'Our own law is making us beggars'

– Understanding the marginal experiences of governed, mine-side communities in Mutoko district, Zimbabwe

Saymore Ngonidzashe Kativu

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Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, SLU

Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences

Department of Urban and Rural Development

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Abstract

There is a rising interest in the Global South, to ensure that mineral resources are governed to benefit local communities where they are extracted. The shared Africa Mining Vision and economic aspirations in Zimbabwe seeking to integrate equity in governing and extracting mineral resources reflects such interests. Yet despite these aspirations and commitments to mining development that does not continue to disenfranchise communities, voices of communities remain peripheral to commitments to improve the mining industry that has historically been illustrated unequal, stimulating scholarship on the natural resource curse and recently unequal ecological exchange.

I begin this research by asking how people in Mutoko district experience black granite mining and its governance. I inquire seeking to bring forth voices from below, those affected first-hand by extraction and produce an ethnocentric account of mining anthropology rooted in the Habermasian concept of the *lifeworld* and how its colonization by the *system* (government-corporation-complex responsible for mining) shapes socioeconomic and environmental affairs at the margins. My key findings show that communities shoulder the multiple burdens of black granite extraction without getting its rewards. Broken bridges, damaged roads, dirty air, hazardous living environments and loss of land are some of the key socioeconomic effects currently being experienced. The current governance regime characterised by outdated laws, dishonesty, intimidation of the governed permits the burdens described to perpetuate. I conclude that in the marginalised lifeworld resides knowledge, capacity and experiences that must be fully accounted for in reshaping governance of extraction to lift the burdens of mining from communities.

Keywords: Black granite, Unequal ecological exchange, lifeworld, granite mining, governance, mining anthropology, natural resources curse, natural resources governance, Zimbabwe.

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Abbreviations

AMV	Africa Mining Vision
AU	The African Union Commission
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CBOs	Community Based Organizations
CLA	Communal Lands Act
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CST	Corporate Social Technologies
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
MMA	Mines and Minerals Act
MOU	Memoranda of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
MRDC	Mutoko Rural District Council
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TIZ	Transparency International Zimbabwe
UEE	Unequal Ecological Exchange
ZELA	Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority
ZIQ	Zimbabwe International Quarries (Pvt) Ltd

1. Introduction to the research

Zimbabwean black granite has been noted worldwide for its quality and the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen is one of the grand public buildings constructed using this material. True to the political ecology literature on unequal ecological exchange (Hornborg 1998; Givens et al. 2019; Bedford et al. 2020), Mutoko District[1], the region where the granite is produced, does not have a functional public library at all. The high quality of Zimbabwe's black granite means it fetches a high price on international markets (Bhoroma, 2019), which if managed correctly could ensure the development of communities of extraction even in the most basic ways.

Black granite mining in Mutoko has for some time been a contentious affair for multiple reasons relating to the benefits derived from it, and the way its extraction is governed. Taxes paid for the black granite have been historically low (Chigonda, 2010), erratically remitted and centralization means they barely make it back to the district. Additionally, corruption, poor administration, mineral leakages, undervaluation, and speculative hoarding of mineral concessions plague mineral resources including black granite (Maverick Citizen 2021). Local communities affected by mineral extraction, such as in Mutoko, are characterised by poor public infrastructure, disturbances to livelihoods and resultantly high poverty rates (Gamu et al. 2015). Scholars on natural governance would label this a classical natural resource curse[2] (Auty 1993), since comparatively districts in parts of Zimbabwe lacking mineral resources, depending on agriculture perform much better on the same indicators.

A diarised account by a youth leader, Makanda (2020), who experiences black granite daily, serves as a critical voice and a window into this research:

> Villagers are being displaced with no meaningful compensation, youths are being employed as manual labour without even signing contracts and are being made to work for more than 12 hours, yet they are only paid for the legally stipulated 8 hours. Can you imagine the camping sites doesn't have toilets and workers use the #BushSystem and if the workers question their working conditions they are either fired or physically assaulted & if they get injured on

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[1] Mutoko District located in Mashonaland East Province in Zimbabwe measuring 390,757 km², with an estimated population of 180, 210; and contributes 75% of the nation's black granite output.

[2] According to Auty (1993), the resource curse occurs when countries rich in non-renewable natural resources such as minerals focus on the mining industry while neglecting other sectors to the extent that economic growth stagnates and in some instances contracts. While the definition is contextualized to the national level, the effects of the phenomena are often outplayed and seen within a community such as a mining town or city, or within a mineral resource value chain relative to national development outcomes.

the job it's one man for himself and God for us all because [there] is no Safety and Health Officer […?] This is how our Mining host communities are open for business. And if they dare challenge this status quo, prominent politicians from high up places will get involved and instruct them not to dare disturb the ongoing mining operations as this will be unapologetically met with the heavy stick and fist of the military.

The experiential account by Makanda (2020) presents a specific, grounded view of granite mining; a reflection from the lifeworld[3], of how large-scale mineral resources extraction or extractivism, viewed through the lens of the unequal ecological exchange, or of the natural resource curse animates the lives of everyday people connected specifically to black granite mining despite visionary commitments and agenda set to improve conditions rooted in poverty, loss of livelihoods, and environmental degradation to name a few indicators that can be picked from above.

Black granite in Mutoko has been a subject of many studies. Chigonda (2010) attempted to balance the elusive benefits against the costs of black granite in Mutoko district in a cost-benefit analysis. Bhatasara (2013) concluded that the sustainability of livelihoods and ontologies (nature and properties of the social world), are under threat due to mining land acquisitions where black granite mining investments supersedes community perspectives on development. No author has yet to focus primarily on how local communities experience black granite extraction, its governance in Mutoko district by capturing a bottom-up account for the mining in the area and amplifying voices from below which can inform policies and hopefully show new ways forward to improve governance for this long-running resource conundrum.

1.1. Aim of the research.

This research seeks to understand the experiences of local people in relation to black granite extraction and governance in Mutoko district. This research will help to understand the impacts of black granite governance on the local community; and showcase which part in the governance process animates those experiences.

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[3] The Lifeworld according to Husserl (1970) refers to the world as lived, (by both individuals and collectively), before reflective representation or analysis within philosophy or social sciences, which Habermas develops further to also mean the lived domain or realm made of both formal and "informal, culturally-grounded perceptions and mutual accommodations."

1.2. Research questions

The main research question guiding my study is: **How do people in Mutoko district experience black granite mining and its governance?**

Within the context of this question and connecting to the aim of this study, I further ask the following specific questions:

- How does the governance of black granite in Mutoko shape lifeworlds?
- What social, economic, and environmental changes (progressive or regressive) has the exploitation of black granite brought to local communities in Mutoko, Zimbabwe?
- What conditions perpetuate marginalisation among communities affected by black granite mining?

2. Background, context, and research setting

2.1. Curse or doorway to prosperity?

The African Union in its Agenda 2063 acknowledges the continent's natural resource management dilemmas and reifies the need to pursue governance that ensures equitable utilisation of resources to benefit African countries (The African Union Commission, 2015). The most critical and key in Africa's basket of natural resources are the continent's mineral resources, whose exploration and extraction remain key to economic growth and development as acknowledged both in the academic and development policy frontiers. In the last decade, exploration of Africa's mineral resources has boomed, albeit without matching economic growth and development. As a result, equity in the mining sector has been central to many conversations on the continent, especially regarding governance pathways wherein mining profits are not only realised at national level and in the global space beyond the reach of communities of extraction, but at the local level in the areas of extraction to boost local growth and development.

The main reason why equity has been a centre of conversations on the mineral resources extraction frontier in Africa is that the continent has warmed up to the realities of extraction, the unequal exchange within the countries of extraction themselves where the costs of mining in the physical environment such as the loss of land, environmental degradation, and loss of non-mineral natural resources such as biodiversity and water stay within the mining communities while the profits do not. The gravitation to an equitable sector, thus, is illuminated in Agenda 2063's accompanying, extractive-sector-specific Africa Mining Vision (AMV), in which two key continental aspirations are of contextual interest for this research.

The African Union aspires firstly for "a mining sector that harness[es] the potential of artisanal and small-scale mining to stimulate local/national entrepreneurship, improve livelihoods and advance integrated rural social and economic development" (The African Union Commission, 2009). It aspires secondly for "a sustainable and well-governed mining sector that effectively garners and deploys resource rents and that is safe, healthy, gender & ethnically inclusive, environmentally friendly, socially responsible and appreciated by surrounding communities". As already hinted by current praxis in the black granite paradox presented in this research, there is neither clear alignment nor willingness

of alignment of governance practices with these aspirations, and thus putting these aspirations far from reach for Zimbabwe.

Two main divergent bodies of literature exist when it comes to views of the place of natural resources in national economic development. The factions:

i. scholarship **appraising** the notion of resource rich countries realising economic **prosperity** through the exploitation of their natural resources (Banchirigah & Hilson 2010; Gajigo et al. 2012; Nabli & Arezki 2012; Chuhan-Pole et al. 2017; Andoh 2018),

ii. scholarship presenting the poverty paradox, wherein the **dependence** on natural resources cause countries and communities of extraction in them to be poor, the natural resource **curse** (Auty, 1993**;** Ayelazuno, 2014; Basedau, 2005; Lalji, 2007; Siakwah, 2017).

Of these two factions, development aspirations of a majority African countries gravitate towards the former albeit haunted by forces of the latter, as evinced by Agenda2063 and the Africa Mining Vision which countries such as Zimbabwe strongly ascribe to and are presently working to localize or adopt in communities of extraction. In fact, the Africa Mining Vision, heavily inspired by good governance literature (Busia & Akong 2017), clearly acknowledges the curse reality and shows intentions to combat it through good governance when it reiterates that "the key element in determining whether or not a resource endowment will be a curse or a blessing, is the level of governance capacity and the existence of robust institutions" (The African Union Commission, 2009). The question is however enduring challenges in making sure local communities become beneficiaries from mineral extraction.

A common-place feature in natural resources governance in Zimbabwe is that of a governance body contradictory to itself for example through incoherent and conflicting legislature which compromises decision-making. Pursuing and achieving developmental goals and objectives of the African mining vision becomes impossible. For example, the mantra of locals benefitting from locally extracted mineral resources conflicts and competes with the neoliberal economic mantra of "Zimbabwe is open for business" (Ndakaripa 2020) which attracts international investors who are then given preference over local miners and communities. This is visible in the case of small-scale and artisanal mining which the country has severely restricted, and in some instances criminalized and banned, to pave way for mining by large-scale international companies (Spiegel 2017). Large-scale extractive investments further push local people to the peripheries both socially and economically.

Kirsch (2014), who intensively documented capitalism of mineral resources, acknowledges and explains how through organizing most of the labour in the world and capital resources connected to it, corporations are the most powerful institutions of the 21st century and chief architects of globalization. The author warns, cautions,

and blames these institutions for an array of harms and their enabling technologies for extraction whose consequences are imposed on people and the environment. An obvious, clear, and undeniable connection is made to contemporary economic policies rooted in neoliberalism, which look up to the market, the source of power for corporations, as the primary solution for the same harms, which the same source of power inspired, caused, or enabled in the first place (Ferguson 2006a; Kirsch 2014). This institutional arrangement in black granite mining in Mutoko is a stark resemblance, even more so considering how the government counts on the market and the mining companies (the corporations) to address the problems that arise due to extraction, thus government abdicating regulation. It remains to be seen the extent to which this burden of abdication feeds into or enables what Auty (1993) calls the resource curse despite the resource in question being seen as a doorway to prosperity.

2.2. Governing mineral resources in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is divided into ten provinces, the provinces of which are further divided into districts which are further divided into wards and wards into villages. Running in parallel to these political administrative divisions, constituencies exist in which wards close together are combined to form units for representation in the country's parliament. These have the name of the district plus a direction on the map for example Mutoko North which is the only one among its counterparts East and South where black granite is mined.

   The subdivisions of the country help to ensure that there are structures for governance down to the local level. These include Provincial Members of Parliament, Local Members of Parliament (for constituencies), the District Administrator, Ward councillors. The traditional leadership includes chiefs at district level and headmen at village levels. Officials from government agencies such as the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) are also among other officials representing the government who are available in districts of mining under the district administration. Mining committees are also formed to concert efforts and voices from the many stakeholders involved or affected by mining. In the capital, Harare, the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development is the governing body whose power formally supersedes all other officials. This is enabled by the Minerals and Mines Act of 1961 which consolidates power for the president and the state. All mines and mineral resources in Zimbabwe are governed by the Mines and Minerals Act [Chapter 21:05] which in short confers the control of all mineral resources to the president of the country on behalf of the state.

   Closely connected to the mining law is the Communal Lands Act of 1980 under which rural communities in Zimbabwe do not have security of tenure as the land they are settled on belongs to the state. While the country gives high priority to the

mining sector and is enabled by law to do so, the Communal Lands Act enables the state to displace people to pave the way for mining. For example, if gold is found on one's agricultural land by law the state becomes the new owner of the land, stripping the previous owner of all rights to the land.

While the government talks heaps about good governance, many authors have failed to locate it in both urban and rural settings (Jonga 2012), for which mining communities are the most burdened by the current governance regime (Majonga 2001). Since governance appears to be an overarching theme of this research, the six core principles of accountability, decency, efficiency, fairness, participation and transparency as set forth by the World Governance Assessment Project (WGA)(Grant et al. 2014) are important as a compass to navigate the state of governance for black granite. I elect for this research not to confine my discoveries to one specific definition from a plural pool in which one definition often has deficits covered by another as shown by du Preez (2015); for which expenditure on a definition of good governance may cost me inquiry into the state of governance with the openness that my case and inquiry explicitly demands.

2.3. The state of communities of black granite extraction in Mutoko

Until a decade ago, black granite was simply classified simply as a natural resource, meaning it was not governed by the Mines and Minerals Act. It was later reclassified as a mineral for the sake of locating it under a specific law, the MMA to govern its exploitation (Mtisi et al. 2011; Bhatasara 2013). While the government hoped that the classification of black granite as a mineral resource would help in cascading its benefits at both the local and national level, it remains to be seen how these benefits can permeate the local, relative to the costs incurred due to extraction.

An analysis of the cost-benefit study by Chigonda (2010) relative to current narratives on the ground show that black granite benefits for communities relative to the cumulative costs of its exploitation remain negative and elusive. The stone's true potential value remains enjoyed elsewhere but in the communities of extraction. Though there is generally poor public infrastructure across many districts in Zimbabwe, roads in mining districts are in worse shape in comparison to those basing their economy on agriculture for example due to blasting and heavy truckloads movement (Chimbangu 2015).

Continuing the account by Makanda (2020) in the introduction, the following excerpt gives additional details to the key challenges of the black granite industry in Zimbabwe, one of the many minerals capable of changing the fortunes of local communities (Chigonda 2010) if its governance is improved:

It was on Saturday 5 September 2020 that we went to a village called Zisengwe in Nyamutsahuni Ward 10 of Mutoko district, which I am going to speak about today. We managed to sneak into the mining site of a company called Shua Win which is Chinese owned and is carrying out its Black Granite extraction using the Nyadire river water for its operations[4]. Not only has this company dumped granite rubbles (sic.) into the river, resulting in siltation which has also been worsened by the deforestation that has led to soil loosening up and clogging the river. The company is also pumping water from the Nyadire dam, a scenario that has resulted in a friction between the mining company and ZINWA (Zimbabwe National Water Authority) as the quarrying operations are using up too much water at the local communities' expense, leaving ZINWA with less water to supply the district.

The water from the river was sustaining a lot of families in the ward who were horticultural farmers, but their livelihoods have been put on halt because of the Chinese's disregard for the environment. I'm sure we all know the role played by Mutoko in supplying the country with some of Zimbabwe's finest tomatoes ("mapuno") & this is being threatened by the black granite mining companies that are not even doing anything meaningful to benefit the local communities.

2.3.1. A geographical presentation of Mutoko District

Zimbabwe is divided into ten provinces, one of the key mining provinces of which is Mashonaland East Province. Mashonaland East Province is found in the north-eastern part of Zimbabwe, measures 32,230km^2, and Mutoko district is one of the nine districts that make up the whole province. Within each district, smaller constituencies are found, called wards, which are a combination of multiple smaller units, villages made up of between several to a hundred households. Fig 1shows the map of Mutoko District (orange), relative to boundary districts in Mashonaland and Manicaland Provinces (grey) and to Zimbabwe (full image). Figure 2 shows Mutoko district and the 29 Wards that it is made of. Names of the places, mostly villages with historically relevant chieftaincy names are labelled within the wards.

Agriculture is the mainstay of Mutoko's rural economy and with the ongoing mineral resources extraction, there is a pronounced presence of civil society driving civil education, triggering activism and sector-based advocacy surrounding mining. As this thesis will later show, like in Appendix 2 representing the interviewees, the prominence of activism does not imply preconceived, pro- or -opposing political views on mining. In fact, community activism is not about bringing political change but improving the social and economic conditions that are in disarray due to mining, a search for livelihoods.

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[4] Rivers in Mutoko and in Zimbabwe in general are the main sources of water for agricultural and domestic uses such as cleaning, laundry; except cooking for which they fetch water from bush-pump type boreholes that serve communities averaging 500 people.
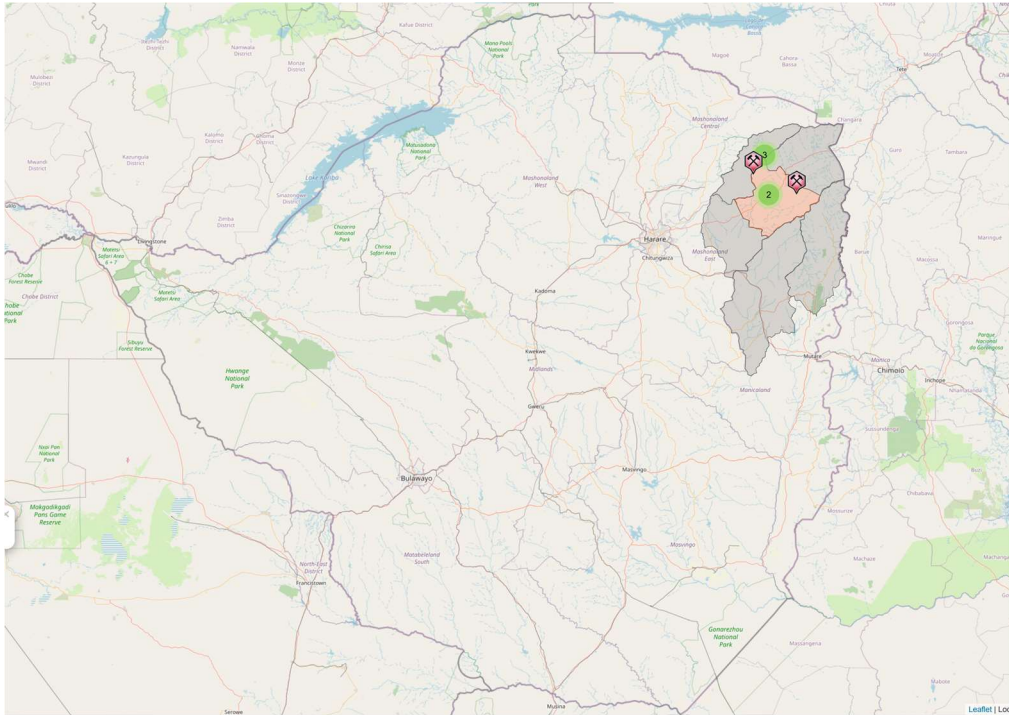
Figure 1:Map of Mutoko District relative to surrounding provinces and Zimbabwe.
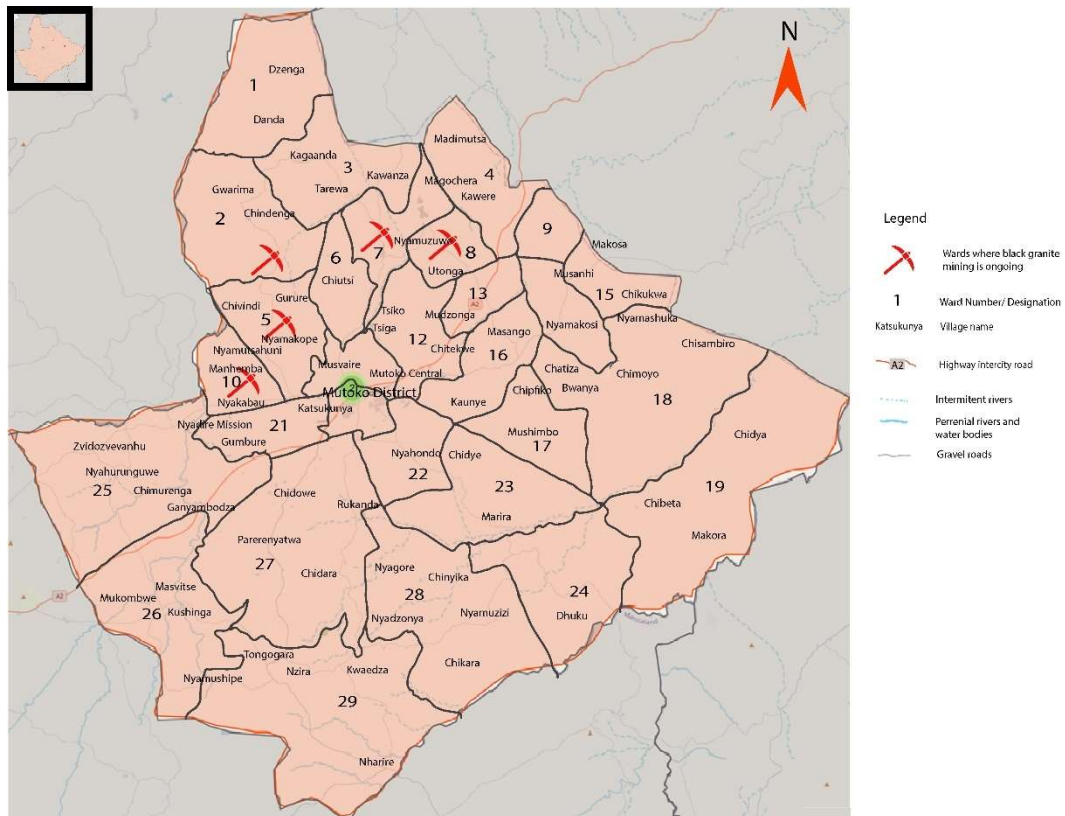
Figure 2: Map of Mutoko District showing the wards. Wards where black granite extraction is ongoing are marked by a pickaxe.

3. Theoretical approach and concepts: Understanding extractive governance from below.

3.1. Under-development and extraction in Africa

In one investigation, Bhoroma, (2019) followed the money trail of the black granite used in the Danish construction and found that the Mutoko Rural District council was paid less than US$1 in taxes for every ton extracted by the mining companies and received less than US$45,000 in total. The mining company supplied an Italian architectural design company the black granite unpolished at approximately US$223 per ton. When the Italian company polished the black granite, it was then supplied to the library at the cost of US$ 9.12 million (Bhoroma, 2019). Thus, despite the prestige and incremental economic value derived from black granite along its value chain, one can see that it did not result in meaningful tax income to the district, let alone provided direct benefits to the people of Mutoko (Chigonda 2010).

The patterns of unequal exchange for natural resources from the Global South is nothing new but simply business as usual (Kirsch 2014), and neoliberal governance of the black granite sector helping reproduce and multiply these patterns are not a recent development but follow a historical pattern that goes back decades, if not centuries (Hornborg 2020). Mtisi et al., (2011) reported that Mutoko District produced 121,000 metric tonnes black granite in 2009 for which it was supposed to be paid US$12.1 million by the mining companies in taxes at the district level. However, the mining companies paid the District Council US$18,400, (0.015% of the original sum), which only occurred after the company was ordered by the court.

The problem of taxation law enforcement is severe, mining companies owe significant debt to district councils across Zimbabwe for minerals such as gold in Kadoma, diamonds in Mutare and black granite in Mutoko district (Mtisi et al. 2011; Bhatasara 2013; Kaseke et al. 2015) with reports from civil society citing that the cushion by powerful politicians invested with these ventures limits the tax base. Between companies not paying debt and the undervaluing of natural resources to the district councils to minimize mining taxes, it is difficult to pinpoint which is the main problem. On one hand, mining companies refuse or default on paying their taxes to the district, which limits the fiscal capacity of the district and therefore its capacity to develop. On the other, the districts are reportedly often locked in unending legal disputes over how much they should be paid, often after being paid lower than the set minimum sums for the extracted black granite. The unequal

ability to win legal cases against mining companies confirms business as usual in the context of unequal ecological exchange (Givens et al. 2019).

At an operational level, defaults on payment by mining companies, payment of taxes when instructed by the courts and undervaluation of extracted amounts[5] go hand in hand, driven by an investor-government complex that enables unequal exchange. To clarify on this, politicians in the country's ruling party and top government officials are alleged stakeholders in the mining companies that extract black granite from the district, thus government officials are themselves business investors in black granite mining in Mutoko, a practice common in many other districts (Muchadenyika 2015; Mkodzongi & Spiegel 2019), and internationally (Oskarsson 2013).

While these officials, mostly based in the capital, are not themselves locally based, this detachment and exogeneity to the local allows them to favour profits gained from extraction without worrying about the local consequences of extraction. Muchadenyika (2015) described them as "mafia-like politicians", whose activities are synonymous with tax evasions (Maverick Citizen 2021), only to pay below the set rates and continue defaulting even after being taken to court. While in ideal situations, natural resources rents are used by local governance structures to develop communities (Nyandoro & Hatti 2019), this account shows how the governance of extraction can disadvantage the local communities and local governments through limited financial resources that could otherwise be invested in local development to improve local conditions.

Like the resource-rich Democratic Republic of Congo and many other African countries (Ferguson 2006b; Hilson & Maconachie 2008; Hilson 2009), the challenges of governing mineral resources are present and unfolding in Zimbabwe, with their impacts most pronounced in communities of extraction who face most of the environmental degradation. I argue that economic, environmental, political, social, and institutional forces animating the extractive industry in Africa need to be better understood from the viewpoint of those affected, especially if these resources are to change the socioeconomic fortunes of rural people who are attached to them. Zimbabwe has the ambition to produce a twelve-billion-dollar mining economy by the year 2023 (Transparency International Zimbabwe 2020). Kaseke et al., (2015) states that it is difficult to determine how much tax would come from such an industry, which currently accounts for more than 65% of the country's revenue based on unknown exports figures. The twelve billion thus, may remain a statistic when communities connected to these minerals remain marginal to the value chains and the economic gains as reported by TIZ.

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[5] In mining taxation it is common for authorities to face difficulties in both assessing a) the market value of an extracted mineral since such prices are often trade secrets, and b) measure the volume of extracted mineral in lack of scales and advanced chemical laboratories to determine weight and grade of a mineral in often remote, mining regions (Source: Patrik, or perhaps Kirsch).

In the light of this discussion, I posit that national and regional aspirations such as the AMV will fail if the billions of dollars-worth mining economies continues to marginalize the communities where extraction occurs. While good governance, governance capacity and institutions are by some authors thought panacea to mitigate against this failure (Hilson & Maconachie 2008; du Preez 2015); the voices from below, the experiences of local communities are minimally considered when shaping and reforming natural and mineral resources governance in Zimbabwe. By presenting the veracity of governance as experienced by local communities, I hope to locate the voices of the marginalised situated in their lifeworlds, possibly provoking new conversations from the bottom-up and contributing to demarginalization processes necessary for local people whose lives are intertwined with natural mineral resources as is emphasised in the Africa Mining Vision.

3.2. The lifeworld and system according to Habermas

Drawing from my understanding of recent events in the black granite sector, I ground this thesis in a qualitative research methodology, pronouncing and highlighting two key themes as basic departure points for this thesis. These are bottom-up perspectives of governance, and experiences - which both help capture and describe the lives of the people in Mutoko in relation to the way black granite is extracted and governed in the region, putting communities at the margins as set out in the aim of this thesis. Since the themes are connected to the concept of the lifeworld, I draw on theories relating to the lifeworld and the system in the epistemological sense as presented by Habermas, and located in his Theory of Communicative Action (Habermas 2015), a successor to The Structure of Social Action by Parsons (1937).

Like Parsons before him, Habermas believed that societies were in crisis, in need of integration, yet with their advancements and industrial capitalism, the core integrative function served by communication continued to be disabled and colonized (Gaines et al. 1991; Jackson 2012). An example of disabling or 'colonization of the lifeworld' (Habermas 2015) in this instance is when villagers are threatened with military retaliation when they complain (see the Makanda account in the introduction). In this instance, the threats serve to mediate an idea or practice (in this case extractivism) and the threat possesses communicative power. People thus, becoming inactive and non-complaint due to this threat and conforming to whatever conditions are imposed means the lifeworld has been successfully colonized by the system and their ability to communicate has been systematically disabled.

I actively seek to apply the Habermasian theorem as the originator intended, conceiving society simultaneously as the lifeworld and systems, thereby capturing progression in present-day capitalistic societies. For clarity, Habermas frames the

lifeworld as inevitably and intricately connected to the system which includes the bureaucracies, institutions (like government, companies, civil society), rules and regulations to name a few that govern or exercise authority or engage in communicative action. Thus, this means the lifeworld and systems are always in interaction in society with an interchange of influences from both sides. The closing of this section goes into further detail about the system and helps contextualise in more detail the simultaneous conception of society as lifeworld and systems. These precepts are true both to the foundation of my study case as introduced, and what is perceived within or alongside the context which can be interpreted through the lenses of resource curse, unequal ecological exchange as ecological imperialism (Foster & Holleman 2014); which inspire my thesis.

Habermas views the lifeworld as an arena or a playing-field on which every day, ordinary life is conducted or unfolds, in ways often taken for granted or appearing as common-sense. According to Gaines et al., (1991), when individuals interact with their socioeconomic environment and with others, meaning is given to their reality or realities which this research is curious to understand relative to their experiences. When the lifeworld or parts of it become questionable due to phenomena both internal and external to the individual(s), human nature demands transension of present conceptions to make meaning of that which is questioned. Thus, by invoking the Habermasian approach to lifeworld, I seek to discover how people in Mutoko make meaning of their lives or can account their experiences due to black granite mining and the way it is governed as their environmental and social material conditions will allow. Thus, this gives birth to the description of, or an account of, the perspective of the governed and how they experience the state and the way it governs a key natural resource shaping their everyday life - black granite.

Like in the submission by Habermas, there is a strong belief in my domain of study that the natural resource economy in Mutoko district is not allowing the communities endowed with black granite to succeed and that the government is not earnest in its exchanges with the community. Habermas asserts the crisis of legitimation of social institutions and states, crisis of perceptions by citizens that the actions of the government are fair, just, compassionate, and in their best interests. It is upon these precepts that the perceived issues and effects surrounding black granite mining ought to be pursued in this research according to the lifeworld. Habermas also states that the lifeworld means mutual and common understanding that include values, identity, beliefs, aspirations, desires (Gaines et al. 1991) and more significant to my inquiry livelihoods, social and economic status. It is in short, a way to discuss cultural identity and livelihood needs in one concept. I contextualize, influenced by the assertion that the lifeworld is increasingly colonized (Creswell & Creswell 2017) as granite extraction expands, limiting the range of possible actions by communities (the marginalization I hint at in my title) to the extent that money and power dominate or control it.

I look at black granite and governance as the two key external circumstances exerting on the lifeworld of the people that I seek to study in this research. The lifeworld emerges from the phenomenological domain (Jackson 2012) , projecting or due to the subjective appropriation of the world with the use of one's physical and mental power with own previous experiences as the basis. In the phenomenological sense therefore, there is more to the lifeworld beyond the views of an individual's situation in life. This research may not fully capture the complete lifeworlds of the people whose community, experiences, and realities I am studying, a feat of inquiry that Habermas (2015) himself regards as impossible. Thus, I will focus more on locating the accounts in the lifeworld that I deem most imperative and understand the meaning of these accounts through meaning-making power or logical presentation that the concept allows.

Habermas sees the system as comprising organizations and formal entities, and relevant for this study mainly the government, government institutions and mining companies. The system is seen as a collective of legitimate structures tasked with the execution of predefined responsibilities. For example, the Chief Executive Officer is the oversight to all administration in MRDC responsible for ensuring that it fulfils its mandate in delivering health, business education and development services to the people. I further employ the concept of systems (Gaines et al. 1991; Habermas 2015) as it helps me showcase the connections within the lifeworld and the forces exerting on the lifeworld – governance of, and black granite extraction. I seek to explore conditions that enable or animate material and immaterial circumstances of life for the people in communities of granite extraction including their economic opportunities, living standards, social and cultural wellbeing, household amenities and livelihoods securities to name a few which the mining of granite and its governance has conditioned, permitted, and officially supported for many years in spite of its apparent, negative effects on large parts of the local community. While the lifeworld is premised on understanding capitalistic society, it presents an opportunity to understand society with a stronger leaning to mining anthropology than to mining capitalism.

3.3. Situating Habermas in mining anthropology

In the works of Kirsch, (2014), Engels & Dietz, (2017), Herbert et al., (2002) spotlighting the anthropology of mining, the lifeworld and life conditions can be interpreted. Yet, the capitalistic focus in Kirsch's "Mining Capitalism" brings to the fore capitalism and the voices from below take a bottom or middle ground since they are not the prime focus. I am curiously motivated to understand the sociocultural tenets of extractivism and explore the research impact if voices from below were the primary focus of a study, relative to subjects of governance, unequal exchange, but still retaining the spotlight to what communities say as central to the

final body of work. The lifeworld as a central concept of analysis coupled with the system concept permits this kind of body of work.

Drawing on Habermas to understand life as it is experienced by people in Mutoko, I want to explore within the context of 'mining anthropology' (Herbert et al. 2002; Knapp 2002), the extent of effects and conditions in the lifeworld that black granite enables. Specifically, the interest here is in uncovering the web of life, the experiences of people in Mutoko district in their daily environment and the governance shaping that web of life. Habermas' lifeworld captures what is often taken for granted, the mundane daily and nuanced experiences that happen without noticing or consciously committing to them. I believe these depict everyday realities of people and provide a unique viewpoint highlighting key underlying issues rarely captured in mining anthropology and not comprehensively captured in resource governance; demanding the attention of governments and corporations to improve strategies, plans and policies for extractivism.

This concept of the lifeworld is very useful both theoretically and practically (Jackson 2012; Kraus 2015). It enables us to conceptualize and unpack the anthropology of mining by capturing 'voices from below', of those who are marginal or at the periphery of mining capitalism or mineral resources exchange (Chuhan-Pole et al. 2017). By seeing and communicating through the lens of the lifeworld, there is potential to produce a narrative of how communities in which extraction occurs both see, view, and experience the extraction of granite mining; its impacts on their environment, impacts on culture, on all that is taken for granted and how they also experience the state in its exploration and exploitation of a natural resource for which their expectations are that its rents can improve their communities.

There is a trend to be noted in many bodies of research that seek to capture life as it is experienced in communities of extraction (Appel 2012, 2014; Kirsch 2014; Mkodzongi & Spiegel 2019). Communities are seen as a microeconomic unit, which often shows how research has been conditioned to mainly mining capitalism which as a domain dictates the direction of research whereunder there are rarely produced imagined possibilities of macroeconomic growth that can emerge because of for example breaking from the international markets or trap of transferring unprocessed mineral resources for insignificant exchange (Givens et al. 2019; Hornborg 2020) in terms of rents that make it to benefit local communities. On that note, by looking at mining anthropology through the lens of the lifeworld, there is a strong possibility to question (1) if there is a need for anthropologists and economists to rethink the precepts under which they have been looking at mining; (2) if the macroeconomic unit, which has been the central focus of research informing mining policies and visions need to be effectively hybridized with the micro and complemented with the socioenvironmental domain that captures life experiences as they are produced by those living in the environment where natural

or mineral resources like black granite is both extracted and locally governed; (3) if there can be determined conditions under which the microeconomic can become a macroeconomy at the source of raw materials (4) and what ways in which extraction can coexist with the day to day socially and environmentally enmeshed and evolving life conditions in the places of extraction. While the primary ethnographic question is on how the people in Mutoko experience black granite mining, lifeworld serves as a potentially effective locus in which this understanding can be fully explored and rooted in a body of research that can rightly be classified as an inquiry into the anthropology of mining.

4. Research design and methodology

In this thesis I listened to the voices on the ground as a way of capturing the complex experiences of people affected by the many effects of black granite mining and its governance. As will be discovered in my research findings, I employed interchangeably the phrases marginal voices, voices from the peripherals or from below to mean the same people who are affected by extractivism of black granite. I combined tools and methods ethnographic research design which examines behaviours of people in situations and how they make meaning of such situations (Van Maanen 2011) albeit while researching remotely, coupled them with the emerging field of netnography (Kozinets 2006); which can be seen as ethnography applied to online research settings albeit with some differentiating characteristics shared later.

Drawing on my own background as a born native and a local resident of Mutoko district, I was mediated by assistants presently based in the district, and technology due to the Covid crisis which inhibited my travel to personally conduct field research. I employed my understanding of local culture and the social arena in rural Mutoko to intricately provide detailed descriptions that strive to make it easy to understand the community through words. Descriptions and discursive encounters with communities in Mutoko within the context of lifeworlds will be crucial to present a case for which the governance of black granite can be reimagined through the perspective of those primarily affected by it.

4.1. Ethics and assisted, remote research

Firstly, Covid induced restrictions compromised students' mobility for field research. I discovered through my student support groups that a lot of research had to conform to the 'new normal' in some way. Some students had to change their research topics altogether if their methods involved physical contact with people. The pandemic situation demanded researchers to change their ways of interaction with communities in collecting data and in some instances for social scientists, halt research altogether (Mena & Hilhorst 2020). To complete my studies in time, I adopted practices of community engagement from a distance as documented by several institutions, mainly the BBC (Lace 2020).

For an ethnographer, studying a marginal community, it was impossible to stay away from a dominantly remote district altogether and produce results for this thesis. Thus, I sought out a leader in civil society working in Community Based Organizations (CBOs) to assist with the research on the ground. No direct remuneration was given for the field research. However, a standard allowance for

local mobility, meals, printing, and internet services was provided so that no research costs were transferred to the assistant. The assistant/leader in question is driven by a strong sense of discovery as a media scholar and a stronger sense of duty to improve the conditions of the people in the community.

Whilst I did not meet the research participants in person, some of them were recorded during the interviews, and I did a follow-up with some that I regarded as key informants to give more detailed information on the subject through mobile phone text exchanges. Mena & Hilhorst (2020) show that remote research has been used prior to COVID-19 when fieldwork was considered risky or difficult. As emphasised by Creswell & Creswell (2017) ethical issues were prioritised and discussed at the beginning of the field study, there were no institutional rules in the university barring me from getting the aid of a research assistant on the ground, and the assistant had no institutional barriers on his end. A lengthy discussion occurred before field data collection to deliberate on the ethical issues and an ethical agreement was reached. The research assistant was guided by an ethical code summarised in The Research Principle guiding The Nexus Think Tank at Zarawi Trust[6], an organization that I am affiliated with.

4.2. Interviews in five wards in Mutoko District

My thesis is primarily based on qualitative field studies conducted in five wards in Mutoko district in the month of March 2021. Through an assistant on the ground in Mutoko, I conducted twenty-one semi-structured interviews, using a questionnaire that I had developed (see Appendix 1) and discussed with him in the prior month. My questions sought to track the changes that have occurred at the triple bottom line in Mutoko due to black granite mining and how the people made sense of them. Of the twenty-one interviews (Appendix 2), only four accepted to be recorded, conversations of which carried strong insights and went more in-depth than the questionnaires in capturing the experiences of communities.

I elected to work across five wards because prior research and voices on the ground (Bhatasara 2013) suggest that it is difficult to get the full anthropological picture of granite mining if one was to focus on one ward. Eleven women and ten men were interviewed as I actively sought equal gender representation of voices. While agriculture is the mainstay which more than 80% of the participants engage in, I also sought different views that are enabled by other occupations in society, most of which could not be located in one Ward.

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[6] The Research Principle of Zarawi Trust has been used to guide similar research before where the primary researcher could not be available on the ground to conduct the research and reifies ethics and values that foster research integrity under assisted and non-assisted research circumstances. Source https://zarawi.org/trust

I sought to understand how black granite extraction affects the people of Mutoko, situating the questions to probe on economic benefits derivation (if any), changes in livelihoods, experiences, perspectives, and protracted expectations in relation to black granite mining and its governance in the district. Beyond the lifeworld of the individual, I sought the collective perspective in which at the community level collected data sought to understand what social, economic, and environmental benefits, or losses the exploitation of black granite brought to the district.

To capture as broadly possible perspectives of the governed as situated in my aim, structured governance specific questions regarding the views of local people on the extraction of black granite in Mutoko relative to the way it is presently governed and how they possibly vision it being alternatively governed. My research aim will be fully achieved through the description of life stories of villagers in the district who have been affected including their own perceptions of how governance has enabled their ongoing life experiences within the black granite mining context.

Following the submission of questionnaires, I tagged five key interviews that would be regarded as key informants. I exchanged further texts with them for clarifications on issues that were ambiguous due to the limited space available on the questionnaire. Of these five for which data was collected a second time, some audio recordings are available and transcribed in which they disclosed more details on the matter. Bosco & Herman, (2010) emphasise this choice of focusing on the bottom-line for several reasons. I find and resolve that the potential to facilitate participants-centred, bottom-up approach to theoretical and conceptual revisions thereby enhancing clarity to knowledge construction is the most important of reasons justifying this choice.

4.3. Netnography and online interviews with key stakeholders

In March 2021, I attempted to conduct semi-structured individual interviews with government officials from the EMA, the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development; MRDC, and the ZINWA to understand their perspectives on governance of black granite in Mutoko. Unfortunately, no individuals responded to my requests. I was however able to conduct two key stakeholder interviews (one on one) and a text message exchange with insiders. One was a consultant who has worked on several cost-benefit and other research on of black granite, who is embedded in the district. Another is an archaeologist with both personal and professional ties to Mutoko and has experienced black granite extraction first-hand. The last is a leader in civil society from the affected area who has extensively advocated for transforming the black granite extraction sector for years.

I also monitored social media feeds on natural resources affairs in Zimbabwe, employing the guiding principles of netnography to meet my research needs. I used this method for inquiry due to limitations in mobility because of the Coronavirus pandemic and the resultant lockdowns limiting both local and global mobility at the time of this study. A special distinction applicable to my research is how through netnography I pose as a key element in data collection and creation by influencing and guiding the direction of discussion on which data is generated. This has been achieved by asking questions key to my research and commenting to ensure that social media users explain and expand on matters of significance to my research.

I specifically selected Zoom for my online interviews complementing netnographic inquiries based on research findings that assert it as a tool with several unique features that make it suitable for qualitative and mixed methods research. For indemnity[7], key online interviewees refused to be recorded citing safety and individual securities but permitted the writing of extensive notes. I chose semi-structured interviews for all my primary data collection due to mainly my desire to avoid boxing the responses and feedback of interviewees or "pigeon-holing" which Bryman (2016) advises against.

4.4. Secondary data sources

In April 2021, as part of continued secondary, qualitative data collection, analysed financial statements, policy briefs, feasibility studies, reports by community-based organisations in civil society, mining policies and other legislature in Zimbabwe to further understand the discourses produced by analysing sources of the primary data collection. These sources of data are crucial to both contextualise and situate the state of governance as is portrayed in the community, and therefore complement or contradict the data gathered on the ground, whichever case may be. In May 2021, I analysed and interpreted my data, connecting findings to natural resources governance and political economics scholarship in Africa.

I combined these with data provided by key informants through text message exchanges (WhatsApp) and the two Zoom sessions during the data collection period. I also scouted, participated through asking questions and captured some key views from online forums, including eight Facebook posts and two public webinars by civil society actors in the community and the country. These were important because the community uses them as an outlet for their voices to avert the crisis of shrinking civil spaces due to fear and intimidation tactics by state apparatus. Some of these views made a part of my results or research findings, helping connect the

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[7] Due to shrinking civil spaces in Zimbabwe, people try to stay anonymous or silent to retain safety against persecution, protect their jobs and livelihoods especially regarding mining.

dots where my interviews data may have been scarce due to fear of disclose or other reasons.

I also made some notes for contextualization from a documentary (Bustop TV 2020) on black granite extraction in 2020. I cross transcribed recorded interviews from the local Shona language to English text without any alterations to the statements as submitted by the interviewees. Only the interviewee side was transcribed. I use the recordings, the zoom calls (from which I recorded extensive notes) and texts, to provide detailed ethnographic descriptions of Mutoko District with particular attention to the community's experiences of governance and of black granite extraction.

4.5. Analysis

I categorised statements according to the questions in the questionnaire which sought to explore different sub-themes. I then combined sets of questions that stood as sub-themes into a full theme. I conducted cross or comparative analysis of texts and statements from different interviews to identify convergences and divergences of views of interviewees on certain matters in each sub-theme for example the benefits that they have gained from black granite mining either directly or indirectly. I took advantage of the word for word text transcriptions to capture and directly quote the informants to create an analysis that captures and communicates first-hand experiences of people in the community and in doing so, achieve a key underlying and implied research architecture of amplifying the voices from below. By voices from below, I mean the views of those whose marginal experiences in black granite extraction I sought to capture and convey using the lifeworld and life conditions concepts.

The direct quotations were useful in that they helped capture the richness of voices from below using an emic approach (Café 2012) to capture in their originality thoughts, perceptions, categorization of their world, their experiences, and aspirations. I interpret them as I do some of the text which I do not directly quote in the presentation and analysis of my research findings and balance the emic with an etic view of the subject. I thus employ the complementary power of emic and etic approaches to anthropological inquiry to capture a rich description of the situations and conditions guided by principles conveyed in Beals et al. 2020) and positioning myself as an edgewalker. True to my intentions on structure as theorized in mining anthropology, I present and analyse my findings in such a way that my voice as a researcher does not suppress the voices from below or colonizes the lifeworld in the presentation of my research findings.

5. Discussion of Research Findings

5.1. Experiencing black granite governance from below

5.1.1. Outdated laws, dishonesty, and paper governance.

> The dominium in, and the right of searching and mining for, and disposing of all minerals, mineral oils, and natural gases, notwithstanding the dominium or right which any person may possess in and to the soil on or under which such minerals, mineral oils and natural gases are found or situated, is vested in the President, subject to this Act.

The above quote is the opening section of the Mines and Minerals Act of 1961 [Chapter 21:05] in Zimbabwe. Part II, 26 (a) and (b) of the Minerals and Mines Act makes a provision unto law in Zimbabwe and classifies two categories of land tenure arrangements that are open to mineral prospecting:

> (a) State land and Communal Land; (b) all private land in the title to which there has been reserved either to the British South Africa Company or to the Government of Zimbabwe the right to all minerals or the power to make grants of the right to prospect for minerals.

On the surface, and from these two excerpts one can pick up the monumental dilemmas that are associated with this act, which has made it a subject of natural resources governance contestation in the country since long. Firstly, the opening itself gives power to the President to hold dominion and control over any land on or underneath which any mineral is discovered in the entire country. Secondly, the Mines and Minerals Act of 1961 paved way for another piece of legislature, the Communal Lands Act of 1981 [Chapter 20:04]; the combination of which causes land occupied by approximately 70% of Zimbabwe's population is classified as communal (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (UNFAO) 2021). Thirdly, the prospecting clause in the former further goes on to give loopholes which make almost if not all land in the country open to prospecting for minerals, which if found on it, anyone with titles to it or an inhabitant without defined tenure can and will be made to vacate the land using the power of the president, often occurring without any compensation for losses incurred.

Of the three monumental dilemmas above, none is as severely problematic as the fourth. The fourth and most worrisome is that in 26(b) of the Mines and Minerals Act of 1961, the mention of land reserved to the British South Africa Company (BSAC) is reflective of a deeply entrenched problem, a legacy and a past that the country remains clutched to: the legacy of colonialism by Britain. On April 1st, 1924, the BSAC administration in what was then Rhodesia, (now Zimbabwe and Zambia) ended; transferring all the land that the colonial company claimed to

the national administration, (Clough 1924), in Northern Rhodesia. The liberation struggles that followed thereafter little by little gave back control of the country culminating into what would become Zimbabwe in April of 1980, upon declaration of independence, with a new constitution and laws seeking to give back to the black majority their natural resources, mainly land and minerals.

Yet with all these new laws and a constitution that has been amended many times after independence, the Minerals and Mines Act of 1961 continues to govern the country's mineral resources. It is upon these colonial premises that I validate my view that colonialism merely changed the colour of skin in Zimbabwe and the country may have simply replaced one external coloniser with one who is internal (Raftopoulos & Mlambo 2008). The validity of this claim further resides in sentiments of the local villagers in parts of the district where mineral resources extraction occurs, whose constitutional awareness is higher than that of many people elsewhere in the country. One informant submitted:

> If we are to prevail and succeed as black people, the law has to be amended so that benefits of development go to the people. The current law was designed to make us beggars to a resource that belongs to us. Imagine writing letters to ask and beg companies to put water in the cattle dip tanks[8], at schools for children to drink when the resource is ours. Our own law is making us beggars. If it is changed, it will be us who will be asked for our resources instead. They should be asking us instead.

Another informant, a leader in civil society, went on to add that the Mines and Minerals Act favoured investors and did not favour communities.

> Remember we are talking of an Act from the year 1963 [1961], enacted by our colonizers who sought to benefit from our suppression. We have amended most of our acts and laws, but not the Mines and Minerals Act, up to now it is the law that is still being used. That law gives the miner or the investor the power to displace people, because that law almost supersedes any other law in Zimbabwe. So, if you are carrying out any farming activity, and there is a mineral found or discovered on the land, then mining takes precedence over any other activity or use of the land. My wish is that government moves to amend this act or repeal it altogether.

It is not only these two informants who shared the sentiment that the law ought to be repealed and replaced with a new one altogether. Advocacy work by local civil society groups has been ongoing for years but bearing no tangible fruits. Civil leaders in the community and beyond share the view that the law is an ongoing mockery of the country's liberation struggle against Britain. As I actively monitored social media in my netnographic inquiries, I came across a post[9] that abhorred and

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[8] Dip tanks are containers holding a solution of chemicals in which cattle get fully or partially immersed to control livestock pests, diseases, and vectors.

[9] Farai Maguwu (2021) *Parliament of Zimbabwe, Repeal Communal Lands Act.* *https://www.facebook.com/fmaguwu/posts/1808600812647510*

repudiated the law, highlighting in detail how it also ridiculed the Constitution of Zimbabwe and its affliction of pain on the people in communal lands where mineral resources extraction is ongoing as though the armed struggle for independence meant nothing. The shared consensus is that unless the Mines and Minerals Act is thrown into dustbin and replaced by a new one, communities of extraction remain hopeless for better life circumstances, cursed by their environment's endowment with mineral resources.

In the year 2002, through an act of Parliament called the Environmental Management Act [Chapter 20:27], the Zimbabwean government formed EMA, a statutory body mandated and tasked with protecting the environment, ensuring that the management of natural resources is done sustainably in order to prevent pollution and environmental degradation (Chigonda 2010; Spiegel 2017). Environmental plans for the management and protection of the environment are the chief responsibility and avenue through which this mandate is enabled and are rooted in both legal and administrative ethos conscious of and intent to ensure that "national economic, social, cultural and spiritual advancements" are safeguarded within the environment where they occur (*Environmental Management Act [Chapter 20:27] (No. 13/2002). 2005*).

Many problems have been cited by informants of this research regarding the work of EMA, one of which is the incapacitation to fully enforce and execute its mandate relative to availability of institutional resources needed to do so. But that is just one of the agency's many problems although it may be connected to others that were unearthed by this research. On paper, the act is one of the strongest and robust tools produced to safeguard the environment and all that reside in it. The practice emanating or governed by this act is however a different story on the ground. For context, the agency has been implicated on several occasions in producing fake Environmental Impact Assessment reports which mean that the inception of many extraction projects is based on falsified findings (Gwimbi & Nhamo 2016; Spiegel 2017). One of the most falsified tools informing or relating to environmental plans are EIA reports.

The production of EIA reports with falsified data on consultations, documents and acceptance letters as representing the views and aspirations of communities relative to mining and relative to exploits in their environment which would affect them has been normalised[10]. My netnographic monitoring of online social spaces led me to an ongoing prospect for natural resources in another community, almost in the final phase where the communities that stand to shoulder the impacts of mineral exploration have refused the project yet there is a paper trail showing that they have signed and agreed to it[11]. If a government agency can cheat or permit

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[10] On April 9, a civil society leader produced a social media report of the ongoing falsification of EIAs
[11] Maguwu (2021) Dinde Displacements: EMA-approved Consultant manufactures fake acceptance letter. https://www.facebook.com/groups/205990052896041/permalink/1781521828676181/

projects to cheat their way through; it is not surprising that they do not have a good relationship with Mutoko district as this research has found. One informant was noted as saying that:

> On paper, governance is considered as ongoing, on the ground it is a totally different story. Because on paper, the government is cheating itself and its way into resources in communities. I should not say we have measures in place to protect us from the impacts of black granite extraction since they are not being followed. Measures are there on paper but lack implementation.

According to a consultant who knows the trade well, the EMA Act permits for consultants registered with the agency to conduct Environmental Impact Assessment producing reports that go on to inform and enable projects. As a result, EMA can outright approve what is written on paper despite the lack of credibility on the ground, and without any auditing tools in stock, project inceptions can be outright based on false claims. There have been several claims that most of consultancy firms are politically aligned, and their reports are at the instruction political elites to be in favour of the projects in extraction or large-scale corporate agriculture which displaces people.

One key discovery is that beyond the chief guiding laws being flawed or problematic, those that sound ideal and good on paper are rarely if at all executed with honesty in the grand scheme of extracting minerals in resource-rich communities like Mutoko district. Thus, dishonesty is one institutionally embedded problem in geographies of extraction and Mutoko district in particular in which informants stated that it is difficult to trust the government to do the right thing. Dishonesty in this case, can be established as drawing back communities from benefiting from natural resources because one would assume that the falsified paper trail goes beyond the EIAs, into all other aspects of extraction. This is valid if one were to ask: If they lied about this, what else did they lie about? As it turns out, the dishonesty goes way beyond the governance itself, it also goes into the extraction process. According to the consultant:

> The mining companies connected to our politicians evaded paying taxes for more than three years in a row claiming that the rock they were extracting was merely samples for research and not intent on making money in the market. When that came crashing down, they resorted to falsifying quantities and reporting lesser quantities than what they actually mined to shrink their tax costs.

The informants are aware of their civic, environmental rights relative to natural resources extraction through civic education that has been ongoing in the district facilitated by community-based Civil Society Organizations. One informant stated that letters such as Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) that are written for agreements with mining company are supposed to protect the community by law, but then, as the mining companies start operating, they do not follow what would

have been agreed on. The informant views this as a half measure, happening due to a lot of forces beyond the lack of capacity to enforce the MOU:

> The government has in place the Environmental Management Act, which is a legal tool that is there to guide how companies are supposed to operate in an environmentally conscious way. But unfortunately, some of these laws are flouted by these companies due to the political interference that's there. So yes, the tools are there, but the issue is to do mostly with enforcement, you see, to then say, yes, we have the laws that are enshrined in the constitution, that stipulate that the communities are supposed to be protected from environmental harm etcetera, etcetera but the challenge then comes whether we have or lack enforcement from the government side.

It is clear, as this section has shown, that there are good and strong governance tools in the country, which if enforced can aid communities benefit from minerals extraction, or at the least protect them. But the dishonesty and failure to turn paper governance into practical governance continues haunting the people of Mutoko. The nature and structure of governance as seen through the lens of dishonesty and lack of implementation of what is on paper creates a rift of distrust between the lifeworld and the system, with the people experiencing black granite extraction viewing the system as an agent not to be trusted to serve the people's interests.

5.1.2. Absent and fractured governance

"*Honestly, we are alone, government structures are there, but the governance is not there.*"
Two immediately noticeable issues when it comes to the governance of black granite in Mutoko are the fracture and absenteeism of government officials when the community needs them most, especially to aid in alleviating the negative impacts of black granite extraction that they are currently experiencing. Community members acknowledge that they do have government officials or people who are representatives of the government present locally, indeed some of them are even in their midst in the communities. And yet the sense is of absent governance when complaints never lead to action.

With the many government officials and structures crucial for the governance of mining[12], it sounds contradictory to open with absence of government. One interviewee acknowledged that there is a 'local' committee with representatives from different entities including government, civil society, the mining companies, and the community; put in place to help address the issues rising from black granite mining. However, he was quick to highlight that not even one person in the committee comes from the communities in Mutoko North, the constituency where the black granite extraction occurs, but outside the mining area. To the community member, this is the local resemblance of the widespread absence of governance. A key informant submitted:

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[12] I have described the key government actors in Chapter 2.

I should warn you that we have a lot of placeholders in places of decision-making and the power is in Harare and anyone in the community from committee members to the district council they are just symbols of leadership.

While the claim of absence of governance may have been puzzling given the extensive localized officials employment list, it is best understood as this informant shows, relative to most of these officials, in their multitudes, as merely being symbolic; signalling that they are simply filling up structured positions, yet they do little to help local communities. This does not mean however that government representatives are totally absent from the scene. During elections for example, according to one smallholder farmer, community members manage to register many issues regarding black granite mining to their MP. The farmer went on to defend the local MP saying that he tries his best to get those issues to parliament and that he is equally affected by the extraction since his field is filled with black granite from the nearby quarry.

The narrative that the MP avails himself to hear community needs during election season, which many see as simply a campaign gimmick to garner votes and continue to hold a parliamentary seat, a commonplace feature in Zimbabwean politics which is dominated by career politicians enjoying (lifetime) career benefits. Thus, the simplest interpretation of this is that the elected officials come around when there are upcoming elections, to get votes from the community through pledges and promises of representation of their issues. The non-elected on the other hand are symbols without power. There is a subtle, yet important issue to be picked here regarding the lifeworld, that those who are external to it use and structure communication in such a way that it allocates them sympathy or empathy from within the lifeworld, despite being part of the system that does not necessarily experience that lifeworld.

The multi-layered structure for governance can be a source of strength to effectively govern resources such as black granite. While the structure enables decentralization of authority by permeation into local structures, it can also be equally its weakness if not used or deployed right. This submission stems from the simple question I posed on who communities report to when they have any issues regarding experiencing black granite extraction. Three informants said they report to Chief Mutoko, the traditional leader and custodian of natural resources, six others stated they report to the Councillor, two to their local MP, three to MRDC, two to EMA, one to the headman and another to the local committee, while the last three said they would report to no one at all. A civil leader in the community gave insight into the supposed fracture I present here when he stated that who community members report to depends on the gravity of the situation and that at the local level the first person of contact is the village head, then the headman, then the councillor and the local MP. And members can also write and directly petition the parliament depending on who has the final say in whatever problem is being faced.

One of the clear-cut implications of these multiple channels of authority is that an issue may go unaddressed, even a time-sensitive one as it may have to move from one point to another in the bureaucratic ladder of these multiple leaders to whom it may be reported. I also found that these same bureaucratic ladders may turn down a problem or an issue leading to it not being addressed while some officials do not have sufficient power to make decisions on many issues and are merely responsible for referring to a higher official which deters complaints and grievances. I view this as a structural fracture within the governance system in which there are many appendages with only symbolic power and hence incapable of making real decisions on the ground as would be the ideal situation in a decentralized government.

The claims of fractured governance run deeper than described here. Another dimension of this fracture emanates from the lack of capacity by key officials to carry out their duties. An example cited by an informant involved the EMA, a 'public secret', that the agency is underfunded and "does not have capacity to really carry out that thorough monitoring of the granite quarrying activities that are happening in the mining communities." This includes a lack of human resources as well as not even having fuel to travel to often remote sites. The informant went on to say, "They might not also have enough resources that are required, for example the last time that we were talking to EMA they were saying they don't have enough vehicles that can enable us to visit each and every quarrying site to monitor whether or not they adhere to environmental stipulations."

Beyond the lack of resources as a source of fracture to governance, there are a lot of hurdles to overcome for issues and voices from below to be heard and addressed up high in the bureaucracy. But the bureaucracy can easily impose or make decisions on behalf of communities without expecting to shoulder any consequences. As one informant comments:

> When the companies are to get licences for their operations, they get [them] from the Ministry of Mines and [Mining Development in Harare], and usually this happens without the community being consulted. So, an investor can just go to the Ministry of Mines, and get a licence, and go straight to the quarrying site, without necessarily having to go through the community for consent. So, at the end of the day, you then have a situation whereby mining companies start to operate without the community aware of this new development. That lack of community involvement, then, compromises the relationship between the mining company, the community, and the government.

While the informant closes this statement citing the fracture to the relationship between the mining companies, the community, and the government; the fracture in the government system itself cannot be ignored. The tension can be felt in the voice of Chief Mutoko, who was interviewed in Ward 10 for a documentary (Bustop TV 2020) that I reviewed as a source of secondary data contributing to the ethnographic baseline description of this research. The chief registered his

disappointment in the protocol of companies coming from the capital with finalized approved papers from the Ministry of Mines after having come to the area prior without his knowledge to survey and confirm the mining claims purchased from the government through the company Zimbabwe International Quarries (Pvt) Ltd.

The resultant tensions from government officials not equally benefiting from the black granite value chain contribute to what I have phrased as fractured governance here. The degree to which they are affected seems to be a potential source of rift and as a result, the collective of officials, whose unified voice would be crucial to a decentralized governance in many instances neither speak nor act as a unified force and are divided on how the rock should be mined and how it ought to benefit the nation. That there are politicians in government wielding high power and serving as the 'political shield' offering protection from community complaints for the quarrying companies does not make the fracture any better as it continues to funnel local benefits to political elites. According to Makanda (2020), these mining companies can violate certain environmental laws and still go unpunished because they have the protection of certain powerful individuals who are in government.

While I have looked at governance fracture through a lens of discord among officials relative to each other in a bureaucracy, it would be amiss to ignore looking at officials or individual leaders relative to themselves. Another informant stated that at one point they asked the community leadership, mainly the headman, chief and councillor to intercede on separate issues with the mining companies, but after going to the companies, they would not give the community any feedback. While the villagers cannot go to represent themselves because the Chinese company employees refuse to talk with them stating that they can address their issues through their councillors and the chief, the community in Nyamutsahuni specifically sees these leaders as suppressing them, validating my claims of leaders being absent for the villagers. One informant goes as far as alleging that the community leadership gets money from the mining companies because of the community complaints; a claim that may carry validity upon lifestyle audits. She went on to highlight this by saying, "When we complain and they intervene, sometimes you see them coming from the mining company offices with maize meal and other goods, so we are stuck we do not know who to turn to for help."

The question that revealed both fracture and absence of governance sought to understand if there was a good relationship between communities and the government. A grey area was left in the question which sought to be filled by the informants considering the multiple officials that they look up to when they have a problem with black granite extraction in their community. On the nature of this relationship, good, bad, or otherwise; one community member did not hesitate to say that they did not have a good relationship with the government on black granite mining citing that:

> "...for all the times that we have tried to reach out to the government to say we
> are having issues with the mining companies, they have done as if they want
> to help us but we have not seen anything changing or any form of
> compensation for what [damage] has already been done. You also realise that
> most of those whom we communicate our issues have little or more to do with
> the mining companies as well, they are benefiting from companies."

The significance of this submission cannot be underplayed for two key reasons.
First, it echoes the absent nature of the government officials when communities
need them, despite being there physically or at least when it suits their interests.
Second, it also highlights one of the reasons that may explain the absence, which is
the notion that government officials are benefitting personally from mining black
granite, a subject that I will revisit in detail at a later stage.

5.1.3. Rule by fear

*"When they come to threaten us, they show us a picture of the Chinese ambassador and the
president."*

From the onset of this research, the narrative has set out a strong important base
showing that fear tactics are one of the most effective tools keeping communities
such as Mutoko district docile and less active in challenging the ways in which
black granite is extracted and the toll it is having on their lives, livelihoods, and
their environment. The threat or potential threat of using force applied by the
military to get people in line with extraction is not a foreign issue or a claim without
validity. Like many involved in extraction in the global south where the
communities register the unfair disadvantages of extraction, the government has
historically created conditions that permit it to rule by instilling fear in its subjects.
According to a veteran in the industry, security forces are present at all meetings or
consultations with communities when extraction is the subject. The presence of the
personnel alone, and the protracted history and experience of people with the
violent regime is sufficient to either force, manipulate or trick the community to get
in line with extraction.

Asked if it was easy to raise issues and concerns to the government, one
informant stated:

> When those we have elected to lead us are defeated and do not have power to
> address this problem by raising our issues to the central government, it is more
> difficult for us in the community. If our leaders are made to be silent and are
> defeated in this case, where would we go. What we do not want is commotion
> and trouble.

While this informant seems to have focused on the dilemma of hopelessness
emanating from a place of defeat, the last statement perfectly captures the reasons
why that defeat becomes acceptable and imminent, commotion and trouble. Having
experienced first-hand the government's rule by fear, I can confirm that the state
indeed applies force to get its way. With a lot of unemployed youth in the country,

the government does not even necessarily deploy the military to get communities in line. A few dollars that go towards a day's dose of drug or alcoholic inebriety is all it takes to instruct the unemployed youth to go and beat up villagers to stop them from publicly raising their complaints.

To further validate how the government controls granite extraction by fear, it is first what was not said and secondly the overly cautious nature of participants whose pursuit for anonymity seemed extreme during this research. On the first subject of what was not said, the informants seemed to attempt as much as possible any questions that they felt were politically sensitive. On the second of anonymity, only four of the twenty people who were interviewed for this research accepted to be audio-recorded, and the rest feared for their security and potential consequences that might fall on them for registering their complaints. Thus, the lives of people affected by black granite extraction are burdened by a crippling fear that inhibits them from publicly registering their problems with mining, which is seen or regarded as fighting or resisting the government. Thus, the system through its power causes as can be seen here in communication inspires omission or dissociation from communicative action by and in the lifeworld.

Ruling by fear as a tactic within the governance of black granite extraction goes way beyond the deployment of drunk unemployed youth to assault villagers into a normative state of subservience. It also goes beyond the presence of military forces (the custodians of legitimized violence) when the government engages with communities on mining. The government architecture causes the structure of rule by fear as a reality of governance to become full circle is that the fear or the cause of fear is embedded in the laws governing the extraction of mineral resources. The Mines and Minerals Act of 1961 and the Communal Lands Act of 1981 both make or cause people in rural communities to stay on borrowed land, or land belonging to the state and if it has mineral resources, "vested in the President." This lack of security by tenure means that the communities equally lack assurance that they will not be displaced from their heir historically owned land.

In one webinar that I followed online, one panellist rebuked the Communal Lands Act and explained how the legitimate law governing the state inspires or reinforces what I have framed here as rule by fear:

> It is [The Communal Lands Act of 1981] at the heart of the never-ending
> displacement of our people from their land each time the President wakes up
> on the wrong side of the bed or is misinformed and misled by those
> surrounding him.

While this research did not track or sought after those that have been displaced in Mutoko district due to black granite extraction, in Nyamutsahuni, village members who were interviewed know families that have been displaced or no longer dwell on their ancestral lands. The strikingly worrying pattern, which strikes fear in the villagers, is that the state has the power to do so and can remove people who would

be seen as being in the way of mining, to effectively pave way for it, both literally and figuratively. That this power is held by the government may only incite half the amount of fear in people, but that the displacement and accumulation by dispossession can occur without any compensation for land lost to mining (despite the act being clear on compensation), therefore making destitute, homeless, and landless families that had historically inherited land completes the legally embedded fear of loss.

5.1.4. Brief criticality and analysis of governance

In this section, I have attempted to capture how the people in Mutoko experience the governance of black granite as a resource. I looked at how they experience governance of black granite specifically and not how they experience governance in general because it fully captures the domain of that which is governed to shape experiences and resultant outcomes of life without committing to generality which would have led or caused deviation from the other objectives of this research. The selected themes that I have used here to describe the governance architecture that I discovered through this research shows and highlights the many problems of how the government is handling black granite in communities and the resultant interactions of my underlying theoretical concepts of the lifeworld and the system.

The most interesting issue about these findings is that they show a lot of internal conflict within the government and the governed in which a case it is synonymous with the system and the lifeworld, albeit that the government hereunder presented is merely a fraction of the system and not in its entirety, mindful that the mining companies make another key part of the system. On one side it is willing to change as shown by progressive laws such as the EMA act while at the same time unwilling to change as shown by the overall minerals governing law being tethered to the country's colonial past. This echoes the struggles of law against law. This also feeds into the second highlight issue of research interest, the potential to decentralize and better govern the resource as would be enabled if the local structures are effectively synergized, capacitated and utilized as complementary and harmonious without competing for control. This has the utmost potential to move from the phrased dishonesty and paper governance I have explained to a more inclusive model that may change how communities experience black granite extraction and the governance organizing it.

5.2. Socioeconomic and environmental effects of mining on communities

5.2.1. Broken bridges, damaged roads and cracked houses

"Roads are in bad shape; bridges are being destroyed."

Road networks are important for any developing or developed country for the very primary purpose that they connect people across different geographic regions, enabling social, economic and market exchanges. As such, it is hard to ignore their value or downplay it. The rural districts in Mutoko do not have tarred or hardened road surfaces. Prior to independence, the colonial government was known to have "roads that lead to nowhere", thus, road infrastructures were only developed to reach places where either agriculture or mining was occurring in order to transport raw materials outwards. Mutoko's road system was not as extensively developed since there was not as much extraction or large-scale agriculture in the district. In fact, the communal lands, or reserves of Mutoko were seen historically among some of the least productive due to the dominantly sand soils that had too little to offer in agriculture. With a highway passing through the growth point towards the border in Mozambique, the district has always been seen as a transition geography.

Smallholder horticulture, which bloomed in the area in the early 1990's as commercial production started falling significantly made Mutoko one of the leading smallholder farmers led producer regions for tomatoes in the country. The roads became necessary, and the gravel roads were made, with small and big bridges above streams to ensure that farmers would be able to transport their produce from their land to the growth point by the highway and from the growth point to the capital Harare where most of their produce is sold. It is important to note that more than half of the people interviewed for this research engage in market gardening. It is important to note that the roads of gravel are prone to easy damage by rainwater, by heavy truckloads or anything that loosens the soil. Graders irregularly and erratically improve the road surfaces as the resources of the district council permit.

Zimbabwean infrastructures have been deteriorating for a long time to the extent that in 2021 the government called the roads in the country a state of emergency. In mining communities as previously explained, the state of infrastructure is worse than in other communities where there is no mineral resources extraction of any sort. Thus, it is valid to state that extraction processes exacerbate deterioration of infrastructures in communities of mining, a case that the people in Mutoko District have confirmed as experiencing. Ten of the twenty primary interviewees that informed this research mentioned damaged bridges as one of the many problems that the people in the community started to encounter when black granite extraction started. Due to heavy truckloads constantly on the roads, many bridges in Mutoko's mining wards have been damaged and so have been the roads:

> So what happens is that when the black granite is being ferried, there is the usage of haulage trucks, big trucks, so one, there is the issue of the roads, because our roads were not meant to such heavy loads, because we are talking about around 30 tonnes of black granite for each and every truck that's moving, so this has worsened the situation of our roads and we have a situation, along the Nyadire road as you are going to Nyadire. The Nyadire bridge, it's supposed to sustain I think up to six tonnes of heavy load. But now there are trucks that are now exceeding that carrying capacity of the bridge and right now it has started to have some cracks on it. So that also shows how very devastating the transportation of black granite is especially when we are talking about the road system. So that is another disadvantage, that usually one, the companies do not really repair the roads, because when the trucks are moving, they really damage it and the companies do not go a step further to rehabilitate the roads.

The implications of broken bridges and damaged roads can be best understood in the context situated in livelihoods, where a good road is a difference between having a livelihood and having none. To be specific, the gravel roads in the district are crucial for transportation of smallholder farm produce to agricultural markets. Furthermore, a good gravel road and a bumpy one is the difference between profits and losses in the agricultural markets. This is the case because the open markets favour horticultural produce that is not bruised, or damaged and smallholder farmers have reported that they experience losses due to damages that occur to their produce during transportation because of damaged roads and bridges in the district. The tarred Mutoko highway is not immune to damages from black granite mining and transportation, a severely cracked tarmac is a common scene on the highway.

But it is not only in the context of livelihoods that the broken bridges and damaged roads are a cause for concern in the district. It is also in the context of life and death. In one of my text exchanges in follow ups with my key informants, one stated:

> Comrade, the roads and bridges in the district are extensively damaged our lives are in jeopardy. You cannot access health services that easily when you come from our rural areas of our rural district of Mutoko. In some of the wards you can actually count the number of cars of rich households that go to the centre [Mutoko Centre] and sometimes if you miss one you have missed them all. So, if you get sick, life becomes difficult, especially if you are not in good books with the councillor who sometimes asks the company to take you to Nyadire [Hospital] using their cars. With our strenuous hard work in these parts, when you finally admit to yourself that you are sick, the sickness would have taken a serious toll on you and you need the hospital like immediately. The same goes for malaria which is common here.

Another informant also stated something similar in relation to malaria and getting sick:

> They refused to construct a community hall for us, we do not have a clinic, we
> travel 25 kilometres to Nyamuzuwe Clinic. This is a hot place; we are prone
> to malaria. if you get sick, you walk to the clinic, you walk and rest and
> continue again until you arrive at the clinic. People actually die on their way
> to the clinic.

The problem of broken roads and bridges cannot be simply expressed and understood in the simple context of a literal broken bridge and a damaged road relative to themselves or to each other. Rather, it is best understood relative to what securities of livelihoods, of life, of health and access to markets and economic opportunities that the roads and bridges enable for the people. Roads are crucial to the daily dealings in the lifeworld, the state of which as seen through broken bridges and damaged roads limits the potential of these dealings and indulgences in the lifeworld. While the road is something that people would take for granted elsewhere where there are no problems associated with road networks; clearly the road, the bridge, and the connections they enable are not taken lightly by rural people in the district who experience black granite extraction. Another meaning and value attached to the roads is more symbolic, as one villager stated, that the state of roads and bridges in the village was a true reflection of the state and nature of their relationship with the government and the mining companies extracting black granite.

Black granite extraction in Mutoko district has been taking a serious toll on the built environment in the district.

> They damaged more than our fields, our houses in which we live, our toilets
> and buildings are severely cracked. You will not see anything else when you
> arrive at these homesteads except houses that are severely cracked.

The above quote was from a woman who was interviewed for this research. Reports of cracked houses and buildings in the villages are all too common due to black granite extraction which involves a lot of blasting. Vibrations and sounds of explosions are to be blamed for the cracking buildings. Those residing closest to blast zones, as close as five kilometres are most affected by it. As we move further away from blast zones, the cracks on houses and other buildings become lesser and lesser.

When I reviewed the documentary, which formed part of and provided secondary data for this research, I came across a case which highlights the sad realities of continued staying near the quarrying sites where blasting occurs in relation to the built infrastructure. One man, in approximately his forties said:

> I built my house and it cracked due to the blasting to the extent that it was
> inhabitable, I demolished it and rebuilt again, a smaller cottage. Now it has
> many cracks due to blasting. This is a drawback, instead of working on
> developing, I am losing and doing the same thing over and over.

The last statement that the man mentioned captures well the sad reality of circumstances and conditions of life because of black granite mining relative to the built infrastructure. Adding to the fact that these people do not have many livelihood options save for agriculture which black granite is competing with for space, the notion that one repeatedly does the same development repeatedly cannot be underestimated. This is the case because repeated developments or redevelopment leaves too little room, if any, for initiating new developments such as rural assets accumulation and intergenerational wealth building which another participant in the interviews cited as key, so that his children would not have to begin life from scratch, without any assets or wealth passed down to them as is customary in rural Zimbabwe.

Women, who are the caretakers of the household by constructed gender roles also endorse this challenge of people in communities having to invest in the same development repeatedly. One woman complained that when the mining companies blasted, the whole house would shake, that kitchenware and everything in the house shakes, while movable small things such as places and cups sometimes fall to the ground. This means that if a family is privileged to continue with market gardening to earn an income, a significant part of the proceeds goes to replace damaged houseware and repair property.

5.2.2. Dirty air and hazardous nature

"There is a lot of noise pollution, air pollution, rubbles and oils in our fields."
One of the most common features of extraction is the vast amounts of debris or tailings that it leaves in its wake, whose impact is closely comparable to holes left in the earth; from which an array of environmental problems and hazards emerge; apart from the debris and the holes in themselves being problems in their own right. Yet in the occurrence of blasting during black granite extraction, one of the most common-place effects is the air pollution with mining dust from the black granite itself. While there is no scientific proof to the claims by the women in Mutoko, one was cited as claiming that beyond the struggles for clean air, the mining dust causes infertility in women as well as cancer. This is a fear that was registered by more than one individual despite having no scientific backing. While there is no proof to it, the fear for health by people in Mutoko due to granite mining is legitimate. But the health fears and concerns due to black granite mining go beyond this problem of cancer and infertility. The common flu is triggered by dust. Beyond the dust from blasting, heavy truckloads transporting black granite on dusty gravel roads raise dust from the ground into the air, engulfing the environment in a brown fog. Although a fog from a single truck can clear under fifteen minutes, the constant passing of a fleet of trucks on a busy day makes the air near the roadside hard to breathe. Dust from both the granite dust and the gravel roads is also a cause for

concern with the livestock as it lands on fodder and leaves surfaces which are consumed by goats and cattle.

Beyond dirty air, the environment is also made hazardous for living by the blasting occurring in the area which sends granite debris flying for long distances depending on the magnitude of explosions:

> During blasting, stones would fall from the quarry mountains and could drop anywhere, they would hit a house and the companies would say you nothing. You cannot complain because they say if you notice that blasting is about to occur, do not travel or move around and if you do, it is a wrongdoing.

One key highlight to be noted here is that the lifeworld and daily life of the people in Mutoko has to be adjusted around black granite mining processes. Daily livelihood and economic activities that require mobility and presence in the outdoor environment (which are literally the norm for an agricultural community) are expected to come to a halt when blasting is occurring. The call to conform daily life around black granite extraction and its impacts on the environment go further and deeper into the communal and reserved land that is not under any individual's or household occupancy and has for long been used as common land. Growing up in rural Zimbabwe, young children play in the wild and in the open environment, on this common land. Young boys in particular are responsible for herding cattle and goats, the two main types of livestock that are the primary store of rural wealth. The pastures environment in the communal lands have been colonized by black granite mining and the safe outdoor environment that once was and the safe pastoral space that once turned boys into young men is no longer safe anymore or as viable for both as it previously was:

> Then we have incidences of the quarrying companies extracting the black granite but also not rehabilitating the land that they have been extracting from. So, at the end of the day, you have open pits that are left uncovered, that then endanger the livestock, that then endanger the wildlife, that even endanger children.

The interactions between the elderly, children, young people, and nature have also historically enabled exchange and transfer of custodianship or stewardship of the environment and its natural resources across generations. The indigenous knowledge systems on wild plants and herbs used as medicine are quickly eroded by the colonization of the lifeworld by granite mining, to which such plants are mere obstacles with no meaning. The advent of black granite It is safe to state that the local spaces are no longer provide security, are not any safer domains of rural wealth management, of youthful socialization and of the rural intergenerational inheritance for indigenous knowledge, culture, identity, beliefs, and practices relative to the vast natural resources found therein. Instead of being places of rural socioeconomic growth, local landscapes are now hazardous places where losses occur in many domains and aspects of socioeconomic life. Without rehabilitation

of land damaged by extraction, there are pits everywhere in the environment which are a serious health problem both physically and otherwise. One parent stated that when it rains children are at the risk of drowning when they go out to play and therefore their environment is no longer the safe space for growth and development that it once was. Another informant added:

> And also, we are coming from a rainy season, so when the water gathers in these unfilled pits, they then become a breeding ground for mosquito and thus, leads to the spread of malaria. So that is also another way of how the community is affected by the mining operations of granite mining.

5.2.3. Fields and streams of rubble - Livelihoods under jeopardy

"But even if it is state land, there are people with lives and livelihoods occupying that land who should be protected."

One of the most common sites that greets you in Ward 10 and Ward 5 in Mutoko is that of huge cubic boulders of rocks scattered in fields. Where these boulders are scattered in some fields, you begin to see small shrubs of approximately one meter or more in height as natural vegetation begins to recolonize fields that previously were cleared annually to produce staple crops such as maize and legumes such as beans and groundnuts before the borders of rocks were put there. In Nyamutsahuni, there is a striking view of what was once an agricultural field, which was graded and levelled as a collection ground for black granite by the mining company active in the area. Fields that used to produce food for the community no longer bring them the same value due to black granite extraction because of competing claims for limited land, which mining won and continues to win. This is not surprising if one recalls the words of the informant who stated that all mining activities supersede any other activity on land, which the findings on governance have articulated in full detail.

> The year that I decided to come to my rural homestead, I arrived [home] to a field filled with stones. When I asked the widowed wife of my late brother who was still living on the land whether they had been compensated for the damages on our land; she said that no compensation was issued. I used to grow maize here, I would get 20 bags or 15 bags from this soil. If you grew the soil well, it would give you good food if the rainy season was favourable. When we asked what we were going to get compensated for us to earn a living, I was given [$320] for my field.

The above submission shows the gravity of loss that people otherwise experience due to black granite mining in the district. Whilst the documentary with this quote was captured in the middle of 2020, the volatile Zimbabwean bond notes back then during the time of compensation may have been at par with the United States Dollar. But by simple calculations, the amount that was paid in question may have been equivalent or even less than what the farmer got from selling between fifteen and

twenty bags of maize which he would produce in one season. In other words, on average those who were compensated and lost their agricultural land were awarded what they would have possibly produced in one farming season from their land.

According to the villagers in Ward 10, the mining company that is currently extracting in their ward is not the first but followed up after another, taking over a claim. One woman described her ordeal stating that it was difficult and painful to see all the rocks scattered on here small field but being unable to take the rock and sell it because that would be a problem. She went on to explain:

> Meanwhile you have a small piece of land on which to farm, and it is all filled with stones, and the one who put them there, has gone away leaving them here. And there is no benefit in it for us. Now we have twenty years without farming fully on our land. Now we ask new companies that are now mining to remove the granite so that we can farm, and they refuse. And they can only take it and sell it, a payday for them.

The mining companies according to a key informant, leave in the fields blocks of granite that do not meet their desired quality as they continue to mine and pursue what he phrased "the black diamond" in reference to the extension of the Royal Danish Library, whose polished façade of black granite originates from the district and is referred to by the same moniker. The pursuit for the black diamond means that all granite of poor quality, once blasted and cut, will become a burden in the field until a market is found for the granite of such a lower quality. Meanwhile, the implication on the chief livelihood activity of the community, agriculture is limited and produces lesser yields and, in some instances, none for the villagers.

The agricultural fields are not the only place into which rejects, and tailings of black granite mining are dumped. The rivers and riverbanks are also dumping sites for these tailings. Whilst this contravenes EMA act, which enforces a law "requiring the preservation or protection of the beds, banks or course of a public stream or a source of water", the mining companies have not been brought to book yet on these and thus, they can easily get away with damaging the environment at the expense of communities and their livelihoods.

One of the simplest wishes of community members was that the mining companies would remove the granite blocks from the fields so that they would continue farming and at least regain their old livelihoods. The farmer notes that he has lived for years on his land without any benefits from it and that if the mining company and the government were sincere, they would assist with the simple things like removing the rocks that have been in the fields for years and drill boreholes so that the community members can access water for agriculture in order to be able to take care of their families. To understand why the community has this additional requirement of a borehole being drilled for them, we would have to go back to the river:

the local river system that is there, that was actually helping the people to carry out their horticultural activities, it has been disrupted due to the extraction of, or black granite quarrying that is happening in the ward. A case in point is the issue of the river called Nyahove, that is there in Ward 10. It used to sustain a lot of families because that's where most families would put in their pipes, for irrigation, to irrigate their small or horticultural gardens. But now with the advent of Chinese quarrying companies, it is the one now taking much of its water for their quarrying operations, meaning that the local surrounding communities who were relying on that river, they can no longer access enough water. And also, the companies even go to the extent of dumping some of its rubbles into that river channel, resulting in the water or the river being badly affected.

There is a sense of sad irony surrounding Nyahove river. The word *Nyahove* loosely translates to *(source) of fish*, making Nyahove the River that gives fish. Whilst this identity of the river emerged historically due to the value that the river brough to the people in the form of wild meat to supplement protein needs, it no longer provides any to the people. While it also served for decades as a source of water for agriculture and household uses; the communities no longer have that privilege because the dumping of tailings has significantly reduced the catchment and size of the river base. At the same time, that the mining companies also extract from the same river for their operations means the water available for market gardening for smallholder farmers has heavily depleted due to competition.

The rubbles in the fields and the rivers are just one part of the problems jeopardizing livelihoods in Mutoko, one woman additionally registered her worries about the fertility and safety of her soil. She complained that the mining companies do not only stop at disposing rubbles in their fields but also dump their waste oil in the fields which is diminishing the fertility of their soil when the rains fall and distribute it across the fields. Thus, it can be stated that the fields for food production are caught between rubbles or tailings on one side and oil or chemicals on the other; to the extent that the production system supporting subsistence and livelihoods in the rural is compromised by both physical and chemical limitations imposed by granite mining on the natural resource, land. Smallholder farmers grieve that they do not know what other impacts the oils have on their food.

Beyond the food from farming, for people in Mutoko, rivers are sources of fish, forests sources of berries, edible insects and fruits, the significance of which to food and nutrition security is appreciated when these nature-derived foods are removed from the rural food basket. Because of water pollution from the mining and loss of water for agriculture, the food sector is compromised for the people in Mutoko, from the production of the staple crops such as maize, fishing in the river, to the smallholder irrigation of horticultural crops such as tomatoes and vegetables, which also remains the default economic opportunity. The compromise to both the subsistence lifestyle and economic opportunities in smallholder agriculture is currently an ongoing process, deepening with each new year of extraction or the

two equivalent agricultural seasons that are fast becoming lesser and lesser productive.

5.2.4. Death to culture

"Due to mining, sacred places are not sacred anymore."

One of the often-overlooked issues is the transformation of the landscape by black granite mining and consequent erasures that are occurring in Mutoko. In my Zoom exchanges, an archaeologist with strong ties both personally and professionally said:

> Our old Southern African empires, our kingdoms, and our civilizations before us literally wrote our history on stones. And no place is rich in natural stone than Mashonaland East and Mutoko in particular. The government and the mining companies are in cohorts erasing our history through their granite mining activities. There was no consultation held with archaeologists or historians to mark sites with key historical monuments and rock paintings as condoned for mining the rock. So, the mining is not only taking the rock from Mutoko, it is also taking our people's history. Mining black granite is a threat to more than what the environment offers Mutoko people physically. There is an ongoing dismantling of ties of people to their past, their lineage and identity, national history, and heritage in general.

The loss of natural resources, the transformation of the environment in which the young in communities are socialized to grow and develop and the displacement of people due to black granite mining are some of the key issues that are causing communities to cut ties with their culture. Thus, black granite is causing communities, as the archaeologist would put it, to abandon their values, their cultures and even their history because they are simply in the way of mining.

I note from all the interviews I conducted a strong connection of people in Mutoko to their cultures, including values and identity. Yet, the struggle for life, to put food on the table and a decent living often cause culture and values including identity, to be pushed to the periphery of the lifeworld, though it remains a grave concern that the very physical, social, and natural bonds that connect people to these values, culture and identity are eroded by black granite mining. To contextualise this, I give reference to the forced movements and displacements of people from their communal lands where they have historical connections by and through cultures and their ceremonies. One key outstanding among these is that in communities in Mutoko, every traditional rural homestead is regarded as having an ancestral connection and the family graveyards, some of which predate colonialism are regarded as sacred, tying the past, present and future together. Yet, many households have been cut off from these sacred ties due to displacements making way for extraction of black granite.

In November 2016 when the mine came, they said they wanted to mine in our area and they said we were in the premise of their mining claim, they got the claim sold to them by Zimbabwe International Quarries (Pvt) Ltd. When they came, we told them that we had 4 graves in the area, one of a nine-year-old who died thirty-six years ago, my mother, who we buried 5 years ago. They came instructing us to move and that if we did not move, the government will come with excavators and remove us by force. The DA is the one who is said to have signed the agreement on our behalf, that is according to our chief, since our chief is the one who is responsible in this territory and for approving the exhumation of the deceased. The Chief was here overseeing the exhumation because he is the one who approves in his territory for people to exhume the buried. When we reburied, the company did not give us enough money for the process to the extent that even the blankets that were used were not standard for burial. When they exhumed the bodies, the head of one of the corpses dropped off because I do not think they knew exactly what they were doing, or they were doing it carelessly. They were just instructed to remove and did it without cultural procedure.

There are strong meanings attached to nature and elements in it, the environment, the mountains, the caves to name a few because the people are connected to them in many ways. Another shared the sentiments with this woman and stated that while the quarrying companies were mining, they came across in a cave, bones of a person, and clay pots, connoting spirituality connecting to it. They did not inform the villagers about it, in secret they desecrated the area, and that according to the man is a problem because it was not merely the bones that were removed and not only the physical realm that was desecrated but the spiritual realm as well. Burials sites, graves and caves are seen as part of an historical heritage and according to the villagers, it is being crushed, by these mining corporations, while the government is not coming in to assist local people or doing anything about it. One villager said while looking at a mountain being turned into cubes of rock ready for export:

This mountain is a sacred place, our ancestors and forefathers fought for our liberation in these mountains. Someone respectful would not bother to come and enter these sacred places without permission of our chiefs and traditional leadership. Under normal circumstances and following procedure, people wishing to explore our resources must come to us, tell us that they have been referred to us because we have a mineral. We then give them permission to enter into our mountains, after seeing the resources, they come back, we sit down and we discuss terms. We write down for each other terms, to say if they want to mine, these are the rules and when they mine, they will commit to do these things for the community. But that is not happening.

In the lifeworld of the people in Mutoko, there is evidently more value to the communal land that the communities call home, beyond the material benefits that are protracted and often regarded as central to life in the community by the government. Thus, the land is embedded with identity, social values and relations, history, tradition, and culture which cannot be but are still conventionally

overlooked by both the mining companies and the government in readjusting communities and the environment to suit the modern industrial mining complex. This thus is a cause for concern because it erodes securities of communities, in a lifeworld dominated by the privatization of resources through what Harvey (2003) terms accumulation by dispossession, a concern that the interviewees raised. As the last vice from below shows, communities are open to change but there are terms of change that they believe ought to be revered and honoured, especially in line with their culture.

5.3. The perpetuation of poverty and marginalisation

5.3.1. Questionable benefits from extraction

"Our meat, our vegetables, our daily bread is in black granite, but to get it, that is impossible."
Villagers in Mutoko district registered mixed feelings when asked for this research if they have benefitted from black granite extraction. Many felt as though they were obligated to register a certain benefit that they enjoyed as a result of black granite extraction. One villager mentioned that one of the benefits that extraction brought about to the community was that youth in the community in ward 5 have been employed by the mining companies, while those from ward 8 registered the construction of a building block for children's learning as the main benefit in ward 8 and a signpost made of black granite at Nyamakope bus station as another. Ilfford, the company which extracts black granite in Ward 7 is seen as doing better than most in terms of transferring benefits of extraction to communities, with one villager citing that the company built a community hall at the local business centre.

A sense of unequal exchange and a mismatch between what is extracted and what is transferred to communities as benefits is very clear and apparent when one listens to what the communities listed as benefits from black granite extraction. Some other benefits that were registered include assistance with funeral arrangements for the deceased and the donation of meat to villages during national commemoration days like the National Heroes Day and the national Independence Day. However, there are also heavy-handed registrations of disappointments by communities who mentioned that the community did not benefit much from extraction, with one member citing that there are a lot of unfinished projects since mining commenced and that they took key resources and replaced them with something that did not match what they took away. This was in reference to the water supply issue as one informant put it:

> The company installed a tank for us to collect drinking water from, but sometimes there is not enough water at the installation. Now we spend more time collecting water in the queues at the tank than we did when we fetched water from our river.

After realizing that there were hidden layers of issues surrounding what communities saw as benefits, I sought further clarity by asking some of the key informants about the matter to get a deeper understanding of the dynamics of benefits. One young female activist said:

> We cannot say benefits per se, but there have been means and ways to quieten the community, to say if you want to complain about anything, they will sometimes like at the moment, they said they will be providing us water, safe water to drink, so that when issues are raised that they are not supporting the community, they will say "uh, no, we gave the community a tank for fetching water or say we promised them water" but really that's not what we are looking forward to considering the amount of granite they have been getting from our community.

The submission above shows the gravity of and dynamics surrounding benefits of black granite extraction as a snare situation, where communities are caught in the snare of promises partly fulfilled and half-backed benefits buy their silence and discourages complaining as the first resort before threats. Communities expect that mining companies are supposed to help during times of hardship such as when a community member falls ill or dies, which is where the health and funeral assistance sentiments come from. The chief narrated an ordeal of a debacle he had with the quarry manager at one point:

> So, the father of a son working at the quarry dies, and the company asks why they would help because they do not know the father and they have never met him. I asked the quarry manager if he wanted all the men, fathers in the community to come to the quarry, so that he may know them. The people that we are dealing with have a different culture from ours, I think they act as though China is now in Zimbabwe.

The tone with which this was delivered registered a strong disappointment in the mining companies for not delivering what the chief felt was an entitlement for the community as part of the social exchange between the community and mining companies. Another villager described his living conditions and wealth status citing that if we were to visit his house, he does not have anything made from the rock, that when he has to buy a tombstone made of granite, he has to do so at a very expensive price. He went on to question what made him less special that he should not deserve a simple table in his house made of polished granite. In closing he then narrated that they once asked the quarrying companies to give them the rejected black granite as youth, some of which stands in their agricultural fields, so that they could polish and sell to earn a living, but that conversation did not bear any fruits. A community leader working in Wards 5 and 10 summed well the burden of benefits regarding employment in black granite extraction which inspires engaging otherwise outside of the extraction chain as workers for the mining companies, stating:

Alright, so the issue of benefiting, it is a very tricky question because there is meaningful benefiting and there is "unmeaningful" benefiting. So, I would give you an example, right now in Xua Wing we are saying that the local people, they can get employment at the quarrying company, at the quarrying site, and we are talking about at most fifty people being employed at this site. But the local people that are being employed, one, they are the least paid, because what they only offer is manual labor and you do understand that manual labor is the least, poorly paid, right? So, that's the only kind of benefit that the people do get, but outside that, there isn't really any other meaningful benefit that we can say that the community is getting.

The inquiry into the benefits of black granite mining left me puzzled and undecided as to whether I should conclude that the community is deriving benefits from black granite extraction or not. One thing is clear, that there is an embedded unequal exchange that is noticed anywhere else where mining capitalism is to be found operating. Communities benefit too little and when they complain, they are given an incentive project that does not fully address what they are complaining about for the sake of buying their silence. But despite all these, the final dominating view on the ground is that the benefits of black granite extraction go to the politicians and not the community, that the system benefits at the expense of the lifeworld.

5.3.2. Shouldering the burdens of extraction

"...government has not really intervened to assist the affected communities."

The bulky nature of black granite as a mineral requires economies of scale when extracting the hard rock and the distant capital with which it is associated causes it to be responsive to international markets, a truth that can be understood in both the context of mining capitalism and extractivism which enable the phenomenon that Hornborg (199) calls unequal ecological exchange. According to Kirsch (2006) who writes intensively on mining capitalism, the same economies of scale governing extraction discourage mining companies to rectify pressures they exert on the environment while maximizing gains in the international markets. The markets themselves without any environmental controls of their own means communities ought to count on the government for effective environmental controls and standards. This is the case since mining companies evidently lack the motivation to improve these standards, because standards come at a cost, taking from whatever profits the companies make for which the resolve of capitalism is always to reduce these costs by any means necessary.

Communities as a result come to shoulder the true burdens of extraction as this section has shown. The burdens cut across the social, economic, environmental, cultural domains in many ways that are so intertwined to the extent that it was difficult to cut some of these and describe them in detail without overlapping the description of one into another. The burdens of mineral resources extraction to a

great extent are as multiple as can be located in a lifeworld. There are subtleties so peculiar to black granite extraction in comparison to other resources such as artisanal, small-scale mining of for example gold and diamond which usher in people to the places of extraction in large numbers.

The machinery required to blast, cut, and transport black granite makes it unfit for the artisanal and therefore causes it to evade the problems such as violence, murders, widespread sexual abuse the spread of infectious sexually transmitted diseases that is often associated with the artisanal. But this does not fully exonerate the community from these burdens of mineral resources extraction, but they are experienced at a different scale that the smaller workforce of quarrying allows. As one informant mentions, "there is exploitation of both men and women, exploitation of workers, and abuse as well, abuses of women, sexual abuse, by the Chinese bosses of the mines." A key informant confirmed the allegations adding:

> That's usually what's happening, for example we have had a case where Chinese nationals that worked at the quarrying site, that are in top management, they have gone to the extent of harassing physically their employees at these quarrying sites and some of these issues have never really seen the light of day. So that has really shown how the government should have intervened in some of these issues.

The burdens of extraction and how mining governance deals with them determines the life outcomes of people affected by extraction. There are many burdens that the communities registered in this research, that have not been fit into the key findings above. Some of these were not researched in depth or no follow ups were done with key informants on these subjects. By extension, displacement is one of these burdens and this research did not track any displaced or inquired into the nature and state of the displacement, as to whether the displaced are internally displaced (still residing in the district) or they moved out of the district altogether, but the researchers passed by some of the abandoned houses of the displaced during the field data collection. One informant stated:

> We have also had situations whereby communities, whole households have been vacated, have actually been displaced from their place of living, place of farming, to give way to mining, and they have gone uncompensated government has not really intervened to assist the affected communities.

Protection of workers remains a concern in all extraction, including in black granite mining. There are reports that people died on the spot in Ward 7 due to mining accidents because they lacked proper safety wear. The research also uncovered loss of life after children fall into the unfilled pits of black granite extraction, adding to a list of problems that have not yet been investigated and addressed. The lower severity of cases such as this and the slow progress of burdens makes it easy to keep them under the radar, while causing the community to shoulder the burdens of extraction.

6. Analysis and discussion of findings

6.1. A discourse of conformities

One of the most haunting features in the case of Mutoko is the docility of people at the margins, their conformity to new and emerging conditions imposed on them due to extraction. The risks and harms of black granite extraction have become normative, to the extent that individuals and communities are now "used to" for example breathing dust, loss of livestock and losses in the environment including agricultural land. This normalization, naturalization, and conformity, lead to progressive and unchecked losses due to extraction that contradict the very promises of the neoliberal mineral market centred outcomes that the governments trust as the panacea to underdevelopment in communities that are natural-resource dependent such as Mutoko District.

What became clear in this inquiry is that the market or the companies cannot be left to regulate themselves as they extract because their expectations is that the communities, the lifeworld and all that it is anchored on ought to conform to mining and not the other way round nor meeting halfway as is seen in people having to relinquish farming or a portion of their farming land to suit the land needs and demands of mining. Thus, mining in the case of Mutoko District can be highlighted as transferring the costs of extraction to the socioecological bottom line since the ultimate default of the market and the corporation is to maximise profit from resource rents (Kirsch 2014).

The burdens of natural resources extraction associated with black granite mining in Mutoko that enables or causes the lifeworlds to conform are linked directly to the slow paces at which a lot of hazards or their impacts progress. Despite being ensnared in ongoing hazards and disasters in the environmental and social scenes that shape the daily life of the people in the district, the slow pace at which these disaster progresses makes for slow or no reaction at all from government and from mining companies since there often is rarely any public outcry or social alarms such as those occurring when there are oil spills (Egbon & Mgbame 2020) or when aquatic poisoning occurs due to for example chemicals used in artisanal gold mining (Macheka et al. 2020) or when many miners get trapped underground (Mabhena 2012;).

The slow progress of the hazard is but one cause to a discourse of conformities, but there are many more. In the case of Mutoko, the lifeworld and the communities conform primarily because the powers that control extraction command it. The extent to which society does or does not conform to the harms brought to it by resource exploitation is relatively proportional to availability of and within the civic spaces freedoms to protest, contest and resist the system whereafter no harm comes

upon those who participate. Unfortunately as seen in the opening of this thesis, such space has significantly shrunk and the mining sector as many other sources have shown, is one within which the securocratic state seeks to go unopposed and uncontested; which it achieves with force where and when it sees necessity (Muchadenyika 2015). The lifeworld conforms not mainly because it wants to, but because as seen in this research, people are systematically rendered powerless to resist and retain the integrity of their lifeworld when it is colonized (Jütten 2011).

The use of force or the promise to use it by the military is reflective of the other side of the lifeworld, resistance. Communities such as Mutoko district continue to seek and identify ways to resist the ongoing unequal exchanges in the granite mining sector where they continue to be short-changed, by and through for example civil society and social movements, which Bebbington et al. (2008) intensively documented. Just as Bebbington et al. (2008) documented, I note that the reasons for resistance are more important than the resistance itself. As such, in the context of extraction, when communities oppose what are often touted as developmental efforts or national progress, a governance system desirous to achieve equity-centred developmental visions needs to listen first before unleashing threats of or violence against any resistance. In many cases, most resistance which conformity fails to contain is rooted in reasons such as the need to retain livelihoods, which in similar fashion is seen as resistance to dispossession by accumulation (Auty 1993; Bebbington et al. 2008; Kirsch 2014).

This section has shown that communities dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods and to subsist are highly vulnerable to the environmental impacts of mining; in this case the depletion in value and natural worth derived or converted from the resources and competing uses for these resources. Cunningly, the lifeworld of people in mining communities, the values they hold and the systems that support their life are regarded as lacking any compatibility with the modern industrial extraction and exploitation of minerals such as black granite. The biggest burden to the lifeworld in this case is that modern industrial extraction is least or never-conforming, leaving the communities having to conform to whatever conditions and circumstances the industrial mining causes to be imposed on people living in mine-side communities.

6.2. Mining capitalism filling in for fractured governance

If we were to look at black granite or any extraction for that matter as an affair of the resource curse (Auty 1993) or ecologically unequal exchange (Hornborg 1998, 2020); both are conditioned or enabled by the way the mineral resource in question is governed or the state of governance. Due to centralized government structures in Zimbabwe, one of the common-place features of mineral resources governance seen in black granite extraction in Mutoko is that mining companies assume

responsibilities of government because of the central enmeshment theme that has become too big to ignore in this thesis. Thus, because mining companies and government have become enmeshed, with government officials as stakeholders or with state holding equity in the mining ventures; the companies adopt or are justifiably so expected to adopt an array of government responsibilities such as building roads, schools, health facilities among other basic infrastructural amenities that are needed to support a fundamental rural life system.

Welker (2009) highlights that the state's shortcomings cause communities to either resist or call the companies to be accountable for the responsibilities of the state. This is something that is as loud in the communities of Mutoko district as the government can allow; and though their alarms of concern are permitted by and under dictates of the corporate-government complex that is seen as controlling the resource and in the view of others, the corporate-mafia-like politicians. Whatever the system be, the unequal distribution of power within it, the disarray, and undefined boundaries of where jurisdiction of agents that make up the system as to where their power begins and ends is always to the benefit of capitalism, mindful that capitalism enjoys chaos.

Like many countries in Africa where the economic mainstay is predominantly agricultural and a proportionate occupation of an average 75% of the population in Zimbabwe, where-under little to no taxes are paid by the said population, mining and minerals become the default sector of economic rents from which revenue is raised and collected (Kirsch 2014; Nyandoro & Hatti 2019). This could be the justification by the state for retaining the Mines and Minerals Act seeing as it is that the mining sector becomes the default sector from which revenue to run the state is obtained. That justification could also be its own weakness as an argument because for a state with limited avenues from which to collect taxes, little is done to ensure that the state is not as short-changed in the markets as the local communities are short-changed by the extraction, its governance and spill-overs into non-mining sectors that animate their lifeworlds.

6.3. Experiencing black granite mining as embedded with the state at the margins

Appel (2014) produces the allegory of the white elephants, in which the state is seen as a proverbial rider depending on and sitting on the back of an elephant to run the country and sustain itself. True to this allegory, the elephant needs to feed from the feeding troughs made for it, in which case it perfectly presents the system that Habermas refers to. Just as the appetite of the elephant is placed either directly as a burden on nature or the environment, the state acts similarly through taxing citizens, taxes which the majority are unable to remit. As in the instance where the hunger of the elephant cannot be satiated by what can be obtained from feeding troughs, it

is transferred to grazing from the natural environment with devastating consequences. In the same fashion, whereas the taxation base is limited, the need for revenues is transferred to the mineral resources rent, synonymous with the open nature, the access to which more than often sees causes communities to be seen as obstacles in the way. This explains and justifies the view of the state and some of their actions such as the displacement of villagers who are either in the proverbial way of the trough or sitting right on it.

While in Appel's allegory, the mining companies are the elephants, in the Zimbabwean case it would seem true and valid but with different modifications. The state or powerful players in the state who control the law are also shareholders in the mines with economic interests to meet. The enmeshment of state and mining corporations makes for a conditional modification to the allegory that the state is both elephant and rider, sometimes both at the same time; or a self-riding elephant with unlimited corporate and government power with which it dictates without room for negotiation and acts without restriction to access and feed from a finite natural environment, whose exhaustion would cause the need to revert to what was previously trumped, agriculture and land.

There is a thin and possibly no clear line between experiencing governance, experiencing the state from below and experiencing the corporate mining regimes. Like the companies, the government has historically denied the problems of black granite mining, driven by a neoliberal capitalist mantra of "open for business", flaunting a powerful narrative of the benefits of extraction, downplaying its costs, and pledging to follow existing laws governing extraction. This, coupled with the partial abdication of regulation to the companies and to the market, the costs of extraction are thus transferred to communities and their living environment with limited checks or accountability; in the process reproducing a status quo lifeworld for people in Mutoko, life as usual, on the peripheries of both social and economic growth, incapable of or powerless to challenge the life conditions enabling these lifeworlds.

The alignment of state and companies is more visible in many tactics and actions in the context of governing extraction. One key example is the so-called 'corporate social technologies' (CST), which corporations use to handle relations with societies of extraction. According to Rogers (2012) and Kirsch (2014), some examples of corporate social technological applications and deployments include manipulating science and research, dividing critics and social movements, delaying the acknowledgment of substantial problems (the first and significant step in addressing them), denying those for which there is no public, physical evidence or outright concealment of evidence. In Zimbabwe and in Mutoko, the people do not trust the government because it downplays, hides, and denies the problems associated with black granite mining. These are usual tactics of the corporations using CSTs and their use by the state in place of protecting its people reifies first the enmeshment of government and corporation, second the abdication of

regulation in this case equitable regulation which ensures that the community is as much or more a priority than the market and lastly, the abdication of state duties and responsibilities to the citizens. The far-reaching consequences of the government benefitting from black granite are best understood in line with what duties and responsibilities it would partly or fully abdicate when its interests in mineral resources extraction is primarily the resource rents that the market allows and would require an independent section for analysis, which this thesis cannot afford.

One of the burdens of the natural resources curse is that the impacts of mining on communities, while continuously downplayed, are regarded as microeconomic, despite the impacts being macro on social and environmental frontiers and macro in general for the community. These frontiers, the social and environmental in which the lifeworld outplays itself, are side-lined and all key elements of daily, social life that exist in the environment including culture, beliefs, values, and identity appear as though they are without meaning in the sight of the economically lucrative mining; to which governance often conforms at massive socio-environmental detriments. What enables and conditions this beyond the dubious abdication and the enmeshment of the corporate and state as one is that both remain significantly foreign to the lifeworld and assert themselves as a system whose colonization fails to gather positive reception.

Companies and the government do not only appear but act external and foreign to the social context of extraction of black granite in Mutoko because they are to the greatest extent describable exogenous. Their exogeneity affords them autonomy, a cushion, and shields them from the dangers or realities situated in the lifeworld and life experiences shaped by their impositions on communities. While this may sound like a contradiction on the notion that the state is decentralized by and through officials at different hierarchical level of governance some of whom reside in the communities of extraction; their lifeworlds (the officials) differ significantly from those of villagers (at the margins) who are without any positions of influence or political power, no matter how small, to command benefits from the exploitation of the mineral. Ironic as it may sound, the state-corporation complex is incapable of experiencing itself and this makes for a difficult position regarding willingness to improve the lives of those that experience the complex.

Both the government and the mining company hold power and control over the resource and any aspect relating to it enables them to or causes the entire lifeworld on the ground to be malleable and conforming to imposed rules, norms, laws, and transferred burdens of extraction without resistance; especially connecting to the powerful governance architecture, powered by a highly feared military force, which was revealed in the key findings through this research as shrinking the space, both physical and social, available to communities to ask that the resource be governed otherwise.

6.4. The grand elude of mining benefits

The breakthroughs of the 21st century afford the mining industries to invest massive capital in the form of technologies for extraction, to the extent that the available employment opportunities exist on two extreme ends of labour demands. On one side, technologies demand skilled labour to operate mining equipment and manage the enterprise, while on the other side manual labour demands. In-between these two exist a very limited labour market which technological advances allow. Between the lack of necessary technical skills or qualifications required for the former and the low wages that match unskilled labour in the latter, the ability of black granite mining to attract workers from the communities is limited and comes with limitations to local economic opportunities.

The interviews conducted for this research came across a former mining worker and a wife to a former mining worker, both of whom attested that the manual laborious jobs in the quarries under which they were employed offered little to no benefits at all, which were also the reasons for quitting. Mining, which is often unpredictably injurious to the manual labourer, requires that workers ideally possess some health or accidental insurance, both of which the mining companies do not supply. Beyond these direct benefits, other issues of unequal exchange are already visible in the mining being a male-employing industry which spotlights the elude of mining benefits by gender although that was not a focus of the inquiry.

There exists a strong consensus on economic development for which the need for a mining industry is justified and defended citing primarily creation of wealth and secondarily the creation of jobs. Upon these grounds, the potential of the industry to alleviate poverty sounds like an anthem that has been sung for too long too loud despite the dependency frontier of extractivism scholarship providing irrefutable economic evidence of the natural resources curse (Auty, 1993). But the promises of wealth creation in mining remain as elusive because of unequal exchange, and the labour politics in the mining sector, upon which the employment pledge is premised seem to fall short of the strongly touted mining potential. This is due to the nature and form of labour that the mining work available for rural communities such as Mutoko; predominantly unskilled, expendable, manual labour, which the mining companies often cause to work without sufficient protection from injurious or lethal mining hazards. Authors on the anthropology of mining have documented well across Africa and the global south that those who work the hardest (mine workers) remain the most eluded by the potential and promises of modernity that come with the mining economies and distributed elsewhere outside the geographies of mining in the global space.

The biggest limitations and burdens in the environment and natural resources access that are crucial to support the rural life system come with attempts at modernity. On one side, companies take away from communities the capacity to use natural water sources for their livelihoods and on the other give them alternative

water sources; whose limitations also become naturalized. An example of this is seen in how the mining companies promise and provide clean water to communities which has been reported as insufficient with communities having to spend more time lining up for their turn to fetch water from the tapped tank, which defies the benefits of modernity since collecting from the river was still preferred. In presenting the key findings of this thesis, I have shown how the lack of water jeopardises livelihoods and a fitting allegory for this is of a man who comes to a village to give it a sealed bag of rice that will be exhausted in a week while taking from the villager a field of rice on which he can grow it and feed his family for his lifetime.

The elude of mining benefits for communities are written on paper in both the laws that govern extraction, and the way governance actually occurs and is experienced by those living in the rural communities. Apart from the outdated laws, those that could potentially favour and enable communities to either benefit or at least be protected from impacts of extraction remain in the state that I have phrased as paper governance. To that end, benefits of extraction or the mere protection of people from the impacts of mining continue to elude the communities in Mutoko district and remain on paper. The grand elude is as outlined here, a direct result of paper governance which is not directly applied in practice or not executed as instructed on paper.

Like in any other part of the world where mining occurs, the promise to distribute economic benefits to rural communities is the main gateway to attract buy-in of communities to the transformation that it brings. With the enmeshment of the mining body corporate and the government through its officials and public investment explained earlier, that people in Mutoko district expect the companies to upgrade their living standards through mining-anchored, new economic opportunities, upgrades to health, education and rural infrastructures is justified. Unfortunately, like in many places around the world, the commonplace failure to achieve these outlooks and expectations for development and modernity is a feature all too common in Mutoko district, which in retrospect is becoming more backwards than progressive if the experiences of people in the communities are to be appreciated, especially in the loss of their inherent rural wealth such as livestock and agricultural capital.

6.5. Self-deterministic values in a lifeworld at the socioeconomic margins.

Despite mining being a window into modernity and opportunities for economic growth, which the people of Mutoko are fully aware of, these opportunities remain elusive and out of their reach. One of their least expectations was that the mines

should employ the youth. An informant in the documentary complained that while 2020 was locally a drought year with little water for gardening, mining companies were downsizing, reducing extraction, bought, and reserved multiple mining claims. This blocked other companies from coming to mine as one mining company could have as many as up to ten mining claims while operating just one or two. It is important to note here that the promises for jobs that come with extraction become easily broken by simply the way they are spread over time.

Though eluded by the benefits of mining, the informants have high self-determined expectations from black granite. A smallholder farmer also interviewed said that if value addition were to happen in the communities instead of selling the raw material, the industry of granite would then produce the localized opportunities for economic growth which would usher in modernity. The informants referred to stone sculpting, polishing and value addition to produce tiles and house furniture as potential avenues they would explore given the opportunity. This shows that communities are not oblivious to the economic benefits that granite can otherwise afford them towards local economic growth that upgrade their standards of living. The burden accordingly is that they lack power to determine their life outcomes relative to black granite extraction because of asymmetric power matrices associated with its governance that push them to the socioeconomic peripheral.

Communities connect challenges of black granite to primarily its governance and believe that constitutionalism remains key. The youth leaders in the community believe that the constitution must be respected, realigned all other laws and acts, to ensure that mining does not precede over livelihood activities such as agriculture everything. The consensus by many who mentioned the Mines and Minerals Act was that it must be repealed to usher in a new law for governing extraction better. Then probably, there is a need to enforce this whole beneficiation idea in the local wards, so that the communities that are there can benefit meaningfully by processing whatever granite that is being extracted from there so that it gets sold as the finished product. That will also help in creating more jobs.

> Here is the key question that you people do not bother to ask communities whether you are doing it for the sake of research or for the news people documenting these challenges: What exactly do we as communities want out of black granite mining? We want ownership and by ownership I mean claims for black granite should belong to the local people. We should be able to determine and decide who can and who cannot mine our rock. The problem is that the government being as much self-centred as it is centred [in] Harare, it does not care what happens to us yet it continues to take and take and take through these companies. If we owned claims, we would be able to determine who extracts, how much they extract, and instead of exporting raw materials, we would build our own industry here locally producing tiles, sculptures, plates, and all manner of things. As much as we are capable of creating this industry, we are also capable at community level to govern it, which leads me

to number two, we are actually more capable of governing this rock better than the centralised government because we know what is at stake in our community and what needs to change and given the power to do so, I mean power of control over the rock, we have the chance to turn the rock into libraries for our communities, infrastructure for the district, the plate on the table and food on the table for our people. These people talk about achieving SDG this SDG that, it's all [nonsense] because they are contradicting the SDGs with the way they are mining our rock. So, self-government at ward level, administrated by the MRDC is the only way out for our people.

The informants stated that they wanted a local industry from black granite. The consultant stated that he has with other youth written proposals on industrializing black granite in Mutoko but was not surprised that nothing changed because the "top brass are the shareholders in Xua Wing and all these abusive exploitative Chinese companies that are mining our rock." Informants are aware that it is not easy for government to relinquish their power over the rock and transfer it for governance locally at district and wards level, stating that:

the least the government can do is source a sensible investor who respects the environment and the people, who also sees and seizes the opportunity to invest in a booming local industry where for every end product we ask ourselves is that the best product that our rock would have been turned to before it leaves Mutoko.

The district has a strong youth-centred outlook of the black granite industry, that if youth are given access, they will operate better because of their outlook into the future. One civic leader stated that youth should be able to make meaningful decisions on the future of their mineral wealth, be actively engaged in the creation of mineral economic zones, as shareholders creating processes for plugging illicit financial outflows, corruption and environmental damage while adapting the Africa Mining Vision.

This research actively sought out whether there was a good relationship between government, mining companies and the community to which the answer was a strong NO. This question was important for three reasons, first the nature of relationships in any society and outside relative to governance determines local socioeconomic outcomes; and second followed by a why opens to lamentations good or bad about the relationship which makes for a strong summary of the conditions or reasons of the relationship status and thirdly they highlight the potential to achieve the above determinations or aspirations. These three can help generalize the distance from the socioeconomic peripheral that a community can be located. The civic leader interviewed interviews in this research gives a model answer on relationships to prove my argument:

Community wise, we can't really say that there is good relations [with mining companies] because from the onset, I mean when these guys started or commenced their operations, one, there wasn't really like a proper EIA

(Environmental Impact Assessment Process) that was carried out and in as far as them assisting communities through corporate social responsibility, there isn't really much noticeable development coming from them. And there is a lot obviously environmental degradation that is going unrehabilitated in that same ward. So, to then say that there are good relations between the community and the mining company, that would be a lie.

The woman whose family member's graves were excavated also shed light on the issue and strengthens my argument:

The high offices are not protecting us, they leave us vulnerable to these people. When they come, they come with a stubborn attitude, saying that we are coming from the government, you cannot restrict us in our work. Sometimes you see them coming to our community with excavators to excavate in our fields at one point we had to fight and resist them. If you go to the mining companies to complain or when they come to threaten us, they show us a picture of the Chinese ambassador and the president saying, "See, we have a good relationship with the president." So if the government is instructing them to come to us, they should follow up to ensure that the people in the community are protected because this place is under the government as communal land and we do not have documented tenure to enable us to stand our ground that it is ours, so they can do what they want saying that this is state land. But even if it is state land, there are people with lives and livelihoods occupying that land who should be protected.

The local chief also commented on the relationship stating firstly that he did not know how the mining companies and government officials got along with the people in the villages where extraction occurred. He was disappointed that the first time mining companies approached him, they had already finalized paperwork for extraction with the Ministry of Mines in the capital, had previously visited the area without his knowledge to survey and confirm their claims. Disappointed by subversion of his authority was only half of it as the other was with the failure to supply clean drinking water which they had agreed on in their meeting with the mining companies. The chief recalls having to threaten the company to down its tools until it delivered water, a reflection of the 'bittersweet' relationship between the corporate (including top government) and the local.

Beyond the sour relationships between the communities and government-corporate complex, between the central and local government, there is also a rising bitterness between communities and civil society organizations that have intervened in the problems as one interviewee stated that they used to tell ZELA [Zimbabwe Environmental Law Association], yet they had not seen the entity in a long time. With the communities believing that civil society is profiting from their problems because representatives ask them for information, then leave, return after some time, and do the same indicating that they are paid to collect that information, although no solution has come out of it.

In an ideal world situation, there is the possibility that civil society, communities, and social movements would contest the harms, taking government, market, and corporation to account to rectify the problems, effects and unwanted costs of extraction and achieve hopes and aspirations outlined here. Yet, as was introduced in the beginning of this research, the ability to exercise any form of contestation in the very simple sense of people asking for their rights is not easy in Mutoko and is a risky attempt that the shrunk civic space due to legitimized violence or threats by the system does not permit. Where there are good relationships between the state and the governed, civil society or communities are heard or at least listened to. Yet when the relationship of the state with the governed is as a body corporate interested primarily in profit, there are poor if not bad relationships between the two.

While Kirsch (2014) documents that in other parts of the world corporations have been pressured to adapt and improve by and through criticism emerging from the civil space, in Mutoko it is near-impossible because, as one interviewee noted, the government always takes the side of the companies. And justifiably so, this research discovered, there are blur lines between the state, the business sector at large and the companies. Such is the case because the government officials are invested in the business of extraction, and what is good for the company is good for them and in unison they make up the system (Habermas 2015). As a result, the profit is a default interest, for which officials and the state seemingly abdicate responsibility to improve the lives of people in communities of extraction.

While the subsistent lives of rural communities remain anchored on the production of livestock and the stapple crop; supported market gardening and horticulture activities, the lifeworlds of many in the district are caused to regress when the support systems are compromised by environmental damage that mining comes with and the governance that ignores them. Despite the promise that new opportunities will emerge, jobs created, and the promises of economic transformation, to one much less dependent on subsistence agriculture, within modern(-ised) domains of production; the contrary becomes normative with whole communities eluded by the much theorised and imagined desires for modern society. Strikingly, modernity or the breed of it that dominates the promises is itself not emergent from within the lifeworld, but outside it.

Colonization of the lifeworld is not merely through acts and practices but through ideas, ideologies and narratives that enable or pave the way for actionable practices. The connection of rural communities and their natural environment appears simple and is often taken for granted by those outside the lifeworlds. Yet, the consequences of losing that connection or any stress to it has dire consequences that are equally taken for granted because they are not in any way classifiable as a high risk or a hazard that needs immediate attention. For one, the natural environment is a source of traditional, indigenous wild foods, insects and mushrooms that are key and crucial to rural subsistence diets and practices.

7. Conclusion

The exploitation of natural resources for any form of economic benefits often have competing claims to other natural resources; mining often competes with agriculture for land; agriculture competes with itself (smallholder agriculture versus corporate monocultures) to name a few in which cases one form of exploitation limits the capacity of and viability of another. Smallholder agriculture, which is of a predominantly subsistence nature rarely if at all ever withstands and remains viable when competing with mining for land resources. In this sense, the extraction of black granite has had significant consequences on livelihoods of rural communities which are anchored on land and other natural resources such as forests and the veld. But as this research has shown, the active pursuit to understand the impacts of mining on living conditions in communities of extraction cannot be simply streamlined to livelihoods or selectively to elements within communities which often leave deficits in exploring interlinking and related outcomes that often end up being peripheralized, the same way geographies of extraction are peripheralized. I suppose an account such as this would be impossible without applying all-encompassing concepts and theories as located in the lifeworld and systems.

The lifeworld gives a window into the circumstances of life, the daily struggles, visions, desires, and aspirations of people affected by different phenomena. I have in this research juxtaposed the lifeworld versus the governance of black granite and of the people, through which the evolving and ongoing circumstances of extraction across the social, economic and the environmental domains can be understood without having to necessarily sacrifice analytical focus of one domain for another. I have also shown that the lifeworld at the margins is rich in knowledge, information and understanding more than is often given credit for. Proof of this can be located in the colonization of the lifeworld, which in many instances achieves dominance by and through 'new' knowledge, information and understanding; often eroding meanings to phenomena, values, beliefs, the environment, and the social arena and therefore consequently the lifeworld itself. The disregard of elements that inform or enable the lifeworld changes it, to the extent that it becomes difficult for people to define and redefine what their lives mean for example as shown by the participant who supposed that the exhaustion of all black granite, which enabled colonization of their lifeworld, would perhaps lead to him finding meaning in life and existence again.

I can also note in this conclusion, that when forces exerting on the lifeworld, by and from the system cause it to change in ways that make it or parts of it unrecognizable, a strong desire emerges to return to a place of familiarity, where those experiencing the lifeworld were able to interpret meanings and make sense of

their lives, to a point before this colonization of the lifeworld. Whilst this may be on the borderline of philosophy, which Habermas also intended as a domain of application for his theory, within the context of black granite mining; the erosion of livelihoods and systems that support life at the promises of modernity, of jobs and economic growth which remains elusive for the people in Mutoko District have caused communities to despise changes in their environment and circumstances under which they are currently experiencing life to the extent that a life before black granite extraction makes more sense. Thus, they grow fond and give preference to past life experiences and circumstances, during a time before black granite extraction started. While to them this may be a place of simplicity, it is rudimentary in the eyes of those colonizing the geography of extraction and seeking to change it both intentionally and unintentionally through whatever burdens in the social and economic environment mining will bring.

In the discourse of conformities, I have shown how the power of communicative action by the system causes the lifeworld to conform after having been rendered powerless to resist. This powerlessness and normalization of that which the powers that be has caused the lifeworld to conform to is a powerful tool that creates new norms, be they beneficial or to the detriment of society or the lifeworld.

Through the appreciation of the lifeworld and paying attention to the marginalized, whose environment is endowed with natural resources and in my inquiry black granite, it is possible to see the impacts of extraction through the eyes of those affected by it. I suppose if the lifeworlds of those at the peripherals were prioritized by listening to voices from below, it is possible to rethink and retool the architecture of extraction and the laws, ideals and leadership practices currently govern it. Tools of governance responsive and respecting the lifeworld have therefore the potential to break practices in extractivism that produce and perpetuate the current circumstances of life at the socioeconomic margins for those in mine-side communities in Mutoko District. Marginalizing regimes of governance, as shown through this research, are best understood by those experiencing them, to the extent that governance and policy reforms that Zimbabwe may need for the mining sector, reside in communities experiencing extraction and not necessarily experts or those with the power to govern.

This research guided by the above, has also discovered that there exists thus, a strong divide between the colonizer and the colonized within the lifeworld, the former in this case seeking to exploit the natural resource for the economic gains that it offers, and the latter seeking or simply desirous of a life without the burdens of extraction if there are no matching benefits from the extraction. The inequalities and the unequal exchange of extraction are clearly visible through this lens; to the extent that solutions to the dilemma may not reside in either the former (colonizer - system) or the latter (the colonized – lifeworld), but in both. Put simply, mining and extraction of resources such as black granite should not only conform to the

needs and demands of the market, but to the lifeworlds that extraction colonizes and conditions, both negative and positive that it exerts. I suppose then, it would be possible to achieve some of the key aspirations set out in the Africa Mining Vision, localized in Zimbabwe as it strives towards a twelve-billion-dollar mining industry by 2023 and doing so equitably.

7.1. Afterword

In anthropology, true expert knowledge does not reside in the anthropologist but in the people and geography that the anthropologist studies. What we present as new expert opinion or new knowledge in a thesis like this one is merely our interpretation of an expert people through our own constructed ideas of expertise. This research has shown me that communities are experts at their conditions, their experiences, and their lifeworld. In the same manner, they are experts of their desires and aspirations to the extent that we do not necessarily have to formulate what we think are the best recommendations to improve local conditions and lives we study, we merely must listen and communicate what we see and hear. In doing this research, I have reached at the reflection that just as expertise resides in the local, we must simply be able to locate and communicate it to avoid making our own bodies of research in themselves tools that can colonize the lifeworld. People and their environments are the best and living embodiments of their lifeworlds, they embody current, ongoing, and evolving meanings. Just as the meanings of the present reside in them, the future that should be also resides in them, and our duty is researchers is best left to interpretation and communication which serves the function of aiding to improve the conditions not through our expert capacity, but through the capacity residing in those experiencing the lifeworld every day.

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Acknowledgements

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

My name is Saymore Ngonidzashe Kativu, a researcher with the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences reading towards a Master of Rural Development and Natural Resources Management. With the field assistance of Emmanuel Manyati, I am carrying out a study aimed at understanding how people in Mutoko experience granite mining and how in turn it affects different aspects of their lives. Providing any information is voluntary and your response will be treated in utmost confidence and not shared outside of research. The recommendations emanating from this investigation will be used to highlight the problems and opportunities of granite mining as it is experienced on the ground in academic and policy discourses towards addressing the problems that are being faced. If you agree please sign below.

Section A: Socio demographic characteristics

1. What is your: Year of birth [_____].   Sex: Female [_] Male [_]   Family Size [__].
2. What highest level of education did you attain?
   None [_]   Primary [_]   Secondary [_] Tertiary [_]   Other: [_____
3. What are your livelihoods?
   [_____]

Basic knowledge on granite mining

4. Which mining company extracts granite from your ward
   [_____]
5. Do you have a good relationship with the company? Yes [_] No [_]
6. What relationship does your ward/community have with the company?
   [_____]
7. Do you benefit directly or indirectly from black granite extraction? Yes [_] No [_]
   If YES, how, if NO, why not? _____
   _____
   _____]
8. How far away from the granite mines do you stay (estimate)? [_____km]
9. Are you affected by the transportation of black granite? Yes [_] No [_]. If yes, how
   [_____]

In-depth Questions on Granite Mining

10. How have you experienced granite mining?

As an individual:

[_____

_____]

As a family?

[_____

_____]

As a community?

[_____

_____]

11. What benefits have you gained from granite mining in your ward?

_____

_____]

12. What challenges do you face due to granite mining in your ward?

_____

_____]

Governance and granite mining

13. Does the government have a good relationship with the community on granite mining? Yes [_]   No [_]

Please explain why.

[_____

_____]

14. Does the government have measures in place to protect you from the negative impacts of granite mining? Yes [_]   No [_]

15. If no, can you mention a case where you felt the government had to protect you and they did not?

_____
_____
_____]

16. If yes, can you mention a case where you felt the government sufficiently protected you?

_____
_____
_____]

17. What measures are there from the government (local and national) to ensure your community benefits from black granite? None [_]   Other   [_]   *Explain below*

_____

_____]

18. What do you think should be done for your ward to benefit from granite mining?

_____

_____]

19. If you have an issue related to black granite mining who would you go to?
[_____]

Please explain why.

_____
_____]

20. Any additional comments:

[_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix 2: List of interviewees

NO:	Interviewee Identifiers	Sex	Date Interviewed	Ward
1**	Former Mine Worker (KI)	Male	28/03/2021	8
2	Community Activist	Female	23/02/2021	2
3**	Former Mine Worker	Male	22/03/2021	5
4	Young Community Member	Female	23/02/2021	10
5**	Community Activist	Female	24/02/2021	8
6**	Community Member	Female	23/02/2021	8
7*	Community Activist	Female	27/03/2021	7
8**	Former Mine Worker	Male	15/02/2021	5
9*	Young Farmer	Female	09/03/2021	7
10*	Community Member	Female	09/03/2021	10
11	Community elder	Male	27/03/2021	2
12**	Community Monitor for ZELA	Male	25/03/2021	2
13*	Former Mine Worker	Male	23/03/2021	10
14*	Community Political Leader	Female	29/03/2021	8
15	Activist/Feminist/Entrepreneur	Female	25/03/2021	10
16**	Political Activist	Female	25/03/2021	5
17*	Community Youth Leader (KI)	Male	25/03/2021	10
18**	Smallholder Farmer (KI)	Female	09/03/2021	7
19	Archaeologist (KI)	Male	31/03/2021	11
20	Environmental Educator/Consultant (KI)	Male	29/03/2021	5
21	Civil Educator (KI)	Male	29/03/2021	8

*Actively engaged in subsistence agriculture as a key livelihood.

**Engaged in seasonal, subsistence farming plus small-scale horticulture[13]

   (KI) – Key Informant participated in follow up, in-depth interviews.

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[13] Seasonal subsistence farming is rainfed and small-scale horticulture occurs on a smaller scale relying on reserved waters in rivers and wells.