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**FACULTY OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

**IMPACT AND LEGACY OF THE MATSANGA MOVEMENT ON THE
EASTERN HIGHLANDS OF ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY OF
CHIPINGE DISTRICT 1976-1992**

BY

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APPROVAL FORM

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to the Midlands State University for acceptance. A dissertation entitled: **IMPACT AND LEGACY OF THE MATSANGA MOVEMENT ON THE EASTERN HIGHLANDS OF ZIMBABWE: A CASE STUDY OF CHIPINGE DISTRICT 1976-1992** submitted by **MukonzaPauline(R124929E)** in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the **Bachelor of Arts in History Honours Degree**.

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DECLARATION

I, Mukonza Pauline, declare that ‘Impact and legacy of the Matsanga movement on the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe: A case study of Chipinge district 1976-1992’ is the work I have submitted is my own effort and it has not been submitted anywhere for any degree purposes at any other university. I certify that the information in the Dissertation which is not my own has been identified and acknowledged. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Bachelor of Arts in History Honours Degree at Midlands State University.

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATIONS

To my husband John and our son Tawananyasha

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the efforts of my supervisor Dr. Chakawa J for his unwavering guidance throughout this research.

DEFINATION OF TERMS

Matsanga.....the name given to RENAMO soldiers derived from their leader Andre

Matsangaissa

Matsanga Movement.....the other name for Mozambican civil war

ABBREVIATIONS

FRELIMO..... Front for Liberation of Mozambique

G.P.A.....General Peace Agreement

M.C.C.....Mozambican Christian Council

RENAMO..... Mozambique National Resistance

UNOMOZ..... United Nations Operations in Mozambique

S.T.I.....Sexual Transmitted Infections

Z.N.A.....Zimbabwe National Army

ABSTRACT

This study seeks to establish the impact and legacy of the RENAMO war on Chipinge District which is located in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. The issue of landmines scattered around the area, boarded issues as well as the increasing number of refugees and refugee camps in Chipinge prompted this study. The research has looked at the incursions of the Matsanga into Chipinge and their impact on the area which include attack on infrastructure, property and the people. Memories of RENAMO activities amongst the women and children were also looked at and these include psychological trauma, sexual assaults, conscription into the army as child soldiers as well as mutilations. Legacies of the Renamo war was also documented in this research, they include landmines, disabled people, and damaged infrastructure. In coming up with this research, interviews, archival sources and secondary sources were consulted.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction

When FRELIMO and RENAMO were fighting from 1976 to 1992, they did not confine their war in their country rather border sharing provinces and districts of Zambia, Malawi, South Africa and Zimbabwe felt the heat. In Zimbabwe, the Eastern Highlands suffered most and Chipinge to be precise. This was mainly because of the nearness of the District to the Gorongosa base where the Matsanga took a hide out. Also the Matsanga took advantage and enjoyed the porosity of this boarder with Chipinge. thus it is from this backdrop that the researcher wants to trace the impact and legacy left by this Renamo war on Chipinge.

The issue of increasing refugee camps and refugees of Mozambican origin in Chipinge has prompted this study since the researcher wanted to trace the history behind this problem. Landmines which are scattered across Chipinge, their impact on the area and the boarder issue prompted the researcher to carry out this study on Chipinge specifically and the impact and legacy which the RENAMO war had caused on the area.

On the methodology, the researcher was informed by a combination of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources used include archival sources and interviews. Newspapers, unpublished sources were also used. Published books, journals as well as internet sources were used to compliment primary sources particularly interviews from the inhabitants of Chipinge especially from areas like Hakwata, Mabeye and Rattleshouk.

The impact of the RENAMO war on Chipinge women include subjection to inhumane practises such as *kuripiswangozi*, sexual assault, stress and trauma, prostitution, unwanted pregnancies, poverty as well double burdening on women's duties. Some of the legacies left by the war

include landmines, deserted homes, unwanted children, damaged infrastructure, disabled people, graves as well as refugee life.

Background to the study

Matsanga movement was an insurgent movement in Mozambique and the name was derived from its first leader Andre Matsangaissa. This insurgent movement rocked the country soon after it gained political independence from Portugal on 25 June 1975.¹ Colonial rule was removed through an armed struggle by the Frente de libertacao de Mocambique or Front for Liberation of Mozambique abbreviated as (FRELIMO) and was led by Samora Machel. On contrary an opposition emerged named Resistencia National Mocambicana or Mozambique National Resistance abbreviated as (RENAMO) and was led by Andre Matsangaissa.

Unfortunately the newly independent country was faced with a multiplicity of problems inside Mozambique and also internationally. In the domestic arena, Mozambique saw educated and skilled Portuguese fleeing the country, destroying their own property and leaving behind an unskilled and illiterate population. Mozambicans lacked even the most basic skills needed to run the economy.² In an effort to ensure production, RENAMO adopted the collectivization programme also known as villagisation and it was not welcomed by the Mozambican populace as it proved to be a failure since it failed to revive the economy inherited from poor Portugal. Thus RENAMO become popular.

Southern Rhodesia was also opposed to FRELIMO as it supported the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) forces which were given training bases in Mozambique in areas like Chimoio and Nyadzonya. Thus the Rhodesian government supported RENAMO's activities so as to disrupt logistical entrance of weapons to Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army guerrillas in Mozambique boarder areas. So FRELIMO was an opponent of

Southern Rhodesia from the word go. Also from Apartheid South Africa, Mozambique was hated since it could contaminate the spirit of nationalism, self rule and equality to South Africans because Mozambicans had liberated themselves and became independent and this was opposed to the Apartheid government of South Africa since FRELIMO provided a safe haven for and ANC exiles.³

This independence also collided with the Cold War politics in which FRELIMO was supported by the Asian giants such as China and the Soviet Union whilst RENAMO was supported by Western governments for instance Britain and America.⁴ Thus RENAMO waged a war against the ruling FRELIMO and battles were fought and this is the civil war.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The boarder issue is a problem in Chipinge, people from either Chipinge or Mozambique cross the border at any time and any place without travelling documents. Physically, the boundaries are glaring, though justification for their exact placements is less so. Socio-cultural distinctions between the people are even more blurred, where they exist. Along the Zimbabwe – Mozambique border, most differences have always been superficial as the two nations essentially fade into each other.⁵ This case was further intensified by the Matsanga movement as people moved from Mozambique to Chipinge were there was security. Landmines scattered across Chipinge had been and still pose threats on inhabitants of the area. Many people have been amputees, some died due to these landmines. They are also hindering development as many lands are remaining idol. Also livestock are being killed as a result of these landmines. Though this is a problem in Chipinge, little writers have research on their possible planters and their

impact on Chipinge. Many people in Chipinge live in refugee camps especially those in the outlying boarder areas. Some Mozambican nationals also, are in refugee camps in Chipinge. Some have more than two settlement homes in outlying boarder areas and inland. This research seeks to unearth the possible causes of this problem of refugee life in Chipinge.

BROAD AIM

The purpose of this research is to investigate on the impact and legacy of the Matsanga Movement or the Mozambican civil war of 1976-1992 on Chipinge District of Zimbabwe.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the socio and economic impact caused by the incursions of the Matsanga movement in Chipinge?
2. How has the Matsanga Movement impacted on women, girls as well as children?
3. What are the legacies left by the Renamo war on Chipinge?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The research will be of importance to the student mainly because it will not only sharpen the student's research skills but will also edify the student's knowledge on the subject of impact and legacy of civil wars in general and the Mozambican civil war on Zimbabwe's Eastern Highlands Districts and Chipinge in particular.

The study will also provide literature material to the library for use by other scholars in future, especially those who wish to research on the socio –economic effects of the Mozambican Civil war on Chipinge District of Zimbabwe.

On another angle, Chipinge District was chosen as a case study due to its nearness to Gorongosa Mountain where the RENAMO had a base popularly known as Gorongosa base. Also

Chipinge District of some Eastern Highlands Districts of Zimbabwe (Mudzi, Nyanga) is the one which suffered most as a result of the civil war.

DELIMITATIONS

This research was delimited to Chipinge District in Manicaland province of Zimbabwe. Impact and legacy left by the Matsanga Movement only were looked at. Data was collected through the inhabitants of Chipinge District and secondary sources were consulted. The research explored also on the impact of the civil war on women and girls. Adherence to the ethics of professionalism that is informed interviews and confidentiality was applied thus codes were used to protect participants' confidentiality.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Local scholars like Dava, Chigora, Chibanda and Sillah's research on effects of the Matsanga Movement in Chokwe District of Mozambique reviewed that there were many effects which were a direct result of the civil war. They emphasized that civil wars in the world and Africa had negative impacts on development of the affected nation and beyond.⁶ In their research based on Chokwe District brought out that since the District is agro-based, agriculture was affected due to the landmines across the area. Also the irrigation facilities were destroyed and some crops destroyed by people trying to hide the Matsanga.⁷

Sayaka Funada-Classen also pointed on the effects of the Matsanga movement, that the Mozambicans instead of celebrating their independence from Portugal, the period 1983-84 the world repeatedly saw images of Mozambican women and children skeletons and refugees.⁸ This is also supported by Dava et al who carried a research of the effects of the Matsanga Movement in Chokwe District and found out that there was massive migration

to the urban centers for protection since in the rural it was insecure as the RENAMO used the guerrilla type of warfare. But this movement negatively affected the urban as there was rampant spread of diseases like cholera, diarrhoea due to poor living standards and sanitation.⁹ Thus it can be seen from the reviewed literature that also areas beyond Mozambique were also affected by the civil war and from Mozambican civil war Chipinge district is not an exceptional as was in the urban areas of Mozambique. Thus this research intends to fill the gap on the impact of Renamo war particularly on women and children in refugee camps in Chipinge.

UNDP Report of 1993 of Mozambique, soon after the end of the Matsanga Movement, has it that the conflict resulted in one million deaths, 1, 5 million cross boarder refugees and 4, 5 million domestic refugees.¹⁰ The cross boarder refugees moved mostly into neighboring Zambia and Chipinge District of Zimbabwe as these areas provided a safe haven since there was stability in them during the period 1976 to 1991. Thus this research is unique in that it was mainly focused on these refugees, their experiences, impact and legacy when they reached Chipinge.

In Robert Gersony's report, the Matsanga movement had social effects. This was because there were many inhumane practices done during the civil war and these include burying alive, beating to death, forced asphyxiation, drowning and forced infanticising.¹¹ Imai and Weinstein also found almost the same results of inhumane activities and they summarized the incidents and practices as significant fatalities among the civilian population.¹² All the same this research goes in line with Imai and Weinstein's research

but the only difference is that this research was focused on the impact and legacy of the Renamo war on Chipinge and not Mozambique.

The Renamo soldiers were known for crossing into Zimbabwe to steal medicines, cash and cows. In Chipinge in 1989 they invaded Chikore Mission Hospital and took medicines as well as kidnapping nurses there. In the 1980s they slaughtered hundreds of elephants from Gonarezhou National Park. The Renamo also believed that Mutare, Chipinge and the rest of Manicaland is part of Mozambique and that they will take them one day after overthrowing their home government.¹³ This shows that Chipinge had always suffered the fate of Matsanga Movement both socially and economically. However this research exposed the impacts of these incursions as the Matsanga did not confine their fighting in Mozambique only. Many writers tended to document the activities of the Matsanga leaving behind their impacts specifically on Chipinge. That's this research is unique in filling this gap of under documentation of impacts and legacy of Renamo war on Chipinge.

Renamo forces attacked an army base in Zimbabwe near Mukona on June 17 1987 killing 7 soldiers and wounded 19 others. In Chipinge they attacked the Zona Tea Estate, destroyed property and killing 3 men in Rushinga in August of the same year.¹⁴ Given such accounts and incidents of Matsanga Movement it shows how the area had been affected economically and socially by this civil war. Unlike in this report, this research was focused only on Chipinge District on different aspects such as impact on girls and women specifically and the District in general.

Another impact of the Renamo war which Minter noted was that Renamo resorted to crudely coercive expedients, the majority of its soldiers included child soldiers in Mozambique.¹⁵ Since Renamo war was not confined only in Mozambique, this research examined on whether the war had impacted on Chipinge as it did in Mozambique in areas like use of child soldiers, cruelty and coercive expediencies.

Many of the literature available on the Renamo war deals with their history, cruelty like what Nugent has noted that Renamo carried countless atrocities which were designed to spread a climate of fear.¹⁶ Little attention on the legacy of the Renamo had been taken in to consideration. This research however is unique in that it dealt on the part of the legacy of the Renamo war which is under researched by scholars.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this research, interviews were used. Interviews allowed both literate and illiterate respondents to participate in the research. The interview had the following advantages: ability to capture verbal and non-verbal clues, the researcher was able to capture emotions and behaviours and concluded on the respondent's answers, the interviewer was the one that has control over the interview and kept the interviewee focused and the researcher had the opportunity to clarify questions to ensure that respondents understand them. But however, the interviews proved to be a very expensive way of retrieving information especially on arranging meetings and visiting interviewees and also there was limited size of sample.

Secondary sources were also used in collecting data. These included text books written by historians on the subject, journals, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and also published and unpublished papers. Such data were cheaper and more quickly obtainable than the primary data and were available when primary data cannot be obtained at all. More importantly, journals and textbooks provided valuable information on the incursions of Matsanga movement of 1976-1992 on Chipinge District since they prove to be a reliable source of information and gave room for comparison since there were reviewed before publication.

The major disadvantages of these journal and textbooks are the authenticity of some of the data contained in these sources is of questionable authenticity because it did not originate from well known, reputable sources. Moreover, analysis of the documents was time consuming because some of the documents had much detail.

With technological advancements, the internet was used as a source of diverse and informative data. The internet was a useful source of rich information. The researcher, through, found a variety of data related to the research topic on the internet and an added advantage was that the most relevant websites were easily accessible on the e-journal, e-books and quickly. However, the internet as a resourceful library, gave some problems to the researcher. These included that accessing to some relevant and current information was challenging and for the researcher as it require membership of the publishing association or company; also, for some there was need for payment online to get access to documents.

DISSERTATION LAYOUT

General Introduction comprised of the following components introduction, background to the study, statement of the problem, research objectives and questions, justification of the study. Definition of terms and abbreviations, literature review, research methodology and chapter summary are also be part of this chapter. Chapter 1 contains incursions of the Matsanga into Chipinge and it contains impact and legacy of these incursions on Chipinge. Chapter 2 is a discussion on impact of Matsanga on women and girls as well as children; this chapter specifically looked at those impacts and inherited effects of the civil war on women. This is because from the available literature women and girls' plea are neglected and generalized and also women and children as the most vulnerable groups of the society and in many cases the non-combatant groups need special attention. Chapter 3 is an investigation of the legacy of the Renamo war. The overall conclusion to whole research is given at the end.

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CHAPTER ONE

INCURSIONS OF MATSANGA INTO CHIPINGE

Introduction

When Frelimo and Renamo were fighting in Mozambique they did not confine their war to their country, rather they also crossed into the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe. They crossed into Chipinge and invaded the area forcefully. Thus this chapter unpacks the incursions of the Matsanga into Chipinge. The impact and legacy left as a result of these incursions are going to be discussed. The incursions include attack on infrastructure, attack on civilians, attack on farms, confiscation of livestock and as well attack on social amenities such as schools and hospitals. The impact of these incursions include that people were forcefully recruited as soldiers, decrease in production, destruction of property, forced migrations, permanent disabilities, social instability, deaths as well as environmental pollution.

Incursions of Matsanga into Chipinge

As Chipinge and Mozambique are bordered in the form of rivers, mountains as well as other natural demarcations, it was very easy for the Matsanga to enter in Chipinge. Likewise it was very difficult for law enforcing agents of Zimbabwe to curb the entrance of Matsanga into Zimbabwe due to the same reason, the guerrilla warfare used by the Matsanga and the fact that there was no clear demarcation of the border. Some of the Mozambicans came into Chipinge for shopping, attend funerals, and even to fetch water. Even the residents of Chipinge had their relatives in Mozambican side and the two communities operated as a village despite the political borders created by white colonialist during the colonization process. It is against this backdrop

that residents of Chipinge fell victim and became vulnerable to the incursions of the Matsanga Movement.

The insurgents were of different ages as they enter into Chipinge, some were old but as the majorities were youth as was said by inhabitants of Chipinge that the Renamo used child soldiers. On uniforms, they wore green and red caps some wore yellow caps. But some even insurgents intrude into Chipinge dressed like civilians. They used guerrilla warfare in their incursions into Chipinge.

Nearer Chipinge is the Gorongosa base where the Matsanga had their headquarters and operated from. The Matsanga carried out raids in villages like Tamandai and Mabeye and forcefully recruited young boys as soldiers. Minter noted that Renamo resorted to crudely coercive expedients, the majority of its soldiers included child soldiers.¹ Mr. Simango a resident from Tamandai said that, 'these Matsanga in 1976 invaded our village and took four boys who were of about 14 years and they were incorporated into the Matsanga army after being trained for about 2 months at Gorongosa base.'² The Matsanga were very forceful and aggressive such that even the parents of the boys could not recover them. They also guarded their raided victims so that they could not escape back home. Thus this had impact on Chipinge as there was a gap left by the able bodied man taken away by the Matsanga leaving the vulnerable groups like women, the young and elderly.

In 1978, the Matsanga took advantage of the war of liberation which was going on in Zimbabwe and could invade villages in Chipinge and they stole livestock Ratelshouk farm including cattle and goats.³ This was done because the Matsanga had hardly any food to eat also their guerrilla tactics could not allow transportation of food from a central point. The confiscation of livestock

impacted on Chipinge and left an outstanding legacy as a large number of livestock were taken away leaving people in poverty as these were the means and modes of production. This also led to the decreases in agricultural output. This was also worsened by the droughts which exposed the effects of livestock confiscation.⁴

The Civil war also left permanent disabilities amongst the people of Chipinge. In some instances, the owners of property could want to protect their possessions and property from being confiscated ended up fighting with the Matsanga would be killed or injured during the misunderstanding. Nugent has noted that Renamo carried countless atrocities which were designed to spread a climate of fear.⁵This was cemented by an interview by Mr. Sithole who resides in GedhiResimbi communal area explained how his son was attacked by the Matsanga. He said that his father was refusing to give the Matsanga a bull which they were demanding and in the process another Matsanga took the boy who at that time was of crawling age and slash his hand as a way of showing that they were serious. The child was rushed to Mount Selinda mission hospital and admitted for two weeks until refereed to Harare Hospital where he was finally cut off the hand because it was now impossible for it to recover.⁶ Thus up to this day the boy now a man is now disabled due to Matsanga Movement's violent incursions into Chipinge. Thus the Matsanga left permanent legacy on Chipinge and the impact is still felt up to this day in Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe and Chipinge in particular.

The Matsanga also confiscated people's grain and mealie meal. RENAMO had to rely increasingly on captured armaments and food, which led to an increased level of violence against the population in the areas that it controlled and the surrounding.⁷Mrs.Sithole narrated her story that,

‘in 1977 when I was still a young girl, we were sent to Zona tea estate to buy sugar and to the grind meal maize. On our way back home we first met two armed men with machetes and they demanded half of our mealie meal and also of the sugar and we did. And I recalled that before we arrived home we met another group and it demanded all what we had and we did.

We arrived home empty handed but our parents said we were lucky otherwise we could have been killed.⁷

This showed that the Matsanga impacted negatively on the community during this time as confiscation of food stuffs led to starvation of people in Chipinge District.

The Matsanga led to the destruction of Tea and coffee plantations as people tried to hide from them. Renamo was also sent across the border to destroy bridges, railways, agricultural projects, schools and clinics and to terrorize the local people.⁸ Mr. Mulambo a worker at Ratelshouk plantation in 1984 recalled that many tea plantations were destroyed by bombing as the Matsanga thought that people were hiding inside there⁸ and initially, Renamo was mainly engaged in desestabilizaçao (destabilization) such as attacks on infrastructure and local residents.⁹ Sometimes the farm workers and people around the farm could also destroy the plants by way of cutting branches. The security at these plantations as well as law enforcing agency of Zimbabwe could not curb these activities and protect the farm property thereby leading to a decrease in the production of tea and coffee in these plantations and farms in preceding years. Thus the Matsanga left a great legacy and impacted heavily on Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe and Chipinge to be specific.

The Matsanga Movement forced people to migrate to areas where there was protection. Outlying boarder areas like Mariya and Matikwa felt much impact from the incursions of the Matsanga and

most of them decide to migrate to areas as far as Mutema, Checheche, Rimbi and Manzvire which were far away from the boarder and safer from Matsanga due to the geographical location.⁹ The villages which are in the outlying boarders have a small population compared to the interior of Chipinge. The displacement of people from their original homes caused family disintegration as people used to live in clans. Also this had impact on the economic activities as farming was disrupted as areas like Mutema, Checheche, Rimbi and Manzvire where people migrated could not sustain even subsistence farming because they are in ecological region 5 of Zimbabwe, thus no production can be done without irrigation. Thus the civil war had a legacy which cannot be corrected easily left on Chipinge.

The education sector was also affected as a result of the war in most parts of the Eastern side of Zimbabwe. Nugent has noted that Renamo specifically targeted the infrastructural network and hit the Umtali-Beira pipeline and worst of all schools and hospitals.¹⁰ In Chipinge, most teachers ran away from schools as the Matsanga were invading the area. These schools include Paidamoyo, Muzike and Chikore. Diva et al also noted that teachers in rural area ran away from their work place due to Matsanga incursions as they targeted teachers and kidnapped those who continue to teach in broad day.¹² This adversely affected Chipinge as both the students and teachers decided not to go to school.

Chipinge people especially those in Hakwata and Mabeye become divided as to who to offer support. The Frelimo were operating in the area in the guise of protecting the people as well as wanting to disarm the Matsanga and also the Zimbabwe National Army (Z.N.A.) was protecting the people and the state's railway, pipeline and electricity lines. Consequently the inhabitants of Chipinge were caught in between. All those who sympathized and supported the Renamo were discriminated against and viewed as enemies of the people. Thus there emerged issues of selling

out each other. One certain headman said that people began to solve their personal issues by selling each other to any group of armed men. Some even went on to the extent of killing each other on issues related to Matsanga.¹² Thus the Matsanga left a legacy which cannot be felt up to this day as some lose their family members during the civil war of Mozambique.

In line with the above, the social status of the people was compromised as some were viewed as killers especially those who had been fighting at the side of the Matsanga. A certain traditional healer who resides at Ratelshouk compound reviewed that many former soldiers approached him because they were now being tormented by the spirits of those who they killed and needed his assistance in the suppression of those spirits that is '*kufuratidza mabvuri*' in Nda. He also said that some were being avenging spirits that is '*kuripangozi*' in Shona. This was being paid in the form of cattle and they range from 5 to 10 depending on what each spirit was demanding.¹³ This had impact on Chipinge since the means of production were being taken from certain families.

Also people became victims of forceful recruitment into the army. Not only did the Renamo take people from the Zimbabwean side, rather the Frelimo also did it and also the Z.N.A. People were forced to join either side either voluntarily or involuntarily. Voluntarily it was for protection, if one was in the army it was safe than to be a civilian since there was constant attack from the military man from either side of the militia. Involuntarily was by either through coercion, capture, bribe and even trickery.¹⁴ One resident from Mariya testified that all the military men from either side subjected residents to violence so one could opt to join any group of fighters so as to be protected. Thus the war made Chipinge residents to suffer during the course of the war.

Nurses at Chikore Mission Hospital and Mt Selinda Hospital also were affected as a direct result of the Matsanga Movement. The Matsanga invaded the hospitals for medicines, personnel and for hibernation. In an interview with a retired nurse who was stationed at Mt Selinda hospital in 1984, she confirmed that in 1984, the Matsanga invaded the hospital and confiscated medicines, bandages and food stuffs. These were for use in their bases for treatment of their fellow soldiers who were injured during the fighting. This caused an impact on the health of residents as they was already a shortage of medicines and after the confiscation the gap widened.¹⁵

The migrations emanating from the Movement led other people to decide to migrate into Chipinge town where there was security and peace. This led to overpopulation of the town and consequently resulting in many diseases like cholera, typhoid, diarrhea and sexually transmitted infections. Sexually related diseases become rampant as there were people of mixed cultures, backgrounds and social status congested together and this affected much on Chipinge.

The Matsanga also attacked shops of individuals in Chipinge. This was done secure food stuffs for themselves. Ms Maposa reiterated that in 1984 when she was employed as a shop keeper at a tuck shop at Jersey Estate, the Matsanga invaded the area and the tuck-shop and took food stuffs as well as kidnapping the security officer. She added that a week after the incident the Matsanga attacked some grocery shops at Ratelshouk and New Year's Gift.¹⁶This impacted on Chipinge as in some areas grocery shops were closed due to the incursions of the Matsanga.

The Renamo also were involved in cruelty activities in Chipinge and these include burning people's houses. They targeted houses of Headman and anyone in that lineage.¹⁷Frelimo accused six Renamo gunmen of killing two people including a traditional chief in Sofala – one of Renamo's targeted provinces. Renamo has been accused of targeting traditional chiefs and

community leaders, in an attempt to weaken authorities in this provinces.¹⁸ Thus likewise in Chipinge the Renamo used the same strategies. Many properties, peoples' food burnt, as well as livestock were also burnt. This shows the civilians suffered a lot as result of the Matsanga incursions into Chipinge.

Due to the fact that the Matsanga were forcefully recruiting men into its army, a large number of able-bodied men left the tea and coffee plantations nearer the boarder and flew to safer places. This consequently affected children as they became victim of child labour. Plantation owners at Zona, Ratelshouk and Jersey embarked on child labour since it was cheaper and always available. Mr. Mulambo said that in 1979 he and many other children of about 8 to 20 years were employed at Jersey Estate. They worked from as early as 4 am to 12 noon before starting what was called school at 2 0'clock in the afternoon.¹⁸ Working was not paid, as they attend school at the farm. This impacted on Chipinge and left a legacy felt up to this day as the Matsanga Movement subjected children to child labour and also very few children got access to education.

Landmines are another legacy inherited from the civil war by Chipinge. Both the Renamo and Frelimo relied heavily on the use of landmines during the civil war. This however affected Chipinge as people were made amputees and some killed. So a legacy left by Matsanga war cannot be filled up to this day as landmines were not removed. Unlike in Mozambique where the H.A.L.O. Trust was set to remove remaining and scattered landmines in the country,¹⁹ in Chipinge nothing of that sought was done despite the fact that it was also a battle ground of the war.

Chipinge also suffered environmental pollution. The RENAMO, after killing the civilians, threw them into the rivers and dams, thus causing the spread of diseases in rural areas.²⁰ One resident of

Mabeye village said if the Matsanga killed a person, they forbade people from burying him or her as an evidence that the Matsanga were real. However this had a negative impact on the environment and it caused the spread of diseases.²¹

Emotional stresses also haunt people of Chipinge after the civil war. During the war people were also exposed to various forms of trauma like watching people being killed, watching corpses and violence.²² Thus people of Chipinge suffered emotional trauma and there was no psychological healing done after the war. Some people became mentally disturbed as a result. Thus the legacy from the war and its atrocities impacted on Chipinge negatively.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the incursions of the Matsanga into Chipinge, their impact and legacy on Chipinge. The impacts include destruction of tea and coffee estates which led to decreased production and hindrance of development, destruction of schools like Paidamoyo leading to a decrease in literacy rate, taking of children as child soldiers thus abusing children's rights, disruption of clinic and hospital activities there by compromising the health of Chipinge people, confiscation of peoples' property, food and livestock, forced migrations which led to reduction in production and family disintegrations. Violence against civilians leading to social instability, deaths and landmines which hindered development, killed people as well livestock.

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CHAPTER TWO

MEMORIES OF RENAMO ACTIVITIES AMONG THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF CHIPINGE

Introduction

As women and children is undeniably the most vulnerable group in any society it therefore needs special treatment. This chapter is going to explore the impact of the Matsanga Movement on women and children. It assumes that women and children have agency and are not simply victims of war, but non combatant's alike.¹ The impact of the Matsanga movement on women are sexual assaults, (*kuripiswangozi*) that is avenging spirits, looking for the family, fending for it, looking after and taking care of those injured during the war, stress and trauma. Also women and girls ended up in prostitution as a way of surviving and this had a disadvantage of related diseases and unwanted pregnancies. Single parent headed families led by women also increased. The reproductive health of women were neglected, poverty increased and women were subjected to as passive citizens.

To children, the Matsanga Movement had also detrimental effects as well as long lasting legacy in that it paved way for their exploitation, in being conscripted into the Renamo army as child soldiers, child labour became rampant and child headed families increased. Also the access to education and health services were compromised leading to poverty as well as early marriages. Deaths, mutilations, trauma, landmines and brutalities were among other incidences which children suffered as a direct result of the civil war and these are discussed in detail in this chapter.

Impact on women and girls

Women and girls were kidnapped during the Matsanga Movement. They were mostly kidnapped by Renamo rebels who were referred to as the armed bandits by the Frelimo due to their habits. Mrs. Makuyana of GedhiResimbi confessed that the Matsanga were involved in the kidnapping of women and girls. And that in 1988 she was kidnapped by the Matsanga while she was on her way from the river. She also said that when she reached the Renamo base which was along the river, there were also other women and girls who had been kidnapped also and some had their babies at their backs.¹ This went in line with Chabal et al who reported that Renamo's position within the country rested on the mobilization of forced labour, the disposition of food from the local population and kidnapping of women and children.² Thus women suffered greatly during the Matsanga Movement especially those who lived in outlying boarder areas with Mozambique.

Women looked for those who had been injured during the war. In Chipinge the Matsanga were involved in a bloody civil war meaning that there was killing of people and the lucky one where left only injured. Thus it was the duty of the women to look after the injured as clinics were very few and also they could not contain the increased number of those who had been injured. Also people from very faraway and remote places like Hakwata and Mahenye found it difficult to carry their injured relatives to hospitals as they were very far and transport was not reliable and even if they did, the women would provide primary health care before they were taken to hospitals. This was also found by Diva et al who noted that women acted as mothers of the civil war by taking care of those who had been injured in the civil war.³ The women did not only take care of the injured as was reflected by Mr. Simango who said that it was the duty of his wife to take care of him whenever he was tortured by Renamo soldiers.⁴ Also the Renamo beat people in Chipinge and it was the duty of women to take care of those who had been beaten tortured,

beaten or beaten by Renamo soldiers and if one was unmarried the mother or sister will take care of that person. Hence this qualifies Dava et al's assertion that women during the civil war acted as mothers of the war thus showing how women were affected most by the civil war.

During this insurgent movement, women and girls suffered from rape. Rape was either from the local people who took advantage of the disorder and instability prevailing in Chipinge or was from the militants groups that is Renamo and Frelimo. Women were minority of combatants and perpetrators of war; they increasingly suffer the greatest harm. Parties in conflict often rape women. Sometimes using systematic rape as strategy of war.⁵ Women and girls in Chipinge also suffered from various forms of abuse; which includes sexual abuse by the marauding RENAMO soldiers. Sexual abuse was common in areas where RENAMO forces were operating; rape was used by these forces to instil fear in the citizenry and also to showcase the government's inability to protect its citizens.⁶ In line with this women Renamo raped people of Chipinge as a way of fixing relatives of those who had relatives who joined ZANLA forces in Mozambique as the Renamo was a product of Rhodesian intelligence. A resident from Zona Estate confessed that Matsanga could constantly rape women and young girls of even the age of 8.⁷ Thus given such records it shows that women were caught between a rock and a hard surface during the civil war as they were raped by sex predators especially from the Renamo military wing.

Although some women and girls were raped by the militants, it was not always the case some women however ended up in prostitution. Dava et al noted that due to the Matsanga Movement, there emerged social problems like prostitution by young ladies and women as they were looking for ways to survive.⁸ Mr. Mutisi in an interview with the researcher reviewed that some ladies during this time were engaging in prostitution especially by the Matsanga as they needed protection since their families could not be attacked if the militants had an interest in it. Also it

was meant for securing of food as the militants could raid from anywhere and give it to their mistresses.⁹ Thus women were affected by the war as they ended up using their bodies for survival.

In conjunction with the above, prostitution was accompanied by its related problems in Chipinge and these include sexually transmitted infections like gonorrhoea and syphilis. This scenario seemed to be common also in Chokwe District of Mozambique as was reported by Diva et al who reported that prostitution come along with its problems like STI's.¹⁰ Also some unlawful activities were done by women as a result of this civil war in Chipinge and these include prostitution and beer brewing. Displaced women arrive with no asset or skill they survived through domestic work, petty trading, begging or beer brewing and prostitution.¹¹ In Chipinge most popular beer brewed during this time were *sope*, *tototo* and *njanguya*. And this impacted on women as it was unlawful and in some cases, these women were arrested.

During this time of the civil war there was also an increase in single parent mostly female headed family. This was because the girl was either raped or fell in love with a Matsanga and become pregnant, and as they were not permanent residents, they could not take care of the family, they either ran away or change an area of operation. Hence they left their women alone as a single parent. On the other hand, the fathers of these families joined the militants or were killed during the war, thus leaving the women as heads of families. Thus the Matsanga impacted negatively on the lives of girls and women in Chipinge.

In addition, women were double burdened by caring for the family, fending for it as well as producing food in the fields. This civil war also subjects women to many evils in support of this Dava et al said that women in Chokwe District saw the increase in women headed families since

the men could have migrated to neighbouring Zimbabwe and South Africa to seek for employment. Thus women were then supposed to take care of the children and look after the cattle. And sometimes women had to travel long journeys carrying children and luggage running away from the Matsanga.¹² In Chipinge also a similar case occurred where women could be left to look for the family as their male counterparts had gone for employment somewhere else and they preferred Harare where they were industries. Thus this shows that the effects of the same civil war in Chokwe a rural district and Chipinge are more or less the same as both were rural areas which depended on agriculture and that the Matsanga actively participated in these two Districts. Thus this shows women suffered as a result of the Matsanga movement.

As a result of the civil war, women and girls faced many socio problems like *Kuripiswangozi* that is avenging spirits. As during the war people were involved in the killing of one another. Thus these 'living dead' were now after the war ended were demanding compensation in the form of girls or women. One traditional healer reviewed that in Chipinge after the civil war, many girls especially virgin ones were used in avenging spirits of those who had been killed during the civil war. The girl was in some cases brought in the family of the one killed and had her separate house at the backyard of the homestead. That girl was not allowed to marry anyone and in some families any man from the family of the one killed could enter the house of the girl and satisfy his sexual desires.¹³ This shows that women as a result of the Matsanga Movement suffered a lot and were subjected to inhuman practices and saw their rights violated in the name of avenging spirits.

Women and girls were also subjected to stress and trauma. This was caused by watching horrendous scenes like people being mutilated, killed, tormented and tortured during the civil war. Cement has noted that Renamo acquired a reputation of savagery. It became well known for

a policy of mutilating civilian population including children, by cutting off ears, nose, lips and sexual organs.¹⁴ Diva et al's research has it that the war caused emotional stress for women and children by watching their parents being killed and they witness terror of the war.¹⁵ Thus this shows that the Movement exposed women to much impact and hence the women suffered most in Chipinge as a direct result of the Matsanga Movement.

As a result of the Matsanga movement, women suffered more deaths than men. This was supported by Ogbonna-Nwaogu who noted that although it is difficult to calculate the exactly number and proportional killings in any war, it is a fact that when civil wars or wars in general reach civilian population the number of female casualties increase.¹⁶ In case of the Matsanga, women became victims of death and mutilation as they were captured in the fields whilst looking for food or at home whilst cooking for the children whereas their male counterparts will be in hibernation in mountains and forests as Chipinge has many mountains and forest for example Chirinda Forest. Thus it becomes clear that the gender and societal roles placed women at high risk of death. Hence the civil war impacted and left an everlasting legacy on the women and girls of Chipinge.

Women and girls during and after the Matsanga Movement were neglected of their reproductive health. There was no serious concern over the reproductive health of women and girls in Chipinge, be it the refugees from the Mozambican side or the original inhabitants of Chipinge. Diseases which come as a result of the war were not taken caution of neither proper preventive care for females was given.¹⁷ Also those women who had been sexually abused in Chipinge, it was taken as a taboo and this led to dissolution of families, since many married women who survived rape could not return to their husbands, due to social norm that put much shame and blame for rape on the woman not the rapist.¹⁸ Even hospitals during that time there was limited

care even in the form of counselling to those who had been victimized by the Matsanga worse still medication. Thus this civil war subjected women to health problems especially reproductive health as they were prone to rape as well as sexual assaults in Chipinge.

In addition, during the Matsanga period, women in Chipinge were not combatants. This subjected women to be just passive citizen and this placed women at many consequences as only men were left with power to decide as to when and how to start a conflict as well as allocating of resources. In support of this Naraghi-Anderline and Manchanda noted that societies become militarized breeding new levels of violence as well as impurity for gender based human right violation, sexual violation, forced eviction and lack of effective protection for women refugees and internationally displaced people.¹⁹ Thus women of Chipinge during the Matsanga Movement were at the receiving end of the impact.

As a result of this civil war, women become very poor and most of them began to live in abject poverty. This was aggravated by the dominant patriarchal values which are in Africa where the means and modes of production are owned and controlled by man. As was in Somalia, that most girls dropped out of school as it become dangerous to travel to school, in some cases this accelerated their early marriages.²⁰ Likewise in Chipinge as was pointed out in Chapter one of this research schools like Paidamoyo and Muzite were closed, girls of school going age could not access education and remained in their respective homes. Thus this also increased the chances of early marriages in Chipinge and this had negative impact as women were not empowered so they continue living in abject poverty. The root cause being the Matsanga Movement. Thus the civil war left a legacy which is still prevalent up to today in Chipinge District.

In addition to the above, women lived and continue to live in poverty as a direct consequences of the war as their means of survival were shattered and hope closed by the civil war. Bryden and Steiner show that the war aggravated what they called the feminization poverty insisting that many women live alone or without relatives to support them and a significant number of women in Somalia are the only breadwinners in the family.²¹ Thus like in Somalia; the consequences are the same as those felt by women in Chipinge. Hence the war impacted on women and girls by making suffer most whilst they were the least to cause it.

Women and girls were used to carry baggage of the Matsanga during the civil war.

Impact on children

During the Matsanga movement, children were in cooperated into the Renamo army and this affected child's education and social development. Renamo had gained a reputation of extreme brutality, carrying out exemplary massacres and mutilation and conscripting child soldiers.²² They joined the militia either voluntarily or under involuntary means such as coercion, raiding or trickery. Machel's study of 1996 has it that children recruitment was through raids, kidnapping, conscription from school camps or voluntarily by personal decision of a child to service in the militia.²³ Thus was the case in Chipinge as some children were captured at schools like Chikore and Mt Selinda but however some joined voluntarily. In the militia, unfortunately these children were placed directly on the forefront of the fighting. And those being the least trained and having limited experience were the ones who suffered most of the deaths and injuries. Thus the Matsanga movement made children vulnerable to the evils of warfare.

Also servicing in the military at a tender age meant that these children were denied of their right to education since they had dropped out of school. Despite all the short term causes of this involvement in the fighting, the long term and negative legacy was to drop out of school. Up to this day, those children who were in the militia of the Matsanga are leaving in abject poverty since they had not had the opportunity of education. Also their social relations within the society are undeniably bad as they have been involved in killing of fellow villagers during the civil war. Thus the Matsanga Movement had a long lasting legacy left on children and cannot be corrected. Hence the civil affected children negatively.

Gone are the days when wars were fought between country's armies on a remote battle field, the vast nowadays are taking place within the inhabitants of people where children and women are left behind and they make up 90% of the casualties.²³ Thus likewise the Matsanga was, it was fought within the Eastern Highlands and people of Chipinge particularly children become the most victims of landmines, firing bullets, machetes as well brutality of the Matsanga. Thus the civil war impacted much on children as they were always on the receiving side of the effects and could not protect themselves.

Also as some parents were killed and others migrated, most families were sustained with child headed families. And these children were faced with a multiplicity of problems like food insecurity, lack of parental guidance, limited health and educational access. Thus this had led to early marriages, exploitation by fellow villagers and abuses. One resident of Chipinge has lamented that as a bid to cater for the family, the elder child could opt to look for employment and some took advantage of such children and kill them for ritual purposes.²⁴ Thus the children as a result of the Matsanga Movement were caught in between a rock and a hard surface as their well fare was compromised and were faced with a multiple of problems.

Children were exposed to horrendous activities such as watching dead people, people being killed and mutilated, and these traumatized children and affected their social development and this was abusive to children. Coupled with the evils of refugee life like living in tents, drinking unsafe water, exposure to harsh weather conditions as well as food shortages and related diseases like cholera, kwashiorkor, typhoid and bilhazia, children were affected for their entire lives. As such, the Matsanga Movement exposed children to many misfortunes thus the war had disastrous effects on children.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored on the impact of the Matsanga movement on Chipinge women and children. On women the war had caused sexual harassment and rape, women were kidnapped, women double burdened by caring for the sick, fending for the family and producing food for it. Exposure to prostitution and sexually transmitted infections was also a direct result of the Matsanga Movement, single headed families by women increased also and poverty also ravaged women as there was misallocation of resources. They also carried baggage, cooked for and acted as spies for the Renamo and this brought women on a compromising position on women in their society and refusing was not possible. Dehumanizing practices like *kuripiswangozi* was done on women also as a result of the Matsanga movement. Reproductive health of women was also looked down as people were concentrating on curbing the Matsanga, women became refugees.

On children, the effects were detrimental and long term as they were conscripted into the army as child soldiers while dropping out from school. The child headed families increased and these were associated with exploitation, child labour as well as early marriages. Rape was the order of the day especially to the girl child. Maiming, mutilation and torture was rampant especially to those children whose parents have escaped and left them alone. Refugee life, starvation and trauma all affected the child and some of these impacts have lived up to this day as poverty and illiteracy rock those who were affected by this movement when they were still children during the time of the Matsanga.

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CHAPTER THREE

LEGACY OF THE RENAMO WAR

Introduction

This chapter unpacks the legacies left by Renamo war on Chipinge. These legacies include landmines, deserted homes, damaged infrastructure including destroyed roads and destruction of schools leading to increased school dropouts are which is the root of illiteracy and poverty in Chipinge. Disabled people and graves of victims of the Renamo war, unplanned pregnancies and rape victims who were left with diseases like HIV/AIDS and gonorrhoea are also part of an inherited legacy of the Renamo war. Psychological trauma, guerrilla mentality and exposure to refugee life are a direct result of the Renamo war.

Legacy of the Renamo war

One of the major legacies left by the Renamo war in Chipinge is the issue of landmines. They were planted during the war. Unlike in Mozambique where HALO Trust (non-profit organization which removes debris left behind by war, in particular landmines) began pioneering clearance programme in 1993 and employed more than 1,600 Mozambican people, over the course of twenty-two years, drawn from every province in Mozambique. Using both manual and mechanical de-mining methods, cleared more than 171,000 landmines - about 80% of the total mines destroyed.¹ In Chipinge there was no such operations regardless of the fact that the war was also fought in Chipinge. One resident of GedhiResimbi said that they were living in fear as the landmines are still scattered around their area. And in 2014 a boy died as a result of landmine

which burst in the area.² Thus it can be seen that landmines are a legacy which the Renamo war left on Chipinge.

The Renamo war left some people disabled and these people resembled a legacy of the war up to this day. Of these disabled, some were injured during the course of the war and some as a result of mutilations and torture. Landmines made people amputees. MrMangemba said that the Renamo war left many people disabled in their area and that the war caused much pain up to this day as these people were born without these disabilities.³ Thus this shows that the war Renamo war left a legacy of disabled people in Chipinge and this can be seen up to date.

Graves of victims of Matsanga in Chipinge are a legacy left by the Renamo war on Chipinge and they are seen up to this day despite that the war ended 24 years ago. People of Chipinge are continuously reminded of their loved ones who were killed during the Renamo war by these graves. Mrs. Kahlamba said that the grave of her husband which is located near her yard always remind her of the war and its related evils which they were subjected to. And these include torturing and watching her husband killed by the Matsanga. She recalled that, her husband was placed on an altar made from wood and was burnt alive by dropping burning plastics on him.⁴ Thus it can be seen that the graves of victims of the Matsanga are a legacy which the Renamo war left upon the people of Chipinge and forgetting the war is not possible as they are constantly reminded by these legacies.

As a result of the Renamo war, people were traumatized. This psychological trauma is witnessed by the actions of the people of Chipinge whenever they hear about the Matsanga's insurgency they will seek refuge inland where there is security. This trauma comes as a result of watching people being tortured, maimed and mutilated during the war. In an interview with the Standard

news crew, one member at a temporary refugee camp at Mabeye, he said that after they heard that the Matsanga were coming from Gorongosa into their area, they then started to move inland in fear that the Matsanga would assault them, take away their cattle and goats. Thus Renamo invokes frightful memories for thousands of people living across the Zimbabwean boarder with Mozambique.⁵ Hence Renamo destroyed people's hopes of a peaceful living even after the Matsanga movement.

Many children in Chipinge are a legacy left by the Renamo war. As the Renamo soldiers were operating in the area, some had concubines amongst the women from within the area and had children, some of the children are as a result of rape from the Matsanga. Unfortunately when the war ended, the Matsanga left these children fatherless in Chipinge. These children are still living amongst the people of Chipinge and resemble a legacy of the Renamo war as they constantly remind people of the war although it ended long back in 1992.

Deserted homes due to the Matsanga incursions resembled a legacy from the Renamo war. Many people who lived in the outlying boarder areas especially Hakwata and Mariya migrated inland to areas like Checheche and Rimbi thereby leaving their homes as deserted homesteads. Mr. Sithole said that there are many deserted homesteads in Hakwata as a result of Renamo war and whenever they see these homes the memories of the war come into their minds.⁶ Thus this shows that deserted homes in Chipinge especially in outlying boarder areas resemble a legacy of the Renamo war as people moved far from the border where there was security.

The Matsanga in their operations targeted infrastructure. Thus in so doing destroyed the road that links Chipinge and Mt Selinda-Chirinda as they planted landmines during the war. Nugent has noted that Renamo specifically targeted the infrastructural network including roads and rail and

worst of all schools and hospitals.⁷ In line with this general view, one resident from Chirinda has said that the road which links Chipinge and their area has many pot holes as a result of Renamo activities since they planted landmines in that road.⁸ Thus this shows that infrastructural damage especially roads in Chipinge are a legacy which was inherited from the Renamo war and whenever people saw these damages it invokes their memory of the war and its effects upon them.

Schools were also destroyed during the Renamo war. Schools which were destroyed include Paidamoyo, Muzite and Chikore⁹ but fortunately they were renovated and are now operational. But prior to their opening, many people had dropped out of school and the legacy of illiteracy has sustained to this day as most of those who dropped barely had the chance to continue with their education. Mrs. Chikate said that she dropped out of school in 1984 when Paidamoyo school was burnt down by the Matsanga. She added that she never had another chance to proceed with her education and she confessed that she can neither read nor write because she dropped school when she was doing Grade 1.¹⁰ Thus amongst the people of Chipinge who were disrupted of their education by the Matsanga incursions a legacy of illiteracy rocks amongst them and this has catalyzed the poverty levels amongst them.

Guerrilla mentality is also another legacy which was left by the Renamo war upon Chipinge. Renamo recruited its soldiers from amongst people of Chipinge and some were even children. These people after the civil war were encooperated into the society but unfortunately, when there was an insurgency in 2012 they rejoined the Matsanga. Residents of the town recalled that by the end of March 2013 several hundred were camped out at the local Renamo office and conducting marching drills. The men were all at least 40 years old. A peculiar feature of this conflict has been Renamo's reliance on ageing combatants from the civil war, rather than recruiting fresh

blood.¹¹ Likewise in Chipinge, old former Renamo combatants were incooperated into the army after 2014. The remobilization of former Renamo combatants shows that the ex-combatants have not faded away and range of interrelated sets of relationships that transformed in the post-war period and continue to do so.¹² Thus this shows that guerrilla mentality has been rooted amongst the people of Chipinge as a result of the Renamo war.

Burnt houses during the Matsanga movement are a legacy which the war left upon Chipinge. The Matsanga burnt civilian's houses as a strategy of war. Also the Frelimo burned people's houses in order to discourage them from supporting Renamo. Mr. Chikuse said that his homestead in Mariya was burned down by the Renamo in 1979 and he then deserted to Maronga. He went on to say that whenever he visited the area, his burnt homestead always reminds him of the horrendous experiences he experienced during the Renamo war.¹³ Thus burned houses and homesteads are a legacy which the Renamo war left upon Chipinge.

Victims of rape have sustained up to this day and they are legacy which the Renamo war left upon the people of Chipinge. These people are haunted by emotional trauma as they receive hardly any psychological counselling after the war. Unlike in Chokwe District of Mozambique where two mental institutions were established by UNICEF to offer services to the war victims as there was a psychological impact of the war on the civilian population in the Chokwe District.¹⁴ Thus in Chipinge these rape victims whenever they recalled their experiences in the war they are traumatized. Thus rape victims are a legacy which the Renamo war left upon Chipinge.

In line with above, some rape victims sustained with Sexually Transmitted Infections and unwanted pregnancies. Infections which were common during the Matsanga Movement were

gonorrhoea and syphilis. Mrs. Njanjeni said that during the Matsanga one was lucky to be raped and not infected with gonorrhoea and syphilis as the Renamo indulge in sexual activities with many women.¹⁵ Rape victims were double stressed by sexual assault, infected with diseases and sometimes unwanted pregnancies. Thus the war had detrimental effects on rape victims and their relatives. Hence these rape victims are a living legacy which the war left. Also sexually transmitted diseases inflicted much pain amongst the people of Chipinge whenever they remind of a catastrophe that had befallen them long back.

Child headed families was also a legacy which the Renamo war left upon Chipinge especially during the early years after the end of the war. During this insurgent movement, there was family disintegration in which some parents were killed, some migrated to work in far places and this paved ways for child-headed families. Mr. Matata said that children who headed these families faced many problems including exploitation, subjection to child labour and early marriages.¹⁶ Although it is important to note that this legacy was only for a short time, it is important to note that problems encountered by these children haunted them up to this day for instance, early marriages is the root cause of poverty since these children did not pursue with their education. Thus the Renamo war left a legacy of poverty which is still felt up to this day.

Many agriculture lands which were supposed to be manipulated for the better of Chipinge were abandoned as a result of the Renamo war. Mr. Mushoperi a businessman in Hakwata said that most arable land in the area are not utilized since people are not prepared to invest in such violence prone areas since during the Renamo war crops were burned down in Hakwata.¹⁷ Thus it can be deduced that emotional trauma amongst the people from the Renamo war is hindering development in some parts of Chipinge as people are not ready to invest in arable lands in

Hakwata as the area is prone to attack from the Renamo if there arose another insurgent movement.

Refugee life is another legacy which the Renamo war left upon people of Chipinge. People from outlying boarder areas of Chipinge are now used to refugee life and others had two homes. Mrs. Mukwengwa said that Matsanga taught them not to rely on one homestead and that they cannot build permanent houses in Gedhi Resimbi. She went on to say that her permanent home is in Manzvire but because the area is drought prone thus they farm in Gedhi resimbi but they cannot live permanently in that area since the place is not safe.¹⁸ Thus the Renamo left a legacy of not permanently residing in outlying boarder areas and this had negative impact on the area as it remain backward since people are not ready to develop it as they fear an insurgency of another Renamo war. Some people in Chipinge found their way to Tongogara Refugee Camp and its now their permanent resident although the war had ended. Thus it is logical to argue that the Renamo war left a legacy of refugee life amongst the people of Chipinge.

The boarder issue is another legacy left by the Matsanga insurgent movement in Chipinge. After the war, as the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique is not guarded, it has paved way to illegal cross border trading and illegal crossing. This was necessitated by that during the war people could move freely and there was no strict measure to curb these movements. Thus that's where the seeds of boarder issue were sawn. Up to now the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe are finding it difficult to curb illegal crossing of the border on that Chipinge side.

Conclusion

The Renamo war has left many legacies upon Chipinge community and its people. These legacies include infrastructural damages like roads, houses, schools and farm implements. Socially people were traumatized, child headed families increased and their related problems multiplied, disabled people were left, people reduced to refugees in their own community. Guerrilla mentality has been rooted amongst the people, rape victims and related sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies rocks in Chipinge due to this insurgent movement. Graves of war victims remained; abandoned homes and agricultural lands as well as landmines resemble a legacy from the Renamo war.

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DISSERTATION CONCLUSION

Impact and legacy of the Matsanga Movement on Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe, a case of Chipinge District 1976 to 1992 is a research carried out so as to fill the gap that even though there are many researches done on the subject hardly any has highlighted on the impact of this war on Chipinge district. Interviews, internet based, newspapers, textbooks and journals were used to come up this research.

Incursions of the Matsanga on Chipinge started as early as 1976. And these include aggressive movements into Chipinge include attack on infrastructure for example Chipinge-Sango road, attack on civilians, attack on farms including Rattleshouk and Zona Tea Estate, confiscation of livestock from civilians and New Year's Gift farm and as well attack on social amenities such as schools including Muzite and Paidamoyo, and hospitals such as Mt Selinda-Chirinda and Chikore Mission Hospital. Consequently this impacted on Chipinge by decreasing in production of tea and coffee as well as beef production, destruction of property like store rooms, irrigation equipment at farms, forced migrations to safe places, permanent disabilities, social instability, deaths as well as environmental pollution.

Women, girls and children also suffered as a result of the Matsanga Movement. On women the war had caused sexual harassment and rape, women were kidnapped, women double burdened by caring for the sick, fending for the family and producing food for it. Exposure to prostitution and sexually transmitted infections was also a direct result of the Matsanga Movement, single headed families by women increased also and poverty also ravaged women as there was misallocation of resources. They also carried baggage, cooked for and acted as spies for the

Renamo and this brought women on a compromising position on women in their society and refusing was not possible. Dehumanizing practices like kuripiswangozi was done on women also as a result of the Matsanga movement. Reproductive health of women was also looked down as people were concentrating on curbing the Matsanga, women became refugees.

On children, the effects were detrimental and long term as they were conscripted into the army as child soldiers while dropping out from school. The child headed families increased and these were associated with exploitation, child labour as well as early marriages. Rape was the order of the day especially to the girl child. Maiming, mutilation and torture was rampant especially to those children whose parents have escaped and left them alone. Refugee life, starvation and trauma all affected the child and some of these impacts and legacy have sustained up to this day as poverty and illiteracy rock those who were affected by this movement when they were still children during the time of the Matsanga.

The last chapter explored on the legacy of the Renamo war on Chipinge. It has left many legacies upon Chipinge community and its people including infrastructural damages like roads, houses, schools and farm implements. Socially people were traumatized, child headed families increased and their related problems multiplied, disabled people were left, people reduced to refugees in their own community. Guerilla mentality has been rooted amongst the people, rape victims and related sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies rocks in Chipinge due to this insurgent movement. Graves of war victims remained; abandoned homes and agricultural lands as well as landmines resemble a legacy from the Renamo war.

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The above picture shows children of school going age basking on the sun and these are school drop outs at Mabege temporary refuge camp in Chipinge. (Picture by OBEY MANAYITI (The Standard))

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