaced by monopoly and domination in the epoch of imperialism.¹⁴⁶Consequently, the monopolies exploit Third World nations by selling commodities to them at monopoly prices and purchasing raw materials and foodstuffs at low prices.¹⁴⁷This exploitative relationship between the metropolitan countries and the colonies is, arguably, the underlying cause of poverty and underdevelopment in the Third World.¹⁴⁸The next section outlines the significance of political culture and socialisation in cross-border migration in the study.

2.3.2 The significance of political culture and socialisation as determinants of cross-border movement

The theory of Political culture and socialisation forms another frame on which this study is hinged. The main point of reference in this discussion is political culture. The culture-centred mode of analysis has a tradition in political science.¹⁴⁹Present day understanding of political culture has largely been influenced by works of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. Studies on political culture gained currency after constitutional governments in Spain, Italy and Germany were replaced by fascist regimes after World War One, which made scholars doubt the credibility of the institutionalist mode of analysis which had envisaged the development of democratic governments.¹⁵⁰ In the work, political culture is defined as a subjective realm which inspires and proffers meaning to political decisions.¹⁵¹ Mclean and McMillan define

¹⁴⁴ A person who acts as an agent for foreign organisation engaged in investment, trade, economic or political exploitation of the locals.

¹⁴⁵ V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage...*, p.120.

¹⁴⁶ S. Ilyin & A. Motylev, *ABC Of Social and Knowledge, What is Political Economy?*, p.238.

¹⁴⁷ P. I. Nikitin, *The Fundamentals of Political...*pp.183.

¹⁴⁸ W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981).

¹⁴⁹ F. C. Da Silva, T.N. Clark and M. B. Vera, "Political Culture", *The Encyclopaedia of Political Communication*, John Wiseley and Sons, Inc, 2015, p.1.

¹⁵⁰ J. Moller, "Mapping Political Regime Developments in Interwar Europe: A Multidimensional Approach" Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, April 10-15, 2014 Salamanca, Spain 2014.

¹⁵¹ M. Iovan, "Political Culture; Political Socialisation and Accumulation", *Journal of Legal Studies*, 16(29), 2015, pp. 26-47.

political culture as “the attitudes, beliefs and values which underpin the operation of a particular political system.”¹⁵² Such orientations involved components such as:

- (a) cognitive orientations, knowledge accurate or otherwise of political objects and beliefs;
- (b) affective orientations, feelings of attachment, involvement, rejection and the like about political objects and
- (c) evaluative orientation, judgements and opinions about political objects which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.¹⁵³

In this regard, political culture represents a network of values by which people relate to the political system.

Political socialisation, on the other hand, is defined by Ashart and Sharma as a developing process by which individuals gain political orientations and patterns of behaviour.¹⁵⁴ Extrapolating from this definition, political socialisation is a process by which people become familiar with the political culture and which influences their views of politics and responses to the political system.

Drawing upon evidence from Britain, United States of America, Germany, Italy and Mexico, Almond and Verba identified three different types of political culture. The first type is the Parochial and is characterised by a prevalence of feelings based on localism, interpersonal conviction and separation from the state and politics.¹⁵⁵ The second type is the Subject Political Culture, whose essential aspect is conformity with the legal authority of the state. It is exemplified by feudal societies where individuals are saddled with duties such as the payment of taxes. The third type is the Participant Political Culture, in which citizens freely take part in political processes, either endorsing or opposing government policies. Contemporary democracies, especially in the western world, represent this type of Political Culture.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, a Political Culture

¹⁵² I. Mclean & A. Mcmillan, *The Concise Dictionary of Politics*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 400; G. Marshall, *The Concise Dictionary of Sociology*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 398; U.B. Odoemelan & E. Alsien, “Political socialisation and Nation Building: The case of Nigeria”, *European Scientific Journal* 9(11), 2013, pp. 237-253; A. Brown, “Introduction” in A. H. Brown & J. Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, (London, Macmillan, 1977), p.1, S. Whitefield & G. Evans, “Political Culture versus Rational Choice; Explaining Responses to Transition in the Czech Republic and Slovakia”, *British Journal of Political Science* 29 (10), 1999, pp. 129-154; G. Almond & B. Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, (Little, Brown & Company, 1972), p. 66.

¹⁵³ M. Iovan, “The Political Culture; Political Socialisation and Accumulation”, *Journal of Legal Studies*, 4, 2015, pp. 26-47.

¹⁵⁴ A. Ashrat & L.N. Sharma, *Political Sociology: a new grammar of politics*, (New Dehli, Universities Press, 1988), p. 172; S. P. Varma, *Modern Political Theory*, (New Dehli, Vikas Publishing House, 1980), p. 297.

¹⁵⁵ F. C. Da Silva, T. N. Clark & M. B. Vera, “Political Culture”, *The Encyclopaedia of Political Communication*, John Wiseley and Sons, Inc, 2015, p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ G. Almond & S. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 17 & 20;

explanation shows an intricate sequence of causal explanation, entailing historic experiences which are passed to individuals in a shared way through agents of socialisation.¹⁵⁷

Another important premise advanced in this study is that political culture is dynamic,¹⁵⁸ and, accordingly, people's perceptions change as well. Studies on American political culture showed that in the 1980s, the United States of America had lost confidence in the once popular civic culture of the 1960s because of uninspiring policies of the Ronald Reagan administration.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Baker, Dalton and Kai, in their evaluation of German political culture, showed a change of German political culture from the apolitical posture in the Civic Culture to the pro-democratic political and participation-oriented culture.¹⁶⁰ Hence, the deteriorating civic culture in the USA and England, as well as the emerging civic culture in Germany, demonstrated that political culture was informed by lived experiences of the citizens. It can be asserted that disappointment with policies leads to the waning of popularity of the authors of such policies. The advantage of utilising this theory is that it serves as a critique of the misconceptions and biases of the authorities against the citizenry.

Moreover, a common assumption underpinning this discussion is that post-colonial states have difficulties in achieving democracy and economic development because of cultural constraints.¹⁶¹ This model posits that economic development correlates with increased levels of democracy in the society.¹⁶² The proponents of this theoretical

¹⁵⁷ S. Whitefield & G. Evans, "Political Culture versus Rationale Choice! Explaining Responses to Transition in the Czech Republic and Slovakia", *British Journal of Political Science* 29(1), 1999, p.131.

¹⁵⁸ A. Brown, "Introduction" in A. H. Brown & J. Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in communist states*, (London, Macmillan, 1977), p. 1.

¹⁵⁹ See: S.M. Lipset & W. Schneider, *The Confidence Gap*, (New York, Free Press, 1983); R. Dalton, *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004); C. Welzel, *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014); D. King, "Distrust of Government: Explaining American exceptionalism", in S. Pharr & R. Putnam, *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996); S. M; Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Doubled Edged Sword*, (New York, W.W, Norton, 1999).

¹⁶⁰ B. Kendall, R. Dalton & K. Hildebrandt, *Germany Transformed: Political Culture and the New Politics*, (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1981), p.1.

¹⁶¹ G. Huiskamp, "Salinastroika, Pronosol and Passive Revolution: Political Cultural Transformation in Rural Mexico", Paper presented at the LARA, Hyatt Regency Miami, March 16-18, 2000, p. 3.

¹⁶² B. Geddes, "What Causes Democratization" *Oxford Handbook Online*.21
[jul.http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/109/09oxfordhb/9780/9956602.001.001/oxfordhb-9780/99566020-e-14](http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/109/09oxfordhb/9780/9956602.001.001/oxfordhb-9780/99566020-e-14);
S.M. Lipset, "Some, social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy", *American Political Science Review* 53(1), 1959, pp.69-105; M.T. Lacouture, "Liberalisation, Constitution and Threat:

assumption posit that democracy and development will not be attained by post-colonial states, unless traditional cultures are modernised.¹⁶³ The assertion that culture is an impediment to the development of democracy was echoed by several scholars. Pye and Vera explained the cultural constraints to democratic processes in Turkey, Ethiopia and Egypt, in terms which evoked the notions of subject and parochia culture.¹⁶⁴ Also, Lerner demonstrated how the socio-economic environment could influence the political tradition of a nation, bringing a change from the parochial to participatory orientations in the political system.¹⁶⁵ Equally, Lipset argued that Third World nations were far from realising western liberal democracy because of cultural constraints.¹⁶⁶ What emerges from the above discussion is that adherence to traditional culture undermines the development of democracy in Third World countries.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, cross-border/boundary historiography, inclusive of migration, imperialism and political culture and socialisation, were interrogated and justified as scholarly tools for further engaging with the research questions of this thesis. To start with, the chapter defined the term 'boundary' and further highlighted boundary classifications based on boundary porousness and functions. While boundaries mainly demarcate an occupied or claimed space, some scholarly work accentuate that different roles are at play by them in the society. Boundary functions, as pointed out, ranged from geo-political, symbolic to historical functions. Arguments for ideal boundaries that follow natural features were positively introduced in literature because they rarely cause conflict.

Additionally, endeavours were made to examine the African conceptualisation of the boundary. It was pointed out in the discussion that one school of thought opined that the boundary notion in Africa is a European construct. Within this strand of thought, Africa was viewed as a mere geographical expression with nothing acting as boundaries to

Institutional Developments of Societal Preferences and the Arab Spring in Tunisia, and Morocco", PhD Thesis Portland State University, 2015, p. 3.

¹⁶³ W. W. Rostow, *The Strategies of Economic Growth. A Non-Marxist Manifest*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 309.

¹⁶⁴ L.W. Pye & S. Verba, *Political Culture and Political Development*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press), 1965, p. 574.

¹⁶⁵ D. Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernising the Middle East*, (Toronto, Macmillan, 1966), pp. 68-75.

¹⁶⁶ S. M. Lipset, "The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited: 1993 Presidential Address", *American Sociological Review*, 59(1), 1994, pp.1-22.

demarcate territories. Also, in the chapter, an effort was made to place the boundary discourse in its transcontinental narrated historical context, pointing out that the modern state system co-evolved with boundaries. It was noted that the Peace Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 helped to create boundaries and states in Europe. The discussion further highlighted that the European powers that colonised Africa used the Westphalian state model as a template to partition the continent among European powers. While in Europe, caution was observed to follow natural boundaries, in Africa, the European settlers who were concerned with geo-political and economic interests, drew boundaries arbitrarily, inevitably resulting in African communities getting segmented or disparate groups being forced into a colonial state.

From the Treaty of Westphalia to about 1990, boundaries were conceptualised as ruptures which demarcated state power and regulated the movement of humans and assets. However, it was shown that the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union in the 1990s was followed by a paradigm shift in the analysis of boundaries and borderlands. Researchers, unlike in the past, from the late ninety sixties, started to concentrate on social history studies that captured the history from below. Therefore, more emphasis on the lived experiences of the common man in the borderland was accentuated. Scholarly engagement also produced work on the positive function of borderlands as points of contact and opportunities. But the contrary also was visible. It was pointed out that borderland communities, suffering from isolation by central governments, adopted cross-border migration as a coping strategy. Also, it was pointed out that boundary communities utilise their transnational status to undertake informal survival pursuits across the boundary with the consequent effect that the border is rendered 'borderless'.

Some scope for indirect consideration was given to a particular Migration Theory in which Ravenstein's perspectives elaborated on 'Laws of migration'. Though the science of History does not receive a wide acclamation from historians because of its self-apt approach towards overtly transforming historical narratives into generalisations, it was in this instance, cautiously embraced as a multidisciplinary consideration. A focus, for example, on the causes of migration, relationship between distance and migration and migration streams were taken note of. The discussion in this chapter also drew attention to the features of imperialism such as great power rivalry and territorial division of the

world, export of capital and monopoly capitalism. Lastly, the political culture and socialisation theory was illuminated, highlighting the cultures that embody it such as parochial, subject and participant political cultures. In the next chapter (Chapter Three) the Bantu migration history is discussed in order to situate the Ndaus within the broader African history.

CHAPTER 3

POSITIONING IN AFRICA'S HISTORY, REFLECTING IN PARTICULAR THE NDAU PEOPLES IN A MIGRATION THEORY FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

There are many unanswered questions and misconceptions regarding the place of the Ndaus within the broader African history. Questions such as who these people are, precisely where they came from and how they trekked to where they currently are cannot be answered with any certainty. This chapter was guided by the objective of searching for the origin and migration of the Ndaus in African history. Responses to this question will assist the researcher to view the Ndaus as descendants of the Bantu people, thereby grounding the study within the broader Bantu migration history.

This thesis joins a growing body of scholarship on the Ndaus historiography. Ground breaking studies on the Ndaus have been made by scholars such as Meredith, Beach, MacGonagle, Patricio, Mapuranga, Konyana, Dube and Hlongwana.¹ While Meredith, Beach, MacGonagle and Patricio trace the origin of the Ndaus to the Mbire Kingdom, Mapuranga, Konyana, Dube and Hlongwana were largely concerned with demographic issues among the Ndaus, such as marriage practices and fertility.

While the afore-mentioned studies have contributed to the existing literature on the Ndaus, there is a yawning gap particularly with regards to the origins of the Ndaus within the broader African history ostensibly to highlight the historical nexus between the Bantu and the Ndaus people. The Ndaus are generally presented as a static people who

¹ See L.C., Meredith, "Metsifer District-History of Native Tribes and Chiefs: Information Supplied For The Southern African Native Affairs Commission 1930", *NADA* 11(3) 1976, pp.338-344; D. N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1980); E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2007); M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland*, (Lisbon, ISCTE, 2010); T.P. Mapuranga, "A Phenomenological Investigation Into The Effects of Traditional Beliefs And Practices On Women And HIV & AIDS, With Special Reference To Chipinge District, Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2010; E. Konyana, "When Culture And The Law Meet: An Ethical Analysis Of The Interplay Between The Domestic Violence Act And The Traditional Beliefs And Cultural Practices Of The Ndaus People In Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Kwazulu Natal, 2016; E.E.N., Dube, "Getting Married Twice: The Relationship Between Indigenous And Christian Marriages Among The Ndaus Of The Chimanimani Area Of Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017; L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among The Ndaus People: A Case Of Gwenzi Area In Chipinge District, Zimbabwe (1980-2019)", MSc Dissertation, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019.

have been living in their current location since creation. But this chapter sought to trace Ndaue ancestry to Bantu migration history. The chapter begins by discussing the origins of the Bantu people and also highlights the causes of their migration. It focuses on the migration streams that eventually brought the Bantu migrants to present day Zimbabwe. Also, the chapter draws attention to the Hungwe and Mbire/Rozvi hypotheses, which are explanations that link the Ndaue to the Bantu migration history. In addition, the discussion in the chapter focuses on the Ndaue groups that broke away from the Hungwe and Rozvi kingdoms and, eventually, settled in the current Ndaue region. Furthermore, the chapter analysed the contribution of the Migration Theory to the understanding of the Ndaue history in this study. The argument advanced in this chapter is that the Ndaue are the descendants of the Bantu migrants that invaded present day Zimbabwe from north of the Zambezi River. The next section discusses Bantu history in order to underline the historical connection between the Bantu and Ndaue.

3.2 The Bantu speaking people from West-Africa (5000-4000 years ago)

Sub-Saharan Africa encompasses more than 500 tribal groups whose languages are collectively known as Bantu, a word that was coined by Bleek in 1850.² People speaking Bantu languages predominantly inhabit sub Saharan Africa between the equatorial rain forest and South Africa.³ The term Bantu, which means “people”, is a linguistic expression which refers to people whose languages are related and are differentiated, among other things, by the classification of nouns into classes and by the use of similar prefixes for these nouns and words which go with them.⁴ Commenting on the word Bantu, Mukanya argued that the term does not reveal anything about the origins or racial composition of this group; rather, what it shows is that all people called Bantu speak related languages.⁵ Although there are similarities among some of the languages, others are so varied and remotely related that their speakers cannot engage in communication.

Regarding the place of origin of the Bantu, the Benue-Cross region in Cameroon/Nigeria borderland has been suggested as the geographical region from

² I. Ntaganzwa, “Bantu Theory’s Troubling Issued: A Close Examination of Bantu Theory and Many of Its Unanswered Questions”, *European Journal of Logistics, Purchasing and Supply Chain* 1(1), pp.23-33.

³ R. Jorge & F. Anne-Marie, *Genetics and Demographic History of the Bantu*, (Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 2016), p.1.

⁴ G. Parker & P. Pfukani, *History of Southern Africa*, (London, Unwin Hyman Limited, 1989), p.20.

⁵ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History Book 1*, (Harare, College Press, 2011), p.73.

which Bantu groups spread to other parts of the continent.⁶ The argument that has been proffered to support the preceding assertion is that the region has the largest concentration of languages that belong to the Bantu family. To arrive at their conclusions about the point of origin of the Bantu languages, Greenberg and Guthrie made use of linguistics knowledge. While Guthrie's evidence was obtained from an assessment of fifty familiar meanings over the languages of Africa, Greenberg made his conclusion from the study of 22 000 words.⁷

It is still not clear what the primary causes for the Bantu migrations from West Africa were as everything about them depends on sources which hardly speak for themselves, such as archaeology. The Bantu dispersal is thought to have started around 5000-4000 years ago.⁸ Vansina suggests 5000 BP,⁹ as the period of commencement of the Bantu expansion.¹⁰ Comparing the low linguistic multiplicity in the Bantu groups with greater diversity in the Niger-Congo region, Blench proposes a later date of 4000 BP (Before Present).¹¹ Also, contributing to the debate on Bantu migration, Bostoen argues that the estimated time depth of 5000-4000 BP coincided with Neolithic¹² achievements in the production of macrolithic tools.¹³ Considerably, later similar technological developments were discovered in places further south in Cameroon, Gabon, Congo and the Central African Republic.¹⁴ This steady Neolithic extension is linked to the Bantu language dispersal.¹⁵ The remarkable contrast between the remote past and the present

⁶ I. Ntaganzwa, "Bantu Theory's Troubling Issued: A close examination of Bantu Theory and Many of its Unanswered...", *European Journal of Logistics, Purchasing and Supply Chain* 1(1), pp.23-33; D. Nurse & G. Philippon, "Introduction", in D. Nurse & G. Philippon (eds.), *The Bantu*, (London, Routledge, 2003), pp.1-13; B. Pakendorf, K. Bosoen & C. De Pilippo, "Molecula perspectives on the Bantu Expansion: A synthesis", *Language Dynamics and Change* 1, 2011, pp.50-88.

⁷ R. Oliver, "Bantu Genesis: An Inquiry into Some Problems of Early Bantu History", Paper presented at the Royal Geographical Society, Adelphi, 5 May 1966, p.250.

⁸ See: R. Blench, *Archaeology, Language and the African Past*, (Lanham, MD. Altamira Press, 2006); J. Vansina, "Western Bantu Expansion", *The Journal of African History* 25, 1984.

⁹ Before Present: a time scale used especially in Archaeology, Geology and other scientific disciplines to specify when events occurred in the past.

¹⁰ J. Vansina, "New linguistic evidence and the Bantu expansion", *Journal of African History* 36, 1995, pp.173-195.

¹¹ R. Blench, *Archaeology, Language and the African ...* pp.134,136.

¹² A period in history characterised by the development of agriculture and the making of polished stone implements.

¹³ K. Bostoen, "Pots, words and the Bantu problem: On lexical reconstruction and early African history", *Journal of African History* 48, 2007, pp.173-199; P. Lavachery, "The Holocene archaeological sequence of Shum Laka rock shelter (Grassfields, Camerron)", *Archaeological Review*, 18, 2001, pp.213-247.

¹⁴ B. Pakendorf, K. Bosoen & C. De Pilippo, "Molecula perspectives on the Bantu Expansion: A synthesis", *Language Dynamics and Change* 1, 2011, pp.50-88.

¹⁵ P. De Maret, "Pits, Pots and the Far West Streams", *Azania*, 29-30, 1994-1995, pp.318-323.

widespread distribution of related Bantu languages raises questions regarding the causes of Bantu migration in sub Sahara Africa.¹⁶

3.2.1 Explanations for the southwards Bantu migration

The cause of Bantu migration is another area which has attracted scholarly attention. While linguists categorised the Bantu migration patterns on the basis of the distribution of languages, archaeologists gave critical ideas into the cultural developments that contributed to the Bantu dispersion. The established synthesis emanating from the long-drawn debate on the underlying causes of the Bantu migration is a model that locates Bantu expansion in the realm of agriculture.

3.2.1.1 Agricultural development as a motivation for the southward expansion

It is generally believed that the Bantu people living in the Cameroon Plateau were significantly influenced by the development of agriculture in the Guinea. They mastered the technology of iron smelting very early and used the favourable conditions of the rainy equatorial tropics to develop hoeing and planted nutritious fruits and tubers, such as bananas and yams, respectively. With the improvement of productivity and the rapid expansion of population, it became necessary to open up new living space.¹⁷ Its influence was significant in two ways. It contributed to improved food availability among Bantu communities. Improved food supply led, in turn, to the provision of surplus food for specialists such as miners, metal smiths and other artisans who would then continue to increase the supply of tools and weapons.¹⁸ This two-way interaction enabled the Bantu to grow from few people to big population sizes. Yet, the archaeological records appear not to support this argument and it is likely that the dispersal of the Bantu was linked to the efficient utilisation of natural resources.¹⁹ It is argued that the addition of agriculture and iron technology to earlier modes of survival had significant impact on the expansion of the Bantu, by giving them technological superiority over the hunter-gatherers.²⁰ The next section focuses on the impact of foreign crops on the expansion of the Bantu people.

¹⁶ M. Eggert, "The Bantu problem and African archaeology", in A.B. Stahl (ed.), *African Archaeology: A Critical Introduction*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), pp.301-326.

¹⁷ J. Liu, "The Impact of Bantu Migration on Agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa", *International Journal of New Development in Engineering and Society* 3(2), 2019, p.28.

¹⁸ B. Davidson, *Africa in History: Themes and Outlines*, (New York, Macmillan, 1991), p.21.

¹⁹ Compare with R. Blench, *Archaeology, Language and the African Past*, (Lanham, MD. Altamira Press, 2006).

²⁰ J. Diamond & P. Bellwood, "Farmers and Their Languages: The First..." *Science* 300, 2003, 597-603.

3.2.1.2 The advent of foreign crops and Bantu population expansion

Another factor which influenced the rapid spread of the Bantu was the arrival of new crops from south East Asia to Africa. Of particular importance were the banana and Asian yam, which were introduced into the East African coastal regions by Indonesian traders who subsequently colonised the island of Madagascar in about the second century CE.²¹ The valuable foreign crops found their way into the African interior via river valleys of eastern Africa, such as the Rufiji or the Zambezi. The banana, in particular, soon became an important, high-yielding, staple crop in the moister regions of the continent such as the Congo forest and the lakeside region of southern Uganda. This was a better banana than any that Africa, itself, possessed. The Asian banana took root in East Africa and spread far inland, once again improving the available food supply.²² Everywhere else, populations had greatly multiplied, developed their farming and metal-using technology, worked out their characteristic religions, as well as embarked on new forms of social and political organisation, ranging from powerful states like ancient Ghana and Great Zimbabwe.

3.2.1.3 Bantu expansionism and the desire to conquer foreign territories

It was assumed that to have so widely populated the subcontinent in so short a time, there must have been large-scale conquering migrations of new peoples. A cursory survey on the debate about the Bantu people expansion shows that the majority of them were viewed in the context of migration and conquest. For example, Johnson, cited in Oliver, described the Bantu people as conquerors.²³ Similarly, Wrigley commented that:

I see these people” not as agriculturalists spreading over a virtually empty land, but as a dominant minority, specialised to hunting with the spear, constantly attacking new adherents by their fabulous prestige as suppliers of meat, constantly throwing off new bands of migratory adventurers until the whole southern sub-continent was iron-using and Bantu speaking.²⁴

²¹ P. Beaujard, “The first migrants to Madagascar and Their Introduction of Plants: Linguistic and Ethnological Evidence”, *Azania Archaeological Research in Africa* 46(2), 2011, pp.169-189; R. Blench, “New Evidence for the Austronesian Impact on the East African Coast”, in C. Anderson, J. Barret & K. Boyle, *The Global Origins and Development of Seafaring*, (Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2010), pp.239-248.

²² K. Shillington, *History of Africa*, (New York, Palgrave Macmillan 2019), p.61.

²³ R. Oliver, “Bantu Genesis: An Inquiry into Some Problems of Early Bantu History”, Paper presented at the Royal Geographical Society, Adelphi, 5 May 1966, p. 281.

²⁴ C. C. Wrigley, “Speculations on the Economic Prehistory of Africa”, *Journal of African History* 1, 1960, p.201.

In view of Wrigley's observation, it can be argued that the possible substitute to the conquest premise was the argument of population growth that indicates how the Bantu languages multiplied more rapidly than those of the indigenous groups. The next section discusses the migration routes which were followed by the Bantu people.

3.3 Bantu Migration route

Views about the routes followed by the Bantu have been categorised into two broad models.²⁵ According to the early split hypothesis, the Bantu migrants were categorised into east and west branches.²⁶ The eastern branch was linked to the migration of the Bantu along the northern limits of the rain forest, passing through the Great Lakes before turning southwards.²⁷ On the other hand, the western branch proceeded southwards, reaching the lower Congo basin later, before splitting into eastern and western subgroups.²⁸ From West and East Africa, Bantu migrants trekked southwards and, subsequently, reached present day countries that are south of the Zambezi River.²⁹ The section which follows examines the migration streams that brought Bantu migrants to present day Zimbabwe.

3.3.1 Bantu migrants enter present-day Zimbabwe 200-1000 AD

Huffman, as cited in Bruyn and Cuthbertson (Map: 3.1), distinguished three streams within the eastern tradition whose members (except the Matola Stream) subsequently reached present day Zimbabwe. It can be argued here, and as was shown later in this chapter and Chapter 4, that the Ndau trace their ancestry to Bantu migrants from north of the Zambezi River.³⁰ An eastern stream, commonly referred to as the Matola tradition or stream spanning between 200 and 400 A.D., moved down from East/Central Africa along the east coast through Mozambique, before reaching South Africa. This stream is characterised by the "Matola" pottery of Silver Leaves in the Eastern Transvaal which shows a certain correspondence with the "Uruwe" and "Nkope" pottery found in East

²⁵ B. Pakendorf, K. Bostoen & C. De Filippo, "Molecular Perspectives on the Bantu Expansion: A Synthesis", *Language, Dynamics and Change* 1(1) 2011, pp.50-58.

²⁶ T. E. Currie, A. Meade, M. Guillon & R. Mace, "Cultural Phytography of the Bantu Languages of Sub-Saharan Africa", *Proceedings of the Royal Society B*. 280, 2013, p.45.

²⁷ See D.W. Phillipson, *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa*, (London, Heinemann, 1977).

²⁸ P. M. Whiteley, M. Xue & W.C. Wheeler, "Revising the Bantu Tree", *Cladistics*, 2018, pp.1-20.

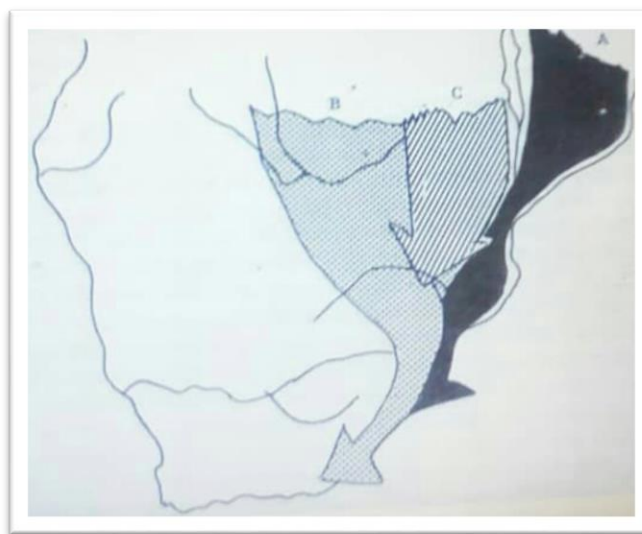
²⁹ C. De Filippo, K. Bostoen, M. Stoneking & B. Pakendorf, "Bringing Together Linguistic and Genetic Evidence to Test the Bantu Expansion", *Proc.R. Soc B* 279, 2012, pp.3256-3263.

³⁰ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History...*, p.73.

Africa. Also, between 400 and 900 A.D., a second stream moved through Zimbabwe across the Limpopo to Transvaal and then to Natal, Zululand River valleys and Transkei. This stream is characterised by the “Lydenburg” tradition (pottery artefacts) which is similar to the “Bambata” tradition of Zimbabwe. Finally, a third stream, the Gokomere tradition, moved southwards into Zimbabwe and superseded the “Bambata” tradition.³¹ Mukanya claims that the third group were the ancestors of the Mutapas who later founded the Great Zimbabwe State in the 11th century.³² The author further argues that this group crossed the Zambezi River into Zimbabwe from east Africa. Since they harassed and enslaved large numbers of their predecessors, they were nicknamed “vapambi”, meaning captors. Their chief became the Mutapa. This marked the beginning of the Mutapa Empire in Zimbabwe and Mozambique from which the Ndaus emerged.

Key

- A....First eastern stream 200-400 AD
- B....Second eastern stream 400-900 AD
- C...Third eastern stream 800-1000 AD



Map 3.1: Huffman's migration streams

Source: J.T. du Bruyn & G.C. Cuthbertson, *Introduction to history: South Africa until 1806*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1989), p.104.

3.4 The Ndaus in Bantu migration history before 1000 AD

The controversy over the place of the Ndaus in the Bantu migration history centred on their relationship with the Hungwe and Mbire/Rozvi groups which invaded and dominated pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Both groups have strong connections with the Bantu

³¹ J.T. du Bruyn & G.C. Cuthbertson, *Introduction to History: South Africa until 1806*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1989), p. 104.

³² S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History*, (Harare, College Press, 1997), p.78.

migrants from north of the Zambezi River. The discussion on the Hungwe and Mbire/Rozvi sought to situate the Ndaus within the broader Bantu migration history as both groups are believed to be the ancestors of the early and later Ndaus in present-day Zimbabwe.

3.4.1 The Ndaus as descendants of the Hungwe Bantu migrants (c.700-800 AD)

The earliest known Bantu migrants to settle in present-day Zimbabwe were the Hungwe people around 700-800 AD.³³ They occupied the eastern parts of present-day Zimbabwe. Chigwedere argued that the ancestor of the Hungwe group was Dzivaguru, who led them across the Zambezi River into Zimbabwe.³⁴ The Hungwe lineage has totems which relate to birds and aquatic animals. The argument for the salience of water among the Hungwe is that their great ancestor was Dzivaguru, which means “the great pool”.³⁵ The water totems included *Shiri* or *Hungwe* (bird). In this case, this bird is a fish eagle, the famous Zimbabwe bird. Other examples of the totems from the members of the Hungwe family are *Garwe* or *Ngwena* (crocodile), *Bonga* or *mvuu* (hippo), *Mheta* (water python).³⁶ Unlike most, the other Ndaus which came from the Mbire/Rozvi group, the Musikavanhu who reside in Chipinge District today, were members of the Hungwe family complex.³⁷ The Musikavanhu and Garahwa groups encountered and subdued a group of non-Shona speakers known as Tonga,³⁸ in the present day Ndauland. This suggests a strong link with the Bantu migrants who invaded present day Zimbabwe. The earliest Ndaus to settle in the present day Ndaus region belonged to the Dziva group and, currently, are known as Musikavanhu, Vadondo and Muyambo.³⁹ This lends credence to the argument that the Ndaus descended from the Bantu migrants who arrived in Zimbabwe between 700 and 800 A.D.⁴⁰ The Mbire/Rozvi group, from whom later Ndaus groups emerged, is discussed in the next section.

³³ F.T. Duri, “The Colonial Experiences of Mutasa Traditional Rulers 1888-1979”, MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1996, p.17.

³⁴ A. S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes 1000 to 1890 AD*, (London, Macmillan 1980), p.7.

³⁵ T.O. Ranger, “The Meaning of Mwari”, *Rhodesian History* 1974, p.12.

³⁶ S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes 1000 to 1890...* p.4.

³⁷ F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, “Linking African Traditional Dance and History: A study of Muchonhoyo Dance Among the Ndaus of South-eastern Zimbabwe”, The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

³⁸ A.K. Smith, “The Peoples of Southern Mozambique: An Historical Survey”, *Journal of African History*, xiv 1973, pp. 565-580.

³⁹ Compare with J. K. Rennie, “Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndaus of Southern Rhodesia ...”, PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), 1973.

⁴⁰ F.T. Duri, “The Colonial Experiences of Mutasa Traditional Rulers...”, MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1996, p.17.

3.4.2 The Mbire (Rozvi)/Ndau (c.1000-1050 AD)

The Mbire people are thought to have taken over pre-colonial Zimbabwe from the Hungwe around 1000-1050 AD.⁴¹ The earliest Mbire ancestor was Mambili, who is thought to have migrated from Ethiopia and his descendants subsequently founded the Mbire Kingdom in present-day Zimbabwe. The Mbire group, from East Africa, travelled from Kenya and settled in Tanganyika in an area they named Mbili (Mbire).⁴² Murenga had a number of children and some of the well known ones were Chaminuka and Nehanda. Murenga died in Tanganyika and Chaminuka took over as the leader of the Mbire people. Chaminuka and his followers left Mbili (Mbire) and settled in an area near the present-day Zambia/Malawi border which had few trees and tall grass. They then named the area Guruuswa.⁴³ It is worth to comment that, currently, the Ndau royal family members still trace their origin to the Guruuswa region of pre-colonial Zimbabwe.⁴⁴ Chaminuka and Nehanda died before the Mbire family crossed the Zambezi River into present-day Zimbabwe. Chaminuka's eldest son who was known by various names such as Kutamadzoka, Mambwemashava, Mutapa, Munhumutapa and Mutiusinazita took over the leadership of the group after the father's death. They crossed the Zambezi River and entered present-day Zimbabwe from the north-east through Nyanga around 1000 AD and displaced the Hungwe.⁴⁵ Given this background, it is observed that the Ndau have a strong connection with the Bantu people through their Rozvi ancestry.

Some of the Mbire individuals such as Mutiusinazita went on to settle in the contemporary Hwedza-Marondera area and assigned his brothers to areas that were occupied by the Hungwe. Kauswewere was, for example, tasked with subduing north-eastern Zimbabwe. Chigwangu, Mutiusinazita's young brother, moved southwards and set up what is known as the Great Zimbabwe today.⁴⁶ This became the capital city of the new Mbire Empire. As shown in the foregoing discussion, the Ndau are an integral part of the Karanga people who settled in Zimbabwe and founded the Great Zimbabwe. Of significance here is that the original Mbire invaders were of the Soko and Moyo totem. All totems of the Mbire family members have something to do with land animals.

⁴¹ S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes 1000 to 1890...* p. v.

⁴² F.T. Duri, "The Colonial Experiences of Mutasa Traditional Rulers..." p.17.

⁴³ S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes 1000 to 1890*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ (PC-JH), D. Gwenzi (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December, 2015.

⁴⁵ F.T. Duri, "The Colonial Experiences of Mutasa Traditional Rulers..." p.18.

⁴⁶ D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe....* p.170.

Similarly, and as shown in Chapter Four of this thesis, most of the Ndaus speaking people belong to the above two totems. For example, the Garahwa and Mutema belong to Soko and Moyo totems,⁴⁷ respectively, lending credence to the argument that the Ndaus are the offsprings of the Bantu migrants. Around 1050 A.D, the Mbire had displaced the Hungwe as rulers of this country. The overwhelmed Hungwe referred to the Mbire invaders as the captors 'vatapi'. This explains why the Mbire Empire is popularly known as the Mutapa Empire and the title of the paramount ruler of the empire became known as 'Mutapa'.⁴⁸ By 1500, the expansion of the Mbire/Mutapa was almost complete. The expansionistic tendencies of the Mbire were not without weaknesses. As the empire grew, several large provinces became semi-autonomous of the Mutapa rulers. Regional dynasties became strong and, as time went on, subjects of each province began to uphold their local authorities more than the central Mutapa. They then attached more glory to their regional names, such as Ndaus. Some regional dynasties even introduced new totems for themselves as a way of underlining and glorifying their regional authority and also to facilitate internal marriages.⁴⁹ Their new totems, however, remained associated with land animals such as Sithole, Gwenzi, Soko.

The main Mbire province ran from north of Mutoko through the central regions of present-day Zimbabwe to the Limpopo River. Guruuswa was another province in the present-day Matebeleland (point of origin of the Rozvi later Ndaus groups). Others were Saungwe, the north of Guruuswa and west of the central regions and Korekore to the north near the Zambezi valley. Uteve was another province situated south of the Barwe and east of Manyika. It was populated by the Ndaus. Uteve is derived from the term 'deve' meaning a low lying and wet area. The title of the ruler of Uteve was Sachiteve.⁵⁰ The rulers of the provinces of Mbire and Guruuswa began wars of conquest against rebellious provinces in an attempt to re-establish a united empire like the Great Mutapa/Mbire. The victims of these military operations labelled their conquerors

⁴⁷ J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndaus of Southern Rhodesia...", PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), p. 973; J.K. Rennie, "From Zimbabwe To A Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial Cult...", in J.M., Schotteleers (ed.), *Guardians Of The Land*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1978); C. Vijfhuizen, "Rainmaking, Political Conflicts And Gender Images: A Case From Mutema Chieftaincy," *Zambezia*, 24(1), 1997, pp.31-49; F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History: A study of Muchonhoyo Dance among the Ndaus of south-eastern...", The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007.

⁴⁸ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History...* p.78.

⁴⁹ C. Vijfhuizen, "Rainmaking, Political Conflicts and Gender Images: A Case from Mutema Chieftaincy...", *Zambezia*, 24(1), 1997, pp.31-49.

⁵⁰ S. Chigwedere, *From Mutapa to Rhodes 1000 to 1890...*, p. 49.

'vaRozvi' meaning destroyers.⁵¹ Consequently, the people of the Mbire and Guruuswa provinces came to be known as the Rozvi.

Extrapolating from the above readings, it is appropriate to argue that Ndaus should be situated within the broader Bantu migration history and not in the recent Rozvi migrants, as portrayed in some history textbooks. Contributing to the vexing question regarding the position of the Mbire/Rozvi in the Bantu migration history, Posselt argued in 1924 that: "...there is every reason to believe that the so called Monomotapa Empire was that of the Barozwi... king with the hereditary title of Mambo".⁵² The implication of Posselt's assertion is that the Mbire/Rozvi ruled the historic Karanga from the beginning of the Mutapa Empire in the early fifteenth century to about 1833-4. Expressing similar sentiments, Scard, in 1948, claimed that "It would be naïve to think that the Mbire/Rozvi did not exist before the great leader of the north-west group, Shangamire (1693-c1718) conquered the Monomotapa kingdom".⁵³ Similarly, Abraham, cited in Mudenge, argued that: "... in about A.D. 850 the ancestors of the proto-Karanga left the shores of Lake Tanganyika and arrived south of the Zambezi by about 1325".⁵⁴ Going further, Abraham argued that the Mbire/Rozvi were the dominant group within that Karanga clan that eventually organised the rest of the Karanga into a powerful state.⁵⁵ The above analysis situates the Mbire/Rozvi and, by inference, the Ndaus within early Bantu migrants who arrived in Zimbabwe. The discussion in the next section focuses on the later Mbire/Rozvi group.

3.4.3 The Ndaus as later Mbire (Rozvi) migrants (c.1600 AD)

Pertaining to the origin of the Ndaus who trace their ancestry from the Mbire/Rozvi, Marconnes observed that "The Rozvi are a modern horde who came from the north less than two hundred years ago, and the Zimbabwe monuments were already in ruins long before any Rozvi ever set eyes on them."⁵⁶ Marconnes emphatically argues that the first Mbire/Rozvi ruler was Changamire who destroyed the Portuguese feiras in the late 17th century and that the Mbire/Rozvi, either assumed out of vanity or, were

⁵¹ D.N. Beach, "The Zimbabwean Plateau...", in D. Birmingham & P. M. Martin, *History of Central Africa*, (London Longman, 1983), p.265.

⁵² F.W.T. Posselt, "Ethnographical Sketch of the Natives Southern Rhodesia", in *Official Year Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia*, 1-1924, (Salisbury, Art Printing & Publishing 1924), p.63.

⁵³ H. van Scard, "The Origin of Some of the Tribes in the Belingwe Reserve", *NADA*, 25, 1948, p.96.

⁵⁴ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi and its Implication for the History of the Karanga", *Rhodesian History* 5, 1974, p.20.

⁵⁵ D.P. Abraham, "Ethno-history of the Empire of Mutapa:...", in J. Vansina, R. Mauny & L. V. Thomas (eds.), *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1964), pp.104-121.

nicknamed 'Rozvi or Destroyers' at that stage of history. Echoing similar views in 1905, the South African Native Affairs Commission had stated that "During the latter half of the 18th century, a number of small tribes [Barozve] from central Africa found their way across the Zambezi and settled in Mashonaland. These people appear to have been of the same stock as the Karanga, their language and customs being similar".⁵⁷ This view was reinforced by Hall, in 1905, who claimed that "The Ba-Rosie have not been in the country two hundred years if so long".⁵⁸ These different views are not only to be detected among these and other scholars and outsiders, but even among the present Mbire/Rozvi themselves who fiercely debate among themselves over groups that carry the correct Mbire/Rozvi stamp.

The word "Rozvi" appears in the Portuguese records of the 18th century where it was used to describe the followers of a war-leader known by name of Dombo, who expelled the Portuguese from central African highlands between 1684 and 1695. In all the detailed reports of these wars from the late 17th century, the Portuguese did not, at that stage, make reference to the term 'Rozvi' as a title name for Dombo and his subjects. Then Dombo and his followers were regarded as no more than a group of terrible Karanga warriors. It was only in the 18th century that the Portuguese records began to refer to the Barozves (VaRozvi) of the Changamire; and to the country of those people, as Varobze or Urobu (VaRozvi).⁵⁶ According to Mudenge, all the instances where he encountered the term Rozvi, the term was used by the Portuguese to describe the descendants of Dombo and their followers. In view of this, Dombo and his followers were a section of the rebellious subjects who rose against their overlord - the Mutapa - and not a new separate invading group. Changamire Dombo was Mutapa's rebellious subject who usurped the throne of Guruuswa from the Togwa dynasty and, eventually, incorporated the provinces of Maungwe, Manyika and parts of northern Mashonaland into his new empire, founded between 1684 and 1695, which lasted until the early 1830s when the Nguni invaded it.⁵⁷ This is what the Portuguese described as the Rozvi Empire.

⁵⁶ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi and Its Implications for the History of the Karanga", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁵⁷ D.N. Beach, "The Zimbabwean Plateau...", in D. Birmingham & P. M. Martin, *History of Central Africa*, (London Longman, 1983), p.268.

Perhaps, more than any other forms of evidence, Mudenge argues that oral tradition has done much to confuse the history of the Mbire/Rozvi people. At the heart of the debate has been the question of the relationship between the Mbire/Rozvi rulers and the Mutapa dynasty.⁵⁸ Many royal and Mutapa traditions assert that their royal dynasties were related and that they were the same people.⁵⁹ This assertion is useful in that it confirms that the Mbire/Rozvi are part of the historic Karanga from which all Shona groups, inclusive of the Ndau people, hail. However, the problem arises when one tries to establish the true nature of this relationship. At first, a closer look reveals the paradoxical impression of related people who are determined to assert their distinctiveness.⁶⁰ According to the various Mutapa traditions, the Mbire/Rozvi royal house is given either as coming from a junior Mutapa line⁶¹ or as maternal uncles of the Mutapas or as descendants from a rebellious Mutapa subject.⁶² On the other hand, the royal Mbire/Rozvi traditions describe the Mutapa either as elder brothers⁶³ or as one of the important Rozvi vassals.⁶⁴ It is only when scholars look at the royal Mbire/Rozvi Mutapa king lists and genealogies that part of the clue to the problem becomes apparent. When asked to give king lists of their respective empires over centuries, the Mbire/Rozvi and Mutapa dynasties show that they have nothing in common. They do not mention a single ruler common to both dynasties.

The Rozvi royal houses generally give as the first Mbire/Rozvi mambo, Dombo.⁶⁵ The achievements of Dombo, as described in royal Mbire/Rozvi traditions, correspond to the achievements of the Changamire of 1684-95,⁶⁶ which are described in the Portuguese records.⁶⁷ The various Mbire/Rozvi king lists are always shorter than those of the Mutapas.⁶⁸ On the other hand, the Mutapa traditions, corroborated in Portuguese

⁵⁸ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁵⁹ K.R. Robinson, "A history of the Bikita District", *NADA*, 34, 1957, pp.75-87; A.M. Sebina, "Makalaka", *African Studies*, 6, 1947, pp.82-94; D.P. Abraham, "The Monomtapa Dynasty", *NADA* 36, 1959, pp.59-86.

⁶⁰ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁶¹ D.P. Abraham, "The Monomtapa Dynasty", *NADA* 36, 1959, pp.59-86; S. I. G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi ...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁶² S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁶³ K. R. Robinson, "A history of the Bikita District", *NADA*, 34, 1957, pp.75-87.

⁶⁴ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁶⁵ NZA/3/33/8 Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence: Miscellaneous: History of Mashona Tribes, 3 December 1903-21 January 1904.

⁶⁶ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁶⁷ D.N. Beach, "Historians and the Shona Empires", Part II, pp.12-13; I.S.G. Mudenge, "The Rozvi Empire and Feira of Zumbo", PhD Thesis, University London, 197, pp.330-339.

⁶⁸ I.S.G. Mudenge, "The Rozvi Empire and Feira of Zumbo", pp.330-339.

sources, spanning the period from the 15th to the 16th century, mention Mutapas.⁶⁹ In this way, oral traditions show that the history of the Rozvi Empire is very much shorter than that of the Mutapas. Most of the Rozvi history began with Dombo, a man whose achievements correspond to those of the Changamire of 1684-1695, as described in Portuguese documents.⁷⁰ On the other hand, they are portrayed as an extended part of the Mutapa Empire. Mudenge, cited in Ranger, argues that the Mbire/Rozvi state rose relatively recently and that it was based on the control of great herds of cattle in the western grasslands. Going by this argument, it can be surmised that the Ndaus belong to this later group of Bantu migrants.⁷¹

3.4.4 Ndaus migration from Guruuswa (Rozvi state) to their present-day location

Similarly, the Mutapa State did not live for long. From about the middle of the 16th century, the state was affected by internal conflicts between royal family members over power and access to the state's main resources.⁷² Portuguese merchants who were operating in the Mutapa State took advantage of these internal conflicts to advance their own economic interests. They supported one rival against the other, thereby contributing towards the further weakening of the state. It was under these conditions that one of the territorial chiefs of the Mutapa, a king known as Dombo of the Rozvi lineage, rebelled and formed his own independent state - the Rozvi State.⁷³ Likewise, the Rozvi State became weakened due to competition between lineage groups over the control and distribution of state wealth. Consequently, regional chiefs, such as Vavudzi, rebelled against the Rozvi ruler, Mambo Gomoremvura, in the late 18th century. Other subordinate chiefs joined in the power struggles, thereby undermining the viability of the state. It was under these circumstances that some Rozvi groups left the Guruuswa region of the Rozvi State, migrated eastwards and, eventually, founded a Ndaus enclave in South East Africa.

3.4.5 Ndaus groups in the Ndaus territory

The earliest inhabitants of the Ndaus region were Bantu migrants known as the Tonga from East and Central Africa.⁷⁴ The Tonga were later pushed southwards by Ndaus

⁶⁹ D.P. Abraham, "The Monomutapa dynasty", *NADA* 36, 1959, pp.59-86.

⁷⁰ S.I.G. Mudenge, "An Identification of the Rozvi ...", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.

⁷¹ D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe*, p.170.

⁷² D.N. Beach, "The Zimbabwean Plateau and its Peoples", in D. Birmingham & P. M. Martin, *History of Central Africa*, (London Longman, 1983), p.260.

⁷³ H. Moyana & M. Sibanda, *The African Heritage Book*, 3, Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1999, p.12.

⁷⁴ AHM, S.E.A. III p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

immigrants from the Guruuswa region in the 15th century. The first Ndaou groups to inhabit present-day Ndaou region were the Musikavanhu and Garahwa clans.⁷⁵ Some of the Musikavanhu descendant groups, which emerged in southern Africa, assumed the dynastic title of 'Dondo', which meant thick forest in the Ndaou language.⁷⁶ Most of the Dondo people are commonly found in Mafusi and Gogoyo areas of present-day Mozambique.⁷⁷

The next group to have entered the Ndaou region were the Mapungwana people, whose place of origins remains contentious to this day.⁷⁸ The descendants of this group are pre-dominantly located in Chipinge District, especially in the Mount Selinda region and the Espungabera area of the Mossurize District of Mozambique.⁷⁹ Owing to the contestation regarding their place of origins, two schools of thought have been proffered. One perspective views the Mapungwana as a breakaway group from the Mutasa dynasty after futile attempts to create an independent chiefdom near the mainstream group.⁸⁰ However, contrary to the preceding argument that the Mapungwana people were an offshoot of the Mutasa, Rennie and Beach claim that they were a migrant group from the Rimuka area of the medieval Zimbabwe state.⁸¹ The above contention sounds plausible as the Mapungwana people were credited for introducing fire-making and iron-working skills during the 17th century, which were associated with the Tonga people who inhabited the Rimuka enclave.⁸²

A third group to enter Chipinge was the Mutema people who were led by Chiphaphami Shiriyedenga.⁸³ The group has been credited for founding the Chisanga State, whose

⁷⁶J. Marashe & R.S. Maposa, "The Shona Socio-cultural landscape: ...", *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, p. 2; F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History...", *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, pp. 1-2;

⁷⁷F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History...", *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1; J. Marashe & R.S. Maposa, "The Shona Socio-cultural landscape: ...", *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, p. 2.

⁷⁸C. Sigauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana..."BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe, 2012p.23.

⁷⁹J. Marashe & R.S. Maposa, "The Shona Socio-cultural Landscape...", *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, p.3.

⁸⁰C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border..."BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe, 2012, p.23.

⁸¹J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism..." , PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), 1973, p. 69; D.N. Beach, *The Shona...*, p.170.

⁸²N.A.Z.2/1/3, L.C. Meredith, Special Report on Native Commissioner Melsetter to Chief Native Commissioner, 16 July 1900.

⁸³L.C. Meredith, "Melsetter District-History of Native Tribes and chiefs: Information supplied for the African Native Affairs Commission, 1903", *NADA*, 11(3), p.339; F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional

capital was initially at Chipinge and, later, moved to the summit of Ngaone Mountains.⁸⁴ Commenting on the impact of the Mutema people, Beach claims that the arrival of the Mutema group changed the political landscape of the region as a result of their robust war lust: The Mutema killed Nyakuimba, leader of the Dondo people, and expropriated most of the land from the Dondo people in the 17th century.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the Mutema were involved in conflicts with groups which had invaded the Ndaу region prior to their coming in the 17th century, such as the Mapungwana and Garahwa. The Mutema's aggressive approach saw them controlling minor chiefs in the Chipinge/Mossurize region, such as Muwusha, Chaibva and several others.⁸⁶

As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, Ravenstein's theory on migration fits well in the discussion about Ndaу migration to their present location. Ravenstein argued that economic and social pressures force people to migrate to better places.⁸⁷ In addition, Ravenstein opines that the flow of migrants happens in the form of organised streams and follows defined routes to the desired destinations. Correspondingly, the Ndaу were forced, by conflict, to migrate from Guruuswa to their current location which was relatively peaceful and endowed with good climatic and soil conditions.⁸⁸ Ravenstein's proposition that migration occurs in streams, is vindicated by Ndaу history of migration. In this regard, Beach argued that the Ndaу arrived in southern Africa in three successive streams.⁸⁹ In light of the above discussion, it can be argued that the Ndaу migration debate shares commonalities with Ravenstein's argument that migration is a consequence of push and pull factors.

3.5 Conclusion

In Chapter Three, the main objective was to contextualise the Ndaу people within the Bantu migration history by tracing their ancestry to the Bantu. The study confirmed that the Bantu people predominantly inhabited Africa between the Sahara Desert and South

Dance and History...”, *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

⁸⁴ J. Marashe & R.S. Maposa, “The Shona Socio-cultural Landscape...”, *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, p.3.

⁸⁵ D.N. Beach, *The Shona...*, p.171.

⁸⁶ J.K. Rennie, “Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...”, PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), 1973, p.89; J.K. Rennie, “From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy; Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial Cult...”, in J. M., Schoffeleers (ed.), *Guardians of the Land*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1978), p. 258.

⁸⁷ M.J. Greenwood, “The Migration Legacy...”, *Migration Studies* 7(2), 2019, pp. 269-278.

⁸⁸ G. Thompson, *Exploratory Soil Map of Rhodesia*, (Salisbury, Ministry of Agriculture, 1965), p.2.

⁸⁹ D.N. Beach, *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1980), p.170.

Africa while also speaking related languages. While scholars have debated and disagreed on the Bantu's geographical point of origin, there is a consensus that the Bantu people migrated from the Benue /Cross Region, the borderland between Cameroon and Nigeria. The justification proffered for the location is that the region has the highest concentration of the Bantu languages and archaeological evidence shows progressive southwards expansion of Bantu culture from that region.

Regarding the causes of the Bantu migration, several scholarly explanations were suggested. Population growth, owing to the introduction of bananas and yams in Africa by Asian traders, increased the need to acquire land in territories beyond their domicile regions. It was highlighted in the discussion that the Bantu's ability to colonise new regions was made possible by their mastery of iron technology, which assisted them to conquer new environments.

It was shown in the chapter that the Bantu people's migration was never a single stream. The discussion pointed out two principal migration streams; namely, the Eastern and Western streams. The Western stream maintained the westerly direction, passing through Congo, Angola, Namibia and, ultimately, South Africa. The Bantu migrants who eventually settled in present-day Zimbabwe are arguably descendants of the Eastern migration group. As earlier illustrated, the Bantu people entered Zimbabwe in two successive streams: the western and eastern streams.

The Ndaou history, with regards to their place within the Bantu people migration history, also remains significantly contested. Nevertheless, two schools of thought have been advanced and they have been widely acknowledged. These are the Hungwe and Mbire/Rozvi hypotheses. Both affirm that the Ndaou are descendants of Bantu migrants. It was further argued that the first Ndaou people belonged to the Hungwe Bantu group that dominated the Eastern parts of present-day Zimbabwe. Notable clans among the Ndaou such as Musikavanhu, Mlambo and vaDondo belong to the Hungwe lineage and are known to be the earliest lineages of the Ndaou group to inhabit the present day Ndaou region.⁹⁰

⁹⁰F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History: A study of Muchongoyo Dance among the Ndaou of south-eastern Zimbabwe", *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), Occasional Paper No. 29*, Cape Eown, 2007, p.3.

However, the Hungwe were conquered by the Mbire/Rozvi Bantu migrants, whose origins are traced to Ethiopia. The Mbire/Rozvi travelled through countries such as Tanzania, Kenya, Malawi and Zambia, before eventually settling in Zimbabwe. It was argued that, owing to succession disputes within the Mbire/Rozvi, some disgruntled generals migrated eastwards and, successfully, founded the Ndau kingdom. This represents the earliest version of the Mbire/Rozvi history. The latter version suggests that the Mbire/Rozvi groups were not related to the Mutapa group, but were outsiders who successfully usurped power from the Mutapa and created their own Mbire/Rozvi state. It remains important though to note that, in spite of the divergent views regarding the origins of the Mbire/Rozvi, there is a consensus on the origin of the Ndau. Both versions argue that the Ndau are the descendants of the Mbire/Rozvi Bantu migrants, historically linking them to the Bantu migration history. What emerges from the preceding discussion is that the Ndau arrived in their present location in two major successive streams: first, the Hungwe and then, later, the Mbire/Rozvi migrants. The discussion also referenced the main Ndau groups that settled in the present Ndau region, such as the Dondo, Garahwa, Mutema and Mapungwana people.

Finally, it was argued that the Ndau people are descendants of the Bantu migrants who settled in present-day Zimbabwe from north of the Zambezi River before 1100 AD when the Great Zimbabwe State is thought to have been established. Aspects of Ndau identity are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

THE NDAU IDENTITY IN ZIMBABWE/MOZAMBIQUE BORDERLAND, 1800-2010

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the Ndaus identity is examined in order to enhance the researcher's understanding of the group's present-day border issues. A body of scholarly literature on the Ndaus identity exists. Duri, Mapuranga, Konyana and Dube are notable scholars who have researched on Ndaus identity.¹ While Duri discusses Ndaus people's identity in the context of trans-nationalism, analyses by other scholars hardly go beyond the border. Also, their focus is mainly on marriage practices among the Ndaus people of Zimbabwe. Going forward, the debate on Ndaus identity has benefitted from a new generation of scholars (cultural historians) such as MacGonagle and Patricio.² A common thread in their studies is the centrality of identity in the survival of the Ndaus people in the borderland. While augmenting their views, this chapter, however, utilised identity as a prism to understand cross-border dynamics in the borderland. The chapter interrogates the question: What are the aspects of the Ndaus identity? Accordingly, the discussion focuses on the fundamental aspects of Ndaus history such as political, economic and social organisation. Furthermore, attention is drawn to the Nguni invasion of the Ndaus kingdom in the 19th century and its subsequent impact on the Ndaus-speaking people. Moreover, efforts were made to briefly discuss the segmentation of the Ndaus population, following the demarcation of the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border in 1891 (in Chapter Five border demarcation is discussed in more specificity). The discussion in this chapter draws attention to the theoretical contributions of Migration and Political culture and the socialisation theories to the study. It is the contention of this chapter that this analysis of Ndaus identity is fundamental to the contextuality that is

¹ Compare for example with F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia...", PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012; T.R. Mapuranga, "A Phenomenological Investigation Into the Effects of Traditional Beliefs and Practices On Women and HIV and AIDS, With Special Reference to Chipinge District,..." , Phd Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2010; E.G., Konyana, "Euthanasia in Zimbabwe? Reflections on the management of terminally ill persons and the dying in Ndaus traditions of Chimanimani and Chipinge, south eastern..." , in O. L. Danoye (ed.), *Death and Life after Death in African Philosophy and Religions: A Multi-disciplinary Engagement*, (Harare, Africa, Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies, 2014); E.E.N. Dube, "Getting Married Twice: The Relationship Between Indigenous and Christian Marriages Among The Ndaus Of Chimanimani Areas Of ...", PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017;

² E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2007); M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland*, (Lisbon, ISCTE, 2010).

required to view contemporary trends related to border issues to which the Ndaus are associated. The next section focuses on the geographical location, origins and demography of the Ndaus.

4.2 Geographical location, origins (of the term Ndaus) and demography

The Ndaus speaking people, who migrated from the Guruswa region of pre-colonial Zimbabwe, inhabited the south-eastern region of Zimbabwe and western and central districts of Mozambique in the 17th century. South-eastern Zimbabwe is broadly divided into two geographical landscapes which are the plateau and lowlands.³ In Zimbabwe, the Ndaus live mainly in the Chimanimani and Chipinge districts,⁴ (formerly Melsetter District) and, in Mozambique, most of them are found in places such as Mossurize, Machaze, Sussundenga, Chimoio, as well as Chibawawa.⁵ Chipinge District is located south of the Chimanimani region of Zimbabwe,⁶ while, in the east, it shares an international border with Mozambique (See Map 4.1).

After describing the Chipinge/Chimanimani region, Roder remarked that the area's terrain is generally undulating, and interspersed with granite hills and mountain ranges.⁷ The soils found in this area are deep, reddish-brown and retain moisture.⁸ Owing to the region's high altitude, the area receives copious rains and this accounts for the dense tropical forests that exist in the region.⁹ Major rivers found in the study area include Tanganda, Risutu, Musirizwi, Budzi, Murengwezi; Chinyika, Mukurumadzi and Zona.¹⁰ In the early days of colonisation, the landscape of the Chipinge/Chimanimani highlands and the adjacent present Mossurize District of Mozambique captured the imagination of the Europeans who visited the region, with one romanticist commenting,

³ N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources in South Eastern Zimbabwe 1929-1969", PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, p.7.

⁴ J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndaus of Southern Rhodesia ...", PhD Thesis, Northwestern University(USA),1973, p. 35.

⁵ M. Mawere, "Violation and Abuse of Women's Human Rights in the Customary Practice of 'kuzvarirwa' Among the Ndaus people of Mozambique", *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 3(1), 2012, p.4; L.C. Jeremias, Perfil do Distrito de Mossurize, Provincia de Manica, Maputo,Ministro da Administracao Estatal 2005, p.7.

⁶ NAZ, S 2929/1/7, Delineation officer's suggestion regarding the squatter problem, from J.L. Reid Secretary for Internal Affairs, 25 June 1966.

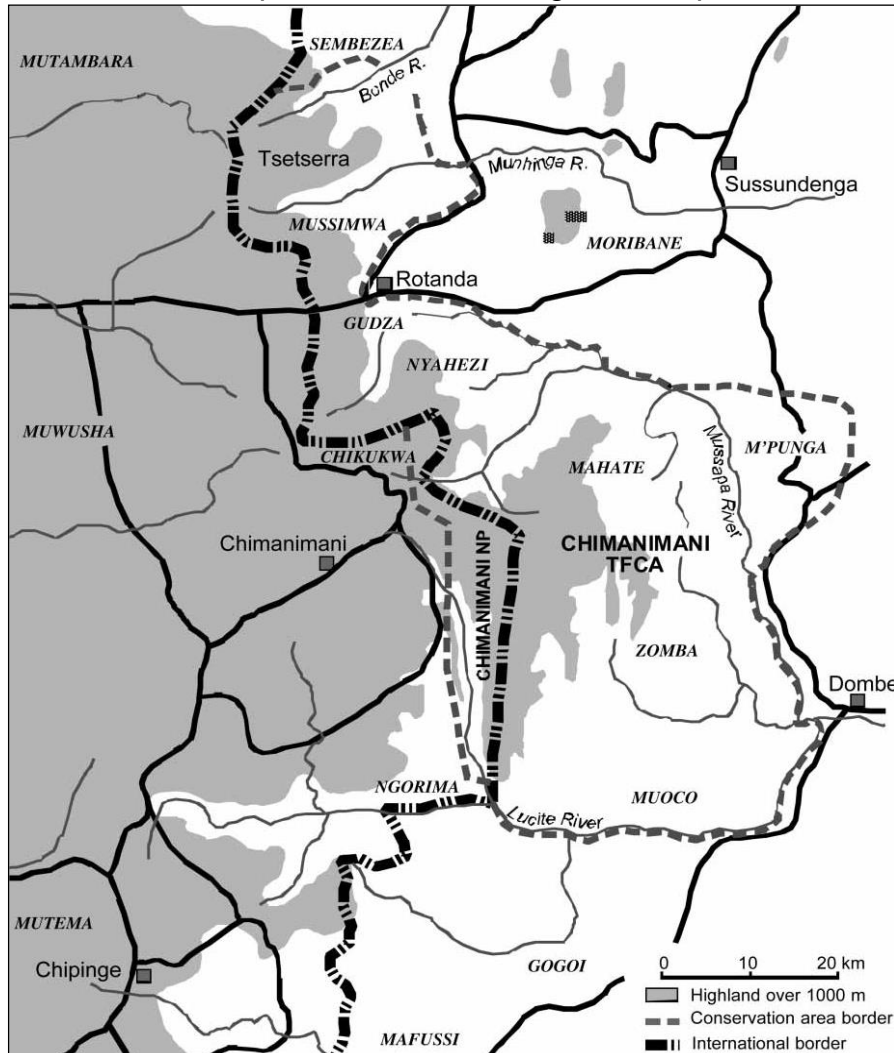
⁷ W. Roder, *The Sabi Valley Irrigation*, (Chicago, Illinois, 1965), p.15; L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among The Ndaus People: A Case Of Gwenzi Area In Chipinge District, Zimbabwe (1980-2019)", MSc Dissertation, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019,p.7.

⁸ G. Thompson, *Exploratory Soil Map of Rhodesia*, (Salisbury, Ministry of Agriculture, 1965), p.2.

⁹ H.H. K. Bhila. *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom: The Manyika and their African and Portuguese Neighbours 1575-1902*, (Harare, Longman Zimbabwe, 1982), p.7.

¹⁰ L.C. Jeremias, Perfil do Distrito de Mossurize, Provincia... p.10.

thus: “We passed many streams, and the rippling of whose waters was a novelty to me who had heard nothing like it in Africa since I left England.”¹¹ Similarly Bruce, as cited in Moyana, remarked that “...they all agreed that the equitable temperature and rainfall of the highlands made them quite favourable for agricultural production.”¹²



Map 4.1: Places in Zimbabwe and Mozambique inhabited by the Ndaou people since the 17th century

Source: F. Duri, “Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities across the Rhodesia – Mozambique...” p. 92.

Evidence of the agricultural potential of the region had been reported prior to colonial rule. Commenting on the suitability of the area for farming, Rennie pointed out that the fertile plateau was naturally an agricultural area which also did not escape the attention

¹¹ V.H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press 2002), p. 127.

¹² National Archive of Zimbabwe (NAZ), K. Buce, “The Country East of the Junction of the Save and Odzi Rivers, in *Journey through Mashonaland, 1899*”, p.2.

of land-seeking white farmers.¹³ The European farmers established diversified farming in the Chipinge/Chimanimani District, ranging from dairying, forestry, intensive coffee to tea production.¹⁴ Reference is also made to a variety of crops grown by the Ndaus prior to the advent of colonial rule. These were maize, groundnuts, peas, beans, sweet potatoes, pumpkins and cucumbers, among others.¹⁵

To the west of Chipinge and Chimanimani highlands lies the Sabi Valley. The valley's arid conditions affect even distant places in Mozambique, such as Garahwa, Chaibva and Machaze.¹⁶ The region is characterised by clay black soils, known as *ndovoyo*, and these are generally of less inherent fertility.¹⁷ Stanle, a white settler from England, in 1925, described the Sabi valley as follows:

... may well be called tropical the temperature in summer is anything over 43 in the shade. It is impossible for natives to work there between 10 am and 3 pm. Otherwise a couple of days sees them crippled. Even whites in the boots suffer to a certain extent. It is malarious and the general climatic conditions are not favourable to the propagation of the Nordic white race, perhaps the dark Mediterranean races might make a practical success.¹⁸

Stanle's observation seems to accentuate that the Sabi valley receives lower rainfall than the highlands, making it amenable to chronic periods of drought and crop failure. On the Mozambican segment of the borderland, the land falls sharply to a broad low coastal terrain. In the Buzi River region, the land is lower, dropping off towards the Sabi Valley. The Valley is unsuitable for agriculture, except in the vicinity of the Rivers.¹⁹ While the Zimbabwean plateau is heavily wooded, the Mozambican flat terrain is characterised by scattered thin mopane trees. The area is perceived as extremely hot and is infested with malaria-causing mosquitoes and tsetse flies, which cause sleeping

¹³ J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism ...", Northwestern University (USA), 1973, p.40.

¹⁴ J. Hlongwana, "Land Lords and Tenants in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2007, p. 11.

¹⁵ NAZ MO 11/2/4 G.B. Moodier, 13 January, 1893; E.H. Burrows, *The Moodie of Melsetter*, (Cape Town, Balkema 1954), p.145.

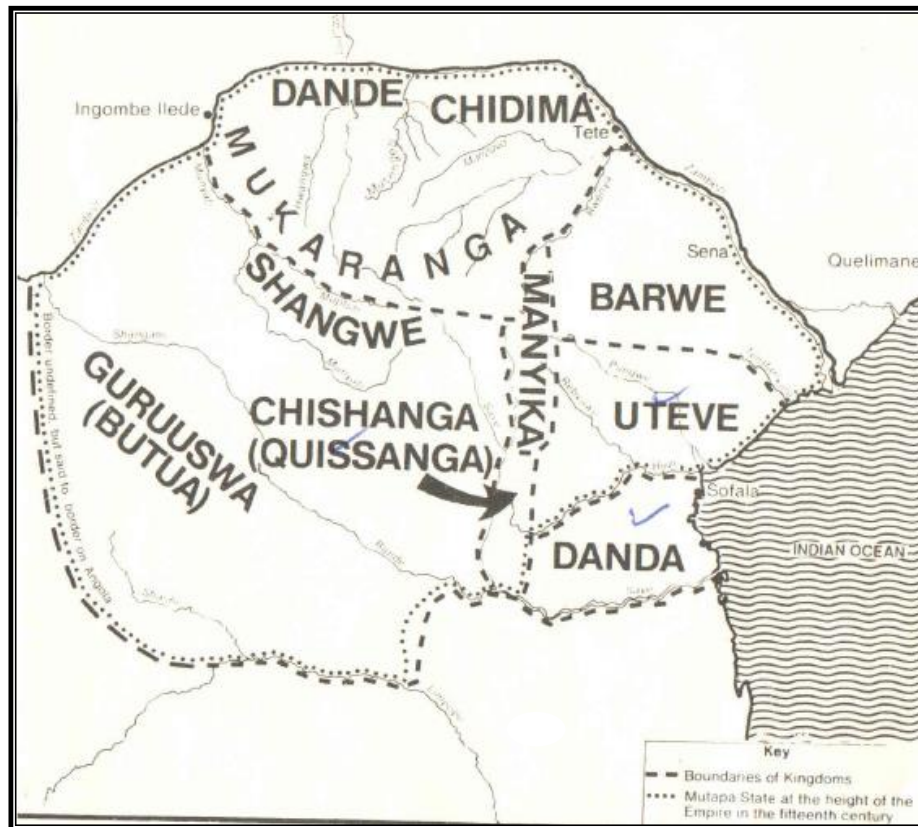
¹⁶ J. Hlongwana, "A people of Two Worlds? Reflections on the Role of Cross-Border Ethnicity in Sustaining Partitioned Ndaus Community in Mozambique and Zimbabwe 1900-1980", in F.P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *The Paradox of Borders, Borderlands and Diasporic Spaces: Contested Enclaves, Restricted Mechanisms and Corridors of Opportunity*, (Gweru, Book love Publishers, 2018), p. 147.

¹⁷ NAZ, 9/1/17, NC Melsetter, Annual Report, 31/12/14.

¹⁸ NAZ, SR 3/20/1/11, Letter, D. M. Stanle's/Lands Commission, Melseter, 13 March 1925.

¹⁹ Great Britain: *Naval Intelligence Division, A Manual of Portuguese East Africa*, (London, HMSO, 1920), p.33.

sickness and nagana in people and livestock, respectively.²⁰In spite of the fact that the region was mostly unsuitable for crop growing, save for drought resistant crops, it had abundant game which made hunting an important economic activity within the Ndau society.²¹Map 4.2 illustrates places which have been associated with Ndau history.



Map 4.2: Formal States in Zimbabwe since the 17th century as places of origins of the Ndau people

Source: S.I.G. Mudenge A Political History of Munhumutapa..., p.37.

4.2.1 Origins of the name Ndau – a toponymical angle

The Ndau are the descendants of the Shona speaking people who migrated from the Guruuswa region of the pre-colonial state of Great Zimbabwe (see Map4.2). The lingua franca of the Ndau people is Ndau and this language is predominantly spoken in south-eastern Zimbabwe and western and central Mozambique. The word “Ndau” remains contestable as a topic of discussion, as scholarly opinions differ regarding its origins. One viewpoint suggests that the word “Ndau” was coined by the Nguni who invaded

²⁰ B. Cingular, D. Mather, T. Walker, B. Mouzinho, J. Massingwe & R. Maiene, *Exploiting the Potential for Expanding Cropped Area Using Animal Traction in the Small Holder Sector in Mozambique*, (Maputo, Directorate of Planning and International Cooperation, 2016), p.2.

²¹ L.C. Jeremias, *PERFIL de Distrito de Mossurize, Provincia...*p.10.

present day south-eastern Zimbabwe and western districts of Mozambique in the 1860s.²²In a similar vein, Marashe and Maphosa postulate that the word 'Ndaú' originated as a nickname to the former Rozvi immigrants (now Ndaú), whose customary greetings were punctuated with the term "Ndauuwe".²³ Also, MacGonagle concurs with the earlier view that the term Ndaú is a recent ascription that was given to the Ndaú by Nguni invaders in the 18th century. As evidence for this argument, MacGonagle refers to the Portuguese who were the first Europeans to make contact with the Ndaú in the 17th century and left extensive written history about the area. Yet, the Portuguese never mentioned the term 'Ndaú' in their documentation of the pre-colonial societies of the region.²⁴ The MacGonagle argument is reinforced by Ranger, in his observation that pre-colonial societies hardly pulled their people together to build self-conscious identity communities.²⁵ Still Rennie is of the view that the coinage and usage of the word Ndaú predates the advent of colonialism in southern Africa. In this respect, it is contended that some Portuguese documents, which were compiled before colonisation of the region, made reference to "Mujao" traders, an Inhambane version of the word "Ndaú".²⁶

Another scholarly opinion, coming from missionary circles, suggests that the American missionaries who established mission stations in Chipinge region, as well as the Mossurize District of Mozambique in the 1890s, contributed to the rise and usage of the word "Ndaú".²⁷It is insinuated, in the archives consulted, that the Americans wanted a common language for ease of doing business in the area they had dominated.²⁸Concomitantly, instead of using an English Bible, the missionaries printed

²² Arquivo Historico de Mocambique (AHM), Jose Fontes Pessoa de Amorim, "os Vatsangas ou Mundaue", Beira, 1956, Seccao Especial, a 111, p.6. no.80; F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History: A Study of the Muchongoyo Dance Among the Ndaú of Southern Zimbabwe", *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

²³ J.Marashe & R.S. Maposa, "The Shona Socio-cultural Landscape: A reflection of the Salt Taboo Among the Ndaú of southern Zimbabwe", *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, p.2.

²⁴ E. MacGonagle, *Crafting Identity...*,p.1.

²⁵ T.O. Ranger, "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The invasion of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe", in L. Vail (ed.), *Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, (Berkeley, University of California, 1989), pp.118-50.

²⁶J.K., Rennie, *Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies among the South-eastern Shona 1500-1890*, (Nairobi, Heinemann Educational Books, 1968) pp. 168-169;P. Junod, "A Contribution to the Study of Ndaú Democracy, Totemism and History", *Bantu Studies*, 8(1), 1934, p.18.

²⁷ NAZ, UN 3/20/1/11/8, Printing Report , Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1915-196; NAZ, UN 3/20/1/11/1, Stations: Locations and Special work of ministries, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1916; AHM, Revista de Manica e Sofala 1a.serie, no.2, Abril de 1904; F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History...", *The Centre For Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

²⁸ NAZ, UN 3/20/1/11/8, Printing Report, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1915-196; NAZ, UN 3/20/1/11/1, Stations: Locations and Special work of ministries, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1916; AHM, Revista de Manica e Sofala 1a.serie, no.2, Abril de 1904; F. Duri

and used the Ndau Bible in their evangelical teachings when they established mission stations among the Ndau speaking people.²⁹ Evangelical sermons in the Ndau language raised the status of Ndau as a language in the region where the Ndau people live.

In contrast to preceding views, Moyana and Singauke argue that the word Ndau denotes “place” or *indauyame* (a Nguni word). It is propounded by Moyana that the Ndau adopted the name from a certain phrase they uttered before chasing away the *Marozvi* (later invaders from the Rozvi kingdom of pre-colonial Zimbabwe) from the areas shouting “*vhukani madhodha le indau yethu, yonke*” which would stir up fear and panic in their opponents. These words meant: “Wake up this is our place”.³⁰ Every time the *Marozvi* saw them come they would, with great fear, shout, “*Aba Ndau bafikile ngasihambe,*” which meant “Those people who claim this place to be theirs have come. Let’s go away”. They would run away in terror. Ndau, in this case, means “a place”.³¹ This argument has found little purchase among analysts as the term *indauyame* is a Nguni word.³² It, therefore, seems more likely that Ndau is a Nguni derivative, as per earlier argument. Despite several arguments which have been proposed, the popular opinion remains that the word Ndau was an ascription given to the Ndau by the Nguni people in the 19th century.³³

In addition the classification of Ndau as a dialect of the Shona language by colonial administrators brought recognition to Ndau as a local language in the 1930s.³⁴ Going forward, MacGonagle argues that reference to local languages such as Ndau gained traction after Doke, a colonial government’s linguist had classified the Shona language in 1931 into six dialects; namely, Ndau, Zezuru, Karanga, Kalanga, Manyika and Korekore.³⁵ This language classification was conducted to create linguistic references for administrative functions but, in the process, it also elevated the status of Ndau as a

& G. Gwekwerere, “Linking African Traditional Dance and History...”, *The Centre For Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

²⁹ NAZ, UN 3/20/1/11/8, Printing Report, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1915-196; NAZ, UN 3/20/1/11/1, Stations: Locations and Special work of ministries, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1916.

³⁰ T.T. Moyana, *Education, Liberation and the Creative Act*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1989), p. 134.

³¹ C. Sigauke, “The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana Chiefdom...”, BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.23.

³² (PC-JH), S. Dhlakama, (Cross-border farmer), Mabeye, Chipinge, Chipinge, 10 December 2015

³³ AHM, Jose Fontes Pessoa de Amorim, “Os Vatssangas ou Mundau”, Beira, 1956, *Secca Especial*, a 111 (no. 80), p.6.

³⁴ H. Chimhundu, Report on, The Unification of the Shona Dialects, A photographic reprint, Oslo, ALLEX-Project, 2005, p.5.

³⁵ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...*, p. 14.

language.³⁶ The discussion in the next section centres on the Ndau clans in the borderland. It also examines the impact of the Nguni invasion on the Ndau society.

4.2.2 The detrimental Gaza-Nguni interlude as a destruction phase of Ndau polity

The Gaza state was formed by a breakaway group from the Zulu state.³⁷ Shangaan warriors led by Soshangane moved northwards, defeating groups of people who were opposed to him³⁸ and, eventually, established the Gaza State. The Gaza State covered the entire present-day south-eastern Zimbabwe and the southern and western districts of Mozambique. Initially, the state capital was set up at Chaimiti, in Mozambique, and later, relocated to Mount Selinda, in present Zimbabwe, on the headwaters of the Buzi and Musirizwi Rivers.³⁹ The choice of Mount Selinda was influenced by the existing farming environment and security considerations. The area receives high rainfall and possesses rich soils and the mountain provided security to the Nguni capital against attacks by enemies.⁴⁰ However, the capital was later moved to Bilene, in southern Mozambique in 1889, to re-establish the shaky Gaza-Nguni Empire over the Chopi communities in southern Mozambique, who were showing signs of resistance against Nguni control and domination.⁴¹ In addition to Soshangane, who became a dominant figure in the Ndau region, other Nguni groups led by Nxaba Msane, Ngwana Maseko and Zwangendaba Jere passed through the Ndau inhabited region.⁴²

The arrival of the Nguni people had far-reaching consequences on the Ndau society.⁴³ Contributing also to the debate on the Nguni's conquest of the Ndau, Rennie postulates that the Nguni people destroyed the Ndau political system by appointing new leaders largely from the Nguni people during the 19th century.⁴⁴ It seems as if some of the Ndau men who were supportive of the new political dispensation were promoted into the

³⁶ J. Marashe & R.S. Maposa, "The Shona Socio-cultural Landscape:", *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, p. 2.

³⁷ S. Marks, "New Paradigms in History and Archaeology in South Africa", *African Studies* 70 (1) 2011, pp.123-143.

³⁸ B. Mkhathshwa, Swaziland Oral History Project 1967-1993, Collection Number A 2760, Johannesburg, Historical Papers Research Archive, 2016, p.54.

³⁹ J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2007, p. 32.

⁴⁰ (PC-JH), D.Matiti, (Cross-border farmer) Tamanadayi, Chipinge 12 December 2015.

⁴¹ F. Dube, "Colonialism, cross-border movements, and epidemiology: a history of public health in the Manica region of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe and the African response, 1890-1980", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p.26.

⁴² H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom, The Manyika and their Portuguese and African neighbours...*, p.69.

⁴³ A.S., Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.6.

⁴⁴ J.K. Rennie, *Ideology and State Formation*, p.145.

Nguni political system.⁴⁵ The appointed leaders (*indunas*) acted as governors and supervised Ndau chiefs who had pledged loyalty to the Nguni political system.⁴⁶ To ensure subservience from the Ndau community, the Nguni engaged in systematic intimidation and killing of prominent Ndau chiefs, such as Modoro Muusha, Mufuwa Saungweme and Mubango Gwenzi.⁴⁷ Ndau royal families were also targeted to eliminate people who could lead others in defiance of Nguni rule.⁴⁸ The Nguni violence for land and authority caused displacements within the Ndau speaking people in the years between 1830 and 1880. For example, Chiefs Ngorima and Mutema and some of their followers sought refuge from Gutu and Pfu-pajena areas, west of the Save River.⁴⁹

Bhila argues that captives from raids, such as orphans and destitute people, served as slaves in the Gaza state. The reign of Nguni leaders such as Ngungunyana, in the 19th century, were associated with extreme brutality against the Ndau.⁵⁰ It is recalled that Ngungunyana used brutal methods to ensure obedience to him, such as plucking out the eyes of anyone who was found guilty of looking at one of his wives. Men were also indiscriminately killed and young ladies were seized for distribution as offering to his warriors. At times, he even sanctioned the destruction of a village if a member from it was suspected of witchcraft.⁵¹ As punishment for practising witchcraft or stealing cattle, convicts were impaled on wooden sticks and left to rot at the intersection of pathways.⁵² These inhumane perceived punishments, as viewed from a present-day context apparently, at the time of application, were viewed as necessary to protect Nguni people from Ndau witches and wizards.⁵³

⁴⁵ H.V. Moyana, *African Heritage Book 1* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1990), p. 124.

⁴⁶ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity...*p. 98.

⁴⁷J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...", PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), 1973, p.139.

⁴⁸ D.M. Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border", PhD Thesis, University of California, 1999, pp.40-41.

⁴⁹ NAZ, N 3/33/8, Native Commissioner Melsetter to Chief Native Commissioner Salisbury, 23 December 1903; p. Harries, "Slavery, Social Incorporation and Surplus Extraction: The Nature of Free and Unfree Labour in South Africa East Africa", *Journal of African History* 22, 1981, p.311.

⁵⁰ H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona Kingdom, The Manyika and their Portuguese and African Neighbours...*, pp.170-172.

⁵¹ E. MacGonagle, "Living with a Tyrant: Ndau Memories ...", *International Journal of African Studies* 41(1), 2008, p. 104.

⁵² AHM Companhia de Mocambique Secretaria Geral Processos: Luciano Lane, Notas Sobre Alguns Usos e Costumes Indigenas da Circumscripcao de Mossurize, 1906, Caixa, 445, p.26.

⁵³ (PC-JH), D. Matiti, (Cross-border farmer) Tamanadayi, Chipinge 12 December 2015.

To widen and consolidate Nguni dominance over the Ndau society, measures were implemented by Nguni leaders to assimilate the Ndau people into the Nguni culture.⁵⁴ Adoption of the Nguni language and submission to the Nguni culture guaranteed security and upward mobility in the Nguni controlled political dispensation.⁵⁵ As a consequence, the Ndau adopted Nguni cultural practices such as wearing head-rings, earlobe piercing and others.⁵⁶ Many symbolic and cultural traditions of the Ndwandwe/Nguni culture have become part and parcel of the Ndau; for example, the Ndau's traditional round huts serve as a reminder of the once dominant Ndwandwe/Nguni culture.⁵⁷

Nguni dominance over the Ndau is evidently seen by Nguni loan words in the Ndau language.⁵⁸ Some Nguni words which have been incorporated into the Ndau language include *mungani* (friend), *pahla* (clothes) and *mufana* (young man).⁵⁹ Also prominent are Nguni names among the Ndau such as Dhlwayo, Dhlamini, Hliziyo, Hlatshwayo, Nkhumbula, Ncumayo, Hlongwana,⁶⁰ and several others. Undeniably, the names relive Nguni conquest and occupation of the Ndau region.⁶¹ Lamentably, it has been stressed that the Ndau identity halted during the 38 year dominance of the Nguni over the Ndau people.⁶²

In addition to social and political problems, the Ndau people had to contend with the Nguni's "parasitic-like" economic practices (as referred to by Rennie). The Nguni economy between 1830 and 1880, was based mainly on raiding and extraction of tribute from the Ndau.⁶³ It is said that the Nguni regulated hunting, collected tax, monopolised

⁵⁴ NAZ, NUE 2/1/1 Letter Native Commissioner, Melsetter to Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury, 9 March, 1896.

⁵⁵ D.M. Hughes, "Frontier Dynamics: Struggle for Land and Clients..." PhD Thesis, University of California, 1999, p.40.

⁵⁶ NAZ, NUE 2/1/1, Letter, Native Commissioner Melsette to Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury, 9 March 1896.

⁵⁷ G. Liesegang, Notes on The Internal Structure of the Gaza Kingdom of southern Mozambique 1840-1895, Harare, University of Zimbabwe Repository, p.106.

⁵⁸ J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and Origins of Nationalism..." PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), 1973, p.186.

⁵⁹ H.V. Moyana & M. Sibanda, *African Heritage*, p.85.

⁶⁰ (PC-JH), E. Zako, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 24 December 2018.

⁶¹ S. Mutsagodo, E. Karimanzira & J. Makanga, "Ndau Women Informal Cross-border Trade and the Changing Socio-Economic Dispensation in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Commerce, Economics and Social Sciences*, 10(2), 2016, p.2.

⁶² E. MacGonagle, "Living with a Tyrant: Ndau Memories and Identities..." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41(1), 2008, pp. 29-53.

⁶³ J.K. Rennie, *Ideology and State Formation...* p.182.

the export of ivory and controlled movement of cattle from one place to another.⁶⁴ Commenting on the impact of the Nguni on the Ndau community in the 18th century, MacGonagle contends that Nguni raiding warriors collected most of the Ndau's valuables they came across, ranging from food to cattle.⁶⁵ Similarly, Erskine postulates that as cattle rearing became increasingly a loss making project by the 1870's, the Ndau stopped keeping cattle. Consequently, owing to the loss of cattle and Nguni induced instability, the Ndau resorted to eating dogs to avert starvation.⁶⁶ Prior to the coming of the Nguni, the Ndau had participated in thriving industries such as metal working, weaving, basket making, wood carving and pottery. The disruptive activities of the Nguni warriors also seriously undermined these industries as a core component of the Ndau economy.⁶⁷ The Ndau were eventually forced to abandon copper mining, cotton production and the crafts industry as a result of persistent raiding by Nguni warriors.⁶⁸

After 38 years in Ndau territory, the Nguni people finally returned to Belene in 1889, their former capital, situated in southern Mozambique. However, this retreat from Ndauland was not peaceful. The Ngunis forced the Ndau, in numbers ranging between 60 000 to 100 000, to accompany them in a month-long march to southern Mozambique.⁶⁹ Those who attempted to run away or displayed signs of fatigue were killed in the presence of others, to send a chilling message to the rest that attempts to defect or feign illness or tiredness could result in severe consequences.⁷⁰ While a handful managed to escape during the journey and returned to their communities, many dutifully accompanied the Nguni people because of fear of public executions. Freedom only came after the Nguni leader, Ngungunyana, had been defeated and exiled by the Portuguese to Goa.⁷¹ It can, thus, be argued that, in a sense, the colonisation of the area by the Portuguese in 1891 brought relief to the oppressed Ndau who, for decades,

⁶⁴J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and Origins of Nationalism", PhD Thesis, Northwestern University (USA), 1973, p.137.

⁶⁵ E. MacGonagle, "Living with a Tyrant: Ndau Memories and Identities..." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41(1), 2008, pp.29-53.

⁶⁶ V. Erskine, "Third and Fourth Journeys in a Gaza or southern Mozambique, 1873 to 1874, and 1874 to 1875", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* XLVIII, 1878, p.30.

⁶⁷ W. Roder, *the Sabi Valley Irrigation...*, p.65.

⁶⁸ F.C. Selous, "Twenty Years in Zambesia", *Geographical Journal*, 1, 1893, pp.313-314; P.E.N. Tindall, *A History of Central Africa*, (Harare, Mardon Printers, 1983), p.63.

⁶⁹ E. MacGonagle, "Living with a Tyrant: Ndau Memories..." *The International Journal of African Studies*, 2008, 41(1), pp.29-53.

⁷⁰ NAZ NUE 2/1/1, Letter, Native Commissioner Melsester to secretary, Native Department, 12 October 1895; W. Mhlanga, "The story of Ngwaqazi: The History of the Amatshangana", *NADA* 25, 1948, pp.70-73.

⁷¹ AHM, Armando Vaz Pereira Brites, "Monografia Ethnografica sobre a sub-Raca, senas, (Beira, post-1910, Seccao Especial, a.v, no.274, p.7.

experienced violent suppression and subordination under the powerful dominance of the Nguni people.⁷² While this chapter acknowledged the argument that the Nguni conquest of the Ndaus was associated with extreme brutality, it argued that the Nguni's domination of the Ndaus was the interlude that bequeathed legacies that have become structural components of the Ndaus culture and identity. The next section focuses on the Ndaus demography.

4.3 Contemporary demographics of the Ndaus

As elaborated above, the Ndaus are located in Zimbabwe and Mozambique and the majority of them live in rural areas.⁷³ The population density among the Ndaus in Mozambique is 42 people per square kilometre⁷⁴ while, in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe, it is 24 people per square kilometre.⁷⁵ The reasons for population density variations range from physical, social to political factors. High population densities among the Mozambican Ndaus are noticeable in agricultural productive areas such as Gogoi, Mafusi, Susundenga, Makuyana, Nyakufera, and several other places in the Mossurize and Buzi regions.⁷⁶ However, the low population density among the Ndaus in Zimbabwe is partly attributed to the colonial land expropriation policies between 1930 and 1970, which forced many Ndaus to relocate to Mozambique, where there was plenty of land and also education on family planning.⁷⁷

The Ndaus borderland is considerably far away from industrial cities such as Beira and Maputo and Mutare and Harare in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, respectively. The nearest towns are Chimoio in Mozambique and Chipinge in Zimbabwe.⁷⁸ However, these are agricultural towns which provide limited employment to the local people. Consequently, most men have been seeking employment from South African mines since 1900,⁷⁹ and the benefits derived from migrant labour are noticeable in the Ndaus community through cars, grinding mills, cattle and solar-powered homesteads.⁸⁰

⁷² (PC-JH), L. Mapungwana (Chief), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 4 December 2015.

⁷³ T. Inge, Mozambique Country Case Study: Gender Equality and Development, World Development Report Gender Equality and Development, 2011, p.15.

⁷⁴ B. Ferraz & B. Munslow, *Sustainable Development in Mozambique*, (Asmara, Africa World Press, 2000), p.229.

⁷⁵ See: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency: Manicaland Province Population Census 2012.

⁷⁶ H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and politics in a Shona kingdom, The Manyika and their Portuguese and African neighbours...*, p.7.

⁷⁷ J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge...", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2007, p.42.

⁷⁸ (PC-JH), E. Zako, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 24 December 2018.

⁷⁹ S.F. Malan, E.J. Carruthers & M. Theron, *History of South Africa 1806-1902*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1997), p.13; P. Harries, "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnic

While migrant labour is a key element in the Ndau money economy, it has spawned social problems among the Ndau. A common problem resulting from migrant labour is that the majority of women are left in charge of families while men are away in South Africa.⁸¹ However, some of the men take long to return home,⁸² while others find alternative wives in South Africa, resulting in their failure to return home.⁸³ Hence, due to the fact that the majority of the able-bodied Ndau men spend their prime time working in South Africa or undertaking self employed jobs (as South African mines are currently facing viability challenges), homes and families suffer from inadequate attention from men.⁸⁴

A salient feature in the Ndau population is the traditional practice of polygamy which has contributed to high birth rates.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, in spite of a high birth rate, the Ndau population has not experienced significant exponential growth because of a high infant mortality rate since the 19th century.⁸⁶ High mortality, particularly among babies, is a result of the prevalence of diseases such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, pneumonia and water-borne diseases; namely, cholera, dysentery and typhoid.⁸⁷ Poor sanitary conditions have been cited as the cause of water borne diseases. Most households in the borderland, particularly in Mozambique, do not have toilets; hence, they obtain water for domestic use from streams and rivers. The situation is aggravated by an inadequate

Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa”, in L. Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (ed.), (London, James Currey, 1989), p. 102.

⁸⁰ J. Mungwiro, “The Ndau and Labour Migration”, BA Hons Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.31.

⁸¹ (PC-JH), E.Z.S. Chikaka, (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.;L. Hlongwana, “Fertility Trends Among the Ndau People: A Case of Gwenzi Area In Chipinge District, Zimbabwe...”, MsC Dissertation, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019,p.7.

⁸² NAZ, S 235/509, Annual Report, NC Mel setter,1931.

⁸³ L. Waller, “Irregular Migration to South Africa during the First Ten Years of Democracy”, *Southern African Migration Project, Migration Policy* No. 19, 2016, p. 12.

⁸⁴J. Hlongwana, T. Muguti &B. Tavuyanago, “Mothers and Fathers of the Dying: An Evaluation of the Role of Traditional leaders and Institutions in the Fight against HIV/AIDS...” Paper presented at Zimbabwe Historical Association of Historians Conference, Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe, and 3-4 August 2017.

⁸⁵ SeeL. Hlongwana, “Fertility Trends Among The Ndau People: A Case of Gwenzi Area In Chipinge District, Zimbabwe...”, MSc Dissertation, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019; T. R. Mapuranga, “A Phenomenological Investigation Into the Effects of Traditional Beliefs and Practices On Women and HIV and AIDS... ”, PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2010, p.51; A. H. Cossa, Mozambique, *Inquerio Demografico e de Saude*, 1997, Institute Nacional de Estatistica- Marc Internacional, 1998, p.1.

⁸⁶ World Bank Report,“Findings of the Mozambique, water supply, sanitation and hygiene poverty Diagnostic”, *International Bank for Reconstruction/World Bank*, Washington DC, 2018, p.8.

⁸⁷ Census Mortality Survey 2007-2008“, *Mortality in Mozambique, Results from 2007-2008 Post Census Mortality Survey*”, National Institute of Statistics, Maputo, 2012; M. Patricio, “Legal Pluralism in Mozambique, Authority Boundaries between the local state and traditional Authorities in Mossurize District”, *56 ASA Annual Meeting (African Association)*, 2013.

medical care system on the borderland.⁸⁸ Most of the Ndau people in the borderland seek treatment mainly from two hospitals that were established during the colonial era; namely, Espungabera (established in 1907) in Mozambique and Mount Selinda (established in 1893) in Zimbabwe.⁸⁹ However, most people prefer Mount Selinda Hospital to Espungabera Hospital due to congestion and inadequate facilities at the former.⁹⁰ Mount Selinda Hospital is a well-equipped mission hospital with a well-built waiting village for expecting mothers and those taking care of their relatives who are admitted.⁹¹ Since the majority of people on the borderland are far away from the two medical centres, they resort to seeking treatment from traditional healers.⁹² The discussion in the next section focuses on the migration patterns of the Ndau.

4.4 Migration patterns among the Ndau

Another important aspect on the demographics of the Ndau people worth mentioning is migration.⁹³ Ndau migration within and across the border has been largely a result of political, economic and environmental pressures.⁹⁴ Both the Nguni and the Portuguese colonial rule forced the Ndau to relocate to the Karanga region of Zimbabwe during the 18th century. As highlighted in Chapter One, and in earlier sections of this chapter, the Ndau were a migratory group from the Guruuswa region of Zimbabwe, before they had settled in their present location in the 17th century. Thereafter, political instability became the main cause of cross-boundary migration.⁹⁵ For example, following the invasion of the Ndau region by the Nguni, the Ndau speaking people, especially those living along Save River, migrated to the Karanga region which was safe from the Nguni invaders.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among the Ndau People:...", p.61.

⁸⁹ R. Matikiti, "Christian Theological Perspectives on Political Violence in Zimbabwe: The Case of the United Church Of Christ In Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe 2012, pp.106-110.

⁹⁰ (PC-JH), E.Z.S., Chikaka, (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015; L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among the Ndau People: A Case of Gwenzi Area In Chipinge District, Zimbabwe...", p.7.

⁹¹ (PC-JH), F.B. Kwanayi, (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique, 20, December 2016.

⁹² L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among the Ndau People...p.56; T. Ngariohums *et al*, "Medicinal Plants Used by Traditional Healers for the Treatment of Malaria in Chipinge district, Zimbabwe", *Journal of Ethno Pharmacology* 159, 2015, pp.224-237.

⁹³ Migration is the movement of people from one place to another usually in response to social, economic, political and environmental pressures. See examples: P. Kok, "The Definition of Migration and its Application: Making Sense of Recent African Census Survey Data", *SA Journal of Demography*, 7(1), 1999, pp.19-29; B.R.K., "Human Migration: Concepts and approaches", *Foldrajzi Ertesito* 2005 evf, 3-4 fuze, pp.403-414.

⁹⁴ (PC-JH), F.B. Kwanayi, F.B., (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique 20, December 2016.

⁹⁵ (PC-JH), F. Chigodho, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize District, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

⁹⁶ G.C. "Changing Landscape and Oral memory: Towards a Historical Geography of Chisanga, South-eastern Zimbabwe", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(3), 2003, pp.247-274.

Besides political push factors, the Ndaou migration across international borders has been caused by economic challenges.⁹⁷ As shown in Chapter One, the Ndaou borderland, especially in Mossurize District of Mozambique, is devoid of industry,⁹⁸ and; therefore, the locals look for employment elsewhere. In this respect, South Africa has been the main destination for Ndaou job seekers since 1900.⁹⁹ Likewise, unemployed youths in Mossurize District have been crossing the border into Zimbabwe since the demarcation of the border in 1891.¹⁰⁰ Cross-boundary migration, in search of jobs, prompted Portuguese authorities in Mozambique (in the 1940s) to institute laws that were designed to check the migration of Mozambicans (inclusive of the Ndaou) into neighbouring countries.¹⁰¹

In addition to economic pressures, the Ndaou people's migration across international boundaries has been explained in terms of political problems.¹⁰² The Portuguese government in Mozambique, in the 1970s, conscripted African men (inclusive of the Ndaou) to fight against guerrillas of FRELIMO who were seeking to liberate the country from colonial rule.¹⁰³ Young men, particularly those who qualified to join the army, migrated to Southern Rhodesia and stayed there until Mozambique became independent in 1975.¹⁰⁴ A comparable situation occurred in Southern Rhodesia in the late 1970s when a guerrilla war broke out that pitted Zimbabwe's Liberation War fighters and the Rhodesian forces. The fear to get conscripted into the Rhodesian army and the resentment to live in protected camps, which were established by the Rhodesian government as a counter-insurgency strategy, forced many Ndaou speaking people to

⁹⁷ C. Masunungure & S.E. Shackleton, "Exploring Long-Term Livelihoods and Landscape Change in Two Semi-Arid in Southern Africa: Drivers and Consequences for Social-Ecological Vulnerability", *Land*, (Basel, Licensee. MDPI, 2018), p.7.

⁹⁸ C.Tornimber, "The State, labour and the transnational discourse- a historical perspective from Mozambique", *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift fur kritische Afrikastudien* NR.8/2005, 5, p.315.

⁹⁹ AHM, FGDB, CX.692. Administração da circuncrição da circuncrição de Mossurize, Confidencial, No. 372/B/17/1, Espungabera, 16 de Abril 1949; AHM, SE, Jose Alberto Gomes de Melo Banguinho, "Prospecção das forças tradicionais; Manica e Sofala", Relatório Secreto para Serviços de centralização e coordenação de Informações, Província de Moçambique, Lourenço Marques, 1967.

¹⁰⁰ AHM, FISANI, CX.39, Joao Mesquita, Relatório das Inspeções ordinárias os circuncrições de Chemba, Sena, Marromeu, Gorongosa, Manica e Mossurize, do Distrito de Beira, 1946.

¹⁰¹ C.Tornimber, "The State, labour and the transnational discourse- a historical perspective ..." *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift fur kritische Afrikastudien* NR.8/2005, 5, p.316.

¹⁰² D.M. Hughes, "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and the Politics of Territory on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(4), 1999, pp.533-552.

¹⁰³ J.P.B. Coelho, "African Troops in the Portuguese Colonial Army 1961-1974: Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique", *Portuguese Studies Review*, 10(1), 2002, pp.129-50.

¹⁰⁴ (PC-JH), F. Chigodho, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize District, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

relocate to Mozambique.¹⁰⁵By the same token, Mozambique experienced a civil war (1976-1992),¹⁰⁶ which forced more than 200 000 Mozambicans (inclusive of the Ndaus) to migrate into Zimbabwe.¹⁰⁷

The preceding discussion on Ndaus migration borrows insights from Ravenstein's theoretical argument that migration is a consequence of spatial differences in economic opportunities.¹⁰⁸ This theoretical line of argument resonates with Mungwiro's research findings on the impact of migrant labour on the Ndaus society. The author argued that the Ndaus region is largely rural and, to support their families, the majority of the able-bodied Ndaus men work in South African mines and farms.¹⁰⁹In tandem with the broad aim of undertaking migrant labour (to ease existential challenges in the migrant sending region),¹¹⁰Mungwiro highlighted substantial benefits from migrant labour, such as cars, solar-powered homes and others. The discussion in the next segment of this chapter focuses on the Ndaus political system.

4.5 The Ndaus political system

The arrival of the Ndaus immigrants in their present location, resulted in the development of Ndaus states; namely, Teve, Danda and Sanga,¹¹¹(See Figure4.1). The states were not centralised, but were tributary polities which lived under the shadow of the parent Rozvi state in the central Shona highlands.¹¹² The Ndaus states observed their subordinate status with the Rozvi overlord, by maintaining cultural ties and regular payment of tributes. One practice that demonstrated the Ndaus's determination to maintain ties with the past was the erection of stone structures in places where Ndaus leaders lived; a common practice by the Mutapa/Rozvi people.¹¹³

¹⁰⁵ J.Hlongwana, "A people of Two Worlds? Reflections on the role of Cross-Border Ethnicity in Sustaining partitioned Ndaus Community in Mozambique and Zimbabwe..."in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean borderlands & beyond since the colonial period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018), p. 143.

¹⁰⁶J. Hlongwana, "Old habits die hard: Restensia Nacional Mozambicana (RENAMO) propensity for military confrontation against its professed embracement of peaceful conflict resolution, 1976-2017", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(5), 2018, pp.63-68.

¹⁰⁷ A. Alao, "The Metamorphosis of the Unorthodox: The Integration and Early Development of Zimbabwean National Army", in N. Bhebhe & T.O. Ranger, *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War, Volume One*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995), p.114; D.M. Hughes, "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and the Politics of Territory..." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(4), 1999, pp.533-552.

¹⁰⁸ M.J. Greenwood, "The migration legacy...", *MigrationStudies* 7(2), 2019, pp.269-278.

¹⁰⁹ J. Mungwiro, "The Ndaus and Labour Migration", BA Hons Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.31.

¹¹⁰ H. Haas, "Migration and Development:...", *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 2010, pp. 227-264.

¹¹¹ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity...*, p.5.

¹¹² AHM. S.E.A. III, p. 6.nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa.Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹¹³ M. Andrews, "The Webster [Chikwanda Ruins]", *The Rhodesian Scientific Association*, vii(i), 1902, p. 64.

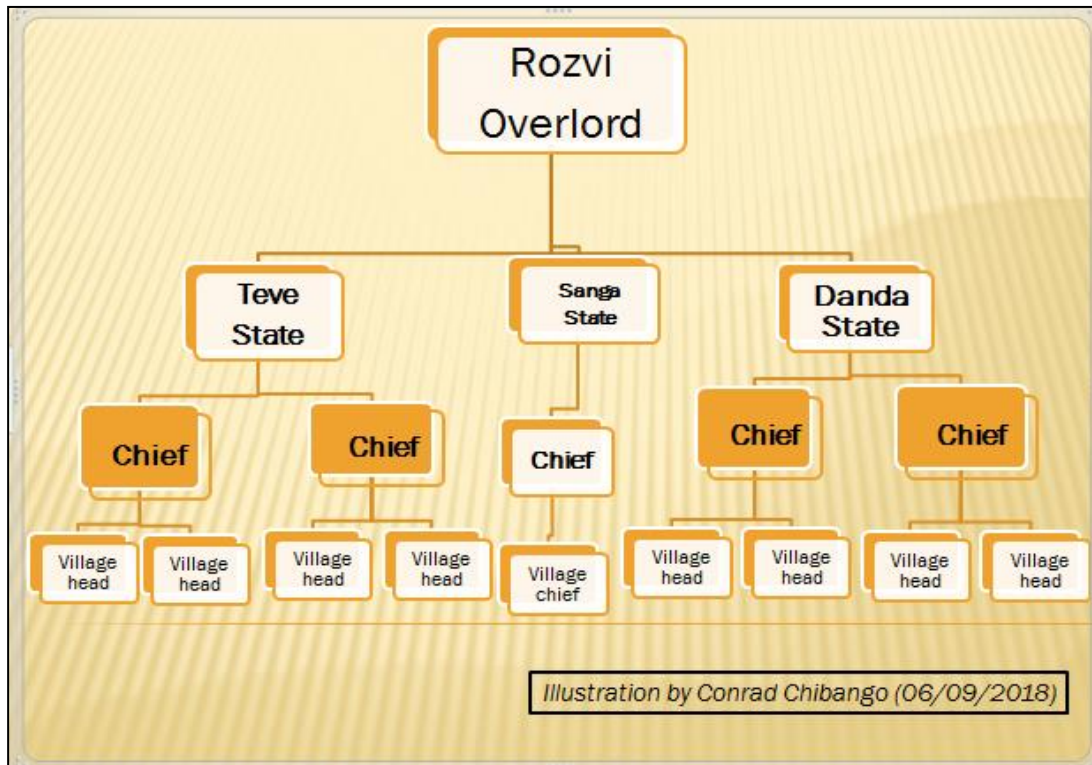


Figure 4.1: The Ndaou political hierarchy

Source: C. Chibango, Great Zimbabwe University.

Also, the Ndaou's apparent determination to remain in touch with the Rozvi state was vindicated by regular meetings which were convened to remind the Ndaou of the need to observe the Rozvi cultural values.¹¹⁴ In Chipinge area; for example, they met at Chihwiruswa and Chimbuwe, which are located in the Gwenzi chiefdom.¹¹⁵

Ndaou succession patterns were similar throughout the Chipinge/Mossurize region and this is an indication that the polities in the Ndaou region were mere satellite states of the Rozvi State.¹¹⁶ Connections with the past were further strengthened by a traditional claim that the Ndaou states of Teve, Danda and Sanga, were all founded by Mutapa's sons.¹¹⁷ In addition to the collection and payment of tribute, the Ndaou polities mediated between the Mutapa/Rozvi states and the Portuguese and Muslim communities located at the coast.¹¹⁸ However, as the Rozvi state became weak, the Ndaou states broke ranks with the Rozvi state and became autonomous states.

¹¹⁴ (PC-JH), L. Mapungwana (Chief), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 4 December 2015.

¹¹⁵ E. Gwenzi, "Cross Border Dynamics: The Zimbabwe Mozambique Border and the Gwenzi Chiefdom 1891-1974", BA Hons Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p. 21.

¹¹⁶ AHM, G. Liesgang, "Sofala, Beira e sua zona", 1989, p.31.

¹¹⁷ AHM. S.E.A. III, p.6, nr 37 Ladeira Fernando de Sousa-Mogrofia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹¹⁸ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity...*, p.48.

In spite of the fact that the Ndaou polities were satellite states of the Rozvi State, they had a coherent political system presided over by chiefs and sub-chiefs. Although most of the chiefs came from royal families, their ascendancy to the throne was sanctioned by the community.¹¹⁹ While the choice of a leader was generally a contested issue, the Ndaou had mechanisms in place that ensured the smooth ascendancy of a leader to the throne.¹²⁰ Unlike the Zezuru and Karanga, whose chieftainships rotated within households, the Ndaou chieftainship is linear in character: it passes from father to the oldest son.¹²¹ While, on paper, this method of selecting a leader was free of contestation, respondents claimed that individuals who were next in the line to replace the incumbent were sometimes eliminated by rival brothers and uncles.¹²² However, once elevated, the chief became the guardian of the fundamental values of the community. The territory of a chief was divided into a number of wards or *mitunhu* and each was under a hereditary ruler or chief. These were marked by visible boundaries such as rivers and alteration of *mitunhu* boundaries was not something which could be done arbitrarily.¹²³ The chief was assisted by a group of officials known as sub-chiefs or *indunas*. The day-to-day decisions were made by the chief with his council of advisors and when critical problems arose, the chief called a grand assembly of all the sub-chiefs. The chief made the ultimate decisions, but rarely was found going against the will of the majority of his sub-chiefs. Thus, while in theory the chief exercised absolute power, in practice, his authority was controlled by the sub-chiefs.¹²⁴ While, in general, the Ndaou court sought to promote reconciliation rather than imposition of a judgement, harsh punishment was meted out on serious wrong-doers. People who were found guilty of incest, for example, were ordered to bring a white coloured cow. Such severe judgements amounted to banishment as white cows were hard to come by.¹²⁵

It is imperative to note that all decisions regarding the ascendancy of an individual to the throne had to receive spiritual guidance and, accordingly, the administrative council was always assisted by a spirit medium or *svikiro* (singular) or *masvikiro* (plural).¹²⁶ There

¹¹⁹ AHM. S. E. A. III, p.6, nr 37 Ladeira Fernando de Sousa-Mografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹²⁰ J. Hlongwana, I. Makanyisa & T. Muguti, "Proverbs as Reflections of Democracy..." *Zimbabwe International Journal of Languages and Culture*, 2(1), 2011, p.60.

¹²¹ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa.Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹²² (PC-JH), D.Gwenzi, (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December, 2015.

¹²³ J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and Origins of Nationalism, p. 73.

¹²⁴ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa.Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹²⁵ J. Hlongwana, I. Makanyisa & T. Muguti, "Proverbs as Reflections of Democracy..." *Zimbabwe International Journal of Languages and Culture*, 2(1), 2011, pp. 52-67.

¹²⁶ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana..." *BA Hons, Mini Reserach Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.22.*

was nothing that tribesmen could do on their own without spiritual guidance. Thus, real leadership was vested in the supernatural beings, known as guiding spirits (*vadzimu*), whose earthly representative was the chief.¹²⁷The next section examines the Ndaus social gatherings and practices.

4.6 The Ndaus as a social and religious society

In this segment, measures were undertaken to discuss the Ndaus annual festivals, dances and practices which were duly observed to appease personal and territorial spirits. Also, foregrounded is the Ndaus people's indulgence in witchcraft and sorcery. The discussion also focuses on the impact of Christianity on the Ndaus. The significance of the discussion below is that it highlights the importance of social and religious practices in lending a unique identity mark needed to understand the Ndaus as a social and religious people.

4.6.1 The Ndaus in African traditional religion

The Ndaus subscribe to African traditional religion in which God, known as "*Mwari*", is the Supreme Being in their world.¹²⁸ Religion, in the context of the Ndaus society, refers to different ways of showing a special relationship with God through Ndaus ancestors. Accordingly, they conduct ceremonies to appease ancestral and territorial spirits.¹²⁹ The Ndaus, like the rest of indigenous Zimbabweans, practise ancestor veneration because they believe that the spirits influence the wellbeing of the community.¹³⁰ Some of the ancestral spirits that are revered by the Ndaus include *mudzimu* (ancestral spirits connected with a corporate descent group), *mhongo* (spirits which symbolised the social and historical experience of the community and sanctioned deviant behaviour) and *pfukwa* (avenging spirits associated with witchcraft and symbolised intercommunity hostility).¹³¹Duffy notes that the Ndaus, like other Shona people, regard the dead as

¹²⁷ E. Gwenzi, "Cross Border Dynamics: The Zimbabwe Mozambique Border", BA HONS, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013 p.41.

¹²⁸ T.R. Mapuranga, "A Phenomenological Investigation into the Effects of Traditional Beliefs and Practices on Women and HIV and AIDS", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2010, p.34.

¹²⁹ L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among the Ndaus People: ...", p.16; M.F.C. Bourdillon, "Religious Symbols and Political Change", *Zambezia*, XII, 1984/5, pp.39-54; O. Mtapuri & P.J. Mazengwa, "Phenomenology of Spirituality and Poverty: A Zimbabwean Cultural Perspective", *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology* 13(1) 2013, pp. 1-10; AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹³⁰ D. Lan, *Guns and Rain and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985), p.31.

¹³¹J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...", p. 99.

being in a state of consciousness, such that they can intervene in human affairs.¹³² Blessings from the ancestors range from fertility, rain, good health, protection from physical and mystical danger to curing illness. Accordingly, ritual ceremonies are performed to appease these spirits.¹³³

Apart from paying homage to ancestral spirits, the Ndaus also celebrate the existence of territorial spirits: for example, rainmaking spirits. In this regard, Mangenje postulated that villages and kingdoms have shrines where thanksgiving rituals are conducted to appease the territorial spirits.¹³⁴ Subscription to common cultural values means that they have common spiritual leaders, such as the Musikavanhu spirits which are highly esteemed due to their rainmaking abilities.¹³⁵ At the commencement of every rain season, a deputation of past-child bearing age women and elderly men is sent to Musikavanhu's shrine to offer gifts.¹³⁶

Related to the Ndaus' belief system is their conviction that extraordinary happenings, such as misfortunes, require extraordinary remedies.¹³⁷ Accordingly, serious misfortunes, such as prolonged sickness, death, lack of rain or persistent ravaging of fields by wild animals demand extraordinary solutions, even when the cause of death or sickness appears to be quite obvious.¹³⁸ In the investigation to unravel the cause of the mishap, the Ndaus consult ritual specialists who possess esoteric knowledge to deal with such matters. The esoteric knowledge possessed by the diviners is revealed to them through dreams, initiation or by spirit possession.¹³⁹ Commenting on the Ndaus' propensity to seek help from traditional healers, Rennie remarks that the Ndaus consult witchdoctors because of the pervasive fear in the community of witches and wizards who are believed to exist in their midst.¹⁴⁰

¹³² L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among the Ndaus People: A Case of Gwenzi Area in Chipinge District, Zimbabwe...", MSC Dissertation, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019, p.16.

¹³³ L. Duffy, Culture and Context of HIV Prevention in Rural Zimbabwe: The Influence of Gender Inequality", *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 16(23), 2005, p.26.

¹³⁴ (PC-JH), S.K. Mangenje, (Chief), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

¹³⁵ C. Vijfhuizen, "Rainmaking, Political Conflicts and Gender Image...", *Zambesia*, 24(1), 1997, p.44.

¹³⁶ J. K. Rennie, "Four transformations of the Musikavanhu territorial Cult in Rhodesia", in J.M. Schoffeleers (ed.), *Guardian* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1990), p.275.

¹³⁷ J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...", p.94.

¹³⁸ M. Mawere, "Peeping into the World Beyond: Metaphysical Speculations on the Nature of life in Disembodied Bodies", *Educational Research* 1(11), 2010, p.574.

¹³⁹ J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and Origins of Nationalism...", p.94.

¹⁴⁰ J. K., Rennie, *Ideology and State formation...* p.178.

While witchcraft has been described as a primordial practice by the Ndaus, some respondents argued that witchcraft and sorcery were imported from South Africa by Ndaus men working in South African firms and mines.¹⁴¹ In past studies, it was reported that Ndaus men acquired nefarious practices from South Africa at a place known as Maimai in Durban, Kwazulu-Natal, where witchcraft and sorcery are sold.¹⁴² Consequently, Mutape remarked that the Ndaus are widely feared because they can trade lethal spiritual powers, earning them a reputation for being the most dangerous magicians in Zimbabwe and Mozambique.¹⁴³ A Ndaus elder who was quoted by Mapuranga boasting of the Ndaus' ability to possess extraordinary powers to perform ritual practices and to cause harm, commented thus, "...Even in social areas such as healing, everywhere you go, be it in Harare-the capital city, or even in South Africa, people still ask for traditional healers from Chipinge [Ndaus region]. It runs in our blood (veins)".¹⁴⁴ On the whole, the Ndaus people's cultural practices, not only illuminated identity but, also, strengthened their ethnic unity.¹⁴⁵ The next section discusses the Ndaus cultural dances.

4.6.2 Ndaus strength of tradition: Ndaus cultural dances

From time immemorial, the Ndaus have been conducting festivals that draw participants from across the border.¹⁴⁶ As elaborated earlier, the movement of people from one side of the border to another is made possible by the fact that the border is porous.¹⁴⁷ During the dry season, when people are not busy working in the fields, ceremonies and parties are conducted for entertainment purposes. These are dances to celebrate victory at war, known as *muchongoyo*; dances to celebrate bumper harvests, known as *chokoto* and dances to celebrate peace and harmony; known as *chinyambera*, among others. The war dance, *muchongoyo*; for example, is so popular that it draws dancing groups from within and distant locations,¹⁴⁸ as captured in the photographic scene in Fig. 4.2.

¹⁴¹ (PC-JH), E.Z.S., Chikaka, (Councilor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

¹⁴²J. Hlongwana, I. Makanyisa & T. Muguti, "Proverbs as Reflections of Democracy..." *Zimbabwe International Journal of Languages and Culture*, 2(1), 2011, p.60.

¹⁴³ (PC-JH),J.M, Mutape, (Headman), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

¹⁴⁴ T. R. Mapuranga, "A Phenomenological Investigation into the Effects of Traditional Beliefs and Practices on Women and HIV and AIDS..." , p.46.

¹⁴⁵ S. Mutsagodo, E. Karimanzira & J. Makanga, "Ndaus Women Informal Cross-border Trade and the Changing Socio-Economic Dispensation in Zimbabwe", *ResearchJournal of Commerce, Economics and Social Sciences*, 10(2), 2016, pp.1-17.

¹⁴⁶ (PC-JH), T. Dingane (Headman), Garahwa, Mossurize, Mozambique, 10 December 2016.

¹⁴⁷ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe...* pp.1-13.

¹⁴⁸ F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History..." , *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

Ndau places which are known for producing strong *muchongoyo* teams included Nhungutungu, Nyabanga, Nyakufera, Mutumba and Muzite. Sita averred that competition was so fierce that some teams used witchcraft to outclass other contestants.¹⁴⁹ Echoing the above opinions, Gwenzi proffered that the winning team is presented with a trophy in the form of a flag (*mujeke*), while the second best team is given a less esteemed present in the form of a beast's hind leg (*bandauko*).¹⁵⁰ Individuals who became famous for captaining successful *muchongoyo* teams, such as Magigwana from Nyabanga, and Zowe, from Nhungutungu, have remained household names within Ndau tradition. Dancing teams from Mozambique tend to out-compete their Zimbabwean counterparts and the reasons for the exciting performance range from superstition to thorough preparation. Muchongoyo dance; for example, is regularly practised by Ndau sojourners in South Africa¹⁵¹ and, consequently, they display better stage performance than Zimbabwean Ndau who have a smaller number of their population working in South African mines. Figure 4.2 illustrates the Ndau Muchongoyo dance.



Figure 4.2: Muchongoyo dance by the Ndau

Source: Ndau Festival of the Arts (NDAFA) Trust, Chipinge, 2019.

¹⁴⁹ (PC-JH), D. Sita, (Headman), Sita, Chipinge 12 December 2015.

¹⁵⁰ E. Gwenzi, "Cross Border Dynamics: The Zimbabwe Mozambique Border.", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.23.

¹⁵¹ F. Duri & G. Gwekwerere, "Linking African Traditional Dance and History...", *The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS)*, Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007, p.1.

4.6.3 The influence of Christianity as belief on the Ndau

The Ndau came into contact with missionaries in 1893 when the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) founded stations at Mount Selinda (1893) and Chikore (1895).¹⁵² The ABCFM missionaries were given land among the Ndau by Cecil John Rhodes, in order to create pro-British white presence in the borderland to scare away the Portuguese who were contesting the legitimacy of the current border with Zimbabwe.¹⁵³ Among the leading pastors who introduced Christianity among the Ndau were Reverends Wilder (1893), Bates (1893), Bunker (1893), Marxell (1896) and others who followed later.¹⁵⁴

Commenting on the aim of the missionaries, Matikiti argued they were motivated by desire to convert the Ndau into Christianity, but without destroying their traditional customs.¹⁵⁵ Yet, this perception was not entertained by all the missionaries. The greater part of them was opposed to the Ndau traditional practices. The resolve by missionaries to undermine African traditional religion reflected the prevailing political context then in Southern Rhodesia, in which Christianity was regarded as the only authentic religion.¹⁵⁶ As far as the missionaries were concerned, everything about the Ndau was viewed as primitive and; hence, their condemnation of the African traditional life. The missionaries managed to convert some Ndau-speaking people into Christianity. By 1923, they had succeeded in ordaining Reverends Dhlakama, Dzukuso and Dube from the local population and also realised significant church membership from the Ndau people.¹⁵⁷ However, the majority of the Ndau were reluctant to accept Christianity.¹⁵⁸ Commenting on the Ndau's resistance to accept Christian values, Thompson said:

These people of Gazaland are densely ignorant and are all African pagans. They held on to the traditions and superstition handed down to them by their ancestors with that tenacity which is born of religious fervour for the worship of their own ancestors in their religion.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² C.J. Zvogbo, "An overview of the Methodist Church", in C.S. Banana (ed.) *A century of Methodist Church in Zimbabwe 1891-1991*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1991), p.7.

¹⁵³ H. V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in...*, p.136.

¹⁵⁴ J. Abbott, *God at Work in Gazaland*, (Salisbury, Graham Publishing Company, 1981), p.113.

¹⁵⁵ R. Matikiti, "Christian Theological Perspectives on Political Violence in Zimbabwe...", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2012, pp. 106-110.

¹⁵⁶ J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...", p.65.

¹⁵⁷ (PC-JH), T.F., Dlakama, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, 19 December 2015.

¹⁵⁸ R. Matikiti, "Christian Theological Perspectives on Political Violence in Zimbabwe...", pp. 106-110.

¹⁵⁹ J. Abbott, *God at Work...* (Salisbury, Graham Publishing Company, 1981), p. 113.

In current times, the argument that missionaries were mistaken to expect the Ndaу people to welcome foreign religion which promised values that contradicted with theirs, are verbalised. However, in spite of different values being espoused by the two religions, within the Ndaу community, converts and non-converts co-exist in the Ndaу community and, of late, the younger generations are warming towards the church.¹⁶⁰The discussion in the next section examines the branches of the Ndaу economy.

4.7 Features of the Ndaу economy since the 17th century

Like any society, economic activities have been central to the survival of the Ndaу community. The activities under review range from farming, mining, manufacturing, trading, hunting, gathering to fishing.

4.7.1 Farming

From time immemorial, crop farming has been the mainstay of the Ndaу society.¹⁶¹ In most agricultural productive places like Chipinge highlands, Gogoi, Mafussi,¹⁶² Sita and several others, the Ndaу grow crops such as cow-peas, maize, beans, pumpkins, sugarcane and cucumbers. Other crops which have been grown over time include tomatoes, small red pepper and cassava and fruits such as pineapples and lemons.¹⁶³ Regional climatic and soil variations determine the crops that are grown in the highlands and Lowveld of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, respectively. In the eastern uplands, maize is popularly grown, because the area is blessed with high rainfall and fertile soils.¹⁶⁴

In the Lowveld, however, harsh climatic conditions restrict farmers to the growing of drought tolerant crops; for example, sorghum and bulrush millet, while rice has been grown and cultivated at the edges of pans in slightly saline soil on the alluvial flat south of the Tanganda River.¹⁶⁵ The growing of cereals on a large scale since the 17th century seems to have been a measure to promote food security as these constitute the Ndaу's staple crops. In addition to crop growing, the Ndaу people domesticate animals such as

¹⁶⁰ (PC-JH), R. Chimbuti, (Border region settler), Mapungwana, Chipinge 2 December 2016.

¹⁶¹ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹⁶² H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom...* p.2.

¹⁶³ NAZ, MO 11/2/4 Diary of G. B. Moodie, 13 January 1893; E. H. Burrows, *The Moodie of Melsetter*, (Cape Town, Balkema, 1954), p.145.

¹⁶⁴ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹⁶⁵ J.K. Rennie, *Ideology and State formation...*, p.41.

cattle, goats and sheep.¹⁶⁶ Among these animals, cattle have been playing a significant role in the Ndau economy since early times. Besides their role as security against hunger and starvation, cattle are used in the payment of bride-price, and also as part of ritual ceremonies. Cattle possession increase men's prestige in the community since such men tend to marry many wives and, in the end, have large families which assist in the production of surplus food for the family and community.¹⁶⁷

Mining was another activity which supported the Ndau economy before the colonial era. The availability of minerals such as coal, iron and copper made mining activities possible in the region.¹⁶⁸ In the west and north of the Ndau region, gold was found in significant proportions before colonisation.¹⁶⁹ While most copper was mined from Chipinge area, MacGonagle notes that additional supplies came from neighbouring places such as Duma.¹⁷⁰ Copper was mined and fashioned into wire, trade bars, axes, spears and ornamental rings.¹⁷¹

The Ndau economy was also complimented by salt processing.¹⁷² Salt was a widely sought after commodity in the Chipinge area since, prior to its discovery, the Ndau and their neighbours used the ash of a *Ndedza* tree as a source of salt.¹⁷³ However, the processing of salt brought economic value to the valley which had been ignored for centuries due to the prevalence of arid conditions.¹⁷⁴ The salt-rich earth was washed until all the salt dissolved, then water filtered off through an air-tight meshed basket and put into shallow vessels. After evaporation over fire, the salt could be scraped off and traded in bark containers.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁶ W. Roder, *the Sabi Valley Irrigation...* p.61.

¹⁶⁷ (PC-JH) F.B. Kwanayi, F.B., (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique 20, December 2016.

¹⁶⁸ B. Fagan, *Southern Africa during the Iron Age*, (London, Thames & Hudson, 1964), p.67.

¹⁶⁹ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹⁷⁰ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...*, p 74; D. N. Beach, *The Shona...*, p. 171.

¹⁷¹ R. Summers, *Ancient Mining in Rhodesia, Museum Memoir no.3* (Salisbury: National Museum of Rhodesia, 1969), pp.28-33.

¹⁷² J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge...", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2007, p. 32; Southern Rhodesia, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Community Delineation Reports, Salisbury, 1965, p. 22; V. Erskine, "Journey to Umzila's, south East Africa, in 1870-1872", *Journal of Royal Geographic Society*, XLV (1875), p.106.

¹⁷³ H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom...* p.40.

¹⁷⁴ R. M. G. Mtetwa, "The Political and Economic History of the Duma People of South –Eastern Rhodesia from the Early Eighteenth Century to 1945", PhD Thesis, University of Rhodesia, 1976, p. 244.

¹⁷⁵ Southern Rhodesia, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Community Delineation Reports, Salisbury, 1965, p. 22; V. Erskine "Journey to Umzila's, south East Africa, in 1870-1872", *Journal of Royal Geographic Society*, XLV (1875), p.106.

Also, the Ndaus were involved in cotton production and processing before formal colonisation of the region by the Portuguese and British.¹⁷⁶ Vincent claims that the major cotton manufacturing regions among the Ndaus were Teve and Danda.¹⁷⁷ Cotton had a ready market among the Portuguese traders who bought it to support the Portuguese textile industry in Portugal.¹⁷⁸ The section which follows focuses on hunting, gathering and fishing.

4.7.2 Hunting, gathering and fishing

Another economic occupation of the Ndaus was hunting.¹⁷⁹ It was particularly practised during the dry season. Not only was it a source of meat but, in times of drought, people resorted to it for survival.¹⁸⁰ It was commonly practised in the lowlands, in places such as Chaibva, Garahwa, Gaha, Mapembani and Machaze.¹⁸¹ The places received less rainfall and, resultantly, hunting was carried out to obtain meat with which to exchange grain from the highlands.¹⁸² Although hunting could be done individually, generally organised expeditions were undertaken by men to distant places commonly referred to as *kwanyamaza* (place abundant with animals).¹⁸³

Before hunting could be done in an area, permission was sought from the local traditional leader who, in turn, blessed the hunting activities.¹⁸⁴ According to Ndaus tradition, the failure to consult the local leader was a serious transgression which attracted misfortunes to the hunting teams.¹⁸⁵ Hunting provided a wide range of meat, from the killing of elephants down to the trapping of small rodents and other animals.¹⁸⁶ Expressing similar sentiments, Roder claims that the Ndaus were hunters of no mean stature and the list of their means of obtaining game meat was long.¹⁸⁷ Weapons which included guns, assegais, bows and arrows, battle axes, clubs and heavy knives were used to kill the animals. Elephants were taken by sneaking up to a sleeping animal and

¹⁷⁶ S.I.G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa...* p.37; E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity...*p.71.

¹⁷⁷ E. Vincent, "Journey to Umzila's South East Africa..." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 1875, p.95.

¹⁷⁸ W. Roder, *The Sabi Valley Irrigation...*p.66.

¹⁷⁹J.H. Bannerman, "A short political and economic history of the Tsovani, Chisa and Mahenyu dynasties of Ndanga Chiredzi and Chipinge districts to ca.1950", *Zimbabwe History*, 12, 1981, pp.12-14.

¹⁸⁰ W. Roder, *The Sabi Valley Irrigation...* p.63.

¹⁸¹ (PC-JH) D. Gwenzi, (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December, 2015.

¹⁸² R. M. G. Mtetwa, "The Political and Economic History of the Duma People..."p.244.

¹⁸³ (PC-JH), W. Mututu, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

¹⁸⁴ NAZ: N1/1/11, Annual Report, 7 March 1896.

¹⁸⁵ (PC-JH), T. Mazayamba, (Cross-border farmer), Makuu, Mossurize Mozambique, 15 December 2016.

¹⁸⁶ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, no 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹⁸⁷ H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom...*p.63.

they would have hamstrung one of the hind legs with a single blow from a special broad-blade axe. The animal was then only able to move with difficulty and could be killed at leisure by a group of hunters.¹⁸⁸ Other large game was taken into pit traps which were located on game paths. The pit narrowed toward the bottom and pointed sticks were driven into it to pierce the falling animals.¹⁸⁹ The pit, itself, was covered with branches to camouflage its presence to unsuspecting animals.¹⁹⁰ In some cases, hunting involved burning grass to drive animals to places where they could be easily killed.¹⁹¹ Additionally, game could also be driven to muddy areas where they could get stuck in mud and hunters would finish them off. On the whole, communal hunting was advantageous as no one would return home empty-handed; team members shared meat such that everybody benefitted from the excursion.¹⁹²

In addition to hunting, the Ndaou took part in collection of fruits such as *tsubvu*, *mayembe*, *matamba* and collection of insects; namely, locusts (*tsotwa*), caterpillars (*zvidongoti/nhowa*), beetles (*njekewe*), crickets (*makurwe*) and ants (*ishwa*).¹⁹³ These did not serve as the staple diet, but served to provide a variety of food available to the Ndaou people. However, MacGonagle notes that such collection of fruits and insects was undertaken, sometimes, to sustain the community after crops had been destroyed by drought.¹⁹⁴

Fishing was also undertaken during the dry season when water levels were low. Both men and women were involved in fishing.¹⁹⁵ Fish were trapped in baskets, speared or caught with bare hands. Sometimes, poison was used to kill the fish. Poison was used in places which were considered to harbour crocodiles or places that were so deep that it was difficult to get into the water without risking drowning. The dead fish would float, making it easy to collect.¹⁹⁶ However, it should be noted that this activity was restricted to small rivers which were less infested with crocodiles. The next section discusses internal and external trade.

¹⁸⁸ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

¹⁸⁹ H. Franklin, "Traps in Common Use among the Vakaranga", *NADA*, ix, 1931, p.80.

¹⁹⁰ W. Roder, *The Sabi Valley Irrigation...* p.63.

¹⁹¹ Great Britain: Naval Intelligence...pp.78-83.

¹⁹² (PC-JH), W. Mututu, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

¹⁹³ Great Britain: *Naval Intelligence Division, a Manual of Portuguese...* (London, HMSO, 1920), pp. 252-253.

¹⁹⁴ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...* p.71.

¹⁹⁵ (PC-JH), T. Mubhohera, (Headman), Nyabanga, Mossurize, Mozambique, 8 January 2017.

¹⁹⁶ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

4.7.3 Internal and external trade

The different environment of the plateau and lowland, especially during the pre-colonial rule, gave rise to different economies thereby setting the stage for exchange.¹⁹⁷ Frequent crop failure in the valley and high yields of grain in the highlands produced ideal conditions for barter trade to take place. The lowlands people, for example, exchanged fish, game meat (*chifota*), home made palm beer (*uchema/ mutsaratsara*) and others with the highlands people for grain.¹⁹⁸

The Ndaus also participated in long distance trade. The production of commodities such as hoes, pots, cattle, gold, ivory, copper and salt promoted not only internal, but long distance trade.¹⁹⁹ The Ndaus traded these for calico, beads, muskets, cloth, iron implements and porcelain.²⁰⁰ Foreign traders were able to dominate the ivory trade in the region because the Ndaus area was not only accessible by rivers, but was also near the coast.²⁰¹ Despite the fact that the Ndaus region had good communication with the Indian coast, because of the presence of navigable rivers such as the Buzi and Save, the Portuguese avoided the Ndaus region because it was not endowed with gold.²⁰² Consequently, the Portuguese by-passed the Ndaus region and engaged the gold rich areas of Manyika and Mutapa in the central Shona region.²⁰³ The decline of the Great Zimbabwe State in the 15th century led to depressed activity in long distance trade between the Ndaus and the Portuguese traders before the colonial period. As the Mutapa State established its headquarters in the upper Zambezi region, the Portuguese shifted attention from the central Shona plateau to the upper Zambezi area.²⁰⁴ Rivers, which were arteries of transportation prior to the decline of the Great Zimbabwe State between the coast and the Zimbabwean plateau, were used less frequently for long distance exchange.²⁰⁵ Commenting on the declining economic value of the Ndaus region, Pikirayi argues that as the Sofala turned into a backwater under Portuguese control in

¹⁹⁷ D.N. Beach, *Zimbabwe before...*, p.39; R.G. Mtetwa, "The Political and economic history of the Duma people..." pp.222,263; J.H. Bannerman, "A short political and economic history of the Tsovani, Chisa and Mahenyu dynasties of Ndanga Chiredzi and Chipinge districts to...", *Zimbabwe History*, 12, 1981, pp.12-14

¹⁹⁸ W. Roder, *The Sabi Valley Irrigation...* p.70.

¹⁹⁹ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...* p.42.

²⁰⁰ AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

²⁰¹ K.D. Dhliwayo, "External Traders in the Hinterland of Sofala, 1810-1889", M.Phil. Thesis, University of London, 1977, p.56.

²⁰² G. Liesegang, "Archaeological Sites on the Bay of Sofala", *Azania*, 7, 1972, p. 14; E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity...* p.42.

²⁰³ E. Macgonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...* p.7.

²⁰⁴ D. Birmingham, "Society and economy before A.D 1400", in D. Birmingham & P. M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa, volume One*, (London, Longman, 1998), p.27.

²⁰⁵ J. K., Rennie, *Ideology and State formation...*, p.52.

the 1530s, the bulk of long distance trading activities shifted from the Ndau region to the flourishing economic activities taking place along the Zambezi River and into the northern reaches of the Sofala hinterland.²⁰⁶ The next section looks at cross-border trade within the Ndau borderland.

4.7.4 Cross-border trade on the Ndau borderland

The Ndau borderland is a region of contrasts as regards land availability. Unlike the Ndau in Zimbabwe, who lost most of their land to the white settlers, their counterparts in Mozambique still have land where they grow a variety of crops for both home consumption and surplus for sale.²⁰⁷ The Ndau communities across the border into Zimbabwe, who lack sufficient land, constitute a thriving market for agricultural produce coming from Mozambique.²⁰⁸ A complementary survival relationship has developed over time, especially after the attainment of independence by Zimbabwe in 1980, in which the Ndau in Mozambique need money to acquire basic commodities such as soap, salt and sugar while their compatriots in Zimbabwe are generally in need of grain.²⁰⁹ Some enterprising Ndau from Zimbabwe cross the border into Mozambique to buy grain and fruits for selling to other parts of Zimbabwe where they realise higher profit.²¹⁰

Generally speaking, the border region on the Mozambican side is in a state of neglect in terms of infrastructural development. Basic social services are not available and meaningful employment opportunities are non-existent.²¹¹ Some Ndau people in the Mozambican borderlands devised a surfeit of strategies to alleviate their plight. Some women brew potent alcoholic beverages such as *chikeke*, *sope/nips*, *mutsaratsara* and *chipedzaviki*.²¹² The brews are often smuggled into Zimbabwe and are popular with the locals though the state and chiefs criminalise the selling and consumption of such beers.²¹³ In addition to beer, Mozambicans also smuggle marijuana into Zimbabwe for

²⁰⁶ I. Pikirayi, *Archaeological Identity of Mutapa State: Towards an Historical Archaeology of Northern Zimbabwe*, (UPPSALA, UPPSALA University, 1993), p.109.

²⁰⁷ (PC-JH), Z. Chitumba, (Councillor), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

²⁰⁸ (PC-JH), B. Xavier, (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

²⁰⁹ (PC-JH), Z. Chitumba, (Councillor), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

²¹⁰ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana...", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.22.

²¹¹ (PC-JH), B. Jara, (Immigration officer), Zona Immigration Border Post, Mossurize, 5 December 2016.

²¹² (PC-JH), R. Jambaya, (Cross-border farmer), Zamchiya, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 13 December 2015.

²¹³ (PC-JH), F.B. Kwanayi, F.B., (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique 20, December 2016.

sale to the locals.²¹⁴ Marijuana plantations are common in the unpoliced borderlands of Mozambique such as Muzite, Nyakufera, Nyabanga, Cita and Chikwekwete.²¹⁵ Amali, noted that Mozambican cross-border drug traders are not easy to apprehend because they network with relatives and acquaintances in Zimbabwe.²¹⁶ Accordingly, Duri argues that international borders become very porous and irrelevant during times of debilitating socio-economic hardships, when marginalised people devise a plethora of mechanisms to survive.²¹⁷ The next section evaluates the contribution of education to the development of the Ndaou people.

4.7.5 Educational consciousness

While the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments have made significant strides in promoting education since 1975 and 1980, respectively, the Ndaou in both countries still lag behind in educational advancement.²¹⁸ During the early colonial period in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, missionaries set up schools along the border. The earliest mission-run schools in Zimbabwe's Chipinge District were established at Mt. Selinda and Chikore.²¹⁹ Equally, in Mozambique, missionaries established few schools near the border; for example, the Roman Catholic Mission School in Chiurairwe area.²²⁰ In Mossurize District of Mozambique, the government complimented missionaries' endeavours by building schools in the 1950's at Chaibva, Chinguno, Mude, Cita and Inhacufera.²²¹ However, most of those mission and government schools did not attract meaningful attendance and consequently many of them either closed down or operated at below capacity.²²² Many early schools in Mozambique were unpopular with both parents and children for a number of reasons. Most school authorities and teachers in

²¹⁴ (PC-JH), R. Jambaya, (Cross-border farmer), Zamchiya, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 13 December 2015.

²¹⁵J. Hlongwana, "A people of Two Worlds? Reflections on the Role of Cross-Border Ethnicity in Sustaining Partitioned Ndaou Community in Mozambique and Zimbabwe in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands & Beyond...*, p.142.

²¹⁶ I. Amali, "Informal Survival Strategies Across National Borders: A History of Mozambican Nationals in Umtali, Rhodesia, 1897-1975", BA Hons, Mini Reserach Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2014, p.27.

²¹⁷ F.P.T. Duri, "Negotiating the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border by Mutare's Poor...", in S. Chiumbu & M.

Musemwa (eds.), *Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2012), p.123.

²¹⁸ D. Walane & C. Valente, "Preventing Excess Female School Dropout in Mozambique", (Oxford, *International Growth Centre*, 2016), pp.1-24; Zimbabwe Population Census Report, 2012, p.55; P.E. Hansine, Alfo, Manica Project, Annual Activity Project Report, Rome, 2013, p.4.

²¹⁹ W. Roder, *The Sabi Valley Irrigation Projects* (Chicago: Illinois, 1965), p. 48.

²²⁰ L. Hlongwana, "Fertility Trends Among the Ndaou People:...", p.43; (PC-JH), L. Dekeya, (Border region settler), Jersey, Chipinge, 5January 2016;

²²¹ (PC-JH), D. Mashaishakuvata, (Councillor), Espungabera, Mossurize Mozambique, 6 December 2016.

²²²J. Hlongwana, "A People of Two Worlds?...", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands & Beyond...*, p.147.

Mozambique lacked adequate educational and professional training and were notorious, among other things, for meting out brutal corporal punishment on pupils.²²³ In addition, most parents were not motivated to send their children to Mozambican schools, given that the Portuguese hardly initiated developmental projects in Mossurize District which could offer Africans employment opportunities in the future.²²⁴

To make matters worse, employment opportunities were very limited for students graduating from Mozambican schools where Portuguese was the official language, yet English was dominant in the Southern African region. James Duffy summed up the pitfalls of the Portuguese education system in Mozambique by saying that elementary schools existed only, and inadequately, in the vicinity of the missions and larger towns, most teachers being missionaries; education was non-existent. Agricultural and trade schools were deemed desirable, although only several were established in each province. Again, in the cities and larger mission stations, Portuguese was to be the language of instruction.²²⁵

The inherent deficiencies in the Portuguese education system, since the establishment of the colonial state in Mozambique, made some Ndaus parents to send their children to schools across the border in Zimbabwe.²²⁶ Most children who attended Rhodesian borderline schools such as the schools at Tamandai, Mapungwana, Beacon Hill, Jersey, Gwenzi, Muzite and Zamchiya, came from Mozambique.²²⁷ The post-independence government in Mozambique, guided by universal free primary education policy, built several schools in the district and many young people enrolled for primary education.²²⁸

A civil war which broke out in 1978, following attacks on government forces and installations by rebels, code-named Resistancia Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), reversed the apparent gains which the Samora Machel led government had made in education.²²⁹ To make matters worse, in 2010, Mozambique experienced a resurgence of the Civil war resulting in the Ndaus people seeking refuge in Zimbabwe or relocating to

²²³(PC-JH), M.Z., Domingo, (Headman), Chiurarwe, Mossurize, 8 December 2016.

²²⁴ (PC-JH), L. Dekeya, (Border region settler), Jersey, Chipinge, 5 January 2016.

²²⁵ J. Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1961), p.259.

²²⁶ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity...* p.10.

²²⁷ (PC-JH), M.Z., Domingo, (Headman), Chiurarwe, Mossurize, 8 December 2016.

²²⁸ UNESCO, Mozambique Annual Report, 2016, p.16.

²²⁹P.O. Dava, P. Chigora, T. W. Chibanda, & R. Sillah, "An analysis of the effects of Civil War and Prospects for Development in Mozambique: The Case of Frelimo-Renamo in Chokwe District", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 21(6), 2013, pp.66-75.

remote places where there were no educational facilities.²³⁰ While the Zimbabwean government has been hailed for educating its citizens, the success has not been registered everywhere in Zimbabwe. In Chipinge District, particularly in the border area, there is poor school attendance.²³¹ Explanations given for the poor attendance range from poverty to lack of interest in schooling as youngsters easily find employment in South African mines. According to Thomas, an African Commissioner for Melsetter in 1946, the Ndaus valued migrant labour more than professions such as teaching, nursing and others.²³² Consequently, most parents did not invest in the education of their children. Overall, 60 percent of the Ndaus in the Mossurize District of Mozambique are illiterate,²³³ while, according to a 2012 population census in Zimbabwe, Chipinge had the highest number of people who had never gone to school.²³⁴

The argument under analysis, in sections of this chapter which deal with the traditional Ndaus society, is founded on the Political culture and socialisation theory's aspect of parochial culture. Almond and Verba argue that parochial culture is prevalent in traditional communities (for example African and Asian societies) where people possess low cognitive attitude and evaluative orientations towards the four types of political objects. It is asserted that the traditional societies lack specialised political roles and have little expectation for political changes.²³⁵ It is also postulated that the individual in the traditional societies is preoccupied with family advantages as the only goal to pursue; or conceives of his roles in the political system in familistic terms. On this subject, there exists a large corpus of works on traditional communities. Rostow describes the communities as unscientific and backward looking, as they place much premium on the past, rather than the future.²³⁶

²³⁰J. Hlongwana, "Old habits die hard...", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(5), 2018, pp.63-68.

²³¹ (PC-JH), B. Matete, (Border region settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, 5 December 2018.

²³² NAZ, S 1562 Annual Report, NC Melsetter 1946.

²³³ P.E. Hansine, Alfo, Manica Project, Annual Activity Project Report, Rome, 2013, p.4.

²³⁴Zimbabwe Population Census Report, 2012, p.55.

²³⁵ G. Almond & S. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, (Princeton, NJ; Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 20.

²³⁶ W.W. Rostow, *The Strategies of Economic Growth. A Non-Marxist Manifest*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 309.

Echoing the above view, Gonye and Moyo argue that traditional societies rely on clan and family connections to survive.²³⁷ Emphasis is placed on shared values, beliefs and preferences in the political system that has been shaped by common historical circumstances.²³⁸ Taking the argument further, it is argued that cross-border cooperation within borderland communities is informed by cultural connections.²³⁹ This theoretical perspective on parochial culture and traditional societies relates to the study of the traditional Ndau society as their shared lived experiences help to sustain the Ndau unity. Implicit in this discussion was the assertion that Ndau people's conduct in the borderland is informed by primordial ties.²⁴⁰ Overall, this discussion and, in particular the theory, enabled the researcher to visualise the Ndau society in its traditional setting.

4.8 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter deliberated on the aspects of Ndau identity in the borderland. The study highlighted arguments on the origins of the word "Ndau". It was concluded, however, that the term "Ndau" was given to the local people by the Nguni who conquered and controlled the Ndau between 1820 and 1890. Attempts were made also to discuss the conquest and subjugation of the Ndau people by the Nguni people who migrated from South Africa and, subsequently, established the Gaza state in southern Mozambique and south-eastern Zimbabwe. It was argued that the advent of the Nguni authority had far reaching ramifications on the Ndau society. To ensure compliance from the Ndau society, the Nguni unleashed violence upon it. Ndau traditional leaders were killed; women were exposed to sex slavery; animals and grain were expropriated and the Ndau population was assimilated into the Nguni cultural system. For example, the Ndau had their earlobes holed and bodies tattooed as marks of identity and belonging to the Gaza state. The discussion concluded that the Nguni unmitigated terror

²³⁷ J. Gonye & T. Moyo, "Apemanish: A Critique of the Modernisation Theory in Ngugi wa Thiong's Selected Works and Clement Chihota's 'Shipwreck' in More Plastic Balls", *Journal of Language and Communication*, 5(1), 2011, pp. 211-224.

²³⁸ A. K. Isaack & G. Halfanadarsen, "Introduction: Regional and Transnational History in Europe", in S. G. Ellis & I. Michailidis, (eds.), *ClioWorld*, (Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2011), pp. 1-14.

²³⁹ A. Daimon, "Commuter Migration Across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31(4), 2016, pp. 463-479; E. Tagliacozzo, "Smuggling and States Along South East Asia," *Ilas Newsletter*, No.42, 2006.

²⁴⁰ A. Daimon, "Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers:...", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31(4), 2016, pp. 463-479.

undermined the Ndau economic, political and social order and, subsequently, destroyed the prospects of founding a centralised Ndau state.

The discussion also drew attention to the Ndau economic activities such as farming, mining, processing and crafts industry, fishing, hunting and gathering. While the majority of these activities were undertaken to ensure basic survival of the community, it was also highlighted that the Ndau produced commodities for export. Nevertheless, it was conveyed that internal trade was more beneficial than long distance trade, since foreign traders by-passed the Ndau region on their way to the gold rich zones in the north and central Karanga region of Zimbabwe.

Focus was also drawn to social and religious practices which are conducted to entertain the society and to appease the dead. The Ndau venerate the dead because of the common belief, among them, that the dead are in a state of consciousness and consequently influenced the lives of the living. Apart from conducting spiritual rituals, it was also observed that the Ndau perform ceremonies to entertain the society especially during the dry season when people were off the fields.

Some attention was also given to the so-called Ndau magical powers. It was argued that the Rozvi immigrants from the Mbire region, which was traditionally widely known for witchcraft practices, introduced the nefarious practices in the region. However, it was also revealed that Ndau men who have been working in South African mines and firms have been initiated into witchcraft by South African traditional healers, commonly found in places such as Maimai in Durban, Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa. The end result is that the Ndau are viewed with awe as their magical powers are strongly believed to be harmful. In this chapter, the discussion was further centred on the demarcation of the colonial border which resulted in two colonial states namely colonial Zimbabwe and Mozambique. In this context, it was argued that even though the colonial border was primarily established to contain the movement of people and goods, it has been rendered dysfunctional. Because the partitioned Ndau have a common history and culture, this makes it difficult for policing mechanisms to prevent cross-border interactions. Overall, the discussion drew attention to important components of Ndau identity in order to enhance a broader understanding of Ndau speaking people. In Chapter Five the geopolitical significance of the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border on Ndau land ownership and utilisation is discussed.

CHAPTER 5

GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BORDER ON NDAU LAND OWNERSHIP, C.1890-1940

5.1 Introduction

The objective in this chapter is to discuss the impact of the British and Portuguese geopolitical interests on the Ndau land ownership in the borderland. During the scramble for the colonisation of Africa, the British and Portuguese clashed over the colonisation of South East Africa and, in particular, Manica region (Gazaland). However, in 1891, the two European powers signed the boundary Treaty which formalised their geopolitical spheres of influence. Nevertheless, Ndauland remained a space of contestation as the two European powers took more than 50 years to ratify the treaty. The British knew that the only thing that could secure them a lion's share of the disputed territory was effective occupation. Consequently, Rhodes, then a Prime Minister in South Africa, lured the Europeans to settle in the Ndau region to prevent Portuguese encroachment into the British territory. Drawing from the same line of reasoning, the Portuguese established settlements and mission stations along the border to bar the British's encroachment into their territory (see Map.5:1). As a consequence, the European land expropriation forced the Ndau to relocate to precipitous landscapes where their lives became susceptible to the vagaries of weather.

Colonial border demarcations and the subsequent colonisation of south East Africa by the British and Portuguese has attracted scholarly attention. Beach, Warhurst, Pisano and several others,¹ researched on the British/Portuguese colonial dispute over border demarcation in southern Africa. By and large, theirs is a chronicle of events highlighting the contesting British and Portuguese geopolitical interests that culminated in the border demarcation in 1891. This chapter, though building on the existing literature concentrates more on the contribution of the border dispute to the loss of land by the

¹ P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South Central Africa, 1890-1900*, (London, Longman 1962), p.4; E. Alliana-Pisano, "Negotiating Colonialism: African, the State and the Market in Manica District, Mozambique 1895-c. 1935", PhD, Thesis, Yale University, 2002, pp. 47-48; D.N. Beach, "The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Paiva de Andrada, The Companhia de Mozambique and African diplomacy 1881-91", Seminar Paper no.89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1992, p. 7.

Ndau speaking people in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. The question which the chapter attempted to answer was: How far did the British and Portuguese geopolitical interests impact on the Ndau people with regards to arable land ownership? Also, it drew attention to the Portuguese and British interests and interventions in colonial Zimbabwe and the Manica region. The discussion centres on the Ndau people's experiences after the expropriation of land by the British and Portuguese in the borderland. Furthermore, the discussion attempts to highlight the theoretical value of imperialism in the study. Overall, this chapter argues that the British/Portuguese geopolitical interests in south East Africa set in motion processes which culminated in the loss of land by the Ndau in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. The next section discusses the Portuguese's geopolitical interests in the Manica region.

5.2 Portuguese interests in the Manica region since 1500

The Portuguese justified their colonial interests in the Ndau region using their long established contacts with the Ndau.² They based their claims during this period on what they called "ancient rights", derived from their presence in Manica, since the early 16th century.³ Supporting the above claim, historian and former Zimbabwean Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mudenge, argued that the Portuguese had more influence in pre-colonial Zimbabwe than the British. Mudenge also claimed that it was generally unknown that Munhumutapa Mavhura Mhande signed an agreement with the Portuguese in 1629, which transformed Zimbabwe into a Portuguese colony during part of the 17th century. The historian further attacked Rhodesian historians for concealing this information for fear of supporting Portugal's claim that much of Zimbabwe should have been a Portuguese colony as part of Mozambique.⁴ Owing then to the Portuguese contact with the Manicaland region, prior to the coming of the British, some Portuguese words have become part and parcel of the languages spoken along the eastern border, especially the Ndau.⁵

² E. Allina- Pisano, "Negotiating Colonialism, the State and the Market in Manica District, Mozambique..." PhD, Thesis, Yale University, 2002, p.47.

³ Compare H.H. K. Bhila. *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom: The Manyika and their African and Portuguese Neighbours 1575-1902*, (Harare, Longman Zimbabwe, 1982).

⁴ I.S.G Mudenge, "Zimbabwe was a former Portuguese Colony", B. Ankomah (ed.), *New African*, London, IC Publication, 2007/2008, p.30.

⁵ F. Duri, "Linking History and Language Development: Portuguese Influences on the Development of the Shona Language", *Dzimbabwe Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 1(2), 2012, p.30.

It should be noted that the Portuguese interests in the Zimbabwean territory were largely economic. As early 1569, Francisco Barreto had led an expedition up the Zimbabwean plateau seeking the gold districts of the Emperor Monomotapa. This was after Vasco da Gama had landed earlier at Sofala in the 1400s on his way to India. Even though Barreto hardly succeeded in reaching the Zimbabwean plateau due to illness, Vasco Fernandes Homen resumed the quest and met with greater success.⁶ He wrote of thousands of gold-diggings scattered about the plateau and at the present day disused native pits of the ancient times that are found in Manicaland along with many stone fortifications. Indeed, the reports correctly highlighted the availability of mineral deposits including gold in areas such as Penhalonga, Chimanmani, Musanditeera and Susundenga. Expressing similar sentiments, Dube claims that the region was endowed with iron, coal and copper deposits, making it attractive to the Portuguese.⁷

The Portuguese made further claims on the basis of the “rose coloured maps”, predominantly across central Africa. Guided by the desire to control Africa from the Mozambican coast to Angola in the west, Exelson claims that the Portuguese organised an expedition, code-named *contra costa*, to support their territorial claims in the region. This resulted in the famous “Rose-coloured maps” of 1887, which illustrated a Portuguese dominion across central Africa from coast to coast.⁸ It implied that the land between Mozambique and Angola belonged to the Portuguese. The Portuguese justified their claims by the “red flags” which they had distributed to the African chiefs on the Zimbabwean plateau prior to the coming of the British. The flags symbolised Portuguese presence and that the chiefs had accepted Portuguese suzerainty. It can be argued that the Portuguese used the argument of earlier settlement to justify their occupation of Manicaland ahead of the British who began to show interest in the region in the 1880s.

⁶ P. R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-central Africa...*, p.19.

⁷ F. Dube, “Colonialism, cross-border movements, and epidemiology: a history of public health in the Manica region of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe and the African response, 1890-1980”, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p.21.

⁸ E. Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, (Witwatersrand University, 1967), pp.186-297.

5.2.1 British interests in pre-colonial Zimbabwe and the Manica region since the 1880s

During the partition of the African continent in the 19th century, Manica, a region currently located between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, became a territory of contestation over border demarcation between Britain and Portugal in the 1890s.⁹ The rivalry became intense after the British government had authorised Cecil John Rhodes to colonise the region north of the Limpopo River (now Zimbabwe) through the Royal Charter in 1889.¹⁰ The impetus to expand northwards was partly caused by the discovery of minerals at Witwatersrand, in South Africa, in the 1880s, which created the impression that the region where Zimbabwe is was equally rich in minerals.¹¹ In this context, Zimbabwe was regarded as a second “Witwatersrand”,¹² in southern Africa. The perception that Zimbabwe had rich mineral deposits was supported by reports which were prepared and sent to European metropolitan capitals by agents of colonisation; the likes of hunters, missionaries and concession seekers.¹³ Early explorers, such as Karl Mauch, probably raised the expectations of rich mineral deposits during a fortuitous visit to the Great Zimbabwe Monuments in 1871 where Mauch remarked that Zimbabwe was an “Eldorado”, a mineral rich kingdom.¹⁴ Such promising accounts of the country’s mineral potential, at the time, attracted European colonial interests. It is important to note that the mineral discovery also coincided with the Berlin Conference’s recommendation to formally demarcate colonies in Africa; a development that was in harmony with Cecil John Rhodes’ ambition to connect African possessions under British rule from Cape to Cairo.¹⁵ In particular, the British were motivated by the desire to set up a strong mining business in Zimbabwe.¹⁶

⁹ F. Dube, “Colonialism, Cross-border Movements and Epidemiology...”, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p. 27.

¹⁰ F. Duri, “Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia - Mozambique Border with Particular Reference to the City of Umtal 1900 – 1974”, (PhD, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012), p.87.

¹¹ D. Martins & P. Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981), p. 37.

¹² National Archives of Zimbabwe (NZA) M3/8/1/1: Native Commissioner of Gutu district to the Chief Native Commissioner in Salisbury, correspondence, 10 November 1908; NAZ, M3/7/8/6: Acting Secretary of Mines to the Treasurer, correspondence, 26 September 1905.

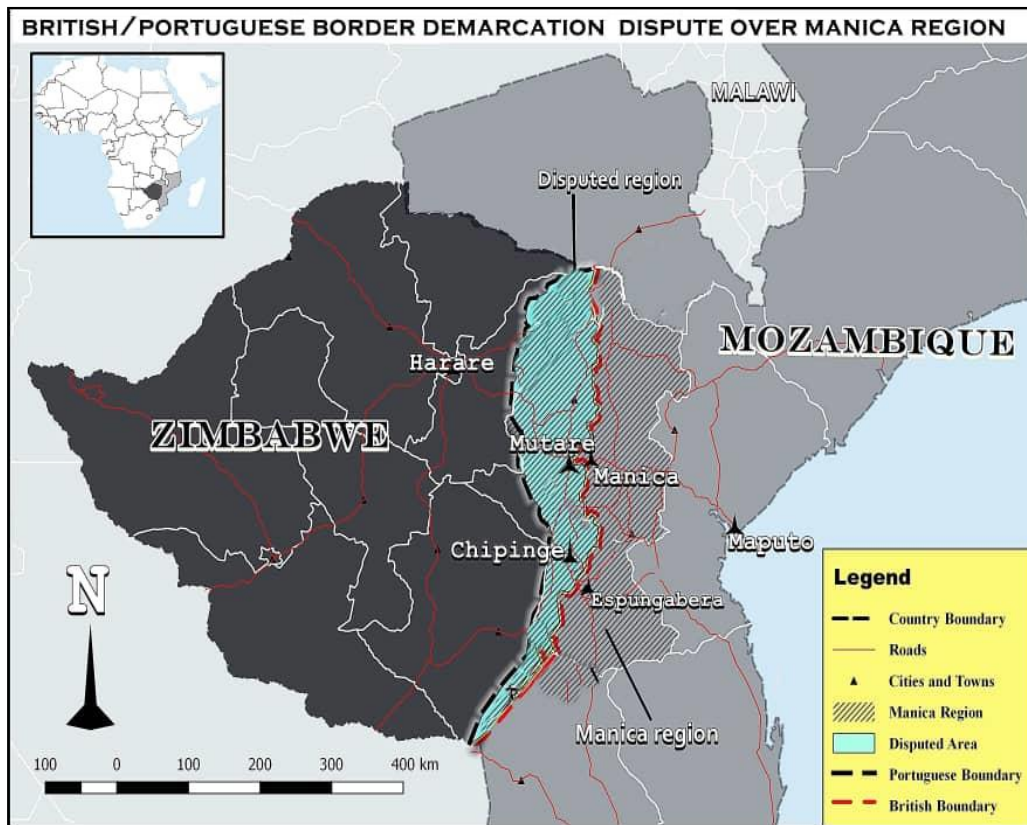
¹³ N.J. Smith, “Theorising Discourses of Zimbabwe, 1890-1900: A Foucauldian Analysis of colonial Narratives”, PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1998, p. 4; C. Summers, *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideas and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1934*, (Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1994), p. 19.

¹⁴ P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South Central Africa...* p. 4.

¹⁵ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History Book 3*, (Harare, College Press, 2011), p. 90.

¹⁶ R. Austin, *Racism and apartheid in Southern Africa Rhodesia*, (Paris, Unesco Press, 1975), p. 22; N. Ndumeya, “Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources in South Eastern Zimbabwe, 1929-1969”, PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, p. 25.

Not only did the British want to control Matebeland and Mashonaland, the principal kingdoms of colonial Zimbabwe, but they desired also to annex the eastern margins of the Manica region (See Map: 5.1):



Map 5.1: The contested Manica region

Source: Illustration by Sekai Kasamba, University of Zimbabwe

As shown in Map 5.1, the British bestowed their support to Cecil John Rhodes who had formed the British South Africa Company (BSAC) in order to advance British imperial interests in the Manica region. Rhodes, like other British imperialists, was determined to keep Manica, following the reports that the gold reef was probably found in Manica. Therefore, he ordered Manica to be occupied.¹⁷ Also, the British wanted to extend their influence in the eastern direction where Manica was, because of the need to reduce the distance from the coast of Sofala. Fort Salisbury (Harare) was 374 miles from the Port of Beira and 1661 miles from Cape Town in South Africa and it cost 72 pounds (R 1522.72 as of 27 July 2020 Exchange rate) a ton to transport goods overland by the

¹⁷ P. R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-central Africa...* p. 26.

latter route.¹⁸ Therefore, the British could not resist the temptation to occupy Manica, since it would reduce the cost of imports and exports via the Port of Beira on the Indian Ocean.

The British wanted to expand eastwards in order to have a share of Manicaland, especially the Ndaou region, which was endowed with good agricultural conditions. Regarding the Manica region, Lord Salisbury commented later after the boundary had been demarcated that “But I think the territory which comes to Great Britain will be territory which can be worked and occupied by white men...”¹⁹ This signified British satisfaction with the terms of the treaty. This was because the boundary had been moved further east, thereby carving within British territory, prime agricultural and mineral rich land. There was ample evidence for a thriving agricultural economy right from the time of colonial occupation with an agricultural economy characterised by “growing mealies, rapoko corn, kaffir corn, millet, groundnuts, beans, egg fruits, tomatoes, pumpkins, watermelons, cumpers, sweet potatoes, tobacco, bananas and lemons and these all grow in perfection”.²⁰ Carl Peters, a white settler in the Melsetter District, described the physical conditions of the areas as follows:

It is impossible to imagine anything like it in Europe. I can only recall certain September days in north Germany and nothing else. But how much more intense is everything here light, colour, even the air. One cannot well describe.²¹

Owing to the region’s ideal climatic and soil conditions, the place was home to a considerably high Ndaou population at the time of colonisation. After touring a few chiefdoms such as Mapungwana, Musikavanhu and Mutema in 1891, the missionaries, Wilder, Bulker and Thompson, estimated the population on these 4000 square miles to be about 10000.²² The high population in the region lent credence to the assertion that Manicaland was endowed with ideal agricultural conditions. Therefore, the British could

¹⁸ E. Allina-Pisano, “Negotiating Colonialism: African, the State and the Market in Manica District, Mozambique...”, PhD, Thesis, Yale University, 2002, pp. 47-48; P. R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-central Africa...* p. 49.

¹⁹ NAZ, Hansard, 3rd ser, vol. 354, p. 237, 11 June 1891.

²⁰ J. K. Rennie, “Settlers and Missionaries in Southern Rhodesia 1893-1925”, University of Rhodesia, Henderson Seminar paper, 3 November 1966, p.10.

²¹ C. Peters, *The Eldorado of the Ancients*, volume 16, (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1977), p.244.

²² J. K. Rennie, “Settlers and Missionaries in Southern Rhodesia...” University of Rhodesia, Henderson Seminar paper, 3 November 1966, p.5.

not resist the temptation to occupy Manica region.²³ The next section discusses Lobengula's role in the colonisation of Zimbabwe.

5.2.2 Lobengula's default in the race for colonial territory

The discussion on the colonisation of Zimbabwe and adjoining territories, especially in the eastern margins of Zimbabwe, is incomplete without examining the role that was played by Lobengula, the king of Matebeleland, in the colonisation of Zimbabwe. The British, aware of the Berlin Conference's recommendation that claims to colonising any African territory were supposed to be backed up by signatures obtained from local African chiefs,²⁴ made concerted efforts to secure Lobengula's signature. In the end, the British fraudulently acquired Lobengula's signature, using a well-choreographed form of deception. Rhodes sent Charles Rudd, his close friend; Thompson, a man who was fluent in the Ndebele language and Charles Helm, who was known to Lobengula as he had long established the London Missionary Society in Matebeleland.²⁵ Also, gifts were offered to help nudge the king in the desired direction.

After long meetings with his close indunas (advisory council), who had been captured through gifts and had fallen for the persuasion, Lobengula put his mark of approval on the document that became the Rudd Concession, which formalised British occupation of Zimbabwe. The British were given rights to mine minerals together with substantive authority to undertake what was deemed necessary in colonial Zimbabwe.²⁶ In return, Lobengula was promised a salary of £100 per month, rifles and a gunboat.²⁷ The rifles and gunboat were meant to equip Lobengula against the Portuguese who had long shown interest in controlling the eastern side of pre-colonial Zimbabwe.

To ensure that colonial Zimbabwe incorporated land beyond Lobengula's territory, the provisions of the Concession were phrased in such a way that Lobengula was the leader of Matabeleland, Mashonaland and Manicaland. The inclusion of Mashonaland and Manicaland by the Rudd Concession was a means to extend the British influence into areas which had previously been controlled by the Portuguese and were endowed

²³ E. Allina-Pisano, "Negotiating Colonialism: African, the State and the Market in Manica District, Mozambique", PhD, Thesis, Yale University, 2002, pp.47-48.

²⁴ P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-central Africa...*, p.4.

²⁵ O.B. E. Tawse-Jolie, *The story of Rhodesia*, (Johannesburg, Empire Exhibition, 1957), p.8.

²⁶ J. Gautlett, "The lie of the land: law and land seizure in Zimbabwe 1890-2010", The Ninth Mofokeng Lecture, Maseru, Lesotho, 15 October 2010.

²⁷ O.B. E. Tawse-Jolie, *The story of Rhodesia...*, p.8.

with minerals and climatic and soil conditions that supported farming.²⁸ So, part of the Rudd Concession document reads:

On the execution of these presents, I Lobengula, (sic) King of Matabeleland, Mashonaland and other adjoining territories do here by grant and assign unto the said grantees, their heirs, representatives and assigns jointly and severally, the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated and contained in my kingdom, principalities and dominions, together with full powers to do all things that they may deem necessary to win...²⁹

The wrongful insertion of Mashonaland and other adjoining territories into the agreement created tension between the British and the Portuguese who regarded it as their sphere of influence.³⁰ The stage was, therefore, set for the scramble over Matabeleland between the British Government and the BSA Company, championed by Rhodes, on one hand, and the Mozambican Company and the Portuguese Government, fronted by Andrade de Souza, on the other.³¹ When Lobengula realised that he had been tricked, he furiously dispatched emissaries to England to repudiate the Rudd Concession, but the British maintained the terms of the concession. However, it can be argued that the attempt by Lobengula to overturn the Rudd Concession does not fully exonerate him of the complicity in the colonisation of Zimbabwe: he participated in diplomatic discussions which were written in a language he did not understand; received gifts which compromised his ability to discuss freely with the British and he easily signed treaties whose long term implications were not known to him. For example, he had signed the Gobbler Treaty with the Afrikaners (1887) and Moffat Treaty (1888) which became a precursor for the Rudd Concession.³² While the Gobbler Treaty intended to make Matabeleland an Afrikaner sphere of influence, the Moffat Treaty was signed to reverse the Gobbler Treaty and to bring Matabeleland into the British sphere of influence.³³ However, while this study acknowledges Lobengula's contribution to the colonisation of Zimbabwe, it argues that by 1890 the occupation of

²⁸ D.N. Beach, "The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Paiva de Andrada, The Companhia de Mozambique and African Diplomacy...", Seminar Paper no. 89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1992, p. 7; A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.38.

²⁹ A.S. Mlambo, *A History of Zimbabwe*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 38.

³⁰ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History...* p. 90.

³¹ F. Dube, "Colonialism, Cross-border movements and Epidemiology...", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p. 27; H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in Shona Kingdom: The Manyika and their Portuguese and African Neighbours...* p. 233.

³² C.J.M., Zvobgo, *A History of Zimbabwe 1890-2000 & Post Script, Zimbabwe 2001-2008*, (Newcastle-2008, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), p. 12.

³³ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History...* p. 92.

Zimbabwe by a European power was inevitable, as the Berlin Conference of 1888 had resolved to speedily colonise Africa.

Backed by the Royal Charter that was granted by the British government, Rhodes recruited a force, code-named the “Pioneer Column”, which invaded the country on behalf of the British and established a colony in 1890.³⁴ Each member of the Pioneer Column was promised 15 gold claims and 3000 acres of land, upon successfully occupying colonial Zimbabwe.³⁵ While Rhodes recruited men from Europe, Australia and other places, among these were Afrikaner settlers,³⁶ who were recruited from South Africa. The reason behind the inclusion of Afrikaners was that Rhodes regarded South Africans as excellent settlers due to their successful occupation of South Africa two centuries earlier. In particular, Rhodes had a soft spot for men of Afrikaner descent because they tended to establish permanent settlements better than other European groups. Rhodes believed that men of Afrikaner descent were successful colonists because they travelled to new places together with their women.³⁷ Resultantly, the Pioneer Column invaded and occupied Zimbabwe in 1890. The next section focuses on the border demarcation in the Manica region.

5.2.3 Anglo-Portuguese Boundary Treaty 1891

As the border conflict was close to a climax, Rhodes sent a team to chief Mutasa, who controlled the larger part of the contested territory, to secure a treaty from him. It is necessary to consider that Mutasa had earlier placed his territory under the Portuguese authority,³⁸ and the proposed agreement was intended to delegitimise the Portuguese claims in the area. Following the failure to give in to the British claims, the British threw caution to the wind and attacked and defeated the Portuguese at the Battle of Masekessa.³⁹ Consequently, the British extended their influence into the Portuguese area such as Teve, a region between Pungwe and Buzi rivers in the summer of 1890-

³⁴ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial...* p. 25.

³⁵ K. Young, *Rhodesia and Independence: A study in British Colonial Policy*, (London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1969), p.41; K. Uuihakala, “Memory Meanders, Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community”, PhD Thesis, University of Helsinki, 2008, p.29.

³⁶ A.S. Mlambo, “Some Are More White Than Others: Racial Chauvinism as A Factor in Rhodesian Immigration Policy 1890-1963”, *Zambezia*, 27(2) 2000, pp. 139-160.

³⁷ H. Garn & M. Geliand, *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and his Country*, (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1964), p.181.

³⁸ N.A.Z DT8/5/3: Colquloun to CNC, Correspondence, November 1896.

³⁹ N. Jones, *Rhodesian-genesis: The Story of the early days of Southern Rhodesia Compiled from the Reminiscences of some Early Pioneers*, (Bulawayo, The University Press, 1953), pp.59-60.

1.⁴⁰ The intention was to lead to a BSAC's occupation of much of the Portuguese territory in the Indian Ocean coastline. Colquhoun opines that had this succeeded, the Portuguese colony and, thus, the modern state of Mozambique would have been divided into two. However, the move failed primarily because Britain was not prepared to see the Portuguese ousted from many outposts which they had established prior to the arrival of the BSAC.⁴¹

It is essential to bear in mind that the defeat of the Portuguese at Masekessa led to the negotiations which culminated in the provisional frontier, similar to the present boundary; having a segment of Portuguese territory on the plateau east of the Save river.⁴² However, the Portuguese who felt that the proposed boundary would make them lose their territory to the British, rejected the proposal.⁴³ Nevertheless, in the end, the boundary was drawn in 1891, slightly west of Masekessa and it ran along the eastern highlands of the present day Zimbabwe.⁴⁴ The 1891 Boundary Treaty was a victory for British imperialism in south East Africa as the valuable parts of Manica region fell within their sphere of influence.⁴⁵ Realising that the Portuguese were not happy over the loss of influence in the Manica region, Rhodes gave them territory in northern Mozambique which is now Tete Province of that country, as compensation.

In the end, the Portuguese lost to the British and several reasons have been proffered to account for their failure to colonise the region. Although the Portuguese had been in the region since the 15th century, they failed to develop settlements and infrastructure which could have lent legitimacy to their claims against their rivals.⁴⁶ Their presence was largely confined to coastal areas where their settlements could be seen.

⁴⁰ NAZ, DT8/5/3: Colquhoun to CNC, Correspondence, 20 November 1896; L. Cripps, *The Umtasa Treaty*, in NADA 1933, pp.92-94.

⁴¹ NAZ C T 1.12/8, A.R. Colquhoun to Secretary, Kimberly, MafambaBasuko, 21 September 1890.

⁴² F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia - Mozambique Border with Particular Reference to the City of Umtali..." , PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012, p.89; US Bureau of Intelligence and Research, *International boundary study*, no 118, pp.2-5; L. Cripps, "The Umtasa Treaty", NDADA 1933, pp.92-94.

⁴³ D. N. Beach, "The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe..." , Seminar Paper no.89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1992,p.2.

⁴⁴ A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia, the White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, (Pietermaritzburg University of Natal, 1983), pp.189-205.

⁴⁵ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana Chiefdom..." , BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University 2013, p.9.

⁴⁶ N. Barry, "The Mozambique Chartered Company, 1892 to 1910" , *PhD Thesis*, University of London, 1987, pp.2-6; The Umali Post Jubilee Supplement: "Prospectors in Penhalonga before Occupation", 15 August 1950, p.2.

Also, the Portuguese community was not only small, but it lacked unity in its bargaining with the British for the control of Manica.⁴⁷ To make matters worse, their attempts to base their claims on the availability of Portuguese settlements in the region were rejected by the British. The British protested arguing that, with the exception of the areas adjacent to the sea, there was no sign of Portuguese authority in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. Here, the British capitalised on the Portuguese's failure to promote effective occupation in the desired colony as was the standard rule set by the Berlin Conference.⁴⁸ Also, the Portuguese did not observe some of the guiding principles in the colonisation of African territories to the letter. The Berlin Conference, for instance, implored European colonial powers to secure treaties from African chiefs in areas they intended to colonise as proof that the local leaders had consented to the European quest to colonise them.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, when asked to present such, the Portuguese did not have signatures from African chiefs, thereby rendering their claims weak and unacceptable. The section which follows will discuss the British's protection of its colonial possessions against Portuguese expansion.

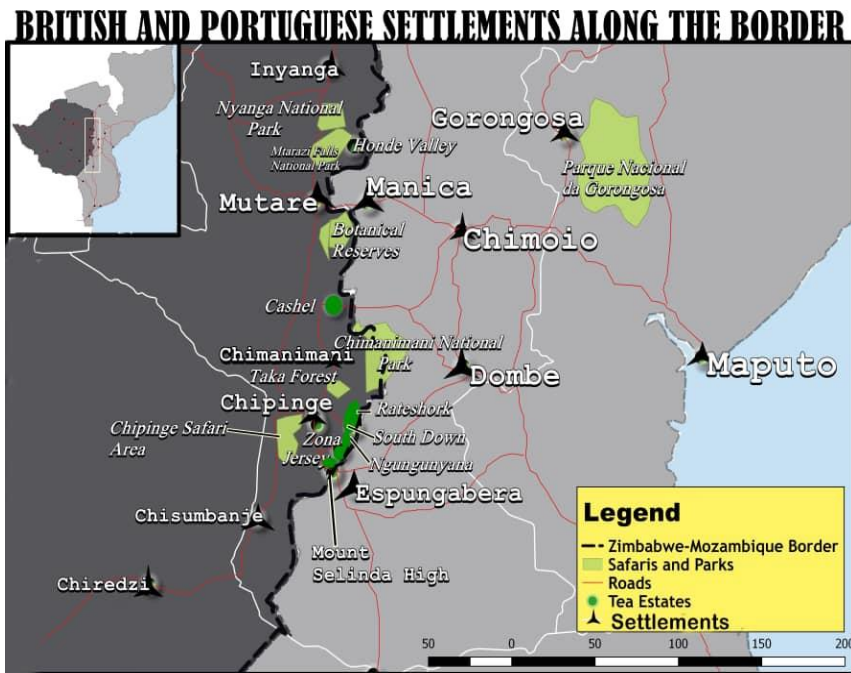
5.3 Towards colonial territorial interference and transformation

In this section of the chapter, the discussion emphasises the reaction of the British to the creation of the border in the Manica region. In particular, attention is drawn to the measures undertaken by the British to prevent the Portuguese's encroachment into the British geopolitical sphere of influence. The defensive mechanism by the British was prompted by the fact that the study area (historically known as Gazaland) remained a contested zone as negotiations for the ratification of the Boundary treaty were not quickly finalised. The argument advanced here is that, the advent of the border in the Ndau region, was followed by significant white settlement, which thrived at the expense of land that was central to the survival of the Ndau community (Map5. 2):

⁴⁷ D.N. Beach, "The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe...", Seminar Paper no.89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1992, p. 7.

⁴⁸ P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-central Africa...* p. 4.

⁴⁹ D.N. Beach, "The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe...", Seminar Paper no.89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1992, p.7.



Map 5.2: British and Portuguese settlements in the border region

Source: Illustration by Sekai Kasamba, University of Zimbabwe.

As illustrated in Map 5.2, the failure to conclude the boundary modalities on time forced the British to establish settlements along the proposed border to safeguard their territory against Portuguese expansion.⁵⁰ In this context, Hlongwana argued that the invitation resulted in the European settlements and mission stations in the region.⁵¹ In particular, Rhodes encouraged Dunbar Moodie, who was assisted by his uncle, Thomas, to organise interested people to trek northwards from South Africa.⁵² A second prominent leader was Marthinus Jacobus Martin, to whom Rhodes emphasised that all the Afrikaners' rights and customs would be respected in the British colony (colonial Zimbabwe). Rhodes honoured those promises.⁵³ Subsequently, nine other groups migrated from South Africa to the Chimanimani/Chipinge region between 1892 and 1895 and their prime motive was to grab land for farming.⁵⁴ The Moodie trek, which comprised of 29 families, with a total of 70 people, was followed by other nine treks; notably, the Martin Trek, Moolman-Webster, Martin, Du Plessis, Mynhardrdt-Utrecht and

⁵⁰ United Nations Report, "Arbitration between Great Britain and Portugal as regards questions relative to the delimitation of their spheres of influence in East Africa," United Nations, xxviii, 2007, pp.283-322.

⁵¹ J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District of...," p. 41.

⁵² N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources...," PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, p.25.

⁵³ H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy...*, p. 64.

⁵⁴ S. P. Oliver, *Many Treks Made Rhodesia*, volume 6, (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1975), p.32.

Kruger Bekker, which all arrived and seized land.⁵⁵ Upon arrival, it became clear that the trekkers were greatly excited by the availability of rich land. Ernest du Plessis could not suppress his excitement upon seeing the land and its natural features; thus, he mused:

The rain had started and to see these hills with green plains as far as your eyes could travel was indeed ample reward for all the hardship and struggle, we had with the bush, river and mountain. It was indeed a land of promise and we could not help feeling relieved and grateful that we were not deceived or misled in any way.⁵⁶

Indeed, the trouble they had encountered during the trek had paid dividends as the new colony was full of promises. Ndumeya claims that the trekkers had encountered challenges during the journey which ranged from alien terrain and climate, dangers from wild animals, and diseases, to the dreaded imminent military confrontation with the Portuguese. Indeed, the annexation of African land was a prize for the suffering they had endured all the way from South Africa.⁵⁷ Attempting to justify their expropriation of land, the white settlers argued that the land they occupied was virtually unoccupied.⁵⁸ Yet, the argument should not be taken at face value as the Chipinge/Mossurize region had a significant Ndau population during the pre-colonial period because of the good soil and climatic conditions which were found in the area. Contrary to the above argument, it has been shown, however, that the white settlers determined the suitability of land for expropriation by its population density, a practice that resulted in the Ndau losing their prime land to the white settlers.⁵⁹ Drawing from the same line of reasoning, Rennie attributed arbitrary farm pegging to the absence of state authority in the Melsetter/Chipinge region,⁶⁰ and consequently, the Ndau were left at the mercy of white settlers. Accordingly, when Dunbar Moodie arrived in Melsetter, he grabbed land amounting to 108000 acres converting half to personal use and the remainder was reserved for the rest of the Moodie family who were South African

⁵⁵ N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources.", PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, p.25.

⁵⁶ NAZ, S 1193/1, Agricultural Potential and Development of Melsetter District: 25 September 1926; S. P., Oliver Many Treks Made Rhodesia..., (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1975), p.51.

⁵⁷ N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources...", p.26.

⁵⁸ J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...", p.178.

⁵⁹ J.K., Rennie, "*Settlers and Missionaries in Southern Rhodesia...*", University of Rhodesia, Henderson Seminar paper, 3 November 1966, p.10.

⁶⁰ J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism...", p.172.

residents by then.⁶¹ The Ndaou people attempted to contest land expropriation, cattle confiscation and taxation, but with nobody in the corridors of power sympathising with them, their protest counted to nothing. However, some sections of the Ndaou society expressed their displeasure by withdrawing their labour from white farmers and relocating to Mozambique where access to land was comparatively easier to get.⁶²

In addition to the white farmers, Rhodes authorised missionaries to establish mission stations along the eastern border in order to prevent the Portuguese from infiltrating into the British territory.⁶³ This explains the long stretch of mission stations such as Mount Selinda, Chikore, Rusitu, Mutambara, and St. Augustine for the Anglicans; Old Mutare for the American Methodists and Mary Mount Mission for the Catholics. Missionaries became part and parcel of the settler system and operated within the established set of colonial rules. As one Jesuit missionary observed: “We have accepted conditions of control of accepting grants. Having taken service, we must honour the contract. We have virtually subscribed to the government’s view of development along lines laid down”.⁶⁴ Missionaries acquired large tracks of land and, so, just like the settler farmers, they displaced the Ndaou people from their ancestral lands.⁶⁵ The American Board of Mission church, for example, received from Rhodes 37500 acres of land.⁶⁶ Dube argued that when boundary demarcation was finalised in the 1890s, the church realised that the greater part of its land had fallen into the Mozambican side. Since cross-border movements were now restricted and Ndaou Mozambican converts could no longer cross the border to attend church service at Mt. Selinda, missionaries from colonial Zimbabwe established vast mission stations in the Mozambican side at Gogoi,⁶⁷ and Mussau (this one belonged to the Roman Catholic Church). The establishment of mission stations in the Ndaou region complimented the white settler system in the expropriation of land from the Ndaou. While the missionaries did not expel the Ndaou from the mission farms, in the

⁶¹ H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land...* p. 111; J. K. Rennie, “Settlers and Missionaries in Southern Rhodesia...”, University of Rhodesia Henderson Seminar Paper, 3 November 1966, p.7.

⁶² J. K. Rennie, “White farmers, black tenants and Land Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5, 1978, p.225.

⁶³ N. Ndumeya, *Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest 1920s-1979*, Forth coming in *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed: 15 November 2019, p.13.

⁶⁴ H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land ...* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002), p.64.

⁶⁵ J. Hlongwana, “Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District...”, p.64.

⁶⁶ ABC 15.4, volume 23, Report of East Central Africa Mission under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Submitted by the Congregational Church of the United States and Canada, 1901; C.J. Zvobgo, “An Overview of the Methodist Church” in C.S. Banana(ed.), *A Century of the Methodist in Zimbabwe 1891-1991* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1999), p.7.

⁶⁷ ABC 15. 4, volume 32, Annual report of Gogoyo Mission Station, 1917.

long run, the missionaries' presence unsettled them. As shown in Chapter Six, the impact of the mission farms was that the Ndaus, who had lost their land to the missionaries, were forced to become tenants of the missionaries. Also, as demonstrated in the previous chapters, missionaries condemned Ndau traditional practices.⁶⁸

As missionaries attacked the heart of African people (thus Sithole), by frowning upon traditional practices such as payment of bride price, domestic slavery and polygamy, the Ndaus were frustrated to the core.⁶⁹ A combination of imposed labour tenancy and a relentless attack on cultural practices of the Ndaus forced them to relocate to places beyond the jurisdiction of the church, while some were permitted to remain on the church land on condition that they conformed to the church doctrine.⁷⁰ While some migrated to Mozambique and settled in the nearby kingdoms of Makuyana, Mapungwana and Gwenzi, others relocated to the Sabi Valley which had been shunned by the white settlers, owing to its aridity.⁷¹ However, as highlighted in Chapter Six, the Ndaus were displaced again in 2009 by the development of plantations to produce ethanol at Chisumbanje. The next section looks at the establishment of Portuguese settlements and mission stations along the border to prevent the British from further advancing into the Portuguese territory.

5.3.1 Portuguese settlements and mission stations on the Ndaus borderland

In this section of the chapter, endeavours were made to determine the extent to which border demarcation led to the loss of fertile land by the Ndaus in the Mossurize District. It was underscored in the discussion that, owing to the fact that the Mossurize region remained contested, the Portuguese, like the British, established towns, mission stations and plantations along the border to bar the British expansion into their territory. It is the contention of this part of the thesis that the Portuguese settlements and administrative policies in the Mossurize District forced the Ndaus to migrate to marginal agricultural lands.

⁶⁸ J.N.K. Mugambi, *Christianity and African Culture*, (Nairobi, Action Publishers, 2002), p.8.

⁶⁹ NAZ, 2/173, P. Sithole, *Mission Work in Gazaland*, 1973, p.2.

⁷⁰ PC-JH, T.F., Dlakama, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, 19 December 2015.

⁷¹ P. B. Matondi & C.T. Ndhliziyi, "Zimbabwe, *New Land Crisis: Large Scale Land Investment...*", *Research Report 51*, PLAAS, University of Western Cape, 2015, pp.1-30; H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land...*, p. 128.

Immediately after the border had been demarcated, the Portuguese established administrative centres (commonly known as postos) along the border with colonial Zimbabwe, to show their presence in the borderland and also to create a barrier against the British attempts to expand towards their territory. These were in Manica, Machipanda, Dakata, Gogoi, Espungabera, Mussau and Macheze.⁷² Most of these centres were set up in the years following the demarcation of the border in 1891. For example, Espungabera, a Portuguese administrative town in Mossurize District, was created in 1900.⁷³ The settlement was created mainly to barricade British encroachment into the Portuguese sphere of influence. These settlements, not only brought Portuguese presence in the region, but colonial policies that unsettled the Ndau population in Mossurize. Realising that the region could not support a strong mining industry since it had limited alluvial gold deposits; the Portuguese resorted to farming, awarding big land concessions to individual farmers and companies in exchange for a fraction of their profits.⁷⁴

A reason proffered for leasing land to commercial companies was that Portugal did not have the means to develop the colonies.⁷⁵ Thus, timber corporations that were granted leases to operate in the Mossurize District converted the landscape to intensive logging of indigenous forests that existed abundantly in the region.⁷⁶ In the 1960s; for example, a South African company (Continental Timbers) was permitted to harvest timber in the Gogoyo region. Logging was carried out in other areas such as Makuyana, Dombe and other places in the vicinity of Espungabera.⁷⁷ While the Timber Company did not chase away people, logging dislocated them in many ways. Mandingo argues that the Ndau communities lost their natural right to the forests: the local population lost their access to shrines, medicines, fruits and ancestral grave sites in the forests. Also, Mandingo noted that unsanctioned movement into the forests was regarded as trespassing and was consequently a punishable offense. Furthermore, the companies were given

⁷² F.L.M. “Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-border Regions”, PhD Thesis, Erasmus University, 2015, pp.98-118.

⁷³ M. Patricio, *Ndau Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe...*, p.7.

⁷⁴ F. Due, “Colonialism, Cross-border movements and Epidemiology...”, PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p.27; A. F. Isaacman & B. Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985), p. 83.

⁷⁵ F. Duri, “Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities across the Rhodesia - Mozambique Border with Particular Reference to the City of Umtali...”, , p. 109.

⁷⁶ D.M. Hughes, “Cadastral Politics: The Making of Community Forestry in Mozambique and Zimbabwe”, Paper presented to the Biannual Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington, Indiana, USA 31 May- 4 June 2000, p.4.

⁷⁷ (PC-JH) J. Mandingo, J., (Cross-border farmer), Chisote, Mossurize, Mozambique 7 January 2016.

authority by the Portuguese government to administer, on its behalf, the areas they controlled. For example, companies collected tax from the locals and surrendered the money to the Portuguese authorities.⁷⁸ However, it is important to note that the decentralisation of authority exposed the borderland Ndaou community to ill-treatment by commercial companies which were motivated by the desire to make profits from their ventures. The result was that the Ndaou were forced to relocate to areas that were far away from the Portuguese.

The Portuguese presence in the Mossurize region exposed the local Ndaou population to the Portuguese culture and practices. The Portuguese companies and missionaries established plantations ranging from banana, mango, citrus, sisal and cotton.⁷⁹ Related to the above analysis, Wuyts has argued that the Portuguese economy in rural areas was characterised by plantation agriculture,⁸⁰ extraction of taxes and slave labour.⁸¹ One negative practice that irked the Ndaou, among a host of ill practices, was forced cotton growing.⁸² Williams claimed that the Portuguese demanded cotton production to support the ailing Portuguese textile industry at home.⁸³ The 1926 decree designated cotton producing areas in the Ndaou territory in places such as Chaibva, Makuu, Cita and Nyakufera and the Ndaou peasant farmers in those areas were forced to grow cotton.⁸⁴ Horus opined that African farmers, inclusive of the Ndaou, opposed cotton growing, not only because they preferred food crops, but because Portuguese buyers purchased cotton from them at ridiculously low prices.⁸⁵ Echoing the above sentiments, Nelson noted that compulsory cotton farming and other cash crops undermined food security among peasant families.⁸⁶ However, Portuguese oppression and exploitation did not go unchallenged by the Ndaou. Laughlin claims that the Ndaou, like other Mozambicans elsewhere, responded by relocating to far off places free from Portuguese influence of forced cotton production. Another form of resistance adopted by the Ndaou, when forced

⁷⁸ De A. Figueiredo, *Portugal and Its Empire: The truth*, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1961), p.97.

⁷⁹ (PC-JH) J. Chandida, (chief), Espungabera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 4 January 2017.

⁸⁰ M. Wuyts, *Economia PoliticoColonialismo Portuguese m Mocambique*, *Estudos Mocambicanos*, no.1, 1980, pp.9-22.

⁸¹ M. A. Pitcher, "Sowing the Seeds of Failure: early Portuguese Cotton Cultivation in Angola and Mozambique 1820-1926", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17(1), 1991, pp.43-70.

⁸² M.D.D. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 150.

⁸³ *Herald*, 25 October 2013. "Mozambique: A History of Struggle".

⁸⁴ (PC-JH) J. Mandingo, (Cross-border farmer), Chisote, Mossurize Mozambique 7 January 2016.

⁸⁵ E. Horus, *Complementary Study for Perfecting the Cotton Development, Strategy for Mozambique*, 2005, p.13.

⁸⁶ H.D. Nelson, *Mozambique: A country Study*, (Washington DC, American University, 1984), p.38.

to take and plant cotton seed was to roast the seed before planting in order to render it unviable.⁸⁷

Like most European colonial powers, Portugal was reluctant to invest its capital towards the development of its overseas colonies, arguing that the natives were supposed to contribute to their own development.⁸⁸ This conviction led to the enactment of mandatory labour acts. The Portuguese, who regarded themselves as civilising agents in a backward world populated by lazy occupants, prided themselves in forcing locals to take part in forced labour. The Portuguese attitudes on Africans were quoted by Duffy as follows:

The Africans have not learned how to develop alone the territories they have inhabited for thousands of years, they have produced not one useful invention, made no valuable technical discovery, no conquest that has counted in the history of humanity and have done nothing that can compare to the accomplishments in the lands of the culture and techniques by the European or even by Asian.⁸⁹

Having placed Portugal in the mainstream European tradition which historically she (Portugal) had dedicated to infusing in her colonies, the colonialists argued that human progress that had been recorded in the western world was a result of discipline and hard work and further suggested that successes in the colonies would not be achieved without the participation of the natives. The consideration that the responsibility for the development of Portugal's colonies lay in the hands of the Africans led to the promulgation of the colonial Regulation of 1899 which legalised forced labour.⁹⁰ The provisions of the Act were captured as follows:

[Africans] had to work for six months in the year for a company, an individual or the state and details of this employment were carefully recorded in their pass books. Those who did not comply with this were to work for the government at a fixed wage. As new areas were opened up additional labour was required for the construction of roads...bridges and for agricultural schemes. All men between the

⁸⁷ B. O'Laughlin, *Proletarianisation, Agency And Changing Rural Livelihoods: Forced Labour And Resistance in Colonial Mozambique*, Working paper 354, ORPAS-Institute of Social Studies, Hague, 2001, p.16; A. Kleoniki & J. Dali, "Colonial Origins of the Threefold Reality of Mozambique: Fiscal Capacity and the Labour Systems", *African Economic*, Working paper Series no.21/ 2015 African Economic History Network, 2015, p. 8; A. Isaacman, *Cotton is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique 1938-1961*, (London, James Currey, 1996), p.213.

⁸⁸ M. Wuyts, *Economia Politica do Colonialismo Portugueso em Mocambique, Estudos Mocambicanos...* pp.9-22.

⁸⁹ J. Duffy, *Portuguese Africa*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1961), p.318.

⁹⁰ AHM, FGB, CX.622 Governo Geral a Colonia de Mocambique, Reparticao do Gabinete no. 818D-7, 7 Outubro de 1942.

ages of 18 and 55 had to make themselves available to work on these projects...⁹¹

Resultantly, the Ndaus suffered harrowing stints of mandatory labour in the hands of Portuguese administrators. In addition to mandatory commitment to labour, the Ndaus were expected to provide free labour to the state for undefined periods. Consequently, they were involved in the construction of roads, bridges and toiling in fruit, sugar, sisal and timber plantations.⁹² One painful experience that was recounted by an elderly Ndaus respondent was the construction of stone bridges across Zona, Chinyika and Mossurize Rivers, which became a perennial exercise as the stones were replaced after every rain season.⁹³ Supporting the above observation, Newitt argued that men were conscripted for various sessions of forced labour for omissions which did not deserve such punishment.⁹⁴ The administration of forced labour was systematically organised that few men escaped it. O'Laughlin, thus, posits that the Portuguese restricted personal movement of individuals to their domicile districts to make it impossible for Mozambican peasants, inclusive of the Ndaus, to avoid the long arm of the law and also to prevent employers in other regions from offering employment to people who would have run away from their former employers.⁹⁵ In particular, commercial companies in Manica Province persuaded the Portuguese government to outlaw the recruitment of Africans (Ndaus included) from the province for employment outside the province.⁹⁶ The Portuguese enacted a policy in 1942 which required Africans to obtain permission for any movement beyond their home district.⁹⁷ The Portuguese administrators relied on the African chiefs and headmen to capture and

⁹¹ K. Smith & F.J. Nothling, *Africa North of the Limpopo: The Imperial experience Since 1800*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1985), p.48.

⁹² W. Minter, *King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, (New York, Basic Books, 1986), p.30.

⁹³ (PC-JH) J. Chandida, (chief), Espungabera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 4 January 2017.

⁹⁴ M.D.D.Newitt, *A history of Mozambique*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1995), p.411.

⁹⁵ B. O'Laughlin, Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods: Forced Labour and Resistance in Colonial Mozambique, Working paper 354, ORPAS-Institute of Social Studies, Hague, 2001, p.9; D.H. Hughes, *From Enslavement to Environmentalism: Politics on a Southern African Frontier*, (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2006), p.21.

⁹⁶ H.D. Nelson, *Mozambique: A country Study*, (Washington DC, American University, 1984), p.38.

⁹⁷ C. Tornimber, "The State, labour migration and the transnational discourse- a historical perspective from Mozambique", *Stichproben. WienerZeitschrift fur KlitischeAfrickastudein* n.8/2005, 5 Jg, p.315; AHM, FGDB, CX.683, Administracao da circunscricao do Buzi, No 917B/ 17 Nova Luzitania, 29 de Julho de 1947; AHM. FGD, CX.683, Reparticao Central dos NegociosIndigenas, No. 678/B//4 Lourenco Marques, 27 de Fevereiro de 1948.

surrender local Ndaus to the Portuguese authorities for forced labour.⁹⁸ To ensure cooperation from the African chiefs, Hlongwana claims that less effective chiefs in the enforcement of forced labour demands were severely punished.⁹⁹

In addition, the Ndaus in Mozambique relocated to places within the borderland that were far away from Portuguese settlements and influence such as Jeché, Chaibva, Nyabanga, Makuu, Nyakufera, Chiomo and Muzite.¹⁰⁰ However, the new places such as Chaibva, Nyakufera and Makuu, were found in low lying areas that received low rainfall, hardly sufficient to support agricultural activities. To ensure survival in the arid places, people resorted to the growing of drought resistant crops such as millet and sorghum. Also, some Ndaus, particularly, young men, demonstrated their dislike of Portuguese policies by crossing illegally into colonial Zimbabwe where they were predominantly employed as farm workers.¹⁰¹ Realising that the Ndaus population had become restive, owing to the Portuguese land expropriation policies, the administrator of Mossurize district pleaded for calm among them.¹⁰² The implications for the Ndaus were soon thereafter visible.

5.3.2 Land alienation and implications for the Ndaus

In this section, the discussion centres on the immediate impacts of land alienation on the Ndaus society. In particular, attempts were made to discuss the entry of the landless Ndaus into labour tenancy with the white settlers and its implications on their livelihoods. Furthermore, this section examines the effect of land alienation on the Ndaus in Mozambique during the colonial era. The contention presented here is that the loss of land forced the Ndaus to become land tenants and to retreat to the inhospitable terrain in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, respectively.

In Chipinge District, the seizure of land by European farmers was not immediately followed by the expulsion of the Ndaus from the farms. The white farmers allowed the

⁹⁸ D.M. Hughes, "Cadastral Politics: The Making of Community Forestry in Mozambique...", Paper presented to the Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington, Indiana, USA 31 May- 4 June 2000, p.17.

⁹⁹ J. Hlongwana, "A People of Two Worlds?...", in F. P. T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.) *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands...*, p.151.

¹⁰⁰ J. Hlongwana, "A People of Two Worlds?...", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean Borderlands...*, p.151.

¹⁰¹ J.M. Nerves, "Economy, Society and Labour Migration in Central Mozambique...", p.37.

¹⁰² AHM, FGDB, CX622: Administracao de Mosurize, 140.113/B/15/2, Espungabera, 15 Fevereiro 1944.

Ndau to remain on the farms on condition that they either paid rent or were prepared to supply labour services to them. Commenting on the prevailing feudal relations in colonial Zimbabwe, Roder argued that:

The moment a man had pegged his farm, he regarded the African villages on it as his serfs, who would have to work for him. The chief means of mobilising their pool of labour in the first years was the sjambok or hippo hide, and after 1908 labour agreements which committed tenants to work several months for the privileged of remaining on their ancestral land.¹⁰³

Opinion is divided on why the white settlers permitted the landless Ndau to remain on their farms. Arrighi argued that the white settlers could not evict the Ndau because labour was scarce during the early days of colonial rule. In this regard, the Ndau were a reserve arm of labour which ensured a constant supply of services to the white farmers.¹⁰⁴ Comments by a Chief African Commissioner support the preceding observation:

A large number of natives living on un-alienated land on the borders of Portuguese territory signified their intention to cross the border rather than pay rent. The progressive policy to mind has always been to make every effort to get natives to live on the farms.¹⁰⁵

It perhaps can be asserted that the establishment of feudal relations of production in Chipinge District was a ploy by white farmers to prevent labour shortage.¹⁰⁶ Another reason which is advanced by Arrighi for the continued stay of Africans, inclusive of the Ndau, on the expropriated land, was that the white settlers were still relying on Africans on the production and supply of agricultural produce. Most of the white settlers in the early days of colonisation were concerned more with mining than farming.¹⁰⁷

To provide a veneer of legality to labour tenancy, Moyana claims that legislation was enacted such as the Private Locations Ordinance Act in 1908.¹⁰⁸ Hlongwana, Maposa and Gamira posit that the Private Locations Ordinance Act compelled the landless Ndau

¹⁰³ W. Roder, "The Division of Land Resources in Southern Rhodesia", *Annals of the the Association of the American Geographers*, 1964, p.51.

¹⁰⁴ G. Arrighi, "Labour Supply in Perspectives: Southern Rhodesia", G. Arrighi & J. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, (London, Monthly Review Press, 1973), p.195.

¹⁰⁵ NAZ, N 9/1/11, Chief Native Commissioner, Annual Report 31 December 1908.

¹⁰⁶ N.A.Z S2827/2/2/5 Report of Native Commissioner Chipinga, 31 December 1957.

¹⁰⁷ G. Arrighi, "Labour Supply in Perspectives: Southern...", in G. Arrighi & J. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, (London, Monthly Review Press, 1973), p. 195; Seventh Report of the Chamber of Mines of Rhodesia, 31 March 1902; I.F. Hone, *Southern Rhodesia*, (London, Longman, 1909), p.40.

¹⁰⁸ H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Lande...*, p.76.

to pay rent to landowners in exchange for the right to remain on such land.¹⁰⁹ Since many companies and European individuals had vast lands for speculative purposes, the estates were underutilised and; consequently, the landlords resorted to leasing small plots to the Ndaus from whom they got money through rent payment. Commenting on the prevalence and reliance on Ndau labour tenancy, Serfontein, a white farmer in Chipinge District argued that:

We never employed any African. They were all squatters. We had about 60 Africans staying on the farm. It was a big place. There were over 5000 acres. I do not know if the law is still the same but in those days you were entitled to three month[s] of their labour for staying on the farm. My father had an arrangement with them that they would work a week every month. He divided them into four gangs and every month one gang would come and so we always had a different gang every week.¹¹⁰

The above argument lends credence to the contention that early settler farmers depended almost exclusively on tenant labour in Chipinge District.

While some Ndaus opted to become labour tenants, as elaborated above, others relocated to the precipitous terrain of Chipinge and Mossurize regions of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, respectively.¹¹¹ The landscape was succinctly described by Guvamombe, a news editor for *The Herald* newspaper, as follows:

Chimanimani and Chipinge are generally craggy. Here geography condemned the land to valleys squashed between high massifs and a thousand interlocking hills and hillocks. Here homesteads and business centres perch precariously on mountain slopes, mountain feet and river banks.¹¹²

Since the afore-mentioned places are topographically hilly, the landscape is vulnerable to cyclones and mudslides. The severe cyclonic storms lash the Indian coast from the sea and then move inland towards the Ndau dominated Chipinge and Mossurize regions, causing deaths and destruction among the Ndau people. For example, since the advent of climate change, Chipinge and Mossurize have been severely hit by

¹⁰⁹ R.S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land as a Sacrificial Lamb: A critical Reflection on the effects of colonial and post- Independent Land Management Policies in Zimbabwe" in *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol.12 (6), pp.192-207.

¹¹⁰ NAZ, S 223, Comment by J.H.B. Sefontein, November 1977.

¹¹¹ NAZ, N9/1/11 Chief Native Commissioner, Annual Report 31 December 1908.

¹¹² I. Guvamombe, *Herald* 2 April 2019, "Smells of death in Idai's trail".

tropical cyclones such as cyclones Eline (2000), Japhet (2003) and others.¹¹³ Cyclone Eline alone killed livestock and destroyed houses, bridges and clinics in Chimanimani and Chipinge.¹¹⁴ While cyclones and mudslides are natural phenomena, it can be commented that the Ndaou community has been exposed to natural dangers because of limited living space in the Ndaou borderland.

The discussion in this chapter on the British/Portuguese colonial rivalry and the subsequent colonisation of the region is theoretically underpinned by Lenin's theory of imperialism's feature of 'territorial division of the world'. As argued in Chapter Two, imperialism involved the conquest and subjugation of the colonised people.¹¹⁵ Similarly, the colonisation of Zimbabwe and Mozambique was preceded by fierce colonial rivalry between the British and the Portuguese, especially over the control of the strategic Manica region.¹¹⁶ As already highlighted in this chapter, colonial rivalry receded after the British and Portuguese had agreed on their territorial spheres of influence, following the signing of the Boundary Treaty in 1891;¹¹⁷ therefore, lending credence to Lenin's argument that rivalry and territorial division were salient features of imperialism.

5.4 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter argued that the British/Portuguese geopolitical rivalry in South-east Africa culminated in European settlements which deprived the Ndaou people of their land. The Manica region, in which the Ndaou borderland is located, attracted European imperialism because of the availability of rich mineral deposits in the area. Regarding the imperial interests of the Portuguese and British in the contested Ndaou borderland, it was argued that while the British were responding to the imperialist ideology and business interests of their citizens, the Portuguese used their long established ties with the Ndaou to render support to their territorial claims in the region.¹¹⁸ Consequently, they resisted, though in vain, the British attempts to expand eastwards.

¹¹³ L. Munhende, *New Zimbabwe* 10 April 2019, "Government considering removal of villagers from cyclone hit region".

¹¹⁴ S. Tsiko, *Herald* 12 February 2015, "Cyclone Eline ghost haunts Zim".

¹¹⁵ J. An, "Lenin's Theory of Imperialism: Historical Debate and Contemporary Approach", *Social Sciences in China*, 36(3), 2015, pp.20-36.

¹¹⁶ F. Dube, "Colonialism, Cross-border movements and Epidemiology...", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p.21.

¹¹⁷ A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia, the White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, (Pietermaritzburg University of Natal, 1983), pp.189-205.

¹¹⁸ A. Eric, "Negotiating Colonialism, the state and the Market in Manica District, Mozambique 1895-1935", PhD Thesis, Yale University, 2002, p.47.

The discussion pointed out that the discovery of minerals in South Africa in the 1880s increased the Europeans' determination to colonise Zimbabwe because they thought that the rich mineral belt at the Rand was extending into Zimbabwe. It was noted in the chapter that mineral discovery also coincided with the Berlin Conference's recommendation to formally demarcate colonies in Africa; a development that was in harmony with Cecil John Rhodes' ambition to connect African possessions under British rule from Cape to Cairo.¹¹⁹ Additionally, it was argued that the British wanted to colonise Zimbabwe in order to get nearer to the Port of Beira in Mozambique. Pertaining to the proximity to the Port of Beira, the British argued that British incorporation of Manicaland into their landlocked possession would reduce the cost of their imports and exports. It was also shown that while several European groups (Germans, Afrikaners and Portuguese) had attempted to colonise the region north of the Limpopo River, the British and Portuguese ultimately established colonies in South East Africa after a protracted dispute, clashes and intense negotiations. It was underlined in the discussion that Cecil John Rhodes, who represented British imperial interests in Southern Africa, cheated Lobengula, the King of Matebeleland, into signing the Rudd Concession of 1888, which formalised the occupation of Zimbabwe by the British and the subsequent division of South East Africa between the British and Portuguese.

Lobengula was deceived into believing that the British were coming into the country to undertake limited mining business. Apart from pretending that they were in the country as visitors, the provisions of the Concession were phrased in such a manner that Mashonaland and Manicaland were integral parts of the Ndebele Kingdom. This was a ploy by the British to validate their imperial claim over Mashonaland and Manicaland, regions that were eyed by the Portuguese as well. It was also shown in the chapter that when Lobengula realised that he had been cheated by Rhodes, he sent emissaries to the Queen of England to negotiate the repudiation of the Rudd Concession. However, the Queen, who represented British interests, gave Rhodes the Royal Charter that formally approved the occupation of Zimbabwe by the British. Consequently, Rhodes formed the Pioneer Column, a force that would invade present day Zimbabwe on behalf of the British. The recruits were promised farms and mines in the new colony and the Column invaded the region from South Africa in 1890.

¹¹⁹ S. Mukanya, *Dynamics of History Book 3*, (Harare, College Press, 2011), p. 90.

The chapter also pointed out that the Portuguese interests in the Zimbabwean territory were largely economic. As early as 1569, Francisco Barreto had led an expedition up the Zimbabwe plateau seeking the gold districts of the Emperor Monomotapa. This was after Vasco da Gama had landed earlier at Sofala in the 1400s, on his way to India. Even though Barreto hardly succeeded to reach the Zimbabwean plateau due to illness, Vasco Fernandes Homen resumed the quest and met with greater success.¹²⁰ He wrote of thousands of gold-diggings scattered about the plateau and, to date, disused native pits of the ancient times are found in Manicaland along with many stone fortifications. Indeed, the reports correctly highlighted the availability of mineral deposits including gold in areas such as Penhalonga, Chimanimani, Musanditeera and Susundenga.

The Portuguese made further claims on the basis of the “rose coloured maps” predominantly across central Africa. Guided by the desire to control Africa from the Mozambican coast to Angola in the west, it was argued in the chapter that the Portuguese organised an expedition- code-named *contra costa* -to support their territorial claims in the region. This resulted in the famous “Rose-coloured maps” of 1887, which illustrated a Portuguese dominion across central Africa from coast to coast.¹²¹ It implied that the land between Mozambique and Angola belonged to the Portuguese. Furthermore, the Portuguese justified their claims by the “red flags” which they had distributed to the African chiefs in the Zimbabwean plateau prior to the coming of the British. The flags symbolised Portuguese presence and that the chiefs had accepted Portuguese suzerainty. It was stated that the Portuguese used the argument of earlier settlements to justify their occupation of Manicaland, ahead of the British who began to show interest in the region. Consequently, the region became the object of rivalry and skirmishes between the two European powers. While the Portuguese had arrived in the region and fostered economic and social ties with the locals, prior to the coming of the British, in the final analysis, they lost much of their territory to the British. Although the Portuguese had been in the region since the 15th century, they failed to develop settlements and infrastructure which could have lent legitimacy to their claims against their rivals.¹²² Their presence was largely confined to coastal areas where their settlements could be seen.

¹²⁰ P.R. Warhurst, *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South-central Africa...*, p. 19.

¹²¹ E. Axelson, *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, Witwatersrand University, 1967, pp.186-297.

¹²² N. Barry, “The Mozambique Chartered Company, 1892 to 1910”, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1987, pp. 2-6; The Umali Post Jubilee Supplement: “Prospectors in Penhalonga before Occupation”, 15 August 1950, p.2.

Also, the Portuguese community lacked unity in their bargaining with the British for the control of Manica. To make matters worse, their attempts to base their claims on the availability of Portuguese settlements in the region were shot down. The British protested arguing that, with the exception of the areas adjacent to the sea, there was no sign of Portuguese authority in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. It was argued that the British made capital of the Portuguese's failure, to promote effective occupation in the desired colony as was the standard rule set by the Berlin Conference to back up their territorial claims with concrete evidence, especially written treaties secured from African chiefs. Despite the fact that the Portuguese and British signed the Boundary Treaty in 1891, the agreement was ratified in 1941, thereby prompting the two powers to devise strategies that were designed to secure their territories from each other. Consequently, the British and Portuguese colonialists sought to protect their territorial spheres of influence by bringing European settlers, farmers and missionaries into the Ndau borderland, as well as using expansive land allocations as bait to attract European interests into the region. In this regard, the European and missionary farms which were established displaced the Ndau people from their ancestral lands. The discussion in the chapter also drew attention to the Ndau's entry into labour tenancy agreements with the white landlords in the borderland. In colonial Zimbabwe, the seizure of land did not immediately result in the eviction of the Ndau from the European farms. It was argued, however, that the decision that was taken by the European farmers to allow the Ndau to stay on farms was not an act of benevolence, but was a ploy to mitigate labour shortage during the nascent period of colonial rule in Rhodesia. Moreover, labour tenancy reduced the farmers' overheads as it provided unpaid labour to the farmer. In this regard, the Ndau became a reserve arm of labour which ensured constant supply of services to the white farmers. Another reason that was advanced in favour of labour tenancy was that the white settlers were still relying on the Ndau people on the production and supply of agricultural produce and; therefore, they could not evict them from their farms. Most of the white settlers in the early days of colonisation were concerned more with mining than farming.¹²³

While some Ndau families opted to become labour tenants, as elaborated above, others relocated to the precipitous terrain of Chipinge and Mossurize regions of Zimbabwe and

¹²³ G. Arrighi, "Labour Supply in Perspectives: Southern..." G. Arrighi & J. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, (London, Monthly Review Press, 1973), p.195.

Mozambique, respectively.¹²⁴ Since the afore-mentioned places are topographically hilly, the landscape is vulnerable to cyclones and mudslides. The severe cyclonic storms that lash the Indian coast from the sea and then move inland towards the Ndau dominated Chipinge and Mossurize regions, have caused deaths and destruction among the Ndau people. For example, since the advent of climate change, Chipinge and Mossurize have been hit by tropical cyclones such as cyclones Eline (2000), Japhet (2003) and others later on.¹²⁵ While cyclones and mudslides are natural phenomena, it was mentioned in the chapter that Ndau community got exposed to natural dangers because of limited living space in the borderland.

It was emphasised that the Portuguese territory displacement of the Ndau people was a result of Portuguese rule that was characterised by brutality, forced labour and taxation which forced people to spontaneously relocate to places that were considered reasonably safe from Portuguese influence. In addition to the relocation to relatively distant locations from the Portuguese, part of the Ndau population escaped into colonial Zimbabwe, as protest against Portuguese colonial policies. Overall, the discussion showed that the advent of European settlements in the region following the creation of the border, deprived the Ndau people of productive land, prompting the Ndau to enter into labour tenancy with white settlers; consequently, their relocation to marginal terrain and cross-border migration. The next chapter (Chapter Six) focuses on colonial land policies and their impact on cross-border migration into Mozambique.

¹²⁴ NAZ, N9/1/11 Chief Native Commissioner, Annual Report 31 December 1908.

¹²⁵ L. Munhende, *New Zimbabwe* 10 April 2019, "Government considering removal of villagers from cyclone hit region."

CHAPTER 6

COLONIAL AGRARIAN POLICIES IN ZIMBABWE AND NDAU CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION INTO MOZAMBIQUE (C.1940-1970s)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the impact of colonial agrarian legislations on cross-border migration on the borderland. The land question has shaped Zimbabwean history since the advent of colonial rule in 1890. The Pioneer Column that invaded Zimbabwe in 1890 on behalf of Rhodes was under the illusion that Zimbabwe was rich in minerals like the neighbouring South African Republic (ZAR). However, from 1908, when the white settlers realised that the country did not have the anticipated “Second Witwatersrand” (that it was not as endowed with minerals as Witwatersrand in South Africa), they turned to farming. Subsequently legislations were enacted to enable the British colonial authority to exercise indirect rule, which included the expropriation of land from black Zimbabweans. While the basic motivation for undertaking land seizures was to establish a white capitalist sector as a pillar of the colonial economy, the land legislations produced unintended consequences.

A considerable proportion of the border-lying Ndaus, who lost their land to white farmers, relocated to Mozambique where farming land was plentiful. Several studies on land legislations and their impact on the Rhodesian society have been carried out. Palmer’s study on the land question is worth mentioning in this regard. Palmer gave a detailed account of policies and factors which contributed to the rise of white agriculture in colonial Zimbabwe.¹ Machingaidze also examined the impact of the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 on Southern Rhodesia². Similarly, Moyana wrote an informative book which interrogated the impact of colonial land legislations in Zimbabwe. While this thesis acknowledges the contribution of the foregoing studies to a broader understanding of the land problem in Zimbabwe, it argues that the above scholars looked at the agrarian problem from a national perspective. This chapter contributes to the agrarian discourse in Zimbabwe by highlighting the impact of land shortage on cross-border migration as a survival strategy by the landless Ndaus. This chapter was guided by the question:

¹ Compare with R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Southern Rhodesia*, (London, Heinemann, 1977).

² V.E.M., Machingaidze, “Agrarian Change from Above: Southern Rhodesian Native Husbandry Act and African response”, *International Journal of African Studies* 24(3), 1991, pp.557-558.

What was the impact of the colonial agrarian policies on cross-border mobility between Zimbabwe and Mozambique? The discussion focuses on the traditional land tenure system in pre-colonial Zimbabwe in order to argue that the indigenous people conserved land resources in their locality. The chapter also explores the various forms of colonial land legislations in order to highlight how they impacted on the movement and settlement of the Ndau people. Worth noting is that though the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 falls outside the thesis' period, it is herein discussed to foreground the land segregation policies. Further, the chapter discusses the eviction of the Ndau from Chipinge highlands and their subsequent forced settlement in the reserves. Equally, the discussion centres on the Ndau people's relocation to Mozambique. In this chapter the implications of the Ndau people's relocation to Mozambique on cross-border mobility on the Ndau borderland is analysed. Lastly, the contribution of imperialism and boundary theories to the Ndau cross-border migration discourse is explored. The major premise of this chapter is that the land laws which were passed in colonial Zimbabwe resulted in cross-border migration into Mozambique by the Ndau. This, as will be seen, was a coping strategy against landlessness in Chipinge District.

6.2. The nature of the Land Tenure System in Pre-colonial Zimbabwe

Land tenure refers to the rights of people over land.³ Sjaastad and Bromley (cited in Mupfuvi) aver that land rights in the traditional land ownership were controlled by one's membership in a particular group and that, in every group; there are rules which aid the intercession of individual entitlements.⁴ Closely related to the above analysis, Rennie argues that land in the traditional system was the property of the chief who was responsible for its administration and allocation to individuals.⁵ However, a counter-narrative by Bullock points that land was hardly the property of chiefs, but traditional leaders functioned as trustees (the traditional leaders had independent control over, and legal responsibility, for the management and administration of land) of their clans in the administration of land.⁶ A corollary to this thesis is the argument that land was

³ C.M.N. White, "A Survey of African Land Tenure in Northern Rhodesia", *Journal of African Administration*, 11(4), 1959, pp.171-178.

⁴ B.M. Mupfuvi, "Land to the People: Peasants and nationalism in the development of land ownership structure in Zimbabwe from pre-colonial to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) period", PhD Thesis, University of Salford, 2014, p.37.

⁵ J.K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935", PhD Thesis, North-western University (USA), 1973,p.101.

⁶ C. Bullock, "Can a Native Make a Will? Concepts of Testate Succession in the Native Law", *NADA*, 7, 1932, pp.36-39.

communally owned by the entire tribe.⁷ Consequently, every individual in the community had access to land.⁸ In this context, land was viewed by group members not only as a vital resource, but it also offered security to the vulnerable members of society.⁹ Accordingly, the traditional land tenure system was regarded as a benevolent practice which ensured the community members security and access to land.¹⁰ Among the Shona people of Zimbabwe; for example, land was highly regarded since it served as insurance (a basic means of production which constituted a pillar of human survival in the society) against hunger and starvation:

The law of the village bound the peasant to use his land not as he himself found profitable, but to grow the corn the village needed...Property repose, in short not merely upon convenience, or the appetite for gain but on a moral principle. It was protected not for the sake of those who owned but for the sake of those who worked and of those for whom their work provided. It was protected because without security of property, wealth could not be produced or the business of society carried on.¹¹

This was the foundation upon which the African notion of universal heritage of land was built. The belief was in pursuit of protection and provision of ideal livelihoods and psycho-socio-spiritual securities for group members in a community.¹² It can be opined in this chapter that these were egalitarian communities which were bound by a common belief that all people were important and; hence, supposed to enjoy the same rights and opportunities in life. Therefore, land was the mainstay of the society as it gave meaning and relevance to the tribe. Holleman, a writer on the Shona people, has intimated that:

⁷ I. Makanyisa, M. Chemhuru & E. Masitera, "The Land Tenure System and The Environmental Implications On Zimbabwean Society: Examining The Pre-colonial to Post-Independent Thinking and Policies Through History and Philosophy", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(6), 2012, pp.174-183; W. H. Stead, *Concepts and Control in Native Life. Modern History of Tanganyika*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.87; E. Chivandi, F. Fushai & J. Masaka, "Land Ownership and Resources Management in Zimbabwe: A Historical Review", *Midlands State University Journal of Science, Agriculture and Technology* 2(1), 2010, pp. 13-24; A. Cheater, "The Ideology of Communal Land Tenure in Zimbabwe: Mythogenesis Enhanced?", *Africa*, 60 (2), 1990, pp.188-206; R.G. Tawney, "Property and creative work", in C.B. MacPherson, (ed.), *Property: Mainstreaming and Critical Positions*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978), p.139.

⁸ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia...* p.17.

⁹ K. Tomaselli & B.S. Mhlanga, *Cultural Tourism: Rethinking Indigeneity*, (Boston, Brill 2012), p. 151; C. Alden & W. Anseuw, *Land, Liberation and Compromise in Southern Africa*, (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 174; E. Bregin & B. Kruiper, *Kalahari Rain Song*, (Pietermaritzburg, University of Kwazulu-Natal Press 2004), p. 4.

¹⁰ J.F. Holleman, *Chief, Council and Commissioner: Some Problems of Government in Rhodesia*, (Assen, Royal Van Gorcum, 1969), p.62.

¹¹ R.G. "Property and Creative Work", in C.B. MacPherson (ed.), *Property Mainstream and Critical Positions*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978), p.139.

¹² R. Magosvongwe & A. Nyamande, "Land Racial Domination in Zimbabwe: An African Centred Critical Analysis of Selected post-2000 Zimbabwean Authored Novels", *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences* 2(2), 2013, pp.35-50.

The unity of the tribe and land is a natural conception. It is based economically on the fact that the tribe depends exclusively on its own territory for its subsistence; it is legally supported by the occupation of successive generation of tribesmen; and religiously and magically this conception is strengthened by the belief that the founding tribal ancestors established the communal right on the land for the benefit of future generations of their own kin (and of these incorporated into the tribal unity), and their spirits are still closely interested in and connected with the land.¹³

As the majority of African communities lived within a subsistence (peasant) economy, it was crucial, therefore, to own land in these circumstances as it made the difference between starvation and survival. While it has been noted that the chief owned land there is a consensus among scholars that the most salient feature of the traditional land tenure was the non existence of an individual land ownership system. This observation is succinctly captured by Mason who opines that by stating that:

They [community members] did not own land as individuals; it had not occurred to them that land was something that could be owned as a spear was owned; it was something of which a man might have the use if the king agreed but the right to use it was not something that could be exchanged for something else. It was the king's duty to see that his people were fed and so he gave them land; it was his duty to make the rain, but land was hardly more subject to ownership than rain.¹⁴

Pursuant to the foregoing perspective, Bullock concurs that land was never seen as individual property, but as an indispensable resource that supported the community.¹⁵ In as much as an individual had to possess land, this existed at supernatural level; land was either the property of God or territorial tribal spirits.¹⁶ It is important, however, to highlight that although traditional leaders had authority in the allocation and administration of land, they never owned land in the Western sense of land ownership, such as the European feudal land ownership in the Middle Ages. Consequently, African traditional authorities functioned as agents, rather than principals in the administration of land.¹⁷ The next section discusses the European perception of the African land tenure system, as a counterpoise to the Afrocentric view on land.

¹³ J.F. Holleman, "Some Shona of Southern Rhodesia", in E. Colson & M. Gluckman, (eds.), *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1951), p.376.

¹⁴ P. Mason, *Birth of a Dilemma*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1958), p.100.

¹⁵ C. Bullock, *The Mashona*, (Cape Town, Juta&Co, 1927), p.71.

¹⁶ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia...*, p.17.

¹⁷ M.L. Rifkind, "The Politics of Land in Rhodesia", MSC Dissertation, University of Edinburg, 1968, p.8.

6.2.1 European perception of the traditional land tenure system

Colonial officials formed a generally unfavourable impression of the capabilities of the African farmers. They looked at unoccupied land and thought that it was unused or spare territory which Africans, through lack of skill or initiative, were incapable of developing. They noted the absence of hedged fields which were so familiar to them at home in Europe and concluded that the standard of farm management was poor.¹⁸ However, an account of traditional farming which was confined to shifting cultivation and was allegedly wasteful, chimed Trevor-Roper's notion of the African history as the story of the "unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes".¹⁹ The accusation, however, ignored measures that were employed by Africans to preserve the environment. Drawing from the same line of reasoning, Robert Moffat, a missionary cited in Maravanyika, ridiculed the Africans through the following caustic remark:

Not only were [Africans] destructive but they had caused permanent damage to trees dating back to the time of the biblical flood and conceivably before it. The theme then concerns the destroyers of the trees. The destructives of the Africans is directly equated with the transgression which led to the flood and not only that but the drought and the arid landscape of divine retribution.²⁰

The foregoing remark bespeaks of revulsion and loathe of African political economy. In spite of the accusations of poor land husbandry, there was evidence that Africans were aware of the need to preserve land resources. In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, for example, several communities, including the Ndau, practised terracing to prevent soil erosion.²¹ The idea that Africans were members of tribes who practised communal land ownership was used by white settlers to validate their intervention in African agriculture.

The European settlers viewed communal land ownership as a primitive and unscientific practice which, in the final analysis, led to poor land husbandry.²² Reacting to the accusations levelled against African farming, Nyambara and Mseba have argued that the Europeans used such accusations to justify their determination to evict Africans

¹⁸E. Rose, "Development and Narratives or Making the Best of Blueprint Development", *World Development* 19(4), 1991, pp.287-300.

¹⁹ H. Trevor-Roper, *The Rise of Christian Europe*, (New York, Brace & World 1965), p.9.

²⁰ S. Maravanyika, "Soil Conservation and White Agrarian Environment...", p.10.

²¹ E. Kramer, "The Early Years: Extension services in peasant Agriculture in colonial Zimbabwe 1925-1929", *Zambezia II*, 1997, p.160.

²² A. Mseba, "Land, Power and Social Relations in North-eastern Zimbabwe from Pre-colonial Times to the 1950s", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, p.11.

from the best soils.²³ It should be made clear, however, that the other motivational factor in the white settlers' resolve to invest in agriculture was the failure to discover rich mineral deposits in the country. Although some gold deposits were discovered after the occupation of the colony, they were not as vast as those that had been found in the Transvaal Rand. As a result, little outside investment could come into Rhodesia and Rhodes's company lost money. Rhodesia generally had physical conditions which could support farming activities, especially in regions such as Mashonaland and Manicaland.²⁴ Dry regions, such as Fort Victoria and Matabeleland, were also suitable for cattle ranching. The growing realisation, among the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia, that the mineral potential of Southern Rhodesia was not as great as was initially conceived, forced the Rhodesian government to focus attention to other economic sectors, notably farming.²⁵ The result was that determined effort was undertaken to invest in agriculture. Soon afterwards, a massive land grab exercise ensued, which drove thousands of people from the fertile lands into less fertile margins of the country.²⁶ This racial land division was subsequently consolidated by land legislations that were enacted to facilitate land expropriation from Africans. The discussion that follows unpacks the colonial economic policy and the significance of land.

6.2.2 Colonial economic policy and the significance of land in the 1920s

From 1890, when Rhodesia became a British colony, economically, it sought to control black population and to protect white agriculture.²⁷ Consequently, land assumed a place of significance in the eyes of the Rhodesian authorities and increased interest in land settlement and white farming became a salient feature of the new Rhodesian policy position. It was important that white agriculture was given support by government. The Rhodesian government argued that a successful white agriculture would promote economic self-sufficiency in the country, reduce the import bill and contribute to

²³ P.S. Nyambara, "Immigrants, 'Traditional' Leaders and the Rhodesian State: The Power of 'Communal' Tenure and the Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(4), 2001, pp. 771; A. Mseba, "Land, Power and Social Relations In North-eastern Zimbabwe..." PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2015, p.11.

²⁴ E. Chivandi, F. Fushai & J. Masaka, "Land Ownership and Resources Management in Zimbabwe: A Historical..." *Midlands State University Journal of Science, Agriculture and Technology* 2(1), 2010, pp. 13-24.

²⁵ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Interwar Years", MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979, p.26.

²⁶ V. Machengadzi, "Company Rule and Agricultural Development: The Case of the BSA Company in Southern Rhodesia, 1908-1923", Seminar No 43, 1978, p.2.

²⁷ B. M., Mupfuvi, "Land to the People: Peasants and nationalism in the development of land ownership structure in Zimbabwe from pre-colonial to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence..." PhD Thesis, University of Salford, 2014, p.111.

increased land value. To achieve these goals, two things had to be addressed: land that was owned for speculative purposes had to be reclaimed and made available to farmers who were willing to farm and, secondly, African agriculture was not supposed to be given state support.²⁸ Consequently, in the years that followed, the development of white farming was implemented in two ways. Landless Africans (squatters) living on the crown land had to pay a rent of £1 per year. The decision to levy rent from the African tenants was intended to push these Africans to become wage labourers in the mines and farms. The Chief Native Commissioner (CNC) remarked that:

A commercial agent of the BAS Company informed me that it was intended to charge all adult natives living on un-alienated land a rent of £1 per annum from the 1st of January 1909. Native Commissioners were told to warn natives under their control that they must either move into reserves after the crops had been harvested or be prepared to pay rent.²⁹

The relocation of indigenous people into the reserves (remote and marginal locations for the Africans such as Musikavanhu and Mutema reserves in Chipinge district) would render them non-competitors to the white farmers because of distance from market centres and inaccessibility to farm inputs. With the transformation from Company management to responsible government in Rhodesia (after the British settlers had refused to be part of South Africa in the 1923 referendum), government policy on Africans as regards settlement and farming changed as Company policy was concerned with "... care and maintenance [of African affairs]..." which fell in the realm of the Native Affairs Department in Rhodesia.³⁰ However, after 1923, endeavours were pursued by the Rhodesian government to promote parallel development between whites and Africans. Despite the coming into office of a government into Rhodesia the final say, regarding African affairs, remained in the office of the British crown. In this regard, Jackson remarked that:

There is a constitutional check upon legislation directly affecting natives. All such laws must receive the King's assent...In practice it is difficult to conceive of a case

²⁸ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference...", MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979, p.27.

²⁹ NAZ, N 9/1/11 NC Annual Reports: CNC Mashonaland, 1908.

³⁰ M.S. Steele, "Foundations of a Native Policy in Southern Rhodesia 1923-1933", PhD Thesis, Simon Frazer University, 1972, p.314.

where the King would be advised to withhold his assent. In practice the will of the local parliament may be said to be the dominant factor.³¹

The constitution as highlighted above protected indigenous people against mistreatment by British settlers in Southern Rhodesia. However, in practice, the responsible government (under Coghlan) initiated policies that eventually culminated in segregation as regards settlement and land ownership in Southern Rhodesia.³² The Rhodesian government continued to support land settlement policies. Accordingly, measures were undertaken in 1924 to create a Land and Agricultural Bank which would extend loans to white commercial farmers in the country. As a result of these pro-white policies, Southern Rhodesia attracted white immigrants from South Africa and Europe.³³ Following increased immigration, development in white farming and increased demand for land, government position on the “African Reserves” changed to accommodate these developments in Rhodesia. The whites started to view reserves as places where indigenous people could develop at their own pace and sustain their traditional culture in an unadulterated form from the influences of western civilisations.³⁴ The new paradigm shift on the reserves differed from the previous policy which regarded reserves as a provisional measure as black people were gradually incorporated into the capitalist money economy.³⁵ The pro white agriculture policy was adopted to prevent economic development in the African reserves. Resultantly, the Rhodesian parliament encouraged the creation of African Councils arguing that:

The tribal system had been evolved by time and circumstances and it was peculiarly suited to the needs of the natives... the best features of that system... could be retained by the initiation of those native Councils which had been provided for in their constitution. The effect of these councils would be to study the condition of the natives' daily life to get a correct focus on natives ... the present system of control was based on an almost uniform law for black and white irrespective of colour,

³¹ H.M.G. Jackson, “The Native of Southern Rhodesia: Their Position after Ten Years under Responsible Government,” *The African Observer*, 1, 1934, p.19.

³² E. Punt, “The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference...”, MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979, p.42.

³³ T. Madimu, “Farmers, Miners and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) c.1891-1961”, PhD Thesis 2017, Stellenbosh University, 2017, p.104.

³⁴ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia...*, p.140.

³⁵ W.J. Barber, *The Economic Development of Central Africa*, (London, University of Oxford Press, 1961), p.19.

tradition or capacity. The system was inefficient to meet the varying and divergent needs of black and white...³⁶

Implicit in the above quotation was the determination by the Rhodesian government to institute racial land ownership in the country. Decisions concerning the improvements which were to be implemented in African reserves were influenced by progress that was recorded in white farming area. In the 1920s, and as a result of support from the state, white farming recorded significant progress which made it to have a vital position in the Rhodesian economy.³⁷The white farmers' influence in the economy and politics was enhanced. The end result of the white farmers' increased role in politics and business was a relentless attack on African farming practices and way of life ostensibly to protect their position.³⁸Hence the white farmers demanded segregation in land ownership in Southern Rhodesia. Continued improvement in farming prosperity, especially after the 1921-23 recessions, was mainly responsible for the anti-black sentiments within the white farming community. The latest improvements in farming were made possible by government's further interventions in white farming. How the improvements were to be achieved was discussed in the Rhodesian parliament in 1924. The legislature made the following proposals:

The government must adopt a more progressive development policy with a new view to 1) bringing a greater mood of prosperity to the agricultural community and thereby the whole colony 2) placing further settlers on the land under circumstances in which they are likely to succeed 3) encouraging the production of exploitable crops by natives in Native Reserves...³⁹

In addition to the government's determination to place whites and blacks in different territorial regions it aimed to impoverish blacks so that they would resort to wage labour for survival. Accordingly, in the 1920s measures such as debates that centred specifically on how land was to be shared between the two races were undertaken.⁴⁰ In the period between 1915 and 1925, for example, 8000 000 acres of land was allocated to people of white colour, resulting in white settlers having an area over 31 000 000

³⁶ NAZ, Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 1924, pp.1127-1128.

³⁷ J.A. McKenzie, "Colonial Farmers in the Government System of Southern Rhodesia 1963-1980", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989, p.37.

³⁸ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference...", MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979, p.44.

³⁹ NAZ, Debates of the Legislative Assembly, 1924, pp.1127-1128.

⁴⁰ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference...", MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979, p.45.

acres.⁴¹ At first, only land within the vicinity of railway (25 miles) was placed under whites, however with the passage of time land far away from railway lines came under cultivation by white farmers, while the relocation of local communities to the reserves became the order of the day.

6.2.3 Relocation of the indigenous population to the reserves

As highlighted earlier, the expansion in white farming in the 1920s and increased political power of the white farmers contributed to white hostility towards Africans who were squatting on white farms. This was arguably similar to the so called 'black spots' land narrative in the Republic of South Africa which resulted in the removal of indigenous people from the 'European zone' to the designated tribal homelands.⁴² If the white settlers could not realise success through government support, they were determined to attain farming security through other methods. The Order-in-Council which was passed in 1898 was responsible for initiating racial land division in Rhodesia.⁴³ The legislation provided for the creation of Native Reserves for Africans and resulted in a dual land ownership structure. The land ownership structure meant that one's access to land was now determined by skin colour as land was defined as private and communal for whites and Africans respectively.⁴⁴ However, it failed to account for the outstanding 46 000 000 acres of land that had not been allocated to any group in the country and that led to determined efforts to introduce meaningful land segregation policies by the white settlers.⁴⁵ This marked the commencement of the colonial policy of moving Africans to the reserves. The basic motive for mounting pressure for segregation was the absence of a reliable staple crop, thus the white farmers feared competition from the local population which had successfully been growing maize and if given support in terms of inputs and non-racial production policies by the Rhodesian government, would compete with the white settlers.⁴⁶ Section 83 of the Order-in-Council of 1898 that granted indigenous people the right "to acquire, hold,

⁴¹ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia...*, p.145.

⁴² D. James, "Land for the landless: Conflicting Images of rural and urban in South Africa's land reform programme", *Journal of contemporary African Studies* 19(1) 2001, pp.93-109.

⁴³ V.H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in...*, p. 4; I. Makanyisa, M. Chemhuru & E. Masitera, "The Land Tenure System and The Environmental Implications On Zimbabwean Society: Examining The Pre-colonial to Post-Independent Thinking and Policies Through History...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(6), 2012, pp.174-183.

⁴⁴ B.M., Mupfuvi, "Land to the People:...", p.101.

⁴⁵ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia....", p.45.

⁴⁶ See C. Leys, *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1959); M.G. Chinamasa, "The Human Right to Land in Zimbabwe: The Legal and Extra-Legal Resettlement Processes", LLM Dissertation, University of Makerere, 2001.

encumber and dispose of land on the same conditions as a person who is not a native”,⁴⁷ was the cause of debate for separate development between Africans and whites.⁴⁸

With the persistent anxiety over the native composition in maize production, white farmers envisaged the prospects of indigenous people becoming successful commercial farmers who would even compete with white farmers in buying land. The white farmers were opposed to the existence of a rich African landowning group. The white farmers' sense of insecurity in business (they feared economic competition) was partly caused by the Ndau people's innovation in agricultural production in the early days of colonisation. Instead of turning their backs to everything that was brought by colonisation, they experimented with new crops with success thereby drawing praise and envy from colonial officers. For example, T.B. Hullery, who was a Native Commissioner for Umtali remarked that “I have in various reports from... Melsetter mentioned that in my opinion Mashona [referring to the Ndau people in that district] works his hands better than any other native tribe I know”.⁴⁹ In this regard, measures which aimed at minimising competition from African farmers were introduced. A case in point was the Rhodesian government policy to insulate white farmers against competition by passing the Maize control and Cattle Levy Acts in 1931 which frustrated Africans' participation in farming.⁵⁰ One of the arguments proffered in support of the above policies was that the poor farming methods of Africans would impoverish their land. In particular, the white farmers were opposed to *chitemene* farming practice (slash and burn method of farming).⁵¹ They also feared that the genetic composition of their animals would be contaminated by the African poor animals. The white farmers were supported in their campaign for segregation by missionaries and the African Commissioners who argued that reserves would ensure the preservation of tribal life for the Africans. While, initially missionaries were interested in the civilisation of Africans through contact with the Europeans, later on, they advocated for separation between

⁴⁷ Official Year book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, NO.2, 1930, p.286.

⁴⁸ W.M. Leggate, “Southern Rhodesia-Some Problems of Native Development and Trade”, *Address to the Empire Parliamentary Association*, 27 November 1929, p.6.

⁴⁹ NAZ, N9/1/3, Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, Native Commissioner Umtali, 1897.

⁵⁰ W.R., Duggan, “The Native Land Husbandry Act and Rural African Middle class of Southern Rhodesia”, *Journal of African Affairs*, 79, 1980, p.235.

⁵¹ E. Punt, “The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia...”, p.49.

the two races so that Africans would be protected from the corrupt influences of western civilisation.⁵²

By the 1920s, the missionaries began to argue that there were several aspects of African ethnic life that were supposed to be preserved for posterity, hence their determination to support the creation of reserves for Africans. In addition to the missionaries' call for the creation of exclusive places for the blacks, African Commissioners also supported colonial measures which did not disrupt the African tribal way of life.⁵³ Therefore, although the reasons for the establishment of reserves in the context of the Rhodesian environment were many, most of the whites were in agreement that separation was a panacea to the Rhodesian land problem. However, in public, the Imperial government in London seemed to take a middle way but did not show opposition to land segregation. Nevertheless, it is argued that whatever would prevail, Africans were supposed to be allocated land enough for the current and future requirements.⁵⁴ Discussion in Parliament, regarding land segregation, was eventually left in the hands of a Commission that was set up (The Morris Carter Commission of 1924).⁵⁵ The delay in the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act was caused by Coghlan who resisted segregation arguing that whites and indigenous people were supposed to be treated equally in the allocation of land. However, after the ascendancy of Moffat to power in 1927 a proponent of segregation led to the acceptance of the Land Commission recommendations. The Morris Carter Commission supported most of the arguments which had been advanced by the proponents of parallel development in the country.⁵⁶

6.2.4 The Morris Carter Land Commission (1924) and the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act (1931)

The Morris Carter Commission Report was analysed by the British and Southern Rhodesian governments and after prolonged debate the Land Apportionment Act (LAA) was enacted in 1931.⁵⁷ One of the recommendations of the Report was the immediate abolition of labour tenancy which prevented full utilisation of land as landlords (white

⁵² R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia...*, p.140.

⁵³ G. Kay, *Rhodesia, A Human Geography*, (London, University of London Press 1970), p.50.

⁵⁴ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia...", p.52.

⁵⁵ C.L. Carbutt, "The Racial Problem in Southern Rhodesia," in *NADA*, 12, 1934, p.7.

⁵⁶ NAZ, 1/1/1 Land, Morris Charter Commission, Report, 1925, paragraph 252.

⁵⁷ W.M. Leggate, "Southern Rhodesia-Some Problems of Native Development...", *Address to the Empire Parliamentary Association*, 27 November 1929, p.6.

farmers who leased land to African squatters) could get money without working on the land. As a result, African squatters were given a six-year grace period during which they were to either to move into the Reserves or seek employment from white settlers.⁵⁸ Regarding the reasons for the eviction of African squatters from the white farms, Jollie remarked that:

It has been the practice on many European owned estates to demand rent or labour in lieu of rent, from native tenants, but the system has not provided satisfaction either for the European or native as no contract entered into is readily enforceable, and many natives go to mines for years at a time, leaving their wives and families behind whilst on the other hand they have no security of tenure. Nevertheless, the Native living on European owned farms, many of which belong to absentee landlords has had a very easy time in the past. In future he will be rounded up probably to his own great advantage and certainly too ... [the reserves].⁵⁹

Therefore, the private Locations Ordinance of 1909 which had legalised Africans to stay on land owned by Europeans on condition that they paid rent or supplied labour to the farm owner was repealed. In 1930 for example, there were about 919 000 black people in Southern Rhodesia: 587 000 were living in the reserves, 300 000 were squatting on the European farms and 22000 were working in the cities.⁶⁰ Consequently, a considerable proportion of the indigenous people was yet to relocate to the overpopulated to reserves.

Although it had been shown that segregation would have a negative impact on the economy that relied on black labour, the Rhodesian Government proceeded to recommend the creation of reserves as exclusive places of habitation and use by Africans.⁶¹ Furthermore, it argued that "...in the interests of all alike it was not desirable that Africans should acquire land indiscriminately, owing to the inevitable friction which will arise with their neighbours".⁶² The Land Commission pointed out that:

⁵⁸ NAZ 15542 A 4, Address given by the CNC to Native Demonstrators, 1934.

⁵⁹ E.T. Jollie, *The Real Rhodesia*, (London, Hutchinson, 1924), p.188.

⁶⁰ S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land As Sacrificial Lamb?: A Critical Reflection On The Effect of Colonial and Post-independent Land Management Policies...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp.192-207.

⁶¹ NAZ 2/1/1 Lands Commission Report, 1925.

⁶² M.L. Rifkind, "The Politics of Land...", p.31.

We have no hesitation in finding that an overwhelming majority of those who understand the [land] question are in favour of the existing law being amended, and of the establishment of separate areas in which each of two races, black and white, respectively, should be permitted to acquire interests in land.⁶³

The Rhodesian Government argued that the whites and Africans were not opposed to land segregation. It proffered that European farmers feared that their farms would lose market value if Africans were allowed to acquire land near them as well as that they would lose their property to Africans due to theft and vandalism. The Government also asserted that Africans accepted segregation as it allowed them to live next to other Africans and also protected them from European competition.⁶⁴ The Rhodesian Government thus concluded in 1925 the following:

However, desirable though it may be that members of the two races should live together side by side with equal rights as regards the holding of land we are convinced that in practice probably for generations to come, such a policy is not practicable or in the best interests of the two races and that until the native has advanced very much further on the path of civilisation, it is better that points of contact in this respect between the races should be reduced.⁶⁵

While it is irrefutable that Africans and Europeans warmed towards land segregation, it is hard to comprehend why the Rhodesian authorities wanted to minimise points of contact between the two races when it had also a commitment to assist indigenous people to attain higher levels of Western civilisation. Accordingly, Moyana expressed reservations on the validity of the assertion of Gann that Africans welcomed land segregation in Rhodesia as they feared competition from white farmers.⁶⁶ However, the comment below captures the African response to the Land Apportionment Act:

Let us tell the Government that this Bill is wrong. Our people have been driven to lands where they cannot live. Our cattle die for want of water. Let's tell the Government that the Bill is no good. It is all for the white man. Rhodesia is big. Let's tell them to cut the land in half and let us live on the one side and the white man on the other.⁶⁷

⁶³ NAZ, C.S.R.3, White farmers' support for land segregation policies, 1926.

⁶⁴ V.H. Moyana. *The Political of Economy of Land...*, p.201.

⁶⁵ NAZ, 1/13 Correspondence from Assistant District Commissioner, Hartley, to the Lands Commission, 2 March, 1925.

⁶⁶ L. Gann & M. Gelfand, *Huggins of Rhodesia*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1964), p.80.

⁶⁷ NAZ, S 84/A/ (CID Reports), 261, 1936.

While the Rhodesian government argued, in 1925, that the aim of the Act was not to create a segregated society,⁶⁸ ultimately the Act divided land between the two races with the Europeans getting almost all the arable land.⁶⁹ The Act divided the country's land as follows: white area 51.1%; native reserves, 22%; unassigned land 18%; Forest area 0.6%; native purchase area 7.8% and undetermined 0.1%.⁷⁰ It was clear that the Land Apportionment Act introduced a new model of farming production, where the land was divided alongside white production in white-owned commercial farming areas against peasant production in rural areas.⁷¹ According to one newspaper report in 1930, the reaction of the Rhodesian public to the proclamation of the LAA was varied. One section of the white community opposed John Moffat, the then Rhodesian Prime Minister. They argued that Africans had been given more land than they deserved. Nevertheless, other sections of the white community, especially missionary societies, expressed regret about the division of land, reasoning that part of the unassigned area should have been allocated to Africans.⁷² Maposa, Gamira and Hlongwana expressed similar sentiments when they stated that the formulation of the LAA was motivated by colonial business interests rather than concerns with equitable land sharing.⁷³

6.2.5 Land Apportionment Act and the eviction of the Ndaу people from Chipinge highlands

The Rhodesian government responded to the recommendations of the Land Apportionment Act by evicting the Ndaу people from Chipinge highlands.⁷⁴ It should be noted however, that the Land Apportionment Act's recommendations coincided with the Rhodesian government's determination to avail land to the former British soldiers who fought in the Second World War. Supporting the imperial English Government, Godfrey Huggins, the then Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister, argued that, if Britain had been defeated, Southern Rhodesia would have been defeated too.⁷⁵ Consequently, the

⁶⁸ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembly Debates vol. 8, 25 April 1929.

⁶⁹ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembly Debates vol. 3, 11 June 1925; E. Chivandi, F. Fushai & J. Masaka, "Land Ownership and Resources Management in Zimbabwe: A Historical Review", *Midlands State University Journal of Science, Agriculture and Technology* 2(1), 2010, pp.13-24.

⁷⁰ Southern Rhodesia, Report of Native Production and Trade Commission, 1944, p.12.

⁷¹ S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land As Sacrificial Lamb?:...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp.192-207.

⁷² *Rhodesian Herald*, 28 June 1930.

⁷³ S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land as Sacrificial Lamb?:...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp.192-207.

⁷⁴ Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembly Debate, vol. 16, 8 June 1936.

⁷⁵ R. Black, *A History of Rhodesia*, (London, Eyre Methuen, 1977), p.23.

Rhodesian government allowed the British ex-servicemen to settle in Rhodesia thereby increasing the demand for land in the colony.⁷⁶

While the Rhodesians' goal was to 'whiten' the colony, the Southern Rhodesia immigration policy, preferred people of English blood to other European groups.⁷⁷ State sanctioned relocation, especially of whites of British stock, to Rhodesia coincided with the Rhodesian state's interest to build a British settler colony.⁷⁸ In relation to the above argument, Mlambo, quoted in Muguti, Tavuyanago and Hlongwana argued that Rhodesia was running a desperate plan to entice whites into Rhodesia in order to boost the British population in the country.⁷⁹ The other motivational reason for the eviction of the Africans was the need to produce food for the white population which had significantly increased during the war period. Thousands of British soldiers, who participated in World War Two, were trained and barracked in Rhodesia for strategic reasons. Rhodesia was considered a safe place from the German air force's attacks, hence the need to improve food production in the country. Though their presence was welcome, the desire for increased stocks was also a consequence of the Rhodesian land policies which stifled food production by the black population in Rhodesia.

The LAA was amended in 1941 and 1944 to guide the second alienation of land from Africans.⁸⁰ Consequently about 50 million hectares of land were allocated to Europeans within the framework of the Land Apportionment Amendment Acts (1941 and 1944).⁸¹ As a consequence of this segregatory land policy, white owned agricultural projects in Southern Rhodesia in the post- Second World War time recorded improved growth

⁷⁶ NAZ, S3292/613 Polish Settlement 1942-4 On the Maintenance of Poles in the Middle East, 25 July 1943.

⁷⁷ NAZ, S1801/5450 Immigration 1935-139, C.H. Harding, Acting Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs to the Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 6 April 1939; NAZ, S482/466/393, Immigration General 1939-1943, Secretary to the PM'S Office to SzmulMelamed, 11 February 1941; F. Clements, *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a white society* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 43; B. A., Kosmin, *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community of Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo, 1981), p.72.

⁷⁸ A. S. Mlambo, *White Immigration into Rhodesia; From Occupation to Federation*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications 2000), p. 40; D. W. Kenrick, "Pioneers and Progress: White Nation-Building, c1964-1979", PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2016, p.26; B. Tavuyanago, T. Mguti & J. Hlongwana, "Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: from the Second War", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 138 (4), 2012, p. 953.

⁷⁹ B. Tavuyanago, T. Mguti & J. Hlongwana, "Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: from the Second War", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 138 (4), 2012, p. 953.

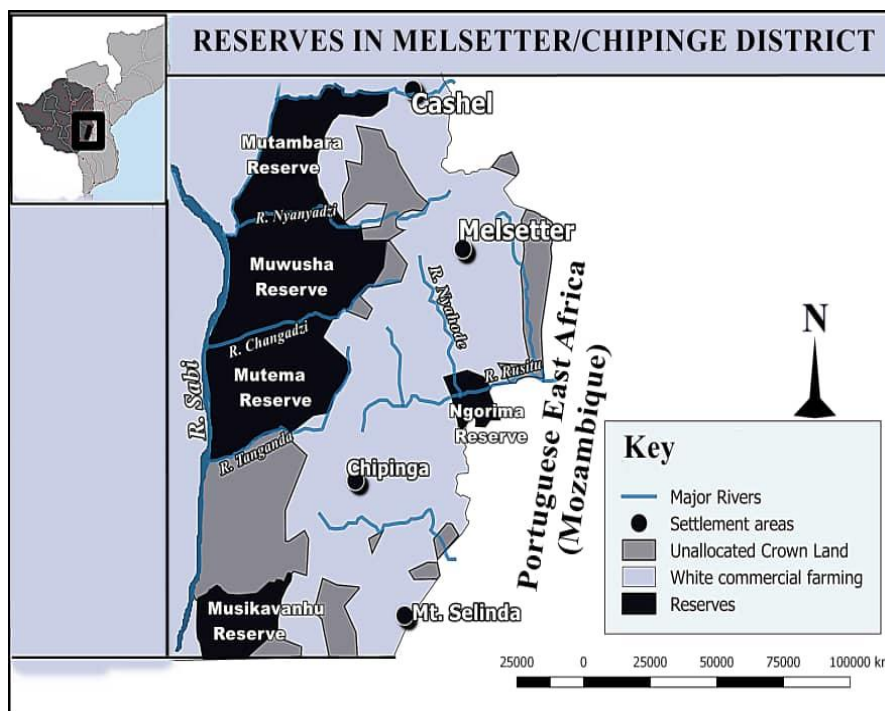
⁸⁰ T.G. Ncube, "Banished to the wilderness: The Case of western Area of the Gwayi Reserve, Matebeleland, Zimbabwe", *The Dyke: The Midlands State University State University Journal*, 1(1), 2004, p.3.

⁸¹ R. S., Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "A luta Continua: A Critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within – Third Chimurenga among the Ndaou people in Chipinge district, Southeastern...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, Vol.2 (6), 2010, pp.175-184.

which increased the white farmers' determination to farm and the desire to evict African squatters from the European farms. Ncube further argued that:

Up until the 1940s African squatters or tenants on crown Land had merely been given notice as land became alienated. Now however the demand for land had grown so great that more sweeping action was found necessary and in 1950 the decision was taken that all European crown land should be cleared of Africans within a period of five years.⁸²

Consequently, the Ndau people were moved into the reserves which had been created in the district. The reserves included Musikavanhu, Muwusha, Mutema, Ngorima North, Ngorima South, Mutambara and Sengwezi.⁸³ For example in 1955 alone, 346 Ndau families were evicted from the Melsetter region and were resettled in Muwusha and Ngorima reserves.⁸⁴ Also, 250 families were removed from Chipinge highlands in 1955 and were settled in Musikavanhu, Mutema and Muwusha reserves⁸⁵ (see Map. 6.1). In spite of carrying out these evictions, rent payment continued to be a feature in the Chipinge,⁸⁶ district because the reserves in the district were too crowded to absorb extra people who were being evicted from the highlands.⁸⁷



Map 6.1: Some of the reserves in the Chipinge/Chimanimani region in the 1950s

⁸² T.G. Ncube, “Banished to the wilderness: The Case of western Area of the Gwayi Reserve....,” *The Dyke: The Midlands State University State University Journal*, 1(1), 2004, p.3.

⁸³ V.H. Moyana. *The Political Economy of Land*. p.133.

⁸⁴ NAZ, S 2827/2/2/5 Report, Melsetter, 1952.

⁸⁵ NAZ, Report of the Native Commissioner Chipinga, 1956.

⁸⁶ NAZ S 235/ 483 Report on the Development and Registration of the colony’s Reserves, 1943.

⁸⁷ S. Oliver, “The Native Land Rights in Southern Rhodesia”, *Contemporary Review*, August, 1926, p.146.

Source: Illustration by Sekai Kasamba, University of Zimbabwe.

However, as shown in Map 6.1, most of the reserves such as Mutema, Mutambara, Musikavanhu, Muwusha and others were devoid of habitable conditions as they were located in the arid regions of the district. Hlongwana argued that around 1900, Ngorima North did not have inhabitants at all on account of its aridity.⁸⁸ In addition to being found in the low-lying areas where conditions prevented productive farming, some reserves were situated in mountainous places where conditions did not support the production of staple crops. Ngaone, in the Mutema chiefdom, was one such reserve. It was always wet and cold, causing excessive leaching and stunted growth in plants. The result was that the Ndaus in Ngaone always suffered from starvation as maize (a summer crop) could not thrive under such conditions.⁸⁹

The removal of the Ndaus from the plateau further presented the colonial government with the challenge of accommodating the evicted people. The Government had three possible solutions to the land problem: relocation to Gokwe; forcing them to live in the Sabi Valley; and hoping that they would seek employment with white farmers.⁹⁰ However, none of these was a panacea to the Ndaus' agrarian problem. The Ndaus resisted the proposal to relocate to Gokwe, a district in the Karanga region in the north-west of the country, considered to be too far away from Chipinge district.⁹¹ To make matters worse, some areas of Gokwe though agriculturally rich were infested with malaria causing mosquitoes and dangerous animals. The Sabi Valley was equally inhospitable as conditions there were too harsh to support crop farming.⁹²

The Ndaus' unwillingness to relocate to the valley was captured by one African Commissioner who argued, "The Africans were anxious to remain on the plateau whose rain is always plentiful ... that they preferred to work as tenants rather than go down and live in the Sabi Valley"⁹³ (See Table 6.1):

⁸⁸ J. Hlongwana, "Land Lords and Tenants...", p. 19.

⁸⁹ PC-JH) Z. Magadaire, (Border region settler), Clearwater, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 21 December 2015.

⁹⁰ V.H. Moyana. *The Political Economy of Land...*, p.142.

⁹¹ S. I. G. Mudenge, *A Political History of Munhumutapa c1400-1902*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985, p.38.

⁹² V.H. Moyana. *The Political Economy of Land...* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002), p.128.

⁹³ NAZ S235/356 Correspondence from Native Commissioner Chipinga to Chief Native Commissioner, 13 August 1935.

Table 6.1: Ndaou Population Distribution in Melsetter /Chipinge District after 1930

	Chipinge	Melsetter	Total	Percentage
On African Reserves	5 400	4173	9537	23.3
On unalienated Crown Lands	7340	867	8207	20.4
On alienated Lands	7110	5010	12120	30.2
On Native Purchase Areas	9300	297	9597	23.9
In Towns	205	360	565	1.4
Total	29355	10601	40062	

Source: NAZ S1563, NC's Annual Report, 1934.

Table: 6.1, shows that most of the Ndaou opted to remain on the alienated land, soon after the enactment of the Land Apportionment Act, rather than moving into the reserves which lacked habitable conditions. Farm workers in some places were not paid money as they were regarded as squatters who worked only for the right to remain on such lands.⁹⁴ Furthermore, where wages were paid, an African Commissioner commented that they “were the lowest in the country”.⁹⁵ In addition to the payment of low wages, the white farmers practised delayed payment to the farm workers. Under this system, farm workers were not paid until after the harvest season to ensure that they did not leave the farm at a time when they were needed most to provide labour.⁹⁶ Another observer remarked that:

As I have frequently stated in monthly reports during the past years, the fashion of not paying natives, particularly Native farm workers as and when their wages become due is common if not general throughout the district. In many cases all the employees are only paid fully after the harvest has been reaped.⁹⁷

Such labour malpractices discouraged the Ndaou from seeking jobs with white farmers. Instead, they resorted to securing land across the border in Mozambique.⁹⁸ Even the Rhodesian government acknowledged the dire agrarian situation in the district. While the 1941 Land Apportionment required the white farmers to abolish a system of rent-paying tenancy, as provided in the 1908 Private Locations Ordinance, to force Africans

⁹⁴ NAZ N 3/16/8/2, Native Commissioner Melsetter to Senior Native Commissioner Umtali, 3 December, 1914.

⁹⁵ NAZ S 255/502 Correspondence from Native Commissioner Chipinga to Chief Native Commissioner 6 June 1926; NAZ S 138/11: Native Commissioner Umtali to Chief Native Commissioner, 24 September 1927.

⁹⁶ NAZ S235/356 Correspondence from Native Commissioner Chipinga to Chief Native Commissioner, 13 August 1935.

⁹⁷ NAZ S235/356 Correspondence from Native Commissioner Chipinga to Chief Native Commissioner, 13 August 1935.

⁹⁸ *The Rhodesian Herald* 31 January 1930.

into the reserves this was not implemented in the Chipinge district.⁹⁹ Commenting on the evictions, Palmer remarked that between 1945 and 1955 at least 100 000 Africans were removed from the fertile lands to the less productive reserves.¹⁰⁰ The quotation which follows succinctly captures the land problem among the Ndau people:

The past seven years represented the period during which the administration of the LAA has been carried out and during this time 80 000 Africans have been moved from the Crown Lands in the European areas to the areas set aside and specifically prepared for their reception. There remains only 30000 in this category.¹⁰¹

The evictions were severely felt as hundreds of Ndau speaking people were displaced from their ancestral lands and there was no arable land for their use.

When giving testimony to the Carter Land Commission on the expropriation of land that left the Ndau people landless, Chief Musikavanhu from Chipinge District lamented that: "We rejoice to see you, we are troubled on the farms, all we want is some land where we can live with our people, and we would be very pleased if land could be set aside where we could live with our people".¹⁰² Similarly, a white citizen argued that there was plenty of land in Rhodesia and therefore it was not necessary at all to have policies that led to skewed land ownership in the country. He blamed the agrarian problem not on land scarcity per se but unfair land sharing between the races.¹⁰³

The decision to prescribe a limit to land available for permanent African settlement and the shift to permanent land cultivation had far-reaching ecological ramifications. Given the methods that were used by Africans and the poor land generally allocated to them, the change from shifting cultivation to permanent cropping set in motion the processes that culminated in environmental degradation.¹⁰⁴ Chipangayi area was one such place which experienced environmental degradation due to overpopulation. In relation to the above assertion, Cutin, a Group Conservation officer commented that:

⁹⁹ NAZS 235/483 Report on the Development and Registration of Colony's Reserves, 1943.

¹⁰⁰ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Rhodesia...*, p.243.

¹⁰¹ NAZ, Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, 1956.

¹⁰² ZAH 1/1/4 Testimony of African Chiefs, 1925.

¹⁰³ R. C. Haw, *No Other Home*, (Bulawayo, Manning, 1960), p.74.

¹⁰⁴ NAZ, Report of the Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives, 1956; K. Brown, *Land in Southern Rhodesia*, (London Longman, 1959), pp. 6-10; NAZ, ZBZ 1/2/2: Farming propositions taken up from January 1937 to 31 December 1947; I. Phimister, *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: Capital accumulation and class struggle*, (London, Longman, 1988), p.281.

Leaving the old sisal plantations and travelling on the top road to Rupisi Hot Springs, it was clear that the native cultivation has been unrestricted for years and for one strip of that land of about 7 miles, all depressions have been ploughed through, and rills of erosion occur every two or three hundred yards. This must hasten runoff and tons of silt are being carried to this river after each storm.¹⁰⁵

Congestion and environmental damage was further illustrated by the prevalence of gullies in Chipinge district. In 1948, for instance, Chipinge had in its records 102 major gullies and 122 small ones, clear evidence of the environmental disaster occurring in the district.¹⁰⁶ Congestion and environmental degradation resulted in decreased yields which forced people to migrate to Mozambique.¹⁰⁷ Reports by African Commissioners in the 1940s indicated that many Ndaus particularly from the southern parts of Chipinge, such as Mapungwana, Mupungu, Garahwa, Gwenzi, and Zamchiya, had migrated to Mozambique.¹⁰⁸ In 1944 Melsetter/Chipinge recorded a population decrease of 1258 due to relocation to Mozambique,¹⁰⁹ and chief Garahwa in 1944 reported of the migration of many people from his kingdom to Mozambique.¹¹⁰ Hence the migration was a consequence of declining livelihoods in the reserves. Instead of blaming the Land Apportionment Act for causing land deterioration, Rhodesian authorities accused indigenous people Ndaus of carrying out primitive farming practices. It argued that:

The cause for this rapid and even increasing deterioration is well known to us. The blame for this may be laid at the feet of the Native people themselves because of their appalling misuse of the land by misguided bad farming and overstocking.¹¹¹

Consequently, the Government resolved to introduce scientific measures to arrest environmental degradation,¹¹² without necessarily addressing the root cause of the problem. Along this line of reasoning, a Rhodesian officer remarked that:

¹⁰⁵ NAZ, 450/10 Letter from V.W. Curtin, Group Conservation Officer to Senior Extension Officer, 4 November 1949.

¹⁰⁶ NAZ, F450/11 Chipinga 1C A File 2, Letter from Director of Conservation and Extension to Chief Conservation and Extension Officer, 19 November 1951.

¹⁰⁷ NAZ, S235/511 Volume 3: Native Commissioner's Report of the Native Commissioner Melsetter, for the year ended 31st December 1933.

¹⁰⁸ NAZ, S 1563, Native Commissioner Annual Report, Melsetter/ Chipinga, 1943; NAZ, S 235/516 District Reports: Native Commissioners, Report of the Native Commissioner, Chipinga, for the year ended 31 December, 1938.

¹⁰⁹ NAZ, S 1563 Assistant NC Report Melsetter 31 December 1944.

¹¹⁰ NAZ, S 10 57/16, Native Board Meetings, 12 June 1944.

¹¹¹ NAZ, S 235/ 483 Development and Registration of the colony's Reserves, 1943.

¹¹² J. McGregor, "Conservation, Control and ecological change: The politics and Ecology of colonial conservation in Shurugwi, Zimbabwe", *Environment and History* 1(3), 1995, pp.257-279; L.L. Bessant, "Coercive Development: Land Shortage, Forced Labour and colonial Development in Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe, 1938-1946",

Investigations are being made with a view to implement conditions of occupation in the Native Reserves and it is hoped to introduce in the near future legislations that will require the adoptions of good husbandry as one of the main conditions attached to cultivation and pasturage rights. The aim will be the elimination, over a period of years, of the inefficient Native farmer and those who are left will adopt farming as a full-time job with prospects of an economic living. It is appreciated that the scheme represents a social revolution which will require to be implemented gradually.¹¹³

In view of the above concerns a new land policy, the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 was enacted to assist in the management of land. The next section looked at the Land Husbandry Act of 1951.

6.2.6 The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and its impact on the Ndau

The Bill was meant to replace communal land tenure by individual land rights and put in place measures aimed at checking environmental degradation.¹¹⁴ Some of the broad aims of the Land Husbandry Act were:

...to provide for a reasonable standard of good husbandry and for protection of natural resources by all Africans...; limit the number in any area to its carrying capacity as far as is practicable... and to allocate individual rights in the arable land and in the communal grazing areas as far as possible in terms of economic units.¹¹⁵

To lend weight to the consideration to introduce a Land Husbandry Act, the Minister of African Affairs ironically acknowledged the pole position that land occupied in the heart of the African when he argued that “[t]he one real heritage that the native has is the land and the whole purpose is to establish land stabilisation and tenure system, both of which are essential if that heritage is to be preserved for the future.”¹¹⁶ The Land Husbandry Act empowered the Government to make regulations for good farming,

The International Journal of African Historical Studies 25(1), 1992, pp. 39-65; L.I. *Colonialism in Africa: The History and politics of colonialism 1914-60*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.137.

¹¹³ N A Z Annual Report of the Native Commissioner, 1947.

¹¹⁴ F. P.T Duri, “Colonial Land Husbandry Measures and African responses: A Case Study of the Mutasa Chiefdom in Rhodesia, 1941-1975,” in M. Mawere & A. Nhemachena (eds.), *Theory, Knowledge Development and Politics: What role for the academy in the sustainability of Africa?* (Bamenda: Langa Research & Publishing Common Initiative Group, 2016), pp. 311-340; A. K. H. Weinrich, *African Farmers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 25; W. Beinart, “Soil erosion, conservationism and ideas about development: A Southern African Exploration 1900-1960”, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11(1), 1984, pp.52-83.

¹¹⁵ B.M., Mupfuvi, “Land To The People:...” , p.163.

¹¹⁶ Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates, 11 April 1951.

including destocking of cattle, control of crops and other similar factors.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, it established communal grazing rights which were to be standing corollary to the individual farming rights. Thus, each farmer was to have individual tenure with regards to the growing of crops, but to share with all the other local farmers a communal grazing area.¹¹⁸ In theory, the Native Land Husbandry Act was one of the most progressive measures implemented in Rhodesia. Its intention, to promote security of tenure and individual land rights was plausible. Likewise, it was generally an acceptable argument that the reserves had deteriorated so much that remedial action was necessary.

While the LAA divided the country into white and black zones, the latter Acts came to reinforce the terms of the former. As far as the Ndaus were concerned, the LAA restricted them to mountainous and low-lying hot areas which lacked conditions to support productive farming. Instead of assigning sufficient land to the Ndaus for their occupation and subsistence, the Rhodesian government concluded that the reserves were ideal and adequate. Racially-skewed land ownership, therefore, had far-reaching consequences within the Ndaus society. Therefore the Land Apportionment Act led to overcrowding, land degradation,¹¹⁹ poverty and hunger thus forcing the Ndaus people to cross the border in search of land.¹²⁰ Instead of acknowledging that the ensuing environmental disaster in the reserves was a consequence of the LAA, the government argued that land degradation was caused by Africans' unscientific farming methods. Accordingly, the Rhodesian government undertook to modernise the reserves to check land degradation in the countryside.¹²¹ This consideration led to the promulgation of the Land Husbandry Act, essentially to promote scientific farming which would check land degradation in the reserves.¹²² However, it is worth noting that the Rhodesian government missed a point and arguably, the Land Husbandry Act merely paper-covered the cracks. While commentators such as Yudelman applauded the Act for providing remedial action to land mismanagement, it was not a solution to land

¹¹⁷ E. Kramer, "A clash of Economics: Early Centralisation Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe 1929-1935", *Zambesia* 25(1), 1998, p.85.

¹¹⁸ S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land as Sacrificial Lamb?...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp.192-207.

¹¹⁹ R. Riddel, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: The Land Question*, (London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1971), p.9.

¹²⁰ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia-Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana Chiefdom...", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.23.

¹²¹ S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land as Sacrificial Lamb?...", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp.192-207.

¹²² F.P.T. Duri, "Colonial Land Husbandry Measures..." (Bamenda: Langa Research & Publishing Common Initiative Group, 2016), pp.311-340.

degradation as ecological problems and frustrations caused the Land Apportionment Act to be practised unabated. Joshua Nkomo remarked that “[no one] is against soil preservation. No one quarrels with the aspect of the Act. But the African needs more land today and conditions of tenure similar to other people. Only then can you teach good husbandry and soil conservation”.¹²³ Land deterioration due to overpopulation and overstocking could only be ameliorated by additional land to decongest the reserves. Consequently, the well-intentioned terms of the Land Husbandry Act did not stop land degradation.

While the government desired this in the interest of good husbandry; to the Ndaus to whom cattle were a social and economic asset, the intention to reduce the number of their cattle was a thorn in the flesh. The Ndaus, most of whom were now living in the hot valley where animal husbandry was the mainstay of their existence, resolved to migrate to Mozambique to protect their animals from compulsory culling.¹²⁴ Moreover, migration into Mozambique was an act of opposition to another clause of the Land Husbandry Act which compelled Africans to construct contour ridges in order to check soil erosion. The clause infuriated the Ndaus because in addition to demanding physical labour, the land they inhabited was naturally barren and contour building would not restore fertility. Consequently, they relocated to neighbouring Mozambique.¹²⁵ Everywhere in Rhodesia, the people expressed dismay at the Rhodesian land policies which deprived them of the basic means of production. Chief Musikavanhu commented that “[t]he African is being driven to what he regards as the worst type of land much against his will. There he will meet a law which does not allow him to graze his animals or plough a piece of land without a written permission”.¹²⁶ Regarding the frustration with colonial land policies, Duri argued that most colonial husbandry measures were hardly new to the Africans. Contour ridging which was enforced by the Land Husbandry Act was not very different from terracing which from time immemorial had been implemented to check soil erosion in mountainous areas. The assertion that individual land tenure, which was one of the provisions of the Land Husbandry Act, was inimical to the Ndaus’ interests was hardly plausible as it was a common practice in pre-colonial Africa. Therefore, the relocation to Mozambique had nothing to do with the conservation measures *per se* but

¹²³ M.L. Rifkind, “The Politics of Land...”, p.163.

¹²⁴ Singauke, C. “The Establishment of Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...”, p.12.

¹²⁵ NAZ S1563, Native Commissioner Annual Report, Melsetter/ Chipinga, 1958.

¹²⁶ *The Rhodesian Herald*, 7 December 1950.

was a spontaneous reaction to colonial land policies that reduced the amount of land for the Ndaus to subsist on.¹²⁷ Echoing the above sentiments Chitepo cited in Utete remarked that:

I could go into the whole theories of discrimination, legislation, residency, in economic opportunities, in education. I could go into that but I will restrict myself to the question of land because I think this is very basic. To us the essence of expropriation, the essence of white domination, is domination over land. That is the real issue.¹²⁸

What Chitepo implies is that the expropriation of the basic means of subsistence undermined the stability of the African society. The Ndaus, who suffered the brunt of colonial land policies, devised coping strategies which involved, among other things, seeking living space in Mozambique.¹²⁹ Migration was therefore an option to mitigate land shortage which induced poverty and marginalisation.¹³⁰ The next section focused on the impact of the Land Tenure Act on the Ndaus.

6.2.7 Land Tenure Act (1969) and landlessness among the Ndaus

As already highlighted, the Land Apportionment and Land Husbandry Acts provoked anger among Africans which resulted in demonstrations, court cases and, ultimately, the rise of African nationalism in Rhodesia. The Nationalists who fronted as the face of the disadvantaged black majority were affectionately known as sons of the soil, a title that symbolised that they were fighting to reclaim the lost land.¹³¹ The Ndaus, angered by the loss of land and inspired by Ndabaningi Sithole, a Ndaus, who was the founding President of ZANU and ZANLA fought alongside other Zimbabweans to liberate the country of colonial rule.¹³² Ian Smith, a right wing Rhodesian Prime Minister being guided by an Act of Parliament (The Land Tenure Act, 1969) ordered a repeal of the

¹²⁷ F.P.T. Duri, "Colonial Land Husbandry...", F.P.T. Duri, "Colonial Land Husbandry Measures..." (Bamenda: Langa Research & Publishing Common Initiative Group, 2016) pp.311-340.

¹²⁸ C. Utete, *Report of the Presidential Land...*, p.14.

¹²⁹ C. Sigauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...", p.27.

¹³⁰ M. Murenje, "Home is where the heart is", *NewsDay*, 18 January 2017, p.13.

¹³¹ See: W. Mwatwara, "A history of state veterinary services and African livestock regimes in colonial Zimbabwe c1896-1980", PhD Thesis Stellenbosch University 2014; T.O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and the Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A comparative Study*, (London, James Currey 1985); M.B. Munochiveyi "We don't want to be ruled by foreigners; Oral histories of nationalism in colonial Zimbabwe", *Historia* 73(1), 2011, pp. 65-87; R.S., Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "A luta Continua: A Critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within – Third Chimurenga among the Ndaus people in Chipinge district, Southeastern...", in *Journal of African Studies and Development*, Vol.2 (6), 2010, pp.175-184.

¹³²(PC-JH), D. Muzite, (Headman), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

LAA and reinstated the powers of African chiefs in the administration of land in rural areas.¹³³ The Land Tenure Act, like the previous Acts was not promulgated to provide additional land to the expanding African population but as a device to manage the use of limited land available to the indigenous people. It provided for the reduction of the size of land owned by the whites to 45 000 000 acres of land and allocated also 45000 000 to Africans, introducing a semblance of parity in land division in the country between the two principal races.¹³⁴

Therefore, the decision to allocate land to individuals in communal areas became the sole responsibility of chiefs in conjunction with other village men. However, it can be argued that the decision by the Rhodesian government to stress the power of traditional leaders in land allocation was a ploy to take away the blame for land shortage from the state to African chiefs. Further, it was a calculation to win support from traditional leaders who were bound to lend their support to African nationalists who were fighting, among other things, for land restitution in the country.¹³⁵ Also, it should be noted that while on paper the LTA's provisions divided the country's land equally between whites and Africans, the formula worked in favour of the whites only. There was hardly equitable distribution of land because Africans deserved more land because of their numerical superiority over the white population. Moreover, the most productive regions of the country such as regions one, two and three were not given to blacks. These regions received high rainfall and were endowed with good soils and with reference to the study area, the region supported diversified farming system ranging from tea, coffee, banana, wattle production to dairy and beef farming.¹³⁶ On the contrary, the Ndaus were restricted to regions four and five, which were characterised by frequent severe droughts. In addition the European area in Southern Rhodesia was also secured by the constitution which forbade squatting on the European land.¹³⁷ For example, some sections in the Land Tenure Act read as follows:

¹³³ M. Meredith, *Mugabe: Power, Plunder and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2007), p.116.

¹³⁴ F. Duri, "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia - Mozambique Border...", PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2012, p.108.

¹³⁵ P.S. Nyambara, "Immigrants, 'Traditional' leaders and the Rhodesian State: The Power of 'Communal' Land Tenure and the Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe...", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(4), 2001, p.771.

¹³⁶ W. Roder, "The Division of Land Resources in Southern Rhodesia", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 54(1), 1964, p.48.

¹³⁷ M.G. Chinamasa, "The Human Right to Land in Zimbabwe: The Legal and Extra-Legal Resettlement Processes", LLM Dissertation, University of Makerere, 2001, p. 21.

...if an African was occupying land in the European Area, the owners or person occupying or in control of such land or his agent was deemed to have permitted it unless the contract was proved....Under section 24 the African Area was defined as an area in which the interests of the Africans were paramount, and the restrictions on Europeans owning, leasing or occupying land mirrored those applicable to Africans in the European Area.¹³⁸

What emerges from the Land Tenure Act was the Rhodesian government's determination to support land segregation policies in the country. It can be opined in this chapter that the Rhodesian government intended to win support from the white community by facilitating easy access for whites to the country's most fertile land. The Ndaus, the majority of whom inhabited the fertile uplands in Region One, were severely affected by the terms of the LTA. As most of their ancestral land was included in the white land, they were forced to look for land elsewhere especially in neighbouring Mozambique.¹³⁹ While on paper the LAA of 1931 was repealed, in reality the policy was bolstered by the provisions of the LTA. Contrary to the views of the white community, as regards the positive effects of the LTA, this Act was never a panacea to the country's agrarian problem. In the context of the Rhodesian land problem, scientific land or the involvement of traditional leaders in the distribution of land was not a solution. Therefore, the period post the LTA witnessed increased overstocking, high population densities, environmental degradation, declining agricultural in the countryside. Congestion in the reserves prompted the Ndaus to grow crops on marginal terrain, for example steep slopes and riverbanks (for example, Ngaone, Murenje, Muzite and other places in Chipinge that are unsuitable for human settlement),¹⁴⁰ grazing areas and wet lands thus posing great environmental risks.¹⁴¹ This therefore lends credence to Nyandoro's argument that the eviction of the Africans was intensified by the enactment of the LTA.¹⁴²

¹³⁸ C.J. Zvogbo, "Church and State in Rhodesia: from the Unilateral Declaration of Independence to Pearce Commission, 1965-72", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31(2), 2005, p.387.

¹³⁹ N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources in South-eastern Zimbabwe...", PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015, p.97; E. Gwenzi, "Cross Border Dynamics: The Zimbabwe Mozambique Border and the Gwenzi Chiefdom 1891-1974", BA Hons Mini Research essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013, p.23.

¹⁴⁰ (PC-JH), D. Muzite, (Headman), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

¹⁴¹ M.G. Chinamasa, "The Human Right to Land in Zimbabwe: The Legal and Extra-Legal Resettlement...", M.G. Chinamasa, "The Human Right to Land in Zimbabwe: The Legal and Extra-Legal Resettlement Processes", LLM Dissertation, University of Makerere, 2001, p.13.

¹⁴² M. Nyandoro, "Zimbabwe's Land Struggles and Land Rights in Historical Perspective: The Case of Gokwe-Sanyati Irrigation (1950-2000)", *Historia*, 57(2), 2012, p.308.

The prior discussion on measures that were taken to annex land from Zimbabweans inclusive of the Ndaus draws inspiration from Lenin's theory of imperialism- monopoly capitalism. Lenin opined that under monopoly capitalism, business is captured by giant multi-industry corporations better known as conglomerates.¹⁴³ It is argued that the conglomerates, being the antithesis of free trade, swallow independent enterprises to enjoy business monopoly.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, the Rhodesian white farmers' determination to expropriate land and the introduction of policies which discriminated against African produce was motivated by the desire to render a black farmer a non competing entity.¹⁴⁵ The section which follows discussed the Ndaus people's relocation to Mozambique.

6.3 Ndaus people's relocation to Mozambique

The overall impact of the Ndaus evictions from the fertile Chipinge highlands was the involuntary relocation to Mozambique in search of land. The acquisition of farming land in Mozambique involved wholesome relocation and family splitting between the borders.¹⁴⁶ Here, polygamists split their families across the border to ensure that the home in Mozambique became an insurance against hunger and starvation while the Rhodesian one ensured that children accessed esteemed education in the English language.¹⁴⁷

It is critical to note that migration into Mozambique in search of land was made possible by some factors. Cross-border ethnic relations, which have existed since the establishment of the border, facilitated the movement across the boundary.¹⁴⁸ For the Ndaus, it was a matter of moving from one part of Gwenzu Kingdom in Rhodesia to another in Mozambique.¹⁴⁹ In that regard the foreign status never applied to them as the land had been theirs since time immemorial.¹⁵⁰ Also, land was available in the adjacent Portuguese territory in the drier parts of Mossurize district which had not been

¹⁴³ V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of....*, p.21.

¹⁴⁴ S.Ilyin & A. Motylev, *ABC of Social and Political Knowledge: What Is Political....*, pp.244-252.

¹⁴⁵ See V. H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002).

¹⁴⁶ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...", p.20.

¹⁴⁷ J. Hlongwana, "A People of Two Worlds?...", in F.P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands....*, p.143.

¹⁴⁸ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique/Zimbabwe...* p. 4.

¹⁴⁹ (PC-JH) S. Mungenge (Cross-border farmer), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 5 December 2018.

¹⁵⁰ D.M. Hughes, "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and the Politics of Territory on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(4), 1999, pp.533-552.

expropriated by the Portuguese.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the movement of people into Mozambique in search of land was made possible by the fact that the border was porous.¹⁵² Unlike other border regions such as Zimbabwe/Zambia or Zimbabwe/South Africa whose borders consist of natural features (Zambezi and Limpopo rivers respectively) that demarcate the countries, the Mozambican/Zimbabwean borderland has none of these. The border is long and extremely porous, making it difficult to police. Moreover, border porosity was aggravated by the Ndaus' hostility towards it.¹⁵³ According to the Ndaus, the boundary they know is Save River further north which separates them from the Karanga people and not the colonial line which segmented them.¹⁵⁴ Closely related to above argument, Hughes argued that the Mozambique/Zimbabwe border was extremely soft as it was unsupervised, unfenced and to a greater extent unmarked. He therefore remarked:

... The border jumper will encounter no language barriers with his hosts and may well share bonds of blood and marriage. Indeed, a history of migration into and through Zimbabwe-Mozambique borderland has unsettled colonial and post-colonial administrators.¹⁵⁵

It can thus be argued that the need to satisfy economic and social wants in a divided environment helped to build a transnational Ndaus community whose cross-border transgressions rendered the border "borderless".¹⁵⁶

Most fundamentally, relocation and settlement were not haphazardly done. The majority of the families from the southern margins of Chipinge district migrated to relatively drier regions,¹⁵⁷ of Mossurize district of Mozambique. The need to maintain large herds of cattle was the motivational reason to settle in the region because the area was sparsely populated and devoid of wet valleys that naturally harbour bovine parasites and fatal diseases.¹⁵⁸ As a result, places such as Garahwa, Chikwekwete, Chaibva and several other places in the low lying areas were populated by Ndaus cattle farmers from

¹⁵¹J. Hlongwana, "A People of Two Worlds?...", in F.P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands*, p.143

¹⁵² E. McGonagle, *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe...*, p.109.

¹⁵³ (PC-JH), B.Jara, (Immigration officer), Zona Immigration Border Post, Mossurize, 5 December 2016.

¹⁵⁴ (PC-JH), D. Gwenzi, (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December, 2015.

¹⁵⁵ D.M. Hughes, "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and the Politics of Territory on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(4), 1999, pp.533-552.

¹⁵⁶ J. Hlongwana, "A People of Two Worlds?...", in F.P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands...*, p.147.

¹⁵⁷ NAZ, S1057/16 Native Board Meetings 12 June 1934.

¹⁵⁸ (PC-JH), F. Chigodho (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

Rhodesia.¹⁵⁹In addition to animal keeping the farmers grew drought resistant crops, for instance water melons and millet.¹⁶⁰ However, the majority of crop farmers settled along the border in places such as Gwenzi, Mapungwana, Makuyana, Mafusi, Zinyumbu and several others.¹⁶¹ The villages were predominantly located in the Buzi/Musiriziwi basin, a rich agricultural region with plenty of rainfall.¹⁶² Not only were the areas attractive because of arable soils and high rainfall, they were also endowed with wet valleys which permitted year round growing of crops.¹⁶³ In addition to the cultivation of cereal crops the Ndaus farmers grew tubers such as yams commonly known as *madhumbe/magogoya* in the Ndaus community. The next section discussed the implications of cross-border settlements on cross-border mobility.

6.3.1 Ndaus cross-border settlements and implications on trans-boundary mobility

The farming settlements across the border farming worsened 'borderlessness' in the borderland. Colonial Zimbabwe remained relatively attractive in the provision of certain services and consequently the relocated Ndaus farmers continued to transact cross-border businesses in colonial Zimbabwe.¹⁶⁴ Economic factors largely explained the porosity of the border as colonially marginalised Ndaus people sought sustenance from colonial Zimbabwe.¹⁶⁵ Considerable numbers of Ndaus people from Mozambique sought employment at expansive farms along Rhodesia's eastern border.¹⁶⁶ Examples of such estates which relied largely on labour from neighbouring Mozambique were Jersey, Zona, Smalldeed, Ratelshoek and Munyasa. Some men and women who lived close to the border, crossed to work in Rhodesia in the day and returned home to Mozambique in the evening. In spite of the Portuguese calls to intensify patrols in the borderland, the British were not very cooperative because they benefitted from the porous border in other respects. Many Ndaus from Mozambique came to do their shopping at borderline stores in Rhodesia since such facilities were virtually non-existent in Mossurize district.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹ (PC-JH), B., Xavier, (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

¹⁶⁰ (PC-JH), S.K. Mangenje, (Chief), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

¹⁶¹ (PC-JH), D.Gwenzi, (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2015.

¹⁶² H.H. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom: The Manyika and their African and Portuguese Neighbours 1575-1902*, (Harare, Longman Zimbabwe, 1982), p.2.

¹⁶³ (PC-JH), S.K. Mangenje, (Chief), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

¹⁶⁴ B.C. Grier, *Invisible hands: Child labour and the in colonial Zimbabwe*, (Porthsmouth, Heinemann, 2006), p.163.

¹⁶⁵ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe*. p.9.

¹⁶⁶ J.M. Nerves, "Economy, Society and Labour and Migration in Central Mozambique 1930-1965: A Case Study of Maniua Province", PhD Thesis, University of London, 1998, p.37.

¹⁶⁷ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...", p.31.

In addition many estate companies in Chipinge purchased grain to feed their workers from Mozambican Ndaus most of whom crossed the border through undesignated points.¹⁶⁸ Not only did economic imperatives promote cross-border mobility but some urgent social commitments which made people to violate borders included the need to visit sick relatives and to attend funerals and important cultural activities.¹⁶⁹ For example the Ndaus conducted joint cultural ceremonies in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland.¹⁷⁰ These included rainmaking (makoto) appeasing cultural spirits (marombo), memorial services, bringing back the spirits of the dead (kurovaguva) and coronation of chiefs (kugadza mambo).¹⁷¹ In the case of coronation of chiefs, tradition demanded that clan members attended the ceremony to lend legitimacy to the enthroned person. Therefore members from the concerned royal member's family and interested ordinary people crossed the border to celebrate the elevation of an individual to a position of authority in the region.¹⁷² In the context of cross-border relocation, it can be argued that the need to survive in a marginalised borderland and to maintain cross-border ethnic relations is the key driver of trans-boundary movement.

The argument above on cross-border migration in the study area strongly resonates with Larmarque's analysis of the role of asymmetrical conditions in causing cross-border migration in the borderland. These asymmetries ranged from social, economic to political variations in the borderland which however blended together to produce a broad sense of borderland space among the residents. The argument above on cross-border migration in the study area strongly resonates with Larmarque's analysis of the role of asymmetrical conditions in causing cross-border migration in the borderland. These asymmetries ranged from social, economic to political variations in the borderland which however blended together to produce a broad sense of borderland space among the residents. As elaborated in chapter One, Larmarque argued that migrants moved towards areas that are endowed with opportunities on the borderland.¹⁷³ Drawing from the same line of reasoning, Lorey cited in Coplain argued that better living conditions in the United States of America draw migrants from a less

¹⁶⁸ B.C. Grier, *Invisible Hands: Child Labour...*, p.163.

¹⁶⁹ M. Patricio, *Ndaus Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland...*, p.9.

¹⁷⁰ (PC-JH), W.Mashava, (Chipinge District Administrator), Chipinge Town, Zimbabwe, 1 December 2015.

¹⁷¹ (PC-JH), D.Gwenzi, (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2015.

¹⁷² C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...", p.34.

¹⁷³ H. Larmarque, "On Asymmetry and Imbalance in Urban Borderlands," *Materiality and Immateriality in the Reproduction of African Borders*, African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Workshop, University of Cagliari, Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy 2018.

developed Mexico.¹⁷⁴ In the same vein the landless Ndaus from Zimbabwe migrate into Mozambique in search of land for farming. Also, Ravenstein's assertion that bad or oppressive laws produce currents of migration,¹⁷⁵ aptly informed this study. Similarly, and as shown especially in chapters Five, Seven and Eight the Ndaus' cross-border migration is a consequence of bad colonial and post-colonial laws that deprived them of land to subsist on.

6.4 Conclusion

Chapter six was all about colonial and land legislations in the former Rhodesia that forced the Ndaus to cross into Mozambique in search of land to settle on. Events which preceded the colonisation of Zimbabwe and the motive for the adoption of land expropriation legislations were examined. It was argued that the British were planning to establish a thriving mining business in Rhodesia. However, the anticipated mineral wealth was not viable as Rhodesia largely had alluvial minerals. The failure to embark on a capital-intensive mining business forced the white settlers to turn their focus to agriculture as the mainstay of the colony's economy. It was established in this chapter that owing to selfish economic interests to create a pool of landless Africans who would survive by selling their labour power to the white settlers, the Rhodesian government enacted pieces of legislations to expropriate land from the Africans. These included, among others, the Land Apportionment and the Land Husbandry Acts. The LAA, which divided the country into white and black areas, had a negative impact on the Ndaus' society. The Ndaus were restricted to marginal terrain where their livelihoods became precarious. The discussion further pointed out that congestion in the reserves triggered unprecedented land degradation to which the colonial government responded by introducing the Land Husbandry Act to arrest environmental degradation in the reserves. Among other prescriptions, the Land Husbandry Act recommended destocking, construction of contour ridges and individual land ownership. It was argued that what was needed in 1951 was not the introduction of the Land Husbandry Act, but extra land in order to decongest the reserves.

¹⁷⁴ D.B. Coplain, "Siamese Twin Towns and unitary concepts in Border inequality", U. Engel & P. Nugent (eds.), *Reshaping Africa*, (LedeinKoninklijke Brill NV, 2010), pp.71-87.

¹⁷⁵ M.J. Greenwood, "The migration legacy ...", *Migration Studies*,7(2), 2019, pp.269-278.

However, as the Rhodesian authorities were seemingly unwilling to allocate additional land to the Ndau, the Ndau were forced to subdivide plots, practise stream-bank cultivation and turn grazing areas into crop fields. The main basis of the Ndau people's resentment of the colonial land legislations was five-fold: they were opposed to land alienation, attempts to reduce the number of animals, construction of contour ridges in unproductive terrain, introduction of the individual land tenure system and exploitation by white farmers. As a result, the desperate situation in the district forced hundreds of Ndau people to migrate to Mozambique in search of land. In Chapter Seven the focus will be on estate farming in the Zimbabwean side of the border, which further instilled a large scale migration of the Ndau.

CHAPTER 7

ESTATE FARMING FURTHER ENFORCING NDAU DISPLACEMENT, C.1940-2010

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the development of plantation farming close to the Zimbabwean-Mozambican border, and its effects on the Ndaus. The advent of colonialism in Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland resulted in the development of estate farming in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region. European settlements in the borderland led to land expropriation by state and multi-national companies for estate farming. The estates ranged from natural and exotic forests, coffee, tea to sugarcane plantations. The majority of the plantations lie along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border. The estates are so vast and numerous that, as highlighted later in the chapter, they cover a significant area of Chipinge District. In addition to protecting tree and animal species, promotion of tourism and the provision of employment the estates have assisted in the development of amenities and infrastructure in the region. Indeed, the presence of the estates in the Ndaus region has resulted in improved general development on the Zimbabwean segment of the borderland compared to the Mozambican side which lags behind in physical development. This chapter endeavoured to answer the question: How far did estate farming displace the Ndaus from arable land? Owing to their numbers and vastness, the estates have deprived the Ndaus of space to subsist on. This thesis joins a growing body of scholarship on plantation farming in the borderland. Significant studies on estate farming on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland have been made by scholars such as Hughes and Ndumeya.¹ Hughes focused mainly on indigenous forests' decimation in the border region, leading to the decision to establish exotic forests to relieve pressure from the native forests. Equally, informative is the work of Ndumeya, whose emphasis is on natural resource utilisation during the colonial period. Like Hughes, Ndumeya produced a detailed discussion on coffee, tea and forest estates on the borderland. While these studies have highlighted the establishment and presence of estates in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region, this chapter discusses the impact of estate farming on landlessness among the Ndaus people and the subsequent cross-border migration into Mozambique to secure land for farming. The chapter begins

¹ See D.M. Hughes, "Cadastral Politics: the Making of Community Forestry in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, paper presented to the biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property", Bloomington Indiana, USA 31 May-4 June, 2000, p.3; N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest 1920s-1979", *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press, 2017, p.1. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed : 15 November 2019.

by discussing the establishment of coffee and tea estates along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border. The chapter also focuses on the creation of natural and exotic forests and their impact on Ndau land ownership. Attention was drawn to post-colonial estate farming and its impact on the displacement of the Ndau people from Zimbabwe to Mozambique. The discussion centres on sugarcane growing in the Chisumbanje area of Chipinge District. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the relevance of Imperialism Theory in this study. The thesis argues that plantation farming was initially introduced in the region as part of the big scheme to promote pro-British white presence in the contested region, in order to curb Portuguese encroachment into the British territory. Crucially, the study argues that the establishment of plantation agriculture displaced the Ndau from their productive land, forcing them to cross the border into Mozambique, in search of land. The next section focuses on the development of coffee and tea plantations and its impact on the displacement of the Ndau from Zimbabwe.

7.2 Coffee and tea plantations along the border

Driven by the desire to consolidate the British geopolitical position in the study area, the British authorised international companies to invest in the Chimanimani/Chipinge area. It can be argued that the abundance of land, as well as good climatic and soil conditions, were used as bait to encourage plantation companies to invest in the area.²The following comment in a company document of 1965 lends weight to this suspicion:

...areas of 25-30 miles of radius of Chipinge itself has in my opinion, vast potential, it has been proved that coffee, tea, maize, peas, in fact all the ingredients which go to make a successful farm, economy, can all be grown in this area. Cattle do well; beckoners are being got away at 5 ½ months which is good by any standards. It must be one of the very few areas in the world where coffee, tea, tobacco, wheat, maize, citrus, etc. will grow on the same farm, with livestock doing equally well.³

Indeed, good climatic and soil conditions made the Chimanimani/Chipinge region the most productive agricultural zone in Zimbabwe. To ensure that the Chipinge area was utilised, the Rhodesian government advertised it to prospective farmers:

² J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2007, p.34.

³ NAZ, L.1.7.4F, B: 938335, Coffee General, Vol.1, Rhodesia Wattle Company, Billard Report, 20 July 1965.

Applicants are invited for persons interested in leasing land with an option of purchase for the purpose of producing coffee [and partaking in other farming activities] in Chipinge District. Applicants should have a general farming experience and a minimum uncommitted capital, machinery inclusive the value of relevant farming equipment of £2500. Preference may be given to those with capital in excess of the minimum. Government is prepared to assist approved applicants in obtaining leases of suitable land and by making available loans during the first 5 years after which period the crop should be in economic production...⁴

Thus, vast expanses of land were given to agro-based companies in the region. The Tanganda Tea Company is one of such companies which invested in plantation agriculture in Chipinge in the production of tea.⁵ From these humble beginnings, the Tanganda Tea Company went on to establish several estates such as Ratelshoek, Jersey and Zona Tea Estates (1944).⁶ Characteristically, most of the estates were located along the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Allied to tea plantation growing, was the establishment of coffee estates; for example, Smalldeel Estate,⁷ now Makandi Estate. The spill over effect of the plantation international companies are noticeable: they created jobs, not only to Zimbabwean Ndaus, but also to Mozambicans, particularly from the adjacent Mossurize District, whose many inhabitants are Ndaus; they,⁸ established schools and clinics in the area and, to link and coordinate their farming activities, good road networks were established and, above all, the proliferation of growth points in the estates transformed a place which could have remained backward owing to its remoteness from big economic centres.⁹ However, in spite of the benefits outlined above, the estates created a deep-seated agrarian problem in the area; the estates are so vast that hundreds of people were evicted to make way for them. To make matters worse, the estates were established in areas which were heavily populated by the Ndaus prior to the advent of colonial rule.¹⁰ Not only did the areas possess good soil and climatic conditions, but they were criss-crossed by perennial rivers, whose abundant waters would support the envisaged plantation farming

⁴ NAZ, L, 38. 8. 9F, B: 69596, Coffee, growing, Ministry of Mines and Lands, Land settlement based on coffee Draft Advertisement 1964.

⁵ NAZ, L. 42.13.4R, B: 126962, Tea Planting in Southern Rhodesia, Letter from D. Espach, Secretary for Agriculture to secretary for mines and lands 27 July 1965.

⁶ B. C. Grier, "Child Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe", in H.D., Hindman (ed.), *The World of Child Labour. An Historical and Regional Survey*, (New York, M.E Sharp, 2009), p. 175.

⁷ NAZ, L: 38.8.9F, B: 69596 Coffee Growing 1964, Rhodesia Wattle Company Ltd Memorandum on coffee growing on the Company's Estates, 1 April 1964.

⁸ NAZ, S 1563/2, NC Report Chipinga 1936.

⁹ J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District...", p. 26.

¹⁰ (PC-JH), L. Dekeya, (Border region settler), Jersey Tea Estate, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 5 January 2016.

activities.¹¹ The next section focuses on the establishment of natural and exotic forests and their impact on Ndaou land ownership.

7.2.1 Establishment of natural forests

The campaign by environmentalists, to protect flora and fauna in Southern Rhodesia, was a consequence of the depletion of animal and tree species by hunters and loggers.¹² The wave of large-scale hunting reached southern Africa in the 1880s, Zimbabwe included. Game hunting coincided with the colonisation of Southern Africa as hunters and explorers became the forerunners of colonial rule as they had criss-crossed the region and knew where game and tree species were found in abundance. As a result of increased hunting and logging activities, the state introduced measures to protect game and forests.¹³ Largely, European settlers from South Africa wanted to invest their wealth in forestry, hunting and ecotourism. In the 19th century, following the arrival of white farmers from South Africa, large farms -each side of which corresponded to an hour's horse ride- were mapped.¹⁴ In addition to the establishment of coffee and tea plantations, vast expanses of land were set aside for forestry.¹⁵ As argued above, the diffusion of ideas about land resource conservation into the southern African region was a consequence of concerns raised against unsustainable exploitation of the wildlife resources on the borderland.¹⁶ Coincidentally, the rise of the British conservationist mode of thought, lent weight to the environmentalists' call to protect land based resources in the British Empire.¹⁷ The environmental lobbyists succeeded in forming an organisation whose aim was to protect fauna and flora in the British Empire in Europe in 1903.¹⁸ The organisation created a journal whose editorial focus was on wildlife

¹¹ F. Dube, "Colonialism, Cross-border movements and Epidemiology...", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009, p. 18.

¹² See N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections ON Chirinda Forest 1920s-1979", *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press, 2017, www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed :15 November 2019.

¹³ F. Matose, "Conflicts Around Forest Reserves in Zimbabwe; What Prospects for Communities Management?" *IDS Bulletin*, 28(4), 1997, p.70.

¹⁴ D.M. Hughes, "Cadastral Politics: The Making of Communities Forestry in Mozambique and...", paper presented to the biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington Indiana, USA 31 May-4 June, 2000, p.4.

¹⁵ NAZ L: 13.9.4R, B: 58845, Purchase of Land for Government Purposes, Glencoe, Melsetter, letter from P.B. Muller to Undersecretary, Department of Lands 6May 1944.

¹⁶ J. Carruthers, "Changing perspectives on wildlife in southern Africa, c.1840 to 1914", *Society and Animals*, 13(3), 2005, pp. 183-200; N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest ...", *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press, 2017, p.1. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed: 15November 2019.

¹⁷ N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest...", *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press, 2017, p.1. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed : 15 November 2019.

¹⁸ J. Carruthers, "Changing Perspectives on Wildlife in Southern Africa...", *Society and Animals*, 13(3), 2005, pp.183-200.

conservation. While the above environmentalists were largely concerned with the preservation of resources and wildlife in the British Empire in Europe, Southern Africa had John Croumbie Brown and Robert Moffat who were campaigning for legislation to protect wildlife and the environment in the region.¹⁹ Commenting on the role of external influence in the adoption of environmental policies in Southern Africa and Southern Rhodesia, Kwashirai argued that Europe and America played an important role in the introduction of environmental policies in Zimbabwe.²⁰ Responding to external and internal pressures, the Rhodesian government resolved to protect natural forests and wildlife from wanton exploitation by loggers and hunters, respectively. Concurrently, places that were endowed with natural forests were declared protected sites. In this regard, Rusitu and Haroni valleys were annexed to the Chimanimani National Park and were turned into botanical reserves. While previously natural forests were historically protected by local communities who viewed such forests as the home of the local spirits,²¹ they became protected state properties where consumptive utilisation of resources without obtaining permission from relevant authorities was not permissible. Equally, Chirinda and Ngungunyana forests, in Mapungwana Kingdom, were privatised, forcing the Ndaus, who lived in the area, to enter into labour tenancy arrangements with the land owners.²² For the privilege to remain on the land, the Ndaus worked for three months for the landlord every year.²³ However, the majority of the Ndaus who formerly lived in the expropriated forests were expelled from the forests. The comment which follows, underscores the argument that the creation of natural forests resulted in the removal of the Ndaus from their native locations.

... I submit a complete list of the native men in or near the area, with the exception of nos. 3 (Chibatira Sixpence) who is a government servant and nos 6, 7 and 8 (Mundame Basket, Kadyembo Jonas and Manyenyiyi Sugera respectively) who are decrepit. They are working for the mission. The mission authorities and natives themselves would want

¹⁹ N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest...", *Environment and History*, p.1. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed: 15 November 2019; M. Singh, "Basutoland: A historical journey into the environment", *Environment and History*, 6(1), 2000, pp.31-70.

²⁰ V. Kwashirayi, "Poverty in the Gwai Forest Reserve, Zimbabwe: 1880s-1953", *Global Environment*, 1(1), 2008, p.159; N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections ON Chirinda Forest...", *Environment and History*, The White Horse Press, 2017, p.2. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed : 15 November 2019.

²¹ Z. Chidhakwa, "Managing Conflict around contested natural resources: a case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani Zimbabwe", *Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR)*, 1993, p.190.

²² (PC-JH)W. Maposa, (Border region settler), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 4 December 2015.

²³ NAZ, RC, L25.12.6F, B92151, F1680/1 Mt Selinda and Chirinda Forest letter from conservator of Forestry to G.M. McGregor 29 September 1939.

to know if the Forestry Department would allow them to keep on living in the government area.²⁴

These tenants had limited choices to make: either they remained on the estates and continued to pay rentals in labour services or migrated to rural areas where the soils were generally poor.²⁵ As discussed above, the Ndau, residing in and around areas where natural forests were turned into protected private entities, suffered extreme land losses as private companies and the state collaborated in the expropriation of land which since time immemorial had been their basic means of sustenance. The next section looks at the establishment of exotic forests in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region and their impact on landlessness among the Ndau.

7.2.2 The creation of exotic forests

The presence of evergreen natural forests such as Haroni, Chirinda, Hadowa, and several others,²⁶ made Chimanimani/Chipinge region a suitable place for the establishment of exotic forests. The forest Act was promulgated in 1948 and became the legal basis for the creation of forests in Zimbabwe. To address the problem of indigenous forests' depletion, recommendations were made to establish exotic forests. Additionally, land for the creation of forests was acquired from white farmers who were abandoning farming in the region. In the late 1940s individual farmers in Chimanimani/Chipinge were beginning to leave the area citing market unreliability as the major reason for their departure from the region. They argued that, in spite of the good soil and climatic conditions found in the area, the distance from Salisbury (the capital city), and now Harare, was counter-productive. Alternatively, they moved to places which were near Salisbury such as Rusape, Marondera, Karoyi,²⁷ and others, especially in the Mashonaland provinces. Consequently, they sold their farms to big international companies which had business interest in forestry.²⁸

²⁴ N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest..." *Environment and History*, p.16. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed :15 November 2019.

²⁵ (PC-JH), D. Muzite, (Headman), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

²⁶ NAZ.L: C32.15.9 R, B.126947, Lands, Melsetter Area Regional Plan, March 1968; NAZ, F 122/400/7/35/3: Report on a visit to the border clearing by R. J. Phelps, Entomologist, Department of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis and Reclamation, Southern Rhodesia, 24 April 1958; NAZ, RC, L25.12.6F, B92151, F1680/1, MT Selinda and Chirinda Forest Annual report of civil commissioner, Melsetter to Secretary for Agriculture 31 December, 1920.

²⁷ See N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources..." p. 82.

²⁸ D.M. Hughes, "Cadastral Politics: The Making of Community Forestry in Mozambique..." Paper presented to the biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bloomington Indiana, USA 31 May-4 June, 2000, p.8.

In addition to the desire to prevent natural trees depletion, Ndumeya argued that the need for large scale timber production was proposed in the 1950s, to function as a barrier against the transmission of cattle diseases from Mozambique. Cattle from neighbouring Mozambique wandered into colonial Zimbabwe because the two adjacent governments had difficulties in controlling animal movement across the border.²⁹ The Rhodesian authorities' fears were justified as there were limited dip tanks in Mozambique and also cattle from the southern parts of the Mossurize District in Mozambique occasionally mingled with buffalos (vectors which transmit the Foot and Mouth disease to cattle) from the nearby game park. It was argued that the forests would check animal interaction, thereby minimising the spread of diseases from Mozambique into colonial Zimbabwe.³⁰ Consequently, a decision was passed to amalgamate individual farms that were found along the eastern border in order to create a buffer zone against animal movement and diseases. As a result, timber companies bought the individual farms and consolidated them into expansive timber estates which in the end deprived the ordinary person of land for subsistence farming. In Chimanimani/Chipinge, the entry of the timber company began with the establishment of the Gungunyana Estate in Mapungwana chiefdom, overlooking the Chipungumbira (Espungabera) hill on the Mozambican side.³¹ Concomitantly, Sinclair argued that, in the Chimanimani area, the Forestry Department purchased several isolated farms and created the Martin Forest Reserve, which specialised in pine trees production.³² Similarly, other companies that invested in timber plantation included the Wattle Company, Gwingingwe, Silver Stream and Border Timbers which, by 1957, had planted trees in an area covering 21000 acres.³³ The result was that by 1945, timber companies were now in control of 162526 acres of land, representing 49% of land on the plateau.³⁴ Hence, plantation agriculture deprived the Ndaus of arable land and; subsequently, forced them to become wage labourers or to relocate to neighbouring Mozambique where land could be acquired easily.³⁵ The section that follows examines the impact of forestry on land ownership among the Ndaus.

²⁹ NAZ, S 2827/2/2/3: Report of the Native Commissioner, Chipinga, 31 December 1955.

³⁰ NAZ, F122/FH/30/1/1: The fight against tsetse fly in the British African Dependency (no date).

³¹ NAZ, L.25.12, Mount Selinda and Chirinda Forest, Provisional Report on Ngungunyana, 2 May 1939.

³² S. Sinclair, *The story of Melsetter*, (Salisbury, M.O. Collins, 1971), p.159.

³³ N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources..." p. 82.

³⁴ NAZ, F1511CA/ Melsetter 1 CAFile 2, from conservation and extension officer to Director of Conservation and Extension, 27 April 1957.

³⁵ (PC-JH) D. Matiti, (Cross-border farmer), Tamandai, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 12 December 2015.

7.2.3 The impact of forestry on Ndau land ownership

The establishment of forests in the Ndau land had far reaching ramifications. As vast landscape was planted with exotic trees, the Ndau communities were evicted from their land.³⁶ As a result of the displacements, the Ndau relocated to the reserves that were unsuitable for farming in Vhimba,³⁷ Mapungwana, Musikavanhu and Gwenzi areas. Since the communities in Chipinge and Chimanimani are surrounded by plantations and lack grazing areas for animals, Ndau cattle owners graze their animals along fireguards.³⁸ Not only did the Ndau lose arable land, as a result of the creation of forests, but the natural forests which, prior to colonisation, supported the lives of the Ndau in other important ways. In order to survive under the harsh circumstances, the Ndau had to defy policy so as to have access to shrines, to harvest firewood, fruits and to hunt animals in the forests.³⁹ However, not many dared to challenge policy, as loitering in the forests became a punishable offence.⁴⁰ As a consequence of the establishment of forests, most Ndau families relocated to Mozambique where colonial authorities did not take all the land from the native people.⁴¹ The majority of the Ndau who lost their land to forestry and non forestry companies in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region migrated to Mozambique,⁴² in areas such as Makuyana, Gogoyo, Mapungwana, Gwenzi and other areas that are found along the border. However, it should be noted that the availability of land in Mozambique did not mean that the Portuguese were sympathetic with the Ndau but they were constrained by lack of resources to embark on large scale land expropriation and utilisation.⁴³ The next section discusses the establishment of sugar plantations in Chisumbanje and their contribution to cross-border migration by the Ndau.

³⁶ C. Utete, *Report of the Presidential Land Review Committee on the Implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme 2000-2002*, (Harare, Government Printers, 2003), p.42.

³⁷ Z. Chidhakwa, "Managing Conflict around contested natural resources: a case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani ...", *Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR)*, 1993, p.193

³⁸ L. Marisa, "The Impact of Commercial Forest Areas on Nearby Rural Communities in Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe", *Social Science Research Report Series no.32, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa*, Addis Ababa, 2004, p.50.

³⁹ N. Ndumeya, "Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest....", *Environment and History*, p.21. www.whpress.co.uk, Accessed : 15 November 2019.

⁴⁰ (PC-JH), Z. Magadaire, (Border region settler), Clearwater, Chipinge, 21 December 2015.

⁴¹ (PC-JH), B. Jakarazi, (Cross-border farmer), Chimbuwe, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 12 December 2018.

⁴² (PC-JH), L. Mapungwana, (Chief), Mapungwana, Chipinge 4 December 2015.

⁴³ (PC-JH), B. Xavier, (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

7.2.4 Sugar plantations in south-eastern Chipinge

In this section of the chapter, the discussion centres on the establishment of the Green Fuel Company in the Sabi Valley of Chipinge District in 2009 and its impact on land ownership by the Ndau peasants in Chisumbanje area. It should be noted that the 2009 sugar plantations at Chisumbanje had historical precedents in the area. While the Sabi Valley was generally shunned by European settlers, the area was attractive to big business because of its flat terrain and proximity to the perennial Save River.⁴⁴ However, the imposition of sanctions on Rhodesia, after Ian Smith had unilaterally declared independence from Britain, contributed to the development of irrigation projects. To mitigate the impact of the sanctions; the Rhodesian government pursued inward-looking policies which involved undertaking an irrigation scheme in the Sabi Valley.⁴⁵ The initial phase of the irrigation scheme was started in 1966 and it covered about 486 hectares of land.⁴⁶ However, the project was not fully implemented because of the insecurity caused by the armed struggle in Rhodesia. Nevertheless, when the war ended in 1980, the post independence government in Zimbabwe showed great interest in the project, leading to the Arkins Commission which was tasked to carry out feasibility studies on the establishment of a mega irrigation scheme in the Chisumbanje area.⁴⁷ It can, thus, be argued that the Green Fuel project was authored by the colonial government. The Green Fuel Company is a venture comprising the Government of Zimbabwe and Macdom Investments. The Government of Zimbabwe has a 10 % stake, while Macdom invested 90% worth of capital in the company.⁴⁸ It was envisaged that the establishment of the Company would provide employment to the Ndau, reduce the Zimbabwe import bill and improve infrastructure and amenities in the area.⁴⁹ The Green Fuel Company, after signing an agreement with the Zimbabwean government, established a sugar cane

⁴⁴ (PC-JH), W. Mashava, (Chipinge District Administrator), Chipinge Town, Zimbabwe, 1 December 2015.

⁴⁵ E.K. Makombe, "I would Rather Have My Land Back, Subaltern Voices and Corporate Grab in the Save Valley", *Land Deal Policies Initiative LDPI Working Paper 20*, 2013, p.4.

⁴⁶ J. Wack, *In the Beginning, The Chisumbanje Story* TILCOR, 1973, pp.1-3.

⁴⁷ See: Atkins Land and Water Management Feasibility Study for the Development of Hectares of Irrigation at Chisumbanje, Zimbabwe, Harare, ARDA, 1983, Report.

⁴⁸ P.B. Matondi & C.T. Nhliziyo, "Zimbabwe Contested Large Scale Land Based Investment: The Chisumbanje, Ethanol...", *Policy Brief* 43, 2015, p. 2; C. M. Mandihlare, "Large Scale Land Acquisition and Its Implication on Rural Livelihoods: The Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant, Case...", p. 2; S. Moyo, *Land concentration and accumulation after redistributive reform in post settler Zimbabwe*, 2011, p. 12.

⁴⁹ P.B. Matondi & C.T. Nhliziyo, "Lessons from Land Investment in Zimbabwe: The Case of Chisumbanje Ethanol...", paper presented to the conference on Land policy in Africa, the next Decade of Land Policy in Africa: Ensuring Agricultural Development and Inclusive Growth 11-14 November 2014; C. Pindiri, "The Economic and Environmental Costs/Benefits of Green Fuel: The Case of the Chisumbanje Ethanol...", *African Economic Research Consortium Special paper* 50, Nairobi, 2016, p. 1.

plantation in 2009 in the Chisumbanje area of Chipinge District.⁵⁰ While the agreement was that the Company would grow sugar on state land, it ended up expropriating land from the Ndaus, leading to the loss of livelihoods. As a result, the landless Ndaus resorted to cross-border farming in the Manica Province of Mozambique.⁵¹ In spite of the fact that, in general terms, the Sabi Valley was inhospitable, some of the Ndaus who were evicted from the Chipinge plateau in the 1930s were forcibly relocated there by the colonial government.⁵² The Ndaus established communities in places such as Chibuwe, Kondo, Manzvire, Chisumbanje, Mahenye, Maria, Zamchiya and several other places in this area, sometimes known as the Ndovoyo region.⁵³ These villages are within a walking distance from the border with Mozambique.⁵⁴ The communities had been growing crops such as sorghum and finger millet.⁵⁵ In addition to crop farming, the Ndaus reared animals such as cattle, sheep and goats. They also grew cotton as a cash crop and of late the crop had become the mainstay of the Ndaus community. However, the Green Fuel Plant at Chisumbanje in the Sabi Valley brought misery to the existing Ndaus. When the agreement was signed, it was thought that the government company, Agricultural Rural Development Authority (ARDA) would give 40 000 hectares of land to the Green Fuel. However, ARDA had 5, 112 hectares of land at its disposal. Consequently, the Company which had the backing of the government of Zimbabwe got the needed extra land arbitrarily from the neighbouring communities, resulting in the displacement of thousands of villagers.⁵⁶

To make matters worse, only 499 out of the 1733 families were compensated for the loss of land to the company.⁵⁷ The communities pointed out that while the Green Fuel company attempted to give them land as compensation, the pieces of land given were

⁵⁰ C. Pindiri, "The Economic and Environmental Costs/Benefits of Green Fuel: The Case of the Chisumbanje Ethanol...", *African Economic Research Consortium Special paper* 50, Nairobi, 2016, p.2.

⁵¹ (PC-JH), D. Mwabuya, (Cross-border farmer), Vheneka Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2018.

⁵² P. B. Matondi & C.T. Ndhliziyu, "Zimbabwe, New Land Crisis: Large Scale Land Investment...", *Research Report* 51, PLAAS, University of Western Cape, 2015, pp.1-30; H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land...*, p.128.

⁵³ NAZ, S, 9/1/17 NC Melsester, Annual Report, 31/12/14.

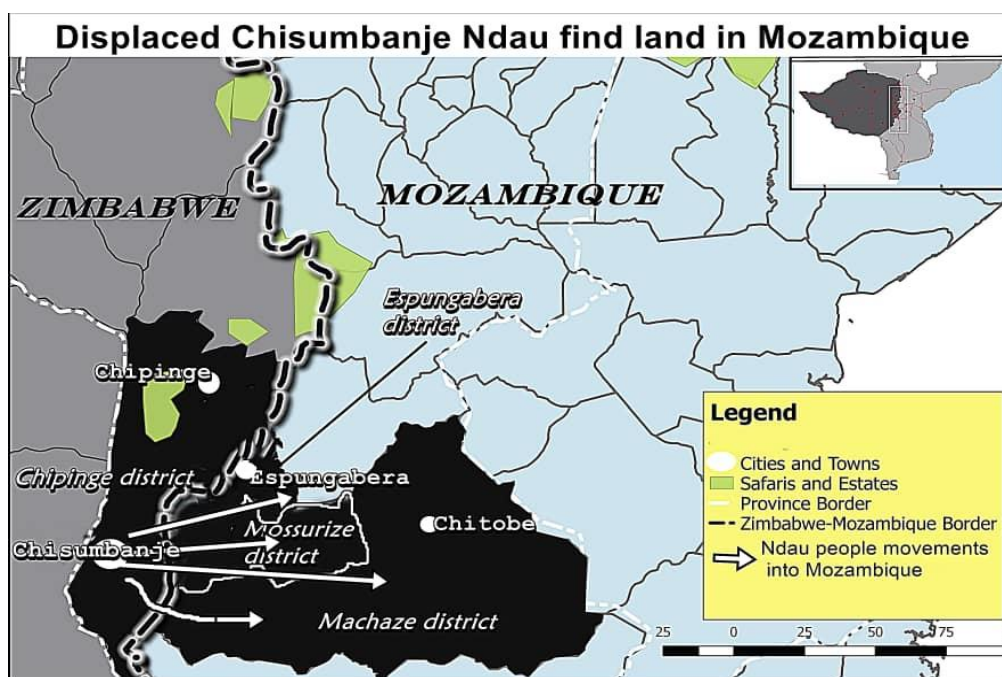
⁵⁴ M. K. Chiweshe & P. Mutupo, "National and International Actors in the Orchestration of Large Scale Land Deals in Zimbabwe: What's in it for Smaller Holder Farmers?", *Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, OSSREA Policy Brief*, No2, 2014, p.1.

⁵⁵ NAZ: N3/24/2-4, NC TO CNC, Boundaries of Native Reserves, March 1956.

⁵⁶ E. Makombe, "I would Rather Have My Land Back: Subaltern Voices and Corporate/State Land Grab in the Save Valley", LDPI Working Paper 20, 2013, [https://www.iss.nl/fileadm/ASSET/ISS/Reserach and projects/Research networks/LDPLI/LDPI WP20.pdf](https://www.iss.nl/fileadm/ASSET/ISS/Reserach%20and%20projects/Research%20networks/LDPLI/LDPI%20WP20.pdf), Accessed : 08 March 2018; C. M. Mandihlare, "Large Scale Land Acquisition and Its Implication on Rural Livelihoods: The Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant, Case...", p.2.

⁵⁷ M.K. Chiweshe & P. Mutupo, "National and International Actors in the Orchestration of Large-Scale Land Deals in Zimbabwe: What's in it for Smaller-holder..." *Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA) Policy Brief* No 2, 2014, p. 2.

inadequate for the needs of each household and their livelihoods.⁵⁸ Furthermore, some respondents blamed the Company for renegeing on its promises; some of the plots that were given to the evicted people were far from participating in small scale irrigation as the promised infrastructure had not been constructed.⁵⁹ Complementing the above sentiments, Thondlana argued that the bio-fuel project in Chisumbanje replaced food crops with fuel crops thereby undermining household food security and relegating the communities to poverty.⁶⁰ In view of the foregoing concerns, it can be argued that the Company's operations in Chisumbanje area undermined the livelihoods of the Ndau. In consequence, the affected communities resorted to cross-border farming in neighbouring Mozambique (as visualised in Map. 7.1):



Map 7.1: Displaced Ndau people find land in Mozambique after 2000

Source: Illustration by Sekai Kasamba, 2019

The section that follows draws further attention to the displacement of the Ndau people at the sugar plantations in the Chisumbanje area of Chipinge District.

⁵⁸ Parliament of Zimbabwe Report of the Portfolio Committee on Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment on The Green Fuel Chisumbanje Ethanol Project, SCI, 2015, pp. 1-14, *Daily News* 13 December 2018, “Green Fuel annexes 500h of cotton maize fields”; G. Thondlana, “The Local Livelihoods of Bio-fuel Development and Acquisition in Zimbabwe”, Discussion Paper Series, No 11, *African Initiative*, 2014, pp.1-25.

⁵⁹ (PC-JH), D. Mwabuya, (Cross-border farmer), Vheneka Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2018.

⁶⁰ G. Thondlana, “The Local Livelihoods of Bio-fuel Development and Acquisition in...”, *Discussion Paper Series No 11, African Initiative*, 2014, pp.1-25.

7.2.5 Ndaou displacement into Mozambique (2009)

The advent of the Green Fuel Company in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa areas of Chipinge District deprived the Ndaou of their arable land, thereby undermining their livelihoods.⁶¹ Scholars argue that trans-boundary movement is made easier by cordial cross-border ethnic relations existing in the borderland and border porosity.⁶² The Ndaou farmers exploited the Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments' relaxation to enforce strict border controls against the local Ndaou people. This gives them freedom to move and trade their farming commodities on either side of the border. The displaced Zimbabweans from Chisumbanje and adjoining communities grow cotton and sesame in the Mozambican border region with Zimbabwe.⁶³ Cotton, which is produced from the Mozambican side, is transported across the border and sold in Zimbabwe to cotton companies such as Cargil Zimbabwe, Cottco and others.⁶⁴ Sesame production is discussed in detail in chapter Eight, where landless Ndaou farmers were reportedly partaking in share-cropping with Mozambican chiefs. In addition to crop production, cross-border Ndaou farmers specialised in animal keeping, especially cattle farming.⁶⁵ It can be opined that the Ndaou relocated their animals to Mozambique, not only because of the loss of land to the Company, but because Green Fuel had become an irritant to the Ndaou as stray animals into plantations were impounded and released upon the payment of a \$4.00 fine per beast.⁶⁶ In this regard, two reasons have been advanced to account for the seizure of straying cattle. It has been argued that the confiscation of cattle was a gimmick to fast track the Ndaou's conversion from being independent land owners to landless people who would depend on selling their labour power to the Company in order to survive.⁶⁷ Another argument proffered is that it was a means to

⁶¹ F. Mutondoro, K. M. Chiweshe & R. Gaidzanwa, "The Intersection of Women, Land and Corruption in Zimbabwe: Case Study of Women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa Villages in Zimbabwe", *Transparency International Zimbabwe*, 2016, p. 9.

⁶² D.M. Hughes, "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and Politics of Territory On the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border", paper presented to the Conference on Migration and Urbanisation in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa 4-7 June 2003, p.4; M.A. Samuels & W.A. Bailey, "African People" in D.M. Abshire & M. A. Samuels (eds.), *Portuguese Africa: A Handbook*, (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969), p.126; F.T.D. Duri, "Informal Negotiation of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border for Survival by Mutare's Marginalised People", *Journal of Developing Societies*, 26(2), 2010, pp.125-163.

⁶³ (PC-JH), P.Hlaenyani, (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossuzize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017.

⁶⁴ G. Thondlana, "The Local Livelihoods of Bio-fuel Development and Acquisition in Zimbabwe", Discussion Paper Series No 11, *African Initiative*, 2014, pp.1-25.

⁶⁵ (PC-JH), P.Hlaenyani, (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossuzize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017

⁶⁶ K. Matimaire, "Discord over Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant", *National Report*, 5 November 2015, p.1.

⁶⁷ See: Debate on the pauperisation of peasantry to render them a proletariat group, in S. Amin, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forums", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1972, 10(4), pp.503-524.

protect the company's fields from destruction by cattle from the rural communities.⁶⁸ As a result of the company's poor neighbourliness, many cattle farmers relocated to Mozambique for the safety of their animals. The places where Zimbabwean cross-border farmers carry out animal farming have conditions which favour animal keeping. The region is sparsely populated, endowed with sweet veld (regional grass which is rich in essential nutrients for cattle) and also has perennial rivers such as Murengwezi, Musirizwi and others.⁶⁹ In addition to the abundance of pastures, cattle farmers also enjoy market reliability in Mozambique as buyers from distant regions, such as Machaze, Gaza, Mushungwe and other remote areas, readily bought the beasts on offer.⁷⁰ Commenting on the preponderance of Zimbabweans in Mozambique, a Ndaou farmer argued accordingly:

As we speak a lot of people are in Mozambique-there are no more people-they have all relocated to Chingove and Dhokiredhuna in Mozambique. Families like Chaibva and Bandakata-I know- all went to Mozambique. If you go there and ask them to show the place where Zimbabweans are you will be shocked to see that aaah this has become another Zimbabwe. The leaders in Mozambique even saw that we simply have no option but to accommodate these people.⁷¹

The farmer's observation, though briefly put, probably captures the feelings by many Ndaou that had to resort to cross-border migration into Mozambique from the Chisumbanje area of Chipinge District. The next section describes the estates as obstacles to the land crisis resolution.

7.3 Structural impediments to the government land redistribution policy in Chimanimani/Chipinge region

Zimbabwe's liberation struggle was fought to recover land, among other grievances. Consequently, the government of Zimbabwe resolved to resettle landless Zimbabweans, the Ndaou included, resulting in the creation of resettlement schemes in the country inclusive of the Chimanimani/Chipinge region. However, a cursory look at the implementation of the resettlement policy in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region shows that the 1980-2000 resettlement policy was largely a failure in the region. The

⁶⁸ E.K. Makombe, 'I would Rather Have My Land Back...', *Land Deal Policies Initiative LDPI Working Paper 20*, 2013, p.4.

⁶⁹ (PC-JH), Z. Chitumba, (Councillor), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

⁷⁰ (PC-JH), D. Mwabuya, (Cross-border farmer), Vheneka Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2018.

⁷¹ E.K. Makombe, "I would Rather Have My Land Back...", *Land Deal Policies Initiative LDPI Working Paper 20*, 2013, p.4.

majority of the Ndaus are still living in congested reserves and others live in the African Purchase Areas where they pay labour or money rent to the African landlords. Respondents asserted that the failure to acquire land for resettlement was a consequence of deep-seated agrarian obstacles.⁷² The prevalence of estates in the borderland, economic considerations as well as the fear to antagonise Western nations whose companies run the estates have been cited as obstacles against land transfer from the Europeans to the Ndaus.

In addition, the existence of numerous settler estates and farms in Chipinge District militated against any immediate plans for equitable land redistribution after the attainment of independence.⁷³ During the 1980s, the district was home to several vast estates which specialised in coffee, tea, timber, banana, milk and beef production and a host of other farming activities.⁷⁴ Apart from the desire to maintain cordial working and political relations with the estate owners, the government of Zimbabwe also took into consideration the critical role they played in the economy, such as employment creation and the development of infrastructure.

Moreover, the government of Zimbabwe's policy on growth with equity, in the 1980s and 90s, was informed by the notion that increased growth in the economy would result in the economic development of the country.⁷⁵ The commercial forestry industry based on exotic trees, for example, contributed about 4% to the Gross Domestic Product and employed an average of 14600 people between 2005 and 2010.⁷⁶ Contrary to the agrarian reforms involving the break-up of inefficient and unproductive feudal or semi-feudal estates in Europe, agrarian reform in Zimbabwe entailed the acquisition of land for redistribution from a capitalist sector which historically enjoyed state support in the form of loans and policies that protected it from African competition. As a result of the sector's contributions to the economy, it was not surprising that concerns against land reform were focused on productivity and the implications of radical land redistribution for

⁷² (PC-JH), C. Zibuke, (Headman), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 14 December 2015.

⁷³ R.S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta continua: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaus People in Chipinge district...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.175- 84.

⁷⁴ E. Nhandara, *Geography Today...* (Harare, Zimbabwe Educational Books, 1996), p.19.

⁷⁵ R.S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga-Within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaus People in Chipinge District...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.175- 84.

⁷⁶ Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management, Republic of Zimbabwe, Forest Commission Report, 2011, p.7.

economic growth.⁷⁷ The result was that the government's wish to rectify the racial imbalances in the distribution of land played second fiddle to its desire to maintain sound relations with the agro multinational companies.⁷⁸ The next section looks at government policies that safe-guarded agro companies' interests in the post independence Zimbabwe.

7.3.1 Lancaster House Conference Constitution (1979)

Zimbabwe became independent from British colonial rule in 1980. The transfer of power was preceded by a constitutional conference that was held in London in 1979. The Conference, which later became known as the Lancaster Conference was attended by mainly by members of the Rhodesian government, representatives of Zimbabwean guerrilla movements, British delegates and others.⁷⁹ Among other things that were agreed at the Conference was that the Zimbabwean government was to be guided by the Lancaster Conference Constitution which was crafted by the British. The Constitution, among other things protected white farmers from losing their land to the new government in Zimbabwe.

In conformity with the spirit of protecting individual property, the government of Zimbabwe made major policy pronouncements in the 1980s, which benefitted the powerful agro companies in Chimanimani/Chipinge region, based on the provisions of the Lancaster House Conference Constitution and Policy of Reconciliation. As history has indicated, the attainment of independence from British colonial rule in 1980 was not followed by the transfer of land from the European farmers to the landless Zimbabweans.⁸⁰ In this regard, Palmer argued that the slow pace in land redistribution was a result of the Lancaster House Conference Constitution (The independence constitution that was written by the British and handed down to the Zimbabwean government).⁸¹ Drawing from the same line of reasoning, Chambati and several other

⁷⁷ L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1997), p.56; L.M. Sachikonye, "From Growth with equity" to "Fast -Track" Reform: Zimbabwe Land Question", *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(6), 2003, p.227.

⁷⁸ T. Mkandawire, "Home-Grown?...", *African Development* 10(2), 1985, p.247; Z. Chidhakwa, "Managing Conflict around contested natural resources: a case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani..." *Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR)*, 1993, p.195.

⁷⁹ L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1997), p.38.

⁸⁰ See: E.K. Makombe, "I would Rather Have My Land Back, Subaltern Voices and Corporate Grab in the Save...", *Land Deal Policies Initiative LDPI Working Paper* 20, 2013.

⁸¹ R. Palmer, "Land Reform in Zimbabwe 1980-1990", *African Affairs*, 89 April 1990, pp.163-181.

scholars, asserted that the constitution was concerned with some benchmarks of constitutionalism such as limited government and individual rights which prevented radical land redistribution in the post independence era.⁸² In this context, the constitutionalism was concerned with:

...limited government, adherence to the rule of law, protection of fundamental interests and compliance with the demands of abstract equality-that are bound to circumscribe the number of possible legitimate orderings of relevant identities.⁸³

It can, thus, be argued that the constitution was written with a view to prevent radical transformation of the colonial relations of production. It was made clear in the constitution that land could be acquired compulsorily only on grounds of underutilisation and the white farmer was supposed to be compensated for the loss of land.⁸⁴ This thesis posits that the necessity for land compensation to be prompt and adequate was a mechanism to thwart land redistribution as the new government of Zimbabwe did not have foreign currency to compensate white farmers. Also, it can be opined that the ten years grace period during which compulsory land acquisition was outlawed placed constraints on the government of Zimbabwe because any attempt to reclaim land would be viewed by the white community in Zimbabwe as undermining the constitution of the country.⁸⁵ In these circumstances, it can be argued that the subject of land reclamation was insulated by the constitution against the use of state power and, consequently, it was put beyond the will of the landless Zimbabweans. However, where land had to be acquired, it was supposed to be based on the willing seller and willing buyer principle which further protected the white commercial farmers from radical land acquisition

⁸² W. Chamati, "A Review of Land Reallocation in Zimbabwe 1980-2000", Working Paper AEE/2001; I.G. Shivji, "State and Constitutionalism: A New Democratic Perspective", in I.G. Shivji (ed.), *State and Constitutionalism: An African Debate*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1989), p.28; W.F. "Constitutions, Constitutionalism and Democracy", in D. Greenberg et al (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy: Transition in the Contemporary World*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993), p.3; L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1997), p.38.

⁸³ M. Rosenfeld, "Modern Constitutionalism as Interplay Between Identity and Diversity", in M. Rosenfeld (ed.), *Constitutionalism, Identity, Difference and Legitimacy: Theoretical Perspectives*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 1994), p.14; L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question...*, p.33.

⁸⁴ J. Ngwenya, "An Assessment of the Impact of Fast Track Land and Agrarian Reforms On Food Security in Umguza District", MA Dissertation Midlands State University 2014, p.2; A. Chilunjika & D.E Uwizeyimana, "Shifts in the Zimbabwean Land Reform Discourse from 1980 to the present", *African Journal of Public Affairs*, 8(3), 2015, p.131; L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question...*, p.43.

⁸⁵ R. Hill & Y. Katerere, Colonialism and Inequality in Zimbabwe. Available at: <https://www.iisd.org/pdf/2002/envsec-conserving-5.pdf> (Accessed: 09September2015); L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in...*, p.34; C.J. The "Loss of Property Rights and the Collapse of Zimbabwe", *Cato Journal*, 25(3), 2005, p.525.

processes.⁸⁶ One of the clauses of the independence constitution which reserved twenty seats in the Zimbabwean parliament protected the white farmers from losing their land. The beneficiaries of the clause who included the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, constantly reminded Zimbabwean officials against tampering with white owned farms as it would have a negative impact on the economy. It was clear to the Zimbabwean government that the white parliamentarians were speaking their masters' language, the British and other Western countries, whose companies had invested in agriculture, and any attempt to the contrary would attract sanctions.⁸⁷ The Zimbabwean government, which was mindful of the need to build bridges with its former foes, especially the white community, in order to promote peace and prosperity, suspended radical land reclamation from the white settlers.⁸⁸ As shown later in this chapter, the white settlers were willing only to dispose farms in marginal areas of the borderland. Regarding the Lancaster House Constitution, it can be surmised that the constitution prevented land redistribution and entrenched white land ownership in post independent Zimbabwe. The impact of the Lancaster House Constitution on stalling land redistribution processes in Zimbabwe was succinctly stated by Feder:

In all societies, the law can serve to freeze the existing structure of society and give an aura of respectability and legality to serve social injustice, or it can serve to bring about greater justice by ordering the reallocation of resources and greater balance of rights and obligations, if these can be properly enforced.⁸⁹

What emerges from the above quotation is that the Lancaster House Constitution protected social injustice in land ownership in Zimbabwe.⁹⁰ The next section looks at the role of the Policy of Reconciliation in preventing land reclamation from the multinational companies.

⁸⁶ S. Moyo, "A failed Land Reform Strategy. The Willing Seller Willing Buyer", *Public Policies and Administration Review* 2(1), 2014, p.67; A. Chilunjika & D.E Uwizeyimana, "Shifts in the Zimbabwean Land Reform Discourse from 1980 to the....", *African Journal of Public Affairs*, 8(3), 2015, p.130; K. Deininger & H. Hoogeveen, "Economic Benefits and Costs of Land Redistribution in Zimbabwe in the early 1980s", *World Development*, 32(10), 2004, p.1697; S. Moyo, "The Interaction of Market and Compulsory land Acquisition Process with Social Action in Zimbabwe Land Reform", paper Presented at the Annual Colloquium On Regional Integration: Past, Present and Future, Harare, September 2000; N. Sibanda, "Where Zimbabwe got it wrong-Lessons for South Africa: A Comparative analysis of the politics of land in Zimbabwe and South Africa", MA Dissertation Stellenbosch University 2010, p.27

⁸⁷ See The Lancaster House Agreement 21 December 1979, Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference Held at Lancaster House, London, September-December 1979, Report, London. Accessed: 15 April 2018.

⁸⁸ S. Moyo, "The political Economy of land acquisition in Zimbabwe, 1990-1999", *JSAS*, 1999, 26(1), pp.5-28.

⁸⁹ E. Feder, "Counter-reform", in Y. Ghai et al (eds.) *The Political Economy of Law: A Third World Reader*, (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1987), p.533.

⁹⁰ See L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1997).

7.3.2 The Policy of Reconciliation 1980

To augment the independence constitution in the protection of the powerful land owners, the government of Zimbabwe proclaimed a Policy of Reconciliation with the white community in Zimbabwe. Among other things, the government promised to respect the rule of law and private property which included, in the context of the white farmers, land possession.⁹¹

Henceforth you and I must strive to adapt ourselves, intellectually and spiritually to the reality of our political change and relate to each other as brothers bound one to the other by a bond of comradeship. If yesterday I fought you as an enemy, today you have become a friend and ally with the same national interests, loyalty, rights and duties as myself. If yesterday you hated me, today you cannot avoid the love that binds you to me and me to you. Is it not folly, therefore, that in these circumstances anybody should seek to revive the wounds and grievances of the past? The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten.⁹²

While the government pledged to bring about fundamental changes to the Zimbabwean society, it called for patience as change in land ownership would take time to be realised. In the spirit of reconciliation, Mugabe, the Prime Minister, formed a coalition with Joshua Nkomo-led Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and Ian Smith's Rhodesian Front party. In the spirit of reconciliation, Mugabe included in his cabinet, Dennis Norman and David Smith, who became Ministers of Agriculture and Trade and Commerce, respectively.⁹³ While the inclusion of such powerful Rhodesians, in the new government, was done in the spirit of achieving a multiracial society and stability, the promotion of Dennis Norman to the Agriculture Ministry revealed that the government had been captured by the white commercial farmers.⁹⁴ Expressing similar sentiments, Masiwa and Mandaza argued that government policies in the 1980s were informed by the desire to promote peace in a country which had been divided by the war and to

⁹¹ P. Machakacha, "National Healing and Reconciliation in Zimbabwe: Challenges and opportunities", Zimbabwe Monograph Series No.1, 2010, p.10; B. Raftopoulos, "Unreconciled differences: The limits of reconciliation in Zimbabwe", in B. Raftopoulos & T. Savage (eds.), *Zimbabwe, Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, (Cape Town, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), p.VIII; M. Mbire, "Seeking Reconciliation and National Healing in Zimbabwe: Case of the Organ on National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI)", MA Dissertation, Institute of Social Studies Hague, 2011, p.17; V. De Wall, *The Politics of Reconciliation: Zimbabwe's first decade*, (London, Hurst & Company, 1990), pp.48-9; G. Baumhogger et al (eds.), *The Struggle for independence: Documents on the Recent Development of Zimbabwe 1975-1980*, (Hamburg, IFAK, 1984), p.1384.

⁹² See: R. Mugabe, *Independence Message. In Struggle for Independence: Documents of the Recent Development of Zimbabwe 1975-1980*, December 1979-April 1980, (Hamburg, Institute of African Studies Document Centre 1980).

⁹³ L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe...*, p.52.

⁹⁴ (PC-JH), E.Z.S. Chikaka, (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

dismiss fear from the white community which owned land and the economy.⁹⁵ Since colonial policies had made the Rhodesian economy an appendage of foreign and white capital and to encourage white farmers to stay in Zimbabwe, it was essential to allay fear from white farmers of victimisation in the new dispensation. Indeed, the administration of the country was a wire walking act for Mugabe who had to nurse both the interests of the landless Zimbabweans, the Ndaus included, and the estate owners.⁹⁶ However, some Ndaus inhabitants feel that the Mugabe government sacrificed the interests of the Ndaus in favour of the powerful land owners in the region.⁹⁷

A closer examination of the clauses of the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 bears testimony to the argument that the government of Zimbabwe spared the estates, in its land reform programme, for fear of victimisation by the Western nation. The Act was promulgated after the expiry of the provisions of the Lancaster House Constitution in 1990. It was amended in 2000 and 2002. It empowered the government of Zimbabwe to compulsorily acquire land in certain circumstances.⁹⁸ The amended versions of the Act provided the legal bias for undertaking the Land Reform Programme in the 2000s. Land which was supposed to be acquired, included underutilised land and farms that were closer to rural communities.⁹⁹ However, plantation farms, church farms, land owned by indigenous Zimbabweans, and several other categories were protected from land seizures by government's foot soldiers in the Land Reform Programme.¹⁰⁰ These were the war veterans, ZANU PF Party members and peasants who spear-headed the nationwide land invasions in the 2000s. However, it should be pointed out that while the involvement of the aforesaid groups in the land invasion represented a "revolution from below", the government of Zimbabwe supported the chaotic land reform for political mileage. Nevertheless, while Zimbabwean officials condoned the farm invasions elsewhere, they seemingly developed cold feet to acquire land that belonged to estate owners in Chipinge District. Accordingly, war veterans and peasants who invaded

⁹⁵ M. Masiwa & O. Chigejo, *The Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Sustainability and Empowerment of Rural Communities*, (Harare, IDS University of Zimbabwe, 2003), p. 9; I. Mandaza, "Introduction: The Political Economy of Transition", in I. Mandaza (ed.), *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition 1980-86*, (Dakar Codesria), 1986, p.42.

⁹⁶(PC-JH), E.Z.S. Chikaka, (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

⁹⁷ (PC-JH), F.B. Kwanayi, (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique, 20 December 2016.

⁹⁸ C. Utete, *Report of the Presidential Land Review Committee on the Implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme...*, p.21.

⁹⁹ S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua?: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaus people in Chipinge district of south-eastern...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.192- 200.

¹⁰⁰ S. Maposa, D. Gamira & J. Hlongwana, "Land as Sacrificial Lamb?.....", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 2(1), 2010, pp.192-207.

certain company properties were evicted by the police. Interestingly, not only did the government appreciate the role that was played by the agro companies, but even the landless Ndau people did. In this context, Ndau peasants, most of whom were working in the estates and had their livelihoods threatened by farm occupations, formed 'anti-land invaders' movement in the region and chased away war veterans and their compatriots from the estates.¹⁰¹In Chipinge District; for example, peasants from Gwenzi communal areas attacked and chased away war veterans who had illegally occupied Makandi Estate.¹⁰² The widespread incidents of farmers and workers' collaboration against the war veterans made the war veterans to view farm workers in the region as enemies of the state and, consequently, some landless Ndau peasants were not given land by the government of Zimbabwe for demonstrating solidarity with the white farmers.¹⁰³ While the estates have contributed to landlessness, it can be argued that both the government and the peasants dreaded that economic misfortunes would follow attempts to evict the white farmers from their property.

The argument that the Zimbabwean government had proceeded with caution with regards to the interests of the powerful land owners finds expression in the manner in which the European countries reacted to Zimbabwe's land reform programme in 2000. Even though large companies were spared from the violent land seizures, the farm occupation led to the thawing of relations between Zimbabwe and Western countries.¹⁰⁴ The USA, together with its western allies, imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2001, code-named Zimbabwe Democratic and Economic Recovery Act (ZDERA).¹⁰⁵ The Western countries argued that the Land Reform Programme undermined the rule of law as it violated the inviolability of private property.¹⁰⁶ However, a counter argument by the Zimbabwean government that no rule of law was observed when land was annexed from indigenous people at the time of colonisation found little followers. Moreover,

¹⁰¹ *The Patriot* 30 November 2017, "The Struggle for land in Zimbabwe 1890-2010, ... how white farmers provoked war veterans".

¹⁰² (PC-JH), F.B. Kwanayi, (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique 20, December 2016.

¹⁰³ (PC-JH) S. Chakwizira, (Border region settler), Gwenzi Chipinge District, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

¹⁰⁴ C. Chipanga & T. Mude, "An Analysis of the Effectiveness of Sanctions as law Enforcement Tool in International Law: A Case Study of Zimbabwe from 2001 to 2013", *Open Journal of Political Science*, 5, 2013, pp. 291-310.

¹⁰⁵ B. Derman, "After Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform: Preliminary Observation on the Near Future of Zimbabwe's Efforts to Resist ...", *Colloque International, At the Frontier of Land Issues*, Montpellier, 2006, p. 1; D. Masaka, "Paradoxes In the Sanctions Discourse in Zimbabwe: A critical Reflection", *African Study Monographs*, 3(5), 2012, pp.49-71; B.B.C. Mbanje & D.N. Mahuku, "European Sanctions and Their Impact on Zimbabwe 2002-2011: Finding Alternative Means To Survive", *Socha Journal of Policy and Strategic Studies* 1(2), 2011, pp.1-12; M. Hove, "The debates and Impact of Sanctions: The Zimbabwean Experience", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3(5), 2012, p.72.

¹⁰⁶ The Zimbabwean Independent, 29 September, 2006, "How land policy in Zim led to ruin"

taking farms from third generation white farmers violated property rights as most of these farmers had bought the farms.¹⁰⁷ It was clear that the Zimbabwean government had reneged on its constitutional obligation to protect its citizens against violence. The Western countries were, thus, compelled to demonstrate solidarity with their kith and kin in the face of apparent victimisation of whites by the Zimbabwean government.¹⁰⁸

George Bush (junior), who was at the time the President of the United States of America in 2001, argued about Zimbabwe's state that:

My administration shares fully the Congress' deep concerns about the political and economic hardships visited upon Zimbabwe by that country's leadership. I hope the provisions of this important legislation will support the people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to effect peaceful democratic change, achieve economic growth and restore the rule of law.¹⁰⁹

ZDERA barred the USA and multi-lateral institutions from extending financial support to Zimbabwe.¹¹⁰ It can be argued that by imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe, Western countries were making a statement against radical land reclamation.

While scholars and commentators attribute the fall of the Zimbabwean economy to internal economic mismanagement,¹¹¹ sanctions had a significant impact in causing economic mayhem in the farming communities in Chipinge District as the farmers failed to secure cheap inputs and access to lucrative markets for their commodities.¹¹² The devastating effects of the sanctions confirmed Mugabe's argument that the sanctions would hurt the entire country and that they would not even spare the MDC as an ally of the West.¹¹³ The hyper-inflationary environment had far reaching consequences on agro-companies that operated in Chipinge District. In addition to reducing the number of workers, companies such as the Tanganda Tea Company had to pay workers in 'tea leaves' since the Zimbabwean Dollar had become worthless.¹¹⁴ The desperate economic situation compelled the majority of the Ndau former farm workers to resort to

¹⁰⁷ Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, "Land Rights in Zimbabwe", 2010, p.9.

¹⁰⁸ B. Derman, "After Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform: Preliminary Observation on the Near Future of Zimbabwe's Efforts to Resist ...", *Colloque International, At the Frontier of Land Issues*, Montpellier, 2006, p.3.

¹⁰⁹ B. Ankomah, "Sanctions, which sanctions?" *New African*, (Harare IC Publications, 2007), p.7.

¹¹⁰ Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA), Public Law 107-99-Dec 21, 2001; H. Chingono, "Zimbabwe Sanctions: An Analysis of the "Lingo" guiding the perceptions of the sanctions and sanctionees" *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(2), 2010, pp.66-74; D. Masaka, "Paradoxes in The Sanctions Discourse in Zimbabwe: A critical Reflection", *African Study Monographs*, 33(1), 2012, pp. 49-71.

¹¹¹ *Zimbabwe Independent*, 29 October 2010, "Sanctions not to blame- EU".

¹¹² *The Herald*, 11 April 2011, "Zimbabwe: Farmers suffer Effects of Sanctions".

¹¹³ *The Sunday Mail*, 6-12 March 2011, "Sanctions Harmful to Business".

¹¹⁴ *The Sunday Times*, 10 October 2010, "Farm workers suffer due to Zim Land Reform".

cross-border farming in Mozambique.¹¹⁵ Their gravitation towards Mozambique was necessitated by the fact that Zimbabwe and Mozambique are held together by a strong cultural bond. Here, people cross the border using informal entry points at will to get to their fields and families across the border.¹¹⁶ Owing to economic insecurity arising from landlessness and unemployment, it argued that several Ndaus Zimbabweans migrated to Manica Province in Mozambique,¹¹⁷ and among these some are partaking in cross-border farming as a survival gimmick. It can, thus, be argued that cross-border farming has brought stability to families whose livelihoods had been ruined by economic sanctions, among other factors.¹¹⁸ The most significant impact of the sanctions, though outside the scope of this thesis, has been the reversal of the Land Reform Programme by Emmerson Mnangagwa's administration in Zimbabwe in 2020. In a move meant to mend relations and to end international isolation, the Second Republic in Zimbabwe has extended an olive branch to the Western nations by returning farms to the former white farmers in Zimbabwe in 2020.¹¹⁹ While it is commendable to bring Zimbabwe back to the family of nations by returning the farms, this thesis argues that Zimbabwe has sacrificed the Ndaus on the altar for the sake of enjoying international acceptance. The section that follows highlights the futility of Zimbabwe's endeavours in land resettlement in Chipinge District because of the presence of estates.

7.3.3 Unsuitable resettlements for the Ndaus amidst arable estate owned land (1980-2010)

Since land was hard to come by in the region to resettle the landless Ndaus, the government established resettlement schemes which had poor soil and climate. The places were either rugged or dry river valleys, whose unsuitability for farming was so bad that they did not attract white farmers' settlement during the colonial period.¹²⁰ In Chipinge District, the government acquired land for resettlement in Musirizwi, Lungile,

¹¹⁵ *Save The Children UK*, "Visitors from Zimbabwe"; *The Standard*, 24 December 2017, "Shoppers Trek to Mozambique".

¹¹⁶ (PC-JH), B. Jara, (Immigration officer), Zona Immigration Border Post, Mossurize, Mozambique, 5 December 2016.

¹¹⁷ (PC-JH), S. Chakwizira, (Border region settler), Gwenzi Chipinge District, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

¹¹⁸ *Save The Children UK*, "Visitors from Zimbabwe"; *The Standard*, 24 December 2017, "Shoppers Trek to Mozambique"; J. Hanlon, "Small farmers or big investors? The Choice for Mozambique", *Research Report*, 2013, p. 1; B. Derman, "After Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform: Preliminary Observation on the Near Future of Zimbabwe's Efforts to Resist ...", *Colloque International, at the Frontier of Land Issues*, Montpellier, 2006, p. 13.

¹¹⁹ See: *NewsDay*, 13 March 2020.

¹²⁰ (PC-JH), B. Mutondoro, (Border region settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2015.

Nyagadza and Sakuinje¹²¹ and it was implemented under the Accelerated Resettlement Programme (ARP).¹²²In accordance with the terms of the ARP, the government only provided land and people used the infrastructure and services in the nearby communal areas.¹²³However, it is important to note that all these Resettlement areas did not have clinics, tarred roads, schools, clean water supplies, and other facilities.¹²⁴ Nyagadza, Lungile and Sakuinje are located in a rocky and barren terrain.¹²⁵ Sakuinje Resettlement, for example, poses a danger to human and animals because it shares a border with Chipangayi Game Park from which lions frequently escape and kill domestic animals from the Resettlement area.¹²⁶ Also, Musirwizwi Resettlement Scheme is found in a steep-sided river valley which is malaria ridden and prone to flooding. This partly explains why the colonial government did not allow human settlement there; instead it was used for cattle ranching.¹²⁷ However, it should be mentioned that the choice of these areas for resettlement was a consequence of the Lancaster House Constitution which prescribed land acquisition to be guided by the willing seller-willing buyer policy.¹²⁸ As it turned out, most farm owners were unwilling to part with the productive land in the estates; but, instead, were willing to sell land to the government in places that had poor soil and climatic conditions. Consequently, most peasants from the adjoining areas such as Mapungwana, Gwenzi and Musikavanhu chiefdoms did not relocate to the resettlement areas.¹²⁹

The discussion in this chapter borrowed from Lenin's theoretical view that imperialism is defined by the export of capital from the developed world to developing countries.¹³⁰In

¹²¹ (PC-JH), S. Chakwizira, (Border region settler), Gwenzi Chipinge District, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

¹²² E. Nhandara *etal*, *Geography Today: Human and Economic*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Educational Books, 1996), p.19.

¹²³ R.S. Maposa, J.Hlongwana & T. Muguti, *Marching Forward to the Past?....European Journal of Sustainable Development*,2(1), 2003, pp.133-148; C.Poulton, R. Davies, I. Matshe & I. Urey, *A Review of Zimbabwe's Agricultural Economic Policies 1980-2000*, Ashford, Impertial College Wye, 2002, p.5.

¹²⁴ B. Kinsey, "Forever Gained: Resettlement and Land Policy in the Context of National Development in Zimbabwe", *Affairs* 52(3), 1982, p.210; J. Hlomuro, interview, Musirizwi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 28 December 2016.

¹²⁵ (PC-JH), E. Zako, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, 24 December 2018.

¹²⁶*The Manica Post*, 22 May 2016, "Lions wreak havoc in Chipinge"; *Daily News*, 18 January 2018, "Humans-wildlife conflict rages as govt watches".

¹²⁷ Zimbabwe, Report: Value for Money Project: Special Report on the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Programme, Harare: Controller and Auditor-General, 1993; M. Massiwa, *Post-independence Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Controversies and Impact on the Economy*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2004), p.3; L. Madhuku, "Law, Politics and the Land Reform Process", in S. Masiyiwa (ed.), *Post independence Land in Zimbabwe: Controversies and Impact on the Economy*, (Harare, Fridrich Ebert Stiflung and Institute of Development Studies, 2004), p.29; A. Chilunjika & D.E Uwizeyimana, "Shifts in the Zimbabwean Land Reform...",*African Journal of Public Affairs*, 8(3), 2015, p.134.

¹²⁸ L. Tshuma, *A matter of (In) justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question....*, p.43.

¹²⁹ (PC-JH), E.Z.S, Chikaka, (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

¹³⁰ P. I. Nikitin, *The Fundamentals of Political Economy*,pp.162-200.

his Theory of Imperialism, Lenin, cited in Ilyin and Motylev, argues that the transfer of capital was a gimmick by great powers to eliminate under-consumption that had been caused by overproduction in the industrialised world and was threatening economic recession.¹³¹ Consequently, the heavy investments in forestry, tea, coffee, sugar and other businesses in the study area were part of capital expansion to manage contradictions that had arisen within capitalism in the capital exporting countries. The Ndau region, like other recipients of capital in the developing world,¹³² suitably provided an investment environment because it possessed the desired non expensive labour, markets and raw materials. In this regard, the agro ventures in the study area kept alive capitalism in the metropolitan countries.

7.4 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter centred on the impact of estate farming on land ownership by the Ndau speaking people who reside in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe. It was argued that the establishment of estate farming in the region was part of the grand scheme by the colonial Rhodesian government to promote and consolidate European presence in the borderland. In this regard, attractive advertisements were posted in international news media to lure settlers into Rhodesia, resulting in the creation of coffee, tea and several estates. Characteristically, the majority of these large estates are dotted along the border, lending weight to the argument that they constituted a bulwark against Portuguese encroachment into the British territory. Also, attention was drawn to the establishment of natural and exotic forests in the region. It was argued that natural forests were created to protect natural tree species which had been subjected to wanton exploitation by timber companies. Concomitantly, places in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region with great endowments in natural forests such as Rusitu, Haroi and Mount Selinda areas, were declared protected areas. While the state's policy was plausible, as it intended to preserve natural forests and, to turn such places into tourist resorts areas, it produced far-reaching consequences. The Ndau, who lived in those areas and had been depending on the sites for fruits, game, herbs and other necessities, were displaced to faraway places, with some migrating to the neighbouring Mozambique. Drawing from the same line of thought, the colonial government further

¹³¹ S. Ilyin & A. Motylev, *ABC of Social and Political Knowledge: What Is Political...* p.242.

¹³²J.An, "Lenin's Theory of Imperialism: Historical Debate and Contemporary...", *Social Sciences in China*, 36(3), 2015, pp.20-36.

suggested the establishment of exotic forests to augment natural forests. It was noted in the chapter that the soil and weather conditions attracted white settlers' investment in forests in the region. It was argued that the exotic forests would compliment natural forests in timber production. Additionally, it was argued that the forests which were mainly located in the border region would constitute a buffer zone against Mozambican cattle from straying into Zimbabwe. It was feared that free movement of animals would spread deadly bovine diseases to Zimbabwean cattle. In this regard, the state and multinational companies acquired vast expanses of land for the creation of exotic forests. The chapter equally stressed that additional land for the forestry project was acquired from private farmers who were leaving the Chimanimani/Chipinge region for places that were near Salisbury, the capital city of Southern Rhodesia. The farmers cited market unreliability, due to distance, as the main reason for abandoning farming in the most productive region of Zimbabwe. Consequently, vast and numerous estates were created in the region, thereby displacing the Ndau. Further, the discussion drew attention to the establishment of sugar plantations in Chisumbanje area in the post independence era implicitly showing that governments, whether black or white, exist to protect the interests of those who own capital. It was pointed out in the chapter that the idea to create a mega green belt in the Sabi Valley, was the brain child of the colonial government whose inward-looking policies to bust the international sanctions involved massive investment in agriculture. However, the project was not fully implemented because of the liberation war in the 1970s which disrupted business in the country. It was argued that the advent of the Green Fuel Company caused serious existential challenges to the Ndau communities. The Company expropriated land from the adjoining communities, resulting in reduction of land for cultivation and grazing. In addition to losing land, the locals were frustrated by the Company's unfriendly attitude towards their cattle. Cattle which strayed into the Company's farm were confiscated and would be released upon payment of a fine. Owing to the dwindling livelihoods, communities were forced to adopt cross-border farming in neighbouring Mozambique. However, it has been noted that some cross-border farmers completely relocated to Mozambique because it was considered cumbersome and counterproductive to manage transnational homes and business. It was shown in the chapter that in spite of the estates' contribution to landlessness in the region the government of Zimbabwe, since independence, has developed cold feet to repossess land from the estates in order to resettle the landless Ndau. It was revealed that the economic considerations,

ranging from the contribution to the economic well being of the country to the fear to antagonise Western countries whose companies run the estates in Zimbabwe, prevented the Zimbabwean government from reclaiming land from the estates. In this context, the Zimbabwean government passed laws that hedged the big estates from compulsory land acquisition policies. These were the Lancaster House Constitution and the Policy of Reconciliation. Both laws were instituted in a spirit of entrenching private property, including land ownership, in Zimbabwe. The government of Zimbabwe's flirtation with agro international companies operating in the region came to light when it made clear that the estates were protected from the land reform programme that was carried out in 2000. In this regard, land invaders who attempted to acquire land from the estates were chased away by the police. It is prudent to highlight that the government of Zimbabwe's fear of the estates was not misplaced as the 2000 land reform Programme, which merely targeted individual white farmers, attracted sanctions which produced far reaching consequences. The thawing of relations resulted in the cancellation of humanitarian and developmental aid to Zimbabwe which negatively affected the farming sector in Chipinge. The malfunctioning of the agricultural sector, owing to the Western imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe, led to loss of farm employment and subsequently the embracement of cross-border farming by the Ndau. Lastly, the discussion drew attention to the futile land redistribution endeavours in the Chimanimani/Chipinge region. In an attempt to solve the land problem facing the Ndau, the government established resettlement schemes in places such as Musirwizi, Nyagadza, Lungile and several others. It was shown in the chapter that the places were so bad that many landless Ndau opted to remain in the overcrowded reserves, mission farms and African Purchase farms. Overall, the discussion in the chapter underscored the argument that estate farming not only displaced the Ndau from arable land but it constituted a structural impediment to land crisis resolution in the region. Cross-border farming, it seems, became a necessarily enticing option for the Ndau. In Chapter Eight the growing reliance of the Ndau's on cross-border farming features is discussed.

CHAPTER 8

THE NDAU AND CROSS-BORDER FARMING ENGAGEMENT 1950-2010

8.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on cross-border farming which was adopted to ameliorate land shortage related problems in the borderland. As shown, especially in chapters One, Two, Five, Six and Seven, landlessness has become a salient feature of the Ndau society since the advent of British colonialism in the Ndau region. While colonial British land policies empowered settler governments to annex land from the indigenous people, the post-independence Zimbabwean government, in turn, seized land from the white farmers in 2000. Therefore, the livelihoods of the former farm workers who, for many years had been depending largely on farm work since the loss of their ancestral lands to the white settlers in the borderland became insecure and precarious. As a result of landlessness, the Ndau have adopted cross-border farming as a survival strategy which has led to the sprouting of border settlements, overpopulation and conflict over land in Mozambique.

A body of scholarly works exists on the Ndau landlessness. For example, Rennie pointed out that landlessness forced the Ndau to enter into labour tenancy with both whites and black African Purchase Farmers.¹ Also, Moyana highlighted that the Ndau built settlements on mountainous terrain in Chipinge District because of landlessness.² Most recently (in 2019) Tawekanyi showed that Ndau residents in the Sabi Valley survived by selling goats and cattle because the land in the valley cannot support crop farming.³ However, the afore-mentioned studies did not look at some creative pursuits by the Ndau people, in the face of landlessness; for example, cross-border farming. The chapter was guided by the question: What is the impact of cross-border farming in the Ndau borderland? The discussion in this chapter draws attention to the contribution of the African Purchase Areas (1930-2010) to the development of cross-border farming on the borderland. Also, the part played by Zimbabwe Land Reform Programme (2000) in causing cross-border farming in the region is analysed. The discussion in the chapter

¹J. K. Rennie, "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism Among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935", PhD Thesis, North-western University (USA), 1973, p.43.

² V. H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002), p. 123.

³ K. Tawekanyi, "The Land Problem Among the Ndau", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019, p. 18.

also unpacks the consequences of cross-border farming; namely, border settlements, overpopulation and conflict over land in Mozambique. Lastly, this chapter assesses the theoretical contribution of the Boundary Theory to the study. The major premise in this chapter is that while landlessness among the Ndaus is the epitome of failure of the agrarian legislations in Zimbabwe, it has caused not only poverty and underdevelopment, but also land related conflict in the borderland.

8.2 Relocation of the Ndaus into the African Purchase Areas and Mission Stations: The 1950s

As elaborated in chapters Five, Six and Seven, the Ndaus were evicted from Chipinge Highlands during the 1950s to pave way for the development of white agriculture.⁴ It is, however, noted that most of the reserves were located in places that supported limited farming practices owing to the prevalence of arid conditions.⁵ Consequently, several Ndau families entered into labour tenancy agreements with African farmers and Mission Stations in Chipinge District. The loss of land to white farmers and to the church forced the Ndaus to seek living space from the African Purchase Areas (these farms were owned by rich Ndau farmers who had links with the American church of Christ which was given vast expanses of land by Rhodes) in the 1890s. Such was the determination of some of the Ndaus to enter into feudal-like economic relations with African farmers for the sake of remaining in their ancestral territory. In this regard, the contribution of African Purchase Areas to the cross-border farming practices by Ndau peasants requires a moment of reflection.

8.2.1 Tenant farming in the African Purchase Areas

In accordance with the terms of the Land Appointment Act of 1931, the Rhodesian government reserved land from which Africans with purchasing power could buy land. These African farms were known as African Purchase Areas.⁶ It should be noted that before the creation of the African purchase farms, white farmers had asked the Chief African Commissioner in the 1920s to set aside land where Africans could buy farms from.⁷ However, the white community had differences of opinion regarding suitable

⁴ NAZ, S2827/2/2/5 Report Native Commissioner, Melsetter 1952; NAZ, S435/357, Report of the Native Commissioner Chipinga 1956.

⁵ NAZ, N3/24/12 NC TO CNC, Boundaries of Native Reserves, March 1956.

⁶ G. Kay, *Rhodesia, A Human Geography*, (London, University of London Press 1970), p. 93.

⁷ G. Arrighi, "The Political Economy of Rhodesia", in G. Arrighi & J. Saul, *Essays on The Political Economy of Africa*, (Monthly Review Press, 1993), p. 42.

location for the proposed African Purchase Areas. In line with the above argument, Jollie (a white observer) remarked that:

Native ownership in a district adjoining white men's farms would probably cause them to deteriorate in value. The natives themselves do not like a neighbour ship that brings them up against standards and regulations above their own level. This aspect of the case however was not the one that originally suggested a change as the writer has special interest to know having been one of the first who urged individual ownership of land as the only incentive to the native to stay on the land and keep him from drifting into a detribalised life.⁸

Jollie was not alone in that observation. White farmers and missionaries supported the African Affairs Department's argument that the creation of Native Purchase Areas far away from the white community would preserve a "tribal" way of life.⁹ However, Punt argued that the introduction of the African Purchase farms by the Rhodesian government was a ploy to stifle the rise of African nationalism and to prevent racial competition from successful African farmers.¹⁰ Accordingly, 6851 876 acres of land were reserved for the creation of the Native Purchase Areas (NPA)¹¹ and, in recent times, called African Purchase Areas (APA). While Kay differs with Palmer on land that was set aside, Kay's figure of 7460000 acres is corroborated by data obtained from the Rhodesian Legislative reports.¹²

The majority of the APA's in Chipinge District were located on the border area stretching from Tamandai to Muzite.¹³ What needs to be highlighted is that the missionaries, who previously owned this land, were involved in the identification of suitable people to buy the African Purchase farms in the afore-mentioned region.¹⁴ A cursory look at the names of black farmers who benefitted from the scheme shows that most of them were not original Ndau people, but were immigrants from South Africa such as Ndhlovu, Hliziyo, Thabete, Thondhlana, Hlatshwayo, Msimbo, Dhlakama and several others who were

⁸ E.T. Jollie, "Native Land Tenure in Africa", *Pioneer Settlement Cooperative Studies*, 14, 1932, p.185.

⁹ M. Steele, "The Foundations of a Native Policy: Southern Rhodesia 1923-1933", PhD Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1972, p.406.

¹⁰ E. Punt, "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Interwar Years", MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979, p.50.

¹¹ R. Palmer, *Land and Racial Domination in Southern Rhodesia ...*, p.165.

¹² G. Kay, Rhodesia, *A Human Geography*, p.93; Report of the Select Committee (Rhodesian Legislative Assembly, August 1960).

¹³ NAZ, S2827/2/2/5, Report for Chipinga 15 March 1952.

¹⁴ NAZ, S 2827/2/2/5 Report of NC for Chipinga 1952.

not native to Chipinge area.¹⁵ This gives credence to the claim that the beneficiaries did not buy the land, but it was given to them as gratuity for having worked for the church.¹⁶ The other reason being proffered for undertaking selective sale of land was that the church wanted to maintain its religious dominance in the district and to expand beyond the existing margins.¹⁷ It was envisaged that improved standard of life in the African Purchase Areas would encourage non-Christian Africans to join the church. That was their overarching concern to civilise the backward looking community, as supported by the claim that "...the power of the chief would be lessened, individual responsibility encouraged, belief in the spirits of a particular locality dispelled, polygamy dispelled and permanent houses would be erected as development of property".¹⁸ However, contrary to this expectation, many people were unattached and, instead, the black farmers were seen as an extension of the white community which had expropriated their land. As anticipated, and by local standards, the black farmers did not disappoint as they developed modern homes and planted tea and fruit trees, leading to the existence of a developed African community in the area.¹⁹

It is prudent to note that all were not roses in the APA's as the Ndaus suffered abuse in the hands of African landlords. The unwritten basic economic law underpinning the tenant/landlord relationship in the APA's was the production of surplus products through compulsion to work and extra economic exploitation of the landless Ndaus and by the African landlords, in the form of ground rent. Labour rent was demanded everywhere in the APA.²⁰ A wide range of activities on the farm ranging from digging, weeding, harvesting, tending animals, cooking to baby minding was carried out by the tenants.²¹ For example, everyone residing on the farm except visitors, children and the elderly were expected to report for work or they risked being ordered to leave the farm.²² Due to the fact that it was mandatory for men and wives to report for work, the landlords benefitted from cheap labour as the majority of Ndaus had several wives. However, the plots that were allocated to the Ndaus were so small that it became

¹⁵ H.V. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land...*, p.133.

¹⁶ (PC-JH), D. Muzite, (Headman), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

¹⁷ R. Matikiti, "Christian Theological Perspectives on Political Violence in Zimbabwe: The Case of the United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe 2012, pp.106-110.

¹⁸ J.K. Rennie, "White farmers, black tenants and landlord legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5(1), 1978, pp.76-98.

¹⁹ NAZ, S2827/2/2/5, NC Report Chipinga, 1952.

²⁰ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique...", p.19.

²¹ (PC-JH), S. Chakwizira, (Border region settler), Gwenzi Chipinge District, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

²² J. Hlongwana, "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District ...", p.28.

imperative to acquire additional land for crop cultivation from Mossurize district in Mozambique.²³ Also, the land problem in the African Purchase Areas was aggravated by the fact that land over and above the plots that were given to the Ndau tenants could be acquired after the payment of an annual rent. However, since most of the Ndau men had polygamous families, they failed to pay rent for additional land.²⁴

Similarly, at mission stations, the land problem remained a persistent challenge. While the church did not compel the landless Ndau to pay labour or money as rent, the missionaries, however, expected the Ndau tenants to conform to Christian norms and values. As the Church wanted to have a big Christian community, it accommodated many Ndau convents which then compromised its ability to allocate big plots to the land seeking Ndau.²⁵ The result was that the landless Ndau acquired additional land from Mozambican territory which was within a walking distance from the mission and APA.²⁶

The majority of the Ndau did not benefit from the APA since the majority of the beneficiaries did not come from Chipinge District. So the Ndau, more or less maintained a farming lifestyle as tenants on the farms of black Africans, while finding comfort in cross-border farming, with a split social stratigraphy. This style of farming has been practised in Chipinge District since the 1930s.²⁷ The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), as another factor of causing cross-border farming, requires a closer view.

8.3 Zimbabwe's Fast Track Land Reform Programme: A backward step for Ndau farming and economy

At its independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's economy was supported, among other things, by farming, which provided employment to thousands of workers inclusive of the Ndau in Chipinge District. However, since 2000, Zimbabwe's agriculture has declined, causing serious downstream ramifications on the country's economy.²⁸ The reason was that the FTLRP destroyed Zimbabwe's commercial farming system.²⁹ The

²³ C. Singauke, "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique...", p.19.

²⁴(PC-JH), S. Chakwizira, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

²⁵(PC-JH), D. Muzite, (Headman), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

²⁶ (PC-JH), W. Maposa, (Border region settler), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 4 December 2015.

²⁷ (PC-JH), S. Chakwizira, (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

²⁸ M. Masiwa, "Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe: Disparity Between Policy Design and Implementation", *Institute of Development Studies of the University of Zimbabwe*, 2004, p.26.

²⁹ S. Moyo, *Destruction of Zimbabwe's backbone industry in pursuit of political power: A qualitative report on events in Zimbabwe's commercial farming sector since the year 2000*(Harare, Justice for Agriculture (JAG) Zimbabwe, 2008), p.5.

argument that the FTLRP was a fulfilment of the liberation struggle's promises was expressed by Mugabe, the former President of Zimbabwe, when he said:

Without doubt our heroes are happy that a crucial part of this new phase of our struggle has been completed. The land has been freed and today all our heroes lie and their spirits are unbound, free to roam the land they left shackled, thanks again to the Third Chimurenga.³⁰

Mugabe observed that the FTLRP was long overdue as Zimbabwe's ability to redistribute land after independence was undermined by the Lancaster House constitution.³¹ While Mugabe's assertion that the FTLRP was a delayed event, its *modus operandi* impacted negatively on the economy and the livelihoods of farm workers.³² The impact of the FTLRP on the Ndau farm workers is accentuated.³³

8.3.1 White farm occupations in the FTLRP-phase, and its impact on the Ndau people's livelihoods

As shown in Chapter Seven, Zimbabwe Land Act's provisions on land acquisition did not permit violent land seizures and was clear on land that could be expropriated. Even senior politicians; for example, Nkomo, spoke against the forceful removal of the white farmers from their properties.³⁴ However, the invaders disregarded the provisions of the Act and embarked on indiscriminate farm invasions. While this thesis acknowledges the contribution of the Lancaster House Constitution to Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme, it is imperative to highlight other underlying causes of the agrarian programme in Zimbabwe.³⁵ The country's economy had fallen following the post-independence massive social policies in education and health which constituted a serious liability on the treasury.³⁶ The resulting poor economic performance compelled

³⁰*The Herald*, 9 August 2005, "Mugabe: Land Reform was unnecessarily delayed".

³¹ Report, Lancaster House Agreement, 21 December, 1979.

³² T. Blessing-Tendi, "Patriotic History and Public Intellectuals Critical of Power", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(2) 2008, p.393.

³³ K. Makombe, "I would Rather Have My Land Back"; Subaltern Voices and Corporate/ State Land Grab in the Save Valley, LDPI Working paper 20, *Land Deal Politics Initiative*, 2013, p.12.

³⁴ L.Chakwizira, "Farming Constraints Faced by A1 Resettled Farmers in Congela Ward of Kwekwe District", BSc Hons, Mini Research Essay Zimbabwe Open University, 2012, p.17.

³⁵ S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua?: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga within Third Chimurenga among the Ndau people in Chipinge district of south-eastern ...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.192- 200.

³⁶ A.S. Mlambo, *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe 1990-1995*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1997), pp.83-97.

the Zimbabwean government to borrow money from the World Bank.³⁷ However, the implementation of the World Bank's prescriptions produced unintended consequences such as shortages of basic commodities, closure of industries and loss of jobs.³⁸ As a result, the Zimbabwean government became unpopular especially with urban people whose savings were eroded by inflation.³⁹ Also, Zimbabwe's participation in the Congolese War in 1998 and the payment of War Veterans' gratuity which had been not been budgeted for caused inflation in the country.⁴⁰ While the economy was performing poorly and the government was failing to deal with the deteriorating economic situation, there arose a political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 which aimed among other things to attend to the country's economic problems. These developments compelled the government of Zimbabwe to adopt a radical land policy ostensibly to win support from landless peasants. In expressing similar sentiments, Alexander stated that:

The referendum defeat marked by the moment when it became clear that the ruling party faced a major electoral challenge in the shape of the Movement for the Democratic Change (MDC), and it forced a dramatic shift in the strategies of ZANU/PF. The populist rhetoric of land no longer convinced-action had to be taken.⁴¹

If voicing the daily media, they assert that the land reform was a gimmick by the ruling party, ZANU PF to maintain visibility on the political landscape, as it had lost support among Zimbabweans, owing to the mismanagement of the economy.⁴² In spite of the fact that the FTLRP was intended to even out the unfair advantages which the white

³⁷ W. Willems, "Peasant Demonstrators, Violent Invaders: Representations of Land in Zimbabwe...", *World Development*, 32(10), 2004, p.1772.

³⁸ A.S. Mlambo, *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe...*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1997), pp.83-97; S. M. Kawewe & R. Dibia, "The Impact of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAPs), on Women and Children: The Implications for Social Welfare in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, xxvii(iv), 2000, pp.79-107; R.D. Makoni, "Effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme(1991-1993) on the Participation of Secondary School Children in Zimbabwe", *Zambezia*, xxvii(ii), 2000, pp.221-224.

³⁹ E.A. Brett, "State Failure and Success in Uganda and Zimbabwe: The Logic of Political Decay and Reconstruction in Africa", Crisis States Research Centre Working Paper no 78, 2016, p.76.

⁴⁰ M. Vehnamaki, "Diamonds and Warlords: The geography of War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Siera Leone", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 11(1), 2001, pp.48-74; A. Asante, "National Economic Collapse and Revival: The Case of Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, International Business, 2012, p.34; C. Munangagwa, "The Decline of Zimbabwe", *Gettysburg Economic Review*, 3(9), 2009, pp.110-129.

⁴¹ J. Alexander, "Squatters, Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe", in A. Hammar, (eds.), *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking, Lands, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2003), p.99.

⁴² S. Dombo, "Daily Struggles: Private Print Media, the State and Democratic Governance in Zimbabwe in the Case of the 'African Daily News' (1956-1964) and the 'Daily News' (1999-2003)", PhD Thesis, University of Kwazulu Natal, 2014, p.185.

farmers enjoyed over the black majority, it might be argued that the FTLRP produced unintended consequences.

The first farm invasions by landless peasants took place in the Svosve communal area of Mashonaland Province of Zimbabwe in 1998.⁴³ While the incident was not immediately followed by widespread land seizures, it can be postulated that politicians in Zimbabwe learnt wrong lessons from it - that land could be acquired by violent means. The year 2000 witnessed unprecedented farm invasions which reduced the population of white farmers in Zimbabwe from 4500 in 2000 to less than 600 in 2003.⁴⁴ War veterans, peasants and government officials grabbed land from the white farmers with impunity,⁴⁵ resulting in white farms, game parks, conservancies, and other properties being illegally occupied.⁴⁶ The farm invasions brought a state of fear and uncertainty in the white farming community. Commenting on the farm invasions, one of the white farmers estimated that in 2012, about one hundred more farmers throughout Zimbabwe were under pressure to leave their farms.⁴⁷ The incessant wave of farm invasions prompted the then Minister of Tourism (Walter Muzembi) to seek President Mugabe's intervention to stop government officials from invading wildlife conservancies.⁴⁸ The Minister feared that the prevailing anarchy in the countryside would make Zimbabwe unattractive to international tourists.⁴⁹

Similarly, Ndaou war veterans and politicians in Chipinge District, especially in Mapungwana and Gwenzi chiefdoms invaded, among others sacred sites, Mukono, protected forests (Mt. Selinda and Ngungunyana) and estates owned by foreign

⁴³ S. Moyo, "The Evolution of Zimbabwe's Land Acquisition", in M. Rukuni *et al* (eds.), *Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution Revisited*, (Harare University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2006), p. 147; M. Nyandoro, "Zimbabwe's land struggles and land rights in historical perspective: The case of Gokwe-Sanyati irrigation (1950-2000)", *Historia* 57(2), 2012, pp. 289-349.

⁴⁴ L. M. Musiiwa, *Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe: Disparity between Policy Design and Implementation*, (Harare, Institute of Development Studies, 2004), p. 27.

⁴⁵ E. Osabuohien, *Handbook of Research on in-country Determinants and Implications of Foreign Land Acquisitions*, (Hershey, IGI Global, 2015), p. 394; A. R. Chamunorwa, "Political Economy Analysis of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, University of Sussex, 2013, p. 25; *The Zimbabwean*, 27 January 2015, "Chinotimba invades another farm [in Chipinge]"; T. Saxon, "Apostles invade Chipinge Dairy farm", *Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe*, 8 June 2011.

⁴⁶ C. Utete, *Report of the Presidential Land...* p. 21; T. Chikwanha, Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe, "War veterans invade bird sanctuary".

⁴⁷ *News Day*, 24 May, 2012, "Harare businessman in fresh farm seizure".

⁴⁸ *Daily News*, 4 July, 2012, "Mugabe roped in poaching war".

⁴⁹ Z. Zibani, Post 2010, Evaluation of Zimbabwe as a preferred destination", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure* 5(1), 2016, pp. 1-15.

governments (Smaldeel/Makandi estate) in Mapungwana chiefdom.⁵⁰ It is important to note that farm invasions were fuelled by politicians who encouraged peasants to invade farms in return for political support.⁵¹ For example, it was argued that the invasion of company properties and individual farms in the Gwenzi area of Chipinge District was instigated by Ndaou war veterans and politicians who wanted to control the parliamentary seat in the area.⁵² The fact that the violence had the blessing of the state, and was probably used as a means to enhance ZANU PF's chances of winning future elections, was vindicated by the Zimbabwe Republic Police's failure to intervene in maintaining law and order.⁵³ Thus, the farm invasions were a harbinger of the coming race for political hegemony. On this issue, Harold-Barry argued that the overriding desire to remain in power causes the country's politicians to shelve away political dignity, peace and harmony.⁵⁴

The farm invasions produced far-reaching consequences as less than 300 out of 4500 white farmers were still farming in Zimbabwe in 2012. Charles Taffs, cited in the Daily Newspaper, remarked that "Growers of all sizes and from all backgrounds have no security---their ability to plan has been removed due to the constant threat of eviction."⁵⁵ The apparent air of insecurity resulted in significant downsizing of farming operations in Chipinge, a district that was home to evergreen coffee and tea plantations and dairy farming.⁵⁶ Surprisingly at first, the Zimbabwean government seemed to have condoned farm occupations in 2000 in the best known tea and coffee estates with thousands of workers. These included 374 farms, belonging to Tanganda Tea Company, Busi Coffee Estate, Pereonella Coffee Estate and Chipinge Coffee Company.⁵⁷ Commenting on what appeared to be the government of Zimbabwe's tacit approval of farm invasions in the

⁵⁰ (PC-JH), W. Maposa, (Border region settler), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 4 December 2015

⁵¹ W. Willems, "Peaceful demonstrators, violent invaders: Representations of land in the Zimbabwean press," *World Development* 32(10) 2004, pp. 1767-83; D. Mutanda, "The Politicisation, Dynamics and Violence During Zimbabwe's Land Programme", *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research* 5(1), 2013, pp.35-46; A. Selby, *Losing the Plot: "The Strategic Dismantling of white farming in Zimbabwe 2000-2005"*, Centre for International Development, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, Working Paper Series No 143, 2008, p.1.

⁵² (PC-JH), A. Simango, (Cross-border farmer), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 20 December 2018.

⁵³ J. Alexander, "Squatters, Veterans and the State ...", p.99; S. Dombo, "Daily Struggles: Private Print Media, the State and Democratic Governance in Zimbabwe in the Case of the African Daily news 1956-1964) and the Daily News...", p.185; *Daily News*, 16 January 2001, "Politically Motivated Violence in Zimbabwe, 2000-2001"; *Daily News*, 22 June 2001, "Police attack villagers"; *Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum*, 13 July 2001.

⁵⁴ H.B.D. *Zimbabwe: The Past is the Future: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2004), p.16.

⁵⁵ *Daily News*, 28 July, 2012, "White farmers under siege".

⁵⁶ *The Manica Post*, 17 May 2017, "Macademia farming: A boon for Chipinge farmers".

⁵⁷ *Southern Africa IRI News Brief*, 4 May 2001, p.1.

estates Simango argued that the War Veterans made unilateral decisions to disregard the official position on the inviolability of the estates in general.⁵⁸

Coffee production in Zimbabwe, especially in Chipinge District was adversely affected. Statistics released in 2016 indicated that Zimbabwe was left with less than 5 commercial coffee farmers on 300 hectares from 145 who were farming over 76000 hectares before 2004.⁵⁹ For example, Zimbabwe Coffee Mill (ZCM) processed and marketed only 260 metric tonnes in 2010 compared to 15000 metric tonnes in 1993 before the advent of the agrarian reform in Zimbabwe.⁶⁰ Equally, so was the production of tea which recorded a significant decline in the 2000s.⁶¹ Smaldeel (now Makandi) Estate in Chipinge District was one of the several properties which were invaded on several occasions and the threat of the estate's complete takeover by the war veterans became very imminent.⁶² Consequently, the estate's management reduced production from 15 000 tonnes in 1999 to 300 tonnes in 2010.⁶³ During the estate's prime age, it was an expansive coffee estate which employed thousands of Ndaу workers from the surrounding areas. As the estate's future looked bleak, the company began to invest in short term projects such as maize growing.⁶⁴ While maize growing contributed to the production of staple food and the destruction of pests and diseases which had multiplied owing to mono-cultural practices, its advantages were less felt than the problems that followed the abandonment of coffee production. Tractors, planters, herbicides and combine harvesters had virtually replaced human labour which was a critical factor in the production of coffee.⁶⁵ It can be argued that Smaldeel Estate and several other farms in the district had been a lifeline to thousands of Ndaу families in the borderland whose ancestral land was expropriated by companies and individual

⁵⁸(PC-JH), A. Simango, (Cross-border farmer), Gwenzі, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 20 December 2018.

⁵⁹ *Daily News*, 1 February 2018, "Commercial coffee farmers leave Zimbabwe"; W. Mumera, "Zimbabwe coffee production", *Business Slider*, 9 January, 2016, p.1.

⁶⁰ E. Mudyazvivi, "Recovering Lost Livelihoods: The Case of smaller Plantation-crops in Zimbabwe", *SNV Netherlands Development Organisation*, 2011, p.1; *Daily News*, 1 February 2018, "Commercial coffee farmers leave Zimbabwe"; W. Mumera, "Zimbabwe coffee production", *Business Slider*, 9 January, 2016, p.1.

⁶¹ Moyo, S. "Land concentration and accumulation after redistributive reform in post-settler Zimbabwe", *Review of African Political Economy*, 38(128) 2011, pp.257-276.

⁶² *Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute (ZIMLII)*, 3 May 2016, "Makandi Tea and Coffee Estate (Pvt) A-G & HH-595-15"; C. Chipanga & T. Mude, "An Analysis of the Effectiveness of Sanctions as law Enforcement Tool in International Law: A Case Study of Zimbabwe from 2001 to 2013", *Open Journal of Political Science*, 5, 2013, p. 302.

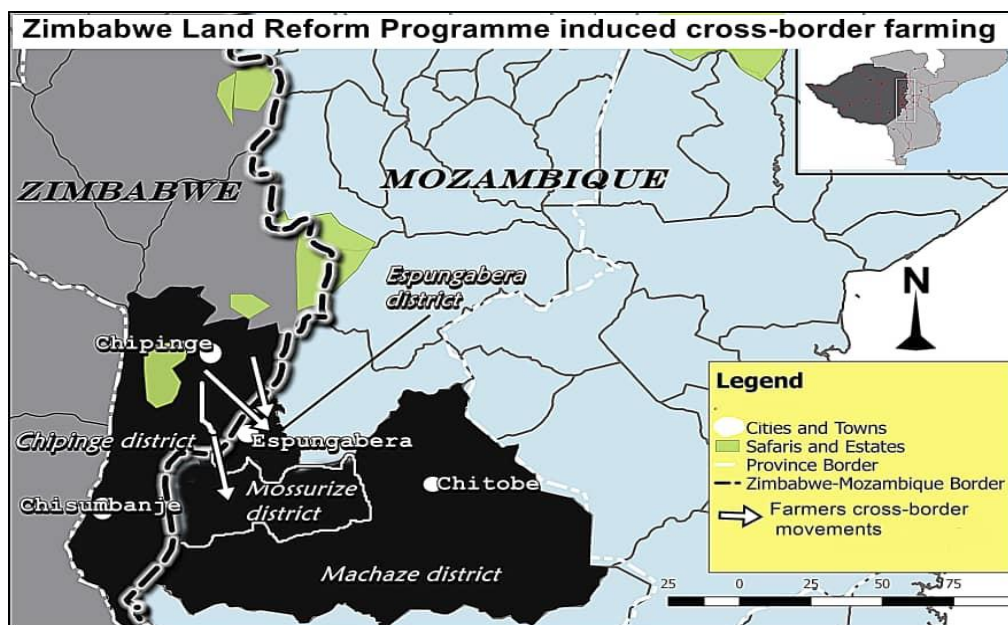
⁶³ H. Bastian, "A look at Zimbabwe Smaldeel Coffee Estate", *Lockwood Trade Journal co*, 2018.

⁶⁴ (PC-JH), A. Simango, (Cross-border farmer), Gwenzі, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 20 December 2018.

⁶⁵ S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua?: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaу people in Chipinge district of south-eastern...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.192- 200.

white farmers in the 1930s.⁶⁶ Men and women were involved in land preparation, planting, weeding, coffee picking and processing. However, the illegal farm occupations brought more harm than good. Even though the government eventually sent police to chase away land invaders from estates, agro companies and individual farmers downsized operations, leaving thousands of Ndaus jobless.⁶⁷

In addition to the negative impact in the production of tea and coffee in the district, farm seizures at the time adversely affected the dairy industry which had been the mainstay of Chipinge Town.⁶⁸ For example, an Apostolic Church in Zimbabwe, with strong affiliation to ZANU/PF, invaded Chipinge Dairy farms which resulted in severe reduction of milk delivery and retrenchment of workers.⁶⁹ Hundreds of Ndaus families lost their employment as a result of farm invasions. Hence they resorted to cross-border farming in order to survive (Map 8.1).



Map 8.1: Cross-border migration by the Ndaus whose livelihoods were undermined by violent farm occupations in Zimbabwe

Source: Illustration by Sekai Kasamba, University of Zimbabwe.

⁶⁶ (PC-JH), S. Mungenge, (Cross-border farmer), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

⁶⁷ Zimbabwe Report Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Harare, 20 June 2002.

⁶⁸ NAZ, L: C.32.15.9R, BOX: 126946, File Lands, Chipinga Area vol.2, Confidential Report, Diary Problems August 1970.

⁶⁹ T. Saxon, "Apostles invade Chipinge Dairy farm", *Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe*, 8 June 2011; C. Utete, *Report of the Presidential Land.*, p.44.

8.3.2 Ndaus as beneficiaries of land grabbing and underutilisation practices since 2000

The loss of employment by the former farm workers was attributed to poor land utilisation by the new farmers. While the Zimbabwean government has dragged its feet in carrying out a comprehensive land audit since 2000, it is clear that the farms that were confiscated from the white farmers have been lying idle due to several reasons. Researchers on land use in Zimbabwe in the period after 2000 argued that land underutilisation was a consequence of multiple farm ownership.⁷⁰ In Chipinge District, several politicians and government officials got several farms each in areas such as Chiriga, Grasslands, Clear Water, South Down and Middle Sabi.⁷¹

Within a short period of time, the war veterans and several well connected people had become land barons hence contradicting the spirit of land redistribution which was premised on the one man-one farm policy,⁷² enshrined in the Land Acquisition Acts of 2000 and 2002. Instead of it being a land redistribution exercise it became a land grabbing process which seriously disadvantaged the Ndaus speaking people as much of the land was not availed for redistribution. This explains why most of the communal areas in Chipinge remained largely congested in spite of the Land Reform having been implemented in the district. Consequently, the landless Ndaus continued to live in the overcrowded reserves. For example, in Chipinge District, the Ndaus are still found in their numbers in places such as Birchenough Bridge, Checheche, Maria, Chibuwe, Mahenye and many other inhospitable places.⁷³ These places are hot and dry, and the staple crop, maize, easily succumbs to the scorching heat in the valley. To survive, people in the valley rely on trading goats, products from small scale craft industries and cultivating drought resistant crops.⁷⁴ However, since these Ndaus have nowhere to go, they continue to live in the valley. It can be asserted that white commercial farmers were replaced by black land barons who have been keeping large tracts of land to

⁷⁰ F. Sibanda & R. S. Maposa, "Theological Reflections on the land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe, 2000-2001", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 6(8), 2014, pp. 54-74.

⁷¹ (PC-JH), J. Chitoronga (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 6 December 2018; F. Mutondoro, K. M. Chiweshe & R. Gaidzanwa, "The Intersection of Women, Land and Corruption in Zimbabwe: Case Study of Women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa Villages in Zimbabwe", *Transparency International Zimbabwe*, 2016, p. 3; P. Zamchiya, "A Synopsis of Land and Agrarian reform in Chipinge District, Zimbabwe", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(5), 2011, pp. 1093-1122.

⁷² F. Sibanda & R. S. Maposa, "Theological Reflections on the Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe...", *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 6(8), 2014, pp.54-74.

⁷³ V.H. Moyana, *The Political Economy of Land in...* p.128.

⁷⁴ (PC-JH), D. Mwabuya, (Cross-border farmer), Vheneka Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2018.

themselves. However, it has been noted that the newly self-helped-to-land barons lacked physical and financial capacity to run the grabbed farms efficiently.

A case in point of land underutilisation in Chipinge was that of the Sabi Irrigation Scheme (formerly the Settler Section) which ceased to function in the post 2000 era. Irrigation facilities were vandalised by new farmers and also by the white farmers themselves who resorted to scorched earth measures to frustrate the new farm invaders.⁷⁵ Commenting on the state of irrigation schemes in Chipinge, a former legislator remarked that most of the irrigation schemes in his constituency had been lying idle since 2000.⁷⁶ Similarly Thondlana, a local farmer in the Sabi Valley, argued that the 6000 hectares of land that was divided among the new farmers in the irrigation was lying idle.⁷⁷ The reasons that were advanced for the poor state of the irrigation scheme which used to employ thousands of workers ranged from lack of interest in farming, poverty to inexperience in farming.⁷⁸ The destruction of irrigation infrastructure and the subsequent failure to rehabilitate the irrigation infrastructure led to loss of employment to thousands of people who lived near the irrigation scheme.⁷⁹

The failure by the land barons to put land to maximum utilisation negated the broad goal of the agrarian reform; its envisaged objective was concerned with sustainable existence through equitable land redistribution. Moreover, multiple farm ownership did not only lead to farm renting but also in the long run it caused land impoverishment as the tenants saw no reason to combat the agents of land degradation because the land did not belong to them.⁸⁰ Renting out farms benefitted the land barons in many ways: they got money without physically tilling the land; and the tenant's involvement in farming activities at the farm ensured that the farm could not be repossessed on account of not being utilised.⁸¹ The shortage of arable lands in the district and lack of farm employment forced several hundreds of people to embark on cross-border farming

⁷⁵ (PC-JH), D. Mwabuya (Cross-border farmer), Vheneka, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 21 February 2016; *The Herald* 1 October 2015, "Chisumbanje land row sucks in Mangoma"; *News Day*, 18 September 2014, "Banana ventures transform villagers' lives."

⁷⁶ *Sunday Mail*, 8-12 October 2011, "Irrigation infrastructure to be refurbished".

⁷⁷ *The Manica Post*, 21 August 2015, "Middle Sabi farmers cry foul over exorbitant power charges".

⁷⁸ (PC-JH), B. Mutondoro, (Border region settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

⁷⁹ *The Manica Post*, 21 August 2015, "Middle Sabi farmers cry foul over exorbitant power charges".

⁸⁰ (PC-JH), B. Mutondoro, (Border region settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

⁸¹ (PC-JH), S. Mungenge, (Cross-border farmer), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

in Mozambique in areas in the Mossurize District such as Garahwa, Makuu, Chaibva and many others.⁸²

Apart from the failure to make land available for equitable redistribution, multiple farm ownership, contributed to serious land under-utilisation. Explanations have been proffered to account for the state of inertia in most of the farms currently owned by the new farmers. It has been noted that the period of rapid decline coincided with the controversial land reform which forced key producers off the land and replaced them with people who knew little about farming.⁸³ The new “grabber” farmers were also handicapped by their inability to access loans because they had no title deeds over the farms they had seized from the white farms.⁸⁴ Hence under-utilization of land in this context was related to the farmers’ failure to access loans because they lacked collateral security. To make matters worse, some Ndaus invaded farms, whose business management system was sophisticated to comprehend, as was the case of macadamia farming. The farming had been a preserve of the white community in Chipinge District.⁸⁵ The new farmers, lacking experience and capital, failed in most cases to run viable macadamia farming in Chipinge District. To make matters worse, the produce of some new farmers was turned down by global markets because the new farmers were yet to be registered as the legitimate owners of the farms. Such frustrations demotivated the new farmers which resulted in land under-utilisation.⁸⁶ Consequently, several Ndaus lost their jobs and had to rely on cross-border farming for survival. The next section looks at the implications of cross-border farming on the borderland.

8.4 Ramifications of cross-border farming on the borderland

As elaborated earlier, colonial and post colonial land policies contributed to landlessness among the Ndaus to which they responded by undertaking cross-border farming. While cross-border farming afforded them space for farming in Mozambique,

⁸² J. Hlongwana, “A people of Two Worlds? Reflections on the role of Cross-Border Ethnicity in Sustaining partitioned Ndaus Community in Mozambique and Zimbabwe...”, in F.P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *The Paradox of borders, Borderlands and Diasporic Spaces: Contested Enclaves, Restricted Mechanisms and Corridors of Opportunity*, (Gweru, Book love Publishers, 2018), p.140.

⁸³ *Business Daily*, 5 July 2018, “Zim Coffee Sector Collapses”; *The Source*, 20 August 2018, “US Sanctions on Zimbabwe-Truths, history and lies”; *Business Daily*, 5 July 2018, “Zim Coffee Sector Collapses”; *The Source*, 20 August 2018, “US Sanctions on Zimbabwe-Truths, history and lies”; L. Dube & Guveya, “Technical Efficiency of Smallholder out-grower Tea (*Camellia Sinesis*) Farming in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe”, *Greener Journal of Agricultural Sciences*, 4(8), 2014, pp.369-377.

⁸⁴ *The Zimbabwe Independent*, 29 September 2006, “How land policy in Zim led to ruin”.

⁸⁵ *Agro-business* 8 October 2018, “Macadamia farmers appeal for government assistance”.

⁸⁶ (PC-JH), C. Zibuke, (Headman), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 14 December 2015.

the practice caused land related problems in the borderland namely border settlements, population increase and conflict over land in Mozambique.

8.4.1 Ndaou border settlement and continued reliance on Mozambique for land

While the border settlements owe their origin to the land problem in Zimbabwe, cross-border farming- an extension of the land problem -further contributed to the rise of the border settlements. As shown in the preceding chapters the Ndaou people's landlessness was an outcome of European seizure of their land. Also, Zimbabwean government's land policies aggravated landlessness among the Ndaou causing them to establish settlements along the prohibited border line. The Land Reform Programme dealt a heavy blow to thousands of Ndaou families whose livelihoods depended largely on farm work on the borderland. To survive in the region where spaces hardly exist to accommodate fresh land seekers, the landless Ndaou relocated to the unoccupied border region (the no man's land).⁸⁷ This study further posited that the Land Reform in Zimbabwe inculcated a culture of farm invasions among the Ndaou, which compelled the government to evict Ndaou squatters from African Purchase Areas and, in the process, leaving them landless.⁸⁸ Contrary to the tradition where invaders target white farmers for land dispossession, the Ndaou squatters turned against their African landlords in the African Purchase Areas which occupy land along the border from Tamandayi in the north to Muzite in the south. The invasions took place in Mapungwana, Gwenzu and Muzite areas of Chipinge district, places where feudal practices continue to dominate production relations.⁸⁹ The Ndaou invaders argued that the landlords were not native Ndaou but immigrants from South Africa who had accompanied missionaries who established mission stations in the region in the 1890s.⁹⁰ They further justified their insurrection against their long-time bosses by arguing that the farms were underutilised when many Ndaou were landless. Moreover, some of the farms were the source of bitterness, especially Farm NO 39 (Mahaka's farm) as it was pegged where a respected local Chief Gwenzu lived before land expropriation by the whites and missionaries.⁹¹

⁸⁷(PC-JH), L. Dekeya, (Border region settler), Jersey Tea Estate, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2016.

⁸⁸ R.S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua?: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaou people in Chipinge district of south-eastern ...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.192- 200.

⁸⁹ E. Gwenzu, "The impact of the Establishment of the Mozambique/ Zimbabwe border...", p.17.

⁹⁰ PC-JH), L. Dekeya, (Border region settler), Jersey Tea Estate, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2016.

⁹¹ R.S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua?: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaou people in Chipinge district of south-eastern ...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.192- 200.

However, it should be noted that the eviction of the black farmers by the landless Ndaus attracted the wrath of the law as Zimbabwean law protects African farmers against land invasion. Consequently, their action was ruled illegal thus leading to police intervention to save life and property in this black farming community where landlords had been temporarily chased away by the Ndaus squatters. In addition to arrests, beatings and burning of the squatters' houses the police ordered the squatters to leave the African Purchase Areas.⁹² While police intervention led to the restoration of normalcy in the African Purchase Areas, it displaced the squatters from the African Purchase Area.⁹³ Scores of displaced families congregated at Chief Gwenzi's residence and Muzite Growth Point where they relied on hand outs from non governmental organisations such as International Organisation of Migration (IOM).⁹⁴ As the government of Zimbabwe showed less concern to secure land for the former squatters, the displaced people invaded the border region and established settlements along the no-man's land.⁹⁵ Given the prevailing circumstances on the borderland and that the border region constituted a stretch of unoccupied space, the "border invaders" argued that their invasion of the territory amounted to land reclamation as the area was part of the Ndaus territory prior to the advent of the colonial border.⁹⁶

It is to be accentuated that the establishment of border settlements was linked to cross-border farming. In this study it is argued that some cross-border farmers viewed the boundary settlement as a strategic home from which to carry out cross-border farming pursuits in Mozambique. Several reasons have been proffered for the cross-border farmers' decision to settle along the border. It is argued that cross-border farmers wanted to maintain contact with ancestral lands and also to continue accessing social and economic opportunities in Zimbabwe.⁹⁷ As noted in Chapter Four, the Zimbabwean side of the border is better developed than the Mozambican segment of the borderland. In view of the availability of essential services in Chipinge District, several cross-border farmers opted not to cut off ties with Zimbabwe by establishing settlements along the

⁹² (PC-JH), T. Dingane, (Headman), Garahwa, Mossurize, Mozambique, 10 December 2016.

⁹³ (PC-JH), W. Mashava, (Chipinge District Administrator), Chipinge Town, Zimbabwe, 1 December 2015.

⁹⁴ R.S. Maposa, J. Hlongwana & D. Gamira, "Aluta Continua?: A critical reflection on the Chimurenga within Third Chimurenga among the Ndaus people in Chipinge district of south-eastern ...", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.192- 200.

⁹⁵ J. Hlongwana & E.S. Van Eeden, "Neither here nor there: The landless Ndaus who have turned a 'no man's land' between Mozambique and Zimbabwe into a home", Paper presented at a Symposium on Border Regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finlandn 7th-9th September 2016.

⁹⁶ (PC-JH), T. Dingane, (Headman), Garahwa, Mossurize, Mozambique, 10 December 2016.

⁹⁷(PC-JH), W. Mangwine, (Cross-border farmer), Chinyanye, Mossurize, 7 December 2016.

border.⁹⁸Consequently, the border region provided a dormitory settlement for the cross-border farmers who crossed into Mozambique during the day to do farming and return to the border at the close of the day.⁹⁹

Cross-border farmers resolved to undertake farming in Mozambique from the border region because the region guaranteed safety for their cattle.¹⁰⁰While there is growing friction between the settlers and their Zimbabwean neighbours (African Purchase Farmers),¹⁰¹ over land and pastures there is greater cooperation between the border settlers and their Ndaou counterparts in the utilisation of resources in Mozambique. As expansion into the Zimbabwean side meets resistance from the African Purchase Farmers, the border settlers find pastures and water for their animals from Mozambique.¹⁰² Regarding animal pasturage, cattle from dry areas of Chipinge District such as Zamchiya, Mabeye and Mahenye and others are usually driven to Mozambique during the dry season as grass in the Zimbabwean side of the border will have been depleted.¹⁰³In times of drought cattle are relocated to Mozambique for long periods as the Mozambican areas such as Makuyu, Chaibva, and Garahwa are said to be sparsely populated and are rich in “sweet veld” savannah grasslands which favour cattle breeding.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, the cooperation between the border settlers and the Ndaou in Mozambique, is evident in their cross-border cooperation on animal health care. As the border pastoralists traverse the border in search of pastures, adjacent communities fear that cattle from border settlements may transmit animal diseases to their herds.¹⁰⁵Consequently, salient arrangements have been made with the Mozambican local authorities to permit the border settlers to access the Mozambican dip tanks. However, like other cattle owners in the locality, border settlers contribute money

⁹⁸ (PC-JH), B. Mutondoro, (Border settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

⁹⁹ (PC. JH), L. Mapungwana, (Chief), Mapungwana, Chipinge 4 December 2015.

¹⁰⁰ (PC-JH) F.B. Kwanayi, (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique, 20 December 2018.

¹⁰¹ *The Manica Post*, 24 May 2014, “Mozambicans encroach onto our farms”

¹⁰² (PC-JH), W. Mangwine, (Cross-border farmer), Chinyanye, Mossurize, 7 December 2016.

¹⁰³ (PC-JH), T. Mazayamba, (Cross-border farmer), Makuu, Mossurize, Mozambique, 15 December 2016.

¹⁰⁴ C. Singauke, “The Establishment of the Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...”, p.33.

¹⁰⁵ Francis, Dube, “Colonialism, Cross-border movements and epidemiology...”, p.1; F. Dube, “In the Border Regions of the Territory of the Rhodesia, There is the Greatest Scourge...?: The Border and East Coast Fever Control central Mozambique and Eastern Zimbabwe 1901-1942”, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 41(2), 2015, pp.219-235; H. Batho, Southern African Development Community (SADC) Emergency Audit On Foot and Mouth Disease, Brussels, European Commission, 2003, p.37; *The Herald*, 21 August 2017, “Food ‘n’ Mouth Vaccine Shortage Hits Chipinge”.

towards the purchase of acaricides (chemicals used to kill ticks).¹⁰⁶ Joint utilisation of resources by partitioned borderland communities is supported by Virtanen, who pointed out that the Barwee community which inhabits the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland near Mutare is guided by the principle of reciprocity in the utilisation of resources.¹⁰⁷

Another important thing that persuaded the landless Ndaus to do cross-border farming operating from the border region was the poor security situation obtaining in Mozambique. The country has been fighting against RENAMO, a rebel movement, since 1978.¹⁰⁸ While guns have largely been silent since 2019 the political situation remains dangerous as the rebel movement was not fully demobilised and its armed combatants control rural Mozambique in Mossurize District.¹⁰⁹ In view of the security situation in Mozambique, cross-border farmers chose to operate from a relatively peaceful region (border settlement) which in terms of international boundary protocol is “neither here nor there”,¹¹⁰ Subsequently, given the occurrences of civil wars on the borderland, the border region is less likely to be attacked by any rebel group in the region.¹¹¹

Lastly, the border settlements are ideal to cross-border farmers because they enhance participation in cross-border economic activities between the settlers and Zimbabwean and Mozambican traders.¹¹² Testimonies by border settlers revealed that some of them record surplus produce which they sell to the market. The settlers argued that the marketing of their produce is made easier by Zimbabwean traders who come to the border region to buy agricultural produce. Moreover, some members of this border community have mastered the art of middleman-ship where they buy agricultural commodities at low prices from Mozambican crop growers and sell them at higher prices to Zimbabwean buyers.¹¹³ Such are the reasons offered in support of the illegal

¹⁰⁶ C. Singauke, “The Establishment of the Rhodesia-Mozambique Border...”, p.14.

¹⁰⁷ P. Virtanen, “Evolving Institutional Framework for Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Mozambique: A Case Study from the Choa Highlands”, *African Studies Quarterly*, 5(3), 2001, p.141.

¹⁰⁸ See F.M.Chingono, *The state, Violence and Development, The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992*, (Aldershot, Arebury, 1996).

¹⁰⁹ Peace and Security Report, Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa, 2020, “Mozambique Conflict Insight”.

¹¹⁰ J. Hlongwana, “Neither Here nor There. The Landless Ndaus who turned ‘no man’s land’ between Mozambique and Zimbabwe into a home”, Paper Presented at the International Symposium on Border Regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finland, 7-9 September, 2016.

¹¹¹ (PC-JH), L.Mapungwana, (Chief), Mapungwana, Chipinge 4 December 2015.

¹¹² (PC-JH), B. Xavier, (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

¹¹³ (PC-JH), B. Mutondoro, (Border settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

boundary settlements by cross-border farmers. The next section discusses population increase in Mossurize district and the rise of land related conflict.

8.4.2 Population growth and conflict over land in Mossurize (Mozambique)

Respondents in Mozambique indicated that the Mossurize district, especially the region along the border with Zimbabwe, is significantly populated and several reasons have been advanced for the increase in population. A common view expressed by the interviewees was that growth in population was as a consequence of Zimbabwean Ndaus settlers in Mozambique.¹¹⁴ Here, traditional leaders have been blamed for corruptly allocating land to Zimbabweans. As land is widely sought after by landless Ndaus from Zimbabwe, traditional leaders have made capital out of Zimbabweans' desperation, charging them for the land given, entering into sharecropping and, above all, accepting several land seekers in order to boost the number of subjects under their jurisdiction.¹¹⁵ In the same line of argument as Gondo above, Madzire asserted that traditional leaders derive status and authority from the growing number of subjects they lead.¹¹⁶ Hence, the determination to crowd the areas they control.

While greed was cited as the cause of selling land to land seekers the rise in demand for such land has been a consequence of sesame crop production in Mozambique.¹¹⁷ Mozambique registered significant economic and political progress following the end of the civil war in 1992.¹¹⁸ Politically, it ended the communist policies that were pursued by the Samora Machel led government between 1975 and 1986. The Marxist government closed space to foreign investment thereby heralding an era of economic stagnation and underdevelopment.¹¹⁹ Besides, Western countries were reluctant to invest their money because Mozambique had nationalised the country's economy. Therefore, the country ceased being an investment destination for international capital as Western countries feared losing their money to the communist Mozambican government.

¹¹⁴ (PC-JH), T. Dingane, (Headman), Garahwa, Mossurize, Mozambique, 10 December 2016

¹¹⁵ P. Gonondo, "Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe/Mozambique...", p.37.

¹¹⁶ D. Madzire, "Economic Engagements in the Borderland", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2011.

¹¹⁷ (PC-JH), B. Xavier, (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

¹¹⁸ B. Tavuyanago, "Renamo: from military confrontation to peaceful democratic engagement 1976-2009", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 1(3) 2011, pp.42-51.

¹¹⁹ J. Hlongwana, "Victims of Frelimo and Renamo Brutality: The Ndaus People of Mossurize District of Mozambique, 1976-2017", in N. Marongwe & F.T. Duri (eds.) *Violence, Peace, and everyday modes of Justice and Healing in Post-colonial Africa*, (Bemenda, Laanga, 2019).

However, the advent of multi party democracy in Mozambique since 1994,¹²⁰ and pursuance of economic liberation policies by Samora Machel successors, especially Joaquim Chissano and Armando Guebuza,¹²¹ has seen a resurgence of international companies' interests to invest in the country.¹²² Companies with an interest in agricultural activities have entered Mozambican space leading to the transformation of the once dormant rural life.¹²³ In addition to securing vast land for agricultural business which has been dubbed the recolonisation of Africa,¹²⁴ the companies buy commodities from Ndaou outgrowers and they offer lucrative prices by local standards. In this context Ndaou farmers have reportedly shown a keen interest in participating in the growing of the sesame crop.¹²⁵

While this crop was introduced by the Portuguese in Mozambique during the colonial era, it was not very popular until recently when agro companies indicated an interest in the crop.¹²⁶ The crop is popularly grown in Mozambique for its health benefits which include the lowering of cholesterol, controlling blood pressure, dermatological disease management and several others.¹²⁷ Apart from the high market value, the plant is drought and pest resistant,¹²⁸ and overall its production has limited overheads. It has been noted that sesame production has proved to be more lucrative than cotton growing because Mozambican sesame buyers collect the commodity from producers on cash and carry basis unlike in Zimbabwe where farmers have to wait for several months to get their money from cotton companies.¹²⁹ Zimbabwean cross-border farmers in Mozambique hardly face hurdles in accessing the Mozambican agricultural market

¹²⁰ J. Hlongwana, "Old habits die hard: Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana (Renamo) propensity for military confrontation against its professed embracement of peaceful conflict resolution, 1976-2017," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(2), 2018, pp.22-32.

¹²¹ J. Hlongwana, "Victims of Frelimo and Renamo Brutality: The Ndaou People of Mossurize District of Mozambique, 1976-2017," in N. Marongwe & F.T. Duri (eds.), *Violence, Peace, and everyday modes of Justice and Healing in Post-colonial Africa*, (Bemenda, Laanga, 2019).

¹²² (PC-JH), B. Xavier, (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

¹²³ J. Hanlon, "Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa: Country Report Mozambique", (Oakland, Oakland Institute, 2011), p.15.

¹²⁴ S. Borras, *etal*, "Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing: an editorial introduction", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(2), 2011, pp.209-216; R. Hall, "The Many Faces of the Investor Rush in Southern Africa: Towards a Typology of Commercial Land Deals", Seminar paper presented at Africa for Sale Analysis and Theorising Foreign Land Claims and Acquisitions Held at the University of Groningen, Netherlands, 28-29 October 2010.

¹²⁵ P. Gonondo, "Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe/Mozambique...", p.43.

¹²⁶ (PC-JH), P. Hlaenyani, (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossuzize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017.

¹²⁷ M.N.P. Nagendra, K.R. Sanjay, D.S. Prasad, N. Vjay, R. Kothari & S.S. Najunda, "A Review on Nutritional and Nutraceutical Properties of Sesame", *Journal of Nutrition and Food Science*, 2(2), 2012, pp.1-6.

¹²⁸ I.A.J.K. Dissanayake, "The Impact of Water Deficit on Growth and Yield Performance of Sesame: Analysis Through Mathematical Modelling", PhD Thesis, Queensland University of Technology, 2017, p.v.

¹²⁹ (PC-JH), P. Hlaenyani, (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossuzize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017.

because they possess Mozambican identity documents which they acquire illegally using family networks.¹³⁰ The result is that land has become a precious resource among the Ndaus both in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. However, the popularity of the crop in conjunction with population increase among the Ndaus has made it difficult to secure land in Mozambique since the “sesame green revolution” among the Ndaus. Nevertheless, respondents asserted that land is given to those willing to participate in share cropping with the Ndaus chiefs in Mozambique.¹³¹ In this regard, land seekers from Zimbabwe have been allocated plots of land that was in the past hardly inhabited as it was part of game reserve, for share cropping with chiefs in the area. Respondents indicated that places such as Gaha, Chimbuya, Mashakwari, Mapembani and others which used to be game reserves have been opened up to human settlements and part of the inhabitants are Zimbabwean Ndaus.¹³² The region is located between Mossurize River in the southern margins of Espungabera and the town of Machaze (See Map7.1). All activities on the farm, ranging from land preparation, planting, weeding, manuring/fertilising to harvesting, are borne by the tenant. After the crop has been marketed the chief and the tenant share the proceeds on the basis of an agreed formula.¹³³

While sesame production in Mozambique has ushered a moment of gainful economic activity among the Ndaus, who for many years had been starved of land, landless Ndaus seekers argue that share cropping is exploitative as the chief has access to the produce to which he will have contributed no labour.¹³⁴ In addition to exploitation, the land seekers from Zimbabwe have to guard the crop against wild animals and thieves. The result is that men, who usually participate in share cropping, spend several months in Mozambique, while taking care of sesame production. However, some have relocated completely to Mozambique because they found it to be cumbersome and counter-productive to manage transnational homes and business.¹³⁵ It was also argued that while increased trans-boundary mobility improved cross-border interaction and cooperation, some sharecroppers have taken advantage of their proximity to wildlife to

¹³⁰ C. Singauke, “The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border...”, p. 36.

¹³¹ (PC-JH), M. Magwaza, (Cross-border farmer), Mapembani, Mossurize, 5 January 2017.

¹³² (PC-JH), P. Hlaenyani, (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossurize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017.

¹³³ T. Musayemura, “Resource Utilisation in the borderland”, Paper presented at Zimbabwe Historical Association Conference (ZHA), Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe, 3-4 August 2017.

¹³⁴ T. Mangwiro, “Contract Farming in Mozambique”, paper presented at *Zimbabwe Historical Association of Historians Conference*, Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe, and 3-4 August 2017.

¹³⁵ (PC-JH), M. Magwaza, (Cross-border farmer), Mapembani, Mossurize, Mozambique 5 January 2017.

engage in poaching.¹³⁶ In spite of the problems that the Ndaus from Zimbabwe have faced, they argue that the benefits from sharecropping outweigh the hardships and consequently they expressed gratitude to Mozambican Ndaus chiefs for giving them land.¹³⁷ The next section discusses land related conflict in Mozambique.

8.4.3 Cross-border conflict between Ndaus farmers and Mozambican residents

Sentiments expressed by Mozambican respondents indicated that the shortage of land, owing to population increase, has triggered conflict between Mozambican Ndaus and the Zimbabwean Ndaus immigrants. It is claimed that land seekers from Zimbabwe are less choosy, as they have settled even in areas that were traditionally shunned by Mozambican residents.¹³⁸ Echoing the above assertion, Gondo noted that cross-border farmers from Zimbabwe have settled in mountains and gameparks in Mozambique.¹³⁹ Related to that concern is environmental degradation caused by large herds of cattle owned by cross-border farmers. It has been noted that the large animal population has resulted in landscape denudation and the drying of wetlands. For example, the once Nyamatsanga (Nyamacherwe) wet river valley in Sita chiefdom dried up.¹⁴⁰ Residents argued that the drying up of the river valley has deprived the community of additional livelihoods namely from banana and sugarcane plantations which were foraged to near extinction by the roaming animals.¹⁴¹ Thus, the traditional beer-brewing 'industry' has suffered as bananas and sugarcane which are important ingredients in the manufacture of such beers have been destroyed. It is argued that while traditional leaders have benefitted from cross-border farmers, the high animal and human populations have far reaching consequences on the environment and people's livelihoods.¹⁴²

Worth pursuing also in this chapter was the role of envy in the development of conflict. While in the preceding discussion it was argued that conflict was engendered by high animal and human population densities, it was posited that the local Ndaus were jealous of the prosperous cross-border farmers in Mozambique.¹⁴³ It is important to highlight

¹³⁶ P. Gonondo, "Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe/Mozambique...", 2018, p.32.

¹³⁷ (PC-JH) M. Magwaza, (Cross-border farmer), Mapembani, Mossurize, Mozambique, 5 January 2017.

¹³⁸ (PC-JH), S.K. Mangenje, (Chief), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

¹³⁹ P. Gonondo, "Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe/Mozambique...", 2018, p.40.

¹⁴⁰ (PC-JH), S.K. Mangenje, (Chief), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

¹⁴¹ (PC-JH), T. Dingane, (Headman), Garahwa, Mossurize, Mozambique, 10 December 2016.

¹⁴² (PC-JH), D. Mashaishakuvata (Councillor), Espungabera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 6 December 2016.

¹⁴³ (PC-JH) P. Hlaenyani, (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossuzize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017.

that successful engagement in farming, by farmers from Zimbabwe, was a consequence of colonial and post colonial policies in Zimbabwe that offered agricultural education to black Zimbabweans. In this regard, cross-border farmers were better schooled on the application of modern agricultural techniques as they benefitted from the scientific programme that was rolled out to improve their farming in general.¹⁴⁴ The scheme was later replicated countrywide. The pioneer of such an agricultural science programme was Alvord, an American missionary, whose success at Mount Selinda earned him recognition from the Rhodesia government.¹⁴⁵ Alvord's curriculum, among other courses, included crop rotation, post harvest field management, manure and fertiliser application, soil conservation, pests and disease control and others.¹⁴⁶ In addition to the scientific education they got from the Rhodesian government,¹⁴⁷ the majority of the border settlers claimed that they had hands on experience as they had worked for commercial white farmers for many years.¹⁴⁸ It was revealed that while some Mozambicans have adopted the scientific farming practices others have resorted to jealousy inspired enmity.¹⁴⁹ While the conflict under discussion has been described as low level misunderstanding, it has been alleged that Mozambican residents have perpetrated arson, theft, animal poisoning and crop slashing against cross-border farmers.¹⁵⁰

The above discussion on cross-border cooperation and marginalisation is strongly informed by the Boundary Theory. The majority of borderland residents show little emotional commitment to the political system because of the Zimbabwean and Mozambican governments' failure to pursue inclusive politics since the citizens were alienated both as participants and as subjects. As argued by Tavuyanago, a large part of this has to do with the wider issue of the design of government in many borderlands; namely a lack of symmetry between the needs of borderland residents and the state services provided.¹⁵¹ According to the utilitarian school of thought, states exist primarily for the promotion of the greatest happiness for the greater number of its people by extending basic services such as the provision of security, infrastructure and social

¹⁴⁴ NAZ, S 840/2/2/23 American Board Mission, Mt. Selinda, 1943.

¹⁴⁵ A.G. Davis, "The work of E.D. Alvord in Mazowe Valley", *Zambezi* (i), 1992, pp.42-63.

¹⁴⁶ See: N. Ndumeya, "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources in South East Zimbabwe...", PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2015.

¹⁴⁷ Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates, 11 April 1951

¹⁴⁸ (PC-JH), F. Chigodho, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize District, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

¹⁴⁹ E. Gwenzi, "Cross Border Dynamics: The Zimbabwe Mozambique Border and the Gwenzi Chiefdom...", p. 21

¹⁵⁰ (PC-JH), F. Chigodho, (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize District, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

¹⁵¹ B. Tavuyanago, "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, p. 79.

amenities.¹⁵² Yet, when citizens realise that their welfare is not prioritised by the central governments they withdraw support from the state and concentrate on informal business in order to survive.¹⁵³ Echoing the above claim, Flynn argued that informal activities, which obtain within bi-national spaces, are coping strategies against exclusion and other forms of injustices perpetrated by central governments against boundary communities.¹⁵⁴ In the context of marginalisation, these transnational survival pursuits constitute what is known in academic circles as shadow, subterranean or underground economy.¹⁵⁵ The subaltern embraces clandestine or black economy as a survival tactic, against exclusion from the mainstream economy.¹⁵⁶ In spite of the fact that the unrecorded or non-official survival activities are regarded by state authorities as acts of resistance against the state, residents in the remote borderlands have continued to create political economies of survival for the local populations, thereby developing patron-client understanding located in the intersection between legality and illegality.¹⁵⁷ Theoretically, this discussion on alienation and adoption of nefarious survival activities, adds value to the notion of marginalisation and the embracement of transnational survival pursuits by the Ndaus in the study area.¹⁵⁸ Cross-border migration search for land, participation in illicit trade and informal cross-border cooperation are some of the coping strategies that have been adopted by the Ndaus to reduce the impact of marginalisation in the borderland.

8.5 Conclusion

The research objective for Chapter 8 was to examine the impact of cross-border farming in the Ndaus borderland. From the research discussed, it was established that several Ndaus-speaking people resolved to enter into labour tenancy with Ndaus farmers referred in the chapter as African Purchase Farmers (APA) in the 1950s after losing their ancestral lands to the white settlers, amongst others. Further revelations were that

¹⁵² U.B. Odomelan & E. Alsiem, "Political Socialisation and Nation Building: The Case of Nigeria", *European Scientific Journal*, 9(11), 2013, pp.237-253.

¹⁵³ E. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, (Glencoe, IL: The Press, 1958), pp.17-18

¹⁵⁴ D. K. Flynn, "We are the border...", *American Ethnologist*, 24(2), 1997, p.313.

¹⁵⁵ F.P.T. Duri, *Resilience Amid Adversity: Informal Coping mechanisms to the Zimbabwean Crisis During the New Millennium*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2016), p.12.

¹⁵⁶ M. Long, "European Integration: Between Micro-Regionalism and Globalism", *JCMS*, 41(3), 2003, p.479.

¹⁵⁷ D. Coplain, "Introduction: from Empiricism...", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25 (2), 2010, p.2.

¹⁵⁸ See: T.M. Zhou, "Partition of Africa and Impact of borders on African Societies in Colonial...", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands & Beyond since the Colonial Period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018), pp.73-131.

Ndau tenants were subjected to exploitation, ranging from working for several days for landlords to paying rent for the land they utilised in the farm. It was also pointed out that the land they rented was limited in quantity and quality. Consequently, most of the tenants; capitalising on their proximity to Mozambique and Ndau ethnic relations embraced cross-border farming to supplement the meagre yields they obtained from the APA's in Zimbabwe.

The discussion further drew attention to the contribution of the agrarian reform to cross-border farming in the Ndau borderland. It was concluded in the chapter that farm occupations that eroded Zimbabwe's economic base at the time – agriculture and allied activities- further plunged the country into a deep agrarian crisis. It was indicated that the collapse of the farming sector in Zimbabwe left many Ndau jobless and their existential conditions deplorable. Apart from the failure to put farming land to optimum utilisation, the new Ndau farmers lacked expertise, resources, and motivation to engage in profitable farming that could have resulted in employment for thousands of Ndau former farm workers. The dire economic situation forced the Ndau to become economic refugees in Mozambique. For instance, hundreds of Ndau people from Chipinge District relocated to Mossurize District where land could still be obtained.

The chapter further discussed the invasion of the “no man's land” on border region by the landless Ndau. Apparently, Zimbabwe's Land Reform triggered the invasion of the border region by the landless Ndau after they had lost farm employment which had their major means of sustenance since losing their land to the white settlers. The discussion in the chapter also revealed the contribution of police eviction of the Ndau tenants from the African farms. Therefore, the wanton expropriation of land set in motion processes that culminated in high levels of destitution among the Ndau; thus, forcing them to invade the border region in the hope of getting land for settlement and farming. It was also highlighted that while the invasion of the border region was a consequence of landlessness, the Ndau argued that the invasion was an act of land reclamation as the border region belonged to their ancestors prior to the advent of colonialism in the Ndau region. The analysis in this chapter also revealed that underdevelopment, marginalisation and poverty, were the painful consequences of the exclusion of the Ndau people from the management and utilisation of land and other resources in their homeland. Despite the challenges faced in the border region, the Ndau people had

exploited opportunities in the border for daily survival. For example, operating from the border settlements, the landless Ndaou communally utilised resources in the borderland with their Mozambican counterparts, such as pastures and farming land. The chapter also drew attention to the consequences of cross-border farming in Mozambique. It was argued that corrupt traditional leaders exceedingly accepted land seekers from Zimbabwe, causing unprecedented population increase in Mozambique. It was also contended that the animal and human populations caused environmental damage which further affected the livelihoods of Mozambican residents. The chapter underscored that the declining size of land owing to overpopulation has led to the straining of relations between cross-border farmers and bonafide Ndaou Mozambican citizens. From the discussion it was accentuated that the Ndaou are not passive victims of land expropriation. The Ndaou have in many ways manipulated the cross-border environment to survive. Cross-border farming has been accentuated as a historical and geopolitical borderless boundary manifestation of the border-induced land problem among the Ndaou. How to reflect this reality will be in part what Chapter Nine is all about.

CHAPTER 9

ON THE QUESTION OF A BORDERLESS BOUNDARY: AN INTEGRATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL AND GEOPOLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NDAU IN ZIMBABWE/MOZAMBIQUE BORDERLAND

9.1 Introduction

This chapter consolidates the thesis' findings, predicated upon the thematic thread of a "borderless boundary?" In weaving the final knots of the thesis report, this chapter proffers an integrative analysis of the historical and geopolitical significance of the Ndau in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland. While the study fed into the narratives of cross-border migration, it took a peculiar and deliberate interrogation of the ethnographic historiography of the Ndau people who live astride the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border. In particular, the study was a response to a realisation of a research gap in the history of cross-border migrations and, specifically the Ndau's historical narrative as a borderland community. The central aim of the study was to interrogate the role of land shortage in causing cross-border migration among the Ndau people, and so spontaneously allowing for a borderless boundary situation. Central to the ethos of this study was the need to: explore historiographies and geopolitical theories that contextualise and underpin the study; locate the origins of the Ndau in African history as part of facilitating some historical context; engage with aspects of Ndau identity as an effort to outline the Ndau's significance in history; expose the role of British and Portuguese geopolitical interests in dispossessing the Ndau of land; demonstrate the impact of colonial land policies on the Ndau people's cross-border migratory trends between 1940 and 2010, with estate farming contributing to a continuous displacement of the Ndau. Lastly, the study looked at the significance of cross-border farming on the Ndau. These objectives were achieved through document interrogation involving primary and secondary sources.

Interwoven within the labyrinth of words which populate the research report are the ironies and contradictions which bedevil the ethnographic historiography of the Ndau people who, because of the apparent "impunity" and "callous" nature of the politics of expediency, have remained on the margins and, hence, impelled to wander to and from, across the Zimbabwe/Mozambique border, for a living. Further deprived of their land through the systematic migration patterns of other groups and especially colonial land

expropriation, the Ndaus were left to eke a living under the inhospitable drylands “reserved” for them. In particular, those who are forced into the Middle Save Valley later face the crisis of being driven off that land, “again”; ironically, during the post-colonial administration of Robert Mugabe. Mugabe’s regime could not dare “unleash” his restless war veterans to “invade” and push out the plantation farmers in Chipinge District (as had been the fate of several commercial farmers), hoping to “placate” the ‘international’ community (Western interests in the land issue) and, when the Ndaus in the vicinity of the plantations antagonised black farm owners (allegedly through disruption of farming activities), Government (ZANU PF) allows them to become “collateral damage”, leading some to migrate to neighbouring Mozambique, with no due regard to the restrictions of movement across the Zimbabwe/Mozambique frontier, hence the “borderlessness”.

Interestingly, too, the thesis tacitly wades into the murky waters of the contentious Land Question, especially the “legalities” surrounding tenure systems. The colonial system supported its systematic land tenure system via the mediation of legal instruments, to “sanitise” the dispossession and marginalisation of the African people, in general, and the Ndaus ethnic group, in particular. The post-colonial regime was not accorded the chance to resolve the land issue immediately due to two sticking documents: the Lancaster House Conference Act and the Reconciliation Act, both of which resonated the Constitution which called for respect of “property rights”, “compensation of dispossessed farmers”, following the dictates of the willing buyer-willing seller constitutional clause and, above all, bridging the racial divide from the “warring factions” through a deracialised national dialectic: with the Mugabe regime captured by the Commercial farmers (as intimated in the research findings), the “ten year” reprieve from the Lancaster document complicates issues. When, at last, the war veterans invaded farms, the Ndaus (who have become dependent upon wage labour in the commercial farms) sided with their employers and benefactors, afraid that the land dispossession of the whites would render them more vulnerable by decimating their livelihoods; an approach which was interpreted wrongly by the Government and alienated them with the ZANU PF who, on “dishing out land” through a patronage system (based on a populist philosophy to gain votes) overlooked the allegedly “unpatriotic” Ndaus. Resultantly, the borderland Ndaus have become perpetual “beggars” who have to deploy their “creative” prowess for survival by sneaking in and out of Mozambique via

the porous border, hence the reinforcement of the thesis theme. The afore-mentioned perspectives based on document interrogation and interviews are summed up in the subsequent sequel of major research findings.

9. 2 Integrating some scholarly thoughts (and multidisciplinary theories) into the research findings from the study

The thesis reviewed scholarly literature on cross-border/boundary theories in regional studies in order to expose historical ideas of value to consider in the study of the Ndau (see section 2.3 in chapter 2). The literature that was consulted was from diverse disciplines and fields of study, inclusive of history. Some debates embarked on theories related to migration, cross-border understandings, political culture and socialisation and imperialism from historical and philosophical modes of thought. Unlike the other theories in this study which are section-specific, the importance of the Boundary Theory lies in the fact that it is the anchor of the study and was deployed to reinforce discussions on matters related to borders and borderlands in the study. The study was also informed by Ravenstein's Migration Theory which proffered valuable insights on migration aspects, such as push and pull factors, migration streams and costs and benefits of migrant labour in the sending region. Concomitantly, the foregoing aspects were integrated into the study to illuminate and bolster discussions on Ndau migration-related issues. The study was also informed by Lenin's Theory of Imperialism, specifically in chapters Five, Six and Seven, to underscore the centrality of imperialism in colonisation, expansion of capital and the development of underdevelopment, which ultimately forced some sections of the Ndau to migrate to Mozambique in search of land. Furthermore, the study utilised a culture-centred mode of analysis, derived from the political culture and socialisation Theory; a theory which emphasised shared values, beliefs and preferences in the political system that has been shaped by common historical circumstances. In this study, the Political culture and socialisation Theory added value to the argument that cross-boundary cooperation in remote borderlands is a result of cultural connections. In essence, the theoretical framework allowed the location of the study in the academic terrain of cross-border migration studies, where the insights proffered ensured the conceptualisation of the thesis in its broader context.

9.2.1 The Ndaus in historical perspective

The author grappled with the question of the origins of the Ndaus and successfully located their origins in African history. The motivation for undertaking this ethnographic historiography was to debunk the misconceptions regarding the historical origins of the Ndaus. Colonial and post-colonial scholars alike have tended to restrict Ndaus nativity in the Guruuswa region of present-day Zimbabwe. Drawing their responses from oral tradition, interviewees made important contribution to the debate on the Ndaus origins. It was argued that the Ndaus did not originally hail from their present local location. Rather, it was claimed that the Ndaus were an immigrant conquering group that overpowered the inhabitants (the Mandionerepi people) of the area. The Mandionerepi, possibly the San people are generally considered to be the earliest inhabitants of the Ndaus region. However, other respondents, lacking the precise information regarding the point of origin, pointed to the north of Save River as the place of origin of the Ndaus. The failure to provide the exact point of region could have been a result of the fact that part of the Ndaus people's history largely comes from oral traditions that lack detailed history of the remote past. However, the accounts from these traditions link with Bantu migration history as expressed by historians such as Chigwedere and Beach (see the authors' arguments in Chapter Three), which shows strong Ndaus connections with the Guruuswa region, thus lending credence to claims by scholars like Duri (see Duri's contribution in Chapter Three) that later Ndaus groups originated from the Guruuswa region. In this regard, the correlation of scholarly views and oral narratives enriched the researcher's understanding of the origin and migration history of the Ndaus.

In an effort to contribute to the debate on the Ndaus origins, the researcher went beyond the frontiers of the existing literature on the Ndaus. The Ndaus ancestors were traced to East Africa from where they migrated to present-day Zimbabwe. This decidedly puts paid to the controversy regarding the history of the Ndaus, by departing from the generally held view that they have been living in their present location from time immemorial. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, the proponents of this argument (namely, Mapuranga, Konyana, Dube, and Hlongwana), have generally presented the Ndaus as an ahistorical community. However, in the final analysis the researcher placed the Ndaus alongside other Bantu migrants who hailed from distant regions of Africa, north of the Zambezi River and established themselves in South East Africa. Not only were the Ndaus described as a member of the Bantu family in this thesis, but the

research presented a new historiographical dimension in the study of their history, where the history of the Ndaus is presented as an extension of the broader African history.

The discussion in the thesis also drew attention to the aspects of Ndaus identity. In this regard, the analysis of data on Ndaus identity led to another major finding in this study in the form of Ndaus identity construction and its impact on borderland interactions and geopolitical relations. It was highlighted that after several years of migration, Ndaus groups eventually settled in south-eastern districts of present-day Zimbabwe and in central and western regions of Mozambique. Thereafter, the region witnessed identity construction processes. Regarding group identity like that of the Ndaus, it is generally nourished by cultural practices. This lends credence to cultural explanations which have been advanced to explain cross-border migration in the study area (see section 1.3 in chapter 1).

Ndaus identity also received unique traits from the Nguni who conquered and controlled them. While Nguni conquest undermined the Ndaus' economic, political and social order, it was a milestone episode because it left legacies that have become structural components of Ndaus culture and identity. In addition, Ndaus identity is strengthened by schemes that have been initiated to revive Ndaus culture. The idea is to keep these communities' cultural identities intact. In addition to the cultural movements, states are also complementing the Ndaus in the maintenance of their identity. The Zimbabwean and Mozambican governments have prioritised the teaching of cultural education in schools. Zimbabwe, for example, guided by the *Constitution of Zimbabwe* (Amendment Number 20)2013, has given recognition to previously marginalised minority languages, inclusive of the Ndaus language. While Zimbabwe has shown a commitment to teach the Ndaus language in schools, Mozambique has already begun teaching it in schools. Further, both local government authorities in Zimbabwe and Mozambique allow the Ndaus to perform cross-border cultural galas that are performed annually and on a rotational basis. The occasions are graced by officials from Zimbabwean and Mozambican local government offices. On these occasions, Ndaus popular dances such as *Muchongoyo*, *Chigoyo*, *Jivha* and others, are played to entertain the Ndaus. These endeavours, and others, have culminated in Ndaus cultural homogeneity, which transcends the border and actively informs cross-border interactions between the partitioned Ndaus. Evidently, the

Ndau from Zimbabwe, despite some of them having migrated to the northern and western regions, which are inhabited by the Manyika and Karanga ethnic groups, respectively, gravitate towards the Ndau-dominated Mozambican region where their group membership is not questionable. While the above initiatives are intended to preserve local culture, it has been noted that such endeavours have led to improved communication and interaction between the Ndau communities living astride the border, thereby keeping alive cross-border ethnic relations in the borderland. In this regard, the movement of people in the borderland is largely influenced by existing cultural and historical commonalities. However, it is important to note that the unregulated cross-border interaction among the Ndau has weakened the border's ability to control human traffic in the borderland. Essentially, the discussion on Ndau identity provided a historical/cultural context which is critical in understanding cross-border dynamics in the Mozambique-Zimbabwe borderland.

9.2.2 Land expropriation and cross-border migration

Also, the thesis investigated the role of early migration movements of the British and Portuguese geopolitical interests in the Ndau people's loss of land. Accordingly, it was demonstrated that the British and Portuguese geopolitical interests contributed to the Ndau loss of land in the borderland. It was argued that the resolve by the two European powers to share territory between them in that region was a sequential outcome of global and regional circumstances such as the Berlin Conferences which compelled Europeans to speedily colonise Africa, in the satiation of the agreed doctrine of effective occupation. In this regard, the colonial geopolitical rivalry between the British and Portuguese in South East Africa was not only a result of imperialism, but also the geographical pull factors associated with the Ndau region. As argued in the thesis, the Manica region was quite attractive, owing to resource endowments and its proximity to the Indian Ocean coast. What emerged from the study was that, in spite of their rivalry, the British and the Portuguese were agents of European imperialism, whose overarching desire was the conquest and control of foreign lands, from which to siphon resources for the development of their metropolitan countries. In this regard, a decision was taken to formalise their occupation of South East Africa, by signing the Boundary Treaty in 1891, which effectively marked European colonisation of the region. The border demarcation fundamentally transformed the Ndau region in many respects. Immediately, the boundary played its geopolitical function where the partitioned Ndau

were ensnared within restricted colonial territorial spaces, with the colonising powers using the boundary as an identity marker and also as a warranty of their sovereignty. Further, the boundary undermined social cohesion through the formation of social disparity among the partitioned Ndau. Saddled with colonial tags such as “Mozambican” and “Rhodesian”, for the Ndau people on either side of the border, this engendered a feeling of otherness among them. The Ndau, in Zimbabwe, are described as Tomboji, while those in Mozambique are known as Danda. The Tomboji are more outgoing than their Danda counterparts. As highlighted in chapter One, the Danda claim to be closer to the original Ndau. While generally the Ndau appear to be united, such descriptions which have been reinforced by the border, have compromised Ndau unity and cooperation in some instances.

Crucially, the contested border demarcation which brought European presence contributed to serious inequality in land ownership between the white settlers and the Ndau (see the discussion in chapter 5). In this regard, race was used as a tool with which to discriminate against the Ndau. Thus, European “superiority” and dominance over the Ndau were crucial in the expropriation of land. The harsh treatment, which the Ndau suffered at the hands of Europeans, included restricted access to land. In addition, the introduction of feudal practices, such as labour tenancy, further exposed the landless Ndau to European exploitation. In the face of dwindling livelihoods, some Ndau people in colonial Zimbabwe resorted to border-crossing into Mozambique as a survival strategy.

Another revealing outcome from this study is the impact of colonial land legislation on cross-border migration to Mozambique by the landless Ndau. The researcher investigated the impact of various pieces of colonial legislation pertaining to land; for example, the Land Apportionment Act, the Land Husbandry Act and the Land Tenure Act. It was argued that before the advent of European colonisation, the Ndau society was relatively egalitarian, as every member had an inalienable right to land ownership and usage. However, instability in the realm of land ownership was caused by European intrusion and land annexation. The European settlers, who were determined to build a settler colony, resolved to develop white agriculture as a complementary business sector in the Rhodesian economy. To realise that goal, land had to be obtained which, however, estranged relations between the Ndau and the European settlers as the best

land was annexed by European farmers. Unlike the post-colonial Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe from 2000, which was accompanied by violence and lawlessness, the settler government passed laws that became the legal basis for land seizure from indigenous people, without necessarily resorting to violence. In this regard, the Land Apportionment of 1931, Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 were enacted to provide a veneer of legality in land expropriation. While Rhodesian authorities hailed the Land Apportionment Act as a monument of Rhodesian justice (see Gann's argument in chapter 6), the researcher argued that it was a travesty of justice as it gave less land to indigenous people who deserved more on account of their numerical superiority over the white settlers. The Ndau and other indigenous groups were condemned to the reserves. Here, the researcher argued that, while the colonial government intended to develop white agriculture, land expropriation was also motivated by the desire to render Africans landless so that they would become a ready proletariat group to work for the Rhodesian industry and commerce. Such a state of affairs benefitted the Rhodesian industry and commerce as the Africans, lacking the basic means of production (land), submitted their labour power to European exploitation, leading to the realisation of business by profit-seeking white settlers.

It was noted in the study that the colonial land acts produced unintended consequences. The Ndau population, which exceeded the carrying capacity of the reserves, contributed to ecological damage and reduced productivity; hence, leading to hunger and starvation. While the Rhodesian government blamed the Ndau and other Africans for the ensuing land degradation, it was clear that the passage of additional land acts, such as the Land Husbandry Act, whose aim was scientific land management, amounted to a paper covering of the cracks. What was needed was a robust non-racial land policy that would ensure equitable land distribution among Rhodesian citizens. As the Rhodesian government demonstrated its determination to uphold the unfair land policies, the Ndau who were facing starvation in the crowded and unproductive reserves sought alternative land for subsistence from the Mozambican side of the borderland.

Also, the thesis focused on the impact of estate farming on the displacement of the Ndau. The study referred to large scale plantations which were established in the region. Here, the study demonstrated that estate farming triggered the large-scale displacement of the Ndau which, in turn, tragically forced them to seek living space in Mozambique. It

was argued in the study that the establishment of estate farming in the region was part of a grand scheme by the colonial Rhodesian government to promote and consolidate European presence in the borderland. Also noted in the study, concerning the motivation for the establishment of such large-scale undertakings was the role of imperialism which, according to Lenin, was nourished by the export of capital to the colonised regions of the world. In this regard, attractive advertisements were posted on international news media to lure white settlers into Rhodesia, resulting in the creation of coffee, tea and several estates that deprived the Ndau of land. It was shown that the majority of the estates are dotted along the border, lending weight to the claim that they constituted a bulwark against Portuguese encroachment into the British territory. In all the cases the “public good” argument was proffered to justify the large-scale displacement of the Ndau. Consequently, the vulnerable Ndau communities were evicted against their will and, without adequate consultation and compensation.

Consequently, the Ndau communities lost their land to multinational companies and, to survive, they had to embrace cross-border migration. Emerging from the above analysis is capital/government collusion against the Ndau. While colonial and post-colonial governments in Zimbabwe had a constitutional mandate to protect citizens, they both sided with capital against the Ndau. In the context of this research, the researcher concluded that Zimbabwean governments, both colonial and post-colonial, have protected capital more than the interests of the Ndau.

The thesis’ discussion also centred on the adoption of cross-border farming and its impact in the borderland. While cross-border farming eased starvation among the Ndau, it undermined the border as these movements amounted to border transgressions. Further, the villages that were built by cross-border farmers, along the border, appeared to be an act of defiance against international boundary law which prohibits human settlements along the “no man’s land”. These cross-border farmers who eventually established settlements along the border, represent a success story of land reclamation, which, however, thrived at the expense of the border’s sanctity. It was noted, however, that such “rebellious” behaviour is characteristic of borderland communities who have shown courage to disregard official borders especially when they are faced with hunger and starvation. While recourse to illegality is intended to mitigate a potential existential disaster, law and order have seriously been compromised in the borderland. Despite

the risks and uncertainties that cross-border farmers have faced in undertaking cross-border farming, the practice has lessened food shortage among the Ndaus. However, though cross-border farming has improved food security in the borderland, increased trans-boundary mobility has violated the border's inviolability, rendering the boundary region borderless.

The debate on the land problem among the Ndaus revealed that poverty and underdevelopment currently afflicting the Ndaus stemmed from governments' failure to resolve the land problem. As a result of lacking the basic means of production (land) the Ndaus from Zimbabwe have resorted to acquiring land from Mozambique. The repeated movements across the border have however caused a state of "borderlessness in the border region".

9.2.3 Borderlessness in the Ndaus borderland

The question of whether a "borderless boundary" in the Ndaus borderland exists or should exist, was also investigated in this study. As highlighted in Chapter Five, boundary marking in the Ndaus borderland followed the recommendations made at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 to partition Africa among European powers. The boundary marked the limits of the territorial states and authority of the British and Portuguese in the Ndaus borderland. Accordingly, the border became a maker of statehood which regulated cross-border mobility. The arbitrary establishment of the border during the process of European colonisation in 1891 split the Ndaus people into Zimbabwean and Mozambican citizens. As a result, the Ndaus had to cross the border via official entry points after producing a passport. While border management was difficult to enforce owing to financial challenges Portuguese authorities in Mozambique, for example left the task to monitor people's movement across the border to local African chiefs. In this regard, some chiefs cooperated with colonial governments to ensure that the border was not violated. African chiefs in the border region such as Chiefs Gwenzi and Mapungwana became notorious in the region for arresting and punishing the Ndaus who crossed the border through undesignated points. However, it is important to note that since the advent of the colonial border, the notion of fixed boundaries has found little purchase from the Ndaus. The border has been consistently and systematically ignored because of the need to survive in the remote borderland. To survive in the impoverished borderland, the Ndaus have been forced to construct a

transnational identity around a sense of common history and culture which facilitates interaction and exploitation of resources abound in the borderland. Thus, informal cross-border migration has become a survival gimmick by the Ndaus in the borderland. As demonstrated throughout in this thesis, the impoverishment which was engendered by European land annexation forced the Ndaus to cross the border informally in the search for land in Mozambique, thereby rendering the border valueless. Zimbabwe's Land Reform Programme also contributed to boundary transgressions as the Ndaus have been forced to seek farming in Mozambique. While the Zimbabwean government justified the seizure of farms from the white farmers, arguing that they were correcting colonial injustices, the agrarian policy endangered the Ndaus as farm seizures led to the loss of farm work by many Ndaus farm workers. As a result of unemployment, the Ndaus resorted to practices such as cross-border farming, relocation and establishing settlements along the border. It can, thus, be commented that the above activities undermined the validity of the international border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, as Ndaus farmers traversed the border in the process of undertaking farming business across the border into Mozambique.

Added to the land shortage driven migration in the Ndaus region, Ndaus cultural cross-border cooperation has undermined the border. Despite the difficult circumstances, Ndaus communities continue holding joint ceremonies in line with their cultural beliefs whenever possible. As the cultural limit goes beyond the international border, the Ndaus criss-cross the border, while exploiting their ethnic contacts in the borderland. This has significantly diminished the value of the border as a restrictive mechanism. Furthermore, borderlessness is accentuated by sense of belonging to a common geographical region. Ndauland is a closely-knit regional entity, separated from other regions by rivers and mountains and a strong sense of belonging to the region is pervasive among the Ndaus. Moreover, "Ndaus" literally means "location", a view which strengthens the Ndaus claim of entitlement to the borderland, leading to unhindered mobility in the Ndaus region. Therefore, what can be deduced from this analysis is that geography (regionalism) contributes to spatial mobility which renders the border obsolete. It can, thus, be argued that borderlessness is a life-supporting system to the neglected Ndaus communities as the perforated border hardly constrains the Ndaus in the exploitation of opportunities and resources in the borderland. For example, operating from the border settlements, the landless Ndaus jointly utilised resources such as pastures and land in the borderland

with Mozambican peasants. However, the borderless boundary has also been exploited by criminals who smuggle drugs and undocumented goods into either Zimbabwe or Mozambique. While lawlessness cannot be condoned it was argued that hunger and starvation forced the Ndau to participate in illegal activities in the borderland. What stands out clearly in this study is that cross-border informal activities have gained traction in the borderland in the context of rapacious colonial and post-colonial states more concerned about their own political and economic survival than integrating the Ndau in the mainstream economies.

Another argument emanating from the thesis which is related to the theme of “borderlessness” is that of “Ndau defiance” against the border. It was argued that, from time immemorial, the border area has been part of the Ndau region whose status was altered by the arbitrary demarcation of the border. According to the Ndau, it is the international border that is out of place as its presence sacrificed their interests in many respects. Showing their resentment of the border, some of the Ndau argued that the border they know is the Save River that separates the Ndau region from the Karanga area in the north (see Map 5:1 in Chapter Five). This Ndau argument is supported by documentary findings which indicate that the originally proposed boundary line was Save River. As shown in Chapter Five, the proposed boundary was abandoned following the British attack and defeat of the Portuguese at Masekessa. The result was that the final boundary line which segmented the Ndau was imposed on the Portuguese by the British. In this regard, the Ndau especially those in Mozambique are demanding a reunion which will however, lead to the loss of Manicaland Province in Zimbabwe to Mozambique. While the demand for the boundary revision has been expressed by opposition Ndau politicians, the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe have avoided the potentially divisive subject. The researcher’s argument is that boundary revision is likely to remain a pipedream as state officials in both countries have a long history of cooperation dating back to the time of the liberation struggle when they shared trenches in the war against colonial governments. It can be argued that the Ndau’s resentment of the border is borrowed from the mobility paradigm which is opposed to the existence of distinct places and particular people. Their argument, here, is that the borderland should be a space of unrestricted interactions in which inhabitants are free to exploit resources.

Also coming out of the research is the idea that “borderlessness” is indirectly caused by governments. While appreciating that boundary transgressions undermined law and order in the borderland, governments have deliberately ignored cross-border migrations that are taking place in the borderland. While the lack of resources is the underlying reason for governments’ failure to police the border region, the situation in the borderland dictates that governments should react to cross-border migration with a human face as strict policy implementation would seriously endanger the lives of the local communities. Consequently, moral persuasion dictates that border management be relaxed, especially in times of peace. Governments’ “benevolence” in this regard can also be attributed to regional efforts to liberalise borderland regions. For example, the Ndaus who want to cross the border legally are issued with daily passes. Therefore, it can be argued that a great deal of current cross-border migration related to economic and social pressures has been condoned by governments for this reason. Further, it can be opined that such deliberate occasional relaxations of border restrictions by government officials were partly informed by the realisation that the border unnecessarily segmented the Ndau community.

However, it is important to note that the state of borderlessness is relative to the prevailing security situation obtaining in the borderland. In times of instability, governments and the Ndaus appeal to the border for security. As the border restricts conflict to the troubled section of the borderland, the Ndaus from the affected zone seek safety from the peaceful segment of the borderland. In this regard, it has come to the rescue of the Ndau population living on either side of it, just as it has enabled the Ndaus to evade the payment of tax; to escape conscription into colonial and post-colonial armies; and to seek refuge in the adjacent state in times of political instability. For example, Ndaus from Zimbabwe crossed and lived in Mozambique during the civil war in Rhodesia in the 1970s. Equally, thousands of Mozambican refugees streamed into Zimbabwe throughout the 1980s as they fled away from the brutal civil war. Their movement into Zimbabwe was made easier by the porous border which hardly constitutes an effective barrier against cross-border movement between the two countries. In view of the above cross-boundary transgressions, it can be argued that the border has lost its practical purpose to curb illegal cross-border movement.

Overall, it is the submission of this thesis that British and Portuguese colonial rule in South East Africa set in motion processes that culminated in the loss of land by the Ndau people. The European plantations and settlements displaced the Ndau people from their land. It was again the study's contention that post-colonial land policies in Zimbabwe also undermined the livelihoods of the Ndau in the borderland as the farm invasions led to the loss of employment among the Ndau. Crucially, the thesis argued that the loss of land forced the Ndau people to resort to cross-border migration in the borderland in search of arable land which, in turn, contributed to a "borderless" border region.

9.3 Contribution of the study

This study joins a historiographic discourse on cross-border migration, in general, and dynamics in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland, in particular. As demonstrated in Chapter One, Hughes, MacGonagle and Patricio, for example, have all looked at Ndau-cross border mobility in the borderland under review. MacGonagle and Hughes researched on cross-border migration in the Zimbabwe/Mozambique borderland and largely attributed this mobility to cultural imperatives. In 2010, Patricio carried out a study on Ndau identity in Mozambique and argued that cross-border interaction among them was a result of cultural affinity. While these scholars made important findings on the underlying causes of cross-border migration among the Ndau people, they restricted themselves to cultural explanations. By taking this analytic approach, the scholars did not tease out a gamut of explanations currently informing cross-border migration in the borderland. While acknowledging the utility of the cultural explanation in this study, this thesis offered a fresh historiographical dimension to the study of cross-border migration. Alternatively, the thesis deployed the "land shortage explanation" as its central argument. Overall, the thesis demonstrated that land shortage, which severely undermined people's livelihoods, forced the Ndau people to resort to cross-border migration into Mozambique.

Additionally, the study contributes to the understanding of the Ndau informal borderland integration. As demonstrated throughout the thesis, the Ndau society has largely been challenged and/or neglected by precolonial powers, as well as successive colonial and post-colonial governments. Economically, socially and politically, the society is

marginalised. It was argued that exclusion from the mainstream economies by central governments has forced the Ndaus to rely on each other in order to survive. Going forward, it was argued that the Ndaus capitalise on trans-nationalism in the borderland to criss-cross the border while looking for opportunities and resources (see Zhou's contribution in chapter 1). Consequently, it was argued that the reciprocal relationship across the border has brought to the fore the question of "borderlessness" which was shown in various chapters in the thesis to be a consequence of unregulated movements. Crucially, the study argues that trans-boundary interactions between the partitioned Ndaus communities function as instruments for consolidating internal unity and informal integration among them in the borderland.

Another significant contribution of the study relates to the politics of "self-preservation" by colonial and post-colonial governments in Zimbabwe. In both cases, the land was used by colonial and post-colonial governments as bait to gain support from the white settlers and black people, respectively. As shown in Chapter One, scholars such as Rennie, Moyana and Ndumeya, writing from an African perspective, for example, attacked the colonial government in Rhodesia for land expropriation in a bid to strengthen the white capitalist state in Southern Rhodesia. However, as demonstrated in this thesis, the post-colonial Zimbabwean government presided over land expropriation (the so-called Land Reform Programme) which also impoverished Ndaus communities. Implicitly, what emerges from the study is that both colonial and post-colonial governments in Zimbabwe pursued agrarian policies for economic and political expediency, which however grossly undermined the livelihoods of Ndaus communities. What makes this study unique from other scholarly approaches in the borderland historiography is its emphasis on a Ndaus "cross-border identity" in order to get a holistic understanding of their history. Most scholars in this field tended to present a bifurcated or fractured picture of the Ndaus which studied them from either a Zimbabwean or Mozambican context as if they were distinct. Such studies produced segmented Tomboji and Danda accounts which failed to come up with a compact and integrative analysis of Ndaus history. However, this thesis "ignored" the border and studied the Ndaus as one people in the borderland. Consequently, the approach has availed vital additional information on cross-border migration. The 'cross-border study' approach enabled the researcher to see cross-border migration also as a legacy of the British and Portuguese colonial cultures in the borderland. Here, British imperialism was concerned

with the development of a settler colony, which entailed developing the colony's economy and infrastructure. For example, the annexation of land was part of the grand strategy to develop the colony's economy. Conversely, the Portuguese who subscribed to the "centre-periphery" philosophy, regarded the colony as an appendage of the metropolitan Portuguese economy. In their view, the colony was supposed to be exploited to nourish the Portuguese economy. In this regard, the Portuguese were concerned with the extraction of resources from their colony. Consequently, the Portuguese did not develop their colony. This resulted in an asymmetrical borderland environment, which was informed by the absence of equitable development in the borderland. In this regard, the Ndaus from Zimbabwe migrated to Mozambique because the Portuguese did not annex all land from Mozambicans. However, many Mozambicans migrated to Zimbabwe for education, employment, medical services and shopping. While the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique attempted to curb cross-border migrations to Rhodesia, the British did not cooperate because they considered such migrations a vital basis for cross-border business (see section 6.3.1 in chapter 6). In like manner, the British welcomed Mozambicans especially for labour in the vast plantations. It is important to note that such an understanding of the borderland environment which has reinforced cross-border migrations came from a comparative study that transcends the border. In this regard, the partitioned Ndaus communities were simultaneously studied and in consequence, the study yielded vital information on British and Portuguese colonial administrative policies as movers of cross-border migrations which was not captured by previous studies because they were restricted to one side of the borderland.

While the study casts light on the underlying causes of cross-border migration in the borderland, some aspects require further interrogation. Although the study significantly unravelled the contribution of land shortage to cross-border migration in the borderland, the researcher suggests more nuanced research on borderland economies. While the thesis, building on existing literature, underlined the critical role of land shortage on cross-border mobility, however, it can be argued that these explanations remain segmented. It is the contention of this study that further exploration of borderland economies will provide a holistic understanding of the underlying causes of cross-border migration in the borderland. Other topics which require investigation in future include citizenship and border policing. Lastly, while the thesis provided insightful views on

cross-border migration into Mozambique, very little has been highlighted on the impact of such migrations on the Mozambican borderland inhabited by the Ndaou people. As history generally deals with causes and effects, this thesis calls for a further study on the impact of cross-border migrations on the Mozambican Ndaou society in order to have a rounded historical study on cross-border migration in the Ndaou borderland in general.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

(a) 1. National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ)

NAZ, F122/400/7/35/3: Report on a visit to the border clearing by R. J. Phelps, Entomologist, Department of Tsetse and Trypanosomiasis and Reclamation, Southern Rhodesia, 24 April 1958.

NAZ, LC32.15.9 R, B.126947, Lands, Melsetter Area Regional Plan, March 1968.

NAZ, C T 1.12/8, A.R. Colquhoun to Secretary, Kimberly, MafambaBasuko, 21 September 1890.

NAZ, C.S.R.3, White farmers' support for land segregation policies, 1926.

NAZ, DT8/5/3: Colquhoun to CNC, Correspondence, November 1896.

NAZ, F122/FH/30/1/1: The fight against tsetse fly in the British African Dependency (date not provided).

NAZ, F1511CA/Melsetter 1 CAFile 2, from conservation and extension officer to Director of Conservation and Extension, 27 April 1957.

NAZ, F450/11 Chipinga 1C A File2, Letter from Director of Conservation and Extension to Chief Conservation and Extension Officer, 19 November 1951.

NAZ, L,38. 8. 9F, B: 69596, Coffee, growing, Ministry of Mines and Lands, Land settlement based on coffee Draft Advertisement 1964.

NAZ, L.1.7.4F, B: 938335, Coffee General, Vol.1, Rhodesia Wattle Company, Billard Report, 20 July 1965.

NAZ, L.C.32.15.9R, B: 126946, File Lands, Chipinga Area vol.2, Confidential Report, Diary Problems August 1970.

NAZ, L13.9.4R, B: 58845, Purchase of Land for Government Purposes, Glencoe, Melsetter, letter from P.B. Muller to Undersecretary, Department of Lands 6May 1944.

NAZ, L15542 Address given by the CNC to Native Demonstrators, 1934.

NAZ, L2/173, P. Sithole, Mission Work in Gazaland,1973.

NAZ, L25.12 Mount Selinda and Chirinda Forest, Provisional Report on Ngungunyana, 2 May 1939.

NAZ, L38.8.9F, B: 69596 Coffee Growing 1964, Rhodesia Wattle Company Ltd Memorandum on coffee growing on the Company's Estates, 1 April 1964.

NAZ, L42.13.4R, B: 126962, Tea Planting in Southern Rhodesia, Letter from D. Espach, Secretary for Agriculture to secretary for mines and lands 27 July 1965.

NAZ, L9/1/17, NC Melsetter, Annual Report, 31/12/14.

NAZ, M3/7/8/6: Acting Secretary of Mines to the Treasurer, correspondence, 26 September 1905.

NAZ, MO11/2/4 G.B. Moodier, 13 January, 1893.

NAZ, N 9/1/11, Chief Native Commissioner, Annual Report 31 December 1908.

NAZ, N1/1/11, Annual Report, 7 March 1896.

NAZ, N2/1/1 Letter Native Commissioner, Melsetter to Chief Native Commissioner, Salisbury, 9 March, 1896.

NAZ, N2/1/1, Letter, Native Commissioner Melsetter to secretary Native Department 12 October 1895.

NZA, N1/1/4: Testimony of African chiefs 1928

NAZ, N3/16/8/2, Native Commissioner Melsetter to Senior Native Commissioner Umtali, 3 December, 1914.

NAZ, N3/20/1/11/1, Stations: Locations and Special work of ministries, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1916.

NAZ, N3/20/1/11/8, Printing Report, Historical Manuscripts, United Church Board for World Ministries, 1915-1916.

NAZ, N3/24/12 NC TO CNC, Boundaries of Native Reserves, March 1956.

NAZ, N3/33/8, Native Commissioner Melsetter to Chief Native Commissioner Salisbury, 23 December 1903.

NAZ, N9/1/3 Native Commissioners' Annual Reports, Native Commissioner Umtali, 1897.

NAZ, RC, L25.12.6 F, B92151, F1680/1, MT Selinda and Chirinda Forest Annual report of civil commissioner, Melsetter to Secretary for Agriculture 31 December, 1920.

NAZ, RC, L25.12.6F, B92151, F1680/1 Mt Selinda and Chirinda Forest letter from conservator of Forestry to G.M. McGregor 29 September 1939.

NAZ, S 1562 Annual Report, NC Melsetter 1946.

N A Z, S1563 Annual Report of the Native Commissioner, Chipinga 1947.

NAZ, S 1563/2, NC Report Chipinga 1936.

NAZ, S 235/ 483 Report on the Development and Registration of the colony's Reserves, 1943.

NAZ, S 2827/2/2/3: Report of the Native Commissioner, Chipinga, 31 December 1955.

NAZ, S 2929/1/7, Delineation officer's suggestion regarding the squatter problem, from J.L. Reid Secretary for Internal Affairs, 25 June 1966.

NAZ, S 840/2/2/23 American Board Mission, Mt. Selinda, 1943.

NAZ, S10 57/16, Native Board Meetings, 12 June 1934.

NAZ, S1180/1/1 Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chipinga, 1956.

NAZ, S1193/1 Agricultural Potential and Development of Melsetter District: 25 September 1926.

NAZ, S1215/1401/1 Report of the Select Committee on Resettlement of Natives, 1956.

NAZ, S138/11: Native Commissioner Umtali to Chief Native Commissioner, 24 September 1927.

NAZ, S14/A/348 2/1/1 Lands Commission Report, Chipinga 1925.

NAZ, S1563 Assistant NC Report Melsetter 31 December 1934.

NAZ, S1563 Native Commissioner Annual Report, Melsetter/ Chipinga, 1958.

NAZ, S1563, Native Commissioner Annual Report, Melsetter/ Chipinga, 1933.

NAZ, S1801/5450 Immigration 1935-139, C. H. Harding, Acting Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs to the Chief Immigration Officer, Bulawayo, 6 April 1939.

NAZ, S2/1/3 L.C Meredith, Special Report on Native Commissioner Melsetter to Chief Native Commissioner, 16 July 1900.

NAZ, S223, Comment by J. H.B. Sefontein, November 1977.

NAZ, S235/509, Annual Report, NC Melsetter, 1931.

NAZ, S235/511 Volume 3: Native Commissioner's Report of the Native Commissioner Melsetter, for the year ended 31 December 1933.

NAZ, S235/516 District Reports: Native Commissioners, Report of the Native Commissioner, Chipinga, for the year ended 31 December, 1938.

NAZ, S2827/2/2/5 Report Native Commissioner, 15 March Melsetter 1952.

NAZ, S2827/2/2/5 Report of Native Commissioner Chipinga, 31 December 1957.

NAZ, S2928/1/1/1 Land, Morris Charter Commission, Report, 1925.

NAZ, S3292/613 Polish Settlement 1942-4 On the Maintenance of Poles in the Middle East, 25 July 1943.

NAZ, S435/357 Report of the Native Commissioner Chipinga 1956.

NAZ, S450/10 Letter from V. W. Curtin, Group Conservation Officer to Senior Extension Officer, 4 November 1949, Chipinga.

NAZ, S482/466/393, Immigration General 1939-1943, Secretary to the PM'S Office to SzmulMelamed, 11 February 1941.

NAZ, S84/A/ (CID Reports), 261, Chipinga 1936.

NAZ, S95/295 Report of the Native Commissioner Chipinga, 1956.

NAZ, SR 3/20/1/11, Letter, D. M. Stanle's/Lands Commission, Melseter, 13 March 1925.

NAZ, S255/502 Correspondence from Native Commissioner Chipinga to Chief Native Commissioner 6 June 1956.

NZA, S235/356 Correspondence from NC Chipinga to CNC Umtal 13 August 1935.

NZA, S3/33/8 Chief Native Commissioner: Correspondence: Miscellaneous: History of Mashona Tribes, 3 December 1903-21 January 1904.

NAZ, ZBZ 1/2/2: Farming propositions taken up from January 1937 to 31 December 1947.

(a) 2. Arquivo Historico de Moçambique (AHM)

AHM.S.E.A.III, p.6, nr 37, Ladeira Fernando de Sousa. Monografia: Usos e Costumes, Beira, Janeiro de 1957.

AHM Companhia de Mocambique Secretaria Geral Processos: Luciano Lane, Notas Sobre Alguns Usos e Costumes Indigenas da Circumscripcao de Mossurize, 1906, Caixa, 445.

AHM, Armando Vaz Pereira Brites, "Monografia Ethnografica sobre a sub-Raca, senas, Beira, post-1910, Seccao Especial, a.v, p.7, no.274.

AHM, CdM/SG/ Relatorios/Cx 230: Circumscricao de Manica, Relatorio de Fevereiro de 1907, SGR 496801.

AHM, CdMSG Relatorios/cx 229: Circumscricao de Manica, Relatorio Annual de 1907, SGR/4966/01, 127, 166.

AHM, CX 39, Joao Mesquita, Relatorio das inspeçoes, ordinarias as circunscrioes de Manica e Mossurize, 1943.

AHM, FGB, CX.622 Governo Gerald a Colonia de Mocambique, Reparticao do Gabinete no. 818D-7, 7 Outubro de 1942.

AHM, FGDB, CX 683, Adminstraçao da Concelho de Manica, no, 1761/B/ 17, Villa de Manica, 24, Setembro de 1948.

AHM, FGDB, CX.683, Administracao da circunscricao do Buzi, No 917B/ 17 Nova Luzitania, 29 de Julho de 1947.

AHM, FGDB, CX.692. Administração da circuncrição da circuncrição de Mossurize, Confidencial, No. 372/B/17/1, Espungabera, 16 de Abril 1949.

AHM, FGDB, CX622: Administração de Mosurize, 140.113/B/15/2, Espungabera, 15 Fevereiro 1944.

AHM, FISANI, CX.39, Joao Mesquita, Relatório das Inspeções ordinárias os circuncrições de Chemba, Sena, Marromeu, Gorongosa, Manica e Mossurize, do Distrito de Beira, 1946.

AHM, G. Liesgang, "Sofala, Beira e sua zona", 1989.

AHM, Jose Fontes Pessoa de Amorim, "Os Vatsangas ou Mundau", Beira, 1956, Secca Especial, a 111 (no. 80).

AHM, Revista de Manica e Sofala 1a.serie, no.2, Abril de 1904.

AHM, SE, Branquinho Jose Alberto Gomes de Melo: Prospeção das forças tradicionais: Manica e Sofala, Relatório Secreto para Os Serviços de Centralização e Informação, Provincial de Moçambique, Lourenço Marques, 1967.

AHM.FGD, CX.683, Repartição Central dos Negócios Indígenas, No. 678/B//4 Lourenço Marques, 27 de Fevereiro de 1948.

(b) Oral Interviews

(b) 1. Oral Interviews in Zimbabwe: Private Collection-James Hlongwana (PC-JH)

Chakwizira, S., (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge District, Zimbabwe, 23 December 2018.

Chikaka, E. Z. S., (Councillor), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

Chimbuti, R., (Border region settler), Mapungwana, Chipinge Zimbabwe, 2 December 2016.

Chitoronga, J., (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 6 December 2018.

Dekeya, L., (Border region settler), Jersey, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 5 January 2016.

Dhlakama, S., (Cross-border farmer), Mabeye, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 10 December 2015.

Dlakama, T. F., (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 19 December 2015.

Gwenzi, D., (Chief), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December, 2015.

Jakarazi, B., (Cross-border farmer), Chimbuwe, Chipinge, 12 December 2018.

Jambaya, R., (Cross-border farmer), Zamchiya, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 13 December 2015.

Magadaire, Z., (Border region settler), Clearwater, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 21 December 2015.

Maposa, W., (Border region settler), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 4 December 2015.

Mapungwana, L., (Chief), Mapungwana, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 4 December 2015.

Mashava, W., (Chipinge District Administrator), Chipinge Town, Zimbabwe, 1 December 2015.

Matete, B., (Border region Settler), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

Matiti, D., (Cross-border farmer) Tamanadayi, Chipinge 12 December 2015.

Mungenge, S., (Cross-border farmer), Mugondi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

Mutondoro, B., (Border region settler), Mugondi, , Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 December 2018.

Muzite, D., (Headman), Muzite, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 7 December 2015.

Mwabuya, D., (Cross-border farmer), Vheneka Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 5 January 2018.

Simango, A., (Cross-border farmer), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 20 December 2018.

Sita, D., (Headman), Sita, Chipinge, Zimbabwe 12 December 2015.

Zako, E., (Border region settler), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 24 December 2018.

Zibuke C. (Headman), Gwenzi, Chipinge, Zimbabwe, 14 December 2015.

(b) 2. Oral interviews in Mozambique: Private Collection-James Hlongwana (PC-JH)

Chaibva, F., (Chief), Chaibva, Mossurize , Mozambique, 8 December 2016.

Chandida, J., (chief), Espungabera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 4 January 2017.

Chigodho, F., (Cross-border farmer), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

Chitumba, Z., (Councillor), Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

Dingane, T., (Headman), Garahwa, Mossurize, Mozambique, 10 December 2016.

Domingo, M.Z., (Headman), Chiurarwe, Mossurize, Mozambique 8 December 2016.

Hlaenyani, P., (Cross-border farmer), Mude, Mossuzize, Mozambique, 6 January 2017.

Jara, B., (Immigration officer), Zona Border Post, Mossurize, Mozambique, 5 December 2016.

Kwanayi, F.B., (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossurize, Mozambique 20December 2016.

Magwaza, M., (Cross-border farmer), Mapembani, Mossurize, Mozambique 5 January 2017.

Mandingo, J., (Cross-border farmer), Chisote, Mossurize, Mozambique 7 January 2016.

Mangenje, S. K., (Chief), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

Mangwine, W., (Cross-border farmer), Chinyanye, Mossurize, Mozambique 7 December 2016.

Mashaishakuvata, D., (Councillor), Espungabera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 6 December 2016.

Mazayamba, T., (Cross-border farmer), Makuwuu, Mossurize Mozambique, 15 December 2016.

Mubhohera, T. (Headman), Nyabanga, Mossurize, Mozambique, 8 January 2017.

Mutape, J. M., (Headman), Cita, Mossurize, Mozambique, 14 December 2016.

Mututu,W., (Cross-border farmer),Nyakufera, Mossurize, Mozambique, 11 December 2016.

Nzerere, L, (Border region settler), Mupingo, Mossuriz, Mozambique, 20 December 2016.

Xavier, B., (Mossurize District Administrator), Mossurize District, Mozambique, 1 December 2016.

Native Affairs Department Annuals (NADA)

Abraham, D. P., "The Monomotapa dynasty", *NADA* 36, 1959, pp.59-86.

Bullock, C., "Can a Native Make a Will? Concepts of Testate Succession in the Native Law", *NADA*, 7, 1932, pp.36-39.

Carbutt, C. L., "The Racial Problem in Southern Rhodesia", *NADA*, 12, 1934, pp.6-11.

Cripps, L., "The Umtasa treaty: A Study in the Empire Building and other Things", *NDADA*, 11, 1933, pp.91-95.

Franklin, H., "Traps in Common Use Among the Vakaranga", *NADA*, ix, 1931, pp.74-80.

Marconnes, F., "The Rozvi or Destroyers", *NADA*, 11, 1933, pp.72-90.

Meredith, L.C., "Melsetter District-History of Native Tribes and Chiefs: Information Supplied for The Southern African Native Affairs Commission 1930", *NADA* 11(3) 1976, pp.338-344.

Mhlanga, W., "The story of Ngwaqazi: The History of the Amatshangana", *NADA* 25, 1948, pp.70-73.

Robinson, K. R., "A history of the Bikita District", *NADA*, 34, 1957, pp.75-87.

Scard, H. Van, "The origin of some of the tribes in the Belingwe Reserve", *NADA*, 25, 1948, pp.93-104.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)

ABC 15. 4(32), Annual report of Gogoyo Mission Station, 1917.

ABC 15.4, volume 23, Report of East Central Africa Mission under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions submitted by the Congregational Church of the United States and Canada, 1901.

Zimbabwean Parliamentary Debates

Southern Rhodesia Debates Legislative Assembly Debates, vol.3, 17 February 1924.

Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly Debates, vol.15, 11 April 1951.

Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembly Debates, vol. 16, 8 June 1936.

Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembly Debates, vol. 3, 11 June 1929.

Southern Rhodesia, Legislative Assembly Debates, vol. 8, 25 April 1929.

Official Reports

Address to the Empire Parliamentary Association, 27 November 1929.

Atkins Land and Water Management Feasibility Study for the Development of Hectares of Irrigation at Chisumbanje, Zimbabwe, Harare, ARDA, 1983.

Buce, K., "The Country East of the Junction of the Save and Odzi Rivers, in Journey through Mashonaland, 1899".

Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe, 8 June 2011.

Hansard, 3rd ser, vol. 354, 11 June 1891.

Leggate, W.M., "Southern Rhodesia-Some Problems of Native Development and Trade".

Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management, Republic of Zimbabwe, Forest Commission 2011.

Official Year book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia, no.2, 1930.

Parliament of Zimbabwe Report of the Portfolio Committee on Youth, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment on The Green Fuel Chisumbanje Ethanol Project, SCI, 2011.

Report of the Select Committee (Rhodesian Legislative Assembly, August 1960).

Seventh Report of the Chamber of Mines of Rhodesia, 31 March 1902.

Southern Rhodesia, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Community Delineation Reports, Salisbury, 1965.

Southern Rhodesia, Report of Native Production and Trade Commission, 1944.

The Lancaster House Agreement 21 December 1979, Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference, Lancaster House, London September-December 1979.

Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA), Public Law 107-99-DEC 21, 2001.

Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, 2010.

Zimbabwe Legal Information Institute (ZIMLII), 3 May 2016.

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency: Manicaland Province Population Census 2012.

Zimbabwe Population Census Report, 2012.

Zimbabwe Report Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition 20 June 2002.

Zimbabwe, Report: Value for Money Project: Special Report on the Land Acquisition and Resettlement Programme, Harare: Controller and Auditor-General, 1993.

Newspapers, magazines & News Bulletin

Agro-business 8 October 2018.

Business Daily 5 July 2018.

Business Slider 9 January 2016.

Club of Mozambique 24 January 2017.

Daily News 13 December 2018.

Daily News 18 January 2018.
Daily News 1 February 2018.
Daily News 16 January 2001.
Daily News 22 June 2001.
Daily News 28 July, 2012.
Daily News 4 July, 2012.
New African London, 8 September 2007/2008.
New Zimbabwe 10 April 2019.
News Day 13 March 2020.
News Day 18 September 2014.
News Day 3 September 2014.
News Day 18 January 2017.
News Day 24 May, 2012.
News Day 10 August 2018.
NewsDay 13 March 2020.
The Herald 2 April 2019.
The Herald 1 October 2015.
The Herald 12 February 2015.
The Herald 11 April 2011.
The Herald 21 August 2017.
The Herald 25 October 2013.
The Herald 9 August 2005.
The Mail Guardian 25 July 2017.
The Manica Post 17 May 2017.
The Manica Post 21 August 2015.
The Manica Post 22 May 2016.

The Manica Post 24 May 2010.

The Patriot 30 November 2017.

The Rhodesian Herald 28 June 1930.

The Rhodesian Herald 31 January 1930.

The Rhodesian Herald 7 December 1950.

The Source 20 August 2018.

The Standard 24 December 2017.

The Sunday Mail 6-12 March 2011.

The Sunday Mail 8-12 October 2011.

The Sunday Times 10 October 2010.

The Umali Post Jubilee Supplement 15 August 1950.

The Zimbabwe Daily 4 January 2018.

The Zimbabwe Independent 29 October 2010.

The Zimbabwe Independent 29 September 2006.

The Zimbabwe Independent 29 October 2010.

The Zimbabwean 27 January 2015.

Secondary Sources

Theses & Dissertations (Unpublished)

Alliana-Pisano, E., "Negotiating Colonialism: African, the State and the Market in Manica District, Mozambique c.1895-1935", PhD Thesis, Yale University, 2002.

Amali, I. "Informal survival strategies across national borders: A history of Mozambican nationals in Umtali, Rhodesia, 1897-1975", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2014.

Asante, A., "National Economic Collapse and Revival: The Case of Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, International Business, 2012.

Barry, N., "The Mozambique Chartered Company 1892 to 1910", PhD Thesis, University of London, 1987.

Chamunorwa, A. R., "Political Economy Analysis of The Fast Track Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, University of Sussex, 2012.

Chinamasa, M.G., "The Human Right to Land in Zimbabwe: The Legal and Extra-Legal Resettlement Processes", LLM Dissertation, University of Makerere, 2001.

Dhliwayo, K. D., "External Traders in the Hinterland of Sofala, 1810-1889", M.Phil. Dissertation, University of London, 1977.

Dissanayake, I.A.J.K. "The Impact of Water Deficit on Growth and Yield Performance of Sesame: Analysis Through Mathematical Modelling", PhD Thesis, Queensland University of Technology, 2017.

Dombo, S., "Daily Struggles: Private Print Media, the State and Democratic Governance in Zimbabwe in the Case of the African Daily news (1956-1964) and the Daily News (1999-2003)", PhD Thesis, University of Kwazulu Natal, 2014.

Dube, E.E. N., "Getting Married Twice: The Relationship Between Indigenous and Christian Marriages Among The Ndau Of The Chimanimani Area Of Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2017.

Dube, F., "Colonialism, cross-border movements, and epidemiology: a history of public health in the Manica region of central Mozambique and eastern Zimbabwe and the African response, 1890-1980", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2009.

Duri, F., "Antecedents and Adaptations in Borderlands: A Social History of Informal Socio - Economic Activities Across the Rhodesia - Mozambique Border with Particular Reference to the City of Umtali 1900 – 1974", PhD Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2012.

Duri, F.T., "The Colonial Experiences of Mutasa Traditional Rulers 1888-1979", MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 1996.

Gaal, B.A. EL., "Boundaries in Africa: A Case Study of the Diplomatic Evolution and legal aspects of the international boundaries of the Sudan, With Special emphasis on the boundary with Egypt", PhD Thesis, University of London, 1975.

Gokemen, S.R., "Geopolitics and The Study of International Relations", PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010.

Gonondo, P., "Survival Strategies in Zimbabwe/Mozambique Borderland", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2018.

Gwenzi, E., "Cross Border Dynamics: The Zimbabwe Mozambique Border and The Gwenzi Chiefdom 1891-1974", BA Hons Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013.

Hlongwana, J., "Landlords and Tenants in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, Midlands State University, 2007.

Hlongwana, L., "Fertility Trends Among the Ndaou People: A Case of Gwenzi Area In Chipinge District, Zimbabwe (1980-2019)", MSc Dissertation, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019.

Hughes, D. M. "Frontier Dynamics: Struggles for Land and Clients on the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border", PhD Thesis, University of California, 1999.

Jombo, S. S., "Quantifying the Impact of the L and Reform Programme on Land Use and Land Cover Changes in Chipinge, District, Zimbabwe, Based on Land Study Observations," MSc Dissertation, University of Witwatersrand, 2006.

Kenneth, A. N., "Mediating the Lake Nyasa Border Dispute Between Tanzania and Malawi", PhD Thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2016.

Kenrick, A.W., "Pioneers and Progress: White Nation-Building, c1964-1979", PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 2016.

Konyana, E.G., "When Culture and The Law Meet: An Ethical Analysis of The Interplay Between the Domestic Violence Act and The Traditional Beliefs And Cultural Practices Of The Ndaou People In Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Kwazulu Natal, 2016.

Lacouture, M.T., "Liberalisation, Constitution and Threat: Institutional Developments of Societal Preferences and the Arab Spring in Tunisia, and Morocco", PhD Thesis, Portland State University, 2015.

Madimu, T., "Farmers, Miners and the State in Colonial Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia c.1891-1961)", PhD Thesis 2017.

Madzire,D., "Economic Engagements in the Borderland", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2011.

Mandihlare, C.M., "Large Scale Land Acquisition and Its Implication on Rural Livelihoods: The Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant, Case, Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation, International Institute of Social Studies, 2013.

Mapuranga, T. P., "A Phenomenological Investigation into The Effects of Traditional Beliefs and Practices on Women and HIV & AIDS, With Special Reference to Chipinge District, Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 2010.

Maravanyika, S., "Soil Conservation and White Agrarian Environment in Colonial Zimbabwe c.1908-1980", PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2013.

Maseko, J. I., "An Assessment of the Malawi-Tanzania Border Dispute Since 2012 and Its Effects On the People of Malawi", MA Dissertation, University of Ghana, 2014.

Matikiti, R., "Christian Theological Perspectives on Political Violence in Zimbabwe: The Case of The United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe 2012.

Mbire, M., "Seeking Reconciliation and National Healing in Zimbabwe: Case of the Organ On National Healing, Reconciliation and Integration (ONHRI)", MA Dissertation, Institute of Social Studies Hague, 2011.

McKenzie, J. A., "Colonial Farmers in the Government System of Southern Rhodesia 1963-1980", PhD Thesis, University of Zimbabwe, 1989.

Moyo, B., "Life in the borderland", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Midlands State University, 2018.

Mseba, A., "Land, Power and Social Relations in North-eastern Zimbabwe from Pre-colonial Times to The 1950s", PhD Thesis, University of Iowa, 2015.

Mtsetwa, R.M., G., "The Political and Economic History of the Duma People of South – Eastern Rhodesia From The Early Eighteenth Century To 1945", PhD Thesis, University of Rhodesia, 1976.

Mudenge, I.S.G., "The Rozvi Empire and Feira of Zumbo", PhD Thesis, University London, 1971.

Mungwiro, J "The Ndaou and Labour Migration", BA Hons Mini Rsearch Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013.

Mupfuvi, B.M., "Land to the People: Peasants and nationalism in the development of land ownership structure in Zimbabwe from pre-colonial to the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) period", PhD Thesis, University of Salford, 2014.

Mwatwara, W., "A history of state veterinary services and African livestock regimes in colonial Zimbabwe c1896-1980", PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch University 2014.

Ndumeya, N., "Acquisition, Ownership and Use of Natural Resources in South East Zimbabwe, 1929-1969", PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, 2016.

Nerves, J.M., "Economy, Society and Labour Migration in Central Mozambique 1930-1965: A Case Study of Manica Province", PhD Thesis, University of London, 1998.

Ngwenya, J., "An Assessment of the Impact of Fast Track Land and Agrarian Reforms On Food Security in Umguza District", MA Dissertation Midlands State University 2014.

Noonan, M., "Marxist theories of imperialism of a concept", PhD Thesis, Victoria University, 2010.

Omondi, B.C., "Kenya Foreign Policy Towards Somali 2011-2016: A contribution to insecurity", MA Dissertation, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2016.

Pantovic, A., "The Economic Impact of the European Union on Sub-national Separatist Sentiment", BA Honours Mini Research Essay, University of Colorado, 2014.

Pophiwa, N., "A history of Smuggling among Borderland Communities astride the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border, with reference to Pemhalonga and Nyaronga c1990-2006", MA Dissertation, University of Zimbabwe, 2007.

- Punt, E., "The development of African Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia with Particular Reference to the Interwar Years", MA Dissertation, University of Natal, 1979.
- Rana, G.S., "Geopolitics and the Study of International Relations", PhD Thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2010.
- Rennie, J.K., "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndau of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935", PhD Thesis, North-western University (USA), 1973.
- Rifkind, M. L., "The Politics of Land in Rhodesia", MSC Dissertation, University of Edinburg, 1968.
- Seda F., "Border Governance in Mozambique: The Intersection of International Border Controls, Regional Integration and Cross-border Regions", PhD Thesis, Erasmus University, 2015.
- Sibanda, N., "Where Zimbabwe got it wrong. Lessons for South Africa: A Comparative analysis of the politics of land in Zimbabwe and South Africa", MA Dissertation, Stellenbosch University 2010.
- Singauke, C., "The Establishment of Rhodesia- Mozambique Border and its Socio-Economic and Political Effects on the Mapungwana 1891-1974", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2013.
- Smith, N.J., "Theorising Discourses of Zimbabwe, 1890-1900: A Foucauldian Analysis of colonial Narratives", PhD Thesis, University of Natal, 1998.
- Steele, M., "The Foundations of a Native Policy: Southern Rhodesia 1923-1933", PhD Thesis, Simon Praser University, 1972.
- Tavuyanago, B., "The Renamo War and its Impact in South East Zimbabwe", MA Dissertation. University of Zimbabwe, 2002.
- 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.
- Tawekanyi, K., "The Land Problem Among the Ndau", BA Hons, Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2019.
- Ulaya, A. C., "The Doctrine of Uti Possidentis and its Application in Resolution of International Boundary in Africa", Masters of Law (LL.M) Dissertation, Mzumbe University, 2015.
- Uuihakala, K., "Memory Meanders, Place, Home and Commemoration in an Ex-Rhodesian Diaspora Community", PhD Thesis, University of Helsinki, 2008.
- Ziki, C., "An Analysis into The Social and Economic Impact of Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) On Bikita District Zimbabwe 1934-1980", BA Hons Mini Research Essay, Great Zimbabwe University, 2014.

Published Secondary sources

Journal Articles

Abrahamsson, C., "On the genealogy of Lebensraum", *Geographical Helvetica*, 8, 2013, pp. 37-44.

Adugna, F., "Overlapping nationalist projects and Contested Spaces: The Oromo-Somali borderlands in Southern Ethiopia", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2012, pp.773-787.

Alesina, A., Easterly, W. & Matuszeski, J., "Artificial States", *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 7, 2010, pp.246-277.

Alliana-Pisano, E., "Borders, Borderlands, Boundaries and TheContours of Colonial Rule in Manica District, Mozambiquec.1904-1908", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* xxxvi (1), 2003, pp.59-82.

Alpe, D. & Brunet-Jailly, E., (eds.), "Rarely Studied Borderlands", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 23(3), 2008, pp.1-5.

Aluko, M. A.O., "The Ethnic Problem in Africa", *Anthropologist*, 5(2), 2003, pp.93-99.

Amin, S., "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forums", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1972, 10(4), pp.503-524.

An, J., "Lenin's Theory of Imperialism: Historical Debate and Contemporary Appraisal", *Social Sciences in China*, 36(3), 2015, pp.20-36.

Andrews, M. "The Webster [Chikwanda Ruins]", *The Rhodesian Scientific Association*,vii(i), 1902, pp.35-47.

Angstrom, J., "The Sociology of Studies of Ethnic Conflict: Explaining the Causal Status of Development", *Civil Wars*, 3(3), 2000, pp.23-44.

Applegare, A., "A Europe of the Regions: Reflections on the Historiography of Sub-National Places in Modern Times", *American Historical Review*, October, 1999, pp.1157-1182.

Asiwaju, A. I., "Centring the Margins: Fifty Years of African Border Studies", *Africa Review of Books*, 7(2), 2011, pp.1-12.

Bail, C., "The Configuration of Symbolic Boundaries against Immigrants in Europe", *American Sociological Review*, 73, 2008, pp.37-59.

Bakashab, O. A., "The Legal Concept of International Boundary", *JKAU: Econ*, 9, 1996, pp.29-66.

Bannerman, J. H., "A short political and economic history of the Tsovani, Chisa and Mahenyu dynasties of Ndanga Chiredzi and Chipinge districts to ca.1950", *Zimbabwe History*, 12, 1981, pp.12-14.

- Bassin, M., "Imperialism and The Nation State in Friedrich Ratzel's Political Geography", *Prog. Hum. Geo*, 11, 1987, pp.473-495.
- Bastian, H., "A look at Zimbabwe Smaldeel Coffee Estate", *Lockwood Trade Journal co*, 2018, (unpaged).
- Baud, M. & Van Schendel, W., "Towards a comparative History of Borderlands", *Journal of World History*, 8(2), 1997, pp.211-242.
- Bay, A.M., "Implications of the Bakassi resolution", *African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD)*, AJCR, 10(1), 2010, pp.9-34.
- Beaujard, P., "The first migrants to Madagascar and their introduction of plants: linguistic and ethnological evidence", *Azania Archaeological Research in Africa* 46(2), 2011, pp.169-189.
- Beinart, W., "Soil erosion, conservationism and ideas about development: A Southern African Exploration 1900-1960", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11(1), 1984, pp. 52-83.
- Bessant, L., "Coercive Development: Land Shortage, Forced Labour and Colonial Development in Chiweshe Reserve, Colonial Zimbabwe, 1938-1946", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 25(1), 1992, pp.39-65.
- Blessing-Tendi, T., "Patriotic History and Public Intellectuals Critical of Power", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34(2) 2008, pp.379-396.
- Borras, S., et al, "Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing: an editorial introduction", *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38(2), 2011, pp.209-216.
- Bostoen, K., "Pots, words and the Bantu problem: On lexical reconstruction and early African history", *Journal of African History* 48, 2007, pp.173-199.
- Bostoen, K., Clist, B., Doumenge, C., et al, "Middle to Late Holocene Pale Climatic Change and the early Bantu expansion in the rain forests of West Central Africa", *Current Anthropology* 56 (3)2015, pp.354-384.
- Bourdillon, M. F.C., "Religious Symbols and Political Change", *Zambezia*, XII, 1984/5, pp.39-54.
- Buzan, B. & R. Little, R., "Beyond Westphalia? Capitalism after the fall", *Review of International Studies*, 25, 1999, pp.89-104.
- Cadastral, D., "The making of community-based resource management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique", *Development and Change*, 32, 2001, pp.759-763.
- Carr, D., "Rural migration: The driving force Behind tropical deforestation on the settlement frontier", *Prog Hum Geogr* 33 (3)2009, pp.355-378.
- Carruthers, J. "Changing perspectives on wildlife in southern Africa, c.1840 to 1914", *Society and Animals* 13(3) 2005, pp.183-200.

Cederl, A., "Fixed boundaries, fluid landscapes: British expansion into Eastern Bengal in the 1820s", *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 46(4), 2009, pp.513-40.

Celik, F. & Sahin, K., "Determining the Sovereignty on the Ground of State-Citizen Relations in Cicero and Bodin's Works", *Review of Historical and Political Science*, 2014, 2(3&4), pp.43-67.

Cheater, A., "The Ideology of Communal Land Tenure in Zimbabwe: Mythogenesis Enhanced?" *Africa*, 60 (2), 1990, pp.188-206.

Chilunjika, A. &Uwizeyimana, D.E., "Shifts in the Zimbabwean Land Reform Discourse from 1980 to the present", *Africa Journal of public Affairs*, 8(3), 2015, pp.130-143.

Chingono, H., "Zimbabwe Sanctions: An Analysis of the "Lingo" Guiding the Perceptions of the Sanctions and Sanctionees" *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 4(2), 2010, pp.66-74.

Chipanga, C. & Mude, T., "An Analysis of the Effectiveness of Sanctions as law Enforcement Tool in International Law: A Case Study of Zimbabwe from 2001 to 2013", *Open Journal of Political Science*, 5, 2013, pp.291-310.

Chivandi, B., Fushai, F. &Masaka, J., "Land Ownership and Resources Management in Zimbabwe: A Historical Review", *Midlands State University Journal of Science, Agriculture and Technology* 2(1), 2010, pp.13-24.

Coelho, J.P.B., "African Troops in the Portuguese Colonial Army 1961-1974: Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique", *Portuguese Studies Review*, 10(1), 2002, pp.129-50.

Coplan, D., "Introduction: From Empiricism to Theory in African Border Studies", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25(2), 2010, pp.1-5.

Costachie, S., & Damian, N., "Ratzel and the German Geopolitical School-The Inception of Culture as Essential Element and Factor in the Political Geography", *Revista Romana de Geografie Politica* XXII (2), 2010, pp.298-308.

Daimon, A., "Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 31(4), 2016, pp.463-479.

Danielson, S., "Creating Genocidal Spaces: Geographers and the Discourse of Annihilation, 1880-1933", *Space Polity*, 13, 2009, pp.55-68.

Dar, A.I. & Sayed, J. A., "The evolution of Sovereignty: A historical Overview," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 2017, 6(8), pp.8-12.

Dava, P.O., Chigora, P. T. Chibanda, T.W. & Sillah, R., "An analysis of the effects of Civil War and Prospects for Development in Mozambique: The case of Frelimo-Renamo in Chokwe District", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 21(6), 2013, pp.66-75.

- Davis, A.G., "The work of E.D. Alvord in Mazowe Valley", *Zambezi*(i), 1992, pp.42-63.
- Dear, M. & Burrige, A., "A cultural Integration and hybridisation at the United States-Mexico borderlands", *Cahiers de Geographic de Quebec*, 49(138), 2005, pp.301-318.
- Deininger, K. H. Hoogeveen, H. & Kinsey, B. H., "Economic Benefits and Costs of Land Redistribution in Zimbabwe in the Early 1980s", *World Development*, 32(10), 2004, pp.1697-1709.
- Diamond, J. & Bellwood, P., "Farmers and their Languages: The First Expansion", *Science* 300, 2003, pp.597-603.
- Diba, Y. I., "The Legacy of colonialism and its Contribution to Conflicts in among Communities living in the Marsabit County of Kenya (1964-2011)", *Journal of Global Peace and Conflict*, 3(1), 2015, pp.23-34.
- Dube, L. & Guveya, E., "Technical Efficiency of Smallholder Out-grower Tea (CamelliaSinesis) Farming in Chipinge District of Zimbabwe", *Greener Journal of Agricultural Sciences*, 4(8), 2014, pp.369-377.
- Duffy, L., Culture and Context of HIV Prevention in Rural Zimbabwe: The Influence of Gender Inequality", *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 16(23), 2005, pp.23-31.
- Duggan, W. R., "The Native Land Husbandry Act and Rural African Middle class of Southern Rhodesia," *Journal of African Affairs*, 79, 1980, pp.227-240.
- Durand, F., "Theoretical Framework of the Cross-border Space Production-The Case of The Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 30(3), 2015, pp.309-328.
- Duri, F., "Informal Negotiation of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border for Survival by Mutare's Marginalised Poor", *Journal of Development Studies*, 26(2), 2010, pp.125-163.
- Duri, F., "Linking History and Language Development: Portuguese Influences on the Development of the Shona Language", *Zimbabwe Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 1(2), 2012, pp.27-36.
- Edward, A., "Jean Bodin on Sovereignty', Republics of Letters", *A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics and Arts*, 2(2), 2011, pp.75-84.
- Elden, S., "Contingent Sovereignty, Territorial Inequality and the Sanctity of Borders", *SAIS Review*,XXVI(1), 2006, pp.11-24.
- Eldredge, N., Darwin's Other Books: "Red" and "Transmutation", Notebooks, "Sketch", "Essay", and "Natural Selection", *PLOS BIOL*, 3(11), 2005, pp.1864-1867.
- Englebert, P. Tarango, S. & M. Carter, M., "Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35 (10), 2002, pp.1093-1118.

Erskine, V., "Journey to Umzila's, south East Africa, in 1870-1872", *Journal of Royal Geographic Society*, XLV (1875), pp.110-134.

Erskine, V., "Third and Fourth Journeys in a Gaza or southern Mozambique, 1873 to 1874, and 1874 to 1875", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* XLVIII, 1878, pp. 25-56.

Filippo, C. De Boatoen, K., Stoneking, M., & Pakendorf, B., "Bringing together linguistic and genetic evidence to test the Bantu expansion", *Proc.R. Soc B* 279, 2012, pp.3256-3263.

Flynn, D. K., "We are the border: Identity, exchange and the state along the Benin-Nigeria", *American Ethnologist*, 24(2), pp.311-330.

Garlake, P.S., "Pastoralism and Zimbabwe", *Journal of African History*, xix, 4, 1978, pp.479-493.

Gastrow, P., "The SADC Region: A Common Market for Criminals?" *African Security Review*, 10(4) 2001, pp.1-3.

Gebresellasie, J., "International Migration in Africa: An Overview", *Refugee* 12(8), 1993, pp.1-6.

Gendel, G., "Political Culture: Genealogy of a Concept", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 1997, pp.22-50.

Gerring, J., Ziblatt, D., Gorp, J.V., & Arevalo, J., "An Institutional Theory Of Direct and Indirect Rule", *World Politics*, 63(3), pp. 377-434.

Gonye, J. & Moyo, T., "Apemanish: A Critique of the Modernisation Theory in Ngugi wa Thiong'o's Selected Works and Clement Chihota's 'Shipwreck' in More Plastic Balls", *Journal of Language and Communication*, 5(1), 2011, pp.211-224.

Green, E. D., "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Pre-colonial Africa: The case of Buganda", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 16(1), 2010, pp.1-28.

Greewood, M.J. "The migration legacy of E.G., Ravestein", *Migration Studies*, 7(2) 2019, pp.269-278.

Green, E., "On the Size and Shape of African States", *International Studies Quarterly*, 2012, pp.1-40.

Grigg, D.B., "E.G. Ravestein and the Laws of Migration", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 3(1), 1977, 41-54.

Griggs, A.R.A., "Boundaries, Borders and Peace-Building in Southern Africa: The Spatial Implications of the African Renaissance", *Boundary and Territory Briefing*, 3(2), 2000, pp.1-29.

Haas, H. De, "Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective", *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 2010, pp.227-264.

Hammar, C.A., "Ambivalent Mobilities: Commercial Farmers in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(2), 2010, pp.395-416.

Harington, J.S., McGlashan N.D., & Chelkowska, E.Z., "A Century of migrant labour in the gold mines of South Africa", *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurg*, 2004, pp.65-71.

Harries, P., "Slavery, Social Incorporation and Surplus Extraction: The Nature of Free and Unfree Labour in South Africa East Africa", *Journal of African History*, 22, 1981, pp.309-330.

Haselsberger, B., "Decoding borders: Appreciating border impacts on space and people", *Planning Theory and Practice*, 15(4), pp.505-526.

Hlongwana, J., Maposa, R.S., & Gamira, D., "'Aluta Continua': A Critical Reflection on the Chimurenga-Within Third Chimurenga among the Ndau People in Chipinge District South-eastern Zimbabwe", *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 2(6), 2010, pp.175- 84.

Hlongwana, J., "Old habits die hard: Resistencia Nacional Mozambicana (Renamo) Propensity for Military Confrontation Against its Professed Embrace of Peaceful Conflict Resolution, 1976-2017," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 12(2), 2018, pp.22-32.

Hlongwana, J., Muguti, T. & Tavuyanago, B., "Untenable Marriages: Situating Governments of National Unity in Africa's Political Landscapes since 2000", *International Journal of Developing Societies*, 1(4), 2013, p.149-158.

Holdar, S., "The Ideal State and the Power of Geography: The Life Work of Rudolf Kjellen", *Political Geography*, 11, 1992, pp.307-323.

Houtum, H.V. "The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries", *Geopolitics*, 10, 2005, pp.672-679.

Hove, M., "The debates and Impact of Sanctions: The Zimbabwean Experience", *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3(5), 2012, pp.9-17.

Huffman, T.N. & Herbert, R. K., "New perspectives on eastern Bantu", *Azania* 29-30, 1994-1995, pp.27-36.

Huffman, T. N., "Ceramics, classifications and Iron Age entities", *African Studies* 29, 1980, pp.123-174.

Hughes, D. M., "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and the Politics of Territory on the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 25(4), 1999, pp.533-552.

Hughes, D.M., "Village republics and venture capitalists: strange bedfellows in Zimbabwe-Mozambique trans-border conservation", *Journal of Sustainable Forestry*, 17(1/2), 2003, pp.231-232.

Iovan, M., "Political Culture; Political Socialisation and Accumulation", *Journal of Legal Studies*, 16(29), 2015, pp.26-47.

Jackson, H.M.G, "The Native of Southern Rhodesia: Their Position after Ten Years under Responsible Government," *The African Observer*, 1, 1934, pp.1-12.

Jaffey, A.J.E., "A Reappraisal of the History OfThe Rhodesian Iron Age Up to the Fifteenth Century", *Journal of African History*, vii (2) 1966, pp.193-194.

James, D., "Land for the landless: Conflicting Images of rural and urban in South Africa's land reform programme", *Journal of contemporary African Studies*,19(1) 2001, pp. 93-109.

Jollie, E.T., "Native Land Tenure in Africa", *Pioneer Settlement Cooperative Studies*, 14, 1932, pp.80-107.

Junod, P., "A contribution to the Study of Ndaou Democracy, Totemism and History", *Bantu Studies*, 8(1), 1934, pp.17-37.

Kachena, L., & Spiege, S.J., "Borderland Migration, Mining and Trans-frontier Conservation: Questions Belonging along the Zimbabwe/ Mozambique border", *Geo Journal*,84(4) 2019, pp.1021-1034.

Kawewe, S.M., & Dibie, R., "The Impact of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAPs), on Women and Children: The Implications for Social Welfare in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*,xxvii(iv), 2000, pp.79-107.

Kearns, G., "The Political Pivot of Geography", *Geographical Journal*, 179, 2004, pp.337-46.

Kevil, T., "Borders of Violence-Boundaries of Identity: Demarcating the Eritrean Nation State", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(6), 1999, pp.1037-60.

Kinsey, B.H, "Forever Gained: Resettlement and Land Policy in the Context of National Development in Zimbabwe", *Africa*, 52(3), 1982, p.92-113.

Kladivo, P. Ptacek, P., Roubinek, P. & Ziener, K., "The Czech-Polish and Austrian-Slovenian Borderlands-Similarities and Differences in the Development and Typology of Regions", *Marovian Geographical Reports*,20(3), 2012, pp. 48-63.

Kok, A., "The Definition of Migration and its Application: Making Sense of Recent African Census Andy Survey Data", *SA Journal of Demography*, 7(1), 1999, pp.19-29.

Kosegi, M., *etal*, "Human-environment relationship in modern and postmodern geography", *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin*, 64 (2), 2015, pp. 87-99.

Kramer, E., "A clash of Economics: Early Centralisation Efforts in Colonial Zimbabwe 1929-1935", *Zambesia* 25(1), 1998, pp.83-98.

Kramer, E., "The Early Years: Extension services in peasant Agriculture in colonial Zimbabwe 1925-1929", *Zambezia II*, 1997, pp.159-179.

- Krasner, S.D., "Rethinking the Sovereign State Model", *Review of Internal Studies*, 27, 2001, pp.17-42.
- Kristof, L., "The Nature of Frontiers and Boundaries", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 49(3), 1959, pp.269-282.
- Kwashirayi, V., "Poverty in the Gwai Forest Reserve, Zimbabwe: 1880s-1953", *Global Environment*, 1(1), 2008, pp.146-175.
- Laramont, M. & Molnar, V., "The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences", *Annu. Rev. Sociolo.*, (28) 2002, pp.167-195.
- Larsen, L.H., "The need and ability for expansion: Conceptions of living Space in the small-state geopolitics of Gudmund Hatt", *Political Geography*, 30(1), 2011, pp.38-48.
- Lavachery, P., "The Holocene archaeological sequence of Shum Laka rock shelter (Grassfields, Camerron)", *Archaeological Review*, 18, 2001, pp.213-247.
- Lee, E., "A theory of migration", *Demography* 3, 1966, pp.47-57.
- Lestrade, A.P., "Some notes on the ethnic history of the Bevenda and their Rhodesia affinities", *South African Journal of Science*, 24, 1927, pp.485- 491.
- Liesegang, G., "Archaeological Sites on the Bay of Sofala", *Azania*, 7, 1972, pp.147-159.
- Lipset, S. M., "Some, social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy", *American Political Science Review*, 53(1), 1959, pp.69-105.
- Liu, J., "The Impact of Bantu Migration on Agriculture in Sub Saharan Africa", *International Journal of New Development in Engineering and Society*, 3(2), 2019, pp.28-34.
- Lloyd, E. A., "The Nature of Darwin's Support the Theory of Natural Selection", *Philosophy of Science*, 50(1), 1983, pp.112-129.
- Long, M., "European Integration: Between Micro-Regionalism and Globalism", *JCMS*, 41(3), 2003, pp.475-494.
- MacGonagle, E., "Living with a Tyrant: Ndau Memories and Identities in the Shadow of Ngungunyana", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41(1), 2008, pp.29-53.
- Machingaidze, V. E. M., "Agrarian Change from Above: Southern Rhodesian Native Husbandry Act and African response" *International Journal of African Studies* 24(3), 1991, pp.557-558.
- Magosvongwe, R., & Nyamande, A., "Land racial domination in Zimbabwe: An African-centred Critical analysis of Selected post-2000 Zimbabwean authored novels", *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(2), 2013, pp.35-50.

Mahony, A., Clark, H., Bothwell, M., Simcock, T., Potter, R. & Meng, J., "Where Politics Borders Law; The Malawi-Tanzania Dispute", *New Zealand Centre for Human Rights Law, Policy and Practice*, 2014, pp.1-20.

Makanyisa, I. Chemhuru, M. & Masitera, E., "The Land Tenure System and The Environmental Implications on Zimbabwean Society: Examining the Pre-colonial To Post-Independent Thinking And Policies Through History and Philosophy", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 14(6), 2012, pp.174-183.

Makoni, R. D., "Effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (1991-1993) on the participation of Secondary School Children in Zimbabwe", *Zambezia*, xxvii(ii), 2000, pp.221-224.

Mangku, D.G. S., "The Borderland of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with other Countries", *South East Asia Journal of Contemporary Business, Economics and Law*, (4), 2016, pp.54-58.

Maposa, R.S. D. Gamira, &Hlongwana, J., "Land as a Sacrificial Lamb: A critical Reflection on the effects of colonial and post- Independent Land Management Policies in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 12 (6), 2010, pp.192-207.

Maposa, R. S. Hlongwana.J., &Muguti, T., "Marching Forward to the Past?: Challenges and Prospects for new theology of Land in Zimbabwe", *European Journal of Sustainable Development*, 2(1), 2003, pp.133-148.

Marashe, J. & Maposa, R. S., "The Shona Socio-cultural Landscape: A reflection of the Salt Taboo Among the Ndaus of southern Zimbabwe", *International Journal of Humanities*, 2(3), 2010, pp.135-163.

Maret, P. De., "Pits, Pots and the Far West Streams", *Azania*, 29-30, 1994-1995, pp.318-323.

Marks, S., "New Paradigms in History and Archaeology in South Africa", *African Studies*, 70 (1) 2011, pp.123-143.

Marxen, C., "Territorial integrity in International Law-Its Concept and Implications for Crimea", *Zao*, 75, 2015, pp.7-26.

Masaka, D., "Paradoxes in the Sanctions Discourse in Zimbabwe: A critical Reflection", *African Study Monographs*, 3(5), 2012, pp.49-71.

Masunungure, C. & Shackleton, S. E., "Exploring Long-Term Livelihoods and Landscape Change in Two Semi-Arid in Southern Africa: Drivers and Consequences for Social-Ecological Vulnerability", *Land*, (Basel, Licensee. MDPI, 2018), pp.1-23.

Mawere, M., "Peeping into the World Beyond: Metaphysical Speculations on the Nature of life in Disembodied Bodies", *Educational Research* 1(11), 2010, pp.568-575.

Mawere, M., "Violation and Abuse of Women's Human Rights in the Customary Practice of 'kuzvarirwa' Among the Ndaus of Mozambique", *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, 3(1), 2012, pp.1-20.

- Mazarire, G.C. "Changing Landscape and Oral memory: Towards a Historical Geography of Chisanga, South-eastern Zimbabwe", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29(3), 2003, pp.247-274.
- Mbanje, B.B.C. & Mahuku, D. N. "European Sanctions and Their Impact On Zimbabwe 2002-2011: Finding Alternative Means to survive", *Socha Journal of Policy and Strategic Studies* 1(2), 2011, pp.1-12.
- Mbanje, B.B.C. & Mahuku, D. N., "European Sanctions and Their Impact On Zimbabwe 2002-2011: Finding Alternative Means to survive", *Socha Journal of Policy and Strategic Studies*, 1(2), 2011, pp.1-12.
- McGregor, J., "Conservation, Control and Ecological Change: The Politics and Ecology of Colonial Conservation in Shurugwi, Zimbabwe", *Environment and History*, 1(3), 1995, pp.257-279.
- McGregor, J., "Rethinking the Boundaries of the Nation: Histories of Cross Border Mobility and Zimbabwe's New Diaspora", *Critical African Studies*, 2012, pp.47-68.
- Mills, L.R., "The Development of a frontier Zone and border Landscape Along the Dahomey-Nigeria Boundary", *Journal of Tropical Geography*, 34, 1973, pp. 41-49.
- Mirwaldt, A., "Contact, Conflict and geography; What factors shape cross-border citizen relations?", *Political Geography*, 29(8), 2010, pp.434-443.
- Mlambo, A.S., "Some Are Whiter Than Others": Racial Chauvinism as A Factor in Rhodesian Immigration Policy 1890-1963", *Zambezia*, 27(2) 2000, pp.139-160.
- Moyo, S., "A failed Land Reform Strategy in Zimbabwe. The Willing Buyer Willing Seller", *Public Policy and Administration Review*, 2(1), 2004, pp.67-74.
- Moyo, S., "Land Reform and Development Strategy in Zimbabwe: State, Autonomy, Class and Agrarian Lobby", *Africa Focus*, 6(3)1990, pp.201-242.
- Moyo, S., "The political Economy of land acquisition in Zimbabwe, 1990-1999", *JSAS*, 1999, 26(1), pp.5-28.
- Moyo, S. "Land concentration and accumulation after redistributive reform in post-settler Zimbabwe", *Review of African Political Economy* 38(128), 2011, pp.257-276.
- Mtapuri, O. & Mazengwa, P. J., "Phenomenology of Spirituality and Poverty: A Zimbabwean Cultural Perspective", *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*, 13(1) 2013, pp. 1-10.
- Mudenge, S. I.G., "An Identification of the Rozvi and Its Implications for the History of the Karanga", *Rhodesian History*, 5, 1974, pp.19-32.
- Munangagwa, A., "The Decline of Zimbabwe", *Gettysburg Economic Review*, 3(9), 2009, pp. 110-129.

- Munochiveyi, M. B., "We Don't Want to be Ruled by Foreigners; Oral Histories of Nationalism in Colonial Zimbabwe", *Historia* 73(1), 2011, pp. 65-87.
- Mutanda, A., "The Politicisation, Dynamics and Violence During Zimbabwe's Land Programme", *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research*,5(1), 2013, pp.35-46.
- Mutondoro, F. Chiweshe, K.M. & Gaidzanwa, R., "The Intersection of Women, Land and Corruption in Zimbabwe: Case Study of Women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa villages in Zimbabwe", *Transparency International Zimbabwe*, 2016, pp.1-17.
- Mutsagodo, S., Karimanzira, E., & Makanga, J., "Ndau Women Informal Cross-border Trade and the Changing Socio-Economic Dispensation in Zimbabwe", *Journal of Commerce, Economics and Social Sciences*, 10(2), 2016, pp.1-17.
- Nagendra, MNP., Sanjay, K.R.Prasad, D.S., NVjay, N., Kothari, R., & Najunda, S.S., "A Review on Nutritional and Nutraceutical Properties of Sesame", *Journal of Nutrition and Food Science*, 2(2), 2012, pp.1-6.
- Ncube, T.G., "Banished to the wilderness: The Case of western Area of the Gwayi Reserve, Matebeleland, Zimbabwe", *The Dyke: The Midlands State University State University Journal*, 1(1), 2004, pp.35-44.
- Newitt, M. & Tornimbeni, C., "Transnational Networks and Internal Divisions in Central Mozambique: An Historical Perspective from Colonial Period", *Cahiersdetudesafricaines*, 192, 2008, pp.704-740.
- Ngarionhums, T., *etal*, "Medicinal Plants Used by Traditional Healers for the Treatment of Malaria in Chipinge District, Zimbabwe", *Journal of Ethno Pharmacology*, 159, 2015, pp.224-237.
- Ntaganzwa, I., "Bantu Theory's Troubling Issued: A Close Examination of Bantu Theory and Many of Its Unanswered Questions", *European Journal of Logistics, Purchasing and Supply Chain*, 1(1), 2011, pp.23-33.
- Nyambara, P.S., "Immigrants, 'Traditional' Leaders and the Rhodesian State: The Power of 'Communal' Tenure and the Politics of Land Acquisition in Gokwe, Zimbabwe, 1963-1979", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27(4), 2001, pp.771-791.
- Nyandoro, M., "Zimbabwe's land struggles and land rights in historical perspective: The case of Gokwe-Sanyati Irrigation (1950-2000)", *Historia* 57(2), 2012, pp. 289-349.
- Odomelan, U. B. & Alsien, E., "Political Socialisation and Nation Building: The Case of Nigeria", *European Scientific Journal* 9 (11), 2013, pp.237-253.
- Okhonmina, S., "States Without Borders: Westphalia Territoriality Under Threat", *Journal of Social Sciences*, 24(3), 2010, pp.77-182.
- Okumu, W., "Resources and border disputes in Eastern Africa", *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 4(2), 2010, pp.279-297.

Oliver, S., "The Native Land Rights in Southern Rhodesia", *Contemporary Review*, August, 1926, pp.139- 148.

Onal, H., "Reflections of Environmental Determinism in the Questions Prepared by Geography Teacher Candidates", *Review of International Geographical Education Online* 8(1), 2018, pp.74-92.

Ortiz, L.V., & Contreras, O.F., "The Border as a Life Experience: Identity, Asymmetry and Border Crossing between Mexico and the United States", *Frontera Norte*, 2014, pp.37-56.

Ozkai, R. & Lewis, J.R., "Boundaries and the Meaning of Social Space: A Study of Japanese House Plans," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24, 2006, pp.91-104.

Paasi, A., "Boundaries as Social Processes: Territoriality in the World of Flows", *Geopolitics*, 3(1), 1998, pp.69-88.

Pakendorf, A., Bosoen, K., & De Pilippo, C., "Molecular Perspectives on the Bantu Expansion: A Synthesis", *Language Dynamics and Change* 1, 2011, pp.50-88.

Parham, A., "Borderland Theory as a Conceptual Framework for Comparative Local US and Canadian History", *Advances in Historical Studies*, 2(2), 2013, pp.94-104.

Pecoud, A. & Guchteneire, P. D., "International Migration, Border Controls and Human Rights: Accessing the Relevance of a Right to Mobility", *Journal of Borderland Studies* 21(1), 2006, pp.69-86.

Phillipson, A.W., "An Archaeological Reconsideration of Bantu Expansion", *Muntu* 2, 1985, pp.69-84.

Pickering, S., "Borderlines: Maps and The Spread of the Westphalian State from Europe To Asia, Part One. The European Context, International Archives of Photogrammetry", *Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences*, XL (4/W3), 2013, pp.111-116.

Pitcher, M.A., "Sowing the Seeds of Failure: Early Portuguese Cotton Cultivation in Angola and Mozambique 1820-1926", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 17(1), 1991, pp. 43-70.

Pophiwa, N., "Mobile livelihoods-the players involved in smuggling of commodities across the Zimbabwe- Mozambique border", *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 25(2), 2010, pp.65-76.

Ranger, T.O., "The Meaning of Mwari", *Rhodesian History*, (5), 1974, pp.5- 17.

Rennie, J. K., "White Farmers, Black Tenants and Landlord Legislation: Southern Rhodesia 1890-1930", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5(1), 1978, pp.76-98.

Richardson, C.J. "The Loss of Property Rights and the Collapse of Zimbabwe", *Cato Journal*, 25(3), 2005, p.525.

- Roder, W., "The Division of Land Resources in Southern Rhodesia", *Annals of the of the Association of the American Geographers*, 1964, pp.41-52.
- Rose, E., "Development and Narratives or Making the Best of Blueprint Development", *World Development*, 19(4), 1991, pp.287-300.
- Roux, A.J.B., "Namibia Boundary Dispute. Towards A Boundary Solution or Military Confrontation", *New*, 44, 1998, pp.80-93.
- Rupiah, M.R., "A historical Studies of Land-mines in Zimbabwe, 1963-1995", *Zambezia* 23(1), 1995, pp.63-78.
- Sachikonye, L.M. "From Growth with Equity" to "Fast –Track" Reform: Zimbabwe Land Question", *Review of African Political Economy*, 30(6), 2003, pp.227-240.
- Scott, J.W., "Planning, Cooperation and Trans-boundary regionalism: Implementing Policies for European border regions in the German-Polish Context, Environment and Planning": Government and Policy 16 January 1998, pp.605-624.
- Sebina, A. M., "Makalaka", *African Studiers*, 6, 1947, pp.82-94.
- Selous, F.C., "Twenty Years in Zambesia", *Geographical Journal*, 1, 1893, pp.313-314.
- Sibanda, F. & R.S. Maposa, R.S., "Theological Reflections on the land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe, 2000-2001", *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 6(8), 2014, pp. 54-74.
- Singer, A., "Contemporary Immigrant Gateway in Historical Perspective", *Daedalus the Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Science*, 142(3), 2013, pp.76-91.
- Singh, M., "Basutoland: A historical journey into the environment", *Environment and History*,6(1), 2000, pp.31-70.
- Sinha, B.R.K., "Human Migration: Concepts and approaches", *Foldrajzi Ertesito*, 2005 evf, 3-4 fuzer, pp.403-414.
- Smith, A.K., "The Peoples of Southern Mozambique: An historical Survey", *Journal of African History*, xiv 1973, pp.565-80.
- Smith, K., "Landnam: the settlement of Iceland in archaeological and historical perspective", *Word Archaeology*, 26, 1995, pp.319-47.
- Smith, W. D., "Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum", *German Studies Review* 3(1), 1980, pp.51-68.
- Sumpter, R.S., "Censorship literally administered, Press,U.S. military relations in the Spanish-American War", *Communication Law and Politics* 4(4), 1999, pp.465-481.
- Tagliacozzo, E., "Thinking marginally: Ethno-historical notes on the nature of smuggling in human societies", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 18(2), 2007, pp.162-163.

Tamas, H., "Asymmetries in the formation of the transnational borderland in the Slovak-Hungarian Border Region", *Scientific Basic Research, ID: Huskua*, 2013, pp.176-192.

Tandia, A., "Borders and Borderlands Identities: A Comparative Perspective of Cross-border Governance in the Neighbourhoods of Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea Bissau", *African Nebula*, 2, September, 2010, pp.1-25.

Tavuyanago, B., "Renamo: from military confrontation to peracful democratic engagement 1976-2009", *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 1(3) 2011, pp-42-51.

Tavuyanago, B., Mgti, T. & Hlongwana, J., "Victims of the Rhodesian Immigration Policy: from the Second War", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 138 (4), 2012, pp.951-965.

Taylor, P., "The State as Container: Territoriality in the Modern World System", *Progress in Human Geography*, 18(1994), pp.156-62.

Teschke, B., "Geopolitics", *Historical Materialism*, 14(1), 2006, pp.327-335.

Teschke, B., "Theorising the Westphalian System of States: International Relations from Absolutism to Capitalism", *European Journal of International Relations*, 8(1), 2002, pp.5-48.

Teshome, W., "Colonial Boundaries of Africa: The Case of Ethiopia's Boundary with Sudan", *Age Academic Review*, 9 (1), 2009, pp.337-367.

Tornimbeni, C., "The Boundary between Mozambique and Zimbabwe and the borderland Area of Chimanimani", *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 25(2), 2010, pp.37-52.

Tornimbeni, C., "Migrant Workers and State Boundaries: Reflections on the Transnational Debate from the Colonial Past in Mozambique", *Lusotopie*, 11, 2004, pp. 107-120.

Tornimbeni, C., "The State, labour and the transnational discourse- a historical perspective from Mozambique", *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift fur kritische Afrikastudien*, NR.8/2005, 5, pp.307-328.

Tuander, O., "Swedish-German Geopolitics for A New Century Rudolf Kjellen's: The State as Living Organism", *Review of International Studies*, 27, 2001, pp.451-463.

Van Eeden, E.S., "Debating some Past and Present Research Frameworks and Methodologies in History on Places and their Peoples in South Africa", *African Historical Review*, 45(2), 2013, pp.113-141.

VanHoutum, H., "The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries", *Geopolitics*, 10, 2005, pp.672-679.

Vansina, J., "New Linguistic Evidence and the Bantu Expansion", *Journal of African History*, 36, 1995, pp.173-195.

- Vansina, J., "Western Bantu Expansion", *The Journal of African History*, 25, 1984, pp.129-145.
- Vehnamaki, M., "Diamonds and Warlords: The Geography of War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone", *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 11(1), 2001, pp.48-74.
- Venkatasawmy, R., "Ethnic Conflict in Africa: A Short Critical Discussion", *Transience*, 6(3), 2015, pp.26-37.
- Velazquez, F.C., "Approaches to the Study of International Migration: A Review", *Estudios*, 1(1), 2000, pp.137-168.
- Vijfhuizen, C., "Rainmaking, Political Conflicts and Gender Images: A Case from Mutema Chieftaincy in Zimbabwe", *Zambezia*, 24(1), 1997, pp.31-49.
- Virtanen, P., "Evolving Institutional Framework for Community-Based Natural Resource Management in Mozambique: A Case Study from the Choa Highlands", *African Studies Quarterly*, 5(3), 2001, pp.139-154.
- Walton, J., "Patterned walling in African folk building", *The Journal of African History* 1, 1960, pp.19-30.
- Weikart, R., "Progress through Racial Extermination: social Darwinism, Eugenics and Pacifism in Germany, 1860s-1918", *German Studies Review*, 26, 2013, pp.273-294.
- White, C.M. N., "A Survey of African Land Tenure in Northern Rhodesia", *Journal of African Administration*, 11(4), 1959, pp.171-178.
- Whitefield, S., & Evans, G., "Political Culture versus Rational Choice; Explaining Responses to Transition in the Czech Republic and Slovakia", *British Journal of Political Science*, 29 (10), 1999, pp.129-154.
- Whiteley, P.M., Xue, M., & Wheeler, W.C., "Revising the Bantu tree", *Cladistics*, 2018, pp.1-20.
- Willems, W., "Peaceful Demonstrators, Violent Invaders: Representations of Land in the Zimbabwean Press", *World Development*, 32(10) 2004, pp.1767-1783.
- Wrigley, C.C., "Speculations on The Economic Prehistory of Africa", *Journal of African History*, 1, 1960, pp.189-203.
- Yoon, M., "Colonialism and Border Disputes in Africa: The Case Study of Lake Malawi/Nyasa", *Journal of Territorial and Maritime Studies*, 1(1), 2014, pp.75-89.
- Zamchiya, P., "A Synopsis of Land and Agrarian Reform in Chipinge District, Zimbabwe", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(5), 2011, pp.1093-1122.
- Zibani, Z., "Post 2010, Evaluation of Zimbabwe as a preferred destination", *African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure*, 5(1), 2016, pp.1-15.

Zvogbo, C. J., "Church and State in Rhodesia: From the Unilateral Declaration of Independence to Pearce Commission, 1965-72", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31(2), 2005, pp.381-402.

Conference, seminar, working & occasional papers

Adepoju, A., "Migration in West Africa", paper presented for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission on International Migration, September 2005.

Asiwaju, A. I., "The Concept of Frontiers in the Setting of States in Pre-colonial Africa", Symposium on The Problematique of the State in Black Africa, Dakar, 30 November, 1981.

Beach, D. N., "The Origins of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, Paiva de Andrada, de Companhia de Mocambique and African diplomacy, 1881-91", Seminar Paper 89, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, 1999.

Beach, D.N., "Historians and the Shona Empires", Henderson Seminar Paper 19, 1972.

Botticher, A. & Mares, M., "Conceptualising New Forms of Separatism in Europe", paper Presented at the 7th CCPR General Conference- Panel, State of Union and Crisis of National Unity in Times of EU Crisi, Bordeaux, 4-7 September 2013.

Bieri, M., "Separatism in the EU", ESS in Security Policy, No160, September, 2014.

Brah, A., "Policing Borders, Boundaries and Bodies", Centre for Migration and Diaspora Studies, 2016.

Brett, E.A., "State Failure and success in Uganda and Zimbabwe: The Logic of Political Decay and Reconstruction in Africa", Crisis States Research Centre Working Paper no 78, 2006.

Chamati, W., "A Review of Land Reallocation in Zimbabwe 1980-2000", Working Paper AEE/2001.

Chidhakwa, Z., "Managing Conflict around contested natural resources: a case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani Zimbabwe", Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR), 1993.

Chiweshe MK & Mutopo, P., "National and International Actors in the Orchestration of Large-Scale Land Deals in Zimbabwe: What's in it for Smaller Holder Farmers?", Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, OSSREA Policy Brief No2, 2014.

Duri, F. & Gwekwerere, G., "Linking African Traditional Dance and History: A study of Muchonhoyo Dance among the Ndaus of south-eastern Zimbabwe", The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), Occasional Paper No.29, Cape Town, 2007.

Gautlett, J., "The lie of the land: law and land seizure in Zimbabwe 1890-2010", The Ninth Mofokeng Lecture, Maseru, Lesotho, 15 October 2010.

Grichting, A., "Fences, Walls and Borders: State of Insecurity", *International Conference*, University of Quebec at Montreal, Canada 17th-18th May 2011.

Hall, R., "The Many Faces of the Inesor Rush in Southern Africa: Towards a Typology of Commercial Land Deals", Seminar paper presented at Africa for Sale Analysis and Theorising Foreign Land Claims and Acquisitions Held at the University of Groningen, Netherlands, 28-29 October 2010.

Hensel, P.R., Allison, M.E., &Khanani, A., "The colonial Legacy and Border Stability: UtiPossidetis and Territorial claims in the Americas", paper Presented at the 45th Annual Meeting of the (International Studies Association, Montreal, March, 2004).

Hlongwana, J.&Van Eeden, E.S., "Neither here nor there: The landless Ndaus who have turned a "no man's land" between Mozambique and Zimbabwe into a home", paper presented at a Symposium on Border Regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finlandn 7th-9th September 2016.

Hlongwana, J., Muguti, T., & Tavuyanago, B., "Mothers and Fathers of the Dying: An Evaluation of the Role of Traditional leaders and Institutions in the Fight against HIV/AIDS. The cases of Gwenzi and Madamombe Communities of Zimbabwe", paper presented at Zimbabwe Historical Association of Historians Conference, Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe, and 3-4 August 2017.

Hlongwana, J.VanEeden, E.S.& Gouws,I., "A People of Two Worlds?: Reflections on the Role of Cross-border Ethnicity in Sustaining a portioned Ndaus Community between Mozambique and Zimbabwe,(1975-2014)", Symposium on Border Regions in Southern Africa, UNAM, KatimaMulilo Campus, Namibia, 7-8 September, 2015,(eds.), A. Colpaert & A. Ruokolainen, University of Eastern Finland.

Hortsman, A., "Incorporation and Resistance: Borderlands, Transnational Communities and Social Change in Southeast Asia", Research Institute of Languages and Culture of Asia, 2004.

Hughes, D., "Cadastral Politics: The Making of Community Forestry in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, paper presented to the biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property", Bloomington Indiana, USA 31 May-4 June, 2000.

Hughes, D.M., "Refugees and Squatters: Immigration and Politics of Territory On the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border", paper presented to the Conference On Migration and Urbanisation in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa 4-7 June 2003.

Huiskamp, G., "Salinastroika, Pronosol and Passive Revolution: Political Cultural Transformation in Rural Mexico", paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association, Hyatt Regency Miami, March 16-18, 2000.

Ikome, F.N., "Africa's International borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and security", Institute for security studies, paper 233, May 2012.

Ikome, F. N., "The Inviolability of Africa's Colonial boundaries: Lessons from Cameroon-Nigeria border conflict", Occasional Paper 47, Johannesburg, 2004.

Kleoniki, A. & Dali, J., "Colonial Origins of the Threefold Reality of Mozambique: Fiscal Capacity and the Labour Systems", African economic, Working paper Series no.21/ 2015 African Economic History Network, 2015.

Larmarque, H., "On Asymmetry and Imbalance in Urban Borderlands", Paper presented on Materiality and Immateriality in the Reproduction of African Borders, African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Workshop, University of Cagliari, Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy 2018.

Machakacha, P., "National Healing and Reconciliation in Zimbabwe: Challenges and opportunities", Zimbabwe Monograph Series No.1, 2010.

Machengadzi, V., "Company Rule and Agricultural Development: The Case of the BSA Company in Southern Rhodesia, 1908-1923", *Henderson Seminar* No 43, 1978.

Makombe, E.K., "I would Rather Have My Land Back, Subaltern Voices and Corporate Grab in the Save Valley", Land Deal Policies Initiative LDPI Working Paper 20, 2013.

Mangwiro, T., "Contract Farming in Mozambique", paper presented at Zimbabwe Historical Association of Historians Conference, Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe, and 3-4 August 2017.

Marisa, L., "The Impact of Commercial Forest Areas on Nearby Rural Communities in Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe", Social Science Research Report Series no.32, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, Addis Ababa, 2004.

Matondi P.B. & Nhliziyo, C.T. "Lessons from Land Investment in Zimbabwe: The Case of Chisumbanje Ethanol Investment", paper presented to the conference on Land policy in Africa, the next Decade of Land Policy in Africa: Ensuring Agricultural Development and Inclusive Growth, Harare, 11-14 November 2014.

Mbenga, B.K., "One Ethnic Community Straddling an International Border: Tshidilamomo Villagers in South Africa and Botswana", Paper presented at the Symposium *On Border Regions in Sub-Saharan Africa*, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finland, 2016.

Mbombo, J.M.K., "Rethinking Constitutionalism as a border management strategy in the Great Lakes Region of Africa", Paper presented at the Symposium on Border Regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu Campus, Finland, 7th-9th September 2016.

Mkhatshwa, B., Swaziland Oral History Project 1967-1993, Collection Number A 2760, Johannesburg, Historical Papers Research Archive, 2016.

- Moller, J., "Mapping Political Regime Developments in Interwar Europe: A Multidimensional Approach" Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops, April 10-15, 2014 Salamanca, Spain 2014.
- Moser, J., "Border Contracts-Border Conflicts: Examples from Northern Namibia", Symposium on Shifting Boundaries: Cartography in the 19th and 20th centuries, Portsmouth University United Kingdom, 10-12 September, 2008.
- Moyo, S., "The Interaction of Market and Compulsory Land Acquisition Process with Social Action in Zimbabwe Land Reform", paper Presented at the Annual Colloquium On Regional Integration: Past, Present and Future, Harare, September 2000.
- Musayemura, T., "Resource Utilisation in the borderland", paper presented at Zimbabwe Historical Association Conference (ZHA), Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe, 3-4 August 2017.
- O'Laughlin, B., "Proletarianisation, Agency and Changing Rural Livelihoods: Forced Labour and Resistance in Colonial Mozambique", Working paper 354, ORPAS-Institute of Social Studies, Hague, 2001.
- Orrenius, P.M., & Zavodny, M., "Irregular Immigration in Europe Union", Swedish Institute For European Policy Studies (Spieps), 2016.
- Patricio, M., "Legal Pluralism in Mozambique: Boundaries Between The Local State And Traditional Authorities In Mossurize district," *56th ASA Annual Meeting (African Studies Association)*, 2013.
- Patricio, M., "Living the Mugano-the partitioned Ndaou in the Mozambique-Zimbabwe borderland", *22nd ASEN Annual Conference* 27-29 October 2012.
- Phimister, I.R., "Capital and class in Zimbabwe 1890-1948 ", *Henderson History Seminar* Paper no 50, seminar: 6 October 1980.
- Pindiri, C., "The Economic and Environmental Costs/Benefits of Green Fuel: The Case of the Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant", African Economic Research Consortium Special paper 50, Nairobi, 2016.
- Pratt, M., "The Scholar Practitioner Interface in Boundary Studies"; Paper presented at the Symposium: First Contact: Bringing Together Community of Border Studies at Slavic Research Centre, Hokkaido University, December 19, 2009.
- Rennie, J. K., "Settlers and Missionaries in Southern Rhodesia 1893-1925", University of Rhodesia, Henderson Seminar paper, 3 November 1966.
- Selby, A., "Losing the Plot: The Strategic Dismantling of white farming in Zimbabwe 2000-2005", Centre for International Development, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford, Working Paper Series No 143, 2008.
- Selee, A., "A New Migration Agenda Between the United States and Mexico", W/Wilson Centre, Mexico Institute, 2017.

Tagliacozzo, E., "Smuggling and states along a South East Asian frontier", in *Ilas Newsletter*, No.42, 2006.

Thondlana, G., "The Local Livelihoods of Bio-fuel Development and Acquisition in Zimbabwe", Discussion Paper Series No 11, African Initiative, 2014.

Turton, D., "Conceptualising Forced Migration", RSC Working Paper Series No 12, October 2003.

Weber, A., "Borders with Issues: Soft Border Management as a solution", Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2012.

Books & Book chapters

Abbott, J., *God at Work in Gazaland*, (Salisbury, Graham Publishing Company, 1981).

Adenaike, C.K., & Vansina, J., "Prologue", in C. K. Adenaike & J. Vansina (eds.), *In Pursuit of history*, (Oxford, James Murray, 1996).

Adepoju, A., "International Migration in Africa South of Sahara", in T. Reginal & T. Appleyard, (eds.), *International Migration Today vo. 1, Trends & Prospects*, (Paris, United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation, 1988).

Agnew, J., "Territorialisation", in D. Gregory, R. Johnston, G. Pratt, M. Watts & S. Whatmore (eds.), *Dictionary of Human Geography*, (London, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

Ahmad, M. B., *African Boundaries and Imperative of Definition: Delimitation and Demarcation of Boundaries in Africa*, (Addis Ababa, African Union Border Programme (AUBP), 2014).

Ake, C., *A Political Economy of Africa*, (Harlow, Longman, 1981).

Akinyere, R. T., *Contemporary Issues on Boundaries and Governance in Nigeria*, (Lagos, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005).

Alao, A., "The Metamorphosis of the Unorthodox: The Integration and Early Development of the Zimbabwean National Army", in N. Bhebhe & T. O. Ranger (eds.), *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation War vo. 1*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995).

Alden, C. & W. Anseeuw, W., *Land, Liberation and Compromise in Southern Africa*, (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Alexander, C. & Hagen, J., *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation State*, (Toronto, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010).

Alexander, J., "Squatters, Veterans and the State in Zimbabwe", in A. Hammar, (eds.), *Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking, Lands, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2003).

- Almond, G. & Verba, S., *The Civic culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963).
- Almond, G. & Powell, B., *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, (Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1972).
- Anthony, D., "Prehistoric migration as social process", in J. Chapman & H. Hamerow, (eds.), *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*, (Oxford, BAR, International Series 6645, 1997).
- Arrighi, G., "Labour Supply in Perspectives: Southern Rhodesia", G. Arrighi & J. Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, (London, Monthly Review Press, 1973).
- Arrighi, G., "The Political Economy of Rhodesia", in G. Arrighi & J. Saul, *Essays On The Political Economy Of Africa*, (London, Monthly Review Press, 1973).
- Ashrat, A. & Sharma, L. N., *Political Sociology: A New Grammar of Politics*, (New Dehli, Universities Press, 1988).
- Asiwaju, A. I., "Respacing for Peace, Security and Sustainable Development: The African Union Border Programme in the European Comparative Historical Perspective", in U. Engel & P. Nugent (eds.), *Reshaping Africa*, (Boston, Brill, 2010).
- Austen, R., *Racism and Apartheid in Southern Africa Rhodesia*, (Paris, Unesco Press, 1975).
- Austen, R., *African Economic History: Internal Development and External Dependency*, (London, Heinemann, 1987).
- Axelson, E., *Portugal and the Scramble for Africa*, (Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University, 1967).
- Banfield, E., *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, (Glencoe, IL: The Press, 1958).
- Barber, W.J., *The Economic Development of Central Africa*, (London, University of Oxford Press, 1961).
- Barkindo, B.M., & Lipede, A., (eds.), *Human trafficking and economic crimes across Nigeria's international borders*, (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2007).
- Barratt, B.M., *The Economics of Imperialism*, (Victoria, Ringwood, 1974).
- Batho, H., *Southern African Development Community (SADC) Emergency Audit On Foot and Mouth Disease*, (Brussels, European Commission, 2003).
- Baumhogger G., et al (eds.), *The Struggle for independence: Documents on the Recent Development of Zimbabwe 1975-1980*, (Hamburg, IFAK, 1984).
- Baurer, O., *The Question of Nationalities and Social Democracy*, (tr. Joseph O'Donnel, Minneapolis 2000).

- Beach, D.N., "The Zimbabwean Plateau and its Peoples", in D. Birmingham & P. M. Martin, (eds.), *History of Central Africa*, (London Longman, 1983).
- Beach, D.N., *The Shona and Zimbabwe 900-1850*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1980).
- Beach, D.N., *Zimbabwe before 1900*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1984).
- Bellwood, P., *First Migrants: Ancient Migration in Global Perspective*, (West Sussex, John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2013).
- Bentley, K. & Southall, R., *African Peace Process: Mandela, South Africa-Burundi*, (Cape Town, HSRC,2005).
- Bhila. H.H.K., *Trade and Politics in A Shona Kingdom: The Manyika And Their African And Portuguese Neighbours 1575-1902*, (Harare, Longman Zimbabwe, 1982).
- Birmingham, D., "Society and economy before A.D 1400", in D. Birmingham & P. M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa, volume One*, (London, Longman, 1998).
- Biscop, S., *Brexit, Strategy and the EU: Britain Takes Leave*, (Brussels, Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, 2018).
- Black, R., *A History of Rhodesia*, (London, Eyre Methuen, 1977).
- Blench, R., "New evidence for the Austronesian impact on the east African coast", in C. Anderson, J. Barret & K. Boyle, *The Global Origins and Development of Seafaring*, (Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2010).
- Blench, R., *Archaeology, Language and the African Past*, (Lanham, MD. Altamira Press, 2006).
- Bradford, M.G. & Kent, W. A., *Human Geography: Theories and their applications*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977).
- Brager, A.L., *Arbitrary Borders, Political boundaries in World History*, (Chelsea, Chelsea Publishers, 2004).
- Bregin, A. & B. Kruiper, B., *Kalahari Rain Song*, (Pietermaritzburg, University of Kwazulu-Natal Press 2004).
- Brown, A., "Introduction", in A. H. Brown & J. Gray (eds.), *Political Culture and Political Change in Communist States*, (London, Macmillan, 1977).
- Brown, K., *Land in Southern Rhodesia*, (London Longman, 1959).
- Brownlie, I., *African Boundaries: A Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia*, (London, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1979).
- Bruyn, Du J.T. & Cuthbertson, G.C., *Introduction to history: South Africa until 1806*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1989).

- Bullock, C., *The Mashona*, (Cape Town, Juta & Co, 1927).
- Burrows, E. H., *The Moodie of Melsetter*, (Cape Town, Balkema 1954).
- Cassarino, J., *Approaching Borders and Frontiers: Notions and Implications*, (San Dominico di Fiesole, European University Institute, 2006).
- Caton-Thompson, G., *The Zimbabwe Culture, Ruins and Reactions*, (Oxford, Clarendon, 1931).
- Chagnon, A., *Yanomamo, The Fierce People* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972).
- Chang, K.C., *Art, Myth and Ritual: the Path to Political Authority in Ancient China*, (Cambridge, MA Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Chigwedere, A.S., *From Mutapa to Rhodes 1000 to 1890 AD*, (London, Macmillan 1980).
- Chimbambo, E., & Mutukudzi, B., *Introduction to Population and Settlement Studies*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Open University, 2000).
- Chimhundu, H., *The Unification of the Shona Dialects, A photographic reprint*, (Oslo, ALLEX-Project, 2005).
- Chingono, M. F., *The State, Violence and Development, The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992*, (Avenbury, Aldershot, 1996).
- Chiumbu, S. & Musemwa, M., "Introduction: Perspectives of the Zimbabwean Crisis," in S. Chiumbu & M. Muchemwa (eds.), *Crisis, What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2012).
- Cingular, B., Mather, D., Walker, T., Mouzinho, B., Massingwe, J., & Maiene, R., *Exploiting the Potential for Expanding Cropped Area Using Animal Traction in the Small Holder Sector in Mozambique*, (Maputo, Directorate of Planning and International Cooperation, 2016).
- Clapham, A., *Africa and The International System*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Clements, A., *Rhodesia: A Study of the Deterioration of a White Society* (New York, Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969).
- Cohen, S. B. *Geopolitics of The World System*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003).
- Coleman, C., *Shengen Agreement: A Short History*, (London, House of the Lords Library, 2016).

Cooper, F., "Networks, Moral Discourse and History", in T. M. Callaghy, R. Kassimir & R. Lathan (eds.), *Intervention and Trans-nationalism in Africa: Global-local Networks of Power*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Crowe, E.S., *The Berlin West African Conference 1884-1885*, (London, Longman, 1942).

Crush, J. & Tevera, D., "Existing Zimbabwe", in J. Crush & D. Tevera (eds.), *Zimbabwe's Exodus*, (Pretoria, Unit Press, 2011).

Dalton, R., *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004).

Davidson, B., *Africa in History: Themes and Outlines*, (New York, Macmillan, 1991).

Davison, B., *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, (New York, Time Books, 1992).

Deshpande, C.D., Arunchalarm, B., &Bhart, L.S. *Impact of Metropolitan City on the Surrounding Region: A Case Study of South Kolaba*, (New Dehli, Concept Publishing Company, 1980).

Diener, A.C. & Hagen, J., "Borders, Identity and Geopolitics", in A. C. Diener& J. Hagen (eds.), *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State* (Toronto, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2010).

Donnan, H., &Wilson, T., *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State*, (Oxford, Berg, 2001).

Duffy, L., *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1961).

Duri, F.P.T., "Colonial Land Husbandry Measures and African Responses: A Case Study of the Mutasa Chieftdom in Rhodesia, 1941-1975", in M. Mawere & A. Nhemachena (eds.), *Theory, Knowledge Development and Politics: What Role for the Academy in the Sustainability?* (Bamenda, Langa 2017).

Duri, F. P.T., "Negotiating the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border: The Pursuit of Survival by Mutare Poor, 2000-2008", in S. Chiumbu & M. Muchemwa, (eds.), *Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis* Cape Town, HSRC Press, 2012).

Duri, F.P.T., *Resilience Amid Adversity: Informal Coping Mechanisms to the Zimbabwean Crisis During the New Millennium*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2016).

Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (New York, Free Press, 1965).

Eggert, M., "The Bantu Problem and African Archaeology", in A.B. Stahl (ed.), *African Archaeology: A Critical Introduction*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005).

Eisenstadt, E.S., *Analysis of Patterns of Migration and Absorption of Migration in Population Studies*, (London, London School of Economics, 1953).

- Epstein, C. F., "Tinker-bells and Pinus: The Construction and Reconstruction of Gender Boundaries at Work", in M. Lamont & M. Fournier (eds.), *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1992).
- Feder, E., "Counter-reform", in Y. Ghai et al (eds.) *The Political Economy of Law: A Third World Reader*, (Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Fernie, J. & Pitkthly, A. S., *Resources, Environmental and Policy*, (London, Harper Row, 1985).
- Ferraz, B. & B. Munslow, B., *Sustainable Development in Mozambique*, (Asmara, Africa World Press, 2000).
- Figueiredo, A. De, *Portugal and its Empire: The Truth*, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1961).
- Freeman, D., *Report on Iban*, (London, Athlon, 1970).
- Gaidzanwa, R., *Voting with Their Feet: Migrant Zimbabwean Nurses and Doctors In The Era of Structural Adjustment Programme*, (Uppsala, Nordic African Institute 1999).
- Gann, L & Gelfand, M., *Huggins of Rhodesia*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1964).
- Garn, H. & Geliand, M., *Huggins of Rhodesia: The Man and his country*, (London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1964).
- Gatsheni-Ndhlovu, S. J. & Mhlanga, B., (eds.), *Bondage of Boundaries and Identity Politics in Post-colonial Africa*, (South Africa, Africa Institute, 20 October 2013).
- Ghosh, B.N. *Fundamentals of Population Geography*, (New Dehli, Sterling Publishers Pvt, 1987).
- Gillis, D. H., *The Kingdom of Swaziland: Studies in Political History*, (London, Greenwood Press, 1999).
- Grier, B. C., "Child Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe", in H. D., Hindman (ed.), *The World of Child Labour. An Historical and Regional Survey*, (New York, M.E Sharp, 2009).
- Grier, B. C., *Invisible Hands: Child Labour and the in Colonial Zimbabwe*, (Portsmouth, Heinemann, 2006).
- Hall, R.N., *Pre-Historic Rhodesia*, (London, T. F. Unwin, 1909).
- Hanlon, J., *Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa: Country Report Mozambique*, (Oakland, Oakland Institute, 2011).
- Harold-Barry, B. D., *Zimbabwe: The Past is the Future: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis*, (Harare, Weaver Press, 2004).

Harries, P., "Exclusion, Classification and Internal Colonialism: The Emergence of Ethnic Among the Tsonga-Speakers of South Africa", in L. Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (ed.), (London, James Currey, 1989).

Harvey, D., *The New Imperialism*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).

Haw, R.C., *No Other Home*, (Bulawayo, Manning, 1960).

Hertel, E., *Map of Africa by Treaty*, (London, Harrison & Sons, 1909).

Herwig, H., "Geopolitik: Haushofer, Hitler and Lebensraum", in C.S.S. Gray & G. Sloan (eds.), *Geopolitics, Geography and Strategy*, (London, Frank Cass, 1999).

Hilferding, R., *Finance capital: A Study of the Latest Phase of Capitalist Development*, (London, Routledge, 1981).

Hlongwana, J. "A People of Two Worlds? Reflections on the Role of Cross-border Ethnicity in Sustaining a partitioned Ndaou Community between Mozambique and Zimbabwe (1975-2020)" in F. P. T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.) *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands and Beyond Since Colonial Period*. (Gweru, Booklove, 2018).

Hlongwana, J., "Nguni Conquest of the Ndaou and the Transformation of the Ndaou Society: Costs and benefits", in E.G. Konyana & D.O. Laguda (eds.), *Religious Violence and Conflict Management in Africa: Phenomenological and Epistemological Engagements*, (Harare, Africa Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies, 2019).

Hlongwana, J., "Victims of Frelimo and Renamo Brutality: The Ndaou People of Mossurize District of Mozambique, 1976-2017," in N. Marongwe & F.T. Duri (eds.), *Violence, Peace, and everyday modes of Justice and Healing in Post-colonial Africa*, (Bemenda, Laanga, 2019).

Hobson, J.A., *Imperialism, A Study*, (New York, James Scott & Company 1902).

Hockett, H.C., *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing*, (Westport, Greenwood Press, 1977).

Holleman, J.F., *Chief, Council and Commissioner: Some Problems of Government in Rhodesia*, (Assen, Royal Van Gorcum, 1969).

Holleman, J.F., "Some Shona of Southern Rhodesia", in E. Colson & M. Gluckman, (eds.), *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1951).

Hone, I.F., *Southern Rhodesia*, (London, Longman, 1909).

Howard, A.M., "Actors, Places, Religions and Global forces: An Essay on The Spatial History of Africa Since the 17th century", in U. Engel & P. Nugent, (eds.), *Reshaping Africa*, (Boston, Leiden, 2010).

Hughes, D.M., *From Enslavement to Environmentalism: Politics on a Southern African Frontier*, (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2006).

Igue, J. & Soule, B., *L'Eta-entrepot au Benin: Commeceiformal ou Solution a Crisis?* (Paris, Karthala, 1992).

Ilyn, S. & Motylev, A., *ABC of social and Knowledge: What Is Political Economy*, (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1986).

Isaacs, A., & Haldanarsen, G., "Introduction: Regional and Transnational History in Europe", in S. Ellis & I. Michailidis (eds.), *Regional and Transnational History in Europe*, (Pisa, Pisa University Press, 2011).

Isaacman, A. F. & Isaacman, B., *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985).

Isaacman, A., *Cotton is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique 1938-1961*, (London, James Currey, 1996).

Jacobson, S., Andresen, A., Beslin, B., Goderle, W., Gyore, Z., & Muigg, M., "What is a Region? Regions in European History", in S.G. Ellis & I. Michailidis (eds.), *Regional and Transnational History in Europe*, (Pisa, Pisa University, 2011).

Jacobs, H.A., *The Pastoral Maasai of Kenya: A report of Anthropological field research*, (Urbana 3, University of Illinois, 1963).

Jinadu, L. A., *Explaining and Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards A Cultural Theory of Democracy*, (Uppsala, Nordic African Institute, 2007).

Jollie, E.T., *The Real Rhodesia*, (London, Hutchinson, 1924).

Jones, N., *Rhodesian-genesis: The Story of the early days of Southern Rhodesia compiled from the reminiscences of some early Pioneers*, (Bulawayo, The University Press, 1953).

Jorge, R. & Anne-Marie, F., *Genetics and Demographic History of the Bantu*, (Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 2016).

Kale, D., *Interviews* (London, Sage Publications, 2002).

Kalvin, H., *The State, War and State of War*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Kay, G., *Rhodesia, A Human Geography*, (London, University of London Press 1970).

Kendall, B., Dalton, R. & Hildebrandt, K., *Germany Transformed: Political Culture and the New Politics*, (Cambridge Harvard University Press, 1981).

Keppel-Jones, A., *Rhodes and Rhodesia, The White Conquest of Zimbabwe 1884-1902*, (Kingstone, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983).

King, D., "Distrust of Government: Explaining American Exceptionalism", in S. Pharr & R. Putnam, *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996).

- Konyana, E. G., "Euthanasia in Zimbabwe? Reflections on the management of terminally ill persons and the dying in Ndau traditions of Chimanimani and Chipinge southern-eastern Zimbabwe" in D. O'Laughlin (ed.), *Death and Life after Death, African Philosophy and Religious, A Multiple Disciplinary Engagement*, (Harare, Africa Institute for Culture, Peace, Dialogue and Tolerance Studies, 2014).
- Kopytoff, I., "The internal African frontier: The Making of African political culture", in I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
- Kosmin, A., *Majuta: A History of the Jewish Community of Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Mambo, 1981).
- Kuznetsov, A. M., "Symbolic Boundaries of Social Systems", in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A. A. Kireev (eds.), *Introduction to border Studies*, Dalnauka, Vladivostok 2015.
- Lambert, J., Pretorius, F.J., Classen, L.H., van Niekerk, L.E., McKenzie, L.W., & Kew, S., *Aspects of European History, 476-1848*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2001).
- Lamont, M., *Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality*, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press Books, 1992).
- Lamont, M., "Symbolic boundaries", J. Wright, (ed.) *International Encyclopaedia of Social Science and Behavioural Science*, (Oxford, Elsevier, 2001).
- Lan, D., *Guns and Rain and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985).
- Lee, E. S. "A Theory of Migration", in D.G. Ross & H.M. Scnell (eds.), *An Introduction to Population*, (New, Archives Books, 1970).
- Lenin, V. I., *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1973).
- Lerner, D., *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernising the Middle East*, (Toronto, Macmillan, 1966).
- Leys, C., *European Politics in Southern Rhodesia*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1959).
- Liesegang, G., *Notes on the Internal Structure of The Gaza Kingdom of Southern Mozambique 1840-1895*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe 1997).
- Lipset, S. M., & Schneider, W., *The Confidence Gap*, (New York, Free Press, 1983).
- Lipset, S.M., *American Exceptionalism: A Doubled Edged Sword*, (New York, W.W, Norton, 1999).
- MacGaffee, J., *The Real Economy of Zaire: the contribution of Smuggling and other unofficial Activities to National Wealth*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

MacGonagle, E., *Crafting Identity in Zimbabwe and Mozambique*, (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2007).

Madhuku, L., "Law, Politics and the Land Reform Process", in S. Masiyiwa (ed.), *Post-independence Land in Zimbabwe: Controversies and Impact on the Economy*, (Harare, Fridrich Ebert Stiflung and Institute of Development Studies, 2004).

Malan, S. F., Carruthers, E. J. & Theron, M., *History of South Africa 1806-1902*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1997).

Mandaza, I., "Introduction: The Political Economy of Transition", in I. Mandaza (ed.), *Zimbabwe: The Political Economy of Transition 1980-86*, (Dakar, Codesria 1986).

Marshall, G., *The Concise Dictionary of Sociology*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996).

Martinez, O. J., *Border and People: Life and Society in the US- Mexico borderlands*, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1994).

Martins, D. & Johnson, P., *The Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981).

Marwick, A., *The nature of history*, (London, Macmillan, 1989).

Masiyiwa, M., *Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe: Disparity Between Policy Design and Implementation*, (Harare, Institute of Development Studies of the University of Zimbabwe, 2004).

Mason, P., *Birth of A Dilemma*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1958).

Massiwa, M., *Post-independence Land Reform in Zimbabwe: Controversies and Impact on the Economy*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2004).

Massiwa, M. & Chigwe, O., *The Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Sustainability and Empowerment of Rural Communities*, (Harare, IDS University of Zimbabwe, 2003).

Mazrui, A., "Conflict in Africa: An Overview", in A. Nhema & P. T. Zeleza (eds.) *The Roots of African Conflicts: Causes and Costs*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2008).

Mbaku, J. M. & Smith, J., *South Sudan, One year After Independence: Opportunities and Obstacles for Africa's Newest Country*, (Massachusetts, Brookings, 2012).

McGregor, J. *Crossing the Zambezi: The Politics of Landscape On A Central African Frontier*, (Oxford, James Currey, 2009).

McLean, I. & McMillan, A., *The Concise Dictionary of Politics*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

Mercanalli, S. Nshimbi, & I. Moyo, I., "Mozambican Labour Migration, Remittances and Development: Evidence, Practices and Implications for Policy", C.C. Nshimbi & I. Moyo

(eds.), *Migration, Cross-border Trade and Development in Africa*, (Palgrave Studies of Sustainable Business in Africa, 2017).

Meredith, M., *Mugabe: Power, Plunder and the Struggle for Zimbabwe*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2007).

Michalopoulos, S. & Papaioannaou, E., *The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa*, (Cambridge, National Bureau of Economic Research, 2011).

Mill, J.S., *The Principles of Political Economy*, (Gutenberg, Ebook, 2009).

Minter, W., *King Solomon's Mines Revisited: Western interests and the burdened history of Southern Africa*, (New York, Basic Books, 1986).

Mishra, S., "Factors and Process of Migration in Developing Economy", in R.B. Mandai ((ed.), *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, (New Dehli, Concept Publishing, 1981).

Mlambo, A.S., "A History of Zimbabwean Migration to 1990", in J. Crush & D. Tevera (eds.), *Zimbabwean Exodus, Crisis, Migration, Survival*, (Cape Town, Southern African Migration Programme, 2010).

Mlambo, A.S., *White Immigration into Rhodesia; From Occupation to Federation*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications 2000).

Mlambo, A.S., *A History of Zimbabwe*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Mlambo, A.S., *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe 1990-1995*, (Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1997).

Moyana, H. & M. Sibanda, M., *The African Heritage Book 3* (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1999).

Moyana, T.T., *Education, Liberation and the Creative Act*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1989).

Moyana, V.H. *The Political Economy of Land in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2002).

Moyana, V. H., *African Heritage Book 1* (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1990).

Moyo, S., "The Evolution of Zimbabwe's Land Acquisition", in M. Rukuni *etal* (eds.), *Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution Revisited*, (Harare University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2006).

Moyo, S., *Destruction of Zimbabwe's Backbone Industry in Pursuit of Political Power: A Qualitative Report on Events in Zimbabwe's Commercial Farming Sector Since the Year 2000*, (Harare, Justice for Agriculture (JAG) Zimbabwe, 2008).

Mpofu, T.G., Mutami, N. & Tavuyanago, B., *A Total History Book 3*, (Harare, Priority, 2009).

- Mudenge, S.I.G., *A Political History of Munhumutapa c1400-1902*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1985).
- Mugabe, R., *Independence Message. In Struggle for Independence: Documents of the Recent Development of Zimbabwe 1975-1980*, December 1979-April 1980, (Hamburg, Institute of African Studies Document Centre 1980).
- Mugambi, J. N. K., *Christianity and African Culture*, (Nairobi, Action Publishers, 2002).
- Muguti, T & Makanyisa, I., "From the Frying Pan into the Fire? Xenophobic and Zimbabweans in South Africa from the Year 2008," in F.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands & Beyond Since the Colonial Period*, (Booklove Publishers, 2018).
- Muguti, T. & Marongwe, N., "The Moral Economy of Border Transgression: Smuggling Across the Beitbridge Border Post by Zimbabweans in the New Millennium," in F.T. Duri & N. Marongwe (eds.), *A Social History of Zimbabwean Borderlands & Beyond Since the Colonial Period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018).
- Mukanya, S., *Dynamics of History Book 1*, (Harare, College Press, 2011).
- Mukanya, S., *Dynamics of History, Book 3*, (Harare, College Press, 1997).
- Muller, K., "German History in Documents and Images" volume 1, *From the Reformation to the Thirty Years War, 1500-1648*, (Frankfurt, Lang, 1975).
- Murphy, A., "The Sovereign State System as Political Territorial Ideal: Historical and Contemporary Considerations," in T. J. Bierteker & C. Weber, (eds.), *State Sovereign as Social Construct*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Murphy, W.F., "Constitutions, Constitutionalism and Democracy", in D. Greenberg et al (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy: Transition in the Contemporary World*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1993).
- Musiiwa, L. M., *Land Reform Programme in Zimbabwe in Zimbabwe: Disparity Between Policy Design and Implementation*, (Harare, Institute of Development Studies, 2004).
- Muzvidziwa, V.N., *Women without Borders: International Cross-border Trade among women in the Southern African Development Community*, (Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa, 2005).
- Negrao, J., *One Hundred Years of Rural African Economy: The Zambezi Delta in Retrospective Analysis*, (Lund: University of Lund, 1995).
- Nelson, H. D., *Mozambique: A country Study*, (Washington DC, American University, 1984).
- Newitt, M. D.D., *A history of Mozambique*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1995).

- Newman, A., "The Lines that Continue to separate us: Borders", in J. Schimanski & S. Wolfe (eds.), *Border Poetics De-limited*, (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2007).
- Newman, J.L. & Matzeke, G.E. *Population: Patterns, Dynamics and Projects*, (New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1984).
- Nhandara, E., et al, *Geography Today: Human and Economic*, (Harare, Zimbabwe Educational Books, 1996).
- Nhema, A. & Zeleza, P. (eds.), *The Roots of African Conflicts: Causes and Costs*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2008).
- Nikitin, P.I., *The Fundamentals of Political Economy*, (Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1983).
- Nurse, A., & Philippson, G., "Introduction", in D. Nurse & G. Philippson (eds.), *The Bantu*, (London, Routledge, 2003).
- O' Tuathail, G., "Thinking Critically about geopolitics", in G. O' Tuathail, S. Dalby & P. Routledge (eds.), *The Geopolitics Reader*, (London, Rutledge, 2003).
- Oliver, S.P., *Many Treks Made Rhodesia*, volume 6, (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1975).
- Osabuohien, E., *Handbook of Research on in-country Determinants and Implications of Foreign Land Acquisitions*, (Hershey, IGI Global, 2015).
- Oucho, J.O., *Undercurrents of Ethnic Conflict in Kenya*, (Leiden, Koninklijk. Brill NV, 2002).
- Palmer, R., *Land and Racial Domination in Southern Rhodesia*, (London, Heinemann, 1977).
- Parker, G. & Pfukani, P., *History of Southern Africa*, (London, Unwin Hyman Limited, 1989).
- Patricio, M., *Ndau Identity in Mozambique and Zimbabwe Borderland*, (Lisbon, ISCTE, 2010).
- Peters, C., *The Eldorado of the Ancients*, volume 16, (Bulawayo, Books of Rhodesia, 1977).
- Phillipson, D.W., *The Later prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa*, (London, Heinemann, 1977).
- Phimister, I., *An economic and social history of Zimbabwe 1890-1948: Capital accumulation and class struggle*, (London, Longman, 1988).
- Pikirayi, I., *Archaeological Identity of Mutapa State: Towards an Historical Archaeology of Northern Zimbabwe*, (UPPSALA, UPPSALA University, 1993).

- Porter, L.S., "State Borders in Africa, African" in S.V. Sevastianov, J.P. Laine & A.A Kireev, (eds.), *Introduction to Border Studies*, (Vladivostok, Dalnauka, 2015).
- Posselt, F.W.T., "Ethnographical sketch of the natives Southern Rhodesia", in *Official Year Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia*, 1-1924, (Salisbury, Art Printing & Publishing 1924).
- Poulton, C., Davies, R., Matshel., & Urey, I., *A Review of Zimbabwe's Agricultural Economic Policies 1980-2000*, (Ashford, Imperial College Wye, 2002).
- Prescott, J. R.V., *The Geography of Frontiers and boundaries*, (London, Hutchinson University Library, 1965).
- Pye, L.W. & Verba, S., *Political Culture and Political Development*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965).
- Raftopoulos, B., "Unreconciled Differences: The Limits of Reconciliation in Zimbabwe", in B. Raftopoulos & T. Savage (eds.), *Zimbabwe, Injustice and Political Reconciliation*, (Cape Town, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004).
- Ramose, M.B. *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*, (Harare, Mond Book Publishers, 2005).
- Ranger, T. O., *Peasant Consciousness and the Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A comparative Study*, (London, James Currey 1985).
- Ranger, T. O., "Missionaries, Migrants and the Manyika: The Invasion of Ethnicity in Zimbabwe", in L. Vail (ed.), *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, (Berkeley, University of California, 1989).
- Ranking, K. & Schofield, A., *The Troubled Historiography of Classical Boundary Terminology*, (Belfast, International Border Research, 2004).
- Renne, J. K., "From Zimbabwe to a Colonial Chieftaincy: Four Transformations of the Musikavanhu Territorial cult in Rhodesia", in J. M. Schoffeleer (ed.), *Guardians of the Land*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 2000).
- Rennie, J. K., *Ideology and State Formation: Political and Communal Ideologies Among the South-eastern Shona 1500-1890*, (Nairobi, Heinemann Educational Books, 1968).
- Ricca, S., *International Migration in Africa: Legal and Administrative Aspects*, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1989).
- Riddel, R., *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe: The Land Question*, (London, Catholic Institute for International Relations, 1971).
- Roder, W., *The Sabi Valley Irrigation Projects* (Chicago: Illinois, 1965).
- Rodrigues, C.U., *Introduction: Crossing African Borders- Migration and Mobility*, (Lisbon, Center for African Studies, 2012).

- Rosenfeld, M., "Modern Constitutionalism as Interplay Between Identity and Diversity", in M. Rosenfeld (ed.), *Constitutionalism, Identity, Difference and Legitimacy: Theoretical Perspectives*, (Durham, Duke University Press, 1994).
- Rostow, W.W., *The Strategies of Economic Growth. A Non Marxist Manifest*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960).
- Samuels, M.A. & Bailey, W.A., "African People" in D.M. Abshire & M. A. Samuels (eds.), *Portuguese Africa: A Handbook*, (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1969).
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thorhill, A., *Research Methods for Business Students*, (Essex, Pearson Education Limited, 2007).
- Sayel, M.A., Lohmann, P. & Heipke, C., *International Boundary Making: Three Case Studies*, (Hanover, Institute of Photogrammetric and Geo-information, 2009).
- Scholte, J.A., "The globalisation of World Politics", J. Bylis & S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalisation of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2001).
- Scott, W., "Bordering, Border Politics and Cross-border Cooperation in Europe", in F. Celata, & R. Coletti (eds.), *Neighbourhood Policy and the Construction of the European External Borders*, (Geo-Journal Library 115, 2015).
- Semple, E.C., *Influences of Geographic Environment* (New York, Henry Holt, 1911).
- Shafer, R.J., *A Guide to historical method*, (Chicago, The Dorsey Press, 1980).
- Shillington, K., *History of Africa*, (New York, Palgrave Macmillan 2012).
- Shivji, I.G. 'State and Constitutionalism: A New Democratic Perspective', in I.G. Shivji (ed.), *State and Constitutionalism: An African Debate*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1989).
- Sigurdsson, J., "Iceland", in S. Brink (ed.), *The Viking World*, (London, Routledge, 2009).
- Silva, F. C. Da., Clark, T.N. & Vera, M. B., "Political Culture", *The Encyclopaedia of Political Communication*, (Newbury, Sage Publishers 2015).
- Sinclair, S., *The story of Melsetter*, (Salisbury, M.O. Collins, 1971).
- Sinha B.R.K., & Johnson, R.J., *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1994).
- Smith, B., "On Drawing Lines on a Map", A. U. Frank, W. Kuhn & D. M. Mark (eds.), *Spatial Information Theory, Proceeding of COSIT '95*, (Berlin, Springer Verlag, 1995).
- Smith, D. W., *The Ideological Origins of the Nazi Imperialism*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986).

- Smith, K. & Nothling, F. J., *Africa North Of the Limpopo Since 1800*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1993).
- Solomon, H., *Of Myths and Migration: Illegal Immigration into South Africa*, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 2003).
- Stavenhagen, R., *Ethnic Conflict and the Nation-State*, (London, Macmillan, 1996).
- Stead, W. H., *Concepts and Control in Native Life. Modern History of Tanganyika*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1979).
- Strassold, R., "The State of Art in Europe", in A.I. Asiwaju and P.O. Adeniyi (eds.), *Borderlands in Africa: A comparative and Multidisciplinary Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, (Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1997).
- Summers, A., *From Civilization to Segregation: Social Ideas and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia 1890-1934*, (Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1994).
- Swales, K., *Understanding the Leave Vote, The UK in a Changing Europe*, (London, Natcen Social Research, 2012).
- Tawney, R. G., "Property and Creative Work", in C.B. MacPherson, (ed.), *Property: Mainstreaming and Critical Positions*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978).
- Tawse-Jolie, O. B. E., *The story of Rhodesia*, (Johannesburg, Empire Exhibition, 1957).
- Thompson, G., *Exploratory Soil Map of Rhodesia*, (Salisbury, Ministry of Agriculture, 1965).
- Thomson, A., *An Introduction to African Politics*, (New York, Routledge, 2010).
- Tindall, P.E.N., *A History of Central Africa*, (Harare, Mardon Printers, 1983).
- Tomaselli, K., & Mhlanga, B. S., *Cultural Tourism: Rethinking Indigeneity*, (Boston, Brill 2012).
- Tosh, J. *Pursuit of History*, (London, Longman, 2015).
- Townshend, J., "Introduction", in J.A. Hobson (ed.), *Imperialism: A Study*, (London, Unwin, 1988).
- Trevor-Roper, E. *The Rise of Christian Europe*, (New York, Brace & World 1965).
- Tshuma, L., *A Matter of (In)Justice: Law, State and the Agrarian Question in Zimbabwe*, (Harare, SAPES Books, 1997).
- Utete, C., *Report of the Presidential Land Review Committee on the Implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme 2000-2002*, (Harare, Government Printers, 2003).

Uzoigwe, G.N., "European Partition and Conquest of Africa: An Overview," in A. A. Boahen, (ed.), *General History of Africa. VII Africa Under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, (London, Heinemann, 1985).

Varma, S., *Modern Political Theory*, (New Dehli, Vikas Publishing House, 1980).

Veblen, T., *The Theory of the Leisure class*, (New York, Penguin, 1979).

Vilkko, W., *AL Shabaab, From External Support to Internal Extraction*, (UPPSALA, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) 2011).

Wall, V. De *The Politics of Reconciliation: Zimbabwe's first decade*, (London, Hurst & Company, 1990).

Warhurst, P. R., *Anglo-Portuguese Relations in South Central Africa, 1890-1900*, (London, Longman 1962).

Weeks, J.R., *Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues*, (Belmont, Worlds Publishing, 1989).

Weiner, M., "Trans-border Peoples", in W. Connor (ed.), *Mexicans and Americans in Comparative Perspective*, (Washington DC, Urban Institute, 1985).

Weinrich, A. K. H., *African Famers in Rhodesia: Old and New Peasant Communities in Karangaland*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1975).

Welzel, C., *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and The Quest for Emancipation*, (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Wimmer, A., Goldstone, R.J., Horowitz, D.L., etal, *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Towards A New Realism*, (Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004).

Young, K., *Rhodesia and Independence: A study In British Colonial Policy*, (London, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1969).

Zhou, T. M., "Partition of Africa and Impact of Borders on African Societies in Colonial Zimbabwe", in P.T. Duri & N. Marongwe, (eds.), *A social history of Zimbabwean borderlands & beyond since the colonial period*, (Gweru, Booklove Publishers, 2018).

Zvobgo, C, J., "An Overview of the Methodist Church" in C.S. Banana(ed.), *A Century of the Methodist in Zimbabwe 1891-1991*, (Gweru, Mambo Press, 1999).

Zvobgo, C, J., *A History of Zimbabwe 1890-2000 & Post Script, Zimbabwe 2001-2008*, (Newcastle-2008, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

Miscellaneous Documents

Acke-Ougutu, A., *Informal Cross-border Trade in Eastern and Southern Africa's Methodological Approaches And Preliminary Result*, 1998.

African Union Commission, African Union Border Programme (AUBP), Delimitation And Demarcation of Boundaries In Africa, Addis Ababa, 2014.

Amnesty International, [Report] 2010.

AU Evaluation Report of AU Migration Policy Framework, 2016.

Chidhakwa, Z., "Managing Conflict around contested natural resources: a case study of Rusitu Valley area Chimanimani, Zimbabwe", *Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIR)*, 1993.

Cossa, A. H., Mozambique, Inquerio Demografico e de Saude, 1997.

Currie, T. E., Meade, A., Guillon, M., & R. Mace, R., "Cultural phytography of the Bantu languages of sub-Sahara Africa", *Proceedings of the Royal Society B*. 280, 2013.

European Parliament Report [on Eretria] "Directorate-General for external Policies of the Union Directorate B.", 2008.

Geddes, B., "What Causes Democratization", *Oxford Handbook Online*.

Goodwin, M. J. "Brexit: Causes and Consequences", *Japan Spotlight*, 2017.

Great Britain, Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-1905.

Great Britain: *Naval Intelligence Division, A Manual of Portuguese East Africa*, 1920.

Hansine, P. E Alfo, Manica Project, Annual Activity Project Report, Rome, 2013.

Horus, E., Complementary Study for Perfecting the Cotton Development, Strategy for Mozambique, 2005.

Inge, T., Mozambique Country Case Study: Gender Equality and Development, World Development Report Gender Equality and Development, 2011.

Institute Nacional de Estatistica- Marc Internacional, 1998.

International Bank for Reconstruction/World Bank, Washington DC, 2018.

Jackson, J.K., U.S. Direct Investment Abroad: Trends and Current Issues", Congressional Research Services Report for Congress, 2005.

Jeremias, L.C., Perfil Do Distrito de Mossurize, Provincia de Manica, Maputo,Ministro da Administracao Estatal 2005.

John, C., Arnest George Ravestein, CSISS 1988 Classics 2003.

Jones, R., Why Build a Border Wall, Nacla Report on the America, 2012.

Kiplin, J. & Harrison, K., theFuture for Policing and Crime Prevention in SADC, (Montreal: International Crime Prevention Centre, 2003).

Ksoll, C., Macchiavello, R., & A. Marjaria, A., Post-Election Violence on Flower Exporting Firms CSAE WPS/2009-6.

Libarona, I.U., Territorial Integrity And Self-determination: The Approach of International Court of Justice in the Advisory Opinion, REAF, 2012.

Loisel, S., The African Union And African Border Conflicts: Assessing the Impact of Development Cooperation, UACES Student Forum Regional Conference, Cambridge, 2004.

Marie, C.V. "Preventing Illegal Immigration: Judging Economic Imperatives, Political Risks and Individual Rights", Council of Europe Report 2004.

Matimaire, K., "Discord over Chisumbanje Ethanol Plant", *National Report*, 5 November 2015.

Mudyazvivi, E., "Recovering Lost Livelihoods: The Case of smaller Plantation-crops in Zimbabwe", SNV Netherlands Development Organisation, 2011.

Mutondoro, F. ChiwesheKM. &Gaidzanwa, R., "The Intersection of Women, Land and Corruption in Zimbabwe: Case Study of Women in Chisumbanje and Chinyamukwakwa villages in Zimbabwe", *Transparency International Zimbabwe*, 2016.

National Institute of Statistics, Maputo, 2012.

Ndaura, E., "Ethnic Relations and Burundi's Struggle for Sustainable Peace", US House Foreign Affairs Committee Hearing On the Current Political Situation in Burundi, 2015.

Peace and Security Studies Report, Addis Ababa, 2010.

Renwick, A., The Process Of Brexit: What Comes Next? UCL European Institute, 2017.

Rosenblum, M.R., Kandel, W. A., Seelke, C.R., & Wasem, R.E., "Mexican Migration to the United States: Policy and Trends", CRS Report for Congress, Congressional Research Service, 2013.

Save The Children UK 2016.

Smeltz, D. Daalder, I. Friedhoff, K., & Kafura, C., "What Americans Think about America First", The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2017.

Sombart, W., *Der Mordene Kapitalismus, Bd.3 Zwwelter Halbband: Der Wirtechaft* Munich, Sleben im Zeitlter des Hochkapilismus, 1927.
UNESCO, Mozambique Annual Report, 2016.

United Nations Report, "Arbitration between Great Britain and Portugal as regards questions relative to the delimitation of their spheres of influence in East Africa", United Nations, xxviii, 2007.

US Bureau of Intelligence and Research, International boundary study, number 118.

US Commerce Dep. Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times, International Investment, Position Of The United States 1843-1973.

Wack, J., In the Beginning, The Chisumbanje Story TILCOR, 1973

Waller, L., "Irregular Migration to South Africa during the First Ten Years of Democracy", Southern African Migration Project, Migration Policy No. 19, 2016.

Wbalane, D. & Valente, C., "Preventing excess female school dropout in Mozambique", (Oxford, International Growth Centre, 2016).

Wilson, W., 65th Congressional 2nd Session, Congressional Record 56 (8.1), 1918.

World Bank Report, "Findings of the Mozambique, water supply, sanitation and hygiene poverty Diagnostic".

Wuyts, M., Econommia Politicado Colonialismo Portuguese m Mocambique, Estudos Mocambicanos, no.1, 1980.

Internet

Hill, R., & Katerere, Y., Colonialism and Inequality in Zimbabwe. Available at: <https://www.iisd.org/pdf/2002/envsec-conserving-5.pdf> Accessed: 09 September 2015

Makombe, E., "I would Rather Have My Land Back: Subaltern Voices and Corporate/State Land Grab in the Save Valley", LDPI Working Paper 20, 2013, [https://www.iss.nl/fileadm/ASSET/ISS/Reserach and projects/Research networks/LDPLI/LDPI WP20.pdf](https://www.iss.nl/fileadm/ASSET/ISS/Reserach%20and%20projects/Research%20networks/LDPLI/LDPI%20WP20.pdf); Accessed: 08 March 2018.

Ndumeya, N., Conserving Wildlife Resources in Zimbabwe: Reflections on Chirinda Forest 1920s-1979, Forth coming in Environment and History, The White Horse Press www.whpress.co.uk, 2017. Accessed: 15 November 2019.

Norwegian Refugee Council, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Forced Displacement in Mexico due to Drug Cartel Violence December 31 2010, <http://www.internal-displacement-org/briefing/mexico>, Accessed: 10 October 2019.

ANNEXURES

Annexure A: Ethics Approval Certificate



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

7 August 2015

Dear Prof E van Eeden,

ETHICS APPLICATION APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE

This letter serves to indicate that your student's ethics application was approved by the VTC Ethics Sub-Committee for Basic Sciences of the Faculty of Humanities.

FH-BaSc-2014-0009

Candidate: J Hlongwana

Promoter: Prof E van Eeden

Co-Promoter: Dr I Gouws

Title: Borderless boundary? Historical and geopolitical significance of the Mozambique/Zimbabwe border to the Ndaue People (c. 1940-2010).

Meeting date: 5 August 2015

The application was initially approved in principle pending more information on certain ethical aspects. Such information have subsequently been provided by you and therefore this application is deemed complete and may be finalized.

The VTC Ethics Sub-Committee wishes you and your student well with the research project.

Yours sincerely

Chrizanne van Eeden Chair: VTC Ethics Sub-Committee: Basic Sciences.

Prof. Chrizanne van Eeden

OPTENTIA

Tel: (016) 910-3410 Fax: (016) 982-4415

Mobile: 082 469 1642

E-mail: chrizanne.vaneeden@nwu.ac.za

PO Box 1174, Vanderbijlpark South Africa

Annexure B: Letters seeking permission to conduct research



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

Faculty of Arts
Department of History and Development Studies
Great Zimbabwe University
P.O.BOX 1235
Masvingo
Zimbabwe
04-03-2014

Embassy of The Republic of Mozambique in Harare
152 Hebert Chitepo Ave, Box 4608
Harare
Zimbabwe
Dear Sir or Madam

RF: Application for Permission To Conduct Academic Research In Mossurize District In Mozambique By James Hlongwana (63-814047T15)

I humbly seek permission from your office to carry out academic research in Mossurize District. I am a student at North-West University in South Africa studying for a PhD degree in History. The thesis is entitled, *Borderless Boundary?: Historical and geopolitical significance of the Zimbabwe/Mozambique Border on the Ndau people c.1920-2010*. The study focuses on the impact of the land shortage on cross-border migration in the borderland.

In addition to desk research, I intend to collect data through interviews. The target population will include district officials, traditional leaders, ward councillors, border settlers and cross-border farmers. I therefore kindly ask for the permission to carry out my study in the aforementioned district. Those who will participate in the study will be advised that they will do so purely on voluntary basis and that they can withdraw from the study at any time should they wish to do so and that thereafter their information will not be used. There will be no financial gain for contributing to the study. There are also no anticipated risks in their participation in the study. It is anticipated that this research will be conducted between 2014 and 2016. The information gathered in the interviews will strictly be used for writing the thesis.

Attached are:

An offer letter from the North West-University Admission Office.

(ii)A confirmation letter from my promoter Professor Elize Van Eeden (North-West University).

(iii)Confirmation letter of employment from Great Zimbabwe University

For further information about me, I kindly refer you to:

Assistant Registrar Human Resource
Great Zimbabwe University
P.O.BOX 1235
Masvingo
Zimbabwe
email: hr@gzu.ac.zw
Telephone: +26339254028

Director Academic Administration
North-West University
P.O.BOX 1174
Vanderbijlpark
South Africa
Telephone +27169103308
email:tumi.lesole@nwu.ac.za

Professor Elize Van Eeden my promoter
North-West University
P.OBOX 1174, Vanderbijlpark
South Africa
email: elizevaneeden@nwu.ac.za
Telephone: +2716910-3111

Sir or Madam, your positive consideration of the application will greatly be appreciated.

Thank you

Yours faithfully

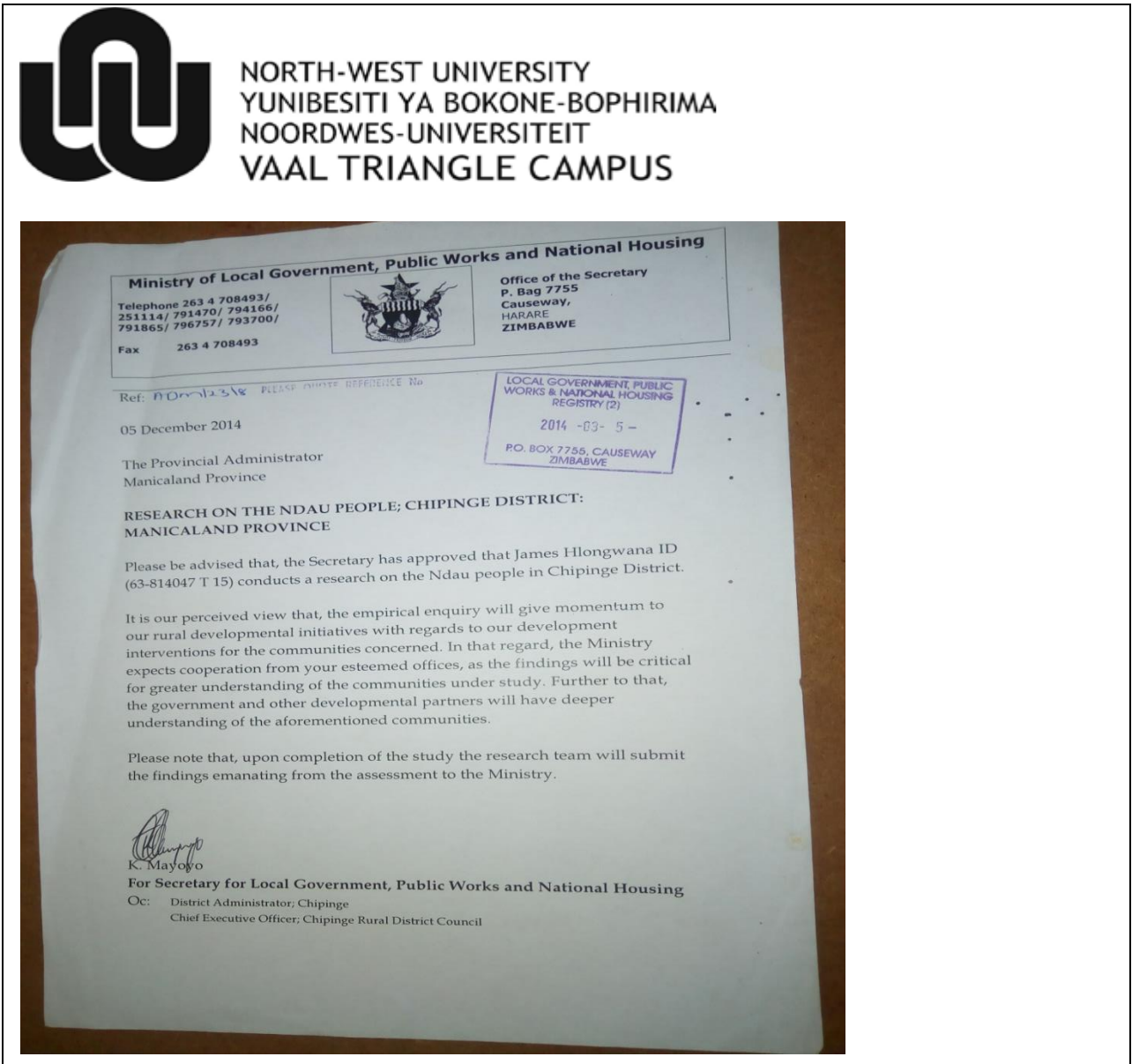
James Hlongwana

Cell: +263775968575

Email: jameshlongwana@gmail.com

Annexure C: Permission Letters to Conduct research

Annexure C1: Permission Letter from the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing of Zimbabwe



Annexure C2: Permission Letter from the Embassy of Mozambique in Harare



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE
152, HERBERT CHITEPO Ave P.O. Box 4608 Tel. (00263 4) 253871/3
Fax: (00263 4) 253875 E-mail: emba@embamoc.org.zw
Harare-Zimbabwe

TO:
THE COMPETENT AUTHORITIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF
MOZAMBIQUE
MANICA PROVINCE
MUSSORIZE DISTRICT
MUSSORIZE

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE.

The Embassy of the Republic of Mozambique accredited to the Republic of Zimbabwe presents its compliments to the Competent Authorities of the Republic of Mozambique, Manica Province, Mussorize District and has the honour to inform that this Diplomatic Mission had been contacted by **Mr. James Hlongwana**, a Zimbabwean Citizen, Professor at the Great Zimbabwe University in the Department of History and Development Studies, interested and seeking permission to carry out an academic research in the Manica Province, District of Mussorize, for his PhD degree in History with North West University in South Africa.

Furthermore, Mr. James Hlongwana's thesis for his PhD in history is entitled "*Borderless Boundary: Historical and Geographical significance of Mozambique – Zimbabwe Border on the Ndaou People c 1920-2010, focusing on the contributions of the border for the improvement to the difficulties faced by the Ndaou people in the borderland since its establishment in the 1890's.*"

To this end, we request the Competent Authorities of the Republic of Mozambique, in the Manica Province, Mussorize District, for assistance to Mr. James Hlongwana for the success of his mission.


The Embassy of the Republic of Mozambique in Harare avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Competent Authorities of the Republic of Mozambique, Manica Province, Mussorize District, the assurances of its highest consideration.

Harare, March 10th 2014

The Consular Attaché

Annexure D: Letters of Informed Consent

Annexure D1: Letter of Informed Consent for Chipinge District Administrator (Zimbabwe)



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

Letter of Informed Consent for Chipinge District Administrator.

Dear.....

My name is James Hlongwana. I am a PhD student at North-West University. As part of my studies, I am expected to write a study on a topic of my choice based on research. My study is entitled: *Borderless Boundary? Historical and geopolitical Significance of the Mozambique/ Zimbabwe border to the Ndau People (c. 1940-2010)*. It intends to highlight the impact of border-induced land shortage on cross-border migration among the Ndau. Part of my research requires conducting interviews with people who live in the district. As an administrator of the district, I believe you can contribute considerably to my study. I am, therefore asking you to be one of my interviewees for the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please be advised that you do so on a purely voluntary basis and that you can withdraw from the study at any time should you wish to do so and that, thereafter, your information will not be used. There will be no financial gain for contributing to the research. There are also no anticipated risks in your participation in the study. If you do not wish your identity to be revealed in the study, your anonymity and confidentiality will be assured.

The information gathered in the interviews will be used to write a thesis for my PhD and may also be used in writing academic papers for publication or conferences. If you are willing to participate in this study as an informant, please indicate this by signing the relevant section below. Should you require more information about this study, please feel free to contact me at the following address and telephone number: Great Zimbabwe University, Department of History and Development Studies, P.O. Box 1235, Masvingo, Zimbabwe; e-mail: jameshlongwana@gmail.com; cell+263775968575 or my supervisor, Professor Elize van Eeden, North-West University, P.O. Box 1174 Vanderbijlpark, South Africa; email: elizevaneeden@nwu.ac.za; Telephone: +2716910-311

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

James Hlongwana

Consent by Participant

I, SIENXA am willing to participate in this study as an informant.

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATOR
Ministry of Rural and Land Development
26.03.15
P. O. BOX 140, CHIPINGE
TELEPHONE: 2546/7

**Annexure D2: Letter of Informed Consent for Mossurize District Administrator
(Mozambique)**



**NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS**

Letter of Informed Consent for Mossurize District Administrator.

Dear.....

My name is James Hlongwana. I am a PhD student at North-West University. As part of my studies, I am expected to write a study on a topic of my choice based on research. My study is entitled: *Borderless Boundary? Historical and geopolitical Significance of the Mozambique/ Zimbabwe border to the Ndaou People (c. 1940-2010)*. It intends to highlight the impact of border-induced land shortage on cross-border migration among the Ndaou. Part of my research requires conducting interviews with people who live in the district. As an administrator of the district, I believe you can contribute considerably to my study. I am, therefore asking you to be one of my interviewees for the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please be advised that you do so on a purely voluntary basis and that you can withdraw from the study at any time should you wish to do so and that, thereafter, your information will not be used. There will be no financial gain for contributing to the research. There are also no anticipated risks in your participation in the study. If you do not wish your identity to be revealed in the study, your anonymity and confidentiality will be assured.

The information gathered in the interviews will be used to write a thesis for my PhD and may also be used in writing academic papers for publication or conferences. If you are willing to participate in this study as an informant, please indicate this by signing the relevant section below. Should you require more information about this study, please feel free to contact me at the following address and telephone number: Great Zimbabwe University, Department of History and Development Studies, P.O. Box 1235, Masvingo, Zimbabwe; e-mail: jameshlongwana@gmail.com; cell+263775968575 or my supervisor, Professor Elize van Eeden, North-West University, P.O. Box 1174 Vanderbijlpark, South Africa; email: elizevaneeden@nwu.ac.za; Telephone: +2716910-311

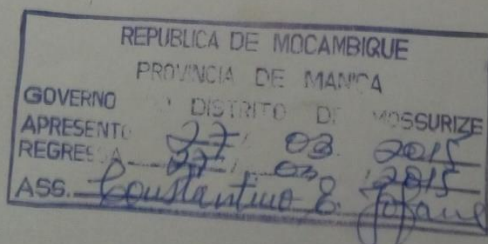
Thank you

Yours Sincerely

James Hlongwana

Consent by Participant

Constantino
I, *Constantino*, am willing to participate in this study as an informant.



Annexure D3: Letters of Informed Consent for Traditional Leaders in Chipinge and Mossurize Districts



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

Letter of informed Consent for Traditional leaders.

Dear.....

My name is James Hlongwana. I am a PhD student at North-West University. As part of my studies, I am expected to write a study on a topic of my choice based on research. My study is entitled: *Borderless Boundary? Historical and geopolitical Significance of the Mozambique/ Zimbabwe border to the Ndau People (c. 1940-2010)*. It intends to highlight the impact of border-induced land shortage on cross-border migration among the Ndau. Part of my research requires conducting interviews with people who live in the district. As a traditional leader in the area, I believe you can contribute considerably to my study. I am, therefore asking you to be one of my interviewees for the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please be advised that you do so on a purely voluntary basis and that you can withdraw from the study at any time should you wish to do so and that , thereafter , your information will not be used. There will be no financial gain for contributing to the research. There are also no anticipated risks in your participation in the study. If you do not wish your identity to be revealed in the study, your anonymity and confidentiality will be assured.

The information gathered in the interviews will be used to write a thesis for my PhD and may also be used in writing academic papers for publication or conferences. If you are willing to participate in this study as an informant, please indicate this by signing the relevant section below. Should you require more information about this study, please feel free to contact me at the following address and telephone number: Great Zimbabwe University, Department of History and Development Studies, P.O. Box1235, Masvingo, Zimbabwe; e-mail: jameshlongwana@gmail.com; cell+263775968575 or my supervisor, Professor Elize van Eeden, North –West University, P.O. Box 1174Vanderbijlpark, South Africa; email: elizevaneeden@nwu.ac.za; Telephone:+2716910-311

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

James Hlongwana

Consent by Participant

D. Gwenz
I.....am willing to participate in this study as an informant.



Annexure D4: Letters of Informed Consent for Immigration Officers



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

Dear.....

My name is James Hlongwana. I am a PhD student at North-West University. As part of my studies, I am expected to write a study on a topic of my choice based on research. My study is entitled: *Borderless Boundary? Historical and geopolitical Significance of the Mozambique/ Zimbabwe border to the Ndaou People (c. 1940-2010)*. It intends to highlight the impact of border-induced land shortage on cross-border migration among the Ndaou. Part of my research requires conducting interviews with people who live in the district. As someone who lives in this area, I believe you can contribute considerably to my study. I am, therefore asking you to be one of my interviewees for the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please be advised that you do so on a purely voluntary basis and that you can withdraw from the study at any time should you wish to do so and that , thereafter , your information will not be used. There will be no financial gain for contributing to the research. There are also no anticipated risks in your participation in the study. If you do not wish your identity to be revealed in the study, your anonymity and confidentiality will be assured.

The information gathered in the interviews will be used to write a thesis for my PhD and may also be used in writing academic papers for publication or conferences. If you are willing to participate in this study as an informant, please indicate this by signing the relevant section below. Should you require more information about this study, please feel free to contact me at the following address and telephone number: Great Zimbabwe University, Department of History and Development Studies, P.O. Box1235, Masvingo, Zimbabwe; e-mail: jameshlongwana@gmail.com; cell+263775968575or my supervisor, Professor Elize van Eeden, North –West University, P.O. Box 1174Vanderbijlpark, South Africa; email: elizevaneeden@nwu.ac.za; Telephone:+2716910-311

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

James Hlongwana

Consent by Participant

I.....am willing to participate in this study as an informant.

Annexure D5: Letters of Informed Consent for Ward Councillors in Chipinge and Mossurize Districts



NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY
YUNIBESITI YA BOKONE-BOPHIRIMA
NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT
VAAL TRIANGLE CAMPUS

Dear.....

My name is James Hlongwana. I am a PhD student at North-West University. As part of my studies, I am expected to write a study on a topic of my choice based on research. My study is entitled: *Borderless Boundary? Historical and geopolitical Significance of the Mozambique/ Zimbabwe border to the Ndau People (c. 1940-2010)*. It intends to highlight the impact of border-induced land shortage on cross-border migration among the Ndau. Part of my research requires conducting interviews with people who live in the district. As someone who lives in this area, I believe you can contribute considerably to my study. I am, therefore asking you to be one of my interviewees for the study.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please be advised that you do so on a purely voluntary basis and that you can withdraw from the study at any time should you wish to do so and that , thereafter , your information will not be used. There will be no financial gain for contributing to the research. There are also no anticipated risks in your participation in the study. If you do not wish your identity to be revealed in the study, your anonymity and confidentiality will be assured.

The information gathered in the interviews will be used to write a thesis for my PhD and may also be used in writing academic papers for publication or conferences. If you are willing to participate in this study as an informant, please indicate this by signing the relevant section below. Should you require more information about this study, please feel free to contact me at the following address and telephone number: Great Zimbabwe University, Department of History and Development Studies, P.O. Box1235, Masvingo, Zimbabwe; e-mail: jameshlongwana@gmail.com; cell+263775968575or my supervisor, Professor Elize van Eeden, North –West University, P.O. Box 1174Vanderbijlpark, South Africa; email: elizevaneeden@nwu.ac.za; Telephone:+2716910-311

Thank you

Yours Sincerely

James Hlongwana

Consent by Participant

I.....am willing to participate in this study as an informant.