

PD-ABM-747
99079

FINAL EVALUATION OF THE CHILDREN & WAR PROJECT
A PROGRAM OF SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION (USA)

FUNDED BY USAID / MOZAMBIQUE
GRANT # 656-0217-G-SS-3016

REPORT PREPARED BY: ALCINDA HONWANA and ENNY PANIZZO

OCTOBER, 1995

SUBMITTED TO: USAID, MAPUTO
MOZAMBIQUE

BY: SAVE THE CHILDREN / USA
MOZAMBIQUE FIELD OFFICE
CP 1854, MAPUTO.

GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARPC	Association for Collection and Protection of Children
C&W	Children and War Project
CVM	Mozambican Red Cross
DTR	Documentation, Tracing and Reunification
GOM	Government of Mozambique
ICRC	International Committee for the Red Cross
MICAS	Ministry for Coordination of Social Action
MINED	Ministry of Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OJM	Organization of Mozambican Youth
OMM	Organization of Mozambican Women
SEAS	State Secretariat of Social Action
SCF	Save the Children Federation (USA)
SPAS	Provincial Services of Social Action
ZIP	Zone of Pedagogical Influence

CONTENTS

1. **Introduction**
 - 1.1. Evaluation of the C&W Project
 - 1.2. C&W: General Background

2. **Impact of the DTR program**

3. **Territorial Extension of the DTR program**
 - 3.1. Establishment of Community-based Networks
 - 3.1.1. Composition of the Networks
 - 3.1.2. Training
 - 3.1.3. Voluntary Participation
 - 3.2. Activities of the Community-based Networks
 - 3.2.1. The DTR Process
 - 3.2.2. The Follow-up of Reunified Children
 - 3.2.2.1. The Community Primary Schools
 - 3.2.2.2. Recreational and Income Generating Activities
 - 3.3. Comparative Analysis per Province
 - 3.3.1. Gaza
 - 3.3.2. Nampula
 - 3.3.3. Sofala

4. **Coordination with DTR in Malawi and Zimbabwe**
 - 4.1. Malawi

- 4.2. Zimbabwe
- 4.3. Effectiveness of Trans-national Reunifications

- 5. **Coordination with Other Institutions**
 - 5.1. Relationship with the Mozambican Government
 - 5.2. Relationship with other NGOs and Agencies

- 6. **Conclusions and Recommendations**
 - 6.1. Conclusions
 - 6.2. Recommendations
 - 6.2.1. Follow-up
 - 6.2.2. Placement of Children in Foster Families
 - 6.2.3. Community-based Networks
 - 6.2.4. Coordination with Other Institutions
 - 6.2.5. Anthropological & Psychological Considerations

Annexe A. Anthropological and Cultural Considerations Related to DTR

- 1. Traditional Religion and Social Crisis
- 2. The Concept of Ill-Health
- 3. The Concept of Social Pollution
- 4. Cleansing and Purification Rituals

Annexe B. Psychological Considerations Related to DTR

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Evaluation of C&W Project

This consultancy has been undertaken at the request of Save The Children Federation/USA - Children and War Project for an overall evaluation of the project for the period between 1988 and 1995. The main aim of the C&W project was the DTR (documentation, tracing and reunification) of war affected children. This evaluation was undertaken by Alcinda Honwana, Anthropologist and team leader, and Enny Panizzo, Psychologist.

The evaluation was carried out in eighteen days and during this period the consultants visited four of seven provinces where C&W operates: Maputo, Gaza, Nampula and Sofala.

In Maputo meetings were held with USAID staff members, representatives of the Ministry for Coordination of Social Action (MICAS) both at city and provincial level, representatives of Mozambican Red Cross, representatives of the Foundation for Community Development and of the Bernard Van Leer Foundation whose Headquarters are in Holland, as well as various meetings with the Director, and the staff of the Children and War Project.

In Gaza province we visited Dzimbene and Nkonhane villages, the town of Chokwe, Chidiwane village in Chibuto district, Chibuto town headquarters, Mandlakaze, Muhlenguetaava village and Xai-Xai. The consultants held meetings

with the DTR community based networks, Social Action staff in the districts of Chokwe and Guijá, CARITAS regional coordinator, the chief of the Civil registry in the district of Chibuto, Social Action staff in the district of Mandlakaze, the provincial chief of Social Action Services in Xai-Xai, and the staff of the provincial Orphanage in Xai-Xai. In Nkonhane village the consultants had the opportunity to be present at the reunification of a little girl. In Chibuto and Thlahtlene, ex-boy soldiers and other reunified children were interviewed.

In Nampula province the consultants visited Nampula city, "Bairro" of Namicopo, Namuatho village, and Namapa and Nacaroa districts. In Nampula meetings were held with C&W staff in town, with local community based networks, with the City Director of Education, with RECRINA coordinator, with MICAS provincial Director and the staff of the provincial Orphanage. The consultants also had the opportunity to talk to ex-boy soldiers and visit community primary schools as well as other recreational and income generating initiatives such as a bakery, carpentry and dancing and musical groups among others.

In Sofala province we visited Beira, Inhaminga and Nhamatanda. In Inhaminga the consultants met with the National Director of ARPC (RENAMO's Association for Collection and Protection of Children), the staff of ARPC Orphanage in Inhaminga and MICAS representative in the Cheringoma district (which includes Inhaminga). In Nhamatanda we had an interview with a ex-boy soldier and in Beira a meeting with MICAS provincial Director and other staff members.

The scope of work of this evaluation was:

Analysis of the project philosophy, strategies, activities, positive or negative aspects reached during the period between 1988 and 1995, specifically:

- a) total number of unaccompanied children registered and documented.
 - total number of children reintegrated into their parents or relatives or into substitute families.
 - number of child soldiers assisted.
 - number of reintegrated children with follow up actions after their reintegration and the kind of assistance they received.
 - number of volunteers in the networks.
 - number of districts covered by network operations.

- b) Status of the Children and War Programme during the war, the Peace Agreement and after the Agreement, taking into account the various phenomena which took place like the repatriation of refugees, the demobilization and the elections.

- c) Coordination with programmes held in Malawi and Zimbabwe.
 - Total number of refugee children reunited;
 - Effects of the collaboration with the Social Action, Red Barna, Save UK, and other organizations in the reunification process.
 - Effects of the DTR program on repatriated children integrated in substitute families.

- d) status and utility of the C&W DTR database.

- e) Effects of the collaboration with other NGOs and Government institutions in the implementation of the program. Evaluation of the Capacity of Social Action (MICAS) towards the continuation of the DTR.

1.2. C&W: General Background

The Children and War Program began in 1988, at the Lhanguene Centre in Maputo where 42 former child soldiers participated in a rehabilitation program coordinated by the Government of Mozambique. SCF/US provided the services of a psychologist who had extensive experience in working with war/affected children, plus a Mozambican staff to work with the child soldiers at Lhanguene and to address program needs at the national level.

SCF/US worked with several key agencies in this effort: Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Redd Barna, the National Department of Social Action (DNAS), UNICEF, Organization of Mozambican Women, and since 1990, the Christian Council of Mozambique. DNAS, known as Acção Social, has carried the primary responsibility for the implementation and coordination of the national child-tracing program. Formerly a sub-division within the Ministry of Health, DNAS was elevated in late 1994 to the status of Ministry for Coordination of Social Action (MICAS).

The incorporation of international NGOs into the overall program in the mid- to late- 1980s provided much needed external and internal resources: technical expertise, substantial external funding support for travel, program operations, training and documentation, planning and personnel.

SCF/UK stationed a social work professional within the central offices of MICAS, who was responsible for field-level activities in the provinces of Inhambane and Zambezia. Redd Barna took responsibility for documentation, tracing and reunification in Manica Province. SCF/US conducted training workshops and seminars throughout the country for MICAS personnel and others, and took the lead in tracing and documentation effort in collaboration with Acção Social in Maputo City, Maputo Province, Gaza, Sofala, Tete, and Cabo Delgado. In late 1990, the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM) took primary responsibility for the Program in Niassa Province. Each agency provided vehicles for on-the-ground operations. SCF/US provided chartered aircraft to transport Government and SCF/US personnel to and from districts inaccessible by road because of the war, and for the reunification of children from one district or province to another. In the same year, SCF/US expanded its project operations to Malawi, where there were an estimated 1 million Mozambican refugees, and in 1991 initiated operations in Zimbabwe (125,000 refugees).

At the Lhanguene Center in Maputo, the rehabilitation of the former boy soldiers established the methodologies that have come to be implemented and refined over the past eight years and served as a basis for the nationwide program.

Based on the reach experience of C&W, SCF/US assessed the opportunities and options for C&W to transform into a Mozambican NGO. All required documentation was prepared and submitted to Ministry of Justice for the legal registration of the new NGO. It is expected that immediately after the end of C&W (December 1995) the NGO will be up and running as an autonomous entity.

2. IMPACT OF THE DTR PROGRAM

The impact of the involvement of the C&W project in the implementation of the DTR program during the period 1988/1995 is extraordinary. More than 16798 children reported missing by their relatives were registered; more than 17804 unaccompanied children were identified and documented by the C&W staff; and more than 14374 were reunified with their parents, relatives or placed in substitute families.



After the cease-fire, approximately 2000 ex-boy soldiers were supported by C&W and were reunited with their families or placed in substitute families. This was a process which followed long negotiations with RENAMO in order to reunify the children kept in the areas under its control. The first group of children to be released from RENAMO areas was that of the so-called 'vulnerable children' which included children with no military training.

The second group was that of 850 ex-boy soldiers who only were released when military confinement of soldiers started in 1994. Those who were under 15 years of age were not recognised as soldiers by United Nations and thus were not eligible for demobilization. They were also not entitled to compensation. This fact has angered many youths who claimed their money and benefits for having fought the war. Some of them organized riots and protests in the camps of Changanine, Nyanale and Zitundo, and a group of them went to Hotel Cardoso to complain to RENAMO's military leaders. On these occasions C&W and the ICRC were involved in the mediation of the conflict and provided once-off "reunification kits" (basic foodstuff, soap, etc.) to the youths.

From the 14374 reunified children nationwide, over 60% have benefited from follow-up in the post-reunification period. Follow-up was considered by C&W to be at the core of the whole reunification exercise. The basic assumption was that the mission would not be successful if the well-being of the reunified war affected children was not minimally secured. Only a follow-up system would make it possible to accomplish this. It is in this connection also that the existence of the community-based networks of volunteers was crucial. These networks enabled a permanent presence of C&W in the communities as well as a more effective penetration into the reunified families' daily life problems and anxieties.

Approximately 2000 women and children under five years old were assisted by the C&W program. Some of these women were separated from their families when they were children (less than 10 years old) and they developed into womanhood in the military camps, many of them becoming wives or partners of soldiers with whom

they had children. Thus, most of the women and babies assisted by the program fell into this category.

During the war, C&W carried out reunifications of children who had been granted amnesty¹ or children captured by government troops. The Lhanguene Centre was created by the GOM² to accommodate these children for a preliminary evaluation of the situation and to establish the basic strategies for family reunification. Reunifications in times of war, although limited in number, were very expensive as they had to be done by airplane or helicopter and represented a risk for the people involved in the process. The planes could be shot at anytime or a military attack could suddenly happen in the reunification place.

The bulk of reunions happened in the period post cease-fire when massive numbers of displaced people, of captives and refugees started to move back to their places of origin and to search for lost relatives. In this period it became possible to do the reunifications by road despite the risk of getting into land mined areas. The demobilization of soldiers brought a new category of children to be reunified, that of the boy-soldiers referred to above. Presently, in the post electoral period reunifications still happen and they also encompass lost children as well as street children³. However, the volume of reunifications has been decreasing and more attention is currently being given to follow-up.

¹ Amnesty law 1987.

² Various International Agencies and NGOs have participated and supported the GOM in the Lhanguene initiative.

³ Our team participated in the reunification of Efigenia, a 9 year old girl from Konhane who got lost in Maputo.

TABLE 1

Registration, Documentation and Reunification (1988-1995)⁴

Year	Registered Children*	Documented Children	Reunified Children
1988	-	885	81
1989	01	2038	532
1990	52	2596	1002
1991	191	4364	2820
1992	5064	2636	1050
1993	4292	2380	1724
1994	2078	1939	1932
1995	407	684	538
**	4710	282	4695
Total	16798	17804	14374

* Registered children claimed by family and relatives

** Unknown dates

⁴ Data obtained at C&W Computer Division from "Quadros e Tabelas de Resultados Estatísticos - 1988/August 1995".

TABLE 2
Reunified Children per Province as of September 1995

Province	Registered	Documented	Reunified
Maputo-City	50	1249	366
Maputo-Prov	1580	1037	497
Gaza	5814	2315	1457
Inhambane	861	2145	1250
Sofala	230	2733	1234
Manica	12	1352	655
Tete	204	1306	411
Zambezia	102	1868	874
Nampula	6819	2934	2197
Niassa	305	173	81
Cabo Delgado	54	201	90

3. TERRITORIAL EXTENSION OF DTR PROGRAM

3.1. Establishment of Community-Based Networks

The process of establishment of the community-based networks was natural as they were born out of the need to maintain a permanent base of the DTR program in the communities where reunification was taking place. More than 474 community-based networks were established throughout the country. Some of these were pre-existing informal networks of people concerned with tracing and reunifying separate family members, which became integrated in the DTR program. These networks have been playing a crucial role in the territorial extension of the DTR as well as in the restoration of the children's general protection and their social and cultural reintegration within the communities.

3.1.1. Composition of the Networks

Members of the community-based networks include both men and women, youth and elderly people. Their occupations range from traditional leaders, traditional healers and diviners, teachers, farmers, peasants, Christian and Muslim church members, political party members, OMM and OJM members, and so forth. However, there are differences from one province to another. Such variations are essentially due to specific social, cultural and economic conditions in a particular area. In Gaza, for example, middle aged women constitute the majority and the most active members of the DTR networks⁵. This occurrence might be linked to the fact

⁵ This was observed in the networks of Dzimbene-Macia, Konhane-Chokwé and Chibuto-sede. Only the network of Mandlakaze-sede had more male members.

that in the southern region the massive male labour migration to South Africa's mining industry, and the consequent absence of men for long periods, has increased women's involvement in community activities⁶. Unlike Gaza, Nampula's community-based networks are essentially composed of relatively young male members⁷. Out of seven networks visited in Nampula only two networks have women. This situation might be related to the existence of a matrilineal descent kinship system in the northern areas of the country (including Nampula) as well as to Islam.

TABLE 3
Gender Composition in Gaza and Nampula Networks⁸

Gaza Networks	Men	Women	Nampula Networks	Men	Women
Dzimbene	7	11	Namicopo 2	6	4
Konhane	6	21	Mutavarex	25	0
Chibuto	3	4	Namapa 1&2	67	0
Mandlakaze	3	5	Nacaroa	3	0
Muhlengetava	11	15	Anchilo	9	2
			Muhala-Exp	3	0
			Namicopo 1	7	0

⁶ Harries, P. 1994. *Work, Culture and Identity: Migrant Labourers in Mozambique and South Africa, 1960-1910*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann. Young, S. 1977. "Fertility and Famine: Women's Agricultural History in Southern Mozambique", in R. Palmer & N. Parsons (eds) *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*. London: Heinemann Educational: 65-81.

⁷ This is particularly relevant in the networks of Namapa, Namicopo 2, Mutavarex and Nacaroa, although participation of women in the networks was in general reduced. For background information on Nampula see Geffray, C. 1990. *Ni Pére, ni Mére*. Paris: de Seuil.

⁸ The information presented in this table is restricted to the community networks contacted by the evaluation team during the field visits.

3.1.2. Training

The members of the newly constituted community-based networks as well as those of the pre-existing informal networks absorbed by the DTR benefited from basic training organised by the C&W. This training has essentially focused on methodologies and approaches to be used in the implementation of the DTR - the filling of the forms, the use of posters, the use of Polaroid photographic cameras, the confirmation of data and the contacts with the relatives. The training also consisted of debates on how to meet the psychosocial and cultural needs of war-affected children. Likewise community network members have trained other volunteers in their own areas creating new networks in villages and neighbourhoods. More than 14,000 volunteers were trained in this process.

3.1.3. Voluntary Participation

We have noticed that at an initial stage there was great enthusiasm in joining the DTR networks but after a year the number of members started to drop. The main reason for drop outs was the lack of remuneration or some sort of material incentives for the network members. Voluntary work was the basis of the DTR networks, but the intensity of the DTR program most of the time occupied the members on an almost full time basis. This fact has created a certain uneasiness and some members have demanded some sort of stimulus. As a matter of principle and also for its financial implications, C&W could not afford to provide this kind of

material assistance. As a result many volunteers abandoned the networks. For example the network of Chibuto (Gaza) was created in 1990 with about 98 members, and today only 7 members remain; or the network of Mutavarex (Nampula) which started with 60 members in 1992 and ended up with 25. In fact, all networks visited have experienced a reduction of about 50 per cent of their members over the years, the majority for lack of remuneration.

TABLE 4
Fluctuation of Volunteers in the Networks (Gaza & Nampula)⁹

Gaza Networks	start	1995	Nampula Networks	start	1995
Konhane	14	27	Mutavarex	60	25
Chibuto	97	7	Namapa 1&2	200	67
Mandlakaze	40	8	Nacaroa	10	3
Dzimbene	24	18	Anchilo	28	9
Muhlengueta	28	26	Muhala-Exp	14	3

The question of voluntary work in relation to the DTR program needs some rethinking. Many of these volunteers became trainers and went to their own districts and villages to train other volunteers. On top of that, they went to RENAMO

⁹ The networks of Namicopo 1 and 2 do not appear in this table because the reduction of members is not essentially due to drop-outs but rather to a rupture caused by the more religiously oriented who created Namicopo 2.

military camps to trace and identify unaccompanied children filling the forms in order to locate their families. Then they went to the districts, villages and neighbourhoods to trace the families and confirm the information given by the children, to bring about reunification. Not infrequently the volunteers had to walk for two or three days to trace children and locate the families and sometimes had to keep children in their own care while families were being located or while searching for a substitute family. Taking into consideration the overwhelming number of war-affected children and the volume of reunifications that took place in the post-cease fire period, this was more than a full time job for many volunteers.

That is probably why many gave up because those who were employed or had to work in their fields could not afford to dedicate so much time to DTR; those who did not have employment would expect C&W to provide them with a job (even if temporary), and those who had employment would probably have managed to sustain this work in their spare time if some sort of material support was provided. Some of the volunteers have been doing this work since 1988 (about 7 years). The concept associated with voluntary work usually covers spare time activities or short term campaigns, but not a 7 years full time job. Moreover, many volunteers work as much as employed C&W staff. It was definitely both the dedicated effort and effectiveness of the C&W staff and the community volunteers that made possible the successful implementation of the DTR program on such a wide scale. Thus, our feeling is that some volunteers were effectively full time employees and in those cases some sort of compensation was necessary. This is the case for some members of the networks of Muhala-Expansão, Anchilo and Namicopo 1 in Nampula.

Despite all this, several volunteers remained in the community-based networks and carried out the reunification process. However, and according to our observations in the field most of those who remained were either devoted church members¹⁰, who do voluntary work for charity and because they are encouraged by their religious congregations to do so; or community leaders (*régulos, secretário do bairro*, etc.) who do it as a way of acknowledging their responsibility in relation to the community. So, in a way the participation in this kind of work for such a long time with this degree of involvement entails more than simple voluntarism. It involves some sort of reward, be it material or social prestige and respect by others. Thus, in the case of the religious members of the networks, they become more appreciated by their congregations which compliment them for working for the benefit of the community; and in the case of the community leaders and politicians the participation in such activities reinforces their power and authority within the communities.

¹⁰ Religious people are by far the majority of the community-based network members in all the provinces we visited. In a network in Gaza there were even prayers and religious canticles to open and close our meeting. In Nampula a group of devoted Christians completely dominate the Namicopo 2 network persuading the children and the families they help, to join their congregation.

TABLE 5
Religious & Political Affiliation of Volunteers in Gaza

Networks	Total	Religious	Political	Neutral
Dzimbene	18	16	0	2
Konhane	27	23	2	2
Chibuto	7	5	0	2
Mandlakaze	8	5	2	1

TABLE 6
Religious and Political Affiliation of Volunteers in Nampula

Networks	Total	Religious	Political	Neutral
Namicopo1	10	10	0	0
Namicopo2	7	4	1	2
Mutavarex	25	20	3	2
Namapa1&2	67	55	2	10
Nacaroa	3	3	0	0
Muhala-Exp	3	1	2	0
Anchilo	9	4	3	2

3.2. Activities of the Community-based Networks

3.2.1. The DTR Process

The DTR program was designed as a six-step process:

Identification

Includes an active search to identify all children who need assistance locating lost family members. Unaccompanied children were known to live in orphanages and other child/care institutions, hospitals and feeding centers, the streets in towns and cities, camps and communities of internally displaced people, refugee camps in neighbouring countries and substitute families.

Documentation

Registration of biographical data of the child's biographical information and the taking of a Polaroid photo. Includes interview of the child, caretakers, substitute family members, the person or persons who brought the child, etc.

Tracing

Searching for members of the child's family through dissemination of information by posters, radio and circulation of the children's information sheets to DTR's collaborators.

Verification

Once the family is located, confirmation by the child and his/her family that they wish to be reunited, and that the child is wanted and will be well cared for.

Reunification

Physical reunification in the safest available location, provision of “family kits” or “agripacks” to help stabilize reintegration into the family, alerting schools, health and social services when appropriate.

Follow-up

Home visitation, mobilizing community involvement, community/based economic initiatives, counselling and traditional services when required.

3.2.2. The Follow up of Reunified Children

During our field visits we could assess and better understand the follow up work to the reunified families. After conversation with the Children and War project staff, the members of the networks and with the children and their relatives we had a clear perspective of the work carried out, the bottlenecks and the strengths.

Regarding the follow up to the reunified families and using a non theoretical and general approach the following aspects should be mentioned:

- a) The work carried out by the Children and War project is positive.
- b) The networks members have demonstrated a very careful and dynamic participation.

- c) Although there is no planned follow up programme efforts have been made for a follow up activity and sensitiveness has been demonstrated for some specific cases even without a pre established routine intervention.
- d) Complex problems did exist regarding the substitute families due to the following reasons:
- In the southern region there has been a notorious trend of the substitute families to choose to stay with girls rather than boys since this would enable them to receive the "Lobolo" (money or valuable things delivered by the groom to the bride's parents just before the wedding ceremony) when they get married.
 - There were considerable cases in all provinces, where Renamo soldiers wanted to stay with those children they had used in the sites during the war as domestic workers, mainly boys. They also wanted to stay with the girls they forcefully married during the war and, thus, continue to benefit from household work.
 - In some other cases children were accepted in the families just as a means to get subsidies or food support from projects or to have them as boy keepers.

- e) In the case of the children's family there were problems due to the long period of separation among them and also because they were not always able to understand the psychological problems of the traumatized children, in particular the former child soldiers.

- f) There is no information on the possibility and convenience of respecting the children's rights, of legalizing the foster process by substitute families or others.

However the experience and solutions provided by the substitute families is positive as a rule. The Government of Mozambique has since 1985 adopted a policy of getting a family home for the children affected by the war. This is to say that institutional solutions such as orphanages is the most remote solution to the children reintegration. Priority is given to locate the children's own relatives, then the substitute families and a foster family if no relatives exist.

Under the psychological point of view is definitely healthy for a child if he/she can find a family to live with even if it is not his own one.

Most psychological studies have given evidence of regressive psychic processes children are exposed to in the institutions. It is logical that children may maintain some psychological pathology due to traumas and marks during their intellectual and mainly affective development.

We were very impressed regarding the respect and sensitiveness people demonstrated to children. In this context some of the network members offered themselves and their relatives to host the children as substitute families mainly during the war period. There were cases of families in Nampula who lived with the children up to the period of two years.

3.2.2.1. Community Primary Schools

We visited some community schools which are an important part of the activities developed by the networks among the communities in Gaza and Nampula provinces. Often the initiative to build schools is from the community itself and the networks just help them during the process.

The Children and War Project has, through the networks provided school material like exercise-books, pencils, pens, chalk, blackboards, school books both for the pupils and for the teachers, etc. without interfering in their organizational structure. The project most important support is perhaps the tentative to promote the link between community schools and the Ministry of Education at provincial level in order to legalize either the teachers' status or that of the students.

There are in this process some positive and negative aspects. The positive ones are as follows:

- It enabled a higher number of children to attend school.

- Families managed to greatly invest and participate for the benefit of their children.
- It gave an opportunity to unemployed teachers for teaching though often as volunteers.
- Such initiatives are an important step towards the normalization of life and the future.

The negative aspects are:

- The danger of discriminating children, setting a difference between those who attend school and those who may not.
- The non payment of the teachers salary.
- These new teachers take the risk of not being integrated by the Ministry of Education either due to their curricula which may not reach the standards or due to budgetary reasons.
- With an eventual lack of material support the school functioning may be at stake.
- Communities may feel frustrated due to lack of funds after the project ends.

3.2.2.2. Recreational and Income generating Activities

Besides community schools, the communities have also developed social activities for all children. Such activities include games, dance and songs from each province; in Nampula for example we watched girls games and dance sessions for boys. Women play an important role on the development of such activities and they are more involved in the northern region than in the south of the country.

Another important initiative we had an opportunity to evaluate is the introduction to the productive work either for children, in particular adolescents, or for community members with low income. It consists on the establishment of workshops for handicraft, carpentry, bakery and pottery, and sewing and knitting in Gaza and Nampula provinces. Besides its economic benefits, these activities have, from a psychosocial point of view, a very positive impact on children and adolescents who, due to the war, could not study or learn a profession.

Furthermore, those activities were also an example for other neighbouring communities who would learn that even with scarce resources people could organise something useful and lucrative for war-affected children and disadvantaged families.

The above mentioned activities reflect some of the primary needs of the Mozambican society at this stage. The Children and War Project has managed to

work maintaining the due respect to the Mozambican communities, leaving an open space for their initiatives but always ready to assist when priority needs came up.

However, we feel that there is a lot to be done in order to fulfil the psychological needs of the children on an evolutionary way. Whenever possible, C&W should, over its last three months, seek ways of assuring the continuation of the ongoing basic activities, namely the community schools, socialisation initiatives, vocational training programs. In this context focus should be put on:

- determining what kind of support would be needed, who the supporters would be and what type of training they would need.
- strengthening of the successful initiatives and activities among the communities.
- selection of those more dedicated and conscientious network members and provide them some training on child and family post-reunification needs and the methodologies to address them.

3.3. Comparative Analysis per Province

In Mozambique peace has brought hope and confidence and the fear and anguish should vanish. However, different material and survival problems remain. In the south of Mozambique the draught is very severe and it may even put at risk current

development programs. We have learnt that there were cases where the farmers had no choice but to eat the seeds instead of planting them. Situations like this simply hampers any initiative and perpetuate the population dependency on humanitarian assistance.

We could sense during our consultancy that the uneven impact of the war on both communities and the traditional leadership also leads to substantial differences between southern and northern Mozambique.

3.3.1. Gaza

In Gaza province there are some critical elements for a sound understanding of the weak community links, namely:

- a) the community has both urban and rural traditions. The province is near Maputo, the capital, is used to the traditional labour migration to South Africa and thus, assumes the foreign habits such as inadequate consumption patterns and a certain modernism.
- b) Most of Frelimo leaders mainly the old ones are from Gaza province.
- c) Due to the above reasons and to others which could be analyzed in the future, the traditional framework is weak in particular in a transition phase during which there is a strong impact of new religions on the populations.

- d) Gaza province has benefited in the past from major investments such as the Limpopo Irrigation system and various agricultural campaigns.
- e) The support which had been given to this region of the country may have developed on one side a certain spirit of passivity among its population who used to benefit from funding and assistance and on the other side a mastery feeling on the part of the government.
- f) The war particularly hit Gaza, where Renamo fighters carried out cruel and psychological destruction actions terrorizing people and often children where their main target.
- g) Women perform important roles at various levels; in the networks women are much more active compared to the networks in other provinces namely Nampula, where the prevailing society is matriarchal. This fact may be due to men's migration to the Republic of South Africa, thus women have to assume responsibilities and decision making tasks.

3.3.2. Nampula

The most significant aspects in Nampula province are:

- a) The communities follow a pattern of a rural society with exception to the groups living in the outskirts of the cities which gather both urban and rural patterns.
- b) The traditional society has some cohesion, homogeneity and a spirit of solidarity demonstrated along the work of the networks. The project staff in Nampula province is particularly strong and dynamic; it may be noted that a kind of sub-staff has been created around the project environment, with responsibility, initiative and ability to create other networks.
- c) The Muslim religion is predominant in this region. It has survived against the prepotency of Frelimo power on one side, while on the other side it has managed to coexist with other religions and other power forces, like Renamo during the war.
- d) For example, the role of women in Nampula has been rather different from the situation in Gaza probably due to the Muslim education which is usually conservative regarding women and also because there is no immigration tradition by men in this area for job purposes. It seems that the very matriarchal society is in a transition phase due to Muslim influence¹¹.
- e) The proliferation of new religions throughout the country has not destroyed the traditional framework under which a lot of common work has been

¹¹ See E. Medeiros.... ISP

undertaken particularly when the well being of the whole population is at stake.

- f) Renamo has taken advantage of the dissatisfaction of the traditional leaders vis-à-vis Frelimo in Nampula province. Renamo has managed, either through violence or promise of delivering back the power to local leaders, to gain large acceptance from the traditional leaders.
- g) Due to the above mentioned factors the war effects in Nampula were not as cruel as in the southern region.
- h) It should be pointed out that in Nampula province a volunteer people's militia organization (the "Naparamas") was established to struggle against Renamo. The population, mainly from Namapa area, believed they were immunized and protected against bullets due to the protection rituals they used to perform.

3.3.3. Sofala

Regarding Sofala province the most relevant issues are as follows:

- a) The war situation is particularly different in this region due to the fact that Renamo has its headquarters here and even today it enjoys great influence over the local population. This means that the war was very intense in Sofala

with frequent and violent military confrontations between Renamo and Government soldiers. It should be noted that, from a geopolitical point of view, Sofala Province was a particularly important region during the civil war.

- b) Due to the strong presence of ICRC and Redd Barna in Sofala, who used to provide support to program activities during the war, C&W reduced its field activities and presence in Sofala.
- c) There is a Renamo organization in the province known as ARPC - Association for Protection of Children, which has performed a good role. There are in this organization people with sensitiveness to children's problems and they have been negotiating with Renamo soldiers.
- d) After a visit to Inhaminga town we felt that the population was tired after the long years of war and due to the problems they are facing to survive now with lack of almost everything. People have no proper clothes unlike anywhere else. The town itself is in ruins where one can hardly believe people live in.
- e) Both Sofala and Gaza provinces suffer the serious effects of draught and poverty. However, Renamo in Sofala tends to assume a protectionism position due to power reasons like Frelimo does in Gaza, even if it does not possess means nor the same tradition.

- f) Regarding the traditional power, Renamo has used in Sofala the same tactics it did in other provinces, promising to restore the power of traditional leaders and thus gaining over their support.

The above comparative analysis between the three provinces is important for the understanding of the social political and psychological dynamics. Obviously problems at group level and their solutions are strictly interlinked. The above conclusions are the outcome of interviews and research work carried out by the consultants as well as of consultation on bibliography on studies carried out in Mozambique.

4. COORDINATION WITH DTR IN MALAWI & ZIMBABWE

Due to the short timespan and to the priority given in visiting the provinces we had no opportunity to carry out visits to DTR program sites in Malawi and Zimbabwe. However after talking to people directly involved and comparing the statistic data available we can say that:

- The number of child reunifications done in Malawi and Zimbabwe was lower compared to what was done in Mozambique. DTR program in Malawi and Zimbabwe together did approximately 1/10 of the total family reunifications of the subregion. This can be explained by the following conclusions.

- During the war communication was rather difficult between the refugees who lived in the refugees sites and other family members who stayed in Mozambique. Therefore, the opportunities for spontaneous family reunifications were not frequent, contrarily to what happened in Mozambique.

- Coordination and communication within the subregion was particularly difficult. The fact that C&W was operating in three different settings, each one with its social, cultural and economic particularities (“integrated communities” in Malawi, “refugee camps” in Zimbabwe, and “deslocado communities” in Mozambique) was not clearly understood from the beginning and that had a negative impact on coordination and communication among the three countries. Language was another factor that made coordination and communication not easy. Differences in family and village names’ spelling seems to have been a threat to cross-border family tracing efforts (the program had to cope with different local languages: Shangana, Ronga, Chitswa, Ndau, Shona, Sena, Nyungue, Chichewa, and English and Portuguese). Nevertheless, regular subregional coordination meetings, and staff and experience exchanges contributed a great deal to the improvement of coordination and communication within the subregion.

- Planning and coordination of cross-border family reunifications cut across many issues (political, military, social and even economic ones), a situation which did not favour the smooth implementation of a subregional DTR program.

The Children and War Project in Malawi established a child support programme aimed at addressing the psychological problems of refugee children - the "Consolação" Program. It consisted in the organization of civic and cultural activities as a means to promote the normal evolution of war traumatized children.

5. COORDINATION WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS

5.1. Relationship with the Mozambican Government

As referred to in the introduction, the DTR program was created by the Mozambican government in 1988 as a result of the growing numbers of war affected children who were being placed in state institutions such as orphanages. This institutional care was considered to have negative effects on the children's well-being. It was felt that such institutions promoted the children's depersonalization because they lacked the social and cultural environment which favours the children's socialisation and integration in the communities. Therefore, the GOM decided to give priority to community care - reunification with family or placement in foster families - rather than institutional care. It is in this context that the DTR program was born following the 1985 seminar organised by the MICAS (Ministry for Coordination of Social Action) ex-SEAS on 'Children in Difficult Circumstances'. Together with other organizations the C&W-SCF project became part of this program which should have been coordinated by the MICAS. The coordination by MICAS does not seem to have worked very well. Nevertheless,

MICAS seems to have managed to establish a working relationship with most organizations involved in the DTR program¹². The relationship between the C&W and MICAS has been good, despite some occasional tensions. Unlike other organizations C&W did not give direct financial support to the MICAS itself but has operated directly in the communities. In many places C&W worked closely with MICAS agents at the local level in the documentation, tracing and ensuring reunification of war affected children. However, there are cases in which C&W staff ignored the MICAS agents, or the MICAS agents were not motivated to join C&W staff¹³. There are criticisms from both sides¹⁴ but overall the working relationship has been functional.

C&W has provided training courses for MICAS staff at the provincial and district level on documentation, tracing and reunification of war affected families. It has also equipped MICAS with a unique computerized database on unaccompanied war affected children registered, documented and reunified with their relatives or in foster families. It has also trained staff on how to use the database efficiently. In September this year, C&W financially supported the national seminar on DTR organised by MICAS.

¹² C&W is working with several MICAS staff at the district level. RECRINA is supporting the DPAS in Nampula with office equipment and transport; REDD BARNA is also helping the DPAS in Sofala. Save the Children UK is financially supporting DTR at the central level. In collaboration with MICAS, Unicef has created a project to support war affected children in 17 districts of the country.

¹³ Until recently MICAS budget was controlled by the Ministry of Health and was very small. So, the meager salaries of the agents was the only budget sent to the districts, and naturally the motivation of local staff to do the work was minimal. On the other hand, some MICAS agents considered that in some cases the C&W staff did not acknowledge them because they had all the means and training to reach the communities directly and implement the DTR program.

¹⁴ In Nampula the relationship between SPAS and C&W was very difficult during the first years. In 1993 the situation changed with the appointment of a new Provincial Director.

Apart from MICAS the C&W also established a relationship with the MINED (Ministry of Education). This relationship was essentially based on two aspects: first, to ensure that in areas where schools were available reunified children would get immediate access to education; second, to coordinate the future absorption by the MINED of the community primary schools born out of the DTR program in the areas where formal education did not reach. This relationship with the MINED was fundamentally at the provincial and district level, where the reunifications were taking place. In Nampula-City the director of Education acknowledged having established a very good relationship with C&W, however he seemed to be somewhat sceptical about the possibility of immediate absorption of community primary schools, due to all the budget problems which the Ministry faces¹⁵. Some pedagogic support for teachers has been regularly provided through the ZIPs¹⁶ of the MINED. In fact most of the community primary schools that we visited were linked to the local ZIP. We learned in our meeting with the C&W staff that the Project is taking the issue of community schools very seriously and a member of the staff is currently working on this matter and liaising with the MINED.

5.2. Relationship with Other NGOs and Agencies

The relationship with other organizations has been minimal. There is little exchange of information on what each one is doing concerning DTR. This limited communication between the several bodies involved in DTR is aggravated by

¹⁵ Information from a meeting with Mr. Adelino Fábria Director for Education in Nampula-Cidade.

¹⁶ ZIP can be translated as Zones of Pedagogic Influence. These are groups that give pedagogic support to a number of schools in a specific area.

MICAS deficient coordination of the DTR activities on a national scale. The fact that the government decided to assign NGOs to work only in certain provinces has affected the cooperation among them. They seem to have developed a territorial attitude which made collaboration more difficult. However, some good working relationships have flourished in certain areas and in specific periods. For example in Nampula C&W has worked with RECRINA, an IBIS funded organisation which supports children with war trauma. Also, after RENAMO authorized the reintegration of children kept in their military camps, C&W worked closely with CVM, ICRC and ARPC (RENAMO's association for child protection) in speeding up the process of reunification of these children with their families. In Chokwé C&W established a very good working relationship with CARITAS. Overall each organization has its own program and we were left with the impression that coordination and information sharing on a permanent basis was quite limited.

6. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Conclusions

The impact of C&W's DTR program in the period 1988/1995 is remarkable. More than 16798 unaccompanied children were registered; more than 17804 were documented; and more than 9679 were reunified with their parents, relatives or placed in substitute families. The C&W based its activities on a community-based philosophy, emphasising the role of the community in the process of social reintegration. In this connection it has organized extensive community-based

networks of volunteers to carry out DTR at the community level. Presently there are more than 474 networks in the areas where C&W has operated. These networks have played an important role in the social reintegration of war affected children and in the restoration of child protection within their communities.

The good quality of the DTR carried out by C&W has largely to do with its community-based approach. This approach has favoured the empowerment of local people to carry out DTR in their communities through short time training courses. Training focused essentially on methodologies and approaches for the implementation of the program as well as on debates about how to meet the psychological and cultural needs of war affected children and their families. The community-based philosophy has also promoted the negotiation of the reunification with both the children and the families, sometimes involving the mediation of local authorities, régulos, traditional healers and others. Finally, such an approach has created more awareness of the importance and relevance of the social and cultural beliefs and practices (religious and traditional rituals) in the reunification process.

C&W has made a significant effort in setting a follow-up system for children reunified both with their families or placed in substitute families. Household visits by C&W staff and members of the networks were organised regularly and some assistance to the children was provided whenever possible. Assistance to reunified children was centred basically on offering a "reunification kit" with basic products (5kg of rice, sugar, some soap, etc.) on a once-off basis; ensuring access to school and supplying basic school material (books, exercise books, pens and pencils); organizing recreational activities as well as developing productive income

generating activities for youngsters (especially ex-boy-soldiers) in order to promote the normalization of their lives.

Working relationships with other institutions involved in DTR were established although coordination and information sharing was sometimes minimal. In most cases C&W field teams included local MICAS' staff despite some occasional clashes. Together with CVM, ICRC, ARPC and REDD BARNA, C&W has implemented DTR in RENAMO base camps throughout the country.

The C&W project has managed to develop the DTR program with minimal expatriate personnel who trained and advised nationals. The project has managed to establish a database on unaccompanied war affected Mozambican children in the areas in which they have worked. It also had access to resources like airplanes, helicopters, 4x4 vehicles and modern office equipment which were extremely important for the implementation of the DTR program in the specific conditions of Mozambique. These resources have made the reunification process possible in times of war and in the most remote areas of the country.

6.2. Recommendations

6.2.1. General Recommendations

There are many lessons to be learned from the success of the C&W program. This Mozambican experience is certainly important in other post-conflict contexts where the reunification and social reintegration of unaccompanied and instrumentalised

children has to be effected. One of the most significant lessons to be learned from this program is the fact that it was based on the communities. The involvement of the communities in the different stages of the program - the establishment of the community networks for reunification and follow-up - was fundamental to its success. Another important lesson is the creation of an follow-up program to monitor the process of readaptation of these children into the social, cultural and political environments. This follow-up stage becomes particularly relevant to promote an effective reintegration of war-affected children into society. The establishment of community-based support systems; the creation of community primary schools; the organisation of recreational and income generating activities are some of the activities that comprise the follow-up program.

However, there is always room for improvement. Thus, the recommendations that follow are aimed at enriching this experience. We hope these comments will be useful and helpful to the next stage of C&W as a national NGO as well as to other institutions, local and international, working on this domain.

6.2.2. The Follow-Up

Attention has to be paid to the follow-up stage which comes after reunification. Once within the family it is necessary to ensure that the child is able to resume normal life and that the biological or the substitute families are able to cope and help the child's reintegration into society. In this post-war and post-reunification period (considering that the bulk of the reunifications have been done), follow-up becomes the fundamental feature of C&W activities as the aftermath of the DTR program.

Therefore, some rethinking and redefinition regarding follow-up is required for the following reasons:

- a. the need to identify clearly what kind of assistance is required by the war-affected families and what can be provided by C&W in the follow-up phase.
- b. the need to consider that sometimes the provision of follow-up needs (such as healing war trauma) is inhibited by extreme poverty which results from the general economic crisis in the country. How will war affected children normalize their lives if they lack food to eat and clothes to wear?
- c. the need to establish mechanisms to enable the community-based networks to channel specific types of assistance, such as cases of serious war trauma, cases of extreme poverty, and cases of serious illness. However, attention has to be paid to the psychosocial healing which can be provided to the war affected population within the communities.
- d. the need to extend the debate about the intricacies of the follow-up stage to the community networks. It is important to discuss with them what to do in the follow-up phase, how to meet the children and their families' expectations, and how to avoid creating a special category of children and families, by singling them out for special assistance and aid¹⁷. Follow-up

¹⁷ For example in the community primary schools war affected children had access to free books and stationary while other poor children did not just because they were not kidnapped by RENAMO during the war.

should not perpetuate 'assistencialism' and dependency but rather promote self-sufficiency by organizing projects for participatory development.

6.2.2. Placement of Children in Substitute Families

In general substitute parenting has a very positive impact on the normalization of the lives of unaccompanied children throughout the country¹⁸. Notwithstanding this fact, special attention has to be given to the placement of children in substitute families, involving the community as much as possible in the identification and selection of those families. The follow-up should allow for confirmation of whether some substitute families accepted children for wrong reasons such as: the exploitation of the labour power of the children; the expectation of gaining some material assistance and other benefits from NGOs; and the sexual abuse of girls who are used as wives or sexual partners (especially by ex-soldiers who kept girls with them when leaving the camps). On the other hand, with the ending of the Program, MICAS has to promote the formalization of tutelage (guardianship) and adoption¹⁹, at a later stage, of children placed in foster care. This procedure creates a legal bond between the family and the child granting the latter formal protection.

¹⁸ According to a study undertaken by SEAS in 1994- "O Papel da Família Substituta na Socialização da Criança Desamparada", SEAS, September 1994.

¹⁹ Francisca Sales from MICAS pointed out that the current adoption law which is still the colonial adoption law of 1966 is outdated. The MICAS needs to make recommendations regarding the revision of the law.

6.2.3. Community-Based Networks

The community-based networks of volunteers have long been working together with C&W in the implementation of the DTR program. These networks which have been fundamental in the territorial extension of the program and support of war affected children and their families, have their own difficulties and problems. These problems should be openly discussed, and future programs need to be attentive to the tendencies and directions which might be taken by some networks and which can undermine the DTR and follow-up programs. Some of the issues which need to be considered are:

- a. the concept of voluntary community participation. Some networks mentioned the desire of getting some stimulus (whenever possible) from C&W. This was also the main reason behind massive drop-out of community members. On the other hand, it can be said that this led to the establishment of a core of true volunteers for the program.

- b. some networks might develop activities which transcend the aims of the DTR. This is for example, the case of the Namicopo 2 in Nampula, whose members are all committed to the Hebrews 8.8 church and their religious affiliation is central to all their activities with unaccompanied children. Many children were compelled to become members of the church and participate in the religious rituals²⁰.

²⁰ The members of this network are all relatively young. The eldest is 35 years old and the youngster 22. They are very active and have many good initiatives, but are all fanatical believers who try to convert the children to their church.

c. some network members might abuse their positions of power. In Nacaroa, for example, a volunteer collected money from the community allegedly to support war affected children and disappeared with the money²¹.

d. the composition of the networks (in terms of gender, age, political and religious affiliation) and the particular motivations of the members for voluntary work can sometimes provide guidance in relation to the development and proclivities of the networks²².

6.2.4. Coordination with Other Institutions

If any future programs of this nature, coordination with the Mozambican government and other Agencies needs to be improved. Programs should always involve MICAS staff at district level in their DTR and follow-up activities in order to reinforce the working capability of the former and build stronger links between them and the community-based networks. This point has been made before in the first evaluation of C&W project "...we will have a situation of a foreign NGO (albeit with national staff) working directly with local community volunteers without a responsible implementation role for the Mozambican government."²³ Better coordination with the Ministry of Education might bring some clarification *vis-à-vis* the future of the community primary schools born out of the DTR program.

²¹ See report to the C&W in Nampula by the community network of Nacaroa.

²² Also important is the composition of the networks in different regions which generally varies. We have observed that Nampula presents a pattern which is completely different from the one we found in Gaza (see pg. ... of this report).

²³ Evaluation of the Children and War Program, June 1992, pg. 17.

Strengthening of the coordination and information sharing with other NGOs and Agencies will avoid the duplication of efforts and improve efficiency in the DTR and follow-up of war affected children.

6.2.5. Anthropological and Psychological Considerations

Anthropological and psychological aspects related to the process of reunification and socialisation of war affected children should continue to be high in the agenda of future programs. In the areas where the programs are operating and prior to their implementation, research studies should be carried out covering domains like: local cosmological beliefs and systems of meaning; local religious and traditional beliefs and practices regarding post-war reintegration and normalization of life; local concepts and local knowledge about therapeutic strategies to heal war trauma and other related psychological disorders; local notions of participatory development and community-based support systems.

ANNEXE A

ANTHROPOLOGICAL & CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATED
TO DTR

The Mozambican government and other local and international organisations are combining efforts in order to help the population heal the wounds of war and restore normal life. It is precisely in that context that we find the C&W program of children's reunification and social reintegration. However, it is important to consider that the population cannot just be the passive recipient of assistance and aid. It should rather be directly involved in this process of finding the right solutions for their problems. This fact has been understood by the C&W program which possesses a community-based philosophy by working extensively with networks of community volunteers. In fact, and according to our field observations and conversations with people, there is a great deal of expertise at the local level. Parents, relatives and 'traditional' institutions have long been dealing with post-war social reparation and conflict resolution at their own level. As mentioned before, many informal and spontaneous networks aimed at searching and reunification of lost family members (especially children) were born in the communities, and many reunifications took place long before the GOM program.

In Mozambique as in most societies around the world, children constitute a source of pride and joy. They are the purpose of life, the reason for living, the link between ancestors and the future generations - indeed a source of immortality. A man or a woman is generally perceived as not complete until he/she has a child or children.

Those who cannot have children are actually pitied. Children are a source of wealth: they are regarded as helpers to their parents; they are perceived to be assets for old age as an insurance and security to their parents²⁴. For this reason families and relatives make a tremendous effort to locate their lost children, using all the means available, including local beliefs in the power of spiritual entities through traditional healers, diviners and mediums.

1. Traditional Religion and Social Crisis

In rural communities traditional religion constitutes an important source of strength in moments of crisis. Traditional practitioners such as healers, diviners and spirit-mediums by virtue of their proximity to the spirits, play a decisive role in the communities by providing knowledge which permits to re-establish equilibrium in the lives of individuals and groups.

The underlying idea is that spiritual beings guide and control the lives of human beings in society. According to this conviction, when an adult dies and his body is buried, his spirit is believed to remain as the effective manifestation of his power, personality and knowledge in society.

People relate directly to the ancestral spirits with whom they share a combined existence, and interact in everyday life action. The ancestral spirits are believed to be real entities whose action interferes with the life of human beings in society.

²⁴ Sangiwa, G. 1995. "Future Directions in mental Health Policy Development for Children in Africa". Paper presented at the Regional Conference on Mental Health Policy, Cape Town, October.

They are the ones who protect and guide the communities by promoting fertility of the land and of women, good agricultural production, good hunting and good relations among members of the group. They also protect them against misfortune, disease, ecological dangers and evil, namely witchcraft and sorcery.

However, ancestral spirits can also withdraw their protection and create a state of vulnerability to misfortune and evil spirits or even cause maladies to show their displeasure or anger with their descendants due to their misconduct (for example non performance of the rituals to venerate the spirits). Thus, the spirits of the dead exercise a powerful influence over the living. That is why at times of personal and wider societal crisis, they are the fundamental means through which healing and order are re-established. Given these assumptions, and since war is a most critical, unbalancing and devastating social crisis, traditional institutions become crucial for healing war trauma and related disorders.

Bearing in mind that the majority of the population affected by the war is rural, these traditional institutions are essential in bringing back some sense of balance and social stability. Such a crucial role is possible because traditional institutions are embedded in the cosmological model and systems of meaning that govern social and cultural life in the rural communities. This is important even in certain sectors of the urban and semi-urban environments where the influence of these institutions has been proved beyond doubt.

Many relatives of war affected children mentioned to have gone to the *curandeiro* to find out if their children were dead or alive or if they would ever find them. A

positive response encouraged many to keep on searching. There were also a few cases in which the child had been considered dead and the family had performed the death ritual to put his/her spirit to rest. When the child was found alive the family had to undo the death ritual and communicate his/her arrival to the ancestral spirits. This is the case of the Rasul family of Nhamatanda which had to reverse the death ritual they had performed for 14 year old Noé after he survived his ordeal: he was kidnapped when he was 7 years old and served as a soldier for RENAMO. There are also cases of relatives that get possessed by ancestral spirits in the precise moment of the reunification. This is the case of Sérgio Zita from Macia whose mother got possessed by the spirit of the child's deceased father during the reunification. The mother explained to C&W staff that the spirit of her deceased husband used to come from time to time and tell her that Sérgio was alive and would return one day. This gave her lots of hope.

Thus, there are some local concepts which are fundamental to developing our understanding of the way people organise their lives and react to specific situations. We will briefly analyze some of them, namely: the concept of ill-health, the concept of social pollution and the cleansing and purification rituals.

2. The Concept of Ill-Health

Health is conceived as a natural state for all human beings. So, to be unhealthy denotes abnormality, showing that somewhere something is out of its normal place, that harmony is jeopardised. Health in this context is, therefore, approached in terms of a life process rather than just in terms of a bodily process and in this sense it

acquires a broader dimension in comparison to western concepts. Thus, health is defined by the harmonious relationships between human beings and the environment (their surroundings), between them and their deceased ancestors and amongst themselves within the environment.

The relationships between individuals and groups give shape to the social environment (family, friends, colleagues and community in general) which is fundamental to life. Individuals and groups are also related to the natural environment (land, rain, crops, flora and fauna) which make life possible. Rather than being narrowly defined realms, these two paradigms are dynamic and ongoing processes which give balance to the community. The social and natural world are united within a larger cosmological universe.²⁵

Thus, rain should fall at its ordinary time, crops should grow, people should not fall sick and children should not die. If this harmonious state fails to come about, it is perceived as the result of malevolent intervention of witches and sorcerers or a sanction of the ancestral spirits for incorrect social behaviour²⁶. Therefore, if the relationships between human beings and their ancestors, between them and the environment and amongst themselves are balanced and harmonious, health ensues. However, if they are disrupted in any way, the well-being of the community is jeopardised. Thus, there is a complex set of rules and practices which govern the maintenance of well-being and fecundity in society, because more than simply a

²⁵ Nordstrom, C. 1990. "Estudos sobre Medicina Tradicional - Zambézia". Maputo: Ministério da Saúde.

²⁶ Rennie, J.K. 1973. "Christianity, Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism among the Ndaus of Southern Rhodesia 1890-1935". D.Ph. Thesis in History. Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

physical phenomenon ill-health is perceived to be essentially social. Ill-health thus constitutes an event in an individual's life which establishes an alteration from its normal course²⁷. This event might or might not have its physical manifestation in the body.

3. The Concept of Social Pollution

In the rural communities people believe that individuals are potentially exposed to pollution in their contacts with other social groups and environments. Those who migrate across group boundaries, such as migrants worker in the South Africa's mining industry, are particularly exposed to social contamination. This kind of contamination comes from being victims of witchcraft and sorcery, by picking up unknown spirits, or by being more vulnerable to illness in an also unknown environment. Ecological conditions may be a source of pollution.

There is a belief that a special relationship between the individual and the environment exists. In different regions there are different environmental conditions, and so people are adjusted to their surroundings. Thus, when moving from one region to another, both men and animals leave 'something' behind and absorb 'something' of the new atmosphere through which they move. It is exactly this 'something' left behind or absorbed that can pollute the individual and cause malady²⁸. An unknown environment can also be made dangerous by sorcerers who can place noxious substances to inflict malady on passers-by. It can be polluted as

²⁷ Fainzang, S. 1986. L'Interieur des Choses: Maladie, Divination et Reproduction Sociale chez les Bisa du Burkina Faso. Paris: L'Harmattan.

²⁸ Ngubane, H. 1977. Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine. London: Academic Press.

well by the elements of maladies discarded from the patient's body and placed in the environment.

Social pollution may also arise from being in contact with death and bloodshed. In many parts of the world there is the conviction that individuals who have been close to death are more susceptible to pollution. Thus, individuals who have been in a war, who killed or saw people being killed are believed to be polluted by death and other atrocities of war. After a war when soldiers and refugees return home, when war affected children return to their families, they are believed to be potential contaminators of the social body. The spirits of the dead that haunt them can disrupt life in their families.

For example in the southern region people attest that the *myfshukwa* spirits brought by soldiers can afflict them, causing massive death. *Myfshukwa* are the spirits of those killed during the wars and which were not properly buried. It is believed that these spirits have the capacity to afflict, provoke maladies and even kill the families of those who killed or mistreated them in life. They may also be nasty to passers-by, especially to those who step on their graves. Because they did not have a proper burial with all the rituals aimed to place them in their proper positions in the world of the spirits, their souls are unsettled; they are spirits of bitterness. The *myfshukwa* phenomenon is particularly important after a war. Therefore, to avoid contamination the communities have their own mechanisms of protection. The protective, the cleansing or purification rituals are thus aimed at protecting the individual and the

community as a whole against pollution²⁹. That is why many relatives acknowledge that as soon as their children returned home they cleansed them to avoid major problems. Special attention needs to be given to those who fought the war and might have killed.

4. The Cleansing and Purification Rituals

When individuals considered to be polluted come back to their families and communities, they cannot resume social interaction with their families and friends before the performance of certain types of cleansing and purification rituals.

Purification rituals are generally performed on the first or second day of the individual's arrival in his family home. Close relatives and friends might attend. The rituals can be performed by elderly members of the family when the person is not seriously polluted (did not kill, is not bewitched or a victim of sorcery). If the degree of pollution is serious the rituals have to be performed by a healer or a diviner because the direct intervention of the spirits is required. Apart from the degree of pollution the social position of the polluted is considered to determine who performs the rituals. Generally purification is effected by using animal blood and herbal remedies to cleanse the body of the polluted individual. This treatment is also considered to be effective to chase away malevolent spirits.

²⁹ Honwana, A. 1993. "AS Instituições Religiosas Tradicionais e a Reintegração Social dos Grupos Vulneráveis". Consultancy Report for the Suisse Cooperation for Development in Mozambique.

In all provinces visited we confirmed that the practice of cleansing and purification rituals is widespread among the population. C&W staff and community volunteers who are directly involved in the reunification process acknowledged that these rituals are taken very seriously by the families. There is the case of a girl in Muhlenguetava whose reunification was delayed because the substitute family did not accept to give the child to her family before performing some rituals. Also we heard of situations in which relatives did not get affectionate to the children (hugging or kissing) before rituals are performed.

People believe that after a war all those who have been directly exposed to it, men, women, children and adults have to go through a process of cleansing and purification to be able to regain balance and enjoy a normal and harmonious life. The cleansing and purification process is thus a the fundamental condition for avoiding maladies, especially the individual's insanity, for avoiding the contamination of the family and promoting harmonious social reintegration into society.

ANNEXE B

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO DTR

When a society faces war, hunger, drought, and is deeply involved in reconstruction of roads and railways as well as schools and hospitals, psychological problems seem to be neglected. However there are inner aspects of a society which may correctly be interpreted through Social Sciences namely Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology. A sub-evaluation of the phenomena and social problems may sometimes occur.

We believe there are critical social problems in Mozambique; people face great difficulties in their daily life and, although the war has ended, fear, suspicion, and psychological wound effects are still notorious. The gap between traditional and modern societies still exists as well as between rural and urban areas, and between minds; the different cultural aspects among provinces should also be taken into consideration. Every society suffers an overall state of amnesia after war. This is the best solution for politicians but is not certainly for the society.

The social structure in Mozambique was severely disrupted by the war. Both adults and children had to face life desperately and helplessly for years during which their loved ones and morale have disappeared. Adults have learned to developed their self defence along the years but the children had not yet when they were kidnapped, ill-treated and taught to kill.

This affected both the children and adults. It is worse for the children because they rely on the sense of security, image and model adults can inspire on them when educating them. When they loose such sense of security or are induced to ignore principles they were educated to respect and are thrown to a world of fear and brutality there may be a break in the psychological balance. During our visits we talked to both former child soldiers and their parents.

We believe that some of these children do have serious psychopathological problems that deserve a specialized follow up. We do not mean that they have necessarily to undergo a psycho-therapeutic treatment but they need indeed a certain trained follow up. Some training could be provided to people who would then perform the follow up to children and give advice to their families.

Among the child soldiers interviewed by us we would like to call attention to two cases in which children had killed people and participated in looting and armed attacks. One of them had been ordered to kill his own father otherwise he would be shot. This act has serious psychological consequences which cannot be easily overcome. It takes some time and needs specific environment. One usually feels strongly guilty himself, and neurotic or even psychotic reactions may occur.

Subsequently, one of the children used to perform all the household work at his uncle's (his father's brother) home with whom he lived after war. He kept this abnormal behaviour for long time. The second boy, according to his father who had been a Frelimo soldier, used to boast to everybody that he had killed people, he was

very familiar with guns and that he had participated in the armed struggle. Obviously this was an embarrassing attitude for his relatives.

Undoubtedly this is a case of abnormal behaviour and deserves some support both to the boy and to the family to help them understand the reason of this strange behaviour. There are no doubts that the purification rituals the children go through when they are received back at their homes enable them to feel wanted by their relatives and thus the feeling of guilt and blame vanish gradually; subsequently they find themselves safe under the community protection, the evil is projected far away and the ancestors spirits bring back the peace to the family.

The stability of the society is linked to various aspects. Regarding the psychology and the role it may have as a subject at the moment, in particular for this consultancy, we think it is important to:

- For the community to assure the continuation of the activities started and carried out by the Children and War Project.
- Provide training opportunities to selected DTR volunteers and social workers on how to deal with simple concepts of evolutive psychology.
- Since it should not be possible to develop actions in a psychological and psychiatric manner throughout the country, the most appropriate support should be developing the potential of civic and cultural activities such as

those carried out by the Children and War Project with a periodical evaluation of the results and kind of activities.

- Encourage families to perform traditional and other rituals which provide for emotional and psychological relief.
- Make efforts to improve coordination between the projects which support traumatized children.

ENNY PANIZZO
(PSYCHOLOGIST)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

E.E. - PRITCHARD: ANTROPOLOGIA SOCIAL (EDIÇÕES 70, LISBOA, 1970)

E. PANIZZO, F. FARINHA: RELATÓRIO DE PESQUISA (BRINCAR CURANDO, MAPUTO, 1994)

M. AUGE: POUVOIR DE VIE, POUVOIR DE MORT (FLAMMARION, PARIS, 1977)

G. BALANDIER: LE DETOUR. POUVOIR ET MODERNITÉ (FAYARD, PARIS, 1985)

F. BARTHE: MODELS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION (ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,
LONDON, 1965)

J. VINCENT: ANTHROPOLOGY AND POLITICS (THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA PRESS, 1990)

J. F. BAYART: RELIGION ET MODERNITÉ POLITIQUE EN AFRIQUE NOIRE (coll. LES
AFRIQUE, KARTHALA, 1994)

TURNER: THE RITUAL PROCESS (NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1969)

SAVE THE CHILDREN: AJUDANDO A CRIANÇA TRAUMATIZADA (MANUAL, MAPUTO, 1988)

E. GREEN, J. WILLIAMSON, P. NIMPUNO PARENTE: EVALUATION OF THE CHILDREN AND
WAR PROGRAM (MAPUTO, 1992)

I. LABRA, I. LABRA: CHILDREN AND WAR PROGRAM: MID-TERM EVALUATION (HARARE,
1994)

SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA ACÇÃO SOCIAL: AVALIAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA DE
LOCALIZAÇÃO E REUNIFICAÇÃO FAMILIAR (MAPUTO, 1991)

SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA ACÇÃO SOCIAL: O PAPEL DA FAMÍLIA SUBSTITUTA NA
SOCIALIZAÇÃO DA CRIANÇA DESAMPARADA PELA GUERRA (1994, MAPUTO)

SAVE THE CHILDREN: RELATÓRIO DA INICIATIVA DE LIANGUENE (1988, MAPUTO)

J.G. MUSHAUARI, A. J. UBISSE: TRANSFORMATION PROPOSAL (MAPUTO, 1995)

N. BOOTHILY: DISPLACED CHILDREN: PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY AND PRACTICE FROM
THE FIELD (1991)

C. GEFFRAY: LES CAUSES DES ARMES (SEOUL, PARIS, 1989)

N. RICHMAN, A. RAHILAL, A. ALY: OS EFEITOS DA GUERRA NAS CRIANÇAS
MOÇAMBICANAS (MAPUTO, 1990)

UNICEF: SURVIVORS: REHABILITATION OF CHILDREN IN ARMED CONFLICT (MAPUTO,
1992)

C. NORDSTROM: FINAL REPORT (MAPUTO, 1991)