



## Artisanal Gold Mining in Zimbabwe: Prospects and Challenges for the Low Income Groups in the Chegutu Mining District

Chrispen Tauya Chawatama<sup>1</sup> and Akeem Adewale Oyelana<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Development Studies, University of Fort Hare, P.B. X1314, Alice 5700, South Africa*

<sup>2</sup>*Department of Public Administration, University of Fort Hare, P.B. X1314, Alice 5700, South Africa*

*E-mail: tcchawatama@gmail.com and 201100592@ufh.ac.za*

**KEYWORDS** Gold Mining. Formalisation. Poverty Economies

**ABSTRACT** The colonial policies and regulations have continued to shape the substructure of the mining industry, which saw an inclination of the state towards large and medium-scale mining where foreign ownership is dominant at the expense of the majority blacks in the artisanal mining sector. This paper focused on evaluating the challenges and prospects of artisanal gold mining in the Chegutu mining district, Zimbabwe. Despite the growing erudition of the economic crises as well as the livelihood struggles and politicized agricultural reforms and forced displacements by the state in Zimbabwe, little attention has been paid so far to the challenges and prospects of artisanal mining. In spite of the growing significance of artisanal gold mining as a source of livelihood and employment for low-income groups, the government has failed to take broad-based measures to support artisanal gold mining and this has cast the future of low-income artisanal gold miners into a quandary. Since the recentralization of artisanal and small-scale mining governance in 2006, the government policy towards artisanal miners has been in reactive mode where state sponsored violence and arbitrary arrests are the order of the day. Therefore, this study contributes to the debates on the effects of the recent recentralization of artisanal mining governance, formalization of the sector as well as its challenges and prospects. This study employed a qualitative method as a foundation for the collection and analysis of data. 60 artisanal mining community members and 15 government officials were sampled in the Chegutu mining district. Six mining sites were visited. The study established that there are high prospects for the low-income groups in terms of employment creation, economies and networks of affinity and income multiplier effect in the sector. This is despite the formidable challenges faced by the artisanal miners such as the government's contradictory position, lack of a formal policy and assistance, as well as marginalization and harassments by law enforcement agencies and abuse of women. Amongst the key recommendations made; all key stakeholders should work together to ensure that there is formalisation and investment in the sector.

### INTRODUCTION

Artisanal gold mining is a term which entails an economic undertaking that incorporates informal, small and medium, registered and unregistered miners who employ elementary means and procedures to exploit gold deposits (Mawowa 2013). Artisanal gold mining was chosen for this study because it represents a significant part of the Zimbabwe's informal economy where most indigenous blacks are depending on for their survival. There is rising global awareness about the significant as well extension of artisanal mining and it is increasingly receiving public, private as well as political attention (Ledwaba 2017). The increased incidences of poverty and lack of employment opportunities have seen artisanal gold mining growing in importance, in developing countries. This economic activity has become the main livelihood source in most de-

veloping countries where there are narrow economic opportunities. Arthur et al. (2016) noted that artisanal gold mining is mainly practised in developing countries in Central and South America, Africa and Oceania. According to Perks (2013:1), there are nearly hundred million people (artisanal miners and their families) worldwide, who depend on this economic sector as compared to around seven million people who depend on industrial mining. Despite the un-mechanised and informal nature of artisanal mining, which influences its low productivity, this economic sector represents a significant income source for the poor. The differences that exist between artisanal mining activities and the mining localities are enormous across the continent depending on the context; the mineral exploited and people involved (Fisher 2007). Conflicts usually arise over the access and use of land where the local tribal people have traditional

rights to the land. Murombo (2010: 572) noted that, it is inevitable that the rights of the politically disempowered and impoverished local mining communities face formidable challenges in Zimbabwe.

The manner in which these artisanal mining activities are associated with illegality, population mobility, exploitation and poverty has made it a quite difficult terrain for any legislative, policy as well as practical initiatives (Bryceson et al. 2014). Artisanal miners in most developing countries are marginalised and in the majority of cases artisanal miners, communities, large-scale mining companies and the government contest fiercely over mining interests. According Makhetha (2016) in most African countries, the political and economic elite usually have a negative bias against artisanal miners and in most cases; policies enacted by the government do not address effectively the problems of this sector. In most countries in the Southern African Development Community region, artisanal mining is poorly regulated and commonly not taxed (Kabemba 2014). The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), which are the country-flagship of developmental blueprints, harbours the most critical omission of the sector in Africa. Policy documents whose agenda are immensely disconnected from the ground realities have spawned inadequate and deficient support to the sector in most Sub-Saharan African countries (Hilson and McQuilken 2014). Despite the active involvement of women in ASM, there is scanty information regarding the role of women in this sector and programs that seek to improve this sector have targeted more men than women. This paper explores the opportunities and challenges that exist for the low-income groups in artisanal gold mining activities in the Chegutu mining district.

The study makes a contribution to the current debates on how to maximise the prospects and mitigate the challenges in the sector. Artisanal mining has a potential to propel the development of communities in the rural areas and to successfully aid sustainable national development. "However, despite this recognised potential, artisanal mining activities remain largely informal, with many attempts at formalisation or regulation being sub-optimal" (Debrah et al. 2014:1). Most of the artisanal miners operate

outside the law in most developing countries due to a litany of laws and regulations that they need to comply with for them to be registered. In Latin America, the political and economic elite usually have a negative bias against artisanal miners and in most cases; policies enacted by the government do not address effectively the problems of this sector (Deonandan and Dougherty 2016).

Although the African Mining Vision has underscored the importance of artisanal mining in sustaining livelihoods and rural development, the sector continues to face a horde of challenges (Bryceson et al. 2014). This paper analyses whether the regulation of the sector would maximise the opportunities and mitigate the challenges faced by the low-income groups in the sector. The analysis adds to Spiegel's (2015) work, which analysed the shift from the formalization policies in the 1990's to the recentralization of power beginning in 2006 in the country's artisanal gold mining sector, by analysing the implications of the current artisanal mining regime.

### Problem Statement

The mining legislation of the colonial era was not changed to mirror transition to a post-independence discourse and to afford the indigenous Zimbabweans (entrepreneurs) an opportunity to participate in the mining industry. In reality empowerment and restructuring processes in the mining sector have mainly been dominated by the bigger mining houses, resultantly domestic participation patterns in the artisanal and small scale mining sector have not significantly changed since independence, through the 1990's to date- or not at least through any transparently, publicly-acknowledged means. Besada (2011) argued that the SAPS of the 1990's as well as the partisan militarization of state institutions in the post 2000 period, eviscerated the state capacity, and made the formulation and implementation of policy vehemently partisan, elitist, unpredictable, reactive and more ad hoc. The study questions whether the regulation of the sector would mitigate its hazardous environmental impact. Some pertinent issues that include lack of clear categorization of the different levels and types of artisanal and small scale mining benchmarks for social, environmental reg-

ulations and the absence of a common definition for the sector's hamstrings the institution of structures and regulations.

Mawowa (2013: 924) emphasised that "the state appears to have been turned into a vehicle for private accumulation in the mining sector, behaving like Reno's 'shadow state', both enforcing and refraining from enforcing legal provisions to regulate accumulation for the benefit of members of the ruling elite, or those connected to them".

This analysis underlines how the state's coercive control tactics, which are devoid of measures to ensure compliance facilitation, have spawned a vicious cycle and exacerbated social, economic as well environmental problems in artisanal mining communities, therefore ironically legitimating new coercive tactics to control the sector.

#### Objectives of the Study

- ♦ to identify the challenges and prospects of artisanal miners with regards to the improvement of their livelihoods.
- ♦ to evaluate the effect of the regulatory framework governing the mining sector on artisanal mining

#### Research Questions

- ♦ What are the challenges and prospects of artisanal mining?
- ♦ What is the effect of the regulatory framework governing the mining sector on artisanal mining?

#### Literature Review

##### *Artisanal Gold Mining in Zimbabwe*

Spiegel (2009: 56) noted that, ASM sector has for a long time been a significant sector in the economy and contentious in terms of policy crafting in Zimbabwe. Mining in Zimbabwe has been recognised for long as a significant component of national development. The Zimbabwean legal and policy frameworks do not offer a specific definition of the practise, but the policy practice rather suggests a loose interpretation. "In 2002, the government used output criteria to

define 'small ASM' gold producers, limiting them to those producing 'less than 15 kilograms of gold per year' (Mawowa 2013: 922). In Zimbabwe, the definition of artisanal mining incorporates both legitimate and illegitimate, semi-mechanised miners who vary in terms of capitalisation, output and employment. In practise there are two distinguishable categories of artisanal mining, namely, registered miners and unregistered or illegal miners known locally as *makorokoza* (which means panners) and the practice is known as *chikorokoza* (Ncube-Phiri et al. 2011: 1). *Chikorokoza* involves full-time and nomadic miners who work in abandoned mines, auriferous reefs and dumps as well as subsistence farmers in rural areas who engage in artisanal mining during off seasons. There are strong linkages between *chikorokoza* and registered small-scale miners with the later purchasing gold from the former.

In Zimbabwe, artisanal mining provides a livelihood source directly to more than 500 000 people and more than 2 million people indirectly depend on the economic activity (Spiegel 2009: 3). There is common belief that these figures substantially increased in the period 2005 to 2008 when livelihood options for both rural and urban population were further limited because of the deepening political and economic crisis in the country. Mabhena (2012) noted how artisanal mining has become a complimentary to land reform, as the newly resettled farmers seek to engage in off-farm activities especially in drought times, which has become more frequent in the country. In spite of the growing scholarship on livelihood struggles and economic crisis as well as the politicised and chaotic land reform, the attention paid to artisanal miners as well as the role of local and national government institutions, which have a responsibility to manage the sector, has been limited. This article seeks to address that research gap by analysing the challenges and prospects for the low-income groups in the sector.

It is worthy to note that since the early 1990s until the early 2000s, the government legalized and supported the artisanal mining sector. The central government legitimatised riverbed panning and put in place systems whereby the Ministry of Mines district offices and local govern-

ments were given the mandate to coordinate training centres for mining which served also as centres for marketing gold for panners and monitor field operation (Statutory Instrument 275, 1991). The Statutory Instrument created a framework in which the Rural District Councils (RDC) would issue licenses for river gold panning independently of the Ministry of Mines. This way of supporting panners was understood widely as the best method of curbing gold smuggling as well as enhancing the regulation and subsequent reduction of environmental risks. Statutory Instrument 275 of 1991 allowed permits to be issued out directly to cooperatives and individuals as long as the gold panners were the district residents of 18 years and above of age. Some licences to pan gold were also issued by the Ministry of Mines under Section 274 of the Mines and Minerals Act of 1996, which led to overlapping and confusion between the local and central government licences (Spiegel 2015: 546). The ‘Harare Guidelines on Small-Scale Mining’ that were promulgated in 1993 provided new poverty oriented commitments that focused on providing development assistance to artisanal and small scale mining and it was since hailed as a model for other African countries. Throughout the 1990s, policy frameworks that the Ministry of Mines promoted were emphasizing the need to recognize and promote artisanal and small-scale mining as a poverty-alleviation activity. The case of Zimbabwe shows that attempts to “decentralize” the ASM sector during the 1990s and in the beginning of the 2000s did not reach their maximum potential chiefly due to intricate political factors the inability to develop the capacity of the RDCs, lacking sufficient resources (human and financial) and a totally autonomous power. There is need for further research to understand the modalities of interpretation of “formalization” policies in the various regions in Zimbabwe and by the different miners.

However, the relationship between the two sectors turned adversarial in the late-2006. The government made riverbed panning illegal in 2006 and repealed the law (Statutory Instrument 275 of 1991) that permitted Rural District Councils to issue out permits for mining activities of that nature (Spiegel 2009: 41). During the 2006-2007 period, when the government was firefighting a deepening economic crisis, it insisted that (in

line with the Gold Trade Act Chapter 21: 03) all the gold from artisanal and small miners be sold to the Reserve Bank at deflated prices, about 1/13<sup>th</sup> of the international market prices (Spiegel 2015: 549). In 2007, the Zimbabwe Republic Police working in cahoots with the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe launched a violent crackdown against artisanal miners, panners and gold traders in an operation called by the local nomenclature, ‘*Operation Chikorokoza Chapera*’ (Terminating illegal mining). This initiative, which was police-led, destroyed many communities and adversely affected the livelihoods of most artisanal gold miners in the country. There was significant decline in the national gold output in this period and “this decline itself is indicative that the *Operation Chikorokoza Chapera* was a drastic failure—if the policy intent was to increase official gold collections by the government” (Spiegel 2015: 551). Since then the government policy towards artisanal miners has been in reactive mode where state sponsored violence is the order of the day. This paper underlines how the private accumulation of wealth by the economic elite and influential politicians has left artisanal mining in a dire and unorganized state in Zimbabwe. Spiegel (2009:41) noted that:

*‘In the public media, Zimbabwe’s mining sector governance has thus become increasingly characterized as part of a “brutal regime” of “pillage and patronage”, with injustices abounding when it comes to controlling resources’.*

This analysis underscores that these repressive measures highlighted significant unfolding political developments with important roles carried out by prominent government figures. The following section discussed the research methodology adopted for this analysis.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative case study research design to obtain the results. A qualitative approach enabled the researchers to understand and describe experiences of individuals. The Chegutu district was chosen for this study because it is one of the areas with the greatest concentrations of artisanal gold mining activities in the country. Geographically, Chegutu forms part of what is commonly referred to as

the Midlands Greenstone, which is a part of the Great Dyke that stretches from Shurugwi to Chegutu. The Great Dyke is rich in minerals such as gold, platinum, chromium, silver, nickel amongst others. The study targeted about 1,500 artisanal gold miners (both registered and un-registered), local vendors, buyers and mill owners as well as local councillors, municipal managers and officials from the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development. A sample of 75 participants was sample. These included 60 mining community members of which 40 were artisanal gold miners (26 males and 14 female artisanal miners), 10 were vendors, 8 were buyers, 2 were mill owners and 15 were government officials (5 counselors, 5 local municipal managers and 5 officials from the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development. Since the study was qualitative, the exact size of the sample was determined by 'meaning saturation'. The researchers used snowball sampling technique in selecting participants (artisanal mining community members) for the focus group discussions. Snowball sampling was used in the context of this study because artisanal mining activities are sparsely and remotely located; some as far as 33 kilometers from the main town of Chegutu (Nhambura 2015: 6). Six artisanal mining sites were visited. Purposive sampling method was used to reach government officials and local municipal authorities. This method of sampling ensured that government officials were equally represented in the sample. In-depth personal interviews were utilized to elicit information from government officials. The researchers conducted the interviews through face-to-face talk with the participants. An interview schedule was used to guide the in-depth interviews. Six focus groups; four of artisanal miners, one of vendors and one of buyers and mill owners were utilized to elicit information from artisanal mining community participants. The guide list of topics facilitated a smooth natural progression from one topic to another. The discussions were arranged around theme sets that were phrased loosely as questions. Shona language was used because it is the dominant language in the Chegutu district. In-depth interviews and focus groups allowed the researchers to probe for detailed information pertaining to the opportunities and challenges of artisanal gold mining to the low-in-

come groups. Qualitative data was transcribed and analysed thematically by identifying meaning patterns across the data set that provided answers to the research questions.

Archival data collection method was also used in order to fully understand the prospects and challenges that exist for the poor in artisanal gold mining activities. Data was collected from different secondary sources and databases, which includes mining bulletins, reports from the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development and relevant government departments. To establish trustworthiness, data analysis was conducted in an exhaustive and consistent manner through recording, systematization and disclosure of analysis methods. Cohesion and consistency was promoted by applying and making explicit the epistemological position that coherently underpinned the study's empirical claim.

## RESULTS

### Employment Opportunity

Unemployment is rife in Zimbabwe and a significant number of people are turning to artisanal mining to survive. In the wake of a deteriorating formal sector, ostensibly artisanal gold mining is proving to be one of the viable providers of employment in Zimbabwe. Generally, all the government officials interviewed were of the view that although artisanal gold mining was providing employment opportunities, the government outlawed unlicensed operations.

One government official said:

*'Yes the informal sector is replacing the formal sector as a provider of employment and artisanal gold mining is one of those economic activities providing employment to people but as the government we are saying they should be licenced to operate'*

Although there are economic opportunities for people in the Chegutu district, majority of the operators are unable to benefit fully from the opportunities due to the fact that they operate illegally. Artisanal gold mining is critically significant for the local communities since it provides temporary as well as full-time work (gold extraction, gold selling and vending), despite its negative environmental and health implications. Since artisanal gold miners use simple equip-



ment and tools, which does not need specialised skills the entry cost to the sector is relatively low. One adult artisanal miner said,

*'This industry is good for us because there are prospects of making more money and it requires lesser entry capital or education'.*

Thus, the sector provides the poor with easily accessible employment opportunities in the midst of an economic blitz that has resulted in an acute contraction of the job market. Most of the focus groups participants 48/60 (80%) revealed that they are not employed officially by a mining company or any other organisation but rather they are self-employed in the sector using their own tools and resources. The economic activity brings great fortunes to the lucky few ones and somewhat stable incomes to a number of people but though at the high cost of environmental degradation. The focus groups participants said that self-employment in artisanal mining-related economic activities was good for them since they were not taxed and directly benefited from their operations. A minority twenty percent (20%) (12/60) said that other artisanal miners who had grown rich and accumulated more capital in the mining-value chain employed them. Of the 12 participants who were working for others, 8 were artisanal miners (*makorokozza*) and 4 were vendors. These artisanal miners lamented that they faced serious economic hardships since their pay depends on the value of gold they dig up. During the "unlucky months", when the miners cannot find the gold, there is no pay for them.

However, it is quite difficult to determine the average incomes for the artisanal mining-linked economic activities due to too many uncertainties in the sector. The wages somewhat varied over time, across space and the different work roles they played in the gold mining value chain. However, the amounts given by participants provide a fairly good approximation. The majority of the participants revealed that the incomes are substantially higher than the income they could get from smallholder farming or other informal jobs. 50 percent of the focus group participants (12 male and 7 female artisanal miners, 5 vendors, 4 buyers, and 2 mill owners) revealed that they managed to get monthly incomes of between US\$250-400 from activities linked to artisanal gold mining activities. However, the participants

said that although the income is scanty, it is better than to sit at home and join the bulging unemployed band in the district. A minority of the focus groups participants (6/60), 10 percent (2 male adult artisanal miners and 4 buyers) said that they were able to get at least US\$500 on a good month although they would go without anything during some 'unlucky months' in which money would be difficult to come by due to scarcity of gold. Good months usually come three to four months in a year. However, alongside profits lurk numerous risks and challenges. The money that the artisanal miners can make is highly dependent on the quantity and quality of gold extracted; the gold prices at that particular point in time as well the absence of criminal activity or police raids. Sometimes the gold robbers (the *magombiros*) visit the sites and rob the artisanal miners their gold or the profit from the gold sales.

The study established that although there are other survival options such as agriculture and part-time manual jobs in town, they are not reliable and offer insufficient income as compared to artisanal mining-related activities. Communal agriculture, which used to be the traditional livelihood source in Chegutu district, is now neglected due to successive droughts.

### **The Multiplier Effect**

It was also established that apart from being an essential income source for the miners; this economic activity has a 'multiplier effect' in the Chegutu district and neighbouring rural economies as evinced by somewhat promising businesses in shopping centres in the rurality and town of Chegutu and by the procurement of private assets such as houses in the mining communities. A youthful female vendor said,

*'Yes it is helping us to sustain our lives and those of our families because apart from doing these artisanal mining activities we also sell drinks, food and many other things to miners and get money'.*

Artisanal gold mining is an indispensable economic activity for the poorest of the poor since it leads to employment creation- both directly and indirectly in the mining area and the rest of the district. Small businesses like vending and catering are attracted to the mining sites.

The income from artisanal gold mining activities also helps other neighbouring communities since the artisanal miners buy food and other necessities from them. The owners of mills also get income from artisanal miners who require their ore to be grinded. Some success stories were reported although they were few. Four focus group participants; two buyers, one artisanal miner and one owner of a grinding mill had managed to buy houses in town and good second hand cars. On average, these four reported that they managed to get US\$600 to 1000 in net earnings monthly. There are a number of *makorokoza* who had accumulated capital and managed to move up the mining value chain to become very influential buyers (*maboss*). The *makorokoza* turned *maboss* becomes good customers to the other *makorokoza* who want to sell their gold and also to the vendors. These influential buyers in some instances become “sponsors” in which they finance *makorokoza* to go underground to dig up *motoro* (soil residue with gold deposits) for them. The more capital invested in terms of labour and equipment to excavate the more the returns.

### Economies and Networks of Affinity

A strong perception about gold is shared amongst miners in the Chegutu district, who mutually holds that “gold last forever”. This mirrors the “value chain” of the informal gold mining activities where even a one gold bucket can bring income and sustain livelihoods of numerous people from those working underground to the buyers, vendors and the end users; the process is cyclical. As one focus group participant said:

*‘The makorokoza bring the rocks containing gold (motoro) to the grinders and the payment is the soil residues’.*

The owner of the grinders grinds and processes the *motoro* and leaves the soil residues for others. The study established that the *motoro* can even be recycled for 2 to 3 years and still the processors can get some gold from them. Thus for the Chegutu people, gold is said to last forever. In spite of the substandard shelters (temporary shelters made of wooden poles and grass) and informal settlements without decent water and sanitation facilities, majority of the respon-

dents agreed that they make some profit from the mining activities. Of all the six sites, which were visited, 5 of them had very high population densities and respondents alluded that crime was rife in these sites because they have the richest gold deposits in the area.

### Elite Accumulation and the Political Economy of the Sector

The ruling and economic elite are using the state as a vehicle to accumulate private capital and seemingly there is no political will to institute regulations in the ASM sector. Far from being the poor people’s survival strategy only, the sector reflects shady networks of the elites’ mineral wealth accumulation.

One official from Ministry of Mines and Mining Development said

*“The government is failing to regulate the sector because they are reports of several political and economic elites; including law enforcement agencies who are secretly involved in the artisanal mining activities and therefore they do not have appetite to introduce regulations to the sector.”*

The analysis underscores how state power has been used in a myriad of idiosyncratic and complex ways for private accumulation. The situation of Zimbabwe’s artisanal mining sector invokes theories of state failure and resource politics, which have habitually been embraced, to give explanations for the disorder and conflict in contexts where state institutions seems to have lost credence over mineral resources governance (Reno 1999). The state’s institutional materiality or its institutional and social material framework, does not subsist in a vacuum. In this analysis, in order to have an understanding of post-colonial state in Zimbabwe in context of the mining sector, it is fundamental to examine how the transactions between state institutions and social groups are conducted and how these change the character of public institutions. It was established that well connected elites (government officials, army, Central Intelligence Organisation and Zimbabwe Republic Police agencies) place their agencies in mining cites and therefore indirectly control the gold production processes. Casting artisanal gold mining as a poor people’s survival strategy is not ideal in

the context of Zimbabwe, as government officials, law enforcement agencies and the economic elites have built networks and patronage systems in the sector for private accumulation. This analysis underlines that apart from being the low-income groups' survival strategy, economic and political elites has played a key role in the sector.

There has been a failure to establish effective transparent and accountability mechanisms and regulatory frameworks due to the disempowerment of key stakeholders such as the public, civic, organizations, the media and legislative bodies. State power, which has been channelled through '*Operation Chikorokoza Chapera*' has spawned anarchy, private accumulation and the politics of resource control within the sector. Paradoxically, the political economy of artisanal gold mining in Zimbabwe represents the anatomy of patronage and criminalization.

### Gender Roles and Responsibilities

Gender specific roles as well as responsibilities in the artisanal mining communities are nonetheless clearly reflected by the designated masculinity nature of the economic activity.

One adult female vendor said,

*"We have less chances of working directly in the mines and we cannot take up other activities that other women in the working class communities can take up, such as communal agriculture"*

Since women are usually involved in vending, processing of minerals and indirect partnerships with their male counterparts rather than digging, they are not categorized as 'miners'. Women are mostly involved in complimentary tasks such as supplying of tools and equipment, food, drinks as well as the marketing and trade of gold whilst digging for the precious stone is a preserve for their male counterparts. The sector remains an unversed territory for most women and their lack of experience springs from their long exclusion history from the sector and con-man capitalize on this naivety. A considerable number of women working in these mining communities struggle to distinguish between ordinary rocks and gold bearing rocks. Their male counterparts who are cognizant of the women's inexperience in the sector hoodwink them into

believing that the mined rocks do not contain gold deposits. However, the 'waste rock' is 'nicodemously' traded. This relatively explain most women's failure to make momentous inroads in the sector. It is also noteworthy that structural or cultural factors result in women suffering unfair treatment in the sector. Empowerment measures, which were implemented under the auspices of the Economic Empowerment and Indigenization Act beginning in 2008, have not addressed the main challenges of the sector and therefore patriarchy and women exclusion has remained entrenched.

### Risk Underground Work

The artisanal miners lack geological expertise and an understanding of the mineral ore-bodies. They use primitive tools and methods and have little or no knowledge at all of the principles and methodologies of the extraction industry hence they run their operations on 'Gambler Mentality' which put their lives at high risk. Use of rudimentary tools and methods makes the artisanal miners to be at a constant risk of shaft collapses, rock falls and waterborne diseases. The miners go as deep as 40 metres into mining wells that are not supported and without safety measures. This is because the miners do not receive any support and they are left with no choice but to use the rudimentary tools and methods. According to Buxton (2013: 6), artisanal mining is a livelihood itself, which also exposes its operators to vulnerability. One government official also stressed that;

*"These things are risk sometimes we receive messages that some people have been trapped in a mine and government assistance will be requested to excavate the bodies".*

Six people were reported to have died in 2016 due to a mineshaft collapse. There is high uncertainty and instability in the sector due to use of rudimentary mining methods and tools. However, although some of the *makorokoza* wear protective gear such as helmets, safety shoes, gloves and overalls, sometimes they neglect these safety measures to avoid easy identification by the law enforcement agencies. Artisanal gold miners excavate narrow tunnels so that they can navigate underground, some of them even crawl on their knees or stomachs for several



metres and they get injuries and bruises. The operators complained that there is barely enough oxygen in these channels and hence they risk suffocating. In order to supply oxygen, the *makorokoza* sent one of the operators to dig while others remain on the surface pumping air into the tunnel using a plastic bag and a pipe. Although the *makorokoza* believe that this area is richly endowed with gold deposits, they recognise the lurk of danger in their daily operations. The study established that concerns about underground safety lie somewhere between belief, myth, pragmatism and reality; in general terms between the profane and the sacred. While some mining companies left prop up pillars in tunnels they constructed, some *makorokoza* just dig and collect *motoro* in these tunnels without fixing and maintenance of the pillars which hold back loose soils and rocks, hence danger is always a constant threat. The study found out that there is little or no order at all in some sites between the teams who work underground and some operators dig in place that directly endanger others, in their pursuance of gold belts. If an accident occurs underground, the *makorokoza* down their tools and the operatives come to together to bring those injured or dead to the surface. After tragic accidents, no one is permitted to continue with mining activities on the site until cleansing rituals are carried out by some spirit mediums called *n'anga* or *masvikiro* in the local Shona vernacular. These rituals are driven by the underlying common beliefs that the ancestral spirits (*vadzimu*), owns the mineral resources.

### Poverty Trap

Due to the rudimentary nature of the equipment and methods and poor expertise, sometimes the operators dig for weeks or even months without coming across with the gold. One male artisanal miner respondent said;

*'We do not have machines to do gold exploration, we use wire to detect the location of the gold deposits but this method is not always accurate hence sometimes some of us can dig for months without finding gold or even ends up dumping the site for a better one'*

The miners persist to carry out the mining activities in spite of the fact that sometimes they go for long periods without finding the gold due

to the unavailability of survival options. Lack of technology in artisanal gold mining in the Chegutu mining district is partly due to lack of research and funding. Lack of proper equipment, capital and the necessary infrastructure handicaps the people in the Chegutu district from educating their children successfully, building upon their productive assets and develop themselves. In more broad terms, significant number artisanal miners often lack basic economic and social infrastructure that is needed to break out of the abject poverty cycle. Poor information, inappropriate technologies, low asset base and lack of environmental awareness submerges artisanal miners in a poverty trap. There is too much uncertainty in these economic activities in the district, which immerses some miners in an economic poverty trap. Uncertainty is brought about by knowledge deficiency in terms of the potential of the mineral resource, the real economic value of gold, cash flows, market availability, capacity and skills. Artisanal gold miners do not receive financial assistance from financial institutions in the country.

### Abuse and Crime Against Women

The women's livelihoods struggle brought them to the mining sites and the peripheral areas as vendors of vegetables, fruits, water and so on. Women in the sector's workforce requires attention due to the fact that their narratives help in understanding women's work as well as gender relations in artisanal gold mining. Some of the women provide food and catering services. Some women vendors reported that sometimes they are conned of their wares. The study established that only few of the women are claim owners, have powers to make decisions and control the value chain of the mining activities. This situation is not sustainable since women are in most cases known to be key role players in poverty reduction at the level of the household and the community. Rape, violence and other related crimes against women in the artisanal mining sector also happen sometimes. It was reported that sometimes criminal gangs visits the mining sites and in most of the cases, it is women who are targeted. Due to this reason, some of the women enter into 'convenience relationships' with men for security and protec-

tion. The study established that sometimes women would be enticed by the criminals on a work pretext and once isolated they get raped. Most focus groups participants registered their displeasure with the spreading of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) in the Chegutu district. There is a well-established sexual economy as gold miners spend highly on prostitution. This exposes vulnerable young girls and women to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. Vulnerability is aggravated by the absence of sound medical facilities in the mining areas. The absence of a proper legal framework and order in the mining region makes women and girls more vulnerable to abuse. The participants also revealed that they are harassed, arrested and forced to pay bribes by the police so that they will be freed. Although all the artisanal miners in the Chegutu mining district suffer arrests by the police, it is women who are usually found in worse situations due to their family care roles and more often than not they are railroaded to settle for 'lighter' charges outside the national laws. This scenario is perpetuated by stereotypes and structural inequalities, which discriminate women especially the popularly held misconception that mining is a 'men activity'.

### **The Conundrum of the Relationship between the Government and Artisanal Gold Miners**

The analysis underscores that the government's position on artisanal gold mining is contradictory and inconsistent.

One government official said,

*"We want them to pan and sell their minerals to Fidelity Printers and not sell clandestinely to unscrupulous buyers from outside the country. We want them organised and they will be supported by government."*

The move made by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) to decriminalise the possession of gold by artisanal miners and sell it legitimately to Fidelity Printers (A government gold buying agent) is a piecemeal endeavour to resolve the issue rather than dealing with it holistically. For the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe to legalise possession of gold by artisanal miners is a direct contradiction of the government's position which outlawed the process of acquiring the gold itself by artisanal miners. This highlights the policy discord that is in the government. This discordance stems from the lack of proper

legislation on artisanal mining. The RBZ policy that legitimatises gold possession by artisanal miners lacks backing by a legal framework. Despite the rhetoric of the ZANU PF government of promoting the rule of law and order, in practice this tactic is making it more difficult for the miners to operate formally (Spiegel 2015).

### **A Zero-Sum Game**

The study established the government maintains the exorbitant licence fee (which was pegged at US\$2000) and the miners cannot afford to pay it on the other side has spawned a stalemate between the two. Artisanal miners reported that besides the fact that the licence fee is exorbitant; the process of acquiring the licence is arduous taking about 3 to 4 months. Government criminalisation of artisanal mining continues to pose serious challenges to artisanal miners in Zimbabwe. Both artisanal miners and the government incur high costs mainly due to the illegality and informality of artisanal gold mining in Zimbabwe. The government loses potential tax revenue and royalty, which could be collected from the miners if they were formalised. Artisanal gold miners cannot obtain financial, technical and administrative assistance from the government and cannot sell their gold through the RBZ- they are railroaded to sell it on the parallel market where they are swindled or even underpaid sometimes. The participants revealed that they are forced to sell their gold for a lower price (US\$27/gram) on the black market compared to the official market prices, which range from US\$44 due to the stringent mining laws, which poses difficulties for them to sell their gold through the legal channels. This therefore is the reason why artisanal gold miners are constantly harassed and arrested by the police. The exorbitant licence fee has gone a long way in impeding the poor people from participating freely in the few viable economic activities in the informal sector. As long as the issues of licences and formalisation of the sector are not addressed, the challenges faced by artisanal gold miners will be difficult to deal with.

### **Lack of Policy**

One adult artisanal miner said,

*"The indigenisation Act was meant to give us land and help us to improve our mining ac-*

*tivities but all we receive from the government is harassment and no formal policy to address our challenges”*

Lack of legislation has spawned more challenges for artisanal gold miners and has been an albatross to the sustainable development of the sector. According to Shumba (2014), the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act has been criticised by many as a statutory instrument, which was there to further the interests of the elite contrary to the assurances that it aimed to empower ordinary Zimbabweans. There was a view that local miners could benefit from this Empowerment Bill if it permitted them to get access to key mines formerly operated by foreign companies with appropriate infrastructural support.

One factor that watered down the attempts of the decentralization policies was the failure to build Rural District Councils capacity, which lacked adequate resources such as human, financial, as well as autonomy. Of late, the Zimbabwean mining sector has been replete with power maneuvers, which resonate with most mining regimes in Africa where coercive tactics in policing have spawned undesirable and dire consequences to artisanal mining communities as epitomized by the case of Democratic Republic of Congo and Ghana.

## DISCUSSION

The analysis underscores that the economic benefits of artisanal mining accrue to the low-income groups and neighbouring communities through employment opportunities, the multiplier effect and economies and networks of affinity. The mining legislation of the colonial era was not changed to mirror transition to a post-independence discourse and to afford the indigenous Zimbabweans (entrepreneurs) an opportunity to participate in the mining industry. The politics of resource control, the crisis of accumulation and the ingrained patronage system has spawned challenges for the low-income groups in the Chegutu mining district. Women face more challenges since the sector is male-dominated and socio-cultural factors tend to drive them out of the sector.

### **Accumulation Crisis: The Problem and its Setting**

Many ostensibly anti-capitalist characteristics of the country's crisis –volatile currency

and hyperinflation, ‘war vets’ and militia deployment, economic disorder and high informality levels in the mining sector - are concomitant with the broader process of ‘accumulation by dispossession’. The looting, smuggling and human rights violations in the country's mining sector epitomizes Zimbabwe's political economy crisis and the politics of natural resource control within it. Zimbabwe's international isolation, inverse growth, rule of law dearth (1999-2008), episodes of economic decline and recovery, state fragility, weakening of institutions multicurrency use, informalization of the economy, high external debt and the enforcement of the indigenisation policy 2009-2014, provides a unique context to explore the governance of the artisanal mining sector in Zimbabwe. All the six artisanal gold-mine sites that were visited were highly contested and politicised; the politics of extraction as well as trade control euphemised the patronage system and elite accumulation in the sector.

The paper makes a critique to the thinking of the camp that approaches artisanal mining only through linear debates over informal and grass roots survivalist by highlighting how the current mining regime has provided opportunities for lucrative opportunities not only for the elites but for the locals as well as itinerant panners. Hilson and McQuilken (2014) argued that just like in most countries in the SADC region, the organization, structure and form of artisanal mining in Zimbabwe are opaque. Terms that are commonly used like ‘maboss’ which laterally means boss or sponsor dismisses the notion of artisanal gold mining as the poor's mere survival activity. The benefits transcend rural survival into the elite networks and syndicates. Situating artisanal gold mining within the evolving economic and political interests, the analysis contributes to the debate of how the discourses on the eradication of illegal mining masks primitive accumulation, power dynamics and patronage.

### **Patriarchy and Women Exclusion**

Although poverty and underdevelopment have been ascribed to colonialism and imperialism, cultural bias and patriarchy has remained men's instrument of exclusion against the participation of women in artisanal mining activities. Inopportunately, women who are side-lined

make up more than half of the country's population and bear grander family responsibility. The women roles as well as responsibilities are narrower in these settings because they own little claims at the mines. Bashwira et al. (2014) is of the opinion that roles as well as responsibilities of both genders "are not exaggerated when compared to other working class communities". Women in the artisanal mining communities are not different from other women in other 'working class communities'. The economic activity play vital roles in artisanal mining communities' households; taking responsibility for household maintenance, economic management as well as psychological sustenance. Therefore, women participation in artisanal mining is more likely to bring benefits directly to the family through better management of family incomes and spending. In spite of this realisation, women in the artisanal mining communities have remained peripheral workers in the sector, passive development recipients, with mining benefits trickling down to them through their male partners' pockets. Since these artisanal mining activities are conducted in the remote areas of Chegutu mining district, they induce powerlessness on the part of women and limits their access to vital assets that are accessible to other women. The current mining regime has spawned lawlessness and mobocracy, which has seen most women at the receiving end of violence and sexual harassment. This analysis underlines that the 'conflict-related sexual violence' somehow obscures the key women role in artisanal mining. The current settings in the mining sites tend to push for women's departure from the sector through oppression and exploitation as well sexual violence. In many nations around the globe, women have many difficulties working in the sector due to the subsistence of social and cultural taboos, gendered labour division patterns, lack of technical knowledge, discriminatory legislation, burden of domestic work and lack of credit access among other challenges (Yakovleva 2007; Bashwira et al. 2014). The income gap between males and females and the carrying out of subordinate work by most women clearly underscores the need to further explore this labour issue.

### **A Legal Vacuum**

An analysis of the Zimbabwean mining laws shows that there is no law or policy, which spe-

cifically addresses the sector. Government officials also conceded that there is no regulatory framework, specifically addressing artisanal mining in the country although they highlighted that they were working around the clock to fill this gap. Lack of legislation in the sector has profoundly affected any chance of formalisation of the sector. The policy vacuum in the sector has undoubtedly perpetuated artisanal gold mining's economic, social and environmental ills: a subsequent response to its criminalisation by the government. However, even in its criminalised and unlicensed state, revenues generated by the sector aids in propelling the agriculture sector which has been performing poorly since its collapse in the aftermath of the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP). Instead of the government, enacting legislation that specifically deals with artisanal gold mining, the government resorts to violent crackdowns against the miners. Given the unprecedented deterioration of the economy in Zimbabwe and widening inequality gap, artisanal gold mining can be called a 'blessing', providing employment as well as sustaining the livelihoods of hundreds of thousands. It is currently an unquestionable employment engine. This fact definitely makes moves by the government to criminalise it misguided. This study accentuates how the government's recentralization drive has eclipsed any chance of formalisation in the sector and how it has spawned the crisis of accumulation and high informality levels in the sector.

The current legislation on mining in Zimbabwe exists in the form of the Minerals and Mining Act of 1961, which was enacted under the white settler colonial regime and it, does not incorporate artisanal miners. Although the Act only provides for the registration of small mining claims of less than 20 000 square metres. Although the Act has been subject to numerous amendments since the 1970's, there has not been a shift of mining policy to the modern modus operandi since the inception of the black majority government in 1980. The policy initiatives of the government have been focused on promoting and upgrading the sound governance of small-scale and-medium gold mining and largely neglecting artisanal miners; degrading them to illegitimate laborers whose activities are criminal and harmful to the environment. A counsel-



lor of Ward 3 of Chegutu district lamented that it was a daunting task to represent people in Ward 3, who did not have a recognised livelihood source and even though they wanted to work, there was no employment. Empirical literature shows that in numerous countries in Africa, the sector is highly unregulated, with environmental and mineral regimes that are replete with laxities in guarding the interests of miners and protecting the environment as well. Lack of sound legislation is weighing heavily against artisanal gold miners who spent most of the time on the lookout for the police instead of focusing on their operations. Bello and Bybee (2014) described the situation of artisanal mining in Zimbabwe as conflict-ridden, chaotic, lawless and anarchical.

### Marginalisation

The study also established that the people in the mining sites are prone to vulnerability due to marginalisation. The sector's low profile in plans for national development exacerbates their vulnerability. The government generally is negatively biased against the sector and hence policies of the government do not address the sector's realities. The lack of comprehensive accountability data on the contribution of the sector at both local as well as national level is an obstacle to a more constructive programs in the sector. The majority of the mining sites are located in the remote areas of Chegutu Mining district where there is poor transport, communication networks as well as information asymmetry. The disconnection of the sector from the national policy frameworks as well as programs compounds the challenges faced in the sector. Marginalisation of this nature comes with political marginalisation because these communities are remote from the capital and they have less ability to influence policy and to keep 'insight' of policy makers. One of the primary reasons why the illegal and informal gold markets flourishes amongst artisanal miners is marginalisation.

It is undisputable that marginalisation has a link to food insecurity. For instance, Concern International describes marginalised farmers as those who undertakes 'farming and yet hungry' and this similarly applies to some artisanal mining who 'mines tirelessly and yet hungry'. This

implies that the miners will have inadequate income or assets to buy food or other necessities due to marginalisation. The government tend to favour large and medium-scale mining at the cost of artisanal miners who remain marginalised. Marginalisation of artisanal mining drives the sector deeper into anarchy and is aggravating environmental and social problems.

### CONCLUSION

The findings show that there are prospects and mounting challenges for the low-income groups in artisanal gold mining in the Chegutu mining district. Artisanal miners in most cases suffer marginalisation and negligence due to their remoteness and informal nature of their operations. Lack of formalisation has stoked unprecedented challenges for artisanal mining in the Chegutu district. The absence of the political will to formulate a comprehensive policy and negative attitude towards artisanal mining activities in the region has bred chaos and lawlessness in the sector. While these challenges are a great setback to the economic activities, it is worthy to note that, there exists a great potential to leverage the sector for poverty alleviation as well sustainable growth and development. It is possible to have a transformation from this '*chaotic gold rush*' to an economically viable and sustainable sector through a sound formalisation process. It seems however, that the constraints outweigh the opportunities.

The trajectory of transforming from the current chaos to formalised operations is not always smooth or predictable and the sustainability challenges in the sector in the Chegutu district is certainly due to lack of a specific policy. From the discussions with the women at the mining sites, it is concluded that there are significant challenges faced by women in the mining communities. Women's lack of knowledge and experience in the sector has exposed them to the male conman and rogue state agents. The labour of women is often invisible because they are mostly involved in peripheral jobs in the mining sites, therefore most of them are not formally categorised as miners. Women are mostly working in the domestic sphere undertaking jobs such as vending, provision of catering services and commercial sex. Patriarchy and cultural factors



makes it difficult for women to make inroads into the sector. The remote and informal nature makes women more vulnerable to gender-based and sexual violence, human rights abuses as well as health risks. Furthermore, the lack of legislative and judicial support heightens the challenges of people in artisanal mining communities, particularly women. Therefore, the article provides several recommendations to optimise the development potential of the sector and to mitigate the risks as well as vulnerabilities for women.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Promulgation of Policy

Firstly, the government need to design and promulgate a clear policy that specifically addresses artisanal gold mining activities in the country. The policy formulation process requires a collaborative and collective effort amongst key stakeholders and ministries as well as the local community members. All the stakeholders should be involved for the sustainability of any project. The policy needs to capture and recognise that artisanal gold miners are also victims not unruly elements per se as. There is need to approach the sector holistically and this should begin by review of the archaic Mines and Minerals Act of 1961, which is an albatross to the sustainable development of artisanal gold mining. There should be a policy shift to the modern modus operandi so as to ensure integration as well as sustainability of the sector. Sustainable artisanal gold mining is achievable within a legal environment that is enabling; promoting formalisation, organisation and implementation of best technologies, responsibilities and rights.

### Simplification of the Licensing Procedures

The artisanal gold miners in the Chegutu mining district showed that they were frustrated by the licensing procedures. Schemes should be adequately decentralised, simplified and the unnecessary costs should be eliminated. Artisanal mining should be formalised through capacity building and legalisation. The licences should provide the artisanal gold miners with operating rights and claims in order to recoup additional costs in the form of taxes. The formal-

isation process should not focus on legitimating artisanal mining only, it should also create a decent business model, ensure social acceptance and sustainability of the economic activity. Formalisation of artisanal mining should be premised on four key pillars which are poverty alleviation, creation of a conducive business environment to lure artisanal miners, ensuring environmental sustainability and sustainably managing revenue from artisanal mining activities.

### Establish Multi-stakeholder Engagement

The study recommend that a multi-stakeholder team involving the Chamber of Mines, Ministry of Mines and Mining Development, Environmental Management Agency, Zimbabwe Revenue Authority, Civil Society, Minerals Unit of the Police as well as the artisanal miners should be established. The multi-stakeholder team should be tasked with designing of methods and programs of formalisation of the sector. Artisanal mining is not only a '*mining issue*'; it is also an issue of rural development. It is therefore critical, to engage not only mining ministries, but all the government bodies which are dealing with rural development, agriculture, taxation, local government and empowerment. The notion behind the partnerships is to establish a structure which is coherent, that will address the sector's needs. Proper institutional frameworks should be implemented so that people in Chegutu can earn sustainable livelihoods through artisanal gold mining.

### Needs for an In-depth Understanding of Artisanal Mining Gender Dynamics

To effectively craft and implement artisanal mining assistance policies as well as programs, all the stakeholders (private sector, government, artisanal mining networks or cooperatives and civil society) needs to have an in-depth understanding of the labour divisions, gender dynamics and the various challenges within the sector elaborated in this study. It is critical for stakeholders to understand these challenges before developing artisanal mining assistance policies and programs. The identification and understanding of artisanal gold mining dynamics is key to the reduction of hurdles to formalisation.

### Formation of Associations and Empowerment of Women in the Sector

Finally, artisanal gold miners should organise themselves into cooperatives, partnerships and unions so as ensure securement of their titles, obtain loans and attract investment. The operators should proactively take the initiative for them to be heeded and provided with the necessary support from the government, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the private sector and other stakeholders. The larger the organisational units, the higher their prospects of obtaining loans, attracting investment and getting technical assistance from the government. There is need for gender-specific policies, which targets the needs, inequalities as well as challenges faced by women in the sector. The needs of miners as well as women in the sector should be at heart of dialogue and policy making in the country. Artisanal miners' networks and cooperatives have proven critical in leveraging government as well as policy makers' apprehension of significant public policy matters facing the sector.

### REFERENCES

- Arthur F, Agyemang-Duah W, Gyasi RM, Yeboah JY, Otioku E 2016. Nexus between artisanal and small-scale gold mining and livelihood in Prestea mining region, Ghana. *Geography Journal*, 1-18.
- Bashwira MR, Cuvelier J, Hilhorst D, van der Haar G 2014. Not only a man's world: Women's involvement in artisanal mining in eastern DRC. *Resources Policy*, 40: 109-116.
- Bello O, Bybee M 2014. Revamping Artisanal Gold Mining in Zimbabwe to Catalyse Poverty Reduction, Governance of Africa's Resources, Programme Policy Briefing 94. From <[http://dspace.africaportal.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/34712/1/saia\\_spb\\_%2094\\_bello%20%20bybee\\_20140521.pdf?1](http://dspace.africaportal.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/34712/1/saia_spb_%2094_bello%20%20bybee_20140521.pdf?1)> (Retrieved on 20 July 2019).
- Besada H 2011. *Zimbabwe: Picking Up The Pieces*. United States: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bryceson D, Fisher E, Mwaipopo R 2014. *Transforming Africa, Mineralisation and Democratizing Trends Artisanal Production*. USA and Canada: Routledge.
- Buxton A 2013. *Responding to the Challenge of Artisanal and Small-scale Mining. How Can Knowledge Networks Help?* London: IIED.
- Debrah AA, Watson I, Quansah DPO 2014. Comparison between artisanal and small-scale mining in Ghana and South Africa: Lessons learnt and ways forward. *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, 114(11): 913-921.
- Deonandan K, Dougherty ML 2016. *Mining in Latin America: Critical Approaches to the New Extraction*. USA: Routledge.
- Fisher E 2007. Occupying the margins: Labour integration and social exclusion in artisanal mining in Tanzania. *Development and Change*, 38(4): 735-760.
- Hilson G, McQuilken J 2014. Four decades of support for artisanal and small-scale mining in sub-Saharan Africa: A critical review. *The Extractive Industries and Society*, 1(1): 104-118.
- Kabemba C 2014. Artisanal and Small-scale Mining Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa. From <<http://www.osisa.org>> (Retrieved on 27 August 2019).
- Ledwaba PF 2017. The status of artisanal and small-scale mining sector in South Africa: Tracking progress. *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, 117(1): 33-40.
- Mabhena C 2012. Mining with a Vuvuzela: Reconfiguring artisanal mining in Southern Zimbabwe and its implications to rural livelihoods. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 30(2): 219-233.
- Mabhena C, Moyo F 2014. Community Share Ownership Trust scheme and empowerment: The case of Gwanda Rural district, Matabeleland South Province in Zimbabwe. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 19(1): 72-85.
- Makhetha EL 2016. *Small-scale Diamond Mining and Rural Livelihood Diversification in Lesotho*. PhD Dissertation, Unpublished. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Mawowa S 2013. The political economy of artisanal and small-scale gold mining in central Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39(4): 921-936.
- Murombo T 2010. Law and the indigenisation of mineral resources in Zimbabwe: Any equity for local communities? *Southern African Public Law*, 25(2): 568-589.
- Ncube-Phiri S, Mucherera B, Ncube A 2015. Artisanal small-scale mining: Potential ecological disaster in Mzingwane District, Zimbabwe. *Jambá: Journal of Disaster Risk Studies*, 7(1): 1-11.
- Nhambura F 2015. Artisanal Mining Presents Hope for Chakari. *Herald News*, 22 January, 2015, P. 3.
- Perks R 2013. Artisanal and Small Scale Mining, World Bank. From <<http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/extractiveindustries/brief/artisanal-and-small-scale-mining>> (Retrieved on 19 August 2019).
- Reno W 1999. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Shumba BM 2014. *An Evaluation of Indigenisation Policy in Zimbabwe*. PhD Dissertation, Unpublished. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- Spiegel SJ 2009. Resource policies and small-scale gold mining in Zimbabwe. *Resources Policy*, 34(1): 39-44.
- Spiegel SJ 2015. Shifting formalization policies and recentralizing power: The case of Zimbabwe's artisanal gold mining sector. *Society & Natural Resources*, 28(5): 543-558.

Statutory Instrument 275- 1991. *Regulations on Alluvial Gold Panning in Public Streams, Regulations (SI 275/1991)*. Zimbabwe: Alluvial-Gold-Mining-Zimbabwe.  
Yakovleva N 2007. Perspectives on female participation in artisanal and small-scale mining: A case study

of Birim North District of Ghana. *Resources Policy*, 32(1-2): 29-41.

---

**Paper received for publication in July, 2019**  
**Paper accepted for publication in August, 2019**