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GIRLS IN WAR, WOMEN IN PEACE: REINTEGRATION AND (IN)JUSTICE IN POST-WAR MOZAMBIQUE



A MINOR DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD
OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN JUSTICE AND TRANSFORMATION

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2011

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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DATE

In Memoriam Art Bunker, my grandfather,
who passed away in May 2009.
His creativity and unending sense of humor
are with me to this day.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the longitudinal reintegration of girls involved in the post-independence war in Mozambique using in-depth qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews, and a wide range of documents. Piecing together the narratives of over 70 informants, the dissertation chronicles the way in which the war and the post-conflict environment, and to a lesser extent, the historical cultural milieu, have contributed to these women's current realities. The study frames the narratives of informants in light of the local accounts of war and reveals the ways in which they navigated the social vicissitudes of their warscapes and the post-war environment. The findings show that violence and past experiences continue to manifest in women's daily lives nearly two decades after the denouement of the conflict. It is evident that additional longitudinal research in this area is much needed to interpret the long-term outcomes of girls who, willingly or not, participated in a destructive and brutal conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study could not have been completed without the encouragement and patience of my colleagues, friends and family. I would first like to thank the people of Mozambique, whose captivating history and determination for peace continue to inspire me. A warm thank you to all those who welcomed me with open arms during my first month of preliminary research in Mozambique. Many thanks to Dr. Boia Efraime Jr. and Laercia at *Associação Reconstruindo a Esperança* for all the support in relation to my work in Ilha Josina Machel.

To those at my research sites who accepted me and who agreed to recount their war experiences 18 years on. My deepest gratitude goes to the war surviving women in rural Mozambique who I will never forget; without their narratives my dissertation would have been particularly dull. To all those in Ilha Josina Machel who volunteered not just their narratives but also their friendship. A heartfelt thanks to Casimiro at the Administrative Post for all his help particularly at the beginning of my stay in Ilha. To the beautiful children of Ilha, particularly Telma and Sidonia, who allowed me to take part in their lives for several months and always seemed to keep a smile on my face.

I am grateful to the warm people of Mandlakazi, especially those at the administrative post in Lhalala. To Elisa M. for allowing me to accompany her to Mandlakazi twice; for the laughter despite less than optimal accommodation, seemingly endless egg breakfasts, stifling summer temperatures and, most of all, for the thought-provoking discussions about women and war.

This study would not have been possible without the help of my Changana speaking interpreters; to Anastasia, Elisa and especially Felicidade who warmly welcomed me into her home during a rainstorm and trudged through the mud and heat with me for several days without food and complaint.

A warm and deserving thank you to Associate Professor Fiona Ross for believing in me and my project from the very beginning. Her advice and patience were crucial to this study. I am also thankful for the guidance from Emeritus Professor André du Toit, convener of my program.

I would like to thank my wonderful family. To my grandparents and particularly, my parents, for their patience and support through this seemingly endless year in Southern Africa. I owe thanks to my mother for all the phone calls, emails and encouragement and to my father, who endured the first month of my fieldwork and the food riots in Maputo with me. Thank you to Daniel, Melissa, David and Susanna for being the best brothers and sisters-in-law anyone could hope for and to Abby and Caleb (and another nephew on the way), for their infectious spunkiness and energy.

And most of all, to my God for giving me the strength and determination to finish this degree.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND TERMS

<i>Afetados</i>	War affected individuals
AGP	<i>Acordo Geral de Paz</i> (General Peace Agreement, GPA)
<i>Alfabetização</i>	Government run adult literacy classes
<i>Aldeia</i>	A term in Portuguese denoting a certain area within a locality, translated as communal village in English.
AMODEG	<i>Associação Mocambiçano dos Desmobilizados de Guerra</i> (Mozambican Association of War Demobilized)
AMOSAPU	<i>Associação Moçambicana de Saúde Pública</i> (Mozambican Association of Public Health)
ARES	<i>Associação Reconstruindo a Esperança</i> (Association Rebuilding Hope)
<i>Bairro</i>	A term in Portuguese, similar to <i>aldeia</i> , denoting a certain area within a locality, translated as communal village in English.
<i>Capulana</i>	A colorful patterned piece of cotton textile worn by women or used to carry small children, wrap up goods or for other similar purposes.
Changana	A local language with Tsonga ethno-linguistic roots widely spoken in southern Mozambique and in all of my research sites. According to the 1997 census, 11.3% of the population of Mozambique speaks this local language as a mother tongue. (Alternate spellings include Machangana, Shangana, and Shangaan.)
<i>Chibalo</i>	A system of forced labor under Portuguese colonial rule. (Also spelled <i>xibalo</i> and <i>chibaro</i>).
CVM	<i>Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique</i> (Mozambican Red Cross)
CWP	Children and War Program (C&W)
<i>Destacamento Feminino</i>	The Female Detachment was a group of girls and women who were given military training and served a variety of purposes both during the liberation and civil wars in Mozambique. During the civil war, DFs (members of the <i>Destacamento Feminino</i>) existed both in FRELIMO and RENAMO forces.
<i>Dumba Nengue</i>	Literally means ‘you must trust your feet’. During the war, the <i>Dumba Nengue</i> corridor, situated in southern Mozambique along the national highway number one, was the area where several large massacres occurred. The term is also used to refer to those who traded informally due to the pressure they received before the liberalization of 1987.
DTR	Documentation, Tracing and Reunification
<i>Feiticeiria</i>	African traditional medicine used not for healing but to harm and gain power over an individual.

FRELIMO	The current ruling political party in Mozambique, formerly <i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> (Mozambican Liberation Front)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
<i>Ku femba</i>	A ceremony to exorcise spirits literally meaning “to catch the spirit”.
<i>Kuhlapsa</i>	A purification ceremony with a traditional healer used to cleanse individuals from evil spirits.
<i>Lobolo</i>	Bride price, the goods or money given to the family of the bride before marriage.
<i>Machamba</i>	Government granted private agricultural plot
<i>Matsanga</i>	RENAMO was given the nickname <i>matsanga</i> , derived from the name of the first leader of RENAMO, namely André Matsangaissa, a former FRELIMO commander and dissident. The word soon took on the meaning of bandit, which is how many viewed RENAMO during and even after the war. Many use this term when recounting their war experiences.
Metical	The currency in use in Mozambique. The plural of this currency is meticais.
MMCAS	<i>Ministerio da Mulher e da Coordenação da Acção Social</i> (Ministry of the Woman and Social Action)
MNR	<i>Movimento Nacional de Resistência</i> (Mozambican National Resistance). In 1980, the name changed to RENAMO.
NGO	Non-governmental organization
OMM	<i>Organização da Mulher Moçambicana</i> (Organization of Mozambican Women) is an organization that was founded and is supported by FRELIMO.
ONUMOZ	United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Mozambique
<i>Régulo</i>	Local chiefs used by the Portuguese and given nearly total jurisdiction over their local populations. The term is still used to this day in reference to local traditional leaders.
RENAMO	Political party in Mozambique, formerly <i>Restistência Nacional de Moçambique</i> . Also known as the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR).
<i>Tempo de fome</i>	The time of hunger, a phrase used often in rural areas, signifies the time before the first rain and harvest time where little food is available for those who live off subsistence farming.
<i>Nyamusoro</i>	A diviner, healer and exorcist, possessed by <i>tinguluve</i> or <i>mahlonga</i> spirits, the majority of whom are women. This type of healer emerged when Tsonga spirits began to synthesize with Nguni and Ndau spirits.
<i>Nyanga</i>	A practitioner who treats illness and misfortune. All except the <i>Nyanga</i> -healer are possessed by spirits and act as intermediaries

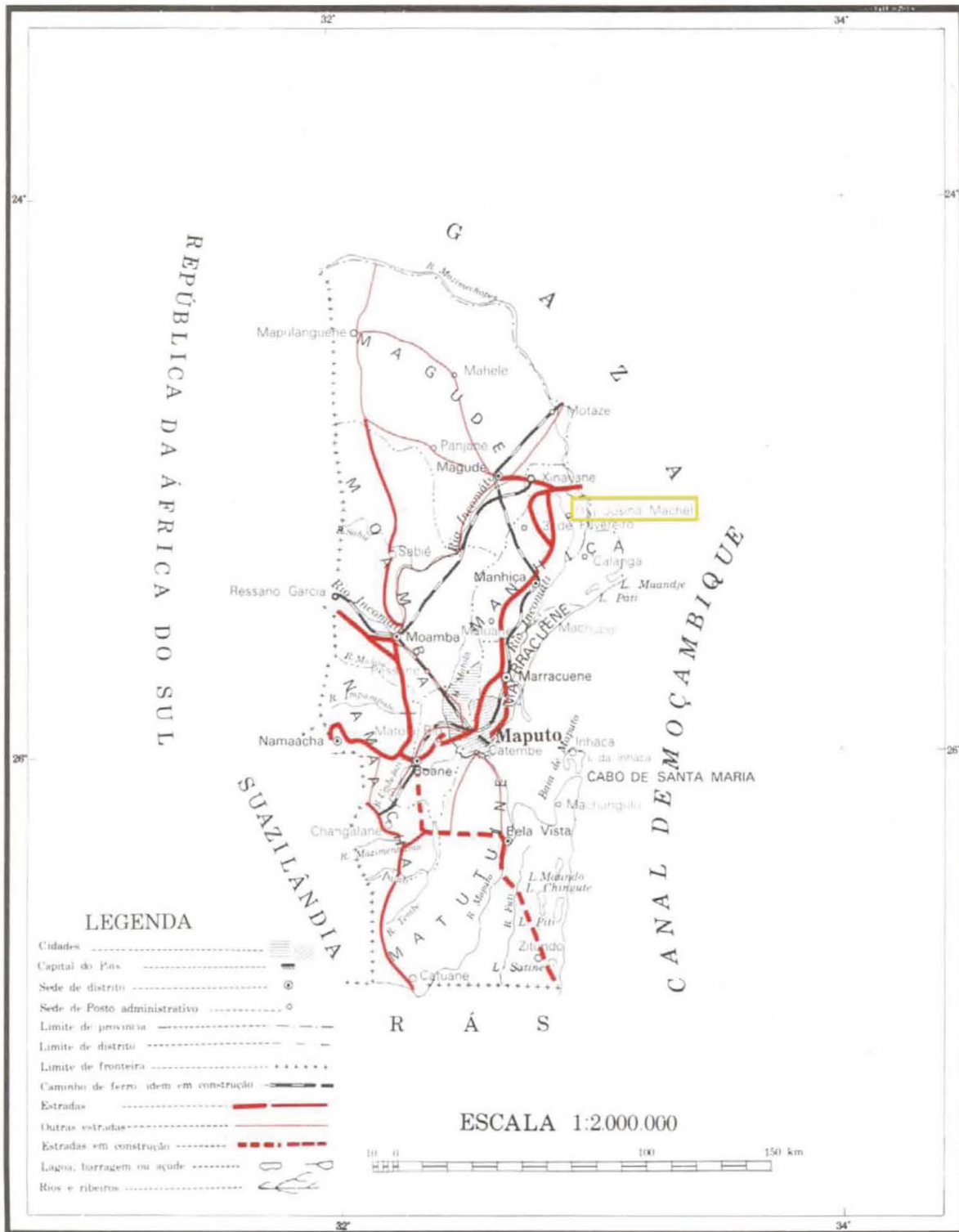
	between the present and the world of the ancestral spirits. (Plural: <i>tinyanga</i>)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNOHAC	United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination
<i>Xima</i>	A corn based staple food that, when made by hand, takes several days to prepare and includes removing the kernels from the cob, pounding, soaking, grinding and then cooking. <i>Xima</i> is called <i>Usya</i> in Changana.
Zionist church	A traditional African church (unrelated to the Jewish Zionist movement) with widespread adherence throughout southern Africa. Some denominations mix traditional African beliefs with Christian values and allow the practice of polygamy.
<i>Zonas verdes</i>	Literally green zones, indicating rural areas.

MAP ONE: MOZAMBIQUE



MAP TWO: MAPUTO PROVINCE

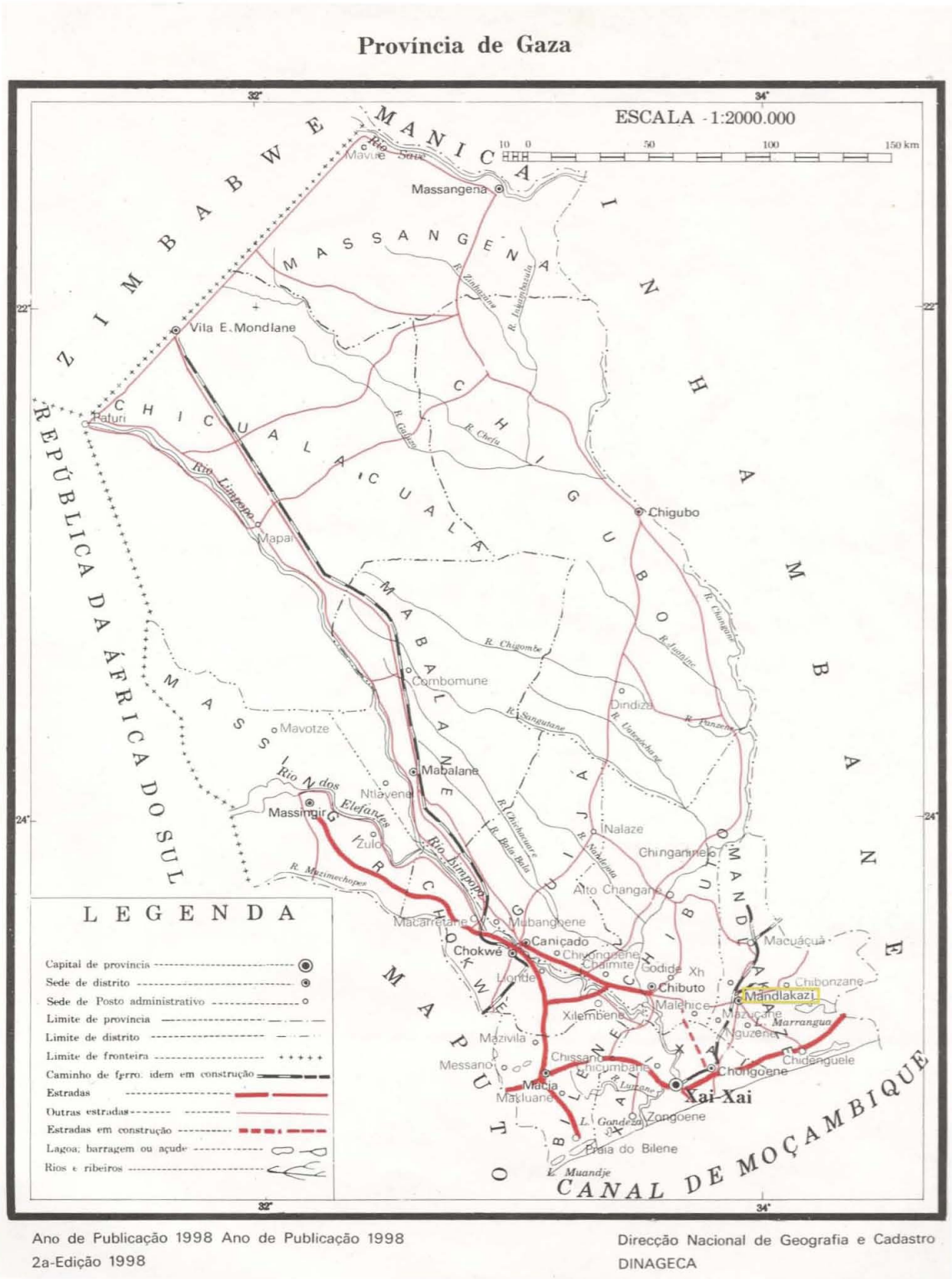
Provincia de Maputo



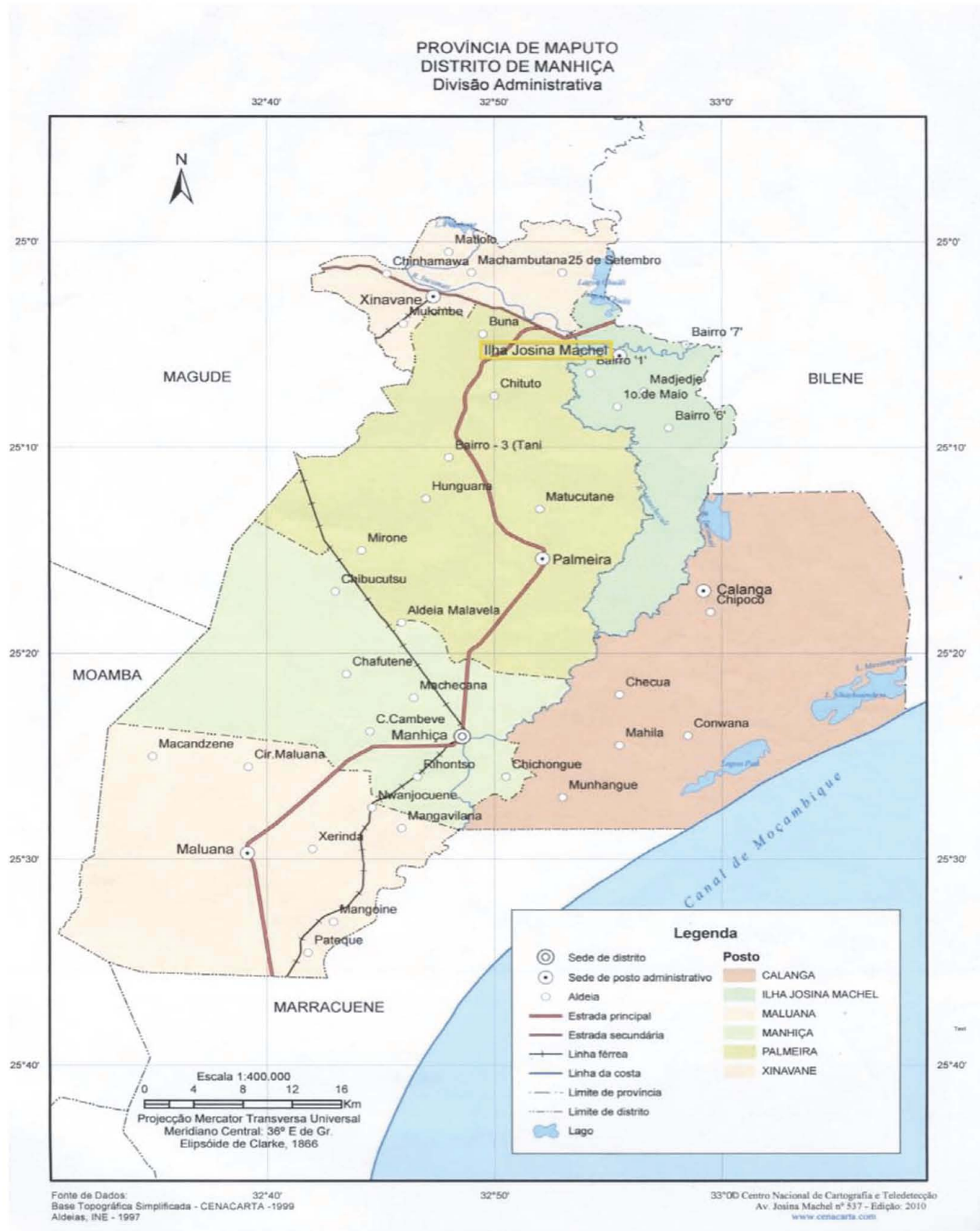
Ano de Publicação 1998
2a-Edição

Direcção Nacional de Geografia e Cadastro
DINAGECA

MAP THREE: GAZA PROVINCE

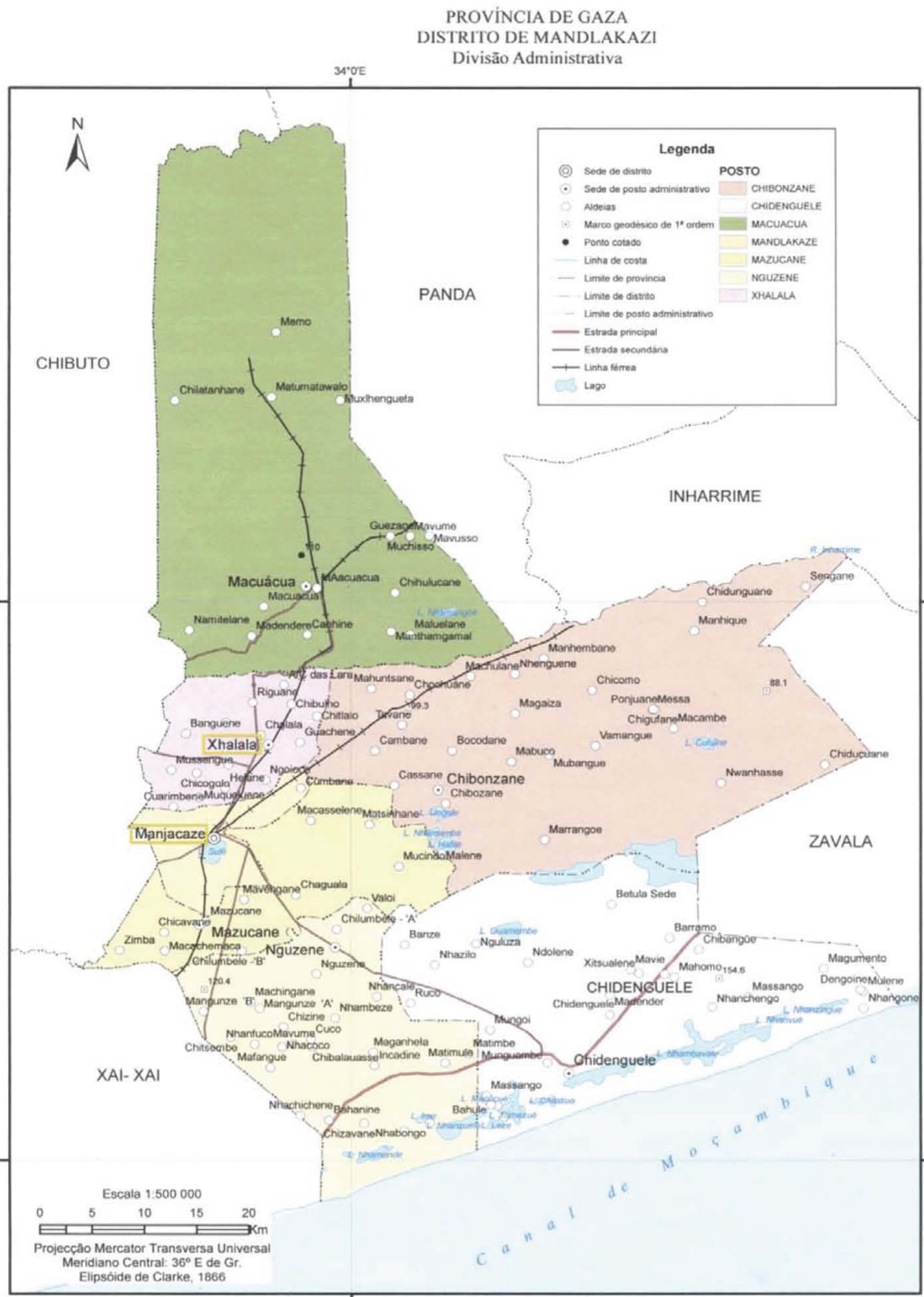


MAP FOUR: MANHIÇA DISTRICT¹



¹ Ilha Josina Machel is the easternmost light green area on the map. Some of the *bairros* on the map are labeled; however, not all of them are in the correct place. For example, in reality, *Bairro 7* is south of *Bairro 6*.

MAP FIVE: MANDLAKAZI DISTRICT



Fonte de Dados:
base Topográfica Simplificada - CENACARTA - 1999
Aldeias - INE - 1997

©Centro Nacional de Cartografia e Teledeteção
Av. Josina Machel nº 537 - Edição: 2010



A young girl smiles softly while playing and drawing pictures in the dirt. Ilha Josina Machel boasts a large population of young children, who enjoy spending their free time swimming in the river, playing with homemade toys and climbing trees to pick fruit. *Bairro 2*, Ilha Josina Machel, November 2010.

INTRODUCTION.

“I Suffered Greatly During the War”

Ka kulili'la mu ha'na che ha'mba.

We weep in our hearts like the tortoise.¹

-Mozambican proverb

¹ A proverb from the Ndaou culture of Central Mozambique meaning “The tortoise has no means of defence. He can only draw himself into his shell and weep in his own heart where no one can see, while he patiently awaits his fate. So under oppression and injustice we are defenseless, nor may we even show our tears, which must not fall down our cheeks, but only backward, silently, into our hearts” (Natalie Curtis, *Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent*, (Dover Publications, Inc.: Mineola, New York, 1920), 14.

“I suffered greatly during the war. I was abducted by RENAMO² in 1990 [at the age of eight]. . . with my mother and taken to the base. There at the base, my mother fled and I stayed”.³ This account was told by Florinha, whose life was radically altered by the war. Upon her arrival at the RENAMO base, she began working for an older woman. The woman one day ordered her to go out and harvest vegetables. Innocently, she went out and picked crops from a *machamba*.⁴ She carried them back to the base but the owner of the *machamba* followed her. The others with her fled, knowing who the woman in pursuit was. As punishment for stealing, her ears and two fingers on her right hand were cut off. She stayed at the base until the end of the war, and upon her homecoming, she entered into a relationship and bore three children. Despite her return to the daily life of peacetime, her war experience troubles her until today. In 2004, her husband began calling her defective and abusing her physically.⁵

This study describes the present realities and the little known narratives of girls associated with armed groups during the post-independence war in Mozambique [1976-1992].⁶ The tragedy of Florinha’s narrative is reflected in the lives of many other women who were impacted by the war in Mozambique. The majority of them returned home and attempted to establish “normality” in the wake of tragedy; still, for some, the effects of their past continue to this day. Their experiences go beyond and at the same time fall short of the national narrative of transitional justice. It is these voices, silences and intricacies that this research seeks to convey.

² RENAMO stands for Restistência Nacional de Moçambique. The acronym RENAMO appeared in 1980. Previously the rebel group was called MNR (Mozambican National Resistance).

³ Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 5, 2010.

⁴ An agricultural plot used for subsistence farming.

⁵ Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 5, 2010.

⁶ Unless otherwise specified, all references to the war throughout the study allude to the post-independence war. The different names used to refer to the war that I collected during my fieldwork are: the war of *matsanga* (RENAMO was given the nickname *matsanga*, derived from the name of the first leader of RENAMO, namely André Matsangaissa, a former FRELIMO commander and dissident. The word soon took on the meaning of bandit, which is how many viewed RENAMO during the war and even until today), the war of RENAMO, the war of children from the same mother, the war of 16 years, the war of destabilization, and the war that ended in 1992. In rural southern Mozambique, I found that the most common way in which to refer to this war was “the war of RENAMO” and the “war of *matsanga*”. Some of the above mentioned names will be used throughout the study in reference to this period of conflict.

AIMS OF THE STUDY

This document contributes to the literature in the form of a follow up study to previous research on girls involved in the war in Mozambique.⁷ It is very much focused on my informants and I have given their voices precedence. Three main purposes for this study stand out. First, the dissertation seeks to convey the war-scape⁸ as it affected young girls and women⁹ who were inducted into armed groups and the dynamics of life on the bases where key informants were located. It also briefly documents the local war narratives as seen through the eyes of community members, all of whom were directly affected by the war. Their memories put into words the loss, pain, and resourcefulness of wartime inhabitants. The narrative in this study encompasses not only a small-scale local history but also documents, in brief, the regional dynamics of the war as they affected my two primary research sites.

The second aim is the analysis of post-war procedures available to war-affected girls and women. A close scrutiny of post-conflict processes reveals the mechanisms, or lack of them, during these young women's transition from the constant chaos of violent conflict to everyday life in peacetime. This section also shows the phenomena that occur when reintegration mechanisms come up short and how girls and women were received upon arrival to their post-war destinations.

⁷ For research on girls and women affected by war in Mozambique see: Alcinda Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Carolyn Nordstrom, *Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions*, (Upsala, Sweden: Life and Peace Institute, 2004); Elisa Maria de Silveira Muianga, "Mulheres e Guerra: Reintegração Social Das Mulheres Regressadas Das Zonas de RENAMO No Distrito de Mandlakazi" (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996); Susan McKay, and Dyan Mazurana, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*, (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004); Victor Igreja, Wim Kleijn and Annemiek Richters, "When the War Was Over, Little Changed: Women's Posttraumatic Suffering After the War in Mozambique," *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 194, no. 7, (2006): 502-509.

⁸ The term war-scape was used by Carolyn Nordstrom to refer to the complexities of the war scene, not just those of combat areas, but also those on the so-called periphery of war (Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997a), 37-39.

⁹ As will be mentioned later in the study, the criteria for the key informant category was being under the age of 18 when abducted, with the exception of a few whose narratives were particularly relevant. Those who stayed in captivity for an extended period of time or those who were inducted near the age of 18 are referred to as women.

Third, my study aims at showing the long-term outcomes of these women after nearly two decades of peace. This glimpse of their lives now shows dimensions of their reception over time including accessibility to land and education, levels of poverty, the treatment and current status of children who were born in the camps, the dilemmas in marriage after having experienced war and often, repeated acts of sexual violence, the current conditions of their marriage and family and the manner of acceptance back into the family and community. Consideration is given to the extent in which these girls and women have been able to marry, raise a family, reconstruct their daily lives and place their trust in men, family and community members who had broken faith with them during wartime.

Within discussions about the war in Mozambique, researchers have long contended whether studies performed in only one region of the country are applicable to others.¹⁰ Nordstrom posits that perhaps the time frame also influences the effectiveness of the study.¹¹ In light of these discourses, my study is founded within the frameworks of local communities and specific periods of time. I document, in brief, the historical war accounts of Ilha Josina Machel and Mandlakazi between the first RENAMO attack (1982, in Mandlakazi district) until the “end”¹² of the war.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This research consists of pilot research of one month in Maputo city, a four month fieldwork component in Ilha Josina Machel, Mandlakazi district (my primary research sites) and Maputo city in southern Mozambique. The two primary research areas, considered rural zones, are

¹⁰ For several examples see Otto Roesch, “Renamo and the Peasantry: A View from Gaza,” *Southern African Report* 6, no. 3 (December 1990): 21-25; Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 91; Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 104-106; Alice Dinerman, “In Search of Mozambique: The Imaginings of Christian Geffray in La Cause des Armes au Mozambique: Anthropologie d’une Guerre Civile,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, no. 4 (1994): 569-586.

¹¹ Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, 105-106.

¹² I put “end” in quotes here because, although the war officially concluded in 1992 with the signing of the Rome Peace Accord, the conflict continued for many who still suffered from attacks and were forced to remain in bases up to several years after. In fact, one of my informants stated that she was abducted in 1994, 2 years after the “end” of the conflict.

largely sympathetic to the current ruling party, FRELIMO.¹³ This is not the case of the entire country, as we will see. The dissertation also utilizes secondary sources including government documents, nongovernmental organization source material, a wide range of books, academic theses, and journal articles.

Fieldwork consisted of 43 taped, semi-structured interviews, one focus group with 26 female informants, participation in a consultative community leaders meeting in Mandlakazi and numerous informal discussions with a total of over 70 government officials, nongovernmental employees, university professors and women who lived in war zones in Mozambique.¹⁴ My fieldwork was supported by a local social worker, a former educator and a government employee who acted as my Changana [Shangaan] speaking interpreters. My interpreters and I agreed on remuneration based on a rate acceptable to both parties. They assisted me not only with oral translation, but also in introducing me to my informants in a way that I would be accepted, revealing the purpose of my study and giving advice and encouragement to informants who were struggling with the pain of current circumstances. In some instances, they also helped to corroborate or refute certain details that my interviewees provided. This was possible because my interpreters were from the same communities as informants and they had known each other for years, if not their entire lives.

I narrowed down my interviewees to a group of 30 key informants upon whom most of the narratives, figures and graphs are based. The accounts of other informants are used throughout where relevant. Key informants ranged in age from 23 to 36 years old, making their ages upon

¹³ FRELIMO was founded in 1962 in Dar es Salaam as a Marxist-Leninist organization in opposition to Portuguese colonialism; the acronym stands for *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Mozambican Liberation Front). FRELIMO is currently the ruling party in Mozambique; The situation was very different during the war where much of RENAMO's support was derived from rural areas throughout the entire country. Peasant communities were the main targets of the sweeping destruction and terrorism of RENAMO. Alex Vines describes this as a paradoxical phenomenon (Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 191. At the same time, RENAMO possessed very little rural support in southern Mozambique although, according to Roesch, "RENAMO must be recognized as having taken on a local grassroots dynamic of its own that is rooted in traditional ideological discourses. . ." (Otto Roesch, "Renamo and the Peasantry: A View from Gaza," *Southern Africa Report* 6, no. 2 (December 1990): 25.

¹⁴ For a more detailed description of the research stages see Appendix D: Phases of Research.

abduction four to 17 years old. In addition, three older women who were abducted when over the age of 18 were also included due to their relevant narratives or because they were abducted with their daughters. The ages of a few women had to be estimated in the case of informants who did not know their date of birth. Typically, the method of estimating age was to compare them to other informants whose ages were known.

Interviews with female war survivors were never performed with a man present, be it a husband, father or other family member. However, on a few occasions it was necessary to conduct interviews in the presence of other female family members. Throughout my research I found that, even in the best possible environment, it was likely that women did not always explicitly express past and present abuse. I take this fact into account in relevant chapters. Certain silences and omissions are also due in part to the passing of time; 18 years after the official end of the war, details of a painful past have been lost in the recesses of memory.

RATIONALE

Historically, the study of war has focused on violence between combatants. Since World War II, war has increasingly symbolized the brutality of armed groups against civilians, that is, “one-sided violence”,¹⁵ and civilians often constitute the largest number of casualties. In civil wars, the differences between civilians and combatants are not always clear-cut, making civilian fatalities all the more ineluctable. When defined strictly in terms of the interactions between armed groups and studied at the macro level, war omits the details of the social realities of those living in the heart of and the periphery of chaos. Anthropologist Nordstrom used the term war-scape¹⁶ to impart the complexities of war and proposes that the fundamental view of conflict must change in order to fully understand the nuances of war:

Today, even though 90 percent of war’s casualties across the world are civilians and battles rage across people’s hometowns, the practice of studying soldiers and the immediate carnage of battle continues . . . There remains a tendency to see a soldier shooting at another soldier as constituting war’s violence, while the shooting of a civilian, or the rape of a woman as a

¹⁵ Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

¹⁶ Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 37-39.

soldier returns to the barracks, is seen as peripheral-an accident, an anomaly.¹⁷

This study demonstrates that the presence of girls in war was not accidental. Their roles were central to the perpetuation of conflict and, at the same time, they became victims of abduction, rape, mutilation and then, silence. War is much more than the “immediate carnage of battle”;¹⁸ the war story continues many years later through the lasting reverberations in these women’s lives as they struggle to cope with their war experiences, start families, relate to men in peacetime, feed and educate their children and resume their everyday lives.

A paucity of academic literature exists regarding the experiences of girls associated with fighting forces in Africa. It was not until years after the peace agreement in Mozambique that the international community began to seriously account for deficiencies in gendered attention in post-war programs.¹⁹ The number of child soldiers is often calculated based on post-conflict programs. Because girls have been largely excluded from these processes, it has been all the more difficult to accurately assess their roles in conflict.²⁰

Until recently, the very definition of child soldier has sidelined girls. They are rarely included in the child soldier category although, as in Mozambique, they contributed to the conflict with essential day to day tasks and carrying arms. The very fact that they were being abducted in large numbers points to the fact that they were needed and beneficial to the perpetuation of the conflict. Girls and women were some of the last to leave RENAMO bases, further demonstrating that they were significant in war’s life.

¹⁷ Carolyn Nordstrom, *Shadows of War: Violence, Power, and International Profiteering in the Twenty-First Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 58.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The Vienna Declaration and the Programme of Action of June 1993 recognized that special attention should be given to women and children. In 2000, The UN study submitted by the UN Secretary-General pursuant to the Security Council Resolution 1325 was an important international document that showed reasons for the involvement of women and girls in war (Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*, (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004), 9. As will be mentioned later, the Cape Town Principles and Best Practices in 1997 provided a definition of child soldiers that included girls.

²⁰ Jon Pederson and Tone Sommerfelt, “Studying Children in Armed Conflict: Data Production, Social Indicators and Analysis,” *Soc Indic Res* 84 (2007): 259-260.

I argue that girls and women were not viewed as a danger to the post-war society. In Mozambique, demobilization was largely available to those who carried arms – those who had the means to resume violence. Inclusion in post-war practices of only those able to threaten the peace may have been immediately practical in the short-term but the exclusion of girls and women, those who would raise future generations, may have longer-term consequences for an entire society.

Academics have not systematically addressed the long-term social effects of terror on war survivors²¹ or the longitudinal results of transitional justice and amnesty in Mozambique.²² To an even lesser extent, transitional justice relating to the long-term outcomes of women and female children in Mozambique has not been comprehensively researched. Although it is expected that, in a country where poverty and illnesses such as HIV/AIDS are prevalent,²³ these would take precedence in research; nevertheless, the longitudinal study of transitional justice and gender justice following a brutal war that deeply divided a society should receive considerable attention as well. A small-scale study of the enduring effects of conflict in Mozambique nearly two decades following the war is unique and timely; the passing of years facilitates a retrospective analysis of the relevant post-war procedures and a distinctive view of reintegration.

LIMITATIONS AND CONSTRAINTS

To date, FRELIMO has kept tight control over many aspects of society in addition to its historical narrative.²⁴ The history of colonialism and FRELIMO's heavy regulation over society, dissidents and information has led to the lack of data that remains today. This is especially

²¹ Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman, "Introduction," in *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 15.

²² Victor Igreja, "Traditional Courts and the Struggle Against State Impunity for Civil Wartime Offences in Mozambique," *Journal of African Law* 54, no. 1 (2010): 52.

²³ Mozambique ranks 8th in the world for HIV/AIDS prevalence among adults with 1.5 million people currently living with the virus (2007 est.) (CIA World Factbook, "Africa: Mozambique," CIA. (accessed September 8, 2010).

²⁴ Ana Leao, "A Luta Continua: Children and Youth in Mozambique's Struggles," in *Invisible Stakeholders: Children and War in Africa*, ed. Angela McIntyre (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2005), 39.

evident in the area of child soldiers. Much of the information available on child soldiers in Mozambique reveals a partial truth due to the attempted cover-up of wartime practices.²⁵

Limitations in information exist not only at the national level but also in the depths of individual memory. Das and Kleinman write that “one of the most difficult tasks before survivors is to remember not only the objective events but also one’s own place within those events”.²⁶ Indeed, many of my informants often spoke about tragic events in a disassociated manner, often referring to others and not themselves as war victims. The documentation of specific dates, especially, was a challenge. Speaking about certain dates in reference to the war, one of my key informants, Felicidade Ruben Mimbir announced, “there is no time anymore to remember the day, because it was just to run from one place to the next [to avoid abduction or death].²⁷ I found that women were less likely than men to remember specific dates, whereas many of the men I spoke to recalled precise dates, numbers of casualties and even the time of day when significant events occurred. Thus, wherever possible, specific dates were verified with several informants, both men and women, in order to corroborate their accuracy. My primary commitment, however, was to the voices of my key female informants.

The challenges and unpredictability of fieldwork filter through portions of my research and are most notable in the fissures in certain data and in the lack of details of some of the narratives. First, I often found that interrupting my informants to inquire about specific details was intrusive. Asking for further information about a certain point often sidetracked their chronology and rerouted them in an entirely different direction. I attempted to avoid this wherever possible. Second, performing research in rural areas often meant overwhelming background noise. Heavy

²⁵ Ana Leao, “A Luta Continua: Children and Youth in Mozambique’s Struggles,” in *Invisible Stakeholders: Children and War in Africa*, ed. Angela McIntyre (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2005), 40-41; Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*, (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004), 16.

²⁶ Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman, “Introduction,” in *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 14.

²⁷ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during personal interview with Rosa Wendzana, interview by author, December 7, 2010, Ilha Josina Machel, Mozambique.

downpours of rain, overenthusiastic children, crowing roosters, burning fields and the pounding of grain all contributed to the difficulties in hearing and understanding spoken words. Third, some informants gave very brief answers to certain questions with no relevant explanation. Others sometimes answered a similar question as if it had triggered an adjunct thought in their mind. Finally, there was a limit to the time I could spend imposing myself on people's lives. Because these constraints were simply an unavoidable part of fieldwork, certain figures within the chapters contain an "unspecified" group and particular details of informants' narratives are left unrevealed.

Due to these restrictions and, especially, the limited scope of the MA dissertation, this study shows only a small portion of the stories of girls in war zones, their struggles following the conflict and their lives now. Many were not as fortunate as the women with whom I spoke. Certainly, the primary data that this study shows may illustrate the most successful stories, those who were able to return to their families and communities and, over the years, return to "normality". The most tragic accounts may then be those that, to this day, remain unuttered: those who became casualties as a result of brutal rape and terror, those left with no loved ones, those who fled to urban areas, and the ones trafficked internationally or forced into domestic labor and prostitution.

RESEARCH ETHICS

The retelling of painful experiences that Historian Vera Schwarcz conveys is similar to the one that I experienced in the field:

To suffer is to be shut in, to be locked up by grief in a world without light. A pane opens when sorrow is somehow voiced, shared, spewn out of the closed world of the individual in pain. When others respond to the voice of the sufferer-not with 'a whiteness of lies,' nor with the platitudes of plasterers pretending to be healers, but with truthful attentiveness-the window of insight becomes broader still. The echo of genuine responsiveness gives meaning to personal grief, heartens one to say more, to probe further a wound that might have festered in silence otherwise.²⁸

²⁸ Vera Schwarcz, "The Pane of Sorrow: Public Uses of Personal Grief in Modern China," in *Social Suffering*, ed. Arthur Kleinman, Veena Das, and Margaret Lock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 128.

My time in the field impressed on me the sense that recounting war and tragedy can indeed serve as a catharsis similar to the one described above. Some may argue to the contrary, given Mozambique's history of community healing practices that emphasize ceremonies to dislodge the evils of war rather than spoken words. However, not all war victims believe in traditional practices and national policies do not necessarily trickle down to the individual and community levels.²⁹ Despite my initial caution in discussing certain themes, the fact that the majority of my informants spoke freely and matter-of-factly about past atrocities and abuse put me at ease. In my experience, the majority of my informants seemed to appreciate having their stories heard and held onto the hope of them being documented. Further, my informant, interpreter and I often shared moments of laughter and good natured discussions about children, family and work in the *machamba* that helped take our minds off the dismal mood that the retelling of suffering often sets. Still, I exercised much caution and sensitivity when asking questions and participating in the summoning of the past.

Several of my informants stated repeatedly that they wanted their full names used and their pictures taken. I have made every attempt to stay true to their wishes; however, due to ethics considerations, I have decided to use pseudonyms where I present delicate stories. Elsewhere, with the exception of several anonymous informants, full names appear in the text.

THESIS OUTLINE

Over the past several decades, experts have attempted to categorize and implement transitional justice in societies transferring from war to peace. But post-war practices have revealed variable and unpredictable outcomes.³⁰ Mozambique is an example of post-war transition that teaches us important lessons. First, it is apparent that post-war mechanisms need not always be as self-evident and top-down as the international community would like them to be. The delicate post-war environment and the national policies of reconciliation and amnesty in Mozambique called

²⁹ For a detailed discussion about post-war processes, see chapter 3.

³⁰ Harry M. Weinstein, "Editorial Note: The Myth of Closure, the Illusion of Reconciliation: Final Thoughts on Five Years as Co-Editor-in-Chief," *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5 (2011): 5-6.

for additional processes to safeguard the maintenance of peace. These included traditional ceremonies, religious and political adherence, community collaboration, the strength of the family and the assistance of the government and various organizations.³¹ But gaps still existed. In the case of girls and women, they were pervasive.

Previous research has shown that the majority of those returning from war underwent traditional or religious practices. My research, on the other hand, shows that this was not always the case. Some girls and women were given very little support; they were compelled to deal with their experiences in silence and move on in order to survive a life in peacetime. But, until further research is performed, the results of this exclusion will remain uncertain.

As a foundation for my research, I maintain that an understanding of the regional and community dynamics of the war is essential to comprehend the war.³² An analysis of the micro level suggests that violence did not end with the ceasefire. First, the fighting did not end immediately. It took months, even years to subside. Some communities still suffered from violence and abduction years after the peace agreement (AGP) had been signed. Second, it is questionable whether the violence ended at all. My research shows that abuse continued to manifest in other levels of society. Although not at the same frequency and intensity as it was during the war, gender-based violence and the sexual exploitation of children continues in Mozambique today.

Chapter One lays a foundation to the study by introducing the general war narrative and the local histories of the two primary research sites. The chapter explores the history of the country under study, local mechanisms of wartime defense, the consequences of the war, and a brief synopsis of peace. It provides conceptual grounding by defining key terms and providing a discussion of the exclusion of girls in definitions and post-war processes.

³¹ Ilundi Cabral, "Rito y Reconciliación en Mozambique: La Cultura Como Mediadora de la Experiencia Bélica," *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals* 87 (2009): 140-141.

³² One striking example of regional variance during the war is the story of Mungoi, a traditional leader in Gaza province who, with creative strategies, managed to keep the conflict at bay. See Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1997a).

Chapter Two traces my key informants' war experiences as young girls. It details their lives in the war zones of southern Mozambique starting with abduction and ending with their journey out of captivity and their resumption of civilian life. The section highlights the social realities of girls during the war and the ways in which they navigated captivity.

The post-war processes in Mozambique following threads of reintegration, demobilization, post-war abuse and injustice are detailed in Chapter Three. The chapter shows the extent of young women's inclusion and denied access to post-war processes.

In the penultimate section, I offer a view of my key informant's daily lives in their rural communities since their return from the war. Themes such as marriage, education, employment and domestic violence illustrate their daily struggle for survival in the midst of poverty.

Chapter Five ends the dissertation with a brief synopsis of key informants' lives in their communities today and offers a reflection on the post-war transition and afterthoughts on memory and the work of time in shielding from the pain of the past. To this journey of reintegration through time, I now invite you, the reader.



The Limpopo River is a prominent feature of Gaza province. Kipling, a British writer who traveled to Africa in the late 1800s and early 1900s, eloquently referred to this body of water as the “the great grey-green greasy Limpopo River, all set about with fever-trees”.¹ Gaza district, December, 2010.

¹ Rudyard Kipling, *Just So Stories*, (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1902).

CHAPTER ONE.

Background: “War is war”

A ndi nyi' swi nge chi'lo chichi'na mulo'mo.

I am not vanquished by a thing which has no mouth.²

-Mozambican proverb

² A proverb from the Ndaue culture of Central Mozambique meaning “Man [or woman] must persevere. The thing that we are trying to achieve has no mouth to tell us that we shall fail. We must try until we find the way to success, for discouragement lies only in our own faint heart. Failure comes from within” (Natalie Curtis, *Songs and Tales from the Dark Continent*, (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1920), 14.

Historically, Mozambique suffered many years of colonization and subsequent upheaval during the liberation war. Destabilization, famine, drought, epidemics of cholera and malaria and an extended presence of terror during a post-independence war of over 15 years further exacerbated the already weak nation. The post-independence war has been described as one of the most destructive conflicts of the 1980s³ and “one of the most brutal wars the world has seen”.⁴ Vulnerable groups such as women and children were significantly impacted by prolonged years of oppression and violence, and in many cases were compelled to contribute to a conflict that led to the profound reformulation of social structures and people’s well-being. Nearly two decades have elapsed since the end of the conflict and, since then, peace has persisted.

THE PATHOLOGY OF VIOLENCE?

Mozambican history is riddled with violence and suffering. Historical forces such as slavery, colonialism, forced labor, exploitation, violence and natural disasters have shaped the sociocultural environment of the country today. As early as the precolonial period, women were given as a wartime reward to men.⁵ Slavery within the Gaza empire,⁶ and later, during colonialism, continued at least until 1912.⁷ In 1899, forced labor, *chibalo*, was imposed on men and women over the age of 14;⁸ it meant physical abuse, incarceration, malnutrition and even death.⁹ *Chibalo* for women, who often worked scraping the dirt with their bare hands and in the

³ Victor Igreja, Wim Kleijn and Annemiek Richters, “When the War Was Over, Little Changed: Women’s Posttraumatic Suffering After the War in Mozambique,” *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 194, no. 7 (July 2006): 502.

⁴ Priscilla B. Hayner, “Leaving the Past Alone,” in *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 187.

⁵ Jessica Schafer, *Soldiers at Peace: Veterans and Society After the Civil War in Mozambique*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2007), 72.

⁶ Heidi Gugenbach, “Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique.” <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/geh01/main.html> (accessed January 21, 2010).

⁷ Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique: Revolution under Fire*, (London: Zed Books, 1984), 16.

⁸ Jessica Schafer, “The Use of Patriarchal Imagery in the Civil War in Mozambique and its Implications for the Reintegration of Child Soldiers,” in *Children and Youth on the Front Line: Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement*, ed. Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 102 (footnote 4).

⁹ Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique: Revolution under Fire*, (London: Zed Books, 1984), 23.

shadows of drawn weapons, was particularly oppressive and rape was common.¹⁰ Labor took on a new dimension in the 1890s, when men began migrating to South Africa for employment. The tradition of migrant labor¹¹ left some, predominately women, at home with the burden of providing for the family in terms of clothes, food and shelter, and in the upkeep of the family's allotment of land.¹²

Colonial oppression and forced labor climaxed in the late 1950s but its effects lasted much longer. The struggle against colonialism culminated in the first gunfire on September 25, 1964.¹³ Additional recruits to the liberation war soon became necessary; thus, children¹⁴ and women were used both by FRELIMO and colonial forces. In 1967, the *Destacamento Feminino* (DF)¹⁵ was founded in order to train and convert women into fighters. FRELIMO claimed to uphold rigorous moral standards within its ranks and prohibit the exploitation of rural populations,

¹⁰ Stephanie Urdang, *And They Still Dance: Women, War, and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989), 14.

¹¹ Migrant labor continues to this day and, arguably, has impacted women in Mozambique just as much as men. For a detailed layout of the history of migrant labor see Ruth First, *O Mineiro Moçambicano: Um Estudo sobre a Exportação de mão de obra em Inhambane*. Maputo: CEA-UEM (edited with the support of V Congresso Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais and the Ford Foundation), 1998 (1977) and Ruth First and Robert H. Davies, *Migrant Labor to South Africa: A Sanctions Programme?* (London: Africa Bureau, 1981).

¹² Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique: Revolution under Fire*, (London: Zed Books, 1984), 17-18.

¹³ *Ibid*, 27.

¹⁴ Helen Brocklehurst, "Children in South Africa and Mozambique," in *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006), 118.

¹⁵ The Female Detachment was a group of girls and women who were given military training and served a variety of purposes both during the liberation and civil wars in Mozambique. During the civil war, DFs (members of the *Destacamento Feminino*) existed both in FRELIMO and RENAMO forces. DF were used to accompany senior RENAMO officials in their various activities (Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 86. They also used to haul equipment, attend to wounded soldiers, cook, clean, and perform coerced sex. Members of the DF, some very young, were able to rise in rank, occupying such roles as commander (William Minter, "Inside RENAMO: As Described by Ex-participants," *Transformation* 10 (1989): 9.

principally women,¹⁶ and few cases of rape in the liberated zones have been reported.¹⁷

Additionally, sexual relations between male and female combatants were reportedly prohibited in FRELIMO camps and thus, women and girls were protected to some extent from sexual violence during this period.¹⁸ Nonetheless, women's place in the war context was often trying:

Our relationships with men were always difficult to figure out because many of them would promise marriage, but it rarely ever happened. Even when it happened it did not mean the end of problems. For example, I finally stayed with one man from whom I became pregnant, but then he refused to accept the child, saying that the child was not his. He even suggested that I take medication to induce abortion. I refused and I had the child. I realized then how difficult it was going to be with 2 children. How to work and take care of children at the same time.¹⁹

Following the liberation war, independence took place in the final stage of colonial liberation in Africa. Angola, Eritrea, Portuguese Guinea and Cape Verde were among those accompanying Mozambique in this final wave of freedom from colonialism. In 1975, upon independence, 90 percent of the local residents of European descent left Mozambique.²⁰ The new FRELIMO government faced grave challenges; the Portuguese had left a grim legacy.²¹

In 1976, the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR)²² was established by white Rhodesian military officers to counter FRELIMO attacks and Mozambique's economic sanctions against

¹⁶ Harry G. West, "Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO's 'Female Detachment'." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (October 2000): 190.

¹⁷ Harry G. West, "Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO's 'Female Detachment'." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (October 2000): 192 (footnote 32); The premise of these principles was to prove superiority to the colonizers and in a way, gain the trust of the people (Harry G. West, "Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO's 'Female Detachment'." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 4. (October 2000): 190.

¹⁸ Harry G. West, "Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO's 'Female Detachment'." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 4 (October 2000): 190.

¹⁹ Centros de Estudos Africanos, "Towards a History of the National Liberation Struggle in Mozambique: Problematics, Methodologies, Analyses," (unpublished paper presented at the UNESCO Conference on Southern Africa, Maputo) August 1982, quoted in Allen and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution*, (Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1983), 92.

²⁰ Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique: Revolution under Fire*, (London: Zed Books, 1984), 38.

²¹ *Ibid*, 41.

²² The MNR shifted its name to the acronym in Portuguese, RENAMO (*Restistência Nacional de Moçambique*), in 1980.

Rhodesia,²³ triggering a brutal war that raged from 1976 to 1992. Unquestionably, the regional dynamics in Southern Africa played a critical role in the history of conflict in Mozambique. RENAMO's founding members comprised discontented Portuguese colonialists, police officers and FRELIMO deserters. When Zimbabwe gained independence²⁴, support for RENAMO shifted into the hands of South Africa.²⁵ At this point, RENAMO tactics moved from simple destabilization to actively seeking backing from civilians²⁶ and the force with which these goals were implemented was debilitating.²⁷

Dirty war tactics predominated at every turn. Rural communities became tactical targets engulfed by sexual violence, particularly in the south,²⁸ and massacres, destruction and mutilation. A harrowing tale of terror stands as an example: "Renamo soldiers arrived in my village saying they were extremely hungry. We told them we had no meat to give them with their *nsima*.²⁹ So they grabbed my child, chopped it up, and forced me, trembling, to cook it. They even forced me to eat some. I have vowed never to eat meat again".³⁰ Despite the atrocities, I found that, now, Mozambicans highlight the seemingly trivial hardships of wartime life – the lack of food, sleeping outside their homes at night, separation from family, carrying heavy loads and the

²³ BBC News, "Timeline: Mozambique," Published September 09, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/2120437.stm (accessed January 21, 2010); now Zimbabwe.

²⁴ Northern Rhodesia gained independence in 1964, whereas Southern Rhodesian autonomy did not occur until 1980 during the final wave of independence from colonialism. Zimbabwe's independence in this instance is thus referred to as the latter date.

²⁵ Helen Brocklehurst, *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006), 115.

²⁶ Jessica Schafer, "The Use of Patriarchal Imagery in the Civil War in Mozambique and its Implications for the Reintegration of Child Soldiers," in *Children and Youth on the Front Line: Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement*, ed. Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 91.

²⁷ Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 39.

²⁸ Carol B. Thompson, "Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique," *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1991): 204 (footnote 1).

²⁹ Also spelled *xima*, a corn based staple in Mozambique. *Xima*, when made by hand, takes several days and the preparation includes removing the kernels from the cob, pounding, soaking, grinding and then cooking. *Xima* is called *Usya* in Changana.

³⁰ K. B. Wilson, "Cults of Violence and Counter-Violence in Mozambique." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18, no. 3 (1992): 527.

general unravelling of the fabric of their social spaces.³¹ This erosion of trust in the everyday and the conflict of brother against brother and neighbor against neighbor³² may have been one of the most painful aspects of the war. These accounts may also be the easiest for the mind to sustain over time, and thus, the most accessible to narrative.

Extensive documentation of abuse by RENAMO soldiers exists, while FRELIMO abuses were less prevalent. Table 1.1 shows the abuses of armed groups as per a study by Gersony based on the accounts of 196 refugees. The study found that of the 600 reported murders by RENAMO, 50 were of children.³³ Over 15 percent of the reports revealed rape by RENAMO whereas only one rape incident was reported from the FRELIMO side.³⁴

TABLE 1.1 REFUGEE REPORTS OF FRELIMO AND RENAMO BEHAVIOR

	Positive	Negative
FRELIMO	83%	17%
RENAMO	4%	96%

Source: Adapted from Robert Gersony, *Summary of Mozambican Refugee Account of Principally Conflict-Related Experiences in Mozambique*, Report submitted to Ambassador Jonathan Moore and Dr. Chester A. Crocker, Bureau for Refugee Programs, United States Department of State, April 1988, 39-40.

Palange once told a story in the Mozambican parliament to emphasize the culpability of FRELIMO during the post-independence war. His anecdote shows a subtle summoning of memory and attack on the government. He told the story along these lines: There was once a

³¹ Carolyn Nordstrom, *Treating the Wounds of War*, *Cultural Survival* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1993) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/mozambique/treating-wounds-war> (accessed February 26, 2011); Personal observations from the field.

³² Veena Das and Arthur Kleinman, "Introduction," in *Violence and Subjectivity*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1.

³³ Robert Gersony, *Summary of Mozambican Refugee Account of Principally Conflict-Related Experiences in Mozambique*, Report submitted to Ambassador Jonathan Moore and Dr. Chester A. Crocker, Bureau for Refugee Programs, United States Department of State, April 1988, 36.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 37.

monkey that always mocked others' buttocks. One day, he was told that his buttocks were just as red as the others'. He was silenced forever.³⁵

The admission of war-time guilt by both sides is the view that is slowly becoming more widespread as time goes on.³⁶ A comment made by Vitoria Xavier Mate, a RENAMO abductee who to this day suffers from pain in her back and neck due to the heavy loads she was obliged to carry, sums up the conditions of the conflict: "War is war. When they say that it was those who killed, it was RENAMO who killed. But it was also the others [FRELIMO] who injured with weapons. They killed people. War is war".³⁷

This study is based on the narratives of women who were abducted by RENAMO and thus the primary data predominately showed abuses from only one warring party.³⁸ Several informants stated that they witnessed government abuses and saw girls with guns in FRELIMO forces.³⁹ The literature also shows the use of girls by government forces. According to McKay and Mazurana, as early as 1975, FRELIMO began inducting girls. In southern Mozambique, some were systematically gathered in large groups and taken from schools to military bases for training.⁴⁰

A SOCIETY IN TRANSITION

Due to increasing economic failure and famine because of the drought and many years of forced cropping, the FRELIMO government chose to abandon its Marxist-Leninist system in order to create a liberal environment in both the economic and political spheres. In 1990, democracy was

³⁵ Igreja, Victor. *Memories as Weapons: The Politics of Peace and Silence in Post-Civil War Mozambique*, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34, no. 3 (2008): 556.

³⁶ Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 94.

³⁷ Vitoria Xavier Mate, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

³⁸ Although I spoke to and knew of some women who had been in FRELIMO forces at very young ages, I was not able to interview them. The main reasons were their hesitancy to speak since the current government has not admitted to the wartime use of child soldiers and time restraints of my fieldwork.

³⁹ Iracema, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.;

⁴⁰ Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*, (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004), 107.

embraced and a new constitution written.⁴¹ The severe famine, drought and natural disasters made it increasingly difficult for RENAMO to sustain itself in isolated areas. The international political scene was changing as well. The Cold War was ending, South Africa's political scenery was slowly changing and support for RENAMO was hanging by a thread. The war had to end; no one was benefiting from its continuation.⁴²

Weary from years of conflict and destruction, Mozambicans welcomed peace. The ending of conflict took precedence over the concern that there was no clear victor or defeated party.⁴³ In the end, a winner to "punish" the loser for the fighting did not exist.⁴⁴ No individuals were to be punished and no one was expected to admit atrocities committed.⁴⁵ Because the war was especially brutal and involved a large percentage of the population, the admission and broadcasting of the guilt to the population could have hindered the maintenance of peace. Also, a vast amount of misinformation existed about the details of the war and, attempting to uncover such information could polarize an already deeply divided and wounded state. Post-war processes require infrastructure, organization and monetary resources, which Mozambique did not possess. Any effort and financial resources were to be spent in the much needed areas of rebuilding the country, coping with hunger, poverty, and health issues and development.

Reconciliation, for many at the national level, was understood as "we will talk, and we may govern together, but we will not bring up the past".⁴⁶ But, the past did not just disappear. Many were unable to forget. "Is it possible to forget?" I asked a FRELIMO official who was a part of

⁴¹ Alcinda Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 9.

⁴² Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 129.

⁴³ FRELIMO, however, won the post-war elections in 1994 signaling the support of the people for that particular party.

⁴⁴ Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 37-39.

⁴⁵ Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 191.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

the local militia in Mandlakazi during the first RENAMO massacre. “It is not possible to forget completely,” he responded. “It is possible to forgive, but not forget.”⁴⁷ In southern Mozambique, communities have maintained a local narrative of the war, which to this day has not been entirely forgotten. Some families, as I later show, still recount past historical events to each other and to their children.

My primary research indicated that although peace officially descended upon the nation after the signing of the ceasefire in October 1992, some abductees were unable to leave the RENAMO bases until as late as 1995. The larger bases in southern Mozambique were sufficiently isolated and fortified to be able to remain inhabited even some time after the 1994 elections. For example, Ngungwe in Maputo province was said to have kept its borders until as late as 1996, with RENAMO ex-combatants still occupying the territory.⁴⁸ If ex-combatants remained there until that time, it is very likely that some women and girls also stayed in order to provide domestic services to the men.

THE TRADITION OF AMNESTY IN MOZAMBIQUE

The General Peace Agreement (AGP) allowed for a general amnesty⁴⁹ of both warring parties that were to cover abuses from 1979 to 1992.⁵⁰ This law paved the way for the future of Mozambique, that is, “peace without truth, reconciliation without acknowledgement and ‘suffering without compensation; violation without accountability’”.⁵¹ No one from the local population and outside parties involved openly voiced objections to the general amnesty⁵² and no

⁴⁷ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

⁴⁸ Heidi Gugenbach, “Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique.” <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/geh01/frames/fgeh16.html> (accessed January 21, 2010).

⁴⁹ Amnesty Law No 15/92 was accepted on October 14, 1992, 10 days after the signing of the AGP.

⁵⁰ Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 37-39.

⁵¹ Stanely Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 247 quoted in Victor Igreja, “Memories as Weapons in Mozambique: The Politics of Peace and Silence in Post-Civil War Mozambique,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34 no. 3, (2008): 544.

⁵² Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 37-39.

governmental discussions were held to foresee the difficulties this law could cause the victims of the war and the challenges it could produce in juxtaposition to the multifaceted local mechanisms of justice.⁵³ This may have been due in part to the general lack of knowledge of political proceedings; remarkably, several senior ruling party and opposition members were unaware of the law of amnesty even several year after the fact.⁵⁴

This post-civil-war law was not the first instance of amnesty in Mozambique, however. The government, under the leadership of Samora Machel, granted amnesty to those who, during the colonial regime, had collaborated with the Portuguese, were guilty of crimes against citizens and acknowledged guilt. Once again, in 1986⁵⁵ and 1987, amnesty was offered to RENAMO soldiers who turned themselves in to the authorities. Approximately 3,000 applied for the 1987 amnesty, which began on January 1, 1988. They were awarded safety and reintegration into communities through public ceremonies.⁵⁶ The final wave of amnesty was considerably less successful and in December 1989, the People's Assembly did not renew it for the following year.⁵⁷ The reintegration of several thousand soldiers was not enough to put an end to the war.⁵⁸

Before the amnesty, a number of child soldiers were imprisoned and mistreated by government forces following their release or escape from RENAMO captivity. Many young soldiers found it necessary to conceal their war experiences or integrate into new families and/or communities due to the fear of being stigmatized or having their security compromised. The Children and War

⁵³ Victor Igreja, "Traditional Courts and the Struggle against State Impunity for Civil Wartime Offences in Mozambique," *Journal of African Law* 54, no. 1 (2010): 52.

⁵⁴ Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 187.

⁵⁵ Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 129-130.

⁵⁶ Cameron Hume, *Ending Mozambique's War: The Role of Mediation and Good Offices*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1994), 21.

⁵⁷ Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 96.

⁵⁸ Cameron Hume, *Ending Mozambique's War: The Role of Mediation and Good Offices*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1994), 21.

Programme⁵⁹ worked with members of the government and police to form an amnesty program in an effort to facilitate the reintegration of former child soldiers into society.⁶⁰ Thus, the reintegration of both adults and children were affected by the laws of amnesty.

TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF GIRL SOLDIER

For girls in Mozambique, the move to womanhood generally occurs when they become sexually active, get married or participate in a rite of passage. However, girls who experience physical, psychological and sexual violence see the boundary between girlhood and womanhood grow indistinct.⁶¹ Childhood is taken away in the environment of violence in which girls are forced to kill family members, suffer abuse, attack children and perpetrate other acts of violence.⁶² During and after the war, many young girls were thrust into positions often disproportionate to their age and abilities, such as the act of becoming the head of household, mothering their own children and participating in and witnessing violence and abuse.⁶³ In addition, since many girls moved from girlhood into womanhood in a wartime setting, motherly advice was not always available, rites of passage were nonexistent and other typical social practices were not adhered to, making the delineation of this shift ambiguous.⁶⁴

During the war in Mozambique, girls and women served in the daily tasks needed for survival such as fetching water, cooking food, raiding villages and carrying stolen goods back to base. They also carried out espionage and received military training. Although girls' roles in the conflict are often seen as peripheral, arguably, they were as important to the conflict as those of

⁵⁹ See Appendix L for details about this and similar programs.

⁶⁰ Save the Children Federation, "Project on Children and War," in *Despite the Odds: A Collection of Case Studies on Development Projects in Mozambique*, ed. Patricia Flederman, 21-30. (Maputo: UNICEF, 1993), 25-26.

⁶¹ Susan McKay, "Girlhoods Stolen: The Plight of Girl Soldiers During and After Armed Conflict," in *A World Turned Upside Down: Social Ecologies of Children and War*, ed. Neil Boothby, Alison Strang and Michael Wessels (Bloomfield, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, 2006), 89-90.

⁶² *Ibid*, 97.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 89-90.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 92.

boys and men. The internationally accepted interpretation of the child soldier based on the Cape Town Principles and Best Practices, is therefore applicable:

‘Child soldier’ is. . . any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messenger and any one accompanying such groups, other than family members. This definition includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms.⁶⁵

REINTEGRATION IN CONTEXT

Reintegration involves mechanisms that enable the provision of peace and stability, the elimination of differences between combatants and civilians and social stratification among former soldiers.⁶⁶ The concept of reintegration maintains three presuppositions that neglect aspects of the war in Mozambique: first, that the target group was integrated at an earlier time; second, that war or life as a non-civilian disconnected them from society; and third, that it is now necessary to join this group once more with their communities. These limited conceptual aspects leave out the fact that youth were inducted into armed groups, who because of a lack of integration in many rural areas, were more than willing to wield power with a gun, and that armed groups during the war were not completely isolated from society but rather interacted with and transformed communities with violence.⁶⁷ The typical conceptualization of reintegration also excludes historical undertones. A study on socio-economic reintegration in Namibia argues that “southern African dependencies and the coercively repressed societies they contained” were not previously integrated and thus a return to the past would not necessarily be positive.⁶⁸ The shortcomings of the definition of reintegration are most salient in regards to gender. Throughout

⁶⁵ UNICEF. “Cape Town Principles and Best Practices,” Cape Town: UNICEF, 1997 [http://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/Cape_Town_Principles\(1\).pdf](http://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/Cape_Town_Principles(1).pdf) (accessed May 20, 2010).

⁶⁶ Norma Kriger, *Guerrilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe, 1980-1987*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 15.

⁶⁷ João Paulo Borges Coelho, “Antigos Soldados, Novos Cidadãos: Uma Avaliação da Reintegração dos Ex-combatentes de Maputo,” in *Conflicto e Transformação Social: Uma Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*, Vol. 1, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade. (Porto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 200.

⁶⁸ Rosemary Preston, *The Integration of Returned Exiles, Former Combatants and Other War-affected Namibians*, (Windhoek: Namibian Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Namibia, 1993): 2, quoted in Norma Kriger, *Guerrilla Veterans in Post-War Zimbabwe: Symbolic and Violent Politics, 1980-1987* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 16.

Mozambican history, women have been enslaved, used in forced labor, sexually exploited and marginalized. Although, arguably, these abuses took on deeper and more severe connotations during the war, a return to the conditions prior to the war would hardly be desirable.⁶⁹

Reintegration in Mozambique stemmed directly from the need for a peaceful and stable society. Demobilization became one of the key aspects of reintegration, which targeted those who had the potential to impede and, at the same time, pave the road to peace. Within this framework, children under the age of 16 were excluded from demobilization. This is due, first of all to the fact that international norms at the time did not recognize children as soldiers. However, it hides the fact that, children, especially girls,⁷⁰ were not viewed as a threat to the peace at any level.

Culture, for some girls, served as a mediator of war experiences;⁷¹ their reintegration was eased by traditional and religious practices at the community level. A good relationship with an adult, particularly a family member, also proved to be important.⁷² But for others, acceptance back into their families and communities was taken for granted and they were given no assistance whatsoever.

Historian and scholar of the post-independence war, Borges Coelho, argues that true reintegration occurs when the challenges faced by ex-combatants and those of the community in which they live become one and the same. Ex-combatants would add that when basic living conditions are met, reintegration has been achieved.⁷³ At the local level, Nordstrom argues that

⁶⁹ I have chosen to continue the use of the word reintegration instead of integration because it is a more widely used and understood term.

⁷⁰ Like children, women also were generally not seen as a threat to political stability.

⁷¹ Ilundi Cabral, "Rito y Reconciliacion en Mozambique: La Cultura Como Mediadora de la Experiencia Bélica," *Revista CIDOB d'Afers Internacionals* 87 (2009): 125-126.

⁷² Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*, (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004), 37-38.

⁷³ João Paulo Borges Coelho, "Antigos Soldados, Novos Cidadãos: Uma Avaliação da Reintegração dos Ex-combatentes de Maputo," in *Conflicto e Transformação Social: Uma Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*, Vol. 1, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade (Porto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 226.

reintegration entailed “tak[ing] the violence out of people”.⁷⁴ Based on my experience in the field, I would argue that the reintegration of women in Mozambique, at the most basic level, is a return to the ordinary everyday life. The restoration of “normality” then occurs through making a home, cultivating a plot of land, feeding children, renewing and creating social ties and contributing to the community. A woman practicing these daily routines is likely to be considered reintegrated, viewed as a contributing member of the community and accepted.

CASE STUDY ONE: ILHA JOSINA MACHEL

My first fieldwork site, Ilha Josina Machel, informally referred to as “the bush” by outsiders (i.e. those from less rural areas), was chosen as my primary research base because of its significance during the civil war⁷⁵ and due to a fieldwork opportunity presented to me in connection with the nongovernmental organization *Associação Reconstruindo a Esperança* (ARES). ARES has done extensive work with former child soldiers, including the majority of my informants, and psycho-social rehabilitation in Ilha Josina Machel and other sites in Mozambique since the end of the war. Because I resided in Ilha Josina Machel for nearly four months, it was possible to conduct participant observation and both initial interviews and several follow-up sessions with key informants as well as build a relationship of trust with some members of the community through other activities such as teaching at the school.

Ilha Josina Machel, known as Ilha Mariana before independence, is situated in the district of Manhica and within the bounds of Maputo province in southern Mozambique, approximately 130 kilometers north of Maputo city. It was given the name island (*ilha*) on account of its location between the Incomati and Matseculi rivers in the fertile Incomati river valley.

Paradoxically, the area is prone to flooding during the rainy season thus literally making it an landlocked island oftentimes only accessible by boat. The name Josina Machel was given to this site in honor of the famous female freedom fighter and wife of the first president of Mozambique. The area of Ilha Josina Machel comprises 14,365 inhabitants, of which 5,982 are

⁷⁴ Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 144.

⁷⁵ See explanation below.

male and 8,382 are female.⁷⁶ The administrative post boasts nine communal villages,⁷⁷ in which there are six schools, a central government administrative post and a health clinic.

Strolling down the main part of the island on the unnamed principal road of *bairro 3*, one can enjoy the bustle of daily life and see people conversing and laughing cheerfully. Women, many wearing brightly colored *capulanas*⁷⁸ and with toddlers strapped to their backs, and a few men, lazily come and go from their *machambas* carrying hoes, while children scurry through the street with toys such as old bike tire rims or homemade wooden tops. Herds of cattle, guided by a young boy with a fierce whip, ramble down colorful red dirt roads. Under the bridge of the Incomáti River, groups of young girls and women pound clothes on rocks and wash them vigorously, while small boys swim and jump into the water. In the center of town various vendors sell tomatoes, cabbage, onions, bread and, occasionally, fruit. A single tailor with a pedal-run sewing machine works in the shade of the FRELIMO party building, a section of which also acts as classroom space for the primary school.

The people in Ilha Josina Machel live off subsistence agriculture. The rainy season typically starts in October and ends in February, a period of five months. After the first rain, people start to plant corn, beans, cassava and sweet potatoes. Once the rainy season begins, the scenery changes rapidly. Green plants seem to sprout up overnight, and the dull fields turn vibrant green with rapidly growing crops and unwanted weeds. However, the *tempo de fome*⁷⁹ still persists until harvest early in the following year. This period of little food becomes nearly unbearable when the first rain comes late. Rainfall is welcomed by residents but the area is prone to flooding, as

⁷⁶ República de Moçambique, *Perfil do Distrito de Manhica, Província de Maputo*, (Maputo: Ministério de Administração Estatal 2005), 6; The population data is a projection for January 1, 2005 based on the 1997 census; Although the numbers listed above do not add up to the total number of inhabitants, I have left them that way in the text because that is the way in which they appear in the original document.

⁷⁷ See appendices F-I for details of administrative post, locality and village divisions.

⁷⁸ A colorful patterned piece of cotton textile worn by women or used to carry small children, wrap up goods or for other similar purposes.

⁷⁹ The time of hunger, a phrase used often in rural areas, signifies the time before the first rain and harvest time where little food is available for those who live off subsistence farming. This was a phrase that I heard often during my fieldwork, which aptly sums up the situation of rural areas during this time.

was evident in the severe floods in 2000 and 2001 that swept the area and destroyed the livelihood of many.

The scene in Ilha Josina Machel during the civil war was radically different compared to what it is today. From 1987 until the end of the war, RENAMO rebels had a strong presence in the area, entering with the objective of ransacking the area and terrorizing the population. The rebels relied on the island's food production for sustenance and conscripted boys and girls into their forces;⁸⁰ they targeted local militia personnel, government officials and educators and showed no mercy when preying on women, young children and the elderly. Life for those who stayed in the region was a life on the run; residents were compelled to sleep in the bush at night, regardless of the weather, to avoid being abducted.⁸¹ By four in the afternoon, the town was completely deserted. Still, many were abducted despite these precautions because the population never knew at what time of day and from which direction RENAMO would enter.⁸²

Although everyday life was heavily disrupted during the war, daily existence continued in a intermittently ordinary fashion. Couples continued to marry, build their houses and start families; the local traditional court continued to operate and men and women went to work in their fields, cultivating, sowing seeds and harvesting in order to feed their families. Many schools continued to hold classes, but the majority of students were not able to attend because RENAMO had control of certain roads and areas on the way to educational centers.

Dumba Nengue is a local Changana saying that means “you must trust your feet”. *Dumba Nengue* was also the name given to the areas lying on both sides of the National Highway⁸³ in southern Mozambique that were ravaged by looting and destruction and overrun by RENAMO

⁸⁰ Alcinda Honwana, *Untold War Stories: Young Women and War in Mozambique*. Vol. 6 May 2000. <http://web.uct.ac.za/org/agi/pubs/newsletters/vol6/war.htm>. (accessed June 29, 2010).

⁸¹ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

⁸² Interview with local resident of Ilha Josina Machel, Ilha Josina Machel, December 1, 2010.

⁸³ Mozambican National Highway Number One, which passes within approximately five kilometers from the center of Ilha Josina Machel (*bairro 3*).

troops during the post-independence war. After brutal attacks by the MNR⁸⁴ along this corridor, countless peasants left their prosperous fields and precious crops in search of a safer location.⁸⁵ In 1987, two massacres of some 400 to 500 people occurred in the *Dumba Nengue* corridor, which received much less publicity than the Homoine attack in Inhambane province on July 18 of the same year.⁸⁶ Even after these large massacres, Manhiça district, let alone the whole of Maputo province was not officially an area of emergency.⁸⁷ To this day, memories of the war live on in Ilha Josina Machel. When asked about the war, residents point out trees marking the graves of loved ones who were killed by RENAMO and locations throughout the area where local residents were abducted and killed.

CASE STUDY TWO: MANDLAKAZI

My second main research site, Mandlakazi district, is situated in the province of Gaza, approximately 57 kilometers from the provincial capital, Xai Xai.⁸⁸ I performed two site visits to Mandlakazi alongside an individual who had previously written about the impact of war on women in the area immediately following the war. Over six days, I conducted 19 personal interviews, participated in one focus group and several informal discussions and attended a monthly community leaders meeting. The majority of my fieldwork was conducted in the administrative post division of Lhalala, an area with 16,017 inhabitants of which 6,753 are men and 9,264 are women.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ MNR (Mozambican National Resistance) is the acronym given to the rebel group until about 1980 when the name changed to RENAMO (*Restistência Nacional de Moçambique*).

⁸⁵ Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue Run for Your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique*, (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1998), 2.

⁸⁶ Lucia van den Bergh, *Why Peace Worked: Mozambicans Look Back*, (Amsterdam: AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa, 2009), 93.

⁸⁷ William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 214.

⁸⁸ Elisa Maria de Silveira Muianga, "Mulheres e Guerra: Reintegração Social Das Mulheres Regressadas Das Zonas de RENAMO No Distrito de Mandlakazi" (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996), 6.

⁸⁹ República de Moçambique. *Perfil do Distrito de Mandlakaze, Província de Gaza*. (Maputo: Ministério de Administração Estatal 2005), 9; The population data is a projection for 1/1/2005 based on the 1997 census.

Mandlakazi was previously called *Xiverine*, the name of a large tree that grows in the area.⁹⁰ It was in the shade of this tree where the last emperor of the Gaza empire, Ngungunyane,⁹¹ settled disputes, assigned tasks to his commanders and held conferences.⁹² The more recent etymology pertaining to the current name Mandlakazi, is one that is particularly disputed. Some say that during the liberation struggle in Mozambique, Mandlakazi was known as “the land that eats blood” because many battles were fought there.⁹³ Still others insist that the name means “powerful hand”, “the land where plenty of blood is shed”⁹⁴ or “hands of blood”.⁹⁵ Further, those who agree that blood is present in the meaning of the term have divergent explanations for the time period of the violence in which the “contested” bloodshed occurred. Some refer to the spilt blood of the precolonial era⁹⁶ and some to the liberation war from the Portuguese.⁹⁷ Still, when I asked a native Zulu speaker what the name signified, she stated that it has a twofold meaning. The first is great or almighty power, often used to refer to God; the other is power with a suffix referring to a female subject or theme.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

⁹¹ In some sources, his name is also alternatively spelled Gungunyane.

⁹² This information was taken from the plaque situated under the *Xiverine* tree outside the government district building in Mandlakazi. At the end of the study, see the photo of the historical tree and the memorial positioned in its shade.

⁹³ Elisa Maria de Silveira Muianga, “Mulheres e Guerra: Reintegração Social Das Mulheres Regressadas Das Zonas de RENAMO No Distrito de Mandlakazi” (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996), 6 (footnote 2).

⁹⁴ Celso Azarias Inguane, “Negotiating Social Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique: The Case of Heritage Sites in Mandlakazi District” (Master's thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2007), 34.

⁹⁵ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

⁹⁶ Celso Azarias Inguane, “Negotiating Social Memory in Postcolonial Mozambique: The Case of Heritage Sites in Mandlakazi District” (Master's thesis, University of Witwatersrand, 2007), 34.

⁹⁷ Elisa Maria de Silveira Muianga, “Mulheres e Guerra: Reintegração Social Das Mulheres Regressadas Das Zonas de RENAMO No Distrito de Mandlakazi” (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996), 6 (footnote 2).

⁹⁸ Interview with a native Zulu speaker, January 10, 2011; I also have Dr. Fiona Ross to thank for giving me this indication in her feedback.

The post-independence war first arrived in Mandlakazi district on May 16, 1982. RENAMO troops entered from the north, advancing from the neighboring province of Inhambane.⁹⁹ By 1987, every district in Gaza was affected by the war, 100,000 residents had been displaced, and the economy was in complete disorder.¹⁰⁰ RENAMO placed mines in wells, health clinics, schools, and buildings to prevent displaced peoples from returning to their homes.¹⁰¹ August 10, 1987 marked the first major massacre in the town of Mandlakazi, that is, the central section of the district where the district government building is located. RENAMO entered, wreaked havoc and looted shops. Any person who came in the path of RENAMO was killed. RENAMO took the lives of approximately 60 persons in the first massacre. At the time, FRELIMO's regional defense was very weak and consisted only of a dozen personnel, including trained soldiers and local militia. The second major and final attack in the town of Mandlakazi was on February 14, 1988, in which over 100 people were killed. It was conducted in retaliation for the death of RENAMO soldiers who had been killed during the first massacre.¹⁰² This was typical of RENAMO's pattern of systematic brutal retaliation. When RENAMO soldiers were killed in a certain locality, they were inclined to avenge the spilt blood of their comrades by later causing more bloodshed, often disemboweling, mutilating and crushing skulls in a show of gruesome brutality.¹⁰³ What is more, according to Nordstrom, long-established rivalries between the so-called controlling Ndaou group of RENAMO and the people of Gaza made attacks by the guerillas in Gaza particularly cruel.¹⁰⁴ According to a previous administrator of a government post in Mandlakazi district, the large number of abductions in the area was due to the lack of

⁹⁹ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Otto Roesch, "RENAMO and the Peasantry in Southern Mozambique: A View from Gaza Province," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 26, no. 3 (1992): 468.

¹⁰¹ R. H. Thomas, "Rehabilitation and Empowerment of the Victims of War and Violence in Southern Africa," in *Transcending the Legacy: Children in the New Southern Africa*, (Harare: AEI SARDC UNICEF, 1995), 163.

¹⁰² José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

¹⁰³ Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue Run for your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique*, (Trenton, New Jersey, Africa World Press, Inc., 1988), 63-64.

¹⁰⁴ Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1997), 105.

preparedness of residents. While in other parts of the country peasants already possessed war survival tactics, many in Mandlakazi were inexperienced.¹⁰⁵

The present-day situation in Mandlakazi is pleasantly unlike the wartime period. The district is peaceful with a modest local economy. As is the case with many rural areas in Mozambique, there are few employment opportunities. The government grants each family, including unmarried women with children and widows, two hectares of land for agricultural development. The majority of women, as well as many men who do not have formal employment, work in the *machamba* to provide food for the family. Corn, beans, nuts, cassava and rice are some of the crops that are grown in these plots of land.¹⁰⁶ While Ilha Josina Machel has a tendency to flooding, Mandlakazi district is a region prone to drought. It can sometimes go for four months without a single rain.¹⁰⁷ This has detrimental effects on the majority of residents who live off of subsistence agriculture and leaves very little or no food on which to live.

LOCAL NARRATIVES OF ATTACK AND DEFENSE

During the war, Ilha Josina Machel, Mandlakazi and their close surroundings were within what was called RENAMO's destruction areas, that is, between the areas of RENAMO and FRELIMO control. These were areas of devastation where some of the most brutal atrocities occurred.¹⁰⁸ In order to protect the resident population of Ilha Josina Machel and reinforce the local vigilante group previously established,¹⁰⁹ a regional militia was formed in the late 1980s.¹¹⁰ The militia command center was located in the present-day secondary school offices behind what is now the government administrative post in the center of town. The militia compelled men, women and

¹⁰⁵ Elisa Maria de Silveira Muianga, "Mulheres e Guerra: Reintegração Social Das Mulheres Regressadas Das Zonas de RENAMO No Distrito de Mandlakazi" (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996), 25.

¹⁰⁶ Regina Zakarias Langa, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

¹⁰⁷ Angelina Alberto Macomo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 95.

¹⁰⁹ According to my source, this vigilante group was formed in 1979.

¹¹⁰ Interview with local resident, Ilha Josina Machel, December 1, 2010.

youth, some as young as 15¹¹¹ who were not otherwise engaged to undergo a six month training and fill different roles, such as cooking for the team and patrolling the area against attacks from the enemy. I interviewed one such former local militia member who was compulsorily conscripted in Ilha Josina Machel. She stated that although militia members were not paid, the local population showed their support with regular gifts of food such as corn to make *xima*.¹¹² This form of provision may have prevented the predatory behavior of armed personnel, such as the alleged attacks by government soldiers along the *Dumba Nengue* corridor, when hunger was especially salient. It may have also been a way in which local business owners “paid” for the protection of their families and goods.¹¹³

Because of RENAMO’s strength, militias had to adapt their tactics. In Ilha Josina Machel, the militia groups often were alerted when RENAMO had entered a community and would follow behind RENAMO when they left. This allowed for the recovery of abductees who collapsed from exhaustion and those who were abandoned or left for dead.¹¹⁴

Xinavane, a town approximately 15 kilometers from the center of Ilha Josina Machel, now known for its large-scale sugar cane production, was an area of FRELIMO dominance. An electric fence at the factory protected people from RENAMO attacks at night. Many residents of Ilha Josina Machel fled to Xinavane, other nearby towns and Maputo city to avoid abduction.

In Mandlakazi town, FRELIMO established a central garrison where 12 FRELIMO soldiers and militia members were stationed. The population of the central region of Mandlakazi swelled greatly from 1982 and 1983 on until the end of the war because of the prevalence of attacks in

¹¹¹ Antonio Tembane Machava, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 4, 2010.

¹¹² Elisa Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, November 10, 2010; *Xima* is a corn based staple food, widely consumed throughout Africa.

¹¹³ For a more detailed assessment of local forces and their behavior in the region, see Chapter 21 of William Finnegan’s *A Complicated War*.

¹¹⁴ Sandra Armando Mucasse, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

the peripheral areas.¹¹⁵ The strength of the militias was often inadequate and, many times when RENAMO entered, armed personnel would flee out of consuming fear that RENAMO guerrillas had instilled in the people.¹¹⁶ Despite this fact, the mass population movement that took place underlines the fact that even a relatively weak defense system was more favorable than remaining in the isolated communal villages and leaving personal safety to fate.

Although having a gun in hand may have provided increased protection during a rebel attack, being part of a militia also meant being especially targeted by the enemy. This was also the case of educators, government officials, traditional leaders and healers and anyone associated with the government or in a leadership position. If apprehended, typically they were killed on the spot.¹¹⁷ This strategic singling out of prominent community members instilled fear in the population and served as a constant reminder of the consequences of being associated with the government.

The widespread famine and unemployment due to South Africa's cuts in migrant labor from Mozambique to the mines in early 1980s greatly contributed to RENAMO's upsurge in recruitment in Manhiça district. Some believed RENAMO fighters to be bullet-proof and also, especially the Ndau speaking troops, to have magical powers. In the town of Manhiça, approximately 30 kilometers from Ilha Josina Machel, lived a *curandeiro*¹¹⁸ sympathetic to RENAMO named Nwamadjosi, the widow of a former *régulo*.¹¹⁹ She was said to give local guerrilla fighters their power and helped recruit more soldiers.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

¹¹⁶ Cecília, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

¹¹⁷ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

¹¹⁸ Traditional healer.

¹¹⁹ Régulos are local chiefs who were used by the Portuguese and given nearly total jurisdiction over their local populations. The term is still used to this day to refer to local traditional leaders.

¹²⁰ William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 228.

Due to the gravity of RENAMO brutality, in the beginning of the 1990s, the government installed an electric fence around several villages, leaving *Bairro 5, 6 and 7*¹²¹ vulnerable to RENAMO attacks.¹²² Many were abducted in those areas during that time and their stories tell of the tragedy that took place from then until the end of the war. Those who were brave or fortunate enough to escape after being abducted often returned home only to be abducted a second or third time.¹²³

¹²¹ See appendix G and map four for an explanation and location of these communal villages.

¹²² José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

¹²³ Lina Sumbane Mbir and Felicidade Ruben Mimir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.



Felicidade Ruben Mimbir's granddaughter (right) and a friend pose while sitting on a rush mat. Handmade mats are used as a surface on which to sit, eat, sleep and prepare food; some residents of Ilha Josina Machel and Mandlakazi make and sell them as an extra source of income. *Bairro 6*, Ilha Josina Machel, December 2010.

CHAPTER TWO.

Girls in the Midst of War: “If You Said that You Were Tired, They Would Kill You”

Wisiwana i ku yendza ka mamana.

A genuine disgrace is the absence of the mother.¹

-Mozambican proverb

¹ Armando Ribeiro, 601 *Provérbios Changanas*, (Lisbon: Silvas, 1989), 120.

In the middle of heavy rainfall, Monica Jaime Muchanga gave testimony of her war experience while sitting on the floor of a bare schoolroom alongside her young daughter. Her story is typical of many other girls' experiences in a country ravaged by war.

In wartime I suffered very much. The first time they [RENAMO] abducted me, I was with my aunt. . . . When we arrived at Machulane,² those from FRELIMO attacked those from RENAMO. We managed to escape. The second time, I was abducted with my mother. That day I suffered very much because anything heavy that they [RENAMO] seized, they didn't determine the age of someone, they just gave it, even a 25 kilogram load to a child of nine years. We walked a lot and arrived at the base. There at the base, I was chosen to stay in the huts of the soldiers, the commanders that were trained. When you are there at the base, you couldn't wander from one place to the next. . . . you had to be focused. If you said that you were tired, they would kill you. . . .³

My interviews showed that girls' exposure to war was radically different to that of boy soldiers. Girls, particularly those abducted by RENAMO, lacked the sense of empowerment that boy soldiers often experienced due to their status and their access to weapons. Further, girls were not allowed choices, but rather, were enslaved for labor and sex and often lacked the mobility and camaraderie that boys soldiers enjoyed. For this reason, placing boys and girls into one aggregate category of child soldiers is a mistake. In the past, girls have been simply categorized as sexual slaves, concubines and camp followers; more recently, however, they have been included in the category of child soldiers.

The war in Mozambique took on a drastically different significance for girls and women than it did for those viewing the conflict from a national, regional or global perspective. Typical scholarly accounts of the war emphasized terrorism, brutality, and even some speak about the "horrific" use of child soldiers during the war, but the majority fail to show the lens through which young girls and women viewed the war. For girls, the conflict represented forced marriage, frequently witnessing death, crippling labor and the breakdown of daily routines that bring security.

² A small town in Gaza district located northeast of the town of Mandlakazi.

³ Monica Jaime Muchanga, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

ABDUCTION AND A TASTE OF CAPTIVITY

Sandra Armando Mucasse remembers her first exposure to the war at the age of four years old. RENAMO soldiers arrived and demanded that everyone vacate her home while they remained there for the night. The following day, they took her, her mother and the items they wanted with them. Along the way, her mother was ordered to leave Sandra by the wayside. Sandra was left alone in the middle of the hinterland while her mother carried on. Soon after a militia group found Sandra and took her home.⁴

Abduction often took place in the evening or early morning while villagers were hiding in the bush or while coming or going from their *machambas*. Some were abducted from their homes or while traveling in search of a safer location. RENAMO soldiers could enter a community from any direction or at any time; thus, regardless of even the best preventative measures, many were still taken against their own will.

The journey to base was often the most painful for girls and women. After RENAMO had raided a village and taken those they wanted, female abductees were ordered to carry excessively burdensome loads on the return journey to base. Interviews show that women were more likely than men to be forced to carry the spoils from attacks. Only in cases where the number of girls and women was inadequate or the raid had been especially profitable did boys and men carry the remaining plunder. Some girls and women were made to carry a baby or two, a sack on their head and stolen goods in both hands. These loads were often up to a crushing 50 kilograms and many fell from exhaustion along the way.⁵ Further, the journey to base was long, often lasting days, even weeks, and harsh, sometimes with little or no available food and water. Those who collapsed were brutally killed or left for dead.⁶

⁴ Sandra Armando Mucasse, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

⁵ Delfina Felex Tivane, focus group by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

⁶ Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue Run for your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique*, (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988), 19-20.

In some cases, the military hierarchy seemed less salient during the journey compared to on base. Victoria Xavier Mate notes that when she was abducted or would go out to loot with a group, they all, regardless of rank or gender, ate the same food. Back on base the chain of command resumed. Several interviews revealed that girls and women were raped upon abduction, sometimes in front of family members, and on the journey away from home. This often caused conflicts when new female abductees arrived at the base; men with higher rank wanted their pick of fresh young girls and the most beautiful women. Lay soldiers who abused girls and women along the way back to base were punished when those in high command also desired the same women. Yet, the blame was not always shifted to the abusers. If a serious conflict over a particular girl or woman arose, oftentimes, to resolve the dispute, the girl was killed.⁷

Rosa Wendzana was abducted twice during the war. The first time she was 13 and the second time she was pregnant with her first child:

When we went [were captured] the second time. . . We encountered FRELIMO armed forces, they started to fight and attack. . . Then we were saved because we went into the water [of a river] and whoever was able to swim swam across to go back [towards home]. Whoever was not able, unfortunately. . . died in the water. Those who saved themselves went back and those who didn't carried on with the RENAMO soldiers. Then when I returned home here, I didn't have anything. They [RENAMO] had carried away all my clothes and everything, everything.⁸

Sandra and Rosa's narratives may be some of the less tragic tales of war. Many others were killed along the way or died of hunger or exhaustion due to the long, grueling journey to base.⁹ They no longer live to tell their stories.

⁷ Victoria Xavier Mate, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

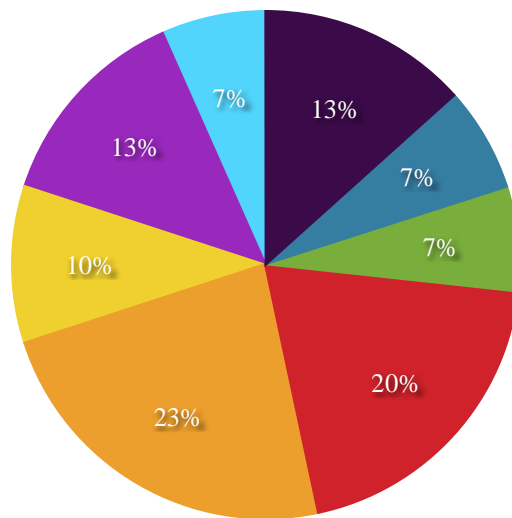
⁸ Rosa Wendzana, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

⁹ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during interview with Rosa Wendzana, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

The following figure shows the ages of my informants upon abduction. Those who were 18 or over when abducted were included in the key informant category due to the fact that they were either abducted with their young children or their narratives were particularly pertinent.

FIGURE 2.1 AGE OF KEY INFORMANTS UPON ABDUCTION¹⁰

- Under 5
 - 12-14 years old
 - 18 or over
- 6-8 years old
 - 15-17 years old
 - Unspecified
- 9-11 years old
 - Unspecified but under 18 when the war ended



The initial motivation for the abduction of women and girls from rural communities was to use them as porters for stolen goods. Their activities upon arrival to the base took on many different forms, however.

DESCRIPTION OF LIFE ON THE BASES¹¹

New abductees were typically brought to the base and held in a designated area for several days or weeks until they could be conditioned to their new life of confinement and chosen for their

¹⁰ n=30.

¹¹ For illustrations of the different arrangements of RENAMO bases see Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991) 94.

respective roles. It seems that girls and women were not kept under as close supervision as newly abducted boys and men¹² principally because they were not seen as posing as great a threat.

Each RENAMO base had its own dynamics, structure and daily life. The central bases of Maputo and Gaza provinces, Xinhanguanine and Nhanale respectively, were extensive and appeared to be in fixed locations for extended periods of time. Bases such as Xinhanguanine possessed infrastructure including a church and a medical center, some complete with a makeshift maternity ward. Medicine was abundant because medical centers in nearby villages were looted. *Curandeiros* and bishops were abducted from communities to care for the spiritual needs of those on base. Nurses were also taken from villages¹³ and some individuals were chosen and trained in medical care. Josefina Euzebio Moiane received medical training following her arrival to Gaza's central base, Nhanale: "I worked in the medical section. Because there, it was the war itself, every day we would hear gunfire. Serious accidents would happen. . . [and] we treated wounded people. . ."¹⁴

Chichososa was a large, well-structured base in Inhambane province, southern Mozambique. It comprised 410 randomly arranged huts housing approximately 500 persons. In the center of the base, a rectangular structure existed where the RENAMO commander resided.¹⁵ Four of my key informants stated that they were held at this base. Sonia João Cossa, who was one of them, revealed that she worked in a *machamba* near base.¹⁶ It appears that, in addition to stealing from

¹² Alex Vines writes about the way in which young men were psychologically broken before starting RENAMO military training. In some instances, they were buried in holes up to their necks or put into cages until they were obedient enough give staunch allegiance to their captors (Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 95. Similar imprisonment of girls and women was not apparent to me during my fieldwork in southern Mozambique.

¹³ Narciso Castanheira, *Ex-criança Soldado: Não Queremos Voltar Para o Inferno*, (Maputo: Reconstruindo a Esperança, 1999), 25.

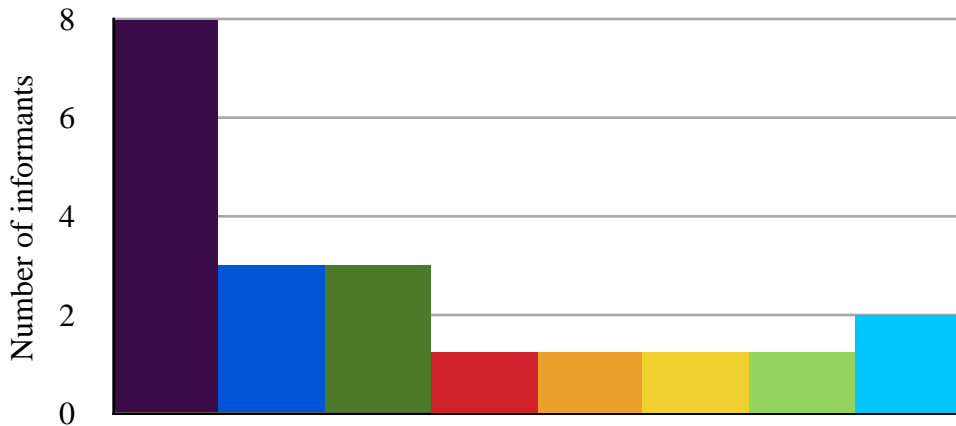
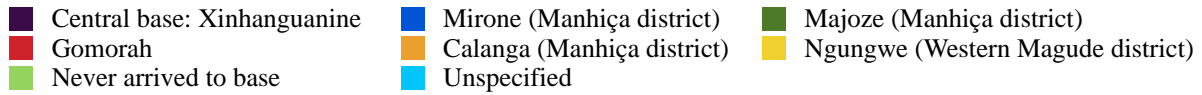
¹⁴ Josefina Euzebio Moiane, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

¹⁵ Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 86; This description is based on the structure of the base in 1985. It is possible that this base changed in size and composition prior to and following that specific year.

¹⁶ Sonia João Cossa, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

nearby populations, some of the larger bases also had means with which to sustain those who lived on base.

FIGURE 2.2 RENAMO BASES WHERE KEY INFORMANTS FROM ILHA JOSINA MACHEL WERE HELD¹⁷



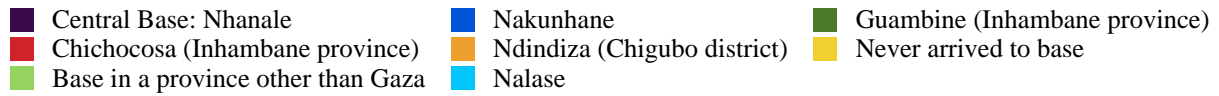
Unlike the central bases, the structure and locations of smaller bases seemed to depend on FRELIMO advances and the local dynamics of the war. They also appeared to have little or no infrastructural support, particularly for girls and women. “When I was sick, I only asked someone to give me water and something to eat. That’s all”, recalled Cacilda Vicente Mazive.¹⁸ This was due in part to the frequent movement of location, particularly characteristic of secondary and smaller bases. Nicholas della Casa, a British reporter who remained in RENAMO captivity for 18 months, stated that RENAMO bases were mobile and fully assembled in a day or two. When the base where he was held relocated, a house was first assembled for him [an abductee presumably with some status], then for women of the *Destacamento Feminino*, for commanders of the base and lastly for ordinary soldiers.¹⁹

¹⁷ n=15. Of 15 informants, five were either abducted twice or underwent a base transfer. Thus, the number of responses is 20.

¹⁸ Cacilda Vicente Mazive, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

¹⁹ Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 86.

FIGURE 2.3 RENAMO BASES WHERE KEY INFORMANTS FROM MANDLAKAZI WERE HELD²⁰



Several of my informants affirmed that the bases where they were held were repeatedly bombed by FRELIMO. Guerrilla soldiers as well as abductees were killed in these raids. Anisia stated that the bombing of her base was one of the worst parts of the war: “That which I saw there [at the base] were the planes, FRELIMO planes came, those planes. . . killed, because they didn’t choose the population, and they didn’t choose soldiers. Any person who was found at the base, when (s)he was taken from base, it was to kill him/her”.²¹

SEPARATION FROM LOVED ONES

The dismantling of the family became one of RENAMO’s central tactics. Insurgents would enter rural communities confiscating provisions, demanding sex from women, separating children from their mothers, and in the end extirpating the community’s livelihood. Infanticide as well as sowing seeds of fear and terror were calculated strategies to debilitate targeted populations. Toddlers were brutally dismembered and left for dead while their mothers watched; many children were killed and captured in order to dishearten and weaken family members. Thus, the

²⁰ n=15. Of 15 informants, four were either abducted twice or underwent a base transfer. Thus, 19 responses are indicated in the graph.

²¹ Anisia, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

use of children during the war was a bifurcate strategy. When RENAMO deemed a child's life valuable enough, his/her life was spared; if not, RENAMO used the death of children to break down families.²² Young children who survived the journey to base were often separated from their mothers upon arrival.²³ This separation became a way to eliminate the resemblance of their new lives to civilian life; it also minimized solidarity between abductees and reduced opportunities to escape.

RENAMO recognized the dominant role of the mother in the rural home, due in part to the fact that mothers were the main source of maintenance of the home and the care of children. RENAMO also realized that the absence of the mother in the familial structure could prove detrimental to the fabric of society and that the presence of the family, especially the mother, was able to take the edge off the painful experiences felt by a child during war. Even where families still remained intact, the experiences of war often left mothers powerless to properly care for their children.²⁴

The importance of the proximity of mother and child in Mozambican culture is summed up in the tradition of the *capulana*.

The child lives the day-to-day life of its mother. She does not put the child down when she is working: when she is working in the fields, when she cooks, she carries the child on her back. She makes only one movement to suckle the child. She does not leave the child with a maid, nor lay it in a cradle. . . The child grows in contact with its mother. It is said that whoever has not been 'belecado' (cradled) does not turn out well, because they have not felt, have not breathed their mother's back.²⁵

²² Helen Brocklehurst, *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006), 116-117.

²³ Lina Sumbane Mbir and Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

²⁴ Helen Brocklehurst, *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006), 115, 117.

²⁵ Paola Rolletta, Maria de Lourdes Torcato, and Mêmê, *Capulanas & Lenços Capulanas & Kerchiefs*, (Maputo, Mozambique: Missanga, 2004), 9.

Of my sample, four reported being abandoned or having to abandon their children. Separation of mother and child also took a toll on the child, mother and family. Sandra Armando Mucasse and her siblings suffered because their mother was missing. Sandra's father was also absent because he had left his wife and family in 1981 for another woman. It was the second time their mother had been taken by RENAMO. To reduce their vulnerability to abduction, they went to live in a nearby town called Palmeira. They lived in squalid conditions and had to rob food to survive. Sandra was ridiculed by the children around her because she had been abducted by RENAMO and she had no one to console her. When her mother returned in the end, she found Sandra unable to walk, in the same clothes she had left her in and covered with mites – something that Sandra will never be able to forget. When her mother began providing food for her and her sisters, the children around her began to regard her favorably again.²⁶ It is with the return of her mother that Sandra is, once again, recognized as a social being worthy of acknowledgement and relationship.

The death of children was also used as punishment for mothers who disobeyed or were accused of stealing. Ofelia Lazarus Tavele was abducted in Mandlakazi district and forced to carry a oversized sack of flour and a large bottle of *aguardente*.²⁷ Later, when the group of recently abducted civilians and RENAMO soldiers stopped, a woman in the group blamed Ofelia for having drunk a portion of the alcohol. To teach her a lesson, they hurled her baby against a tree. Ofelia was forced to continue on into captivity without being able to mourn or bury her lifeless child.²⁸

The war was intensely draining for those who resided in communities constantly suffering from RENAMO attacks. Vitoria Xavier Mate's abduction illustrates the difficulties of mothering a child in the chaos of war: "One time I went out to visit my family members, when I arrived there was an attack. So, I managed to flee but when I had arrived a [short] distance, I began to think. . .

²⁶ Sandra Armando Mucasse, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

²⁷ Brandy.

²⁸ Ofelia Lazarus Tavele, focus group by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

I was able to run away but my small baby stayed. . . When I went back, my mother had fled, but those from RENAMO were still there”. Wanting to protect her child, Vitoria Xavier Mate instead was abducted and taken to a base a long distance from her home.²⁹

The war caused social rupture in more ways than one; that of the weakening and absence of the mother may have been one of the most fundamental attacks to culture. Maria Julio Cossa’s story reveals that, typically, at the first opportunity, abductees escaped even if it meant leaving loved ones behind. Maria was living with her paternal aunt and family when she and her family members were abducted by RENAMO. Some managed to escape on the way back to the base but she was very young and not able to flee. She lived in the RENAMO base for nearly three years and noted that being separated from her loved ones at such a young age was one of the most difficult aspects of the war.³⁰

LIVING CONDITIONS

The food on base was unhealthy, inconsistent and inadequate. Often people consumed the same water that cattle and goats drank and where people bathed.³¹ Ofelia Lazarus Tavele recalled that, because of a lack of water, she had to mix urine with her drinking water.³² Many died because of a lack of nourishment and as a result of the harsh living conditions on base.³³ Maria Julio Cossa remembers that girls who did not go out to rob food were left with nothing to eat. “To be able to eat, we just had to go rob things from the population. . . . Because we were children, we had to go the *machambas*. . . to take cassava from the population to be able to eat”. . .³⁴ Many were forced to eat the roots of trees and shrubs and wild fruit in order to survive.

²⁹ Vitoria Xavier Mate, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010; It is unclear from her narrative whether she was captured with or without her child.

³⁰ Maria Julio Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, September 14, 2010.

³¹ Angelina Alberto Macomo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

³² Ofelia Lazarus Tavele, focus group by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

³³ Angelina Alberto Macomo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

³⁴ Maria Julio Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, September 14, 2010.

The food that abductees ate was often an indication of the hierarchical order within a base. Those who mentioned eating the head, blood or skin of an animal were often of lower rank, or had a “husband” with lower status. Access to food and the spoils of war seemed to depend more on a girl/woman’s place within the male hierarchy and less on specific roles within the base. Generally, girls appeared to be treated the same regardless of having received military training or not.³⁵

Thirteen of my key informants recalled that one of the most difficult parts of the war was directly related to the poor quality or lack of food and water. Several stated that having to eat food without salt was most unforgettable part of war. Nordstrom notes that this was an indication of whether a person was on the side of RENAMO or not. “People have been killed by Renamo for possessing salt – a ‘clear’ sign that they had been ‘collaborating’ with Frelimo, as far as Renamo was concerned”.³⁶ While many of my informants remembered the unrelenting living conditions as one of the most difficult parts of the war, very few mentioned more perceivably painful war experiences such as sexual abuse and mutilation.

ACTIVITIES OF GIRLS DURING WAR

Carlota Armando Nguenha was chosen to protect the chief at Xinhanguanine. She was included in a group of 25 girls who were hand-picked by RENAMO soldiers to live and work in special quarters designed for those who guarded the chief. They followed the head of the base off-site when he decided to do so, walking behind him and carrying his belongings. The boys and men who worked for the chief of Xinhanguanine had weapons whereas the girls did not. The group of 25 girls including Carlota were to receive military training but the cease fire interrupted further plans.³⁷

³⁵ Deroteia Jaime Sondo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

³⁶ Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 82.

³⁷ Carlota Armando Nguenha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

Like Carlota, Cacilda Vicente Mazive also worked for the chief of Xinhanganine and participated in the many base transfers the chief made to ensure his safety from FRELIMO aerial and ground attacks. She lived in similar quarters to Carlota and carried the chief's parcels when he travelled. The older girls who worked for the chief underwent military preparation every morning at dawn, which entailed physical exercises and training with firearms.³⁸

Twelve of my key informants stated that, while in captivity, they saw girls undergoing military training or remembered girls carrying guns. The majority, if not all of the training of women and girls took place in the central bases.³⁹ Women and girls who received military training formed the *Destacamento Feminino*. Deroteia Jaime Sondo was a DF and underwent one year of military training in the central base of Gaza province named Nhanale. Afterwards, she stayed at the base and did not participate in the conflict. She cooked and became a servant of a commander's wife.⁴⁰

Although girls under the age of 18 did participate in military training, it appears that the majority of them did not take part in direct combat and did not leave the base armed. Older girls frequently left the bases with boys and men to loot and pillage, but typically did not carry weapons. Florinha stated, "girls, the youngest girls stayed. But those who were already grown, went out to rob". I asked if they carried weapons. "No," she answered. "Men started shooting, shooting, shooting, and they took things and captured those girls to be able to carry everything to base".⁴¹

The central function of girls was to stay in the camps washing clothes, preparing food, cleaning, cultivating crops,⁴² searching for firewood and fetching water. Girls such as those over 12 years

³⁸ Cacilda Vicente Mazive, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

³⁹ Misteria Jaime Cuambe, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁴⁰ Deroteia Jaime Sondo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

⁴¹ Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 5, 2010.

⁴² The cultivation of crops was unique to several bases in southern Mozambique, evidently the larger ones. The inhabitants of most RENAMO bases survived by looting surrounding populations.

of age often became slaves to older women who were in positions of power on the base; they were “given” to these women to perform domestic tasks.⁴³

Many girls and women served not only as domestic servants but also as sexual slaves for the exploitation and enjoyment of the soldiers on base. Indeed, one of the main aspects of the lives of girls on bases in Southern Mozambique was sexual abuse and forced cohabitation with men.⁴⁴

THE MEANING OF “HUSBAND”⁴⁵

Life for girls on base was a life without choices, a life of unquestioned obedience. “If we lived well or we didn’t live well, I’m not able to say because, there, it wasn’t a marriage in that a person married of her own free will,” Florinha reminisced. “Women were abducted, so they arrived there at the base, [and] every man came to choose saying, ‘I want you to live with me’. So everything that happened to you there, you had to tolerate with him. If it’s a good life, if it’s a bad life. . . You can’t say yes or no”.⁴⁶

Destruction was not the only effect of the war but also sexual abuse.⁴⁷ Informants recounted to me stories of the brutal sexual abuse of girls as young as seven.⁴⁸ While little documentation on

⁴³ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during interview with Rosa Wendzana, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

⁴⁴ Carol B. Thompson, “Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique,” *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 204, (endnote 1).

⁴⁵ Sexual abuse of women during the war served several purposes. Wilson describes sexual abuse by RENAMO for the purpose of “imbue[ing] male ritual power as well as provid[ing] privileges to soldiers in lieu of payment” (K. B. Wilson, *Internally Displaced, Refugees and Returnees from and in Mozambique*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala, 1994), 9; The rape of women was also used to instill fear among new abductees and civilian populations and spread terror during the war (Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue Run for your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique*, (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988), 19-20.

⁴⁶ Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 5, 2010; Anisia is another example. She was required to have a husband during the war and she was the only women her husband had (Anisia, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010). Others, however, became one of several wives (Narciso Castanheira, *Ex-criança Soldado: Não Queremos Voltar Para o Inferno*, (Maputo: Reconstruindo a Esperança, 1999), 24.

⁴⁷ Carol B. Thompson, Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique. *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 204 (endnote 1).

⁴⁸ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during an interview with Rosa Wendzana, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

the number of women and girls who were subjected to sexual abuse during the war exists,⁴⁹ none of my informants denied its pervasiveness. “The bad thing [about girls being abducted during the war], child or not, she had to have a ‘husband’.”⁵⁰ Narratives of rape were repeated time and time again, painfully, during my fieldwork in Mozambique. “Was it compulsory to be with a man?”⁵¹ I asked. The answer was always affirmative: “It was obligatory, of course. They had to accept because if they did not accept, they were killed.”⁵² The narratives of rape that surfaced during my fieldwork were all attributed to RENAMO. Still, abuse by the government also existed. Jacobson notes that the attention given to the sexual abuse of RENAMO overshadowed the sexual abuse of government soldiers during the war.⁵³

This chapter shows that girls’ experiences during the war go significantly further than accounts of sexual violence. However, omitting the sexual abuse that was prevalent during their captivity would leave out a primary source of pain. While only seven of my interviewees openly admitted to being “forced into womanhood”⁵⁴ during wartime, many only spoke about the abuse of other girls and women, often referring to abuse in the third person. Some also stated that because they were very young when abducted, although chosen by a man, he did not have sexual relations

⁴⁹ Josefa V. L. Langa, “The Invisible Victims: Women in the Mozambican Conflict” (Master’s thesis, University of East Anglia, August 1995), 16.

⁵⁰ Lina Sumbane Mbir and Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁵¹ This was the way in which I found to phrase the question regarding rape without impinging unnecessarily on the informant’s privacy. From there, some participants openly acknowledged to having been with a man during the war or, if I saw fit, I asked the informant directly about their experience of sexual abuse.

⁵² Julieta, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

⁵³ Ruth Jacobson, “Mozambique and the Construction of Gendered Agency in War,” *Women Studies International Forum* 29 (2006): 505-506.

⁵⁴ This was one way in which informants expressed the presence of rape. Other ways of referring to sexual abuse included to be forced into marriage, have an obligatory “husband”, and “be” with a man. I express rape in a similar way so as to convey the manner in which informants spoke about their experiences.

with them.⁵⁵ Still others provided justifications for the absence of rape such as feigning venereal diseases.⁵⁶

A study on war trauma of women in Gorongosa⁵⁷ showed similar findings in relation to the narrative of rape. The authors labeled the unwillingness to overtly disclose sexual abuse a contradiction: “This type of denial, encompassing fantasies of resistance against the oppressor, was very evident; only four women stated they had been victims of rape”. An informant who participated in the study confirmed that it was impossible for the women to have escaped wartime rape.⁵⁸ Indeed, the majority of girls and women inducted into an armed group during the war in Mozambique were raped, compelled to “marry” and often live and work for their abusers, particularly within RENAMO bases. But, as damaging as the aforementioned abuse may seem, it was often more detrimental to refuse what soldiers demanded, as the end result of such refusal was often death.

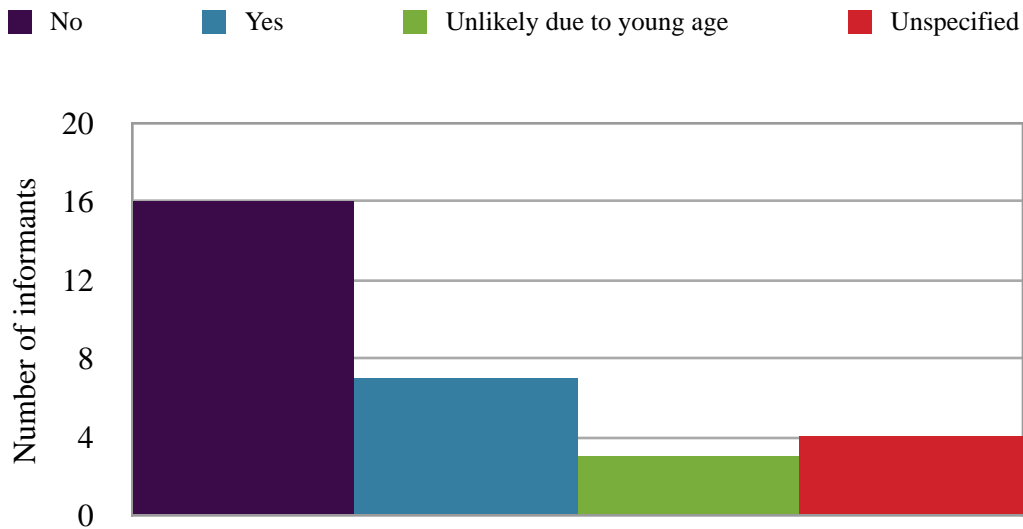
⁵⁵ Belinda, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010; Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 5, 2010.

⁵⁶ Lina, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010; This argument was credible because, in many areas, wartime rape caused the rapid increase of sexually transmitted diseases (William Minter and Robert Gersony, *Mozambique- A Tale of Terror Told by Ex-participants of Renamo and Refugees* (Cape Town: African European Institute, n.d.), 60.

⁵⁷ This study was based on a sample of 91 women.

⁵⁸ Victor Igreja, Wim Kleijn and Annemiek Richters, “When the War Was Over, Little Changed: Women’s Posttraumatic Suffering After the War in Mozambique,” *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 194, no. 7 (July 2006): 505.

FIGURE 2.4 ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RAPE BY KEY INFORMANTS⁵⁹



Having a “husband”, especially one with rank, meant access to plunder from looting, a more secure place to live⁶⁰ and better food than those without wartime husbands. A wartime “husband”, for the most part, also meant protection from various “husbands”, sometimes more than one per night. Those without war “husbands” lacked this protection and the relative luxuries of wartime, often going hungry for long periods of time.⁶¹ Two of my informants also stated that they received protection from their “husbands” when in danger of being killed.⁶²

When I asked at what age girls were forced into marriage, answers varied but were ambiguous. Most stated that it depended on the base, context and the individual. Elisa stated that she was not “given” a man: “I was lucky because at the age of 13, the others were required [to have a husband]”.⁶³ Some, however, knew the meaning of rape at even younger ages. Lina Magaia, in

⁵⁹ n=30.

⁶⁰ Some interviewees indicated that they lived with their husbands. Others stated that they slept in a section of the base especially designed for women. This varied according to the base. Some were arranged in a gendered fashion and others were not.

⁶¹ Vitoria Xavier Mate, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

⁶² Felicidade Ruben Mimir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010; Delfina Felex Tivane, focus group by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

⁶³ Elisa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 10, 2010.

her book about the tragedies of the war in southern Mozambique, records an incident of a girl under the age of eight who was raped by a “bandit chief” in front of new abductees. The young girl died as a result and stood as an example of the fate of the other girls in the group.⁶⁴

Terezinha recalled that, at a very young age, she was chosen by a chief of Chichocosa to be a future wife and obliged to sleep in the same room with him and his “spouse” in order to be schooled in the tasks of the chief’s “wives”. In that setting, she stated that it was difficult for her to sleep at night. Newly abducted girls who served the same function as Terezinha were made to undergo a ritual upon their arrival to their new living quarters. Women who worked in the chief’s quarters bathed the newly arrived girls, washed their clothes and then buried their laundered clothes in a drum as if to signify a break from their past lives and prepare them for the new life that awaited them. They were then given new clothes to wear – clothes from the base.⁶⁵

Xinhanguanine, the central base in Maputo province, was arranged in a gendered fashion. The men, who lived in a separate area of the base, would summon girls and women to their quarters at night: “They do not make a home. The man calls a girl, with a weapon, to “unite” with the obligatory husband that she was given”.⁶⁶ The chief of this base, commonly called “Baioneta”,⁶⁷ set the bar; he “owned” as many girls as he wished. They lived in a section of the base separate from other girls and he would call them one by one at whim.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Lina Magaia, *Dumba Nengue Run for your Life: Peasant Tales of Tragedy in Mozambique*, (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc., 1988), 19-20.

⁶⁵ Terezinha, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

⁶⁶ Anisia, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁶⁷ Several of my informants used this name to refer to the chief of this particular base. “Baioneta” means bayonet in English.

⁶⁸ Cacilda Vicente Mazive, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

Outside the bases and within regions of RENAMO authority, particularly those called control areas,⁶⁹ girls and women were frequently raped. While some were abused in their own homes and along transport routes, others were summoned from civilian populations to a certain RENAMO base.⁷⁰

OTHER FORMS OF ABUSE

Sexual abuse was not the only form of harm imposed on girls. Physical abuse was used as a punishment and to firmly establish fear and obedience. For example, Felicidade's mother was killed in front of her. She was forced to watch her die and when she began to weep, a soldier found a large stick and beat her. Felicidade was also subject to beatings as the result of being accused of attempting escape. She soon "married" a commander and thereby gained protection.⁷¹

Following abduction, Carlota Armando Nguenha and Deroteia Jaime Sondo were subjected to assault on a regular basis. Carlota revealed that, like Felicidade, certain male soldiers continually charged her with attempting to flee and consequently, she was subjected to physical abuse. When I spoke to her regarding her war experience, she showed me several of her scars to prove her

⁶⁹ Robert Gersony, in his study entitled *Mozambique-A Tale of Terror Told by Ex-participants of RENAMO and Refugees*, describes these areas as a place of residence of two different groups of people: local populations and those taken from other areas both of whom were compulsorily confined to these control areas. Although Gersony's report provides accounts of RENAMO soldiers and refugees from the northern, central and southern regions of the country, Alex Vines argues that the research for this study is most applicable to central Mozambique and may not necessarily be relevant to the war situation in the entire country (Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 91.

⁷⁰ William Minter and Robert Gersony, *Mozambique- A Tale of Terror Told by Ex-participants of Renamo and Refugees* (Cape Town: African European Institute, n.d.), 60; This is indicative of the RENAMO tactic of *gandira* by RENAMO which instated forced labor, the sexual abuse of female minors and women and enslavement for the purpose of sex (Victor Igreja, Beatrice Dias-Lambranca and Annemiek Richters, "Gamba Spirits, Gender Relations, and Healing in Post-Civil War Gorongosa, Mozambique," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14 (2008): 358. (*Gandira* is a word in a local language of Gorongosa in central Mozambique. I asked several of my informants if this was a term also used to refer to specific RENAMO tactics or, when given a description of the meaning, if they were aware of the term; no one seemed to have knowledge of an equivalent term for southern Mozambique.) Victor Igreja uses his primary research in Gorongosa in Sofala Province to refer to the gravity of *gandira*. This forced labor often required that men travel far away from home for weeks at a time. The absence of men in households and communities left women and girls vulnerable, resulting in an increase of physical and sexual exploitation. The study showed that RENAMO soldiers would arrive at unannounced times during the day and night to check and control the people's movement. Cases were recorded of RENAMO soldiers coercing women to cook a meal unclothed before subjecting them to sexual abuse (Victor Igreja, "Cultural Disruption and the Case of Infants in Post-war Mozambique," in *Children and Youth on the Frontline: Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement*, ed. Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), 26.

⁷¹ Felicidade Ruben Mimir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

extensive beatings. Throughout her year of confinement on base, she became very thin because she was mistreated and not well fed. Deroteia Jaime Sondo was a DF in the central base in Gaza and remained in captivity for two years. She remembered that, regardless of her military training, she suffered from the same degree of mistreatment and hunger as the other girls on base. When accused of not working hard enough or doing a poor job, she was physically abused by the women for whom she worked.⁷²

THE ART OF SURVIVAL AND ESCAPE

Delfina Felex Tivane was made to carry a 50 kilogram sack of flour with a newborn strapped to her back just after having been abducted. She knew that she and her child would be severely beaten or killed if she collapsed from the weight, so methodically, she reached into the sack and, little by little, removed flour as she walked.⁷³ Actions such as these could be fatal; informants attested to the fact that attempting to lighten their loads or disobey meant certain death.⁷⁴

Escape from captivity was an act that required particular creativity and initiative. Methods of escape varied but the majority fled with family members or friends who they knew and trusted before their abduction. Others stated that, at the opportune moment, they fled on their own. It not only took creativity but also a great deal of courage to flee because often the punishment for an unsuccessful escape was severe beating, time in jail or death.⁷⁵ Because RENAMO understood that many abductees were able to escape with family, friends from their villages or friends they had made at the base, attempts were made to separate loved ones from each other; however, my research shows that this was not always the case. Thirteen of my interviewees indicated that they escaped with family members or friends.

⁷² Deroteia Jaime Sondo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

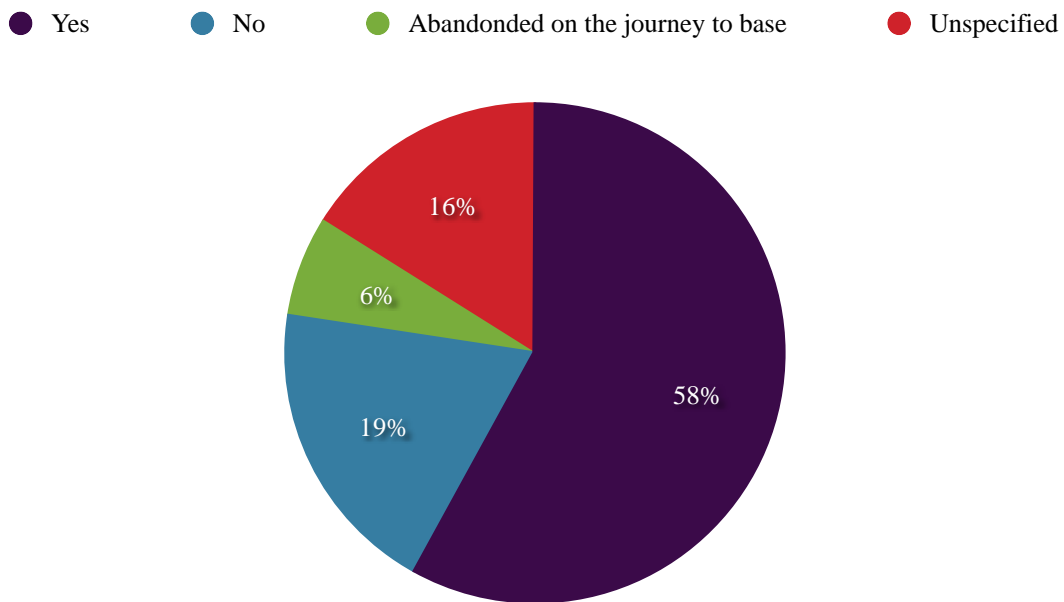
⁷³ Delfina Felex Tivane, focus group by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

⁷⁴ Misteria Jaime Cuambe, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁷⁵ Girls, in comparison to boys, may have been more apt to escape from RENAMO because of their extreme ill treatment, abuse and lack of power. Boys also may have been more hesitant to flee than girls because of a fear that government forces would accuse them of being part of RENAMO and kill them. Perhaps this is one reason why, in comparison with a study on boy soldiers, a more substantial number of my informants fled captivity.

Figure 2.5 displays the percentage of key informants who were able to escape captivity. Those who fled, with the exception of two, stated that they fled in the company of friends or family who they trusted. Those who were not able to escape typically provided a valid reason. They were either too young, did not know their way back home, did not have anyone with whom to flee or were too afraid due to past experiences. Three informants, all under the age of five at the time and in the company of a parent, were abandoned on their way to base.

FIGURE 2.5 KEY INFORMANTS WHO FLED CAPTIVITY⁷⁶



Monica Jaime Muchanga, who was introduced at the beginning of this chapter, stated that she was particularly afraid of attempting escape. One day when she and her cousin were out drawing water at the well, her cousin encouraged them to escape together. Soon they found themselves the target of gunfire; RENAMO soldiers had become aware of their escape. The gunfire triggered the explosion of land mines and Monica thought her cousin had died. They both managed to

⁷⁶ n=30. One informant escaped twice. Thus, 31 responses are indicated. Another informant stated that she attempted to flee but was caught and returned to base. Her response was placed in the “no” category.

continue and at last found a safe place for the night. They finally emerged from the bush and found a FRELIMO post where they were first interrogated and then given help to return home.⁷⁷

Josina Daniel Zuvani was abducted together with several of her friends from Ilha Josina Machel. She and her friends escaped while on an errand to get water; they saw a window of opportunity, left their water jugs and ran to the nearest town. Cacilda Vicente Mazive too managed to escape in the company of loved ones. She, who was one of many who was chosen to protect the chief of the central base in Maputo province, managed to escape with two friends with whom she had been abducted.⁷⁸ Others, however, often because of past experiences, were too afraid to attempt escape: “I hadn’t even thought [about escaping],” said Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, “because I was scared, even in the moment they were mistreating me, I was not thinking about running away. . . I was terrified because my mother was recaptured when she wanted to escape at night”.⁷⁹

Those who were not able to flee stayed until the ceasefire or sometimes even longer. By 1992, the war was coming to a close. Florinha, who was introduced at the beginning of the study, had been abducted with her mother, but her mother managed to flee. She was about 10 when the cease fire was signed. She recalled: “Helicopters came to provide when the war had calmed down. But in that moment when I went, the helicopter couldn’t reach me”. For this reason, her mother went to the base where she was located and negotiated with RENAMO leaders for her release.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Monica Jaime Muchanga, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

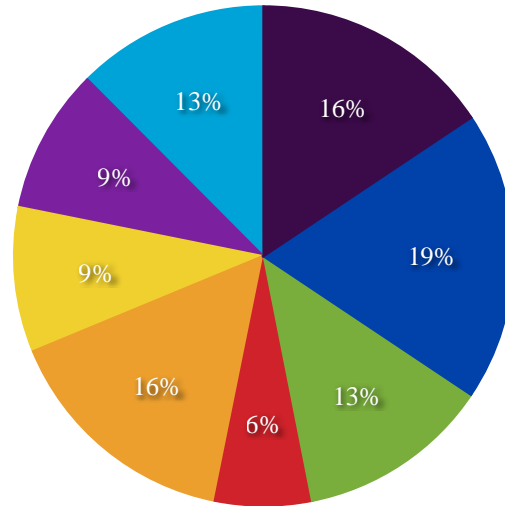
⁷⁸ Cacilda Vicente Mazive, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁷⁹ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁸⁰ Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 5, 2010.

FIGURE 2.6: DURATION OF CAPTIVITY OF KEY INFORMANTS⁸¹

● Less than a month ● 1-3 months ● 4-6 months ● 7-11 months ● 1-2 years ● 3-4 years
● 5-10 years ● Unspecified



The duration of each individual’s captivity depended on the desire and/or opportunities to escape or the length of time from abduction to the “end” of the war. Ability to escape was also contingent on the abductee’s age and familiarity with the surrounding areas in which she was located. When a girl was very young or taken to a base very far from home, it was nearly impossible to escape alone or with others her age. While three of my informants stated that managed to escape alone, the majority fled in the company of others.

Boothby shows that the duration of time that boy soldiers spent with RENAMO was a factor in post-war adjustment.⁸² My interviewees with short captivities appeared to have suffered less and

⁸¹ n=30. Two informants were abducted twice and revealed the length of both of their periods of captivity. Thus, the number of responses is 32.

⁸² Neil Boothby, “What Happens When Child Soldiers Grow Up? The Mozambique Case Study,” *Intervention* 4, no. 3 (2006): 249; This study showed that those with six months or less in RENAMO ranks appeared to view themselves as victims. Those who spent one year or more in RENAMO forces, on the other hand, showed more attachment to the rebel group.

become less marginalized in post-war society compared to those with longer captivities because when they returned they were often younger and seen as victims. On the other hand, abductees such as Josefina Euzebio Moiane, who stayed in RENAMO captivity for five years and received medical training during that time, had no opportunity to transfer her skills to civilian life. Although she cited her lack of formal education as the reason for her inability to find employment, it may be that she is experiencing marginalization because of the length of her captivity and thus, her association with RENAMO.⁸³ Josefina's story points to one of many gaping weaknesses in post-war procedures that will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁸³ Josefina Euzebio Moiane, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.



A young girl straps a child onto her back with a brightly colored *capulana*. *Capulanas*, which are said to have first appeared as a style of dress in East Africa in the middle of the 19th century,¹ are widely used by Mozambicans for a variety of practical purposes. *Bairro 6*, Ilha Josina Machel, December 2010.

¹ Paola Rolletta, Maria de Lourdes Torcato, and Mêmê, *Capulanas & Lenços Capulanas & Kerchiefs* (Maputo, Mozambique: Missanga, 2004), 21.

CHAPTER THREE.

Reintegration: “We were able to breathe deeply”

Those with the most reason to weep are those who never weep.
-Mia Couto²

² Mia Couto, *A River Called Time*, trans. David Brookshaw, (London: Serpents Tails, 2008), 95.

Fortunata is unable to have a husband or children. “I don’t have a husband, I don’t have a boyfriend, I don’t have children, I have nothing,” she laments. Her situation is directly linked to her spirit possession. The two spirits³ who inhabit her do not allow her to travel, be in a relationship with a man or have children. She was abducted during an attack as a small child when in the company of her father, who was a member of the local militia. While her father was being pursued by RENAMO, he managed to hide Fortunata under a tree. When she began to cry, RENAMO soldiers discovered her and violently dashed her against a tree. She suffered a severe head injury and was left alone to die. She did not die, however, but was found and taken to the hospital. Her situation was critical; she was fed intravenously and her physical recovery took one year and a half.⁴

Fortunata’s narrative speaks of the savagery of war; even so, on a more subtle level, the words she voiced reveal post-war mechanisms of justice and recovery. Within these mechanisms, spirits surface in chosen individuals, seeking retribution for war crimes and, arguably, in the end, provide purification, healing, reconciliation and forgiveness. Spirit possession is one of the many ways in which Mozambicans deal with painful experiences suffered during the post-independence war.

This chapter discusses the placement and inclusion of girl soldiers within the continuum of post-war processes. Within this sequence of reintegration, demobilization, local and international aid and traditional and religious practices exist. Demobilization left girls by the wayside and the extensiveness and efficacy of aid left much to be desired. Very few participated in demobilization

³ Fortunata indicated to me that she is possessed by a *Nguni* and a *Ndau* spirit. The *Nguni*, originally an opposition group of the Zulu kingdom, hail from Zululand in South Africa. The *Ndau* originate from the central Mozambican group of the *Shona-Karanga*. Although the *Tsonga* from southern Mozambique and the *Ndau* from the central region are from the same country, only a weak cultural link between the two exists. *Ndau* spirits have been known to manifest in *Tsonga* individuals (the ethnic group of Fortunata) in violent forms and even kill entire families of the individual who they possess (Alcinda Honwana, “Spiritual Agency and Self-Renewal in Southern Mozambique” (Ph.D. diss., University of London: 1996), 52 (footnote 6-68). When I asked Fortunata details about her spirits she stated that she was not aware of their origins and intentions. It appears, however, that they may be *mipfhukwa* spirits who are sent to avenge the death of foreign young soldiers who were killed in war by an ancestor of the possessed individual’s family (ibid, 69). It is, however, unclear for which war crimes these spirits seek justice. Fortunata revealed that the spirits had originally inhabited her sister, but when she decided to marry, their father transferred the spirits to Fortunata in order to appease the spirits.

⁴ Fortunata, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 15, 2010.

programs because they were not considered soldiers and they were not seen a threat to the peace. Within the context of post-war practices, this chapter explores themes relevant to the topic of reintegration, including transitional justice, amnesty, traditional and government level justice, memory and forgiveness.

COMMUNITY BASED MEASURES⁵

In Mozambique, many believe that cultures of violence can be dislodged from a society.⁶ Within this belief, traditional social establishments and healers contribute to managing and giving meaning to suffering.⁷ Traditional healers as well as Muslim and Christian leaders shaped cleansing rituals to meet the reintegration needs of those returning from the war.⁸ The direction of the traditional ceremony hinged on the individual's war experience rather than their age or gender.⁹ The process of healing and restoration in Mozambique was viewed as a communal endeavor; rebuilding communities through tangible and productive tasks such as reconstructing homes and planting fields was viewed as an integral part of post-war healing and recovery at the community level.¹⁰

Traditional practices both during and after the war were double-edged. Wilson describes this incongruity: "Culturally framed activities that generate a sense of purpose and belonging

⁵ For an in-depth study on traditional and religious practices in Mozambique, particularly spirit possession, see Alcinda Maria Rodolfo Manuel Honwana, "Spiritual Agency and Self-Renewal in Southern Mozambique" (Ph.D. Diss., University of London, London, April 1996).

⁶ Carolyn Nordstrom, "Treating the Wounds of War," *Cultural Survival* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1993) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/mozambique/treating-wounds-war> (accessed February 26, 2011).

⁷ Sara Gibbs, "Post-war reconstruction in Mozambique, Reframing Children's Experience of War and Healing," *Disasters* 18, no. 3 (1994): 268, 272.

⁸ Carol B. Thompson, "Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique." *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 199.

⁹ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

¹⁰ Sara Gibbs, "Post-war reconstruction in Mozambique, Reframing Children's Experience of War and Healing," *Disasters* 18, no. 3 (1994): 268, 272.

contribute both to the pain – and to the alleviation of the pain – in social being”.¹¹ In some areas, both traditional leaders and practitioners contributed to the war and collaborated with RENAMO.¹² Roesch argued that because of their role in the conflict, traditional practitioners would be key to post-war healing. Since it was commonly believed that traditional practitioners played a role in the military formation of children by mentally altering them in preparation to commit atrocities, the same individuals would be called upon to undo their psychological damage following the war.¹³ In addition to the above mentioned rites, traditional practitioners also performed ceremonies of protection for those preparing to join an armed group. For commanders, these rituals sometimes required the presentation of the internal organs of infants that would protect them in battle.¹⁴ None of my informants reported protection ceremonies, gruesome or otherwise. This was due to the fact that they were taken against their will. As they reminded me, speed in escape was essential when RENAMO arrived.¹⁵

Some returning from war, including children, were made to undertake a rite of purification with a traditional healer, called *kuhlapsa*, which acted as a remedy for experiences faced during conflict and expelled evil spirits said to pollute the community. These ceremonies varied between healers and were tailored to each individual case depending on the client’s experience and need.¹⁶ In most cases they expressed gratitude towards their ancestors for the child’s safekeeping and safe return, solicited forgiveness for the child’s wrongdoings while they were away from their family,

¹¹ K. B. Wilson, *Internally Displaced, Refugees and Returnees from and in Mozambique*, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1994), 9.

¹² Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 55.

¹³ Otto Roesch, “RENAMO and the Peasantry in Southern Mozambique: A View from Gaza Province,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 26, no. 3 (1992), 480-481 (footnote 9).

¹⁴ Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 113.

¹⁵ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir and Lina Sumbane Mbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010; My research in southern Mozambique shows that girls typically did not undergo ceremonies of these types; these were not ceremonies to prevent abduction but rather, for protection of recruits before they left to be a part of an armed group.

¹⁶ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

requested peace and cleansing for their families and often were brought before community leaders to be welcomed and granted pledges of support.¹⁷

Often the consultation of a traditional ceremony started before the girl returned from the war; families would come to the traditional healer to ascertain if a loved one, who was away from home, was still alive. The family would then follow the instructions of the healer so that she would return. The instructions depended on the history of the family and their location. Often during the consultation, the spirits of deceased individuals would make a request. For example, an individual¹⁸ who had been a slave¹⁹ and had died many years ago in the house where the family now lived would manifest during the consultation with the traditional healer and make demands of the family. He would tell the family that if they wanted to continue living in the house where he passed away they would have to accede to his demands. He might ask the family to build a small house for him and give him a young girl so that the daughter could return from war. After the family complied with the spirits wishes, the daughter was then allowed to return.²⁰

Maria Chivambo²¹ treated many war-affected girls in Ilha Josina Machel, some very young, during and following the war. The consultation to assess the needs of the client sought reasons for mental and physical illness that lay outside the immediacies of war:

I first would do a consultation to find out the reasons why she was abducted. Sometimes they are reasons of spirits in the [family's] house, sometimes there are other reasons. So, if the reasons are evident, in conjunction with the family members, I will reveal what the spirits want so that this girl can return and stay in good health. Then, we will make a ceremony and

¹⁷ Save the Children Federation, *Children and War: The Mozambique Experience*, (Maputo, Mozambique: Save the Children Federation, 1995), 11.

¹⁸ During the interview, the healer explained that this scenario often happens with the spirit of a man, called *Dinguenza* in Changana, who died without ever having taken a wife. This individual is often restless in the afterlife and he creates problems with the family now living in his house.

¹⁹ Here Maria is referring to a domestic slave, perhaps one who worked during the time of colonialism or prior, such as during the times of the Gaza empire. This slavery does not refer to the Arab or Atlantic slave trade where slaves were taken away from their land.

²⁰ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

²¹ When I asked her title, she indicated that she is a *nyanga* and *nyamusoro* – she is a spirit medium and is able to perform the exorcism of spirits, *ku femba*.

during the ceremony, I will give medicine to remove all that she saw there or everything that she consumed there [during the war].²²

Others girls underwent a ceremony called *ku femba*.²³ Some, who had lived on a RENAMO base for an extended period, required more intense healing such as *ku femba* and several visits to the healer in order to be cured. “Were there case of girls or women who had to return to undergo a ceremony again, if there still were with problems?” I asked. “Yes, there were some,” Maria responded. “This also depended. If she was treated well, the person wouldn’t come back, but if she was not treated well, she had to come back again”.²⁴ Ceremonies with a traditional healer were not cost free. First, the client or family payed for the consultation. From there, the cost depended on the type of ceremony to be performed. If the client or family did not have money, goods, such as a chicken or a goat could be presented as payment.²⁵

Traditional healers also performed ceremonies of a practical nature such as purification with herbal remedies. “During the war, there were some who returned from the base who had stomach problems because they ate food that sometimes the stomach could not handle. . . They ate meat without the skin removed from it. They ate the hide of cattle. . . When they returned, sometimes they came with inflamed bellies, sometimes they came back with pain, so I gave medicine to perform cleansing from all kinds of contamination,” recalled Maria Chivambo.²⁶

Religious ceremonies for those affected by war also encompassed purification rites and return ceremonies. The purification ceremonies in the Zionist churches varied. Some entailed washing with water, some with the blood of a slain animal, some just used prayers in the individuals

²² Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

²³ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010; *Ku femba* is a ceremony literally meaning “to catch the spirit” and involves the exorcism of spirits during which the spirit speaks through a medium making a request. Upon fulfillment of the spirits’ request(s), the being is cast out symbolically through burial or some such ritual (Alcinda Honwana, *Discussion guide 4: Non-western concepts of mental health*, (Geneva: UNHCR, 1998a), 113.

²⁴ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

²⁵ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

²⁶ Maria Chivambo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, October 8, 2010.

house or in the church and others used string to bind the individual's head and body and thereby exorcise the evil spirits of war. All informants who I asked stated that the ceremony they underwent helped with their painful war experiences and that they felt better afterwards. Cacilda Vicente Mazive revealed that her purification rite in the Zionist church helped her because she no longer suffered from recurring nightmares.²⁷ Two of my informants stated that their families performed a return ceremony in a church. The ceremony required that the family bring garments of the one they wished to return and then a ritual of prayers over the garments ensued. Antonio Tembane Machava, a bishop from a local Zionist church, explained that whenever these ceremonies were performed the individual always returned.²⁸

While much of the literature on reintegration in Mozambique²⁹ shows that in many communities, all, even those who had viewed death from starvation, were required to undergo a traditional ceremony to be cleansed of the evils of war,³⁰ my fieldwork in southern Mozambique showed that this was not always the case. Some community members with whom I spoke stated that all individuals underwent traditional ceremonies or went to the hospital for treatment, but when I spoke to girls who had been abducted, some indicated otherwise.

Purification ceremonies could only be done in the individual's home community. However, a large number of war participants did not return to their communities, instead they chose to live in a different community, or, as was the case with some women, were forced to relocate to their war husband's village. Further research into the long-term reintegration of those who did and did not undergo traditional and religious post-war ceremonies is needed to discover whether long-term reintegration was hindered due to a lack of a reintegration ceremony.

²⁷ Cacilda Vicente Mazive, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

²⁸ Antonio Tembane Machava, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 4, 2010.

²⁹ See for example: Alcinda Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 104-134.

³⁰ Carolyn Nordstrom, *Treating the Wounds of War*, *Cultural Survival* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1993) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/mozambique/treating-wounds-war> (accessed February 26, 2011).

Figure 3.1 shows the different types of rituals in which my key sample group participated. The majority of my informants underwent a religious ceremony. This was due in part to the prevalence of religious adherence and also possibly because religious ceremonies were typically cost free. Only 10 percent of my informants participated in a traditional ceremony with a healer. These ceremonies required payment and many families during and following the war may have not had the resources to pay for such a ceremony. The reasons my informants gave for their lack of participation in a ceremony include: the lack of resources and the intensity of the war, their family was not interested in performing a ceremony, the informant did not believe a ceremony would help, or family members were still missing.

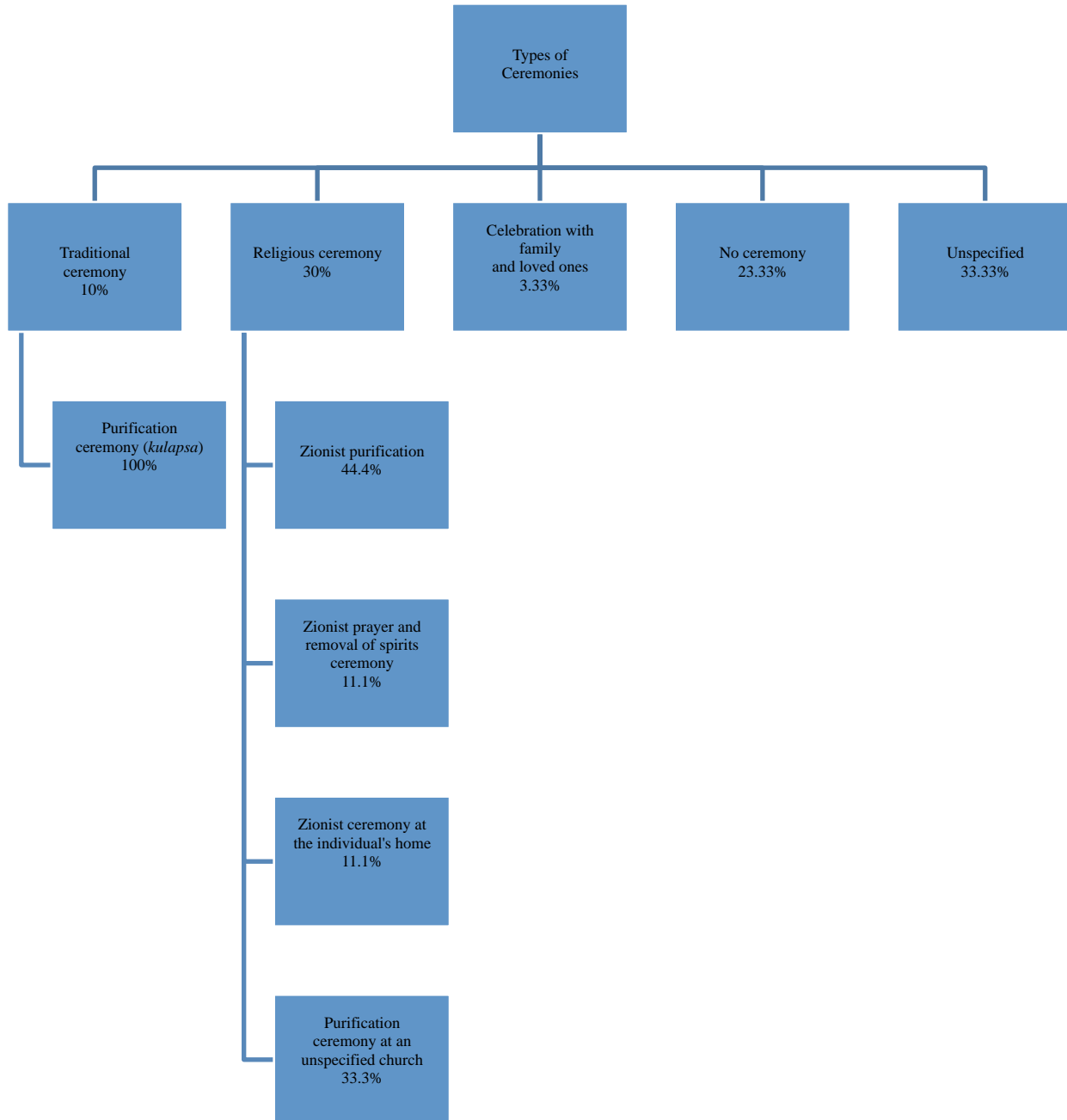
Although many scholars, both Mozambican and foreign, hold that traditional healing practices are efficacious, some entrench gender biases. For example, one customary belief involves the *magamba* spirits.³¹ Igreja and Dias-Lambranca explain that these spirits are the souls of deceased soldiers who come back to the world of the living to seek justice for wrongdoings committed in the past. However, only men can come in the form of a *gamba* spirit in order to seek justice. In this aspect, the *magamba* spirits may help to heal wounds, engage with violent past events and possibly bring healing, but at the same time they entrench patriarchal authority.³² Rural communities in Mozambique have demonstrated their capability to engage in the post-war healing process; yet, they sustain a culture of male dominance which oftentimes marginalizes women and girls.³³

³¹ *Gamba* in the singular.

³² Victor Igreja and Beatrice Dias-Lambranca, "Restorative Justice and the Role of Magamba Spirits in Post-civil War Gorongosa, Central Mozambique," in *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experiences*, ed. Luc Huyse and Mark Salter. (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2008), 75-80.

³³ Carol B. Thompson, "Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique," *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 202.

FIGURE 3.1 TYPES OF CEREMONIES AND PERCENTAGE OF KEY INFORMANT’S PARTICIPATION³⁴



A SURVEY OF DEMOBILIZATION

Despite the dire situation of an overwhelming number of *afetados*³⁵ in the aftermath of conflict, the reintegration of combatants was set as a priority; they were seen as a prerequisite to political

³⁴ n=30.

³⁵ Those affected by the war.

stability.³⁶ A total of 92,881 soldiers, from both FRELIMO and RENAMO, were demobilized following the war. Of that number, 25,498 stated that were under the age of 18 at conscription and 11,507 stated that they were under 16 at the time of induction. Twenty-three percent of soldiers from the government and 41 percent from RENAMO were under the age of 18 at the time of recruitment.³⁷ Numbers of girls involved in the conflict are not as evident, however. Thompson states, “it is quite astonishing that Mozambican women and girls still accompanying soldiers at the time of demobilization in 1994 were not counted, addressed, nor cared for. It appears that no one among either the international or national agencies knows exactly what happened to them”.³⁸ The exact number of women and girls who were inducted into armed groups remains unknown. Undoubtedly, this was a very large number. To give one example, in 1994, the UN Office for Humanitarian Assistance found that, of the 2000 children found on 19 RENAMO bases within their access, 40 percent of them were girls.³⁹ *Associação Mocambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (AMODEG)*⁴⁰ demobilization data varies from that of ONUMOZ⁴¹ data;⁴² McKay and Mazurana collected demobilization data from AMODEG and found that 482 demobilized individuals were female ex-combatants; 36 percent were under the age of 18 when inducted into an armed group, of which 17 percent were associated with FRELMO and 82 percent were RENAMO.⁴³

³⁶ Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 62.

³⁷ Abdul Razak Noormahomed and Julie Cliff, “Health and War in Mozambique,” in *War or health: a Reader*, ed. Ilkka Taipale, et al, (London: Zed books, 2002), 227.

³⁸ Carol B. Thompson, “Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique,” *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 202.

³⁹ Sarah Aird, Boia Efraime Junioe and Antoinette Errante, *Mozambique: The Battle Continues for Former Child Soldiers*, Youth Advocate Program International Resource Paper, Presented at the UN Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects, July 11, 2001, at UN headquarters in New York, 3.

⁴⁰ Mozambican Association of War Demobilized.

⁴¹ United Nations Operations in Mozambique.

⁴² See Table 3.1 below.

⁴³ Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Where are the Girls? Girls in Fighting Forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique: Their Lives During and After the War*, (Montreal: Rights and Democracy, 2004), 107.

Table 3.1 shows the resettlement patterns of demobilized soldiers and their analysis according to province and gender. A mere 1.48 percent of demobilized combatants were female. It is unclear how the minimum age for demobilization was confirmed.⁴⁴ The tabulated data suggests that, despite encouragement to return to rural communities of origin, many chose to return to urban areas or more urbanized provinces.⁴⁵ This may indicate that women who had experienced rape and/or who had children who were the product of sexual abuse were hesitant to return to their communities because they anticipated that they and their child(ren) would not be accepted. Urban areas may have seemed a place to start a new life or hide from the past. Also, social help networks for female ex-combatants were more prevalent and developed in urban areas.⁴⁶ Women may have also chosen to resettle in urban areas with the expectation of finding employment. Still, urban areas following the war were a less than optimal milieu for many following the war. Urban unemployment was high, forcing countless girls and women to resort to informal employment such as selling goods and begging in the streets or prostitution.⁴⁷ Others were trafficked into other countries for labor and/or sex,⁴⁸ the practice of which continues to this day.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ In discussion with an anonymous former UN peacekeeper, it was evident that, many did not have documentation to prove their age. When a matter such as age was in question, the individual would be interviewed individually to assess necessary information (Personal interview with anonymous former UN peacekeeper, November 20, 2010, Maputo city, Mozambique). This lack of identification documents was also used as an pretext for the induction of children into government forces and also to deny their use by both warring parties (Neil Boothy, Adubacar Sultan and Peter Upton, *Children of Mozambique: The Cost of Survival*, Washington D.C.: Committee for Refugees, 1991).

⁴⁵ Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 72; More urbanized areas include Maputo city, Maputo province, and Sofala province and are shown in italics in the table.

⁴⁶ Examples of this include the Women's Department at AMODEG, which boast skills training such sewing classes for women.

⁴⁷ For example, urban employment for both men and women was estimated at 14-15 percent in 1991 (Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 38. In 1997, the country-wide unemployment rate in 1997 was 21 percent (1997 est.) (CIA-The World Factbook, "CIA World Factbook Mozambique," CIA. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geps/countrytemplate_mz.html (accessed September 20, 2010); Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), xx.

⁴⁸ Carol B. Thompson, "Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique," *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 202.

⁴⁹ Jonathan Martens, Maciej 'Mac' Pieczkowski and Bernadette van Vuuren-Smyth, *Seduction, Sale and Slavery: Trafficking of Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation in Southern Africa*, (Pretoria, South Africa: International Organization for Migration, May 2003), 47; See section below for a further explanation.

TABLE 3.1 DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS CATEGORIZED ACCORDING TO PROVINCE AND GENDER⁵⁰

Province of resettlement	Demobilized soldiers by province of origin	Demobilized soldiers by province of resettlement	Demobilized women by province of origin	Demobilized women by province of resettlement
Cabo Delgado	8380	6772	67	49
Gaza	6143	4808	70	51
Inhambane	9418	6571	92	62
Manica	7404	9034	277	266
Maputo city	1543	7399	73	222
Maputo province	1622	3901	36	34
Nampula	12657	12053	47	66
Niassa	9065	8593	27	27
Sofala	11185	12767	348	381
Tete	6362	5479	60	51
Zambézia	18611	15444	183	168
Unknown	491	60	100	3
Total	92881	92881	1380	1380

Source: Data adapted from Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 72.

The first stages of demobilization⁵¹ typically occur within encampments set up specifically for this purpose; in Mozambique, the encampment phase spanned several months. The majority of female combatants in Mozambique were not given proper information or were deliberately excluded from the initial demobilization processes; thus, many of them were not registered and did not have access to benefits. Further, the extended period of encampment engendered frustrations sometimes resulting in violence. Had large numbers of women and children been

⁵⁰ This table does not include the data of soldiers, both men and women, who were demobilized prior to the peace agreement (Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 63.

⁵¹ The several stages of demobilization include: (1) assembly of soldiers and, at times, their dependents, (2) registration and disbursement of identification, (3) the collection of information and pre-discharge data, (4) a medical examination and (5) the provision of transport (Nathalie de Watteville, *Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs*, (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 2002), 6.

present, their security may have been threatened.⁵² Since many women were not able to undergo demobilization, many were not granted transport home. Many women and children were forced to travel to locations without their consent; they were simply placed onto trucks full of soldiers while crying out that they wanted to return to *their* homes.⁵³ Some men, once demobilized, abandoned their wives and returned to their communities alone.⁵⁴ Other girls and women were left behind entirely. The UN Development Program (UNDP) described that some soldiers left “women standing in the road” when they took transport to return home.⁵⁵

The few women who were demobilized faced further hardships. Many were pregnant or with small children and thus placed with disabled soldiers who often displayed violent behavior. The demobilization packages women were given did not include a resettlement stipend,⁵⁶ they were issued men’s clothing and no provisions for the presence of war trauma were made.⁵⁷

Children under the age of 16 were not eligible for demobilization because, at the end of the war, international law defined combatants as only those 16 years of age or older.⁵⁸ Only in June 1993 did RENAMO allow access to children in RENAMO areas, allowing reunification to start. This

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, 8.

⁵⁴ Barron, M. M. “When the soldiers come home: a gender analysis of the reintegration of demobilised soldiers, Mozambique, 1994-6” (Master’s thesis., University of East Anglia, 1996), 77, quoted in “Sally Baden, Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women’s Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion. Geneva: International Labour Office, Training Policies and Systems Branch, 1997.

⁵⁵ Carol B. Thompson, “Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique,” *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 201.

⁵⁶ Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women’s Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*, (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 73.

⁵⁷ Barron, M. M. “When the soldiers come home: a gender analysis of the reintegration of demobilised soldiers, Mozambique, 1994-6” (Master’s thesis., University of East Anglia, 1996), 77, quoted in “Sally Baden, Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women’s Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion. Geneva: International Labour Office, Training Policies and Systems Branch, 1997.

⁵⁸ UNICEF, *An Assessment of Children and Youth in Renamo Zones: Strategies and Recommendations Final Report*, (Prepared for UNICEF/Mozambique by Creative Associates International, Inc. May 3, 1994), 3; Because of this, no funding was available to demobilize children.

left many under the age of 16 without any help whatsoever. ONUMOZ was only able to transfer children under 16 to the United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination's (UNOHAC) civilian vulnerable groups programs. Many children were also referred to programs of the International Red Cross or Save the Children. This lack of support caused frustrations, resulting in children boycotting and demonstrating in two central bases in southern Mozambique, Nhalale and Xinhuanganine.⁵⁹ None of my key informants indicated that they underwent demobilization although some of them may have been eligible because they were over the age of 15 at the time of demobilization.

The literature on demobilization in Mozambique rarely mentions gender aspects. At best, it simply sees women as facilitating the reintegration of men. For example, Alden makes no mention of demobilized women but rather states, "arguably, marriage by ex-soldiers with local women has played a more significant and enduring role in facilitating (re)integration into an alien community".⁶⁰

THE ROLE OF AID

Government policies following the war helped integrate adults as well as children and were community based; however, they maintained several shortcomings. As Kanji notes, the policies instated by the government regarding the rehabilitation of children failed to address the issue of gender differentiation when dealing with children. Girls and women were generally viewed in terms of traditional reproductive capacities and it was presumed that they would be able to balance activities such as childcare, participate in programs with their children as well as engage in productive, income-related activities.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid, 1-4.

⁶⁰ Chris Alden, "Making Old Soldiers Fade Away: Lessons from the Reintegration of Demobilized Soldiers in Mozambique," *Security Dialogue* 33 (2002): 341, 352.

⁶¹ Nazneen Kanji, "War and Children in Mozambique: Is International Aid Strengthening or Eroding Community-based Policies?" *Community Development Journal* 25, no. 2 (1990): 107-109.

Nordstrom gives an example of the shortcomings of food aid during the war in a small town in Zambézia province. She noticed that 90 percent of the children participating in the program were boys. When she asked where the girls were, the local women described that the NGO had required that mothers sit at the relief site with their children from breakfast to dinner to receive food. Otherwise they would not receive meals. Knowing that the aid would not last forever, the women had left the girls at home to plant crops in preparation for the future when the aid would no longer be available. Since it was required by the NGO that no food could be taken away from the site, the girls were left to fend for themselves.⁶²

As well as not always making it to those who needed it desperately, aid often found itself in the wrong hands. This was a widespread problem during the war – many, civilians, militiamen and soldiers alike, were hungry and had families without food. Aid suppliers and depots were often robbed.⁶³ In Xinhanganine, food aid for unaccompanied children was routinely routed to RENAMO commanders and distributed elsewhere.⁶⁴

While the shortcomings of governmental and non-governmental aid were evident following the war, it is also clear that it helped transition from war to peace.⁶⁵ One of my informants aptly summed up the positive effects of aid. “We were able to breathe deeply,” he stated, once aid had arrived.⁶⁶ In Mandlakazi district, two “centers of recuperation”, functioning in coordination with the government, *Secretaria de Estado da Acção Social*⁶⁷ and the Red Cross, were established in 1984 and operated until the end of the war in Mandlakazi district. Those who had been abducted by RENAMO were allowed to stay there for a period of time until they were able to find their

⁶² Carolyn Nordstrom, *Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions*, (Uppsala, Sweden: Peace and Life Institute, 1997) 1-2.

⁶³ William Finnegan, *A Complicated War: The Harrowing of Mozambique*, (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1992), 86.

⁶⁴ UNICEF, *An Assessment of Children and Youth in Renamo Zones: Strategies and Recommendations Final Report*, (Prepared for UNICEF/Mozambique by Creative Associates International, Inc. May 3, 1994), 15.

⁶⁵ See appendix L.

⁶⁶ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

⁶⁷ State Secretariat for Social Action.

way home, and food, blankets and clothes were distributed. Abductees coming from RENAMO bases were questioned to ascertain the status of others on the bases and other details regarding their captivity. Beginning in 1987, also in Mandlakazi, a program with substitute families started. Many families volunteered to be substitute families until an unaccompanied child's parents were found and others took on displaced children as their own when the parents were not able to be located.⁶⁸

In Manhiça district following the war, a Save the Children center near the central RENAMO base was set up. One of my informants, Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, who was a schoolteacher prior to her abduction, was entrusted with several hundred children who had also been abducted. She only returned home when the last of the children in her care had found a safe place to live.⁶⁹

Local government posts, as well as NGOs served as centers of aid. Typically, when an abductee was able to flee from a RENAMO base, (s)he would arrive at a government post and, after having his/her identity confirmed, would receive a place to stay temporarily, food and/or papers meriting their return home and often transport.⁷⁰ This was the case with some of my interviewees; two stated that they received aid from government soldiers in order to return home. However, it is evident that government soldiers also held all rural inhabitants with suspicion: “Troops seem to suspect every peasant they see as a potential collaborator. In one sense this is logical. In the rural areas that are at an interface between government and Renamo-dominated territory,⁷¹ a peasant would have to collaborate with one group or another to survive”.⁷²

THE FAILURES OF POST WAR PROCESSES

⁶⁸ José Feliciano Kókandze, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 23, 2010.

⁶⁹ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁷⁰ Vitoria Xavier Mate, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

⁷¹ Both my primary fieldwork sites were contested territory during the war.

⁷² Alex Vines, *RENAMO: Terrorism in Mozambique*, (York, England: Centre for African Studies, University of York, 1991), 99.

The war left between 200,000 to 300,000 orphans. While countless numbers of orphaned boys were evident on the streets, very little is known about what became of the girls who were left without families. Many were successfully incorporated into homes through programs such as those run by aid organizations. Some, however, did not fare as well. Many dislocated and orphaned girls were led into forced labor and prostitution, others fled to urban centers in search of employment but were unsuccessful, some were trafficked internationally, and others, ostensibly, were abducted and killed for use of their body parts in *feiticeiria*.⁷³ The girls who still had families in the wake of the destructive conflict may be those who were most successfully reintegrated into the communities to which they returned.

Sexual abuse was not only prevalent during the war but also after. Like many other countries following conflict, Mozambique was not exempt from abuses by UN peacekeepers. An unknown number of girls again suffered sexual abuse.⁷⁴ This fact still remains somewhat concealed⁷⁵ and although the United Nations admitted to accusations⁷⁶ and a commission of inquiry accepted the accusations as valid and repatriated a group of UN personnel,⁷⁷ the accused parties were not prosecuted.⁷⁸ This post-war phenomenon has often been labeled child prostitution. This term,

⁷³ *Feiticeiria* is powerful African witchcraft used to harm or take power from individuals. It is alleged that body parts, often of children, were used to make medicines used in *feiticeiria*. Anthropologist Carolyn Nordstrom writes that, during her fieldwork in Mozambique, although she spoke to many who brought this situation to her attention, she never found any concrete evidence to prove it (Carolyn Nordstrom, *Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions*, (Uppsala, Sweden: Peace and Life Institute, 1997), 111-13.

⁷⁴ Carolyn Nordstrom, *Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions*, (Uppsala, Sweden: Peace and Life Institute, 1997), 15.

⁷⁵ UNRISID, "After Conflict: Women, Peacebuilding and Development," in *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, Geneva: UNRISID publications, 2005), 243.

⁷⁶ United Nations, *Women, Peace and Security*, Study submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), (United Nations, 2002), 84.

⁷⁷ UN Department of Information. *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*, Report of the expert of the Secretary-General, Ms. Graça Machel, GA/51/306, New York: UN Department of Information, 1996, 24; Numbers of those repatriated are thought to be somewhere between 100 to 150, although the UN did not reveal an official tally (Ernst Schade, *Report on the Experience with Regard to the United Nations Peace-keeping Forces in Mozambique*, Bário, Portugal: Redd Barna, November 20, 1995. <http://www.peacekeepingbestpractices/unlb.org/pbpps/Pages/Public/Download.aspx?docid=689> (accessed October 26, 2010), 24.

⁷⁸ A. B. Fetherston, "UN Peacekeepers and Cultures of Violence: *Cultural Survival* 19, no. 1, (Spring 1995) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/bosnia-and-herzegovina/un-peacekeepers-and-cultures-violenc> (accessed February 27, 2010).

Nordstrom argues, misleadingly implies consensual agreement; regardless of whether the child consents to such activities, it is illegal and a violation of the UN Convention on human rights.⁷⁹ Research on child prostitution in 1993 and 1994 in Mozambique's largest urban areas found that 19 percent of the clients of girl prostitutes were UN personnel, some of whom reportedly would pay more for sex without a condom. The report found a link between socioeconomic instability and child prostitution and parents often encouraged or, at least tacitly agreed to the exploitation of their children.⁸⁰ Arguably, the presence of UN peacekeepers has led to a rise in prostitution in Mozambique over time;⁸¹ Coulter found that not only have NGOs and the UN failed to address women's reintegration but the fact that prostitution in the post-war environment is endemic tells of the perpetuation of structural violence following war.⁸²

Trafficking of children was also common during and following the war. Girls were regularly trafficked into South Africa and sold as sex slaves and laborers. Trafficking continues to this day and is only exacerbated by unemployment and poverty in Mozambique.⁸³

WOMEN'S RETURN FOLLOWING ABDUCTION

"We are suffering here. When we came back from there [the RENAMO base], we did not even have support, work to do. . . The best thing that I can say. . . I am thankful to FRELIMO who saved us. I do not know if I would be here now, being with those men [RENAMO]".⁸⁴ Young

⁷⁹ Carolyn Nordstrom, *Girls and Warzones: Troubling Questions*, (Uppsala, Sweden: Peace and Life Institute, 1997), 15-16.

⁸⁰ Poston, M. M., "Guns and girls: UN Peacekeeping and Sexual Abuse in the Context of Gender and International Relations" (Master's thesis, University of East Anglia, 1994), quoted in Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's Special Situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives to be Integrated into Skills Training and Employment Promotion*. (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997), 77.

⁸¹ A. B. Fetherston, "UN Peacekeepers and Cultures of Violence: *Cultural Survival* 19, no. 1, (Spring 1995) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/bosnia-and-herzegovina/un-peacekeepers-and-cultures-violenc> (accessed February 27, 2010).

⁸² Chris Coulter, *Bush Wives and Girl Soldiers: Women's Lives Through War and Peace in Sierra Leone*, (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 2009), 207.

⁸³ Jonathan Martens, Maciej 'Mac' Pieczkowski and Bernadette van Vuuren-Smyth, *Seduction, Sale and Slavery: Trafficking of Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation in Southern Africa*, (Pretoria, South Africa: International Organization for Migration, May 2003), 47.

⁸⁴ Angelina Alberto Macomo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

women's reception back into their communities was largely contingent on their war experience, their age, if they returned with children as the result of rape or consensual relations, and their length of stay in the base.

Still, girls returning from the war were seemingly the most marginalized of all the groups; post-war practices seemed to have passed them by. Seven of my informants revealed that they received no aid whatsoever. Those who did receive help when returning from the war stated that it was in the form of NGO aid and help from the government with transport to return home. In Ilha Josina Machel, some stated that they were given aid by AMOSAPU/ARES.⁸⁵ Most returnees from the war reintegrated into society with help from family members and support from their communities. It was at the local level that many were able to return to daily life, find healing and regain a place within their communities once more.

Interviews suggest that, when women returning from the war were in communities other than their own, acceptance was lower. In comparison, when girls and women returned to their home villages, community members were more welcoming. In the areas where I performed research, many residents, especially women, who are born in these communities, remain there for their entire lives and travel very little. This makes community harmony essential; any disputes at the community level will most likely remain at the community level.⁸⁶

Apparently, an exception to overall acceptance back into their communities were women returning with children born as the result of wartime sexual violence. Felicidade Mimbir is one

⁸⁵ This organization started as AMOSAPU (*Associação Moçambicano de Saúde Pública*) and later formed a separate association, *Associação Reconstruindo a Esperança*, which still works in the community today. According to a report from April 1999, 150 boys who had been child soldiers returned to Ilha Josina Machel and were accepted into the community (IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis, "Mozambique: Mozambique: Healing the Trauma of Conflict," IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis Maputo. Published April 21, 1999. <http://www.irinnews.org/Report.aspx?ReportID=6180> (accessed January 27, 2011). ARES worked with 600 boy soldiers following the war and identified over 300 girls in Ilha Josina Machel that suffered abuse during the war (Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, *Girls in Militaries, Paramilitaries and Armed Opposition Groups*, International Conference on War-Affected Children, Winnipeg, Canada: Government of Canada, 2000), 9.

⁸⁶ Refer to Appendices J-K for the administrative hierarchy in my primary research sites. This hierarchy is the way in which the majority of local disputes are dealt.

such example. Felicidade was abducted by RENAMO and was forced to witness the death of her mother. She stayed in RENAMO captivity for over a year, during which she was given as a wife to a RENAMO captain and bore a child. At the end of the war, the father of her child insisted on returning with her to her Ilha Josina Machel. Felicidade resisted and, as a result, was beaten and locked up in a house for three days. Finally, she relented and they returned to Felicidade's home together. The father of her child was not warmly welcomed into her village and he left after two years.⁸⁷ Later, Felicidade sent her daughter away to live with family members because she, as well was not well accepted by the community. She only knows pieces of her early life; she does not know her father and does not receive support from him.⁸⁸

Others who were married prior to their abduction were not accepted back by their husbands when they returned: "When I came [back] to my parents, they held me in high regard. But, the people [in a neighboring town called Xinavane]⁸⁹ said that this is the one who came from the base. In this manner, my husband divorced me when I came back".⁹⁰ Nordstrom noted the predicament of women in the post-war setting: ". . . Many times women forced to have sex with soldiers returned home to find husbands who had taken other wives or who despised them for having been with other men, families who marginalized them for having lived with the enemy, and communities who called the children produced by rapes *lixo* (garbage)".⁹¹

The situations I have described above reflect on women in post-war Mozambique today. Yet, war-affected girls, especially those who were sexually abused and held in captivity for long periods of time seem to suffer the most marginalization of them all. Perhaps more strategic and

⁸⁷ Presumably he left because he was not well received, but various reasons could have factored into his decision to leave the community.

⁸⁸ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁸⁹ A town approximately 18 kilometers from her home in Ilha Josina Machel.

⁹⁰ Cacilda Vicente Mazive, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

⁹¹ Carolyn Nordstrom, "Treating the Wounds of War," *Cultural Survival* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1993) <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/mozambique/treating-wounds-war> (accessed February 26, 2011).

sustainable aid and the more integral inclusion of women and children in post-war practices is necessary in order to avoid the repetition of past mistakes.

Joaneta Fransisco Cossa, to this day remembers the help that was given her following the war and requested that it return. I spoke to her in the afternoon when she had come home from working in the *machamba*. “We are asking at least, that there would be a project for those of us who were young women [abducted during the war] because we are suffering. Because I am suffering. . . I was even thinking that ARES was coming back, but no. Now like this, I remain afflicted”. “What type of program are you thinking about?” I asked. She continued, “I am still asking for a program like ARES, because that project was helping us. The little bit that we received was not enough to support our children but at least we weren’t suffering in the same way that we are suffering now. . . We are asking for a project to help us young women who were abducted, for at least one month to receive a little to be able to buy soap. That is the request I am making”.⁹² My interpreter concurred: “. . .In Ilha Josina [Machel]. . . these young women are saying the same thing. They still need ARES. ARES didn’t give a lot of money but until now they [the young women who participated in the program] still remember that they need ARES. . . Now they are women without any support. . . They are slaves to suffering that doesn’t have an end”.⁹³

⁹² Joaneta Fransisco Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

⁹³ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during personal interview with Joaneta Fransisco Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.



Lina Sumbane Mbir, Felicidade Ruben Mimbir and Sandra Armando Mucasse converse after recounting their war experiences. Lina and her daughter Sandra were abducted from their home in 1986 while Felicidade was captured in a neighboring communal village. *Bairro 7*, Ilha Josina Machel, December 2010.

CHAPTER FOUR.

Life After War: “He Responded by Beating Me”

Wuxaka ra tinhwari hi ku handza swinwe.

Kinship of partridges comes from scraping in the soil together.¹

-Mozambican proverb

¹ Armando Ribeiro, *601 Proverbios Chagas*, (Lisbon: Silvas, 1989), 116.

“ . . . My husband sometimes quarrels with me and hits me, but he hasn’t told me to go away yet. . . Last week my husband beat me excessively and I ran out of the house. He followed me into the street”, Armonda stated. She has been married for three years. When I asked the reason for her abuse, she stated that it was beyond her to know why.² She spoke as if detached from her experience. The resignation in her tone of voice was deafening – as if she knows without a doubt that in the near future she will be ordered to leave her home.

Following women’s return, struggles continue, this time much closer to home. Despite the absence of war at the national level, women do not always find peace in their communities and places of residence. Further, in a patriarchal society, women are not always able to navigate the post-war hierarchy without difficulty. Little knowledge of legal system and social help networks, the gap in long-term assistance, marginalization, domestic violence, large family size and extreme poverty all contribute to the injustice many war-surviving women in rural southern Mozambique experience today.

WOMEN AND POVERTY

I arrived at one of the most remote communal villages of Ilha Josina Machel on foot during a heavy downpour. Felicidade Mimbir, a former educator who was to be my interpreter, welcomed me warmly into her home. A recent violent storm had caused her house to collapse and as a result, most of her possessions were damaged. She lives with three of her grandchildren and had no food in the house and no crops in the *machamba* when I arrived. Indeed, it was the *tempo de fome*, the time of year before the first rain and harvest time.

Many rural women in Mozambique live in conditions similar to Felicidade. Because 90.9 percent of Mozambican women are peasants,³ the majority of them live off subsistence farming and are found in circumstances of abject poverty. Although the constitution ensures that every citizen has

² Inez Antonio Chongo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

³ Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade, eds. “Anexo-Dados Estatísticos”, in *Conflictos e Transformação Social: Um Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*, Volume 2, eds. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade (Porto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 617.

the right to work, employment is scarce at best and, at worst, entirely unattainable, particularly for women.⁴ Many of the families in *zonas verdes*,⁵ especially women, live solely off of the land. During the *tempo de fome* and when drought or flooding occurs, rural families fight for survival. In particular, parents and single mothers with many mouths to feed find life difficult. There is a limit to the amount of land that a few hands and hoes can cultivate and many do not possess enough resources to cultivate the ground with a plow.

Figure 4.1 shows the household size of key informants. The median household size of my sample is 6.3, considerably higher than the national average of family size in rural areas in Mozambique, 4.0.⁶ This data suggests that war surviving women may have larger families and thus, have a greater burden of poverty than other rural households. In both my research sites, children from a very young age provide agricultural labor. In Mandlakazi district, 53 percent of male children and 47 percent of female children under the age of 10 contribute to agricultural production.⁷ In Manhiça, the production of girls under 10 exceeds that of boys under the age of 10; 47 percent are boys and 53 percent are girls.⁸ While children contribute to the available hands in the *machamba*, during the times that the fields are unable to produce crops, working hands simply become hungry stomachs.

⁴ In 1997, unemployment was listed at 21% (1997 est.) and 70% of the population is below the poverty line (2001 est.) (CIA World Factbook, "Africa: Mozambique." CIA. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/countrytemplate_mz.html (accessed January 29, 2011); In 2007, 65% of women were economically active as opposed to 74% of men (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, "Distribuição Percentual da População Economicamente Activa by Sexo and Ano, 2007," <http://196.22.54.6/pxweb2007/Dialog/Excelview.asp?ma=144FT021&ti=Distribui% E7% E3o+Percentual+da+Popula% E7% E3o+Economicamente+Activa+by+Sexo+and+Ano&path=../Database/INE/02/26/&lang=1> (accessed January 29, 2010).

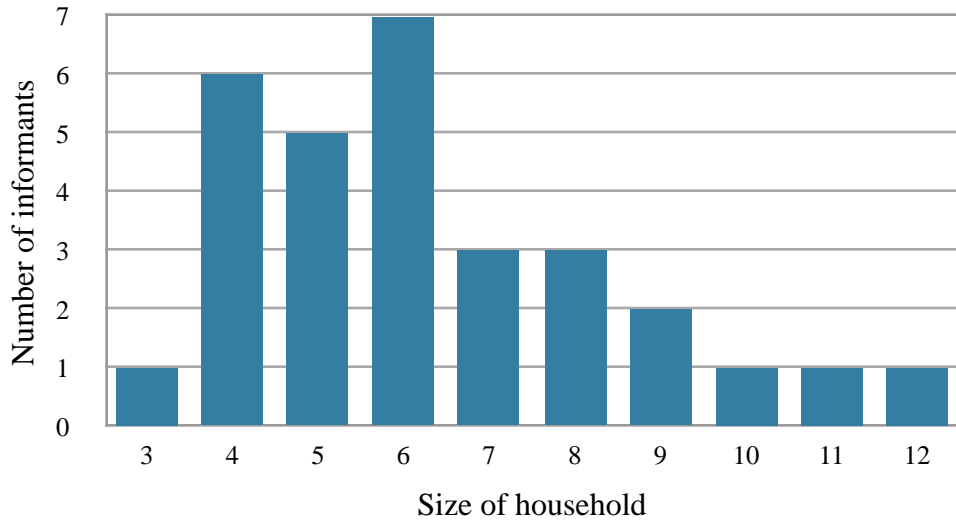
⁵ *Zonas verdes* literally means green zones, denoting rural areas.

⁶ Instituto Nacional de Estatística, "Second General Population and Housing Census, 1997," http://www.ine.gov.mz/Ingles/censos_dir/recenseamento_geral/agragados/view?searchterm=household%20size (accessed January 29, 2011).

⁷ República de Moçambique, *Perfil do Distrito de Mandlakaze, Província de Gaza*. (Maputo: Ministério de Administração Estatal 2005), 31 (figure 10); Data est. 1999-2000.

⁸ República de Moçambique, *Perfil do Distrito de Manhiça, Província de Maputo*. (Maputo: Ministério de Administração Estatal 2005), 29 (figure 13); Data est. 1999-2000.

FIGURE 4.1 HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF KEY INFORMANTS⁹



I asked my informants if their work in the fields and/or their employment was enough to feed their family. The answer was often the same. Carlota Armando Nguenha, who was trained to protect the chief of a large RENAMO base during the war replied, “If it is enough or if it is not enough, what can we do? We are in misery and want. What can we do?”.¹⁰

Deroteia Jaime Sondo’s situation echoes a similar struggle for survival. Her husband passed away several months ago and she was left to care for her three children alone. She fights to have enough to feed her family: “I wake up and go to my *machamba* but with this heat the *machamba* doesn’t produce anything. I try to sacrifice to give food to my children”.¹¹ Certainly, the high temperatures and the late rain in southern Mozambique this year have made food scarce.

⁹ n=30.

¹⁰ Carlota Armando Nguenha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

¹¹ Deroteia Jaime Sondo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

Mandioca,¹² *cacana*¹³ , nuts and bananas are some of the only crops that grow during the time of heat and drought.¹⁴

Josina Daniel Zuvani is one of the few women in Ilha Josina Machel who has formal employment. Her salary is slightly more than the minimum wage, yet meager. She works in her *machamba* to supplement her income, but even so she struggles to feed her family and pay for her eldest daughter's education. "It's not adequate" she said during an interview. "The money is very little. For [my] children in school, to buy food, to buy clothes, to build a house, the money is not enough. Also my work is very difficult". "And does the father of your children help with money, with food?" I asked. The answer was as I expected, "No, he doesn't help." He only contributes by giving clothes to his children at the end of the year.¹⁵

Although formal employment is scarce in these rural areas, alternative ways of making money exist. Some catch fish, make rush mats or juice from the cashew fruit to sell or trade. Others work in larger private *machambas* in exchange for a meager amount of money or a kilo or two of flour. A few trade their labor for the cultivation of their land with a plow. Some are small-scale entrepreneurs and sell bread, vegetables or other products on the street while a select few receive training to become traditional healers and thereby earn a living.

Joaneta Fransisco Cossa's informal employment helps feed her children: "When dawn breaks, at four in the morning, I go out with my hoe and I ask someone, in their *machamba*, to cultivate. . . to give me 30 meticaís¹⁶ to be able to buy flour [or] I cultivate. . . to receive two kilos of flour. . .

¹² Cassava.

¹³ A plant, known as the balsam apple in English, containing green leaves and an orange colored fruit when ripe. Both its fruit and leaves are consumed in Mozambique.

¹⁴ Deroteia Jaime Sondo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

¹⁵ Josina Daniel Zuvani, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

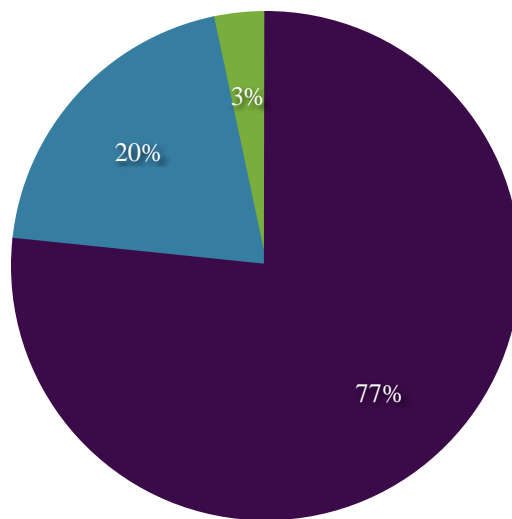
¹⁶ According to the current exchange rate (March 2011) of 30.96 Mozambican Meticaís, this value is equivalent to just less than 1 USD (XE. <http://www.xe.com/ucc/convert/?Amount=1&From=USD&To=MZN> (accessed March 31, 2010).

And in the afternoon, I go to my *machamba*". Although she works hard to provide for her three children, she has little time or energy to cook, let alone rest.¹⁷

Figure 4.2 illustrates the current occupations of my key informants underscoring their impoverished conditions. In Mozambique, the last several decades have shown that subsistence agriculture is not enough to support a rural family, rather, it supplements other income.¹⁸ Thus, those who live solely off subsistence farming, that is, 73 percent of my informants, live in an even greater degree of poverty than those who have some form of other income. The presence of natural disasters such as flooding and drought only make this reality more dire.

FIGURE 4.2 CURRENT OCCUPATIONS OF KEY INFORMANTS ¹⁹

- Subsistence farming only
- Informal employment and subsistence farming
- Formal employment and subsistence farming



¹⁷ Joaneta Fransico Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

¹⁸ João Paulo Borges Coelho and Alex Vines, *Pilot Study on Demobilization and Reintegration of Ex-combatants in Mozambique*, (Oxford: University of Oxford, n.d.), 59.

¹⁹ n=30; As mentioned above, informal employment here refers to activities such as selling crops, cashews or bread, cultivating another's *machamba* in exchange for flour or money and/or making and selling rush mats or juice. These occupations apply to the key informant only and not to her spouse.

Within my sample of key informants, 13 are married but a mere five stated that their husbands possess formal employment. Husbands with formal employment all work in South Africa with wages significantly higher than those typically available to laborers within the country; however, their wives stated that only three of them bring home money for their families. The remaining eight husbands do not have employment.

During my fieldwork, several people with whom I spoke alluded to the fact that a healthy marriage entails the husband and wife working together. Viriato Fransisco Ndlalane, the administrative post chief of Lhalala in Mandlakazi district, explained that in Lhalala, the government currently runs programs with men, especially those lacking formal employment, to encourage them to work with their wives in the *machamba* and thereby increase the yield of crops.²⁰ The fact that only two of my informant's husbands work with their women in the *machamba* suggests that healthy marriages for these women are hard to come by.

GENDER AND EDUCATION

“[During the war] I suffered very much and I lost schooling. When I returned [from being captured], the students had already finished their exams,” reminisces Angelina. “And you could not return to school?” I asked. The answer was negative: “*Matsanga* was here every day. There was not a [safe] path to school”. Before her abduction, Angelina walked 12 kilometers from Lhalala to attend school in Mandlakazi every morning. Since RENAMO soldiers had a strong presence in between those two locations, returning to school was too great a risk.²¹

Perhaps one of the most tangible effects of the conflict, which continue to this day, was the utter destruction of the school system. One of RENAMO's prime objectives was to cripple the educational infrastructure of the country.²² Before the beginning of the 1980s, over 5,000 primary schools were in existence. Of those, 3,500 were significantly damaged or destroyed and

²⁰ Viriato Fransisco Ndlalane, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010.

²¹ Angelina Alberto Macomo, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

²² Helen Brocklehurst, *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006), 115.

1.4 million students and 22,000 teachers were directly affected by the violence.²³ By 1985, educational standards and infrastructure had been notably weakened and many schools were shut down on account of RENAMO’s devastation of educational institutions, abduction of children and the terrorization of both children and teachers in schools.²⁴ As a result, enrollment in education was diminished by approximately 500,000,²⁵ and by 1991, 62 percent of the population lacked a formal education.²⁶ Table 4.1 shows, in terms of gender, the gradual increase of literacy since 1986.

TABLE 4.1 PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY ACCORDING TO GENDER

	1986	1990	1995
Male	41	45	58
Female	15	21	30

Source: Sally Baden, *Post-Conflict Mozambique: Women's special situation, population issues and gender perspectives to be integrated into skills training and employment promotion*, ILO Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict. Geneva: International Labour Office (Training Policies and Systems Branch), 1997, 48.

“My father was not interested in sending me to school. . .” Joaneta Fransisco Cossa recalled. “It was just to send me to run after the cattle, take care of the cattle. . . and cultivate in the *machamba*.”²⁷ One of the most lasting effects of the war on these women is their lack of education. While the war adversely affected the educational development of the majority of Mozambican youth, especially in rural areas, those who were abducted suffered more dramatically because they were unable to attend school altogether. The lack of education as a

²³ Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, *Peace and Reconstruction: President Joaquim Alberto Chissano of Mozambique*, (Harare, Zimbabwe: Southern African Research and Documentation Centre [SARDC], 1997), 16.

²⁴ Helen Brocklehurst, *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations*, (Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2006), 115.

²⁵ Alcinda Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 11.

²⁶ Carol B. Thompson, “Beyond Civil Society: Child Soldiers as Citizens in Mozambique,” *Review of African Political Economy* 80 (1999): 194.

²⁷ Joaneta Fransico Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

corollary of war has economic implications as well as effects on women’s emancipation lasting an entire generation and perhaps even further. Lack of education often passes down through generations because illiterate parents do not always see the significance of their children’s education. Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, a former educator and activist with ARES, remarked that in Ilha Josina Machel there are not many girls who have studied. Some simply have no desire to attend school and others have parents who do not place importance on education. She stated that even as far back as colonial times, many girls studied very little or not at all.²⁸

FIGURE 4.3 LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF KEY INFORMANTS²⁹

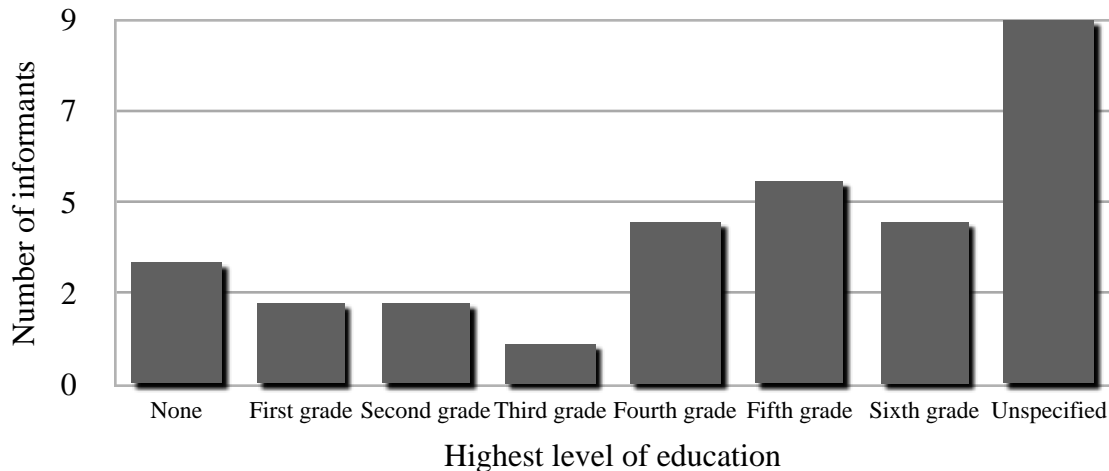


Figure 4.3 shows the level of education of my key informants. The highest level of education of my group of informants is sixth grade, meaning that none of those with known education levels completed primary school.³⁰ The 1997 census indicated that 87.5 percent of the population of

²⁸ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during personal interview with Tereza Adriano Siteo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

²⁹ n=30.

³⁰ Primary education ends at seventh grade in Mozambique.

Mozambique had completed primary education³¹ and the illiteracy rate of women between the ages of 15-49 within the Tsonga ethnic group in southern Mozambique is 47.5 percent.³²

THE FRAMEWORK OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY³³

Marriage and starting a family are the most important trajectories a rural women's life can take. Still, war experiences factored into the marriageability of girls and women returning from the war. My research shows that the abduction of married women proved detrimental to their marriages. Anisia is one example. During the war, she was "taken" and held at a RENAMO base for six months. Her grandmother and aunt were killed during the war. When she returned, her husband informed her that he no longer wanted her because she had been captured by RENAMO. In order to confirm their separation, the husband and his parents went to Anisia's house and demanded the return of the money that had been given for *lobolo*. Her husband and family left with what they wanted. Today, she lives with her five children in her parent's house where alcohol abuse is prevalent. She is unable to sustain her children on her own and would like to have employment.³⁴

³¹ Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade, eds, "Anexo-Dados Estatísticos," in *Conflicto e Transformação Social: Um Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*, Volume 2, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade, 593-623. (Porto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 604.

³² Carlos Arnaldo, Ethnicity and Marriage Patterns in Mozambique, *African Population Studies* 19, no. 1/*Etude de la population africaine* 19, no. 1 (April 2004): 145; Data est. 1997.

³³ For further research on women and land tenure in Mozambique, consult Rachel Waterhouse, "Women's Land Rights in Post-war Mozambique," in *Women, Land and Property Rights in Situations of Conflict and Reconstruction*, (UNIFEM, 2001); Gregory W. Myers, Julieta Eliseu and Erasmo Nhachungue, *Security, Conflict and Reintegration in Mozambique: Case Studies of Land Access in the Postwar Period*. (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin-Madison, August 1994); Heidi Gengenback. "Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique," <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/geh01/frames/fgeh16.html> (accessed January 21, 2011); Department of Women and Gender Studies, Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University. *Right to Succession and Inheritance: Mozambique*, (Maputo, Mozambique: Women and Law in Southern Africa, 1996); Barbara Isaacman and June Stephen, *Mozambique: Women, the Law, and Agrarian Reform* (Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, ATRCW / Ford Foundation, 1980).

³⁴ Anisia, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 8, 2010.

In the patrilineal south, traditional norms interpret marriage as “an exchange of services between different families and clans”.³⁵ Within this framework, *lobolo*,³⁶ plays an important part in establishing the stability and legitimization of marriage. In recognition of women’s function as producer and reproducer, the payment of bride wealth is typically given to the bride’s family and often is later used by the bride’s brother to start a family. If a woman whose family received *lobolo* does not bear children, repayment can be demanded or, the family can provide another woman from the same family who is able to have children.³⁷ Reflecting on Anisia’s story, it is apparent that aspects of war experiences, in particular sexual abuse, can also merit the repayment of *lobolo* and the termination of marriage.

According to the academic literature on land and gender within the Changana culture of southern Mozambique,³⁸ women with broken marriages for reasons including the inability to bear children, divorce, the death of a husband or rejection by a deceased husband’s family, are those who suffer the most from customary land rights laws. Women in such situations are not always granted the ability to hold family owned land if the *lobolo* they received from her marriage had already been expended.³⁹

Historian Heidi Gugenbach, admits that threads of truth to the literature exist; however, her research in Magude, a neighboring district to that of Manhiça, shows through oral accounts of women, that they depend not only on hierarchy grounded in patriarchal values but also on female

³⁵ Department of Women and Gender Studies, Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University. *Right to Succession and Inheritance: Mozambique*, (Maputo, Mozambique: Women and Law in Southern Africa, 1996), 57.

³⁶ Bride price, the goods or money given to the family of the bride before marriage.

³⁷ Department of Women and Gender Studies, Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University. *Right to Succession and Inheritance: Mozambique*, (Maputo, Mozambique: Women and Law in Southern Africa, 1996), 57.

³⁸ Some examples include: Stephanie Urdang, *And Still They Dance: Women, War, and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1989); Department of Women and Gender Studies, Centre of African Studies, Eduardo Mondlane University. *Right to Succession and Inheritance: Mozambique*, (Maputo, Mozambique: Women and Law in Southern Africa, 1996); Barbara Isaacman and June Stephen, *Mozambique: Women, the Law, and Agrarian Reform* (Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, ATRCW / Ford Foundation, 1980).

³⁹ Heidi Gugenbach, “Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/geh01/frames/fgeh13.html> (accessed January 21, 2011).

family members and women's subjective decisions regarding land allocation and usage. Women not only expressed the ability to make everyday decisions about land without involving men but also creative ways in which to navigate the patriarchal system.⁴⁰

A woman whose marriage ends and it becomes impossible or undesirable to remain with her husband's family, is able to return to the community in which she was born. Right of birth allows that, within the chiefdom of origin, the woman will be provided with land for subsistence farming. "A woman's reputation might suffer if she failed to fulfil *lobolo*⁴¹ obligations; at the very least, her own lineage's disappointment in her – at an ideological if not a personal level – would be marked through social practices that served as reminders of how she had let her family down".⁴² However, according to customary norms, she is still guaranteed access to land. For the first few years she is able to use her father's land, and subsequently, will have access to any available plot of land she selects. She is also able to hand her property over to her children.⁴³

Legal norms at the government level encompass a broader spectrum of the definition of marriage yet still include traditional norms. This creates an overlapping juxtaposition of norms similar to that of the judicial system discussed in the previous chapter. Table 4.1 below presents the various types of marriage as categorized by Mozambican family law.

⁴⁰ All land in Mozambique belongs to the government. Thus, in accordance with current laws, property cannot be sold but rights to land can be leased (See Association of European Parliamentarians with Africa [AWEPA], *Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin*, issue 19, part 2. (Maputo: AWEPA, 1997) for a description of the land law passed in July 1997). In Mandlakazi and Ilha Josina Machel, every family, including widows and single women, is given a plot land to use for cultivation (Viriato Fransisco Ndlalane, author in joint interview, Mandlakazi district, November 22, 2010); In Lhalala, Mandlakazi district the government grants every family two hectares of land.

⁴¹ This is an alternate spelling of *lobolo*.

⁴² Heidi Gugenbach, "Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique, <http://www.gutenberg-e.org/geh01/frames/fgeh13.html> (accessed January 21, 2011).

⁴³ Ibid.

TABLE 4.1 TYPES OF UNIONS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Customary or traditional	Customary marriage is typically arranged with the cooperation of both the family of the bride and the groom. This type of marriage allows for polygyny with an unlimited number of women. In the Tsonga culture of my area of research, the process of marriage is centered around <i>lobolo</i> .
Religious	A religious marriage is carried out within a place of worship. Christian marriages allow only monogamous relationships and within the Catholic church, divorce is not allowed. A religious marriage is comparatively expensive; wedding rings and appropriate clothing are required in order to participate in the ceremony.
Civil	A civil marriage entails the joining of two individuals, male and female, never before married, divorced or widowed. The union is monogamous (the exception to this is that a married man in a civil marriage may chose to live with one or more other women) and only annulled by divorce issued in a court of law. According to civil law, the minimum age of marriage for females is 14 and for males 16 years. In the patrilineal setting, civil marriage only occurs after lobolo has been payed or a religious ceremony has been conducted.
Mutual consent union or cohabitation	Cohabitation is a relationship in which two individuals, without undergoing any other type of marriage, live together. The duration of this relationship varies spanning from several days to many years. Cohabitation typically occurs only after <i>lobolo</i> has been given to the family of the bride. An exception to this is the incidence of premarital pregnancy, where cohabitation is often allowed. Mutual consent union is considered a legally binding marriage after several years of the couple having lived together.

Source: Adapted from Carlos Arnaldo, "Ethnicity and Marriage Patterns in Mozambique," *African Population Studies* 19, no. 1/*Etude de la population africaine* 19, no. 1 (2004): 146-147.

Attempting to define marriage within both the Mozambican and academic context is complex. Marriage and the events leading up to it are nuanced according to ethnic group and is often a lengthy process, causing the lines between the process and the actual marriage to be blurred.⁴⁴ In rural southern Mozambique, girls typically start to have children at the age of 16 or 17 although they may not be married *per se*. The term *marido*, translated as husband in English, takes on a variety of meanings such as father of a woman's children, the man with whom she lives or the man to whom the woman is married. It is interesting to also note that the word *mulher*, meaning wife, can also signify woman or the woman of someone, that is, his wife. Womanhood is thus judged in light of relationships to men; women are in their place when under the authority of a man, be it a father or a husband.

⁴⁴ Carlos Arnaldo, Ethnicity and Marriage Patterns in Mozambique, *African Population Studies* 19, no. 1/*Etude de la population africaine* 19, no. 1 (April 2004): 146.

The flexible terms of “marriage” which exist in Mozambique today suggest that perhaps the prolonged years of conflict and the widespread prevalence of sexual abuse, especially in southern Mozambique, coupled with the suppression and breakdown of traditional values have contributed to the present situations of troubled marriages and divorce. It is also possible that the high rates of unemployment, poverty and the lack of education throughout the periods of conflict and even further back in history form part of this legacy.

Southern Mozambique maintains a tradition of patrilocality, that is, when a woman marries she lives with her husband and his father and paternal relatives.⁴⁵ Families often have a plot of land where the entire family lives, meaning that a married women either lives on the husband’s family’s plot of land or one adjacent to it. Patrilocality signifies that, in the event of problems in the home, the wife can become isolated, especially if she is in a community other than her own. She may also be fearful of disclosing her situation since she is surrounded by her husband’s family and community members who may be primarily sympathetic to the husband.

A Changana proverb, *Mmintela hinkwapsu*, translates as, to maintain the home, the women must submit herself.⁴⁶ While this view is changing in urban areas, the tradition of subservience of the woman in the home is very much alive in rural areas. Traditionally the domain of the rural woman is the home and the *machamba*, and social mobility is generally limited to these two. Southern Mozambique, being both patrilineal and patrilocal, can be a difficult environment for women where a woman’s social status is often very low.

Due to the above mentioned variance in the categorization of marital status, placing my key informants into strictly demarcated groupings was a difficult task. The marriage and polygynous marriage categories in figure 4.4 below signify that the informant fell within one of the four

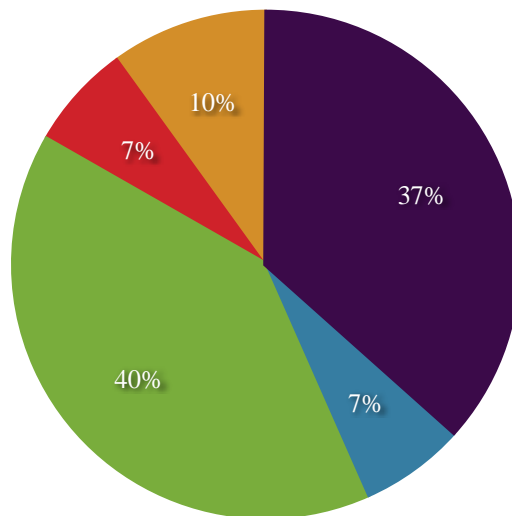
⁴⁵ The system of descent not only affects the woman and the family in general but also also the children. To give one example, A Save the Children UK study found that children were less malnourished in the matrilineal areas in comparison to the south (Carolyn Nordstrom, *A Different Kind of War Story*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 11.

⁴⁶ Elisa Maria de Silveira Muianga, “Mulheres e Guerra: Reintegração Social Das Mulheres Regressadas Das Zonas de RENAMO No Distrito de Mandlakazi” (Bachelor's thesis, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, 1996), 10.

categories of marriage as defined in table 4.1, in other words, she was living with her husband in the same residence, or sometimes in the case of a polygynous marriage, in a different hut but on the same plot of land at the time of the interview. The “married” category below is divided into two categories: monogamous marriage, stated simply, married, and polygynous marriage. This makes the number of married key informants a total of 44 percent. This indicates that many of them were not damaged from the war to the extent that they were unable to be positioned into the social hierarchy and marry. The “single” grouping is bifurcated into “single or divorced with children” and “single without children”, totaling 47 percent. Fifty percent of my key informants are single mothers.

FIGURE 4.4 CURRENT MARITAL STATUS OF KEY INFORMANTS⁴⁷

- Married
- In a polygynous marriage
- Single or divorced with children
- Single without children
- Widowed with children



THE BREAKDOWN OF MARRIAGE

The social and economic reintegration of women was significantly hindered by divorce. Divorce, illustrated in the following two cases, often leaves the woman with no other option than to return to her community and/or her parent’s home where it is often difficult for her to support her

⁴⁷ n=30; “Single with children” does not necessarily that no *lobolo* transaction ever occurred. It simply denotes current marital status.

children. Manuelita lived in a nearby town with the father of her children but left him in 2007 because of physical abuse. She returned to live with her parents, where she struggles to feed her four children. She is not satisfied with life in her community since no employment opportunities exist and she has no way to improve her life.⁴⁸

Arsenia's story is similar: "My husband divorced me because he had another woman... and then he married her. When I came back [from the war], he said 'I don't need you anymore'. I stayed in his house but I didn't even go into the [bed]room. He didn't even speak to me. So, my parents thought well and brought me here [the house where she now lives with her three children]. . ."⁴⁹

The reasons that women gave for being left to care for their children alone vary. Some women simply were never married. Some men left for other women and stayed in the same communities or annulled their marriage because their wife's war experience. Some, like Manuelita divorced because of physical abuse or other difficult circumstances. Still others, like Deroteia Jaime Sondo are widowed because of their spouse's illness.

Marriage does not always signify financial support or economic stability. Paula, for example, stated: "[Life in my community] is not going well. . . My husband works in South Africa but he doesn't have money. . ." "When your husband arrives here [home], he doesn't have money?" I asked. "No", she replied. "Why?" I persisted. The answer was simply that she did not know.⁵⁰ It is apparent that regardless of marital status, often little or no household financial support comes from the man, be it the head of household, husband or father of the children. Often prior to the advent of separation and the absence of child support, the parody of marriage is built on foundations of violence. As I show below, this violence often manifests in more than one form.

⁴⁸ Manuelita, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

⁴⁹ Arsenia, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

⁵⁰ Paula, interview by author, Mandlakazi district, December 14, 2010.

THE VIOLENCE CONTINUES⁵¹

The prevalence of violence against women was very apparent during my months of fieldwork in southern Mozambique. Forty percent of my key informants are married although many of them suffer from recurring and violent conjugal conflicts.

Law 29/2009 was recently passed in Mozambique detailing the definition of domestic violence as violence against a woman.⁵² The adoption of this law is only first step in the right direction, however. Mechanisms of enforcement and the strengthening of social help systems are necessary to reduce domestic violence. Also, it takes time to change the prevailing notion in Mozambique that domestic violence is a private matter and one that should be resolved within the family.⁵³ Despite the recent legal developments, statistics and research on domestic violence in Mozambique is still inadequate. Much about the roots and reasons behind domestic violence in Mozambique is still unknown.⁵⁴

Florinha, whose war experience was presented at the beginning of chapter one, knows violence and scorn all too well:

FLORINHA. When I returned, some laughed at me, others felt shame, and others cried when they saw my severed body parts”. When reflecting on her life now, she stated, “Now I feel better,

⁵¹ Social workers who studied dislocated populations during the war in Mozambique stated that trauma in men is a leading contributor to domestic violence and substance abuse (K. B. Wilson, *Internally Displaced, Refugees and Returnees from and in Mozambique*, (Uppsala, Sweden: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1994), 9. Further, unemployment and poverty following the war were seen as triggers for both domestic violence and alcohol abuse (Nathalie de Watteville, *Addressing Gender Issues in Demobilization and Reintegration Programs*, Washington, D.C., World Bank, 2002), 20. Future research on domestic violence in Mozambique is needed to uncover the reasons behind the situation today, be it past trauma from the war, lack of economic power due to unemployment, poverty and/or other factors.

⁵² The Domestic Violence Law 29/2009 was passed in 2009; Gender-based violence is defined as “any act that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm, including threats of such acts and deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (UN General Assembly, 85th Plenary Meeting, *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women*, A/RES/48/104, 1993).

⁵³ Terezinha da Silva, “Violencia Domestica: Factos e Discursos,” in *Conflicto e Transformação Social: Uma Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*, Vol. 2, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade (Porto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 144.

⁵⁴ For example, the possible correlation between the prevalence of domestic violence and the patrilocality of southern Mozambique could produce interesting findings about the way in which traditional norms may cause the marginalization of women.

now they don't mock me, now they don't laugh at me. The one who had a problem was my husband. In 2004, he started talking with friends outside, saying, 'I don't want to be with a person who has severed fingers and severed ears. I want to get another woman'. So, when I saw that, I took all my clothes to my [parent's] house. . . I said to my husband 'I have this here [mutilation from the war] not because I wanted it. I didn't fight with anyone to deserve this. I was mutilated by force'. . .

Because of the gravity of the situation, Florinha's father took her case to the *partido*.⁵⁵ And the problem was solved, at least for a while: "After they resolved⁵⁶ the end of the problem, my husband asked for forgiveness".

LILLIAN. And is it better now?

FLORINHA. This month of November, my husband beat me a lot... He came back [home] at three in the morning and I asked, 'At this time you're coming back in the morning. . . Where were you?' He didn't respond. He only responded by beating me".

Once again she left her and her husband's house and stayed with her family. Soon, her husband's family members came and negotiated with her relatives for her return. She went back to her husband's home and had been living with him again for two weeks at the time of the interview.

LILLIAN. And what is the situation like with your husband now?

FLORINHA. I am not staying there [with my husband] of my own free will. I just don't have a place to go far away. I could leave my children at my sister's house and disappear so I wouldn't have to see my husband again.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Partido* means party in English, denoting the administrative government post of the ruling party, FRELIMO.

⁵⁶ Maria José Arthur and Margarita Mejia argue that the "resolution" of conflicts such as these are inadequate and ineffective. At the end of "resolving" the problem, the person who admits blame signs a declaration in commitment to change his/her offending behavior. However, this seems to be insufficient because the cycle of abuse is often perpetuated (Maria Jose Arthur and Margarita Mejia, "Local conflict resolution bodies and the strengthening of gender roles. The resolution of cases of domestic violence," in *Outras Voces Suplemento do Boletim*, no. 17. (Maputo: WLSA Mozambique, November 2006), 38-40 (footnote 13).

⁵⁷ Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010; There is a side note to Florinha's present situation. One of the reasons for her feeling of helplessness may be the fact that her father recently passed away. He, at least once, took her case before the administrative post. In his absence, it appears that there is no one to help her. The Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) is not very active in the communal village where she lives and does not have the capacity to deal with her situation. Her situation may "resolve" soon, however. Those who I spoke to regarding her circumstances believe that her husband has another woman and thus, will soon ask Florinha to leave the house.

Florinha is not alone. Referencing her situation and that of other women in the area, Felicidade Ruben Mimbir states: “This can happen to any woman. According to the way I explained, men here are confused. It’s not just her [Florinha], even the others who we interviewed, they just don’t want to say, [but] they suffer”.⁵⁸

Merely two of my key informants openly admitted domestic violence. The situation however, is quite possibly much worse than many of them were willing to reveal. My interpreter for *Bairro 6* and *Bairro 7* in Ilha Josina Machel who knew the situation of my informants well stated that only three out of 13 of my informants in that area were happily married. The rest, she stated, are suffering: “. . . A woman when she unites with a husband, if she doesn’t have luck, she suffers a lot. . . These young women are suffering.”⁵⁹

Domestic violence leaves its victims hopeless and vulnerable. It isolates and leaves loneliness because it is not culturally acceptable to be subjected to domestic violence. Help networks in place to help women who are victims of domestic violence are lacking. Also, social space within which to discuss such problems is virtually nonexistent. Pain may become all the more grave when there exists no social space in which to express it. When I ask what women can do when faced with violence in the home, many suggested that they speak to friends, neighbors, confidants, parents, the administrative government post. In practice, when a woman suffers from marital violence, she can go to the police and file a report or present herself to the administrative post or OMM for help. Several realities hinder this from happening; they include fear, apathy, patriarchal values, lack of protection of the victim following the lodging a complaint and the distance of available help networks. Poverty combined with strained marital relations or no male head of household makes it difficult for the rural woman to sufficiently support and care for her children. From my observation in the field, it often seems that the hopelessness that violence in the home generates often leaves the victims resigned to their abusers. Domestic violence has

⁵⁸ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during personal interview with Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

⁵⁹ Felicidade Ruben Mimbir speaking during personal interview with Florinha, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

become a reality that many rural women simply have to live with until their husband leaves them or demands that she leave the home.

A study by Terezinha da Silva on violence against women in Mozambique found that often domestic violence was used as a front to drive the wife out of the house so that the husband could be with another women.⁶⁰ In fact, several women with whom I discussed the issue of domestic violence indicated that they believed that domestic violence existed in the home because the husband had another woman outside the home.

Domestic violence may be one of the most glaring forms of violence against women in Mozambique but it does not stand alone. When I asked Felicidade Ruben Mimbir and Lina Sumbane Mbir about violence against women, they chose to mention a more subtle form of force. “The war came to an end, but did the violence disappear from one day to the next?” I asked. “Did it move from one level of society to another?” “The violence cannot not go away, especially in the *zonas verdes*, in the zones that are very low [in resources and wealth]. Here in Ilha [Josina Machel], there exists violence. A man can be with his woman and not consider her a woman, he can consider her a slave. That is also violence. A man has employment. . . he receives money at the end of the month and does not show it to the woman. That also is violence. . . The woman does not know how much [salary] her husband is receiving. That is a type of violence also”.⁶¹

⁶⁰Terezinha da Silva, “Violencia Domestica: Factos e Discursos,” in *Conflictos e Transformação Social: Uma Paisagem das Justiças em Moçambique*, Vol. 2, ed. Boaventura de Sousa Santos and João Carlos Trindade (Porto, Portugal: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 152-153.

⁶¹ Lina Sumbane Mbir and Felicidade Ruben Mimbir, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.



A fishing net hangs in a tree. Fishing is a source of extra income and also supplements the limited diet of rural peasants. *Bairro 6*, Ilha Josina Machel, December 2010.

CHAPTER FIVE.

Epilogue

It's a poor sort of memory that only works backward.
-Lewis Carroll

Much is left to be learned about societies in transition. A retrospective view of transitional justice in Mozambique schools us in the complexities and shortcomings of post-conflict transitions. One of the most glaring deficiencies is evident with war-affected girls and women. Not only were many of them untouched by aid but by all post-war practices. My research suggests that this was so because they were not seen as a threat to the peace and not defined as such.¹

Following the historical trajectories of local narratives of war to local narratives of peace allows a comprehensive overview of my two research sites in southern Mozambique. It is apparent that the abuse of women throughout history has filtered through into peacetime. Although gender violence does not run across the board, it does unmistakably appear in many homes of my research communities. Due to a dearth of data on domestic violence it is unclear if violence against women is overwhelmingly more apparent in formerly abducted and sexually abused women. However, it is very evident that some husbands used physical and sexual “damage” from the war as an excuse to abuse and/or abandon their war-surviving wives. A longitudinal analysis of violence could show not only patterns of violence but also cycles of victimhood. Women returning from war were often seen as victims rather than a threat. Perhaps it is this view that allowed some of them to become victims of violence once again. Still, further research is needed to ascertain the long-term outcomes of war-affected women, particularly those who reintegrated spontaneously.

Evidence of healing was visible in the lives of my key informants. Some, such as Sandra Armando Mucasse spoke of no longer suffering from nightmares.² Most of my interviewees confirmed at least fragmentary healing in stating that they were satisfied with life in their communities. Further, most indicated the presence of healthy relationships with their neighbors, extended families and friends. Many of these relationships are formed and confirmed while carrying out daily tasks and participating in community events.

¹ It is possible that the traditional view of women also predicated this exclusion. Typically, women are placed within the social hierarchy in relation to the men in their lives. Perhaps girls and women were assumed to reintegrate more easily or more peacefully because they would come under the authority of a father or husband after returning from war.

² Sandra Armando Mucasse, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 9, 2010.

During my fieldwork in Ilha Josina Machel, I would often go out into the fields early in the morning with women from the community. I was struck by the overwhelming amount of women donning rubber boots (during the rainy season) and carrying hoes on their way to work in their *machambas* and I noted the sense of community that work in the fields instills. For many this is a daily ritual; women, often with young children strapped to their backs, converse, laugh and greet others on their way to and from work, sometimes shouting across long distances to those already hard at work. Labor in the *machamba* is much more than just cultivating, planting and harvesting. It provides a daily routine, a sense of community and facilitates the establishment of relationships.

The presence of strong social ties, however, does not always signify the absence of violence. The concept of con-viviality by Fiona Ross shows

an ethic that seeks to secure life, both life itself . . . and ‘good life’ as it is made through relationships. Con-viviality used in this sense anticipates that life itself, being alive, is at stake in social worlds, and that it is accomplished alongside and through others. It does not necessarily anticipate peaceableness. [and may] . . . include violence of many kinds – interpersonal, symbolic and structural.³

My informants spoke quite a bit about the difficulties of their present situation and not as much about the future. Poverty and the constant struggle for survival seemingly leaves rural women continually in the present without much time to think about the past or future. This is most evident in the daily scramble to procure enough food to feed their families. The disappointments of the present leave the past and future in the background. The most disheartening reality of their lives seems to be, not necessarily the tragedy of the past nor the bleakness of their future, but the present poverty and lack of long-term support for them as war-survivors. Today, many of them see little hope for the future in the midst of impoverishment, troubled marriages and domestic violence.

³ Fiona Ross, “Personhood and Raw Life,” presented at University of Cape Town’s Sawyer Seminar on Personhood, August 2009, quoted in Angela Forcier, “Trauma, Forgiveness, and Con-viviality in Rwanda: An Ethnographic Study Following the Healing and Rebuilding Our Communities (HROC) Project in Gisenyi, Rwanda” (Master’s thesis, University of Cape Town, 2010), 27.

Key informants commented frequently on matters related to structural violence and spoke less about interpersonal violence. Tereza Adriano Siteo declared, “I am not satisfied with staying here because there is no employment. I don’t have anything to do. I stay here because I have nowhere to go and nothing to do to be able to sustain my children”. She later added, “I want to leave this zone. . . but I don’t have documents and there [at the sugar cane factory in Xinavane] they require documents.” She revealed that her parents never applied for identification documents for her and she doesn’t have money to do it herself.⁴

Similarly, when I asked Joaneta Fransisco Cossa about her life now she protested, “I feel suffering. I am suffering and I feel like a slave to be able to feed my three children”. When I pressed for more details, she stated: “I have no time to rest because in the morning I go to a person [to work in a *machamba* for money or flour] and in the afternoon I go to my *machamba*. . . Even to cook is difficult, to eat dinner”.⁵

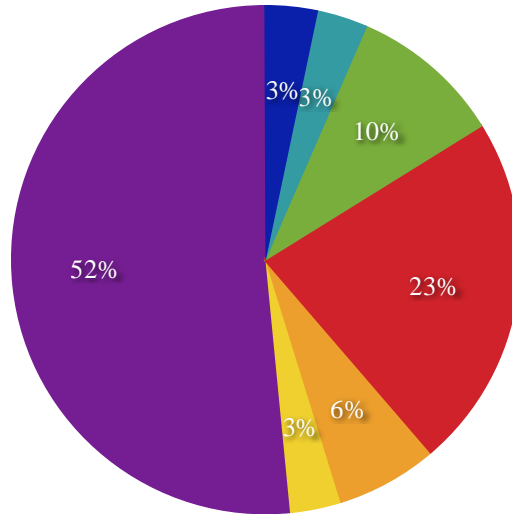
Despite the present difficulties, informants were able to speak about future aspirations. Figure 5.1 shows that 23 percent voiced the desire to gain further education and 10 percent desired employment. One informant, because of the presence of intense domestic violence, could only think of running far away from her spouse. One interviewee aspired to undergo a civil registration ceremony, but lacked the necessary money.

⁴ Tereza Adriano Siteo, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010; Many women, like Tereza, who expressed this desire, stated that they could leave their children with family members if they found employment.

⁵ Joaneta Fransisco Cossa, interview by author, Ilha Josina Machel, December 7, 2010.

FIGURE 5.1 FUTURE ASPIRATIONS⁶

- Children’s education
- Go far away from her husband
- Employment
- Further education
- Participate in an aid program
- Civil marriage registration
- Unspecified



Complete reintegration, in terms of basic living conditions, has not been fulfilled for female war survivors nearly two decades after the war. The needs of the community and the female war affected may have become one and the same, possibly with the exception of domestic violence; however, basic needs, both in the formerly “reintegrated” group and civilian group are evidently lacking. Despite that, recovery, to some extent, has clearly occurred throughout the years.

Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy once recalled, “it has been said, ‘time heals all wounds.’ I do not agree. The wounds remain. In time, the mind, protecting its sanity, covers them with scar tissue and the pain lessens. But, [they are] never gone.” Physical scars, like those that several of my informants showed me, remain many years after the war and serve as gentle reminders of the past. The quote that opens this chapter calls to mind the uncertainty of memory. But perhaps digging up the past is not as important as it may seem. In Mozambique, it may be that a “grand narrative of

⁶ n=30. One informant voiced two desires.

forgiveness and redemption”⁷ will never be necessary. Yet, when violence threatens families and relationships, perhaps, one way or another, the past begs to be accounted for. Some would argue that dealing with historical legacies are key to resolving current problems.⁸ The question then remains . . . Although the truth may never be rigorously sought after, will the legacies of the past hinder the future? It could be that, for now, “inhabiting the world together”⁹ is enough.

⁷ Das, Veena and Arthur Kleinman, “Introduction,” in *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 16.

⁸ Brandon Hamber, “Living with the Legacy of Impunity: Lessons from South Africa about Truth, Justice and Crime in Brazil,” *Latin American Report* 13, no. 2 (1997): 17.

⁹ Das, Veena and Arthur Kleinman. “Introduction,” in *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, ed. Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 16.



In 1989, a major RENAMO invasion in Ilha Josina Machel left ruin and death in its wake. This building in the center of *Bairro 3*, which prior to the attack housed a general store, stands abandoned as a reminder of the destruction of the war. December 1, 2010.



Children walk and cattle ramble down the main street of *Bairro 3*. This road boasts several general stores, the administrative post, hospital, local school and a small outdoor market where one can buy vegetables, fruit and bread. Ilha Josina Machel, November, 2010.



A woman works in her *machamba* in the heat of the day. These agricultural plots provide the only food source for many peasants in Mozambique. *Bairro 3*, Ilha Josina Machel, December 2010.



Residents gather at the newly built well in front of the local school in Dzonguene locality. On December 9, 2010, a new administrative post and residence for the locality chief was inaugurated prompting a large gathering of many residents from several communal villages. *Bairro 6*, Ilha Josina Machel, December, 2010.



A rural plot of land with a cluster of huts in Mandlakazi district serves as a typical example of a peasant residence. November 2010.



Flauzinha (center left) and a neighbor rapidly pound grain to make *xima*. The preparation of *xima*, a corn based staple in Mozambique, involves several steps including shucking, pounding, soaking and cooking. *Bairro 3*, Ilha Josina Machel, December 2010.



Telma grinds a corn mixture in one of the final stages of the preparation of *xima*. Learning the art of cooking is an important step becoming a woman in this peasant community. *Bairro 3*, Ilha Josina Machel, November, 2010.



The Open Museum of Nwadjahane, the birthplace of FRELIMO's first president, Eduardo Mondlane, stands in an isolated communal village of Mandlakazi District. Mandlakazi district, November 2010.



A monument stands in memory of Eduardo Mondlane in the communal village of Nwadjahane. The house that he built is situated in the background. Mandlakazi district, Mozambique, November 2010.



A goat wanders in the yard of a typical peasant home. Goats are raised in rural areas but can also be a source of conflict between neighbors since they are notorious consumers of crops when not tied up properly. *Bairro 3*, Ilha Josina Machel, November 2010.



A large group of women wait in the shade of a large tree near the administrative post after having recounted their war experiences. Lhalala locality, Mandlakazi district, December, 2010.



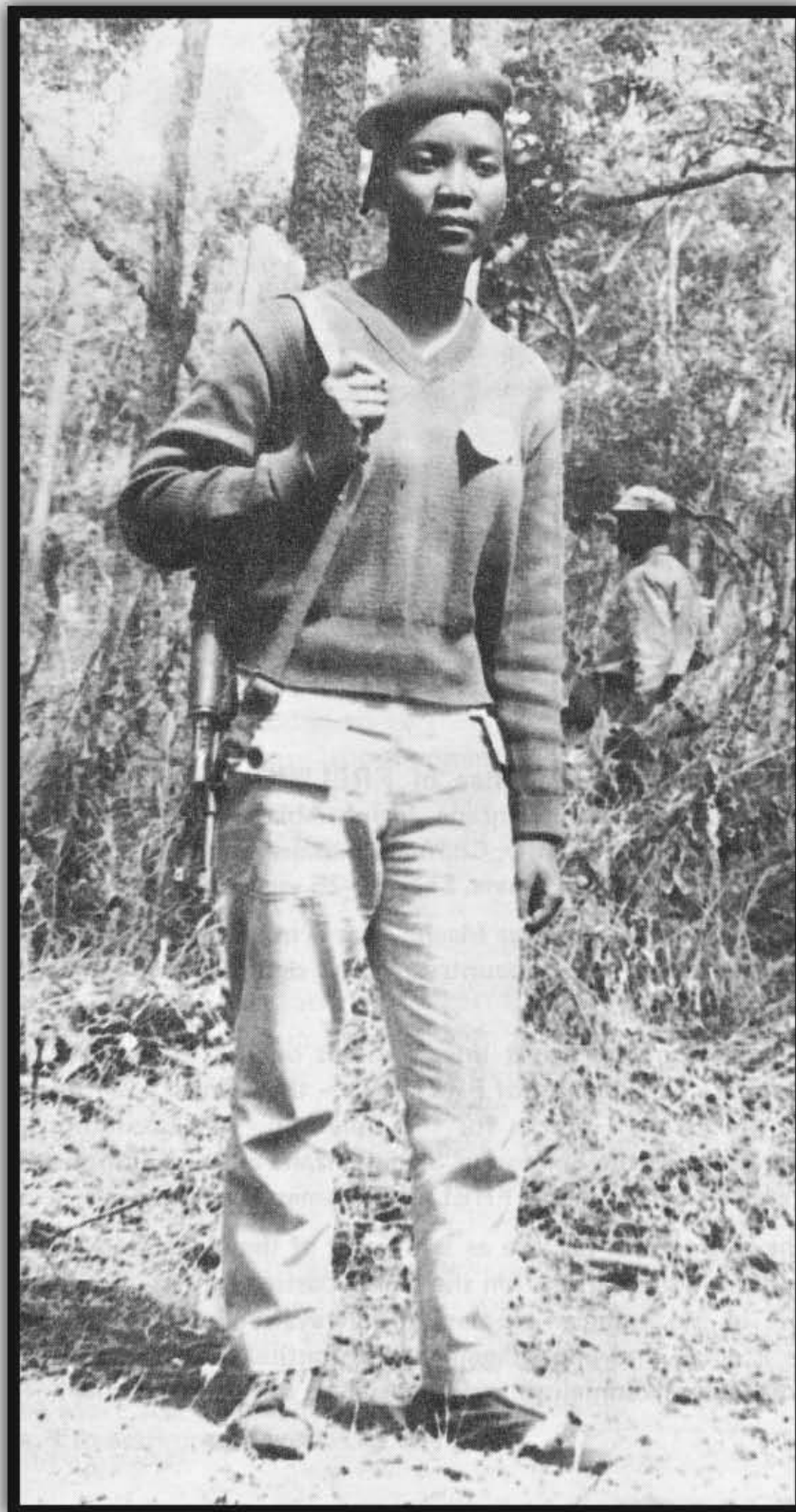
A monument to Ngungunyane, the last emperor of Gaza, foregrounds the District Government Post in the town of Mandlakazi. Ngungunyane governed from 1884 to 1895 and is considered a hero of the colonial resistance. Mandlakazi town, December, 2010.



The last emperor of the Gaza empire, Ngungunyane, worked in the shade of this tree, known as the *Xiverine*. *Xiverine* was the name previously given to the area that is now Mandlakazi district. Mandlakazi town, December 2010.



Burning refuse lights up the night. In rural Mozambique, the logical and cost effective method of eliminating waste is simply to burn it. *Bairro 3, Ilha Josina Machel, September 2010.*



Josina Machel was a revolutionary and DF during the liberation war. Ilha Josina Machel is named after her. Photo courtesy of the Collection of Colin Darch/MHN.

CHRONOLOGY

300

Bantu-speaking people begin to settle within the region that is now Mozambique joining the Khoikhoi and San who have lived there for thousands of years.

1000

Kingdoms and empires form in the eastern regions of Africa; Arabs and Persians establish trade routes along the coast.

1400s

The Monomotapa empire succeeds that of the empire of Zimbabwe; several Tsonga empires develop in the regions south of the Limpopo River.

1444-1445

The Portuguese make a contract with sub-Saharan Africa.

1498

Portuguese settlers, led by Vasco da Gama, arrive to the coast of Mozambique.

1600

Portuguese colonizers begin advancing into the interior of Mozambique, cultivating land and exploiting local inhabitants. The settlers recruit males slaves, known as *chikunda*, to serve in an army whose task it is to collect taxes and labor from the peasants. The term *chikunda* later includes the slave wives of the soldiers and their children.

1700s

Maize and cassava are introduced by the Portuguese.

1787

Portugal establishes a fort at Lourenço Marques (now the capital of Mozambique – Maputo) and a city begins to form.

1800s

The beginning of this century marks the fall of the Monomotapa empire.

1820s

Approximately 30,000 slaves annually are shipped from central Mozambique to the Americas.

1820s-30s

The Nguni peoples of (present-day) South Africa, led by Soshangane, migrate from the south and form the Gaza empire in what is now known as southern Mozambique. Famine and devastation, as the result of the Nguni conquest, make way for an increasing number of available slaves at

Lourenço Marques. The Gaza empire eventually extends through all the lands south of the Limpopo River, with the exception of the coastal settlements of Inhambane and Lourenço Marques, and into the eastern Zimbabwe and the northern Transvaal.

1836

Portugal abolishes the transatlantic slave trade (also see 1869 below where Portugal *officially* abolishes the slave trade in its colonies).

1842

The British begin patrolling against slave trading off the coast of Mozambique.

1850s

The Arab slave trade, most notable in northern and central Mozambique, gains momentum and becomes more organized.

1858-62

The Gaza succession war devastates the empire. Soshangane's son Mzila assumes power and with the territorial expansion of the empire comes increased exploitation such as taxation and slavery. As the international slave trade decreases, domestic enslavement increases within the Gaza empire. Male slaves are used in the army and agricultural sector. Women are used for their labor, especially in agriculture and in sexual slavery to Gaza officials and soldiers.

1860s

Men from southern Mozambique begin migrant labor to the sugar plantations and diamond mines in South Africa.

1869

Portugal officially abolishes the slave trade in its African colonies after approximately two million slaves have already been taken from Mozambique; clandestine slave trade continues for some time after, however.

1884

Mzila's son Ngungunyana, later known as the Lion of Gaza, takes power over the Gaza empire and rules over the Tsonga people. The empire increases in strength due in part to its involvement in the slave trade. Ngungunyana, who has seven wives, resists the colonial power through violence, trade and diplomacy with the British. (See photo on page 128 of the monument to Ngungunyana in Mandlakazi).

1884-1885

The Conference of Berlin takes place and African countries are divided up between European powers. "The scramble for Africa" begins.

1886

Gold is discovered in the Transvaal in South Africa resulting in an increasing number of migrant labor from Mozambique. Between 1903 and 1973, 42,000 men die in the mines in South Africa. African miners are prohibited from working in skilled areas, an area reserved only for white

miners. Accordingly, the salaries of white miners continually rises while those of black miners remains the same.

1887

The construction of a railway from Lourenço Marques to the Transvaal begins.

1891

Portugal and Great Britain delineate the western and southern borders of Mozambique, the boundaries of which are still in effect today; the majority of the Gaza Nguni territory lay within Portuguese jurisdiction.

1895

António Enes becomes Portuguese high commissioner of Mozambique and sets military defeat of the Gaza empire as a prime concern. In February, the Portuguese win the battle of Marracuene in southern Mozambique. In August, the Portuguese make further advances with victory over Gaza forces in Magul. In November, the Portuguese scatter Gaza troops at the battle of Coolela, Mandlakazi district. The empire of Gaza is eventually defeated by the colonists.

1899

Portugal implements a colonial labor law ensuring cheap African labor. This forced labor was widely known as *chibalo* and required that all Mozambicans, both men and women from the ages of fourteen to sixty, work for two years. By the end of World War II, forced labor is increased significantly in rural areas. Forced labor continues for over sixty years.

1902

Lourenço Marques becomes the new capital of the Portuguese colony.

1913

The Union government of South Africa prohibits migrants laborers north of the Save River making southern Mozambique a labor reserve for mining in South Africa.

1926

The New Fascist State of António Salazar gains power in Portugal, following a military coup d'état, bringing with it major changes to colonial policy.

1928

Salazar institutes new “native labor” legislation in its African colonies and distinguishes between (white) “citizens”, (nonwhite) “subjects” and *assimilados*. *Assimilado* status is obtainable by those who speak Portuguese, live in a European fashion and work as merchants, artisans or skilled workers. *Assimilados* are exempt from forced labor.

1930s

Rural areas of southern Mozambique are weakened by repeated drought, flooding, and plagues of locusts and famine. *Mudende*, a tax on all African residents of Lourenço Marques over 16 years of age, is imposed; twelve years later this tax is extended to all of Mozambique.

1930-32

The colonial administration in Mozambique is centralized.

1939-1942

Approximately 10,000 Mozambicans are killed as the result of Portugal's support of Great Britain during World War II in Tanganyika (now Tanzania).

1941

Portugal gains complete control over Mozambique.

Late 1940s

Ninety-six percent of Portugal's goods come from their colonies, primarily Mozambique.

1950s-1960s

Increased colonial repression and forced labor leads to economic growth in the colony, sparking the migration of thousands of Portuguese to Mozambique.

1957

Portuguese International and State Defense Police (PIDE) is established.

1960

On June 16, colonial troops massacre over 500 peasant farmers in Mueda, northern Mozambique, while in protest against the low prices paid for their crops.

1961

Chibalo is removed from Portuguese colonial policy but still continues for some time.

1962

On June 25, FRELIMO is formed as abuse from the colonizers climaxes; Eduardo Mondlane becomes its first president. (See pages 121-122 for photos of the museum at Eduardo Mondlane's place of birth).

1964

On September 25, the first shots of the liberation war against colonialism are fired in Chai, northern Mozambique; Portugal launches a violent response with backing from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

1965

Josina Abiatar (Machel), later to become the wife of Samora Machel and heroine of the revolution, flees Mozambique with a group of students with the aim of joining FRELIMO and eventually reaches Tanzania. (See page 130 for a photo of Josina Machel).

1966

In October, women's emancipation is set as a priority at the FRELIMO Central Committee meeting; the recruitment and arming of young women for the liberation struggle was prevalent enough to spark complaints from traditional leaders and other authority figures who feared challenges to traditional authority.

1967

The *Destacamento Feminino* is founded, comprising young women who had received politico-military training in Tanzania.

1969

Eduardo Mondlane, president of FRELIMO, is assassinated by PIDE who sent a parcel bomb to his office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Samora Machel and Josina Machel, a founding member and political commissar in the *Destacamento Feminino*, marry. Samora Machel made himself an exception to the strict rule of no relations between combatants. In the final years of the liberation war, rank and file guerrillas were permitted to marry but could not be assigned to the same base.

1960s-1970s

The majority of all foreign mine workers in South Africa are Mozambicans. This is most notable between 1970 and 1974 when more Mozambicans were employed as mine workers than South Africans. The areas surrounding the Incomáti and Limpopo rivers flood causing widespread destruction.

1970

Samora Machel is elected president of FRELIMO.

1973

The Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) is founded by FRELIMO with the intent to recruit women to support the liberation struggle and mobilize women towards relevant issues. The First Conference of Mozambican Women is held.

1974

On April 25, a bloodless military coup in Portugal is carried out marking the end of fascist rule. The new government embraces democracy and autonomy of its colonies putting an end to the liberation war. In Mozambique, a drawn out peace negotiation process ensues resulting in the Lusaka Accord in September and, eventually, a transfer of power to FRELIMO without prior elections. Forced labor ends.

1975

On June 25, Mozambique attains independence from Portugal and implements a one-party system of government with Samora Machel as president. Ninety percent of the Portuguese settlers flee the country, many of them destroying possessions, machinery and infrastructure as they depart. This sudden migration left very few educated and skilled workers in the country. Lourenço Marques is renamed Maputo.

1976

Mozambique supports the liberation struggle in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and imposes economic sanctions against the white minority government. This, combined with FRELIMO's backing of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, precipitates the creation of MNR (Mozambican National Resistance), founded by white Rhodesian security forces. This event marks what would come to be a 16 year brutal struggle.

1976

The new FRELIMO government adopts a Marxist-Leninist ideology and gains financial support from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Nordic states. The United States and other NATO countries perceive Soviet support as a threat. War breaks out once again in Mozambique, funded by Rhodesia. FRELIMO has now moved from being a rebel group during the liberation struggle, to now both the ruling party and the opposition to the rebel group.

1979

A vigilante group in Ilha Josina Machel is formed.

1980

Zimbabwe gains independence and funding for the rebel group shifts to South African hands.

1980s

By this time, RENAMO has gained a reputation for brutality, especially salient in its policy of mutilation of civilians, including children. The MNR adopts the Portuguese acronym, RENAMO.

1980-1983

During this time, relations with the West begin to advance and private investments escalate. Strong South African backing of RENAMO causes the violence to rapidly escalate. South Africa restricts Mozambican labor in the mines causing widespread unemployment and despair particularly among young men. South Africa also cuts back on its use of Mozambican ports also causing economic crisis. Overuse of the otherwise fertile land for agriculture compounded by natural disasters such as recurring droughts, flooding and cyclones, debilitating famine and the ongoing conflict prompt the Mozambican government to seek aid from the West (via various foreign aid agencies) for the first time.

1982

On May 16, the war first arrives to the administrative post region of Macuácuá, Mandlakazi district.

1983

The government formulates *Operação Produção* sending certain “unproductive” city dwellers to some of the poorest rural communities in Mozambique. This causes widespread discontent with

the government, especially among youth, and motivates increased conscription into RENAMO forces.

1983

The war spreads to the entire country by the end of this year and destruction becomes ubiquitous.

1984

Samora Machel, president of Mozambique, signs the N'komati Accord and both Mozambique and South Africa agree to discontinue support that cause hostilities. South Africa, however, continues its support of RENAMO as do certain organizations within the United States, West Germany and Portugal. South Africa offers 8,000 mining jobs to Mozambican nationals. The Mozambican government applies for aid through the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

1985

RENAMO begins targeting schools and abducting children with increased force; standards of education are now notably weakened and many schools are closed due to the war. In May, the first major massacre in Manhiça district takes place in Pateque along National Highway Number One. Soon after, a local militia group is formed in Ilha Josina Machel. In August, RENAMO's headquarters, in Sofala Province, called Casa Banana, is captured for the first time and the Gorogonsa documents are discovered proving South Africa's continued support for the rebel group. RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama narrowly escapes capture during this attack. As the result of the capture of their main base, RENAMO troops gradually start infiltrating the southern regions of the country causing the violence to gain momentum in other parts of the country.

1986

Samora Machel dies in a plane crash believed to be orchestrated by the South African government and Joaquim Chissano is elected president. In order to survive, RENAMO changes military tactics to that of terror in rural areas. The Mozambican government is now under the control of World Bank policies, notably restricting investment in the education system.

1986-1988

RENAMO forces establish a base at Ngungwe in western Magude district, Maputo province (see figures 2.2 and 2.3 in Chapter 2 for RENAMO bases in southern Mozambique). RENAMO causes widespread destruction in the area and many residents flee their homes.

1987

By this time, the war reaches its height and most destructive phase. On June 11, RENAMO first appears in the isolated regions of Ilha Josina Machel, during which time several of my informants are abducted. On July 14, RENAMO entered *Bairro 3* in Ilha Josina Machel, looted, destroyed infrastructure, killed and abducted residents. In July, a massacre in Homoine, Inhambane occurs with the death of 424 civilians. August 10 marks the date of the first major massacre by RENAMO in the town of Mandlakazi, Mandlakazi district. In October, two

massacres of 400 to 500 people occurred in the *Dumba Nengue* corridor near Ilha Josina Machel. In January, the adoption of the Economic Rehabilitation Program (PRE) in line with the economic programs of the World Bank and IMF, allowed access to funds that become crucial to the reconstruction of a country in turmoil.

1988

On February 14, a second and final major RENAMO attack is conducted in the town of Mandlakazi. The Program for Documentation, Tracing and Reunification (DTR) is established by government and non-governmental organizations and international agencies and is one of the most important programs for the assistance of children affected by war. Save the Children Federation, through its Children and War Project (C&W), facilitate the reintegration of over 12,000 unaccompanied children between the years of 1988 and 1995.

1989

Another major incursion by RENAMO occurs in *Bairro 3*, Ilha Josina Machel (see photos on pages 114-115). By this time, approximately five million citizens in Mozambique have been internally displaced and over one million have fled to other countries as refugees. FRELIMO formally reneges its Marxism-Leninism ideology and embraces democratic socialism and a market economy; as a result, popular support for RENAMO decreases. The Naparamas, a paramilitary group, attracts many youth in its area of origin and is infamously known to possess supernatural powers, including immunity to bullets. This group, coupled with FAM forces, poses a serious threat to RENAMO; terrorism, mutilation and decapitation by RENAMO upsurges in an attempt to demonstrate power.

1990s

FRELIMO builds an electric fence around the central communal villages of Ilha Josina Machel protecting those within its bounds but leaving residents of the isolated villages vulnerable to RENAMO attack. One of the largest repatriations in Sub-Saharan Africa takes place; 1.7 million refugees return to Mozambique and several millions of internally displaced persons resettle. By this time, approximately 8,000 to 9,000 children have been added to RENAMO ranks.

1990

Mozambique adopts a new constitution and changes its name to the Republic of Mozambique; The Rome peace talks officially commence. Mozambique is dubbed the poorest country in the world and the most-aid dependent.

1991

In a suburb of Maputo, a group of civilians hold a protest over illegal activities. The media explain the overturning of vehicles and violence against its passengers as a response to *feiticeiria*, black African medicine that allegedly uses body parts, often of children, to concoct medicine used to control and harm targeted individuals. Reportedly, young children from these suburbs were being abducted and killed for the use of their body parts.

1992

FRELIMO and RENAMO agree to a ceasefire and sign the Rome Peace Accord (*Acordo Geral de Paz*, AGP) on October 4th. RENAMO is officially approved as a political party. ONUMOZ (United Nations Operations in Mozambique) peacekeepers arrive in Mozambique and begin preparations for elections, implement demobilization programs and aid with the repatriation of refugees.

1994

In January, a letter (originating from International Save the Children Alliance) regarding UN peacekeeping abuses involving the recruitment of girls aged 12 to 18 into prostitution in Mozambique is leaked to the press. This prompts an investigation by the UN Special Representative. In February, ONUMOZ commits to take corrective action and an unrevealed number of peacekeepers are repatriated to their countries. In April, a new unit from Botswana replaces the Italian Contingent Albatroz. By November 30, demobilization officially ends, with the participation of a total of 92,881 soldiers. This number includes approximately 71,000 ex-combatants from FRELIMO and 21,000 from RENAMO. In total, 1,380 women are demobilized; however, the demobilization program did not take into account the needs specific to women. The first elections take place with FRELIMO as the winner, taking 44 percent of the vote. Although RENAMO disputes the results, international election officials declare the election fair.

1995

Mozambique becomes a member of the Commonwealth. In February, the ONUMOZ mission concludes. In December, long awaited rain falls, breaking the drought of the previous three years.

1996

RENAMO ex-combatants continue to occupy Ngungwe base in Magude district.

1997

The Cape Town Principles and Best Practices are adopted following a symposium from 27-30 April 1997. A re-defining of the term child soldier establishes 18 as the minimum age of recruitment into armed groups, and children, regardless of training or access to weapons, are considered child soldiers. The minimum age of recruitment in Mozambique during the post-independence war was 16.

1998

RENAMO boycotts the municipal and local elections resulting in a low attendance in voters (20 percent); FRELIMO wins a majority in these elections.

1999

The second general elections are held and Joaquim Chissano wins; FRELIMO increases parliamentary representation. In November 2000, RENAMO protests are held against the 1999 elections and 40 die as a result.

2000

In February, a tropical storm hits Mozambique causing severe flooding in the south and displaces tens of thousands from their homes. The World Bank estimates that 700 people die, 491,000 are dislocated and reconstruction costs are estimated at \$430 million.

2001

In March, further flooding devastates Mozambique.

2002

Severe drought hits southern and central Mozambique.

2003

Cyclones once again debilitate the country and add to the shortage of food.

2005

Armando Emílio Guebuza becomes president in February following the third general elections.

2009

In October, presidential elections take place; Armando Guebuza is reelected. Parliamentary representation of women in Mozambique ranks ninth in the world, with 39.20 percent of the Mozambican parliament comprising women.

2010

In September, protests over the price of food and other goods take place in Maputo. Several people are killed when the police open fire on crowds.

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Personal Interviews.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: FIELDWORK IN ILHA JOSINA MACHEL¹

Name	Description	Date
Maria Julio Cossa	Former RENAMO abductee	September, 2010
Josina Daniel Zuvani	Former RENAMO abductee	September, 2010 December, 2010
Antonio Tembane Machava	Bishop of Zionist church, performed purification ceremonies for war returnees	September 29, 2010 December 4, 2010
Florinha	Former RENAMO abductee	October, 2010 December, 2010
Maria Chivambo	Traditional healer	October 8, 2010
Elisa Cossa	Former militia member	October 11, 2010
Joaquim Ernesto Cossa	Community court employee	November 15, 2010
Laura Manuel Cossa	Community court employee	December 2, 2010
Tereza Adriano Siteo	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Gloria Zakarias Cucutana	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Joaneta Fransisco Cossa	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Rosa Wendzana	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Cacilda Vicente Mazive	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010

¹ I have removed the days from the key informants, some of whom were given pseudonyms. The removal of exact dates is meant to protect the informant's privacy since all my personal interview citations show the date the interview was performed.

Name	Description	Date
Felicidade Ruben Mimbir	Former RENAMO abductee	December 8, 2010 December 9, 2010
Inez Antonio Chongo	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Misteria Jaime Cuambe	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Lina Sumbane Mbir	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Sandra Armando Mucasse	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Carlota Armando Nguenha	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Elena Silvestre Malamuna	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010

APPENDIX B: FIELDWORK IN MANDLAKAZI DISTRICT²

Name	Description	Date
Regina Zakarias Langa	Community member in Mandlakazi district	November, 2010
Viriato Fransisco Ndlalane	Administrative post chief of Lhalala	November 22, 2010
José Feliciano Kókandze	Former FRELIMO military personnel and administrative post chief in Mandlakazi	November 23, 2010
Victoria Xavier Mate	Former RENAMO abductee	November, 2010
Angelina Alberto Macomo	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Beatriz Albino Mandlate	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Blandina Julio Mugabi	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Constancia Salomão Tivane	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Deroteia Jaime Sondo	Former RENAMO abductee	November, 2010 December, 2010
Josefina Euzebio Moiane	Former RENAMO abductee	November, 2010 December, 2010
Rosita Vasco Matarele	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Sonia João Cossa	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010

² I performed personal interviews with all participants except those indicated as focus group participants; I have removed the days from the key informants, some of whom were given pseudonyms. The removal of exact dates is meant to protect the informant's privacy since all my personal interview citations show the date the interview was performed.

Name	Description	Date
Belarhina Zacarias Mondlane	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Otavia Fransisco Mondlane	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Madalena Julio Matsanganhe	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Monica Jaime Muchanga	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Marta Enoque Siteo	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Delfina Felex Tivane	Former RENAMO abductee	Focus group on December 15, 2010
Almeida Zefanias Tivane	Former RENAMO abductee	Focus group on December 15, 2010
Helena Zacarias Gazane	Former RENAMO abductee	Focus group on December 15, 2010
Ofelia Lazarus Tavele	Former RENAMO abductee	Focus group on December 15, 2010
Florentina Jaime Machachane	Former RENAMO abductee	Focus group on December 15, 2010
Celeste Jose Djedje	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010
Carolina Ernesto Siteo	Former RENAMO abductee	December, 2010

APPENDIX C: LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

Name	Location
Maria Julio Cossa	Ilha Josina Machel
Josina Daniel Zuvani	Ilha Josina Machel
Florinha	Ilha Josina Machel
Tereza Adriano Siteo	Ilha Josina Machel
Gloria Zakarias Cucutana	Ilha Josina Machel
Joaneta Fransisco Cossa	Ilha Josina Machel
Rosa Wendzana	Ilha Josina Machel
Cacilida Vicente Mazive	Ilha Josina Machel
Felicidade Ruben Mimbir	Ilha Josina Machel
Inez Antonio Chongo	Ilha Josina Machel
Misteria Jaime Cuambe	Ilha Josina Machel
Lina Sumbane Mbir	Ilha Josina Machel
Sandra Armando Mucasse	Ilha Josina Machel
Carlota Armando Nguenha	Ilha Josina Machel
Elena Silvestre Malamuna	Ilha Josina Machel
Victoria Xavier Mate	Mandlakazi District
Angelina Alberto Macomo	Mandlakazi District
Beatriz Albino Mandlate	Mandlakazi District
Blandina Julio Mugabi	Mandlakazi District
Constancia Salomão Tivane	Mandlakazi District
Deroteia Jaime Sondo	Mandlakazi District
Josefina Euzebio Moiane	Mandlakazi District
Rosita Vasco	Mandlakazi District

Name	Location
Sonia João Cossa	Mandlakazi District
Belarhina Zacarias Mondlane	Mandlakazi District
Madalena Julio Matsanganhe	Mandlakazi District
Monica Jaime Muchanga	Mandlakazi District
Marta Enoque Siteo	Mandlakazi District
Celeste Jose Djedje	Mandlakazi District
Carolina Ernes Siteo	Mandlakazi District

APPENDIX D: PHASES OF RESEARCH

Phase	Ilha Josina Machel	Mandlakazi	Maputo	Total
Untaped discussions	4	2	18	24
Participant observation	-	-	-	-
Focus group	0	1	0	1
In-depth interviews	20	19	2	41
Follow-up interviews	5	3	0	8
Consultative community meeting	0	1	0	1

I. General Information

Name/Pseudonym:

Age:

Ethnicity:

Civil Status:

Date of Birth:

Birthplace:

Number of occupants in current household:

Level of education:

Do you have children? If so, how many? What are their ages? Do they attend school? Why or why not?

What do you do for a living? Do you have employment? Can you tell me about your employment/work in the *machamba*?

How do you feel living in your current community?

Can you tell me about your life during the war?

II. Life before induction

Describe your daily life before the war. Describe your daily life before you were inducted.

Where were you living before you were inducted?

Who did you live with?

What were you doing before you were inducted?

How old were you when you were inducted?

Were you married/in a relationship before you were inducted? If so, describe your relationship.

III. Life during the conflict

When were you inducted?

Were you taken to a base? Which one?

Did you know anyone from your past life when you arrived at the base? If so, who?

Describe the base.

Who did you associate with while on base?

Was it obligatory to be with a man? Were “marriages” allowed in the camps?

Was there anyone with which you attempted not to associate/speak? Why? Who did you trust/mistrust? Why? Did you have friends/relationships with other women and girls?

Did anyone ever attempt to protect you from anything or anyone?

Did the women/girls in the base have support groups/networks? If you were ill, did you have help from anyone? Did you have access to medical care or medicine?

Describe life on the military base.

Describe the lives of women and girls on the base.

What were your principle activities?/What was your daily routine like? Did you “work for” any women in the camps?

How did you adapt to life at the base?

How long were you at the base?

I am aware of the fact that some boys participated in a traditional ceremony for protection before they left to fight in the war. Did you participate in any ceremony or ritual of this kind before you left for the base?

Did you have children while living in the camp? When were they born? If so, did the father support and/or take responsibility for them? Describe your relationship with the father. How did it begin? How long did it last? How often did you see each other during your relationship? What was his position in the armed group?

Did you participate in the war? Did you participate in military training? Did you participate in combat? Did you have a gun?

IV. Life after the conflict

How did you leave the military camp?

When did you leave the base? In what year?

Did you have help when leaving the military base?

Did you leave alone? If not, who was you with?

How did you travel back to your destination?

Where did you go when you left the base? Where did you stay after you left the base? Describe your living situation following the war.

What was your return like when you arrived at your destination following the war? Describe the events that took place.

Did you have children after returning from the war? What were their ages at the time of the peace agreement (1992)? If you had children and they were with you, how were they received upon your return?

How did you feel when you arrived at your destination after leaving the base?

Did you receive assistance from any organization or the government following the war? If so, describe the assistance given.

Did you participate in any traditional or religious ceremonies following the war? If so, who asked you to participate in this process? Describe this process. What was the ceremony called? Which healer or church leader carried it out? Who was present at the ceremony? How did you feel after the ceremony?

Describe your daily activities in the place you lived following the war.

V. Life now

How is your relationship with your husband, parents, relatives?

Is your income/crops enough to feed your family? What crops do you have on your land now, if any? Does your husband work with you in the *machamba*? If he is employed, does he give money to you and the children?

Do you have friends? Do you have a good relationship with your neighbors?

Do you attend community meetings? OMM meetings?

Is it possible to forgive those who did you wrong during the war?

Is it possible to forget the past?

Do you have any plans for the future?

APPENDIX F: PROVINCE, DISTRICT AND ADMINISTRATIVE POST DIVISIONS OF ILHA JOSINA MACHEL

Province	District	Administrative Posts
Maputo	Manhiça	Manhiça
		Palmeira
		Calanga
		Ilha Josina Machel
		Maluana
		Manhiça-Sede
		Palmeira
		Xinavane

APPENDIX G: ADMINISTRATIVE POST, LOCALITY AND VILLAGE DIVISIONS OF ILHA JOSINA MACHEL³

Administrative Post	Locality	Communal Villages (<i>Bairro</i>)
Ilha Josina Machel	Maguingana	1o. de Maio
		<i>Bairro 1</i>
		<i>Bairro 2</i>
		<i>Bairro 3</i>
		<i>Bairro 4</i>
		Madjedje
	Dzonguene	<i>Bairro 5</i>
		<i>Bairro 6</i>
		<i>Bairro 7</i>

³ Only administrative post divisions where fieldwork was performed were included in the above table.

APPENDIX H: PROVINCE, DISTRICT AND ADMINISTRATIVE POST DIVISIONS OF MANDLAKAZI⁴

Province	District	Administrative Posts
Gaza	Mandlakazi	Mandlakazi
		Chimbonzane
		Chidenguele
		Macuácuá
		Mazucane
		Nguzene
		Lhalala

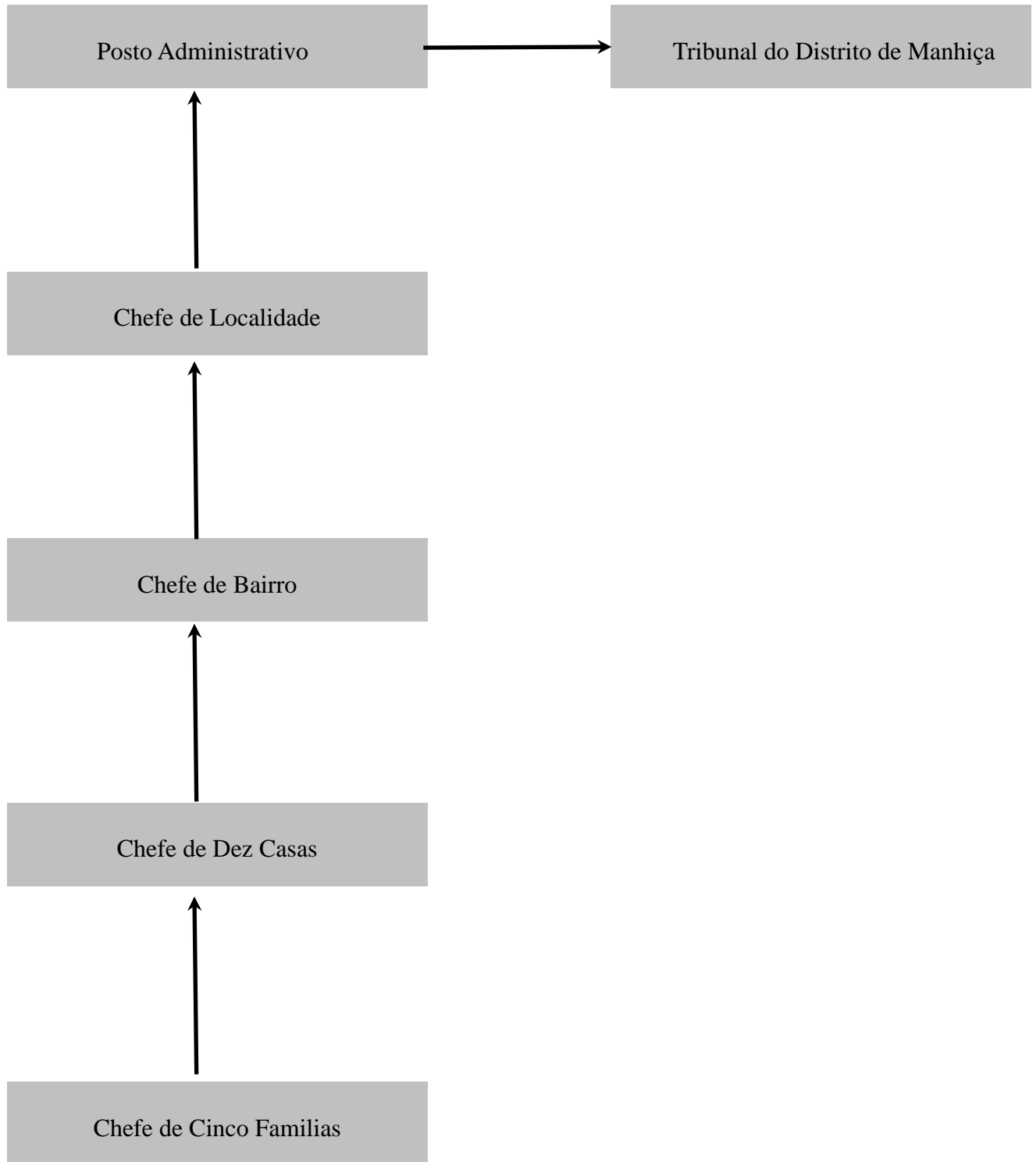
⁴ The administrative post division of Lhalala has several alternate spellings. These include Chalala, Xalala and Xhalala. According to the Administrative post in Lhalala, Lhalala is the spelling currently used; the administrative posts of Mandlakazi district are further divided into 19 localities, two of which are listed in appendix I.

APPENDIX I: ADMINISTRATIVE POST, LOCALITY AND VILLAGE DIVISIONS OF MANDLAKAZI⁵

Administrative Post	Locality	Communal Villages (<i>Aldeia</i>)
Lhalala	Lhalala	Coolela/Lhalala Sede
		Riguane
		Laranjeira
		Nwandjahane
		Chibulho
		Guachene
		Chitlalo
		Ngoiocoio
	Mussengue	Mussengue Sede
		Quaribene
		Banguene
		Muqualune
		Nhamamdza
		Chicogolo
		Carateca
		Machecahomo

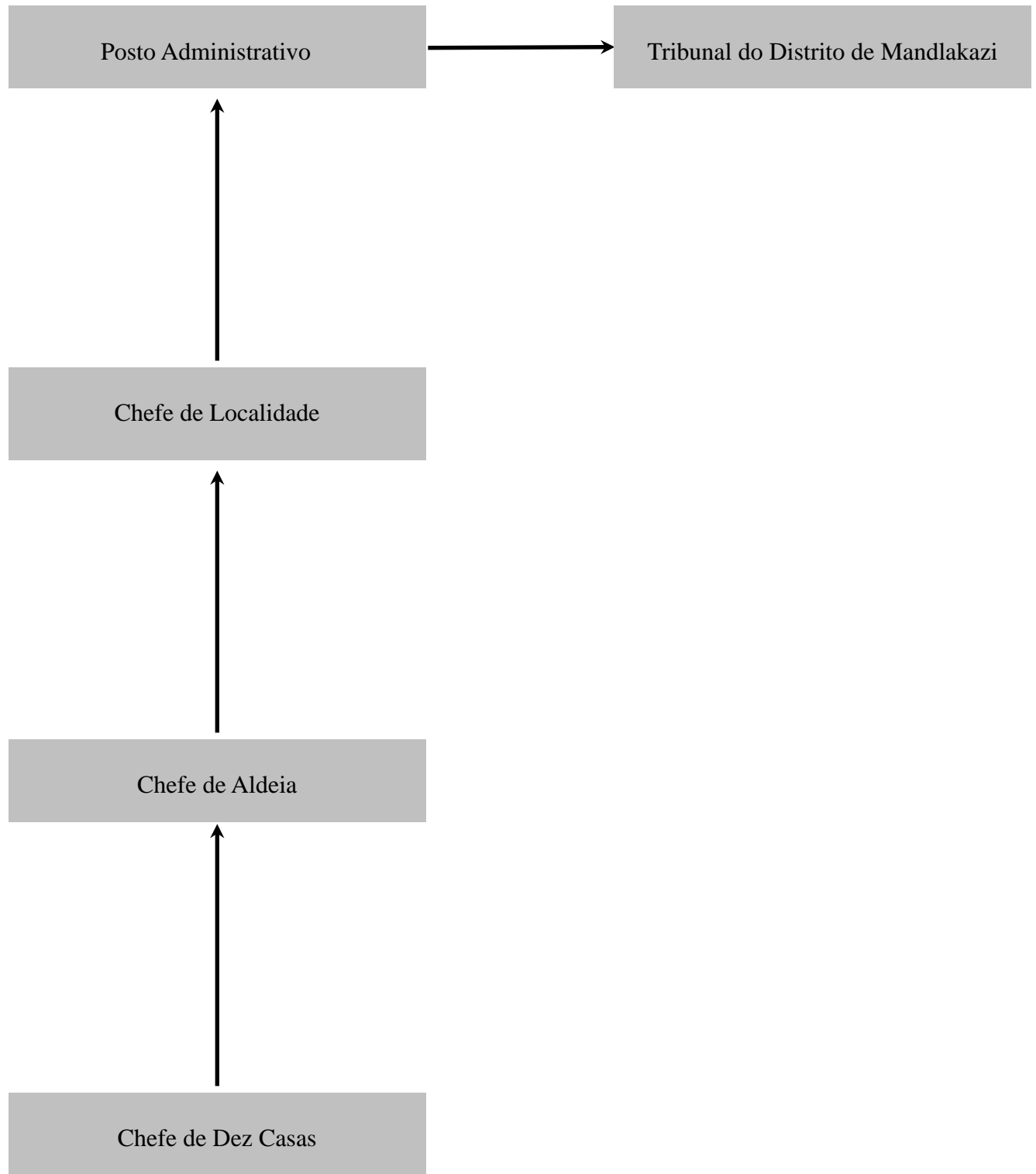
⁵ Only administrative post divisions where fieldwork was performed were included in the above table.

APPENDIX J: ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY WITHIN COMMUNAL VILLAGES IN ILHA JOSINA MACHEL⁶



⁶ *Chefe de Cinco Familias*=Chief of five families; *Chefe de Dez Casas*=Chief of 10 houses; *Chefe de Bairro*=Chief of Communal Village; *Chefe de Localidade*=Chief of Locality; *Posto Administrativo*=Administrative Post; *Tribunal do Distrito de Manhiça*=District Court of Manhiça.

APPENDIX K: ADMINISTRATIVE HIERARCHY WITHIN COMMUNAL VILLAGES IN LHALALA⁷



⁷ *Chefe de Dez Casas*=Chief of 10 houses; *Chefe de Aldeia*=Chief of Communal Village; *Chefe de Localidade*=Chief of Locality; *Posto Administrativo*=Administrative Post; *Tribunal do Distrito de Mandlakazi*=District Court of Mandlakazi.

APPENDIX L: GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN AFFECTED BY WAR⁸

Organization/Inter-agency program	Programs/Function	Location(s)	Details, Span of Time
<i>Associação Reconstruído a Esperança</i> (Association Rebuilding Hope, ARES)	Psychosocial rehabilitation, literacy, agricultural production and skills training.	Various, Ilha Josina Machel, Mandlakazi district.	An NGO which branched off from AMOSAPU in 1996 starting with a focus on boy soldiers but later switched focus to girls. In 1999, approximately 90 young women in Ilha Josina Machel were employed in agricultural work by the organization.
<i>Associação Moçambicano de Saúde Pública</i> (Mozambican Association of Public Health, AMOSAPU)	Psychosocial rehabilitation, literacy and vocational training and agricultural programs.	Ilha Josina Machel, Mandlakazi and Zimpeto (on the outskirts of Maputo city).	AMOSAPU, a local organization created in 1994 linked to the Ministry of Health, consisted of 20 psychologists with western training. This group of psychologists sought to supplement traditional practices of war affected children with psychological counseling by working side by side with traditional and religious leaders and local teachers.

⁸ Information for this table was taken from various documents and websites including: Save the Children Federation, “Children and War: The Mozambique Experience,” Children and War Project, (Maputo, Mozambique: Save the Children Federation, 1995); UNICEF, “An Assessment of Children and Youth in Renamo Zones: Strategies and Recommendations Final Report”, Prepared for UNICEF/Mozambique by Creative Associates International, Inc. May 3, 1994; Save the Children Federation. “Project on Children and War,” In *Despite the Odds: A Collection of Case Studies on Development Projects in Mozambique*. Edited by Patricia Flederman, Maputo: UN Children’s Fund UNICEF, 1993; Elizabeth Jareg, “Children Who Have Survived,” 1989, Redd Barna, Norway. This list, by no means, is meant to be exhaustive; it is meant, rather, to give an overview of several relevant programs. During and following the war, countless smaller organizations, many not mentioned here, aided war affected women and children.

Organization/Inter-agency program	Programs/Function	Location(s)	Details, Span of Time
Save the Children [Save the Children US (SCF/US), Save the Children UK (SCF/UK) and Save the Children Fund (SCF)]	During and following the war, the tracing and reunification project joined children with their families. They had a large reunification center for children near Xinhanguanine, among others.	Various	By mid 1993, Save the Children US became involved in the reunification of children in RENAMO zones, particularly in the northern and southern parts of the country. With particular focus on the south, reunification programs sought to help children who were denied demobilization benefits because of their age. By March 1994, 709 children in RENAMO zones had been identified and 268 reunified.
<i>Cruz Vermelha de Moçambique</i> , CVM (International Committee of the Red Cross, ICRC)	<i>Brincar Curando</i> (healing through play) was an innovative program which sought to bring healing to war affected children through various activities. The program had a reunification center in Mandlakazi district and open support centers for street children in Maputo city.	Various	In June 1993, eight months after the end of the conflict, the ICRC gained access to children in RENAMO zones and started a reunification program. In February 1994, RENAMO relaxed regulations allowing data on child soldiers to be used and greater coordination between service organizations was facilitated. The program supported reunification centers. By April 1994, 3,492 unaccompanied children in RENAMO zones had been registered.
<i>Direcção Nacional de Acção Social</i> (DNAS), which became State Secretariat for Social Action (<i>Secretaria de Estado da Acção Social</i> , SEAS) in late 1990. Ministry for the Coordination of Social Action (MICAS) Now called the <i>Ministerio de Acção Social</i> (Ministry for Social Welfare).	Reunification, various.	Various	From 1988 to 1994, 16,508 unaccompanied children were registered in government zones and 7,897 were reunified.

Organization/Inter-agency program	Programs/Function	Location(s)	Details, Span of Time
<i>Ministerio de Educaçãõ</i> (MINED)	Education programs and training for teachers.	Various	In 1987, the Ministry started a program establishing schools in camps for the displaced, distribution of school materials, especially for orphaned, displaced and unaccompanied minors and a training program for teachers.
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Provided the initial design of the program to register, assess the conditions of and provide skills training to war affected children. Provided funding for CVM's <i>Brincar Curando</i> .	Various	-
WUS - Solidarity and Development (a Danish NGO funded by the Danish International Development Agency)	An education program for war-traumatized children, social workers, nursery school teachers and community members.	Nampula city and Province	Started in 1976.
Redd Barna (RBM) (Norwegian Save the Children)	Began with general relief but then later a focused on the reunification of children, the technical training of those involved in reunification and the repatriation of Mozambican refugees.	By 1994, RBM was established in four districts in Maniça and Sofala and active in a total of eight districts.	Started country programs in 1989. By mid 1993, Redd Barna became involved in the reunification of children in RENAMO zones in cooperation with RENAMO. The organization engaged in the technical training for local organizations involved in reunification.
United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR)	-	Various	By mid 1993, UNHCR became involved in the reunification of children in RENAMO zones. UNHCR was also responsible for reunifying children found outside the country, primarily in refugee camps.

Organization/Inter-agency program	Programs/Function	Location(s)	Details, Span of Time
Children and War (C&W) Programme	Agencies involved in this program included: Save the Children US, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Save the Children UK, Redd Barna, the National Department of Social Action (DNAS), UNICEF, Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM), and starting in 1990, the Christian Council of Mozambique. The project was directed by Save the Children.	Offices in Maputo, Nampula and Gaza provinces and operations in seven of Mozambique's 10 provinces.	The project began in 1988 at a center of rehabilitation, the Lhanguene Centre, comprised of 42 former child soldiers (all boys). The program provided technical and organizational support to networks of volunteers and government ministry personnel. In 1990 and 1991, the program expanded to refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe. Within the Family Reunification Programme, a database was developed to match unaccompanied children with families and addressed their psychosocial needs. The program ended in 1995. During the span of this program, more than 12,000 children who had been separated from their families were reunited with relatives. The reunification plan facilitated local groups of volunteers, over 10,000 in total, who created official lists of unaccompanied children, situating them in the provisional care of families, and eventually reuniting them with their biological families when possible. Volunteer groups also assisted with children subsequent to their return. Life skills and social programs were set in motion, local community meetings and counseling and assistance in conducting traditional reintegration ceremonies and obtaining identification papers were also given.

Organization/Inter-agency program	Programs/Function	Location(s)	Details, Span of Time
<i>Associação de Recolha e Protecção das Crianças</i> (Association of Recovery and Protection of Children, ARPC) (Social Welfare Services of RENAMO)	-	Various	By mid 1993, ARPC became involved in the reunification of children in RENAMO zones. By February 1994, ARPC had 18 orphanages in seven of the 10 provinces.
World Food Program (WFP)	-	Various	WFP gave emergency food aid, supported boarding schools, reduced short-term hunger in children at these schools and certain day schools.
United Nations Organization for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination (UNOHAC)	-	Various	War affected children under the age of 16 once registered by the Technical Unit of ONUMOZ were transferred to UNOHAC's civilian vulnerable groups program.
Documentation, Tracing and Reunification program (DTR)	This program benefited from the joint effort of the National Directorate for Social Welfare, the Ministries of Education and Health, international organizations and non-governmental agencies.	Various	The DTR initiative was instated in 1988.
The Ukwimi Program	Community awareness on trauma, working in villages on children's and women's programs and with existing clinics, schools and women's organizations.	Ukwimi refugee camp in Zambia	-
Caritas (Catholic Aid Agency)	-	Various	In 1977, Caritas was founded to work with refugees coming from Zimbabwe and help rebuild those affected by the war. Gave emergency aid.

Organization/Inter-agency program	Programs/Function	Location(s)	Details, Span of Time
Action Aid	-	Various	In 1987, Action Aid started giving emergency relief to those displaced by the war, and had health, education and food and water security programs.
<i>Médecins Sans Frontières-Belgium (MSF)</i>	-	Various	By 1984, MSF had provided health clinics and home visits to support the rebuilding of medical infrastructure.
Children of War in Mozambique	Training of personnel for the socio-psychological rehabilitation of children.	Nampula City and Province	Span of time: 1991-1995.
The Department for the Prevention and Combat of Natural Calamities (<i>Calamidades</i>)	-	Zambézia, various	Gave food aid.

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