IMPACT OF THE ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE

Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

LAWYERS WITHOUT BORDERS
AVOCATS SANS FRONTIERES
ABOGADOS SIN FRONTERAS
Canada

IMPACT OF THE ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE

FIELD RESEARCH REPORT ON THE PROVINCES OF NAMPULA, ZAMBÉZIA, GAZA AND SOFALA

Canada

INDEX

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

5

Prologue

Armed conflicts entail serious consequences for the physical and psychological health, as well as for the social and professional development of people and communities, decisively affecting the lives of those struck by such violence. As evidenced by one of the women interviewed in the preparation of this report, the victims suffer a permanent interruption of "a future that never arrives".

To listen to the voices of those who suffered in their own lives, and in their own environments – the consequences of armed conflicts – it becomes essential to find a path that consolidates a process of lasting peace and reconciliation and guarantees victims' access to justice, empowerment and emancipation. It is with this conviction that Lawyers Without Borders Canada (LWBC) has united with the human rights organization Woman, Law and Development Association (MULEIDE) and with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CEEI/ISRI) to carry out a process of consulting with, and listening to, victims of both the 16-year armed conflict and the military hostilities that took place between 2012 and 2014. The goal was to hear directly from them, in their own words, on their accounts of the violence they suffered and, chiefly, of the consequences of this very same violence on their physical and mental health and on the social fabric of their communities.

Beyond this, these consultations resolved to hear the women's demands on effective measures to support them in overcoming, or at least in minimizing, the negative consequences and traumas of the armed conflict on their lives and their families. The results of the consultations show that, above all, the women ask to be heard and to have their memory preserved, guaranteeing the historical recovery of the past events so that what occurred does not repeat in future generations. Furthermore, they demand actions that guarantee the right to education for their descendants and access to income-generating projects to reduce the impact of their economic deprivation.

The production of this study is closely linked to the many other components and objectives of the "Strengthening Access to Justice in Mozambique" project, which LWBC is carrying out in Mozambique, and which aims to empower women to combat gender-based violence and actively contribute to establish a national dialogue on transitional justice and women's rights.

This study presents the qualitative results of interviews conducted in four provinces – Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza – with 245 direct and indirect victims of the conflict, mostly women, through group interviews. Throughout the text are the painful accounts of women who saw their lives and future plans brutally interrupted, leaving them with physical and psychological wounds they must address daily, in addition to the severe economic impact on their livelihoods which has further exacerbated the poverty in which they live.

LWBC is aware of the limitations of this research given a limited number of victims from only 16 districts in the country were interviewed. However, it was never this study's intention to exhaust the topic, but rather to give a space and voice to the women victims of the country's armed conflicts and to take a first step towards conducting broader and more comprehensive consultations in the coming years, with the goal of finally bringing the voices and needs of the victims to the center of the processes for national reconciliation.

In this way, LWBC believes that the results of the consultations transcribed in this report constitute an important working tool, both for the State as much as for organized civil society, in this key moment when Mozambique has undertaken recent initiatives in search for peace. The present study contributes to the initial steps for a process of transitional justice, promoting the search for truth while presenting recommendations and inputs for the building of a roadmap to establish an inclusive, participatory and effective process for peace and reconciliation in Mozambique.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

7

LWBC is grateful to all the entities involved in the production of this document: to MULEIDE for their partnership, to the High Commission of Canada for their support, and to the researchers who travelled various parts of the country to interview victims of the conflicts and dedicated themselves to the analysis of the results and the drafting of this report. In particular, LWBC extends its deepest thanks to the women, the direct and indirect victims of the conflict, who bravely committed themselves to sharing their life stories with us – which undeniably meant reliving traumas and painful experiences – allowing their voices to be heard, their demands and needs to be shared and, once again, demonstrating their example of resilience, strength and ability to overcome.

Pascal Paradis, Executive Director
Lawyers Without Borders Canada

8

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Acknowledgements

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

9

Acknowledgements

The elaboration of this study on the impact of the conflict on the lives of women and girls in Mozambique was a great challenge, especially for the case of Mozambique which lived through 16 years of widespread armed conflict, and which had serious consequences for the Mozambican population in general and for women in particular. Today, the country is beginning to take significant steps towards gender equality and women's empowerment. In this context, the Center for International Strategic Studies of the Superior Institute of International Relations (CEEI-ISRI), in partnership with the Woman, Law and Development Association (MULEIDE), thanks all the people and institutions who, directly and indirectly, contributed to and facilitated the process of data collection in the Provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza, all of which constituted the basis for the conception and production of this study.

The significant contributions to the elaboration of this Gender Profile were made by interviewees, men and women, during conversation circles that took place in 16 Districts of the 4 provinces mentioned above, and whose local authorities and organizations played an important role in the identification of the victims and the organization of these conversation circles.

Our thanks also goes to all the direct and indirect victims of the conflict who, in generous and warm fashion, accepted the challenge of recounting to us their life stories, filled with pain and acts of courage. They filled a role not just in providing useful information, but also in offering ways to minimize the impacts of conflicts on both their lives and their families – and in this way, are an integral part of the national reconciliation process.

Special thanks to MULEIDE and to Lawyers Without Borders Canada for welcoming this initiative, from the initial phase of presenting this research proposal on the impact of the conflict on the lives of women and girls, throughout all the processes that culminated in this final product, which will undoubtedly build a working tool for all the actors that strive to defend the human rights of women, especially in conflict situations, where greater violations are experienced.

João Gabriel de Barros,
Director of CEEI-ISRI

10

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEEI/ISRI   Center for Strategic and International Studies

CS   United Nations Security Council

DDR   Demilitarization, Demobilization and Reintegration

FADM   Mozambique Defense Armed Forces

FRELIMO   Mozambique Liberation Front

GPA   General Peace Accord

ISRI   Superior Institute of International Relations

LWBC   Lawyers Without Borders Canada

MULEIDE   Women, Law and Development Association

OMM   Organization of Mozambican Women

RENAMO   Mozambican National Resistance

ZANU   Zimbabwe African National Union

ZIPRA   Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

11

Executive Summary

This study aims to understand how political-military violence in the country affected women and girls and what measures were taken to support the women victims of violence. The study aims to bring to light the different types of human rights violations and violence committed against women and girls in the context of armed conflicts, considering that, according to Moura, Silva et all (2012) *"The lack of data, studies and analyses on (direct) violence against women and girls in Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, make it difficult to accurately trace a typology of the violence committed against these groups, or to assess its evolution post-armed conflict."*

In terms of actors, the study focused on, among other aspects, the analysis of the main perpetrators and their motivations, as a way to define the profile of victims of armed conflict, using criteria such as age group, gender, level of education, marital status, children, and social and economic profile. On the other hand, and considering the role of women as an important factor in society, the study also analyzed the direct or indirect participation of women in the Mozambican armed conflict, focusing mainly on the 16-year war. In the end, the study identified proposals for reparations – of individual and collective nature – derived from the consequences of the armed conflicts on the lives of women and girls in Mozambique – and a result of listening to the victims' own demands.

By using the historical method, documenting techniques, content analysis along with individual and collective interviews, which took the form of conversation cycles in 4 provinces (Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza) and 16 districts, it was possible to analyze the dynamics of armed violence and its consequences on women's lives, through systematic observation and interviews with: women of different age groups; men; civil, military and communal authorities; and party institutions.

The study of the impact of the conflict on the lives of women and girls in Mozambique covered four provinces identified above and essentially maintained its focus on the consequences of the Sixteen-Year War, as it is understood that this armed conflict caused more psychological and traumatic scars for Mozambicans, due to the very nature of the war and the level of violence to which the victims of the conflict were exposed during more than a decade and a half of conflict. During the field research and conversation circles that were conducted in the provinces covered by the study, the participants made more references to the armed conflict that ended in 1992, with the signing of the General Peace Accord in Rome, than to the Political-Military Conflict that ended with the signing of the Cessation of Military Hostilities Agreement, signed in 2014, in Maputo. All of this indicates that this occurred because the Sixteen-Year War caused far more traumas and psychopathologies than the 2012 Political-Military Conflict. In addition, the military hostilities of 2012-2014 occurred in specific areas – Muxungue, Administrative Post of Chibabava District; and Gorongosa, in the Satunjira and Casa Banana region – and with less intensity, compared to the sixteen-year armed conflict.

The Mozambican armed conflict had different implications for men and women, in the psycho-logical, physical, health, economic and social domains. The psychological implications of the war resulted from several factors: first, it was the combat action that provoked chaos. The fact of having lived daily under crossfire forced many women to experience situations of great emotional pressure and panic, due to the shooting and bombing. However, most of the after-effects resulted from the sexual violations to which the women were subjected. The consequences of the violence committed against women during the conflict were notorious; many of them demonstrated feelings of fear and dread in the conversation cycles, and often cried. Still, it is important to note that many women, either voluntarily or involuntarily, also played a significant role in the war by serving the warring parties in various ways – as spies or even as operatives, even though this record was not the object of direct declarations.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

13

It was in this context of conflict and recognition of the level of violence that thousands of women across the country were exposed to during the armed conflicts, that the study recommends a series of measures for reparations and compensatory justice, based on the establishment of national reparations policies. These allow the victims, first, to be recognized as victims of the conflict, in an effort to repair damages, restore rights and build back the trust that has been broken in each cycle of armed conflicts in the country, without then considering the serious implications that these entail for women and girls. Such policies and recommendations include economic compensation, a variety of health benefits – physical and mental – and educational benefits, and symbolic measures, such as the request for an apology by the government.

Issues around pardon and reconciliation were addressed throughout the fieldwork carried out in Mozambique. They received a mix of responses, ranging the general difficulty of accepting and forgiving those they believe to have been the cause of the conflict. From the interventions made by the participants during the conversation circles in the districts, it was noted that a clear attempt was made to remove the identities of those who carried out actions that caused violence and psychological trauma upon the victims of the armed conflict. The interventions were dominated by identifications such as "they came to attack, destroy, kill and kidnap us." In the areas controlled by RENAMO, "they" were the Defense and Security Forces of the Government of Mozambique, led by FRELIMO, while in the areas under government control, "they" were the armed men of RENAMO. There is therefore a need to recognize such acts and develop actions that may contribute to lasting peace – and to the creation of a society that recognizes the value and importance of women in peacebuilding.

14

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Introduction

Mozambique is a country of Southern Africa that achieved its independence in 1975, after a colonial war led by the Mozambique Liberation Front – FRELIMO, between 1964 and 1974. One year after the proclamation of its national independence, Mozambique faced an armed conflict that lasted sixteen years, between the government, led by FRELIMO, and the Mozambican National Resistance – RENAMO. Two decades after the signing of the General Peace Accord in Rome, in 1992, a political-military conflict arose between the former belligerents of the Sixteen-Year War. In relation to the armed conflict that Mozambique experienced in the post-independence period, which killed close to one million people, both military and civilian, particularly in rural areas, little is said about its impact on women and girls, considering that they, along with children, have been the main victims of modern armed conflicts.

In this context, through a partnership between the organization Woman, Law and Development Association – MULEIDE, the Center for Strategic and International Studies of the Superior Institute of International Relations of Mozambique – CEEI/ISRI and the organization Lawyers Without Borders Canada (LWBC), a baseline study was carried out on the impact of armed conflicts on the lives of women and girls in Mozambique. The study covers two periods: the first period covers a time-period that extends from 1976 to 1992, during which the armed conflict between RENAMO and the Government of Mozambique took place, and which culminated with the signing of the General Peace Accord in Rome on October 4, 1992; and the second period covers a time-period between 2012 and 2014. This period was marked by the resurgence of the conflict in the form of political tension and military hostilities – Political-Military Tension – which culminated in the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement, on September 5, 2014[1]. However, while the study covers two periods of war, the most significant proportion of the information collected from the interviews refers to the 16-year conflict.

The document produced is intended to serve as a basis for future discussions, with a goal of identifying mechanisms that allow Mozambican society to engage in transitional justice practices, calibrated to the needs of the women and girls who were victims of armed violence. Although there is merit in the previous research on violence against women and girls, one cannot fail to point out some limitations that stand out, notably the difficulty of extending and deepening these studies.

The recent studies on violence against women and girls have not made it possible to assess the impact of the different types of violence on the structures and lives of women, given the various roles women can, and effectively do, carry out in society. A significant part of the studies carried out so far prioritized certain aspects, such as domestic violence, prostitution, including child prostitution, and social exclusion, among others, without objectively elaborating upon armed violence. It is argued that the exclusion of armed violence in these studies may relate to the fact that it is mostly confined to rural areas, not reaching women with influence and power in society.

Territorial extension and the different programs inherent in the mobility of communities did not allow the carrying out of systematic and consequent studies around violence against women and girls in post-conflict periods. This study on the impact of armed conflict on the lives of women and girls in Mozambique takes place at a time when it is already possible to expand and deepen the research in urban, peri-urban and rural areas, in a consistent, systematic and impartial manner. However, beyond the new situation into which this study fits, certain innovative aspects now considered current should be highlighted, such as the possibility of presenting proposals that aim to repair and respond to the effects of the violence against women and girls in the armed conflicts in Mozambique, with a focus on abuse, rape, sexual exploitation, physical and psychological torture, forced marriages and labour, and the mutilation of organs like hands, the nose, eyes, ears, among others.

[1] After the signing of the Military Hostilities Cessation Agreement in September 2014, General Elections were held. After the publication of the results, political tension and military hostilities resumed. They ended with the announcement of a truce by the President of RENAMO on December 27, 2016. Thereafter, a set of consensus agreements between the President of the Republic and the President of RENAMO enabled the creation of Joint Negotiation Commissions for Effective Peace in Mozambique. The detailed chronology of the events and the official documents of the consensus agreements, especially those of the Joint Commission, can be found in the book "A Caminho da Paz Definitiva: Iceberg, o Interesse Nacional e a Segurança do Estado" (Veloso, 2018: 108-141).

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

15

Objectives of the Study

This study contributes to the following ends:

1   The collection of recorded and systematic information on the violence suffered by women during the conflict, which constitutes grave human rights violations;

2   The understanding of the levels, actors, and motivations related to the problem of violence against women and girls in Mozambique and;

3   The identification of mechanisms to protect and compensate the women and girls victims of violence in the context of armed conflict, based on the listening and systematizing of the victims' claims.

Framing the problem

[2] The peace negotiations that culminated in the signing of the General Peace Accord in 1992 did not consider gender issues or the human suffering of thousands of women, girls and children who underwent the conflict, but was rather an essentially political agreement. This Agreement was essentially focused, according to Tomás Vieira Mário (2004), on six groups of sub-themes that revolved around four major issues that were then reflected in the specific protocols that accompanied the signing of the General Peace Accord, amongst others: Military issues, Guarantees of ceasefire, A cease-fire and the conference of donor countries towards the financing of the electoral process, emergency pro-grams and social reintegration of the displaced and refugee populations.

Since the 1990s, national reconciliation has become one of the social, political and economic pillars of peace in Mozambique, within the scope of implementation of the General Peace Accord. Recently, this issue has dominated the political scenery of the current negotiations, which began in 2012 and were put on hold after the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (2014) and the holding of the fifth general and multi-party elections. The ongoing peace negotiations between the Government and RENAMO intensify this national focus on the domestic politics of resolving the conflict.

Despite the recent intensification of both national efforts and partners cooperating to achieve peace, just as in 1992[2], considerations around gender, the use of women as a means of war, the impact of violence committed against women and girls during conflicts, as well as the need for forgiveness and recognition of the horrors committed during the war have been systematically ignored, creating space for what Moura et al. (2012) consider ''a new stage of accumulation of old and new violence, of old and new insecurities that, when ignored, constitute embryonic forms of a new pre-war...''

The end of armed conflicts in Mozambique was always marked by the signing of peace accords and amnesty laws. The Rome General Peace Accord of 1992 was approved by Law No. 13/92 on October 14 and was accompanied by Law No. 15/92, which granted amnesty for crimes committed against the security of the people and the State. The political-military tension and military hostilities ended with the signing of the Cessation of Military Hostilities Agreement in 2014 and were accompanied by Law no. 17/2014, which granted amnesty for crimes committed during the period of validity of the aforementioned military hostilities. It is important to note that, both in 1992 and in 2014, peacebuilding efforts involved neither victims' nor human rights dimensions.

Methodology

The study focused on a qualitative approach, with basis in the historical method, documenting technique, content analysis, collective interviews which took the form of conversation cycles – *Peer Spirit Circling*[3] – in the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza and life stories[4], using questionnaires with open and semi-open questions that guided the conversation circles. These methodology tools made it possible to analyze the dynamics of armed violence and the life consequences for affected women, and to systematize the appropriate transitional justice mechanisms to respond to the needs of women and girls who were victims of violence in Mozambique during the armed conflicts, with greater incidence during the Sixteen-Year War.

This study is essentially qualitative and was based on the collection of reports and the qualitative analysis of the responses given, in an effort to give voice to the victims of national conflicts and to obtain a narrative overview of how women were affected by the war.

Given that the study would only include a limited number of provinces, the team identified some criteria for the selection of provinces to be included in the research and fieldwork. The choice in the four provinces referenced is based on their presenting of specific characteristics, especially in relation to the intensity of the conflict and armed violence, the geographic scope of the conflict and the strategic value that they played within the framework of the armed conflicts in Mozambique.

The Nampula province was one of the Northern provinces most affected by the armed conflict, where intense confrontations between government troops and RENAMO were recorded.

The Province of Gaza experienced high levels of extreme violence during the sixteen-year conflict, creating a regional feeling of aversion to RENAMO and which has, to this day, a visible effect on the electoral processes carried in Mozambique.

Zambézia Province witnessed intense attacks during the Sixteen-Year War and was even almost entirely occupied by RENAMO forces, taking into account its strategic value around supplies and logistics for RENAMO, which came from the sea and were brought inland via the Zambeze River and its tributaries.

The Province of Sofala has its specificities, since it is in this region that RENAMO installed its Central Base, in the Serra da Gorongosa. This location represents a rather important sample, taking into account the types of organized violence perpetrated and the relationships established between the RENAMO Forces, the Government Forces and the local communities, in terms of information and provision of supplies. In addition, it was in Sofala where the military hostilities began between 2012 and 2014 and at this location, specifically in Muxungué, where the main stage of operations was located.

The study targeted women and girls of different age groups; men; civil, military and community authorities; party institutions; organs of administrative justice and civil society in general; institutions of civil society dealing with the issue of women and girls; and religious institutions.

In sample terms, it was initially decided to conduct conversation circles – *Peer Spirit Circling* – with ten victims in four provinces, where armed conflicts were most intensely felt, as much between 1976-1992 as in 2012-2014. However, in the field, the number was higher or lower in the various districts where the study was carried out, as can be seen in the data shown in the table below.

[3] It is a modern methodology, inspired by the millenary tradition of conversation circles, which helps people to join in conversations that fulfill their potential for dialogue, sharing of experience, and awareness of their condition, based on the wisdom that follows the principles of active leadership, shared responsibility and a purpose that unites the participants. This is a rather effective methodology for the main purpose of the project, in that it allows the members of the circle to honour all the voices and experiences present and it invites the collective wisdom to be at the center of the discussions and experience of violence, to which members of the communities were subjected, with emphasis on women and girls.

[4] Storytelling is a technique that was used to collect information in the field where the study was conducted. This is a technique that consists in obtaining information regarding each person, institution or organization, taking into account the phases of their life (Lakatos, 1979:30). For the present case, the storytelling technique was used in the individual interviews in order to map out the data on armed violence that the victims interviewed had suffered. This technique was used only for the women victims of armed violence during the military conflicts in Mozambique.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

17

Sample Distribution: Participants from the Conversation Circles

Sample Distribution: Participants from the Conversation Circles
The table below presents the general distribution of participants from the conversation circles, taking into account the provinces and districts where the study was conducted, as well as the number of women and men who participated in the conversation circles.

Provinces	Districts	Cases	Men	Women
Nampula	Nampula City	7	0	7
	Angoche District	8	0	8
	Mugovolas District	7	0	7
	Murrupula District	10	0	10
	Province Total	**32**	**0**	**32**
Zambézia	Quelimane City	11	0	11
	Milange District	23	4	19
	Mocuba District	18	0	18
	Maganja da Costa District	36	0	36
	Province Total	**88**	**4**	**84**
Sofala	Beira City	18	0	18
	Muandza District	20	0	20
	Gorongosa District	32	6	26
	Marromeu District	17	1	16
	Province Total	**87**	**7**	**80**
Gaza	Xai-Xai City	9	5	4
	Chokwe District	10	2	8
	Manjacaze District	10	6	4
	Chibuto District	9	2	7
	Province Total	**38**	**15**	**23**
TOTAL		**245**	**23**	**222**

According to the data shown in the table above, it can be noted that Zambézia province, with 88 cases and Sofala with 87 cases are the locations in which there were the most participants in the conversation circles, against 36 verified cases in Gaza province and 32 in Nampula.

Provinces	Cases	Percentage
Nampula Province	32	13.06%
Zambézia Province	88	35.91%
Sofala Province	87	35.51%
Gaza Province	38	15.51%
Total	245	100.0%

In percentage terms, 35.91% of the participants from the conversation circles were from Zambézia Province, against 13.06% from Nampula Province, while 35.51% were from Sofala Province, against 15.51% from Gaza Province.

In terms of gender, the majority of the participants from the conversation circles held in the provinces where the study was conducted were female. Thus, 90.61% of the participants in the conversation circles were women, while only 9.38% were men.

Provinces	Cases	Men		Women		Total
		Cases	%	Cases	%	
Nampula	32	0	0.0%	32	100.0%	100.0%
Zambézia	88	4	4.54%	84	95.45%	100.0%
Sofala	87	7	8.04%	80	91.95%	100.0%
Gaza	38	15	39.47%	23	60.52%	100.0%
Total	245	23	9.38%	222	90.61%	100.0%

In terms of the distribution of participants from the conversation circles by provinces and gender, in the table above, it can be observed that in Nampula Province, all participants were female. Meanwhile, in Zambézia Province, 95.45% of the participants were women, against only 4.54% of men. In Sofala Province, 91.95% were women, against only 8.04% of men. Finally, in Gaza Province, 90.61% were women, against 9.38% of men.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

19

The process of elaboration and materialization of the research comprised five main phases.

- **The first phase** consisted in a process of co-production around the rationale of the project, by MULEIDE and LWBC, in consultation with CEEI/ISRI.

- **The second phase** followed the systematic review of the literature on armed conflict, women, peace and security, carried out by CEEI/ISRI.

- **The third phase** consisted in the field research within the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza. In these provinces, conversation circles were held with men and women victims of armed violence during the Sixteen-Year War as well as the period of political-military tension in Mozambique.

- **The fourth phase** consisted in the presentation of the preliminary data from the field research at the seminar on transitional justice organized by LWBC, in Maputo, where it was possible to share the preliminary results and collect relevant inputs for the preparation of the final report of the study. The observations and recommendations drawn from the presentations and discussions held during this event can be found in Appendix 2 of this report.

- **The fifth and final phase** consisted in the drafting of this very report.

20

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Chapter I

Conceptual Framework

Conceptual Framework

For the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study, the concepts of armed conflict, violence against women, national reconciliation and transitional justice were chosen. In order to present the theory of armed conflict, it was necessary to resort to the theoretical discussions on conflict, in their objective and subjective conceptions. For the theory of violence against women, it was necessary to present the concepts of both violence and gender, in order to then operationalize them in violence against women.

1.1 Armed Conflict

Objectively, and according to Boulding (1962)[5], conflict is "*a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions, and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other*." According to Burton's subjective theory (1969)[6], conflict "*results from an erroneous interpretation of an objective situation, understood in terms of an incompatible situation.*"

Armed conflicts are among the most extreme manifestations of conflict. They involve wars and can possess an intra- or inter-state dimension to them[7]. To be considered armed, conflict must meet certain criteria such as the use of weapons – which may or may not include firearms – and have a dimension of durability, scope and level of violence that puts it above acts of vandalism, rebellion or demonstrations.

According to the International Committee of the Red Cross, "international armed conflicts exist whenever there is resort to armed forces between two or more States. Non-international armed conflicts are protracted armed confrontations occurring between governmental armed forces and the forces of one or more-armed groups, or between those groups arising on the territory of a State. The armed confrontation must reach a minimum level of intensity and the parties involved in the conflict must show a minimum of organization" (CICV, 1949).

1.2 Gender and Violence Against Women

The concept of violence is quite broad and varies according to diverse factors, with emphasis on areas of knowledge (Minayo, 1994:22; Gaspar, 2004:32 and Paviani, 2016:8-9). In addition, the concept of violence is regularly confused with concepts of aggression or attacks in which there is physical contact. However, reality shows that not all violence results from physical contact and that it is necessary to consider other dimensions of violence beyond physical violence.

Most theorists on conflict studies define violence as an act that aims to "inflict physical, emotional, psychological, sexual or material harm to others" (Gaspar, 2004: 32) in order to satisfy individual or collective interests. The World Health Organization's World Report on Violence and Health (2002)[8] states that violence consists of the intentional use of physical force or in the real power or threat, against oneself, against another person, or against a group or community, that results or has any possibility of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, developmental disability or deprivation (Krug, et al., 2002:5).

The book "Peace by Peaceful Means – Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization" published by Joah Galtung, in 1996, introduced three main types of manifestations of violence in social, political and economic relations: physical violence, structural violence and cultural violence (Galtung, 1996:2). These types of manifestations of violence hold various specific implications, taking into account the form of their manifestation and the mechanisms used.

Physical violence is that which manifests itself in a direct, visible and observable manner with the aim of causing damage, injuries and long-lasting physical harm (Galtung, 1996:2). These are actions of open hostility, where the victim can confront, name or at least point to the aggressors. In situations of war and oppressive political systems, torture, executions, massacres and ethnic cleansing are clear forms of physical or direct violence. For its part, structural violence is invisible and has to do with the way in which society is organized.

[5] **Boulding**, Kenneth (1962). Conflict and Defense. Harper and Brothers, New York.

[6] **Burton**, John (1969). Conflict and Communication. MacMilian, London.

[7] Conflict between two States. It should be noted that at present, the most common conflicts are intra-state, i.e. they occur within a State.

[8] https://cevs.rs.gov.br/upload/ archives/201706/14142032-worldly-report-on-violence-and-health.pdf

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

23

Cultural violence can usually be exercised against people through the imposition of inflammatory discourse, mythical stories and any particular aspect or element of a culture that encourages, provokes or justifies the use of violence for its implementation. Cultural violence manifests itself through ideological and religious impositions in the process of identity formation, with the tendency to dehumanize, threaten and marginalize the adversary. From Minayo's perspective (1994:36), cultural violence is that which is expressed through values, beliefs and practices, in such repeated and reproduced fashion that it becomes naturalized.

One of the manifestations of structural violence is institutional violence. It is a type of violence that is perpetrated by or in the name of institutions, especially through their rules, operating norms and bureaucratic and political relations, reproducing unjust social structures. One of the modalities of this type of violence occurs in the way public services are offered, denied or neglected (Minayo, 1994:33). While a subcategory of structural violence, institutional violence relates specifically to violence practiced by social institutions, such as the police, the armed forces and other state institutions, but which in principle is accepted and tolerated by communities.

Gender is a concept that emerged in the 1970s as a classification constructed by international society that postulates different social and cultural meanings associated with the category of man and woman or with a set of socially learned and accepted expectations and behaviors associated with each of the sexes. Theorists such as Peterson and Runyan (1993:5), Sarfati (2006:296), Sojoberg and Tickner (2013: 71-172), Tickner (2014: 260) and Jatobá (2013:113) conceptualize gender as being a socially learned category, taking into account the set of expectations that are used to distinguish masculinity from femininity. It is an analytical category, more socially constructed than empirical, that considers the set of practices and discourses that are dominant in a given society and that places the female category as something oppressed. These perspectives contribute to the creation of a hierarchy of genders rooted in a system of power that privileges the man over the woman.

The literature that maps out the relationship between gender and violence points out that "the woman has been the greater victim of physical and structural violence – sexual, psychological, among others," Gaspar (2004). Gender-based violence is directed at individuals based on their sex, gender identity or expression of socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity, wherein both men and women can be targets of this type of violence.

As can be understood when discussing gender violence, it does not necessarily imply violence against women, for it concerns a violence directed against the other person with a specific focus on their weaknesses or gender tendencies. Although the distinction between "gender-based violence" and "violence against women" is clear, these concepts are often used as if they were synonymous. This trend stems from the widespread perception that violence is provoked against the more fragile or weak gender and that it reflects the disposition of power in which men impose themselves over women. It is presupposed that violence against women encompasses a wide range of kinds of violence derived from the position that women occupy in society: it is women who suffer most from physical, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, institutional and structural violence, since the gender-based hierarchy of power makes them more vulnerable.

According to the United Nations, gender-based violence is defined as "any act based on gender that results in, or is likely to result in, mental or sexual harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life, directed against women precisely because they are women" (**Isabel Dias and Dália Costa, 2017**).

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

The term "gender-based violence" is used by international human rights instruments as synonymous with the term "violence against women" because (i) it covers all the violence directed towards women because they are women or (ii) it disproportionately affects women resulting in physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering, including the trafficking of human beings, forced marriages, female genital mutilation and others still."[9]

1.3 National Reconciliation, Peaceful Coexistence and Transitional Justice

The term reconciliation primarily involves the fight against impunity and considers the demands and grievances of victims in post-conflict periods. No single form of reconciliation effort is perfect or satisfactory for all circumstances and parties involved. While it takes different forms and roles in different contexts, reconciliation is generally understood as the re-establishment of friendly relations which, in the case of armed conflicts, incorporates the search for truth, justice, forgiveness and accommodation between groups or persons in conflict, which entails a fundamental shift in personal and power relations. De Gruchy (2002) further considers that reconciliation cannot be interpreted as the regression to a pre-conflict situation or as an impediment to the peace process, and for this reason should fit into the framework of conflict transformation.

Patrícia Ferreira (2005) maintains that within the theoretical debate on reconciliation, post-conflict coexistence and transitional justice, exists a tension that manifests itself in the choice for reconciliation or for justice. For many, these two categories are mutually exclusive since it is believed that the parties cannot be called upon to reconcile while at the same time requesting for justice to be done. On the one hand is advocated the importance of reconciliation between former belligerents, with the concession of amnesties or pardons without punishment of those responsible for the crimes or atrocities committed; on the other hand, is required the judicial punishment of those found guilty without which it is not possible, it is claimed, to guarantee a lasting peace, creating a fairly common dilemma in conflict resolution. Even more grave than this dilemma is the view according to which the basis for reconciliation is forgiveness, refuted by the author (Brounéus 2003) who asserts that to forgive is not the same as to reconcile, thus maintaining that the process of reconciliation may involve forgiveness but does not depend on it.

Different types of reconciliation can address and fulfill certain aspects of a peacebuilding process, among them approaches of national character that involve mechanisms that attempt to create reconciliation by bringing atrocities to the public consciousness by way of declarations of truth, confession, apology, retribution and the rule of law, and by making recommendations regarding the prevention of new abuses (top-down approach); and those of a more interpersonal nature that focus on the past trauma of individuals and communities in order to not transmit anger between generations and cause violent reoccurrences. This is done through traditional forms of counselling and other healing processes, which enable to forget or minimize the impact of the conflict on the life of the communities (bottom-up approach), whose objectives, while different, are complementary.

Dan Sinh Nguyen Vo (2008), considers that reconciliation can represent a pragmatic way of dealing with profound changes that involve past injustices, in order to achieve other desired purposes, such as building peace, fostering democracy, promoting human rights, and justice, among others. Kriesberg (1998), identifies four dimensions of reconciliation as essential to conflict transformation and peacebuilding in post-conflict societies: (i) truth, (ii) justice, (iii) consideration, and (iv) security.

[9] According to the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women. United Nations, [the] violence against women involves any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. Violence against women encompasses situations of physical, sexual and psychological violence in the family and in the community, including ill treatment, sexual abuse of girls and young women, violence linked to dowries, rape by the husband, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women; violence perpetrated by other members of the family; violence linked to exploitation; sexual harassment and intimidation at the workplace, in educational institutions and elsewhere; the trafficking of women; forced prostitution; and violence perpetrated or tolerated by the State., UN Doc A/ RES/48/104, 20 December 1993, http://www.un.org/documents/ga/ res/48/a48r104.htm

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

25

[10] http://www.eip.org/en/news-events/five-things-read-about-transitional-justice

[11] KORA, Andrieu (2010): Transitional Justice: A New Discipline in Human Rights available at http:// www.sciencespo.fr/mass-vio-lence-war-massacre-resistance/ fr/document/transitional-justice-new-discipline-human-rights-0

[12] https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice

- Truth involves telling the truth, recognizing and accepting responsibility for one's actions during the conflict.
- Justice involves reparation for those errors committed, whether by means of compensation, indemnification, restitution or even the punishment of those who have committed injustices.
- Mutual consideration between former adversaries is an essential instrument for reconciliation since, on its very basis, members of parties who had previously antagonized each other move to see each other with respect and recognize each other as human beings, for which they derive equal rights.
- And security forecasts the victim's lack of willingness to retaliate against his/her former aggressor.

Although these four considerations are essential in peacebuilding processes, it is very difficult to achieve these four dimensions of reconciliation given there are always those who resist reaching one or the other of the dimensions presented here.

In post-conflict times, all societies face extremely complex moral, legal and political choices, and transitional justice is a field that examines the consequences of war and mass atrocities, and whose guiding principle is the interests of the victims and survivors.[10]

The issues of how best to deal with societies' past violence – those that experienced massive violence – are not new and, while peacebuilding was long wagered on collective amnesia, currently, the collective memories of the violence inflicted on the victims of conflict are considered a useful tool for conflict resolution, based on the growing conviction that the legacies of an unresolved past fuel other conflicts.[11]

Transitional justice refers to the different forms and processes that countries adopt immediately after periods of conflict and repression, whose objective is to address serious and systematic human rights violations that occurred on a large scale and cannot be addressed at the level of the normal judicial system, therefore rooted in accountability related to human rights violations and the adoption of reparation measures for the victims.[12]

The main objectives of the processes in transitional justice, while they always depend on the context in which they are implemented, are: (i) the recognition of peoples' dignity; (ii) the reparation and recognition of violations so that they do not occur again, creating mechanisms for the restoration of the institutions that can be trusted by its citizens.

In a complementary way, transitional justice allows: (i) enabling access to justice for those most vulnerable who have been victims of violations; (ii) ensuring the effective participation of women and other marginalized groups in the search for an effective peace, thus promoting the cause of reconciliation that follows a roadmap that includes criminal accountability for serious crimes committed as a result of conflicts; (iii) the search for truth; (iv) reparation for damages and significant institutional reforms.

Chapter II

Post-Independence Armed Conflict in Mozambique

Post-Independence
Armed Conflict in Mozambique

This chapter presents the structured elements of the armed conflict that the Mozambican State experienced after the proclamation of its independence. The chapter presents the brief history of the armed conflict that ended in 1992, the parties involved and their causes. Basically, the historiography of armed conflicts in Post-Independence Mozambique is marked by the Sixteen-Year War, which took place between 1976-1992, and culminated in the signing of the Rome General Peace Accords; and the Political-Military Tension that took place between 2012-2014 and culminated in the signing of the Cessation of Military Hostilities Agreement, in Maputo.

2.1 Brief History

Between 1976 and 1992, Mozambique experienced an armed conflict that ended with the signing of the General Peace Accords – GPA. The war was waged[13] between the Government of Mozambique, led by FRELIMO – Mozambique Liberation Front – supported by the States of the socialist block and by African countries such as Tanzania and Zimbabwe, against the insurgent forces of RENAMO – Mozambican National Resistance – supported by Ian Smith's illegal Government of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Malawi[14], and Kenya. This armed conflict gained notoriety in the international arena due to its recorded levels of violence and the degree of destruction that it caused. This armed conflict caused the deaths of around 1 million people (Seibert, 2003:254) and (Bergh, 2009: 12), exacerbated hunger, malnutrition and sickness, destroyed important infrastructure (bridges, roads, schools and hospitals), making Mozambique one of the poorest States in the world during the 1980s and early 1990s.

The armed conflict in Mozambique can be divided into three relevant phases. The first phase took place from 1976 to 1980 and was marked by the emergence of RENAMO, in the midst of Ian Smith's Rhodesian Intelligence Corps, with the primary objectives of destabilizing the economy of the newly formed Mozambican State, preventing the consolidation of the socialist development model, attacking the ZANU – *Zimbabwe African National Union* – bases established in Mozambique and forcing FRELIMO to suspend the support it granted ZANU and ZIPRA – *Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army.* During this period, RENAMO acted on the military planning done by Southern Rhodesia and acted preferentially in central Mozambique, covering provinces such as Manica, Sofala and Tete (Lulat, 2008).

With the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 and the consequent collapse of the security system created by Ian Smith's regime, RENAMO loses the direct support it had until then received from Southern Rhodesia. In order to keep the group operational, the now-extinct defense and security force of Southern Rhodesia and its extinct secret services secretly negotiate with South Africa to assume control of the movement. Aware of the strategic usefulness of the group, South Africa agrees to host RENAMO and initiates an education and training program that would transform RENAMO from a featureless movement to a true war machine. This change marks the second phase of the armed conflict, characterized by a greater military capacity of the movement (be it in terms of equipment or numerical terms) (Alao, 1994). In this phase, the violence became common and the levels of atrocity significant. During this phase, the brutality of RENAMO's actions spread throughout the country despite the provinces of Niassa and Cabo-Delgado maintaining minimal levels of violence. The forced recruitment of people to thicken the ranks of the regime became common (Vines, 1991). Despite RENAMO being considered the main promoter of violence against the civilian population, this phase also witnesses an increase in violence committed by defense and security forces against the civilian population.

After the signing of the Nkomati Accord between the Mozambican government and South Africa, which essentially aimed to end Mozambique's support for the ANC and *Imkonto we Sizwe*[15] in exchange for the end of South Africa's support for RENAMO, the armed conflict entered the third phase. Unlike previous phases where RENAMO acted essentially under the command of its sponsors, RENAMO is convinced to internalize the conflict. Without stopping to provide the necessary support to RENAMO,

[13] The main parties to the Mozambican armed conflict were the Government of Mozambique, led by FRELIMO, and RENAMO. Among the secondary parties, the focus is on the Frontline States and Socialist States that supported the Government of Mozambique through logistical, economic, political, diplomatic and military support. In turn, the minority regime of Ian Smith's Southern Rhodesia, South Africa's Apartheid and Malawi provided RENAMO with logistical, military and diplomatic support. Finally, among the third parties, the focus goes to the Catholic Church – Community of Sant'Egidio and the Holy See – the Christian Council of Mozambique. The Italian State and the USA offered their good offices to mediate, facilitate, resolve and transform the violent conflict into a situation of peaceful coexistence.

[14] After 1987, Malawi began supporting the government forces.

[15] During the Struggle Against the Apartheid Regime, Mozambique lent support and welcomed ANC units carrying out the struggle, and the city of Matola was bombed by South African forces. The South African President Jacob Zuma and other influential members of the ANC lived in exile in Maputo.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

29

South Africa decides to send all RENAMO men and their entire logistical base to Malawi (Lulat, 2008). From this period onwards, RENAMO starts to act with greater vigor in the northern provinces of Niassa and Cabo Delgado, without ceasing to undertake action in the remaining provinces of the country (Robinson, 2009). Given the new South African posture, RENAMO gains greater independence in the definition of its strategic, operational and tactical actions and starts to claim its actions to gain greater territorial control. It is believed, for example, that until 1992 RENAMO had around 80% of the national territory under its "control" (Cabá, 1997). Just as in the second phase, the violence was indiscriminate and lush with cruelty.

With the end of the armed conflict in 1992, Mozambicans believed that a return to war would be unthinkable due to the experience of various years of violence and the lack of sponsors that could reactivate RENAMO. The adoption of the multiparty system, which allowed the channel-ing of popular demands for the opposition parties and the implementation of a democratic system, which enabled electoral races between the various parties, created a favorable basis for the consolidation of peace in the country. Two decades after the signing of the Rome General Peace Accord, armed conflict resurfaced between 2012 and 2016. The resurgence of the conflict had a completely different dynamic from that of 1976-1992 due to the following factors: (i) there were no known sponsors interested in the continuation of the war; (ii) the levels of violence that marked the 16-years conflict were not observed this time; (iii) the conflict did not extend beyond areas located in the center of the country, where RENAMO presented historical influence and its strategic military bases; (iv) beyond this, RENAMO no longer had the same military capabilities in terms of men and weapons as it did during the 16 years of war, highlighting the caution shown by RENAMO towards the civilian population in this last conflict, having used violence selectively to force the government of FRELIMO to make political and economic concessions.

The main parties had an asymmetrical power relationship insofar as the Government controlled all State resources and had friendly countries that supported it, as was the case with the USSR, to the detriment of RENAMO, whose base was essentially rooted in discontented populations.

2.2 Causes of the Armed Conflict in Mozambique
Systematically, the causes of the armed conflict in Mozambique are closely related to (i) the geo-political disputes of the Cold War, taking into account the actions of the minority and racist regimes that operated in Southern Africa between the 1960s and 1990s; (ii) the one-party and repressive policies adopted in the post-independence revolutionary period; (iii) policies of nationalization and economic centralism as a form of organization for the national economy; (iv) policies of control and repression of political, social and religious rights; and finally (v) the level of dissatisfaction with the policies of village organization and re-education, among other related aspects.

2.2.1 Political Causes
One of the main causes of the post-independence Mozambican conflict had a foreign political nature and was closely linked to the superpowers' claims for geopolitical and geo-strategic control of the region.

Several trends and lines of research raised different arguments and theories to explain the political causes that led to the conflict. According to RENAMO, the main motivations for the start of the war were the repressive policies adopted by FRELIMO immediately after independence[16] Seibert (2003:255). The fact is that many Mozambicans served under the Portuguese forces that fought against FRELIMO and, in the transition towards the new state, were not integrated within the People's Forces of Liberation of Mozambique. Many of these soldiers were demobilized and handed over to their fate and others were integrated into the State administration, but those who assumed leadership positions or had committed atrocities against the populations that supported FRELIMO, or against FRELIMO itself, were victims of persecution and summary trials. Scores were sent to re-education camps and others were convicted and imprisoned. The same kind of treatment was applied to people who expressed open opposition to FRELIMO. According to Amnesty International, many Mozambicans were sent to re-education camps between 1975-1978, where they were targets of torture, beatings and other types of punishment. Torture and other forms of ill-treatment were also reported in several prisons in Maputo and other cities (Amnesty International, 1985:2-6).

Others believe that the political cause of the war was the adoption of a one-party regime that stifled all opposition movements and prevented democratization (Bolinhas, 2005). At the time, FRELIMO justified its actions by arguing that they were necessary to maintain the revolutionary momentum at stake, considering the movement's distrust of the political parties that arose between 1972 and 1974. During that period, several parties were created; some were created by former members or dissidents of FRELIMO with the intention, according to some, to face off against FRELIMO in a possible election, others were created by, or stimulated by, the Portuguese colonial government to prevent FRELIMO from assuming full control of the territory, and others still were created by nationalists, interested in contributing to the democratization of the country. Many of these parties did not participate in the efforts of the national liberation struggle and only appeared on the national political stage when FRELIMO's victory became certain and irreversible.

FRELIMO regarded those parties with extreme distrust. For the Lusaka Accord[17], FRELIMO demanded to be recognized as the sole and legitimate representative of the Mozambican people. Following this decision, upon assuming power, FRELIMO determined the illegality of the other parties and suppressed the opposition. The immediate consequence was the alignment of these excluded parties to RENAMO, with special mention of Orlando Cristina and Jorge Jardim who created a Special Group to confront the FRELIMO guerrillas in the center of the country, following André Mantsangaissa's escape from the Sacaze Re-education Centre and who later became known to head the MNR (Mozambican National Resistance Movement, the current RENAMO), which was followed by Afonso Dlhakama's escape to Southern Rhodesia where he came to divide the leadership of the Resistance Movement with André Matsangaissa (Tomás V. Mário 2004).

A line of research, of little weight, but that calls for consideration, argues that the 16-Year War resulted from the ethnic cleavages that started at the time of the struggle for national liberation and that were strengthened in the post-independence when FRELIMO privileged ethnic groups from the South and North of Mozambique while maintaining a policy of exclusion for groups of the Central region of the country, more precisely from the Sofala and Zambézia provinces. This branch of analysis did not gain ground because both FRELIMO and the established Government kept a certain regional and ethnic representation, where imbalances apparently resulted from circumstantial and connected issues and not from deliberated or intentional acts. Of course, this interpretation is not consensual. Although the ethnic argument is not widely referred to in the literature on war, as a key cause, Bolinhas (2005) defends the position that one of the causes of war was the "fragile national cohesion, typical in multi-ethnic and multicultural post-colonial states."

[16] Frelimo's concept of repressive policies aggregates a series of policies whose function was to contain and silence expressions of opposition, subversion and dissidence against the established regime. This position can be found in several speeches by Afonso Dlhakama and several senior executives of RENAMO. As an example, it can be found in: SAPO News (8 June 2015): Dhlakama: Frelimo memorized "all that colonialism did", available at: https://noticias.sapo.mz/actualidade/artigos/dhlakama-fre-limodecorou-tudo-o-que-o-colo-nialismo-fazia-2, accessed on 17 January 2019 and SAPO Notícias (5 June 2015): RENAMO was born from "Frelimo's betrayal of independence" -- Dhlakama, Available at: https:// www. sapo.pt/noticias/RE-NAMO-nasceu-de-traicao-da-fre-limo-a_55717ec45648c4f179be-57de, Accessed on 17 January 2019. For a more comprehensive listing of Frelimo's repressive policies – Walldorf, Charles William (2008): Just Politics: Human Rights and the Foreign Policy of Great Powers, Cor-nell University Press, Ithaca.

[17] Accord between the delegations of the Mozambican Liberation Front and the Portuguese State, with the goal of establishing the agreement leading to the independence of Mozambique which took place between the 5th and 7th of September 1974 and which was the corollary to the proclamation of independence, after a transition period of 1 year.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

31

2.2.2 Social Causes

According to Riccardi (2008) "there were elements linked to the dissatisfaction of the North with the South; the discontentment of the religious due to the nationalization of their infrastructures – schools, hospitals, chapels – and due to the anti-religious campaigns carried out by the Government during the period of post-independence by proclaiming itself a Secular State and nationalizing the Catholic Church's possessions;" some social segments called for the "issue that the State be the only entity responsible for building the vision of the world and the values of Mozambican society" (Baloi, 1995). This was manifested through the prohibition of freedom of press and association and the banning of traditional authority, among other aspects.

2.2.3 Economic Causes

One of the branches of existing research contends that the civil war in Mozambique emerged because of the nationalization policies adopted by FRELIMO post-independence. This branch of analysis considers that the seizure of Portuguese properties and their submission over to the Mozambicans of black race would have created resentment and revolt among numerous Portuguese who saw themselves forced to leave the country. In fact, part of the Portuguese who left Mozambique migrated to Southern Rhodesia where, in contact with the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency), they helped to create a proxy rebel group composed of Portuguese ex-military, Portuguese radicals who took refuge in Rhodesia and various dissatisfied black Mozambicans or deserters from the People's Forces of Liberation of Mozambique – FPLM[18]. The motivation for these groups was not necessarily the removal of the black-majority government but in fact the restitution of the injustices committed against the whites when the government had decided to nationalize their properties. Indeed, one of RENAMO's main themes during the 16 years of war was the need to return properties to their "legitimate" owners.

Another line of analysis sustains that the war was also motivated by the introduction of socialism in Mozambique, more precisely by the policy of collectivization of the land and the creation of popular farmlands that would have created a feeling of dissatisfaction within the Mozambican agricultural communities who had hoped that independence would allow for the return of their land, which had been confiscated by the colonists, or for the distribution of land by those who did not possess any. (Bowen, 2000); (Geffray, 1990); (Dinerman, 2006).

FRELIMO's support for Zimbabwe's ZANU and South Africa's ANC, which fought against the racist regime of Ian Smith and Apartheid, respectively, created a serious boycott of the economy of the country it resented, and experienced one of its worst crises, creating conditions for the erosion of FRELIMO's social foundations, which were used by RENAMO to form its own base of support within the population. This contestation manifested itself by the open or covert support given to RENAMO by Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and later by the South African Apartheid regime. The discontent produced by FRELIMO's economic policies fueled RENAMO (Funada-Classen, 2012). Individuals with vast lands or considered rich ended up forced to abandon their lands and become poor in communal villages, causing significant alterations to their social status.

[18] People's Forces of Liberation of Mozambique – FPLM, the armed wing of FRELIMO and the first Mozambican army to become the Mozambique Defence Armed Forces after the signing of the general peace agreement, integrating the RENAMO men.

Chapter III

Situation of Women in Armed Conflict

Situation of Women in Armed Conflicts

3.1 General Overview of the Violence Against Women and Girls During Armed Conflicts

An essential characteristic of the armed conflicts that has occurred in recent decades is that it occurs within the national borders of the state. Internal armed conflicts, whether opposing the government and an armed group or several armed groups, are increasingly characterized by asymmetrical tactics and guerrilla strategies that result in rebel forces infiltrating the population to camouflage itself or to wage violence against it. War takes place on battlefields inhabited by civilians, and the civilians are the main currency of the dispute. All belligerents want to ensure the support of the civilian population, all the while seeking to prevent it from supporting their adversaries. Civil wars are waged in the midst of civilians, by civilians and against civilians.

In armed conflicts, there are two types of violence against women and girls, generally found in different situations and contexts. In certain contexts, victims of violence are not chosen on the basis of their sex or age. All are targets of some type of violence. However, women, children and the elderly are often the most affected by war due to their inability to protect themselves, flee or defend themselves from generalized violence or for being often used as weapons of war themselves in conflicts. For their part, while children and the elderly may be ignored by the belligerent forces due to their harmless condition, women are often attacked because they fulfill the sexual needs of the men fighting. It matters little whether the woman is a friend or an enemy, for each time the opportunity presents itself, the belligerents exploit the feminine weakness by using their bodies in all possible ways[19]. This type of violence often goes unnoticed and is understood as collateral damage, which contributes to this form of violence against women to go unreported, and often times ignored.

Another form of violence is that which occurs in circumstances where the woman is used as a weapon of war, exposed to situations of forced abortion and sterilization so that she may not reproduce, and in which her children are killed so that they may not join the ranks of the rebel or military group to which they belong.

Wars, mostly conducted by men, have in women a preferential battlefield – the breakdown of traditional institutions or the State, the fractures of social norms around traditional coexistence, the interruption of the right to life and the disrespect for human dignity all favour the affirmation of men over women. Sexual violence is, in this way, a symptom of structural patterns in society, such as the gender inequality that allows for all gender-based violence, including sexual violence in conflict, to go unreported.[20]

3.2 The Human Rights Violations Suffered by Women in Armed Conflicts

Violence against women during armed conflicts is influenced by patriarchy as a system of domination that is still maintained in many countries, by way of the contempt for women[21]. To get an idea of the levels of violence directed against women worldwide, the Constitutional Court of Colombia recognized that the sexual violence committed against women in the country was "a habitual, generalized, systematic and invisible practice in the context of the Colombian armed conflict."

In reality, there are various countries in conflict where this practice becomes habitual, generalized and systematic in such a way that one may assume that violence against women is part of the strategy and tactics of war throughout the world. Often times, the deliberate attack on women fulfills functions ranging from the desire to demoralize opponents, to the desire to impose fear and terror, or even constitutes the desire to eradicate an entire ethnic or religious group by eliminating the source of procreation of that very group.

[19] Sexual Violence as a Weapon: https://www.unicef.org/so¬wc96pk/sexviol.htm

[20] Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict? First, Understanding It: https://www.usip.org/publica Recommendations/2014/06/ending-sexual-vio-ence-lence-conflict-first-understanding-it

[21] Telesur: Mujeres colombianas: víctimas, combatientes y construc--toras de paz, Available at: https://www.telesurtv.net/telesuragenda/Mujeres-en-el-conflito-de-Colom--bia-20160722-0062. html, visitado em 15 de Setembro de 2018

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

35

When armed conflict involves ethnic or religious issues, attacks on women aim to denigrate or even destroy the continuity of that ethnic or religious community. To interrupt the reproductive capacity of a rival community is to destroy the very one responsible for the birth and raising of a new generation (Lindsey, 2001:28-29). This practice of genocide was highly visible in Kosovo and in Rwanda where women were targeted in order to exterminate or extinguish an ethnic group.

Violence against women in situations of internal armed conflict can assume a wide range of forms, including the following worth noting:

Acts of violence designed to strengthen the armed factions
1. Women are victims of economic looting
2. Women are coerced into joining armed groups
3. Women are forced to provide nourishment for armed groups

Acts of violence designed to create fear of, and obedience to, the armed factions
4. Women are victims of psychological violence
5. Women are victims of threats
6. Women are victims of torture
7. Women are imprisoned or deprived of liberty as punitive measures
8. Women are targets of degrading treatment and physical violence

Acts of violence used as a weapon of war
9. Women are victims of sexual assault
10. Women are victims of sexual slavery
11. Women are victims of forced prostitution
12. Women are victims of forced pregnancy
13. Women are victims of forced sterilization
14. Women are victims of sexual abuse
15. Women are forced to provide sexual services, as bargaining chips to safeguard the safety of their communities
16. Women are victims of trafficking

3.3 The Treatment of Women in Mozambican Society
In order to gain a sense of how women are treated during armed conflicts, it becomes indispensable, if not mandatory, to understand how Mozambican women are treated during moments of peace. It is important to understand the social relations in Mozambique and comprehend Mozambican culture. In general, Mozambican society does not reserve the same rights for men and women. In the Southern Region, the Catholic influence keeps the woman submissive to her husband, while in the North of the country it is the Islamic influence that keeps her in the same position of submission. Women are also treated differently in the matrilineal societies of the north and the patrilineal societies of the south. The idea that matrilineal societies are less exclusive than patrilineal societies is not true. Women in the north suffer the same forms of physical, psychological, moral and economic violence as women in the south.

From a formal point of view, the State protects women and stimulates their emancipation and equality of rights and duties, but society is still governed by traditional habits and customs. The provider of family well-being is the man. It is for the man, in the first place, to provide nourishment, shelter, clothing and physical protection for the woman. Indeed, it is the man who marries the woman. It is he who conquers her and promises to care for her before her family, before society and even before she herself. For women are reserved the domestic chores, which include staying at home, taking care of the

children, cooking, washing, ironing and cleaning the house. The one who bring home sustenance is the one in charge. The fact is that the man, who provides the means of subsistence for the family, expects absolute obedience and permanent gratitude. This obedience and gratitude must manifest themselves through unconditional submission and the permanent satisfaction of the man's desires.

Even women who practice agriculture and who produce much do not have the decision-making power in the family because the lands in which they produce belong to their husbands and they are used as labor in the fields.

There is an alarming rate of domestic violence in Mozambique that has its roots in the social understanding of women's role of submission and subjection, as elicited above. Physical and psychological abuses against women can be further exacerbated by other factors, such as the low levels of education, excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages and the frustration that results from the lack of paid activities.

In some districts inland, violence committed against women by their partners demonstrates all kinds of extreme cruelty that can culminate in arson, homicide, bodily harm, poisoning and even witchcraft.

Certain cultural habits that evidence the subordinate role of the woman occur upon the death of the husband. Many women lose their possessions to their husband's relatives and even their heirs receive nothing. Another is the culture of Ku-Tchinga, wherein one of the husband's brothers takes the wife of the deceased brother as his own. The theories that protect women's equal rights are new and the majority of the population does not know them still. Only now are efforts being made to protect women's rights.

3.3.1 The Forms of Violence Suffered by Mozambican Women and Girls During Periods of Conflict

The level of violence and horror that women were exposed to in Mozambique had particularly horrific trademarks in certain provinces, such as Gaza or Sofala, precisely because they were the provinces considered to be the cradle of the main leaders of the FRELIMO government, against whom RENAMO had fought. Therefore, the violence had very specific characteristics, from the death of all male children and husbands of the victims in Gaza Province, to the torture of the populations to obtain information in Sofala Province. Another characteristic of the violence against women was the assassination of minors and fetuses that were, in a terrible way, removed from the wombs of women, before their own communities, and thrown into mass graves to set an example for other women who had no authorization or freedom to multiply the race of the maxanganas[22] and grow the ranks of the government forces.

[22] Name by which the populations of the Gaza province are known and treated.

Condition of the Victims

"My husband was in the military and we had six children. They assassinated my children. I saw them all killed, one by one. Then they forced us to have sex, but we couldn't. Irritated, they took him, tied him to the chair and two of them raped me, laughing and mocking my husband, then finished what they were doing, burned down the house and took me with them. That day I wanted to die, but I lived to see those who killed my children die. I was raped by a group of soldiers until my vagina swelled and bled and I could not walk, I was found two days later by civilians passing through there. They raped me and then inserted a knife, pebbles, iron, whatever was nearby."

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

37

"Our husbands were kidnapped and our children were turned into soldiers during the war period. In truth, we still have not managed to solve the problems that the war has created for us. I have a combatant's card given by the Ministry of Combatants, but it is not recognized by the people nor the authorities. When I show my card it is as if I am begging for alms. Our card only serves to give us discounts when we buy the train ticket to travel to Beira. In addition to this, the other good thing about this card is that it also works at the hospital when we are sick and we go there to get treated."

Source: Testimony of Victims from Sofala and Zambézia Provinces, September 2018.

The participants from the conversation circles in Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza pointed out that the armed violence did not have a specific target, because rich and poor, educated or non-educated, men, women, children, teenagers, youth, adults and the elderly were all targeted. The young men had greater capabilities of fleeing and fighting in dangerous situations, while the women, children and the elderly were more vulnerable. The most able-bodied and developed male adolescents and children were taken to join the armed groups. The women were harassed, threatened and forced to provide supplies to the guerrilla fighters and were often forced into situations of servitude and obedience and forced to follow the march or, in other situations still, were raped and killed on the spot.

Some reports collected by our research indicated that in the event of a couple being found, the men were raped in front of their wives or the women in front of their men. The single women and girls were more preferred and desired to be captured.

Violence Committed Against Women

"I was found returning from the field. There were six men, tall and strong. When I saw them they were already close, I tried to flee, but they caught me soon, they surrounded me and five of them held me while one abused me. The young man had a big penis, when he finished the others also used me and then left me there, passed out. I was raped by six men at once, when I woke up I could not even walk. My husband was secretary of the neighbourhood, but someone went to complain that he had contact with the men of FRELIMO, another day they came to our house, I went to hide under the bed, he was captured and tied to the chair and they began to interrogate him. They began to scavenge the house for papers and found me hiding there, that day I wished to die. They caught me, tortured me, forced us to have sex in front of them and then raped me there. They tortured and killed my husband in front of me. That was a way to massacre the women. They used us by force and were mainly violent when they came back from a combat they had lost, they became nervous and raped men and women alike, and anyone who did not accept was murdered."

Source: Testimonials of Victims from Conversation Circles in Zambézia Province, September 2018.

The main type of violence committed against women was related to situations of sexual harassment, promoted by government forces or by RENAMO guerrilla fighters, against women living near the military units, like barracks, bases or camps spread out through the country; and sexual rape, which occurred

38

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

as much on the battlefield as in the populous centers, such as villages, small towns, towns or cities. Some of those interviewed said that not ever act of rape was committed by members of the military since the environment of insecurity allowed evildoers and criminals to commit acts of rape whenever the opportunity presented itself.

Violence Committed Against Women

"I was kidnapped with my family and part of the community in Alto Benfica. We walked long distances, the children in the group got tired and fell and were murdered right there, I lost two nephews on this walk. One of the ladies participating in the walk was ordered to murder her son because he was crying, and another gave birth on the road. It was normal for them to murder children and put them in the beans, saying they were to become bean stew and force everyone to eat. They would send the mothers to pound or murder their children, others would find pregnant women and open their bellies and remove the fetuses, and carry the umbilical cord, remove people's guts and use them to encircle a space. They also sometimes castrated the men's penises and put them in their mouth as cigarettes. They were truly violent, so we who survived, we only thank God and try to move on with our lives."

Source: Testimonials of Victims from the Conversation Circles in Zambézia Province, September 2018.

If a village or small town were the target of an attack by RENAMO or of a retaliation operation by government forces, it was common for acts of rape to occur against the women present. Group rape was one of the more common forms of violence committed during the war. Acts of rape or sexual assault could occur during an attack or even during periods of captivity on military bases. When the government forces involved themselves in such acts, they occurred mostly during military operations and rarely on military camp spaces as control there was tighter, according to some women in the conversation circles from Zambézia and Nampula.

When questioned about the existence or not of situations of sexual slavery, our interlocutors in Gaza and Zambézia provinces were unanimous in stating that on RENAMO bases the abducted women were treated as sex slaves for the commanders or even for ordinary guerrilla fighters. They reported that many women were there to serve, only and exclusively, as sex slaves and that they were used for the guerrilla fighters to, in their words, "relieve themselves." Many of these women and girls were used by one or more guerrilla fighters, and only when a strong or powerful guerrilla member decided to take these women and girls as wives were they ceased to be used by everyone. As there were no contraceptive methods, many of these girls had early pregnancies and had many children. When the war ended it was possible to see many girls returned or come back carrying more than six children.

Another type of violence committed against the women did not involve penetration of the penis into the vagina, but targeted the women's vagina directly. The most common act was rape involving the introduction of objects into the victim's vagina. This situation could occur after the sexual satisfaction of the rapists or when the victim was reluctant and struggling to avoid rape. Many women saw their babies, children or husbands raped or killed in front of them. They were forced to witness atrocities committed against their loved ones and on several occasions were forced to commit these atrocities, themselves, against them.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

39

[23] https://www.pubfacts.com/detail/12504485/Gender-based-violence-in-refugee-settings

[24] https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/ abs/10.1111/j.0361-3666.2004.00260.x

[25] http://www.endvawnow.org/up-loads/modules/pdf/1405612658.pdf

[26] Curriculum Guide for Managing Gender-based Violence Programs in Humanitarian Settings, 2011

3.3.2 Social Perception on the Motivation of Violence Against Women in the Armed Conflict in Mozambique

In the literature on violence against women in conflict (Jeanne Ward & Beth Vann 2002[23] Michelle Hynnes et all 2004[24] and UN Women 2013[25]) one can find a long list of motivations for choosing women as targets of violence. Some authors argue that rape is used as a strategy to impose terror and intimidate the population of a certain region in order to stop collaborating with government authorities or the armed forces. Others argue that rape, especially group rape, is a means of creating cohesion among combatants in the sense that all share the same trophy.

From the same perspective, women are used as a prize or as spoils of war, especially after a victorious battle, since at each stage of the conflict or war situation, they are, according to a United Nations Population Report (2011)[26], subject to different types of violence. Rape aims to create an atmosphere of submission in the population, as a means of demonstrating power and control, beyond being a means for the forced contamination of diseases contamination upon a population.

The violence committed against women during the armed conflict in Mozambique has its roots, in part, in the conception that many guerrilla fighters had of the traditional role of men and women. Many believed that the woman's main function was to serve the man, regardless of being her married or not. In fact, traditional education insists that a woman can never refuse to serve the man, especially if he is her husband. Therefore, the woman should serve the man in bed whenever he needs. On the other hand, domestic violence against women was not seriously condemned by traditional practices, given a certain complacency towards husbands who committed acts of violence against women considered "misbehaved," "disrespectful" and "adulterous."

Women who have been raped are usually considered "responsible" or "guilty" for the violence they have suffered. In the perception of many men, if a woman is physically raped, this is in response to something she did, for something she deserved. Others still, think that women need to be physically assaulted to be kept in line, or even because they like to suffer such violence.

According to most of the men interviewed for this study, the violence against women during the sixteen-year armed conflict is explained by a simple reason: it is that many RENAMO soldiers remained in the bush for a long time without involving themselves with women, and on the first occasion that they met women, they just had to relieve themselves. Almost all were unanimous in considering that the first motivation was necessity. From this perspective, rape was the result of biological needs.

Other men and women interviewed from the circles believe that violent acts occurred as punishment against the population of the villages, towns or cities that supported government forces.

According to some interviewees in Sofala and Nampula provinces, government forces were more violent against those that supported RENAMO. Some interviewees, who confirmed their belonging to RENAMO, report episodes of extreme and indiscriminate violence committed by the armed forces against villages and settlements that supported RENAMO. This type of violation also served three purposes: first, it served as a means of extracting information; second, as a means of destroying social and cultural cohesion within these villages, towns or cities; and third, it aimed to create an atmosphere of submission among the population.

A significant portion of those interviewed in Gaza province argued that women suffered more due to their usefulness. While a large portion of the adult men were shot or killed and the children and young men were integrated into RENAMO's ranks, the women were preserved because of their ability

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

to provide pleasure and services. According to one of those interviewed, "if the woman were not so useful, she would be slaughtered like any man".

Motivation for the Military Members to Rape Women

"It is very hard to say what the real motivation is for men to rape women during war. According to them, some of the hypotheses raised here are very theoretical. One of the women interviewed stated categorically that the majority of RENAMO guerrilla fighters used drugs or consumed some kind of drugs. The young drug addicts were the most violent and practiced all kinds of violations against women. They were under the effect of drugs more than anything. They were altered people. Others used traditional medicines and as a result committed atrocities that even involved drinking the victims' blood. Some traditional remedies required the men to rape women, especially the younger women. The use of traditional remedies or drugs was also recorded within the armed forces and served as a psychological element to impose fear and respect among the people and, above all, of the armed forces. Therefore, men sometimes raped based on the recommendations of tradition. The atmosphere of mysticism surrounding the Sixteen-Year War, coupled with the low levels of literacy and the preservation of traditional culture, helped maintain mystical and/or cannibalistic practices, or others of that nature, with combat strategies or tactics. Violence can be seen as a way of demonstrating power and control. This strategy was not uniquely used by the RENAMO commanders since, according to information gathered, many commanders of the armed forces were considered to be evil and executioners because they did not spare the civilian population as a strategy to maintain respect and fear within the ranks."

Source: Participant from the Conversation Circles in Nampula Province, September 2018.

3.3.3 Profile of the Victims in this Study

The profile of the women victims of armed violence in the Sixteen-Year Conflict in Mozambique must be drawn, keeping in mind that these reflect a post-conflict situation, two and a half decades after the signature of the General Peace Accord, in Rome in 1992. Therefore, in terms of age groups, none of the direct victims from the military armed violence interviewed for this study were under the age of 30.

As for the victims' level of schooling, many have no schooling at all, considering that the long years of war did not allow them the opportunity to study. The war destroyed almost the entire school network in rural areas and had quite an impact on the urban school network. Data from the National Institute of Statistics and the Ministry of Education of Mozambique indicate high levels of illiteracy in the country – around 44.9[27] percent – and the circumstances of the war are always highlighted as one of the causes for this situation[28].

Mozambique has more than eight million people who cannot read, write and do calculations, of which five million are teenagers and young people, ages 15 to 19, and another three million are elderly, mainly women.

Most of the victims who participated in the conversation circles were widows. Their husbands died during the war and were unable to return home. The war period did not allow them to have many

[27] According to data released by the National Director of Primary Education on the occasion of international literacy day in 2016. News available at https://www. dw.com/pt002/em¬mo%C3%A7am-bique-quasi-metade-of-popu-la%C3%A7%C3%A3o-%C3%A9-al-nalfabeta/a-19529655

[28] This destruction of the school network is still reflected in the country's high levels of illiteracy, which are highest in the province of Cabo Delgado, at 60.7%, and lowest in Maputo, at 9.5%, according to data from the Ministry of Education for the year 2017. ▶

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

41

children. The majority of the victims' testimonies underlined that their children had either been killed during the war or had been kidnapped or recruited to join the ranks of the parties in conflict. This situational framework caused their social and economic situation to deteriorate considerably.

Their main source of income for subsistence comes from three leading sources: agricultural activities, subsidies from the Ministry of Combatants, and subsidies from the Ministry of Gender and Social Action. Although these pensions are made available on time, they are not sufficient to cover the needs and concerns, given that food is necessary, school expenses for the children and grandchildren must be paid, and keeping some money aside for medical bills and medicines is also vital. The pensions are too low to cover the bare expenses.

3.4 Women's Participation in the Conflicts in Mozambique
Ever since the period of proclamation of national independence, in 1975, the demographic data of Mozambique point to the fact that the number of women has always surpassed that of men. From a total of roughly five million in 1977, the number of women tripled over the next four decades.

DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE: 1970-2017				
Population Census	Total National Population	Men	Women	National Female Population (%)
1970	9,407,700	4,572,200	4,835,000	51.39%
1975	10,627,300	5,171,000	5,456,400	51.35%
1980	12,130,000	5,908,500	6,6221,500	51.29%
1997	15,278,334	7,320,900	7,957,386	52.08%
2007	20,366,795	9,735,000	10,524,035	51.67%
2017	28,861,863	13,800,857	15,061,006	52.18%
Total Average	16,111,999	7,751,410	8,342,555	51.66%

Source: INE (2015:16-17) and Tsandzana (201:13)

Considering that the women are in higher number than the men, little has been studied and systematized on the subject in Mozambique. The history of the armed conflicts shows that they have different effects on men and women. The modern armed conflicts are full of violence against women. Mozambique is not an isolated case. The deliberate attack on women fulfils functions which range from the desire to demoralize opponents, the desire to impose fear and terror or even the desire to wipe out an entire ethnic or religious group by eliminating the source of procreation for that group.

According to Kauffman & Williams (2013) the participation of women in armed conflicts divides opinions: while some argue that the participation of women is effective and direct, others believe that it is indirect. The latter defends that women's participation in armed conflict is done indirectly, when they provide moral, spiritual, or logistical support, or when they give shelter, protect or provide information

to the armed groups. There are only few case of women involved in combat situations and even fewer involved in regiments, companies, platoons or battalions composed solely of women or headed by women.

It is generally recognized that women can take part in war because of a desire to avenge the death of a loved one, the necessity to take revenge for an abuse suffered directly, or when motivated by the need to restore a community right, or even when they are forced or intimidated into doing so.

The women interviewed in Gaza, Sofala, Zambézia, and Nampula acknowledge that many women participated during the 16-year war, but that this participation was mostly indirect. For them, the woman played a secondary role in the stage of operations. When asked whether the women had served as spies or informants, our interlocutors reported that many women provided information to government forces about the movement of RENAMO's armed men in their villages or towns. Given that their activity was mostly agricultural and that they stayed for long periods in the fields, the women were able to identify the presence of strange men and report to the authorities, but not all of them did so for fear of reprisals from RENAMO.

On the opposite side, according to reports heard in the conversation circles, there were women who provided information on the army's movements to RENAMO guerilla fighters. Oftentimes, these women misinformed the government forces or led them into ambushes. When one of the parties discovered that these women were involved in the providing of information, they were severely punished or harshly raped. Neither RENAMO forces nor government forces spared such women.

Women and the Mozambican Armed Conflict

"The women did not play a decisive role in the course of the armed conflict in Mozambique, in the sense of being actors and protagonists in the military incursions of the parties involved in the conflict. They were practically direct victims and instruments of war. Most of the women who found themselves involved in the war were forced through kidnappings during the attacks on the villages, schools, and businesses, or found on their way to the fields or in their search for firewood or water. Both groups, FRELIMO and RENAMO, were recruiting through kidnappings, however the women emphasized that it was better to be kidnapped by FRELIMO because they were less violent than RENAMO. There were also cases of women that went to voluntarily turn themselves in to the combatants, mostly to join the FRELIMO forces, fleeing their villages as a strategy for survival and seeking protection."

Source: Testimony from the Conversation Circle in Nampula – Mogovolas, September 2018.

When the armed conflict began in Mozambique, many women had already started the emancipation process but had no significant political or military presence. Women, although represented in some political sectors, had no decision-making power in social life, let alone in military life. On the side of government forces, it was rare to see female military units fighting against RENAMO guerrillas and it was also rare to see groups of female guerrilla fighters combating against government forces.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

43

Although women's participation in acts of violence or during combat had been relatively small, some interviewees acknowledge that their contribution cannot be underestimated and further acknowledge that women were essential in the logistical operations for RENAMO, whether forced or done voluntarily; they actively participated in the production and cooking of meals for RENAMO guerrilla fighters, offered supplies and quarters for RENAMO guerrillas and government forces in areas controlled by them, or in areas under transition. Generally, the women took care of the education of the children of the guerrilla fighters and of all residents in the areas under the control of RENAMO and FRELIMO, providing shelter, protection or nourishment to the fighters on both sides.

Beyond this, there were cases, albeit less frequent, in which women incited and committed acts of violence. Some reports indicate that some women were morally responsible for acts of violence committed against other women when the latter ordered their partners to rape those women taken to RENAMO bases. Some witnesses claim that there were female executioners and that they used their position of authority to impose themselves on other women. One of our women interviewed in Gaza province affirmed that "... in some cases, the women were more violent than the men..." referring to a feared commander of the RENAMO forces who spread terror in some parts of the province, in Zambézia, in the Ile District.

In the conversation circles of Gaza and Sofala, some reports placed the woman as the instigator and agitator of violence. In this specific case, it is reported that the women from RENAMO or those who resided on RENAMO bases for a long time adopted the same violent behavior as their male counterparts, mainly towards the newly arrived and newly abducted women and girls. Given that they had lived on the bases for longer and had marital ties to the RENAMO guerrilla fighters, these women had seniority status and had authority over the newcomers, against whom they administered, or ordered to administer against others, punishments or aggressions. This was a result of the newcomers complaining about the hard labor or demanding to return to their homes or areas of origin. An example was given that girls had been raped or suffered violence at the behest of these women.

One of the participants in the conversation circles pointed out that in Mogovolas the RENAMO men who surrounded the village shouted the name of a female commander. The voice of command responding to the men belonged to a woman. The interviewee affirms that she could not see the face of this woman because it was hidden but that it was possible to observe other women in the group. But the majority were men. The participant had information that in Nampula province there was a female RENAMO commander who was very feared and very violent. Only few testimonies supported this information given that in the other cases people reported what they heard was said. In any case, it was clear that there were no RENAMO groups composed exclusively of women and that the units headed by women were unusual.

Kidnapped Women in the War Period

> *"...I was kidnapped by the Government troops. For years, I served as their cook. The commander defended women very much and there were always punishments for those who abused or tried to abuse the women..."*

> *"...I was captured when I was returning from the field. The others managed to escape, but because I was carrying the child on my back I couldn't run. I was taken, along with three other women, to a base where I stayed for a period of about two years, until I managed to escape and return home to my village..."*

"...I was captured in the attack of Nicoadala and Muselo. It was a very violent attack and it occurred during the night. By the time that we became aware of their presence, they had already surrounded the village and we were caught in the middle of the battle between the Government Forces and RENAMO. In this attack there were many deaths and many of us were taken with RENAMO. Everything happened during the night and in the middle of a shooting..."

"...I was kidnapped when I was coming back from my field and they took me to the Central Base. Mongue. It was very difficult to escape from that place because there was a lot of control, even when we had to do activities inside the base – growing the field, fetching water and firewood – there were always soldiers escorting us..."

"...Our group was found in the river. They made us walk one whole day, with heavy loads on our heads. Those who could not stand it died right there. The others were murdered because they fell all the time with the load. We never saw women during the attacks. What could happen was to see them before the attacks, they came to do reconnaissance, they acted crazy and walked half-naked around the neighborhood. When they disappeared, we were attacked either on the very same day or a few days later..."

"...I lived for about five years on a RENAMO base. At the time I was kid-napped at Sede-Bala, in Maganja da Costa. Life on the base was difficult. We were forced to marry soldiers or to be the wife of the military chiefs. The chiefs' wives were in better condition because they were protected and were not abused in any way. When there were lootings in the villages, they were the first to choose the goods and were entitled to salt. The other women were used as maids; they cooked for the soldiers; they cultivated the fields inside the base; they fetched water; and during the night they were used by the soldiers; we were forced to keep having sexual relations and we could be with a different soldier every night and there was no way of refusing..."

Source: Testimony from the Conversation Circles in the Provinces of Nampula, Zambézia and Sofala (2018).

As can be noted from the testimonials presented above, most of the women carried out domestic work, cooked, washed, fetched water, looked after the soldiers' houses, and carried material. A majority of them were forced to marry the soldiers or serve as their women. On the other hand, they received paramilitary and self-defense training, and served as spies or messengers – those who managed to gain the trust of the chiefs – but few became military members – operative combatants – and none of them succeeded in becoming head of any military command. The women were excluded from the attacks, stayed on the bases and looked after the sick and worked the fields. There were also some women, especially those fighting the war for national liberation, who returned to their barracks and were combatants.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

45

These statements allowed us to conclude that in the Mozambican armed conflict women played an active, yet secondary, role and that they were not sources of systematic and organized acts of violence. They were more victims of the military violence than the protagonists of this violence. In practical terms, the role of the woman was reserved almost exclusively to: operations of espionage and information-gathering; psychological operations, propaganda and disinformation; the carrying of supplies, weapons and various products resulting from the pillaging operations; cooking food on the bases; caring for the children and production operations; and finally, as partners for the military-men who occupied the bases.

3.5 Impact of the Violence on the Life of Women and Girls During Armed Conflict

During armed conflicts, the effects of violence on women's lives are visible[29]: sexual violations, displacement in search for safety, forced marriages, etc. After conflicts, the suffering becomes invisible and includes psychological damages such as rejection at the community level, feelings of hatred, distress, despair, depression, and revenge, among others (Pereira, 2016).

The violence of armed conflicts produces different effects or consequences in each individual, and each individual has his/her own mechanisms for overcoming or managing pain and distress. However, it is believed that there are substantial differences in the way men and women face the scars of war.

When they are forced to take refuge, women feel the need to take all their dependents with them, from children to the elderly, and the loss of any one of these dependents greatly affects the women, whom often are forced to see their son go to war and abandon the family; many women see their sons get kidnapped for war and their daughters abused.

3.5.1 Social impact

One of the impacts of the Sixteen-Year War's Armed Conflict was the collapse of families, of communities and the destruction of the social fabric. Many girls lost their parents and became orphans. Those who had relatives close to their villages were taken in by these families while others were forced to stay in their regions of origin. Others followed the various columns of refugees seeking safe haven in Zimbabwe and in Malawi. The people that lived alongside the border districts sought refuge in the neighboring countries as a way to escape war. The conflict led to the displacement of most of the population to the refugee center where they stayed until the end of the conflict.

According to the reports of the women who participated in the conversation circles, life in the refugee center was not the best, they were mistreated by the Malawians, there was a lack of food and water which forced the women to cross the border into Mozambique in search of bare necessities, to sustain their families, all the while running the risk of being kidnapped. Many girls who went to the refugee centers were victims of sexual abuse along the way or within the refugee centers, committed by people linked to the refugee centers.

Many women saw their families torn apart by the loss of their husbands or children, whether by death or kidnapping. The number of widows or abandoned women grew dramatically. Entire communities or villages were left uninhabited as a result of the attacks or as a result of population exodus. Some communities remained in place but were constantly victims of harassment by RENAMO forces or the government. Generally, the conflict resulted in many deaths, disappearances and people fleeing to safer areas. One of the main consequences of the war was the rural exodus.

[29] Triangle of violence developed by Johan Galtung which refers to the visible and invisible effects of violence.

46

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

With the end of the conflict in 1992, the reception of women was not the same for all. Some of the women interviewed affirmed that they did not suffer stigma or discrimination for the rapes they had endured, because their families understood that these were "acts of war" and also because the majority of the women suffered this type of violence. There were couples that stayed together recognizing that these were things of war. In these cases there were no divorces and the husbands welcomed their wives back and returned to their lives as a couple – the fruit of the awareness-raising work of the church and local structures as a way to ensure that kidnapped relatives were not rejected but, rather, reintegrated into their communities – in such a way that someone's return was celebrated. However, there were women who were marginalized by their families and who were not accepted back into their communities for various reasons, including stigma. They came to live as indigent renegades according to their families and communities, and they developed psychological and emotional disturbances that were never treated again.

Social Impact of the Armed Conflict on Women in Mozambique

"My aunt was kidnapped and stayed there a long time, and we hadbeen told that she was married to a commander, but when she returned my uncle accepted her back, they stayed together until she died. I stayed three years on a RENAMO base, I was raped several times, I suffered a lot. When I managed to escape and return home, my husband accepted me back, but I had difficulties maintaining romantic relations with him. I was even taken to counseling with the village elders, but I never succeeded in bearing children. To date I have no children, I believe I became sterile due to the violence I suffered. Those men were bad. Sometimes they would rape you and then put things in your vagina. Several times they would even put their own guns or irons they found nearby."

Source: Victim Testimony in Zambézia Province, September 2018.

3.5.2 Economic Impact

The economic impact can be measured in terms of direct and indirect effects. In terms of indirect impacts, we can assume from the statements of the victims interviewed that women were the most affected by the destruction of the economic infrastructure, such as roads and bridges, inflation in product prices, the scarcity of products in the markets, the interruption of road and rail traffic resulting in the reduction of trade and the mobility of goods and people as well as the interruption in the supply of basic services, such as water and energy. All of these impacted women in the sense that they, by nature, work in the informal trade sector and many of them lost their goods and their businesses as a result of the conflict.

Direct impacts refer to the interruption or reduction in families' agricultural production, the destruction of families' goods and properties, the loss of livestock, the thefts suffered, the scarcity of food resulting from the destruction of the farms and the economic exploitation to which many women were subjected. Other direct impacts relate to the loss of employment due to the closure of many factories and companies, the inability to sell production surpluses in local markets and the difficulties in purchasing basic food and hygiene products in markets.

About 60% to 70% of the women who participated in the conversation circles considered that the armed conflict represented a regression for all, because many interrupted their schooling and lost their jobs, beyond losing their houses that were burned down along with all their goods, having recovered only the farms, the land and properties that had not been destroyed.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

47

The armed conflict exacerbated the levels of poverty. At this level, this affected women tragically. Many women who returned to their areas of origin saw their property rights refused by their relatives, affecting mainly those women who returned to the families of their dead or missing spouses.

Testimony of a War Victim in Manjacaze District, Gaza Province.

"...I was captured to serve the sovereign defense forces in that famous operation/ campaign "take off your shirt" and already had 12 cattle heads. Had I not been captured I would already have many assets..." but today there exists no support for me or my family and we are all left to our fate ''... Today I have absolutely nothing and I cannot forget the war. Last year I did the 12th grade as an adult, but many of my companions don't have this option because they don't live here in Vila-Sede..."

As a result of having spent several years in captivity, in refuge or in the bush, many women did not have the opportunity to study or to follow a technical formation. When they were displaced to the larger urban centers in search of means to survive and subsist, these women could not be hired in formal employment. Many of these women were forced to prostitute themselves to survive and feed their dependents.

More than 90% of the women interviewed consider that peace did not allow them to recover their property or possessions and that there was no concern from the government to help the women returning from the bush having been forgotten by the State. For this reason, some women consider that peace brought on a new type of violence against women: economic violence. This new violence was not caused by RENAMO's men, but by the Government and the humanitarian aid agencies because they ignored the economic needs of women.

The War's Economic Impact on Women in Mozambique

"...I was working in a cotton company, when the war ended I returned to my village, but I had no documents to prove that I had been there, because all the factory's archives had been burnt down, and so I lost my job."

Source: Participant of the Conversation Circle in Nampula Province, September 2018.

3.5.3 Physical and Psychological Impact

The Mozambican armed conflict impacted men and women differently, in physical and psychological ways. The psychological impacts of the war resulted from several factors: (i) it was the acts of combat that caused the chaos; (ii) the fact of having lived under crossfire on a daily basis forced many women to experience situations of great emotional pressure and panic, due the shots and bombings that resulted in indiscriminate deaths that left the communities, and the women and children in particular, extremely frightened; (iii) the abuses suffered by women during the period of captivity on the military bases that fed their fear of being captured or abducted to the bases or of being killed and; (iv) the situations of sexual violation that women experienced in their areas of origin or even on the military bases.

Most of the after-effects resulted from the sexual violations that the women were subjected to. The consequences of the violence committed against women during the conflict were notorious and generally voiced during the conversation circles: many showed dread, fear and wept. Other demonstrated anger and non-conformity, feelings of vulnerability and very low self-esteem. They also emphasized that they experienced moments of panic and rarely were able to sleep, especially in the first years after the war. And other women suffered mental problems. The general attitude was to go on living and be thankful for not having died during the war. The women emphasized that they suffered greatly during the war, were afraid of sleeping, in addition to the loss of desire in maintaining romantic relationships with their husbands. Others pointed to problems of sudden change in temperament, increased aggressiveness and anxiety attacks. "We witnessed a lot of horrible things and these are difficult to forget," affirmed one interviewee.

The emotional consequences of the violence against women during the armed conflict did not disappear after the end of the armed conflict because many women manifested, for long, a feeling of anguish, of pain and sadness. The expressions of irreparable loss are still visible during the conversation we had with some women. Many women who were raped, still today, live traumatized and ashamed of what happened. Others show a sense of guilt and have difficulties in maintaining romantic relations.

Fear and ill-Treatment of Those Kidnapped on the Bases

"In the early days of captivity the dominant feeling was fear because they did not know what their fate would be. Many women stayed awake for hours on end in fear of being beaten in their sleep, others stayed awake hoping to find a breach to then flee. Only the bravest ones risked fleeing, for escape attempts were severely punished. Few got used to the environment of the bases because the fear of government attacks was permanent. Some of the women preferred, and hoped, that the government would attack the bases because they preferred to die rather than endure torture; others saw the attacks as an opportunity to escape. Anxiety dominated completely. But when enough time had passed, many had to face reality and went into depression. Many women committed suicide because they could not stand their suffering. The abuses – ill-treatment, chastisements and punishment – that women suffered in captivity will have played a decisive role in the development of various psychological problems. The mistreatment was not only physical, but included constant verbal aggressions and threats to their lives or to those of their dependents and children."

Source: Participant Testimony from the Conversation Circles in Zambézia Province, September 2018.

During the conversation circles, the second category of consequences and impacts of the armed conflict on women were of a physical nature. The interviewees' reports pointed to the record of people who had their upper and lower limbs amputated, or of women who had tried to escape captivity and had their nose, eyes, lips or ears cut off. A common practice of physical aggression was the tattooing, in cold blood, on the faces or other body parts of some women. This type of aggression corresponded to a morbid type of torture that culminated in exposing the flesh of the body.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

49

Other women suffered permanent bodily injuries such as sprains, broken arms or legs caused by beatings, trampling, pushing or dragging. Some report that the assaults could be done by more than one man and that they could end when the girl either died or fainted. There were women who lost the ability to see in one eye or lost their teeth because of the blows. Some permanent injuries were caused by the shrapnel from explosive instruments, such as grenades or mortars or from broken glass, but all of these stemmed from acts of war.

Impacts of Armed Violence on Women and Girls

Armed conflicts provide situations of armed violence with different types of impacts on the lives of women and girls: Psychological Impact – many women with dementia or mental health problems, many traumatized women, fear, anger, shame, loss of self-esteem and self-confidence, feelings of guilt, increased aggressiveness, panic attacks, loss of confidence, sensations of vulnerability, difficulty sleeping, difficulty concentrating, difficulty maintaining romantic relations, post-traumatic stress disorder, behavioral disorders; Physical Impact – increase in the number of disabled or incapacitated women, injuries result-ing from bullets and other sharp or perforating instruments, mutilated organs or limbs, scars, permanent body lesions; Impact on Health – reproductive capacity affected, proliferation of sexually transmitted diseases, health problems resulting from hunger and malnutrition, proliferation of diseases due to lack of medical treatment or basic medicines; Economic Impact – hunger, malnutrition, the practice of prostitution for survival, unemployment, increased rural and urban poverty, forced prostitution for nourishment, lack of shelter, lack of means of subsistence; and Social Impact – the collapse of their families and communities, various women without shelter or home, many women unable to return to their family lives, many women orphaned or widowed, many single mothers, many refugee or displaced women, illiteracy and education, stigmatization, social rejection, mistreatment.

3.6 The End of the Conflict and the Restoration of Peace in Mozambique: Adopted Reconciliation Processes

Mozambique is an example of "no justice" reconciliation where short-term ceasefire consolidation issues, such as the surrender of weapons by the population and the reintegration of the soldiers and refugees into communities, were conducted relatively easily due to several factors. One of these is the fact that the conflict did not derive from deep-rooted ruptures in society, such as ethnic or religious fractures, as was the case in Rwanda. Apart from the specific bi-polarization of "Them" and "Us" apparent in the relations between FRELIMO and RENAMO – substantiated by the type and level of violence that took place in the provinces of Gaza and Sofala given they represented, respectively, the bases of support and tribal origin for the members of FRELIMO and RENAMO – there was no significant record of profound differences between the different segments of society experiencing what was essentially an ideological conflict.

50

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

The end of the Sixteen-Year War constituted a euphoric moment for the communities. Still, co-existence was a difficult and gradual process, since in some villages, struggles and situations of conflict were frequent. The men stayed out drinking and, sometimes, talked about the things they did during the war, identifying the families or the names of people they had violated, which created agitation and nurtured feelings of revenge. The work of the local structures was generally effective in repressing these types of actions by holding awareness-raising meetings, wherein the perpetrators of the disorder were punished, or even still, by expelling them from the communities. For the women, there existed a group of elders who were called to meet with the younger women in order to educate them and help them overcome their fears of returning to normal life.

It was in this context that a framework of forgetfulness was adopted. This manifested itself through the organization of traditional rites of various kinds, post-war, aimed at purifying those individuals (men and women, victims and perpetrators) who had relevant roles to play in the war, by severing links with the past and integrating them into the communities. The post-conflict order was to forget what had happened and to move on with life; to avoid any recollection of the war, at the risk of such recollection being misunderstood and leading to the taking-up of arms again, thus compromising the much-longed for peace. The aim was to prevent the return to war, given the difficulty in identifying the violators and the subsequent possibility of arousing the public's grievances. For this reason, there was heavy investment in raising public awareness around the need to build peace by appealing for forgiveness and the forgetting of those acts of war. Innovative programs were employed, whose main objective was to reintegrate men, women and children back into their communities of origin. This reintegration framework was effective in ending the war but raised serious questions about the effectiveness of the approach as it did not allow to reach reconciliation in a broader sense.

Due to this approach, 85% of the participants in the conversation circles stated that they had not suffered stigma or discrimination from their local communities because of the acts of sexual, or other, violations they had suffered during the war. Local structures had organized groups of elders who conducted counseling sessions and community mobilization to facilitate the process of reintegration, and reception, of the victims, both within the family and the community. This led to few cases of divorce and discrimination, once most men had received their wives back and returned to normal life. These acts of reintegration were also extremely relevant to the process of re-socialization for children who were exploited in their communities of origin (Honwana, 2002).

However, it should be noted that, while this approach achieved the positive results mentioned above, allowing for a less violent peacebuilding process and scope, the outbreak of the last conflict in 2012 demonstrated the high price paid for denying the past and allowing impunity, as the structural elements of the conflict festered in the minds and daily lives of Mozambicans.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

51

The end of the conflicts in Mozambique (General Peace Accord of 1992 and the current agreement to cease hostilities, in force) represented for women a relief from the difficult and dramatic times of the Sixteen-Year War. However, these women consider, even in the context of peace, that they continue to be marginalized. And in the current peace-negotiation process they have not been granted a space to share their experiences and visions, contributing once more to the negotiation of peace without justice, without even considering the possibility of criminalizing the various forms of violations to women's human rights, nor in providing any opportunity to file any type of accusation, much less a specific program for treating the psychological traumas resulting from the aftermath of the war. This perception is substantiated by Veloso (2018:28) when considering that:

"…During the negotiation process, the mixed commission received much pressure, more or less intense, into allowing third parties to participate in the dialogue – in particular various associations from civil society, various religious groups and individuals... our response was always that it would be desirable for all to participate, but that they had to wait for the right moment, because the exercise in question was primarily to end the armed conflict which, in practice, only involved two entities: the Government and RENAMO..."

52

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Chapter IV:

The Participation of Women in Peace Processes, National Reconciliation and Post-Conflict Peaceful Coexistence

The Participation of Women in Peace Processes, National Reconciliation and Post-Conflict Peaceful Coexistence

4.1 Situational Overview and International Experiences

The adoption of Resolution 1325[30] by the UN Security Council (UNSC) in 2000 represented a decisive moment in the defense of women's rights around the world by recognizing, for the first time in history, the role of gender equality and women's leadership in international peace and security. As a result of this resolution, the perception that women can make a significant contribution to the processes of national reconciliation has been growing in recent decades.

The fact is that, according to Garasu (2002), many women play a relevant and decisive role in the national reconciliation processes in various countries. Whether done individually or collectively, via organizations, their roles do not go unnoticed. Many women use their status as matriarchs in the family to negotiate peace in their communities and, sometimes, use their feminine skills to maintain a constructive dialogue between antagonistic parties. For example, the author mentions that some women had the courage to go into the bush to fetch their children or to negotiate directly with the rebel groups.

A look at the world allows us to conclude that the role that women play in post-conflict reconciliation processes depends very much on the role that women play in the society in question. In most societies women are voiceless victims and remain unheard even after the conflict (Chandler, 2016). In many cases, the peace negotiations are conducted among men because they are the ones who hold military and political positions. In societies where women have a qualitative value, be it religious or traditional, their voice can influence the behavior of conflicting parties.

John Paul Lederach's conflict transformation theory discussed by Diane Chandler (2016) sustains that peace, following conflict, is a process of change that requires more supportive structures that respond to relational needs over events or agreements. In this sense, in accordance with McCarty's vision (2011) and Garasu's (2002), women can assist in the reconciliation process in several ways.

In Casimira's view (2003) there are 3 areas in which women can play a unique and crucial role in conflict resolution and the overseeing of reconciliation processes:

Women tend to focus on narratives. While men tend to discuss issues and negotiate positions, women share life stories with their community and feel at ease and comfortable exchanging personal narratives and experiences.

Indeed, following the example of Colombia, it is fairly clear how important were the narratives of the thousands of women who participated in the peace negotiation process, within the reconciliation processes. These had a significant impact on the resolution of the Colombian conflict. Contrarily, the men concentrated on telling the stories of the conflict itself, of their positions and convictions.

During the fieldwork for this study in the provinces of Gaza, Sofala, Zambézia and Nampula, what became noticeable was that women's stories and experiences gained relevance due to their emotional dimensions, presenting narratives that were so clear and specific about the horrors of war and its impact on the lives of the communities. Very clearly, the women recognized and accepted the differences between the parties in conflict, always calling for an end to the conflict regardless of the differences that separated the parties.

The awareness of the differences between the parties in conflict is clear and visible in the women's discourses and this plays a key role in reconciliation, in the sense that women can more easily focus on resolving differences rather than on prolonging them into irreconcilable positions.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

55

[31] https://www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace--processes

Women have "the capacity to grant pain a public expression" (Casimira, 2003). The role of pain, of dealing with personal loss and that of others, is intrinsic to reconciliation. A sincere understanding of the other comes with the will to understand pain, to accept, to confess and forgive.

Despite this wealth of narratives, their awareness of differences, and their ability to publicly voice their pain, women are usually excluded from formal discussions around processes of peace, transition and reconciliation around the world. They are systematically denied the right to participate in decisions that will shape their lives and those of their families and communities, wherein they themselves play a central and primordial role in guaranteeing stability and cohesion – representing the link most damaged during wartime with a view of the victims of the war.

Despite the progress made with the adoption of SC Resolution 1325 on the need to ensure women's participation in negotiation processes, there still exists many challenges in achieving this goal, since, with the exception of Graça Machel who integrated a team of 3 mediators at the time of the Kenyan electoral crisis in 2008, no other woman has been appointed as a mediator in peace negotiations in all of Africa.

Regarding the reference to gender-based violence in peace agreements, according to a study by the University of Edinburgh and the Council on Foreign Relations analyzing approximately 1,187 peace agreements negotiated between 1990 and 2017, only 19% of them referred to women and 5% referred to gender-based violence, confirming the continued marginalization of gender issues despite UN efforts[31].

In Mozambique, during the peace negotiation process in the 1990s and the recent ceasefire agreement between the government authorities and the RENAMO guerrillas, women's participation was insignificant in all areas of negotiation and none of the agreements referred to the issues of gender-based violence that occurred during the period of war and political-military tension. This demonstrated a continued marginalization of women's role in conflict resolution and the systematic ignorance of the victims within the conflict.

4.2 Women's Contribution in Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution

At the international level, women have been contributing to peace building and peace processes through a wide variety of roles, whether as negotiators, activists or community leaders (Caritas Canada, 2017). According to this perspective, evidence shows that the inclusion of women helps prevent conflict, create peace, improve reconciliation processes and sustain security after the end of the war. It is believed that women can also be a valuable resource for reconciliation initiatives, particularly when they are in a position to influence decision-making, as they enable negotiations to be conducted in a positive manner and the implementation of agreements to achieve their results. One of the ways in which women can engage in peace activism is at the local level of their communities. Women can also engage in peace activism through participation in the formal political system, such as in the establishment of political parties or organizations within civil society dedicated to peacekeeping.

Around the world, there are many rich examples of feminist organizations and women participating in peace processes. Oftentimes, these organizations worked behind the scenes or served as the basis for lobbying efforts towards peace, disarmament and the end to hostilities.

These organizations developed a strong lobby for the protection of human rights. Through various ways, women's organizations insisted on the imposition of sanctions against oppressive regimes or

advocated against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. Therefore, peace processes cannot be analyzed without looking at the decisive role played by various women's organizations operating at domestic and international level. Oftentimes these involve more emblematic organizations – gathering victims, displaced ex-wives, peasants, religious people, non-governmental organizations, community organizations, cooperatives, environmentalists, and savings cooperatives, among others – who seek to contribute to the process of peace and reparations.

According to Diaz and Tordjman (2012:3), women played a key role in the peace processes in Guatemala, Northern Ireland, El Salvador, the Philippines and Honduras. Although this participation deserves some emphasis, the authors point out that the average number of women participating in such official negotiation roles – negotiators, mediators, signatories or witnesses – remains notably low. According to the authors mentioned, studies demonstrate that female participation in peace talks is scarce and quite insignificant.

However, and still according to the same authors (Diaz and Tordjman (2012:3-11), beyond the scarce participation of women in negotiation processes, addressing issues of sexual violence against women is not usually a priority for the parties. In their opinion, the absence of women at the negotiation table is the main cause for the non-inclusion of gender-based violence issues in peace negotiations.

Women demand their involvement in the various tasks surrounding the negotiation process, whether as mediators or as members of mediation teams, as delegates of the negotiating parties, as negotiating parties representing women's agenda, as signatories, as witnesses, as representatives of female civil society through the role of observers, as gender consultants for mediators, as facilitators or delegates, as members of technical committees, or at a separate table or working group dedicated to gender issues.

Between 1990 and 2017, most, if not all, of the signed peace agreements did not refer to women, and much less addressed issues of gender-based violence, thus repeating an international standard that ignores the effectiveness of women's participation in conflict resolution, despite the recognition of women's contribution to the prevention and solution of these very things.

Women's Contribution to the Pacification Process

In a general way, based on McCarty's analysis (2011), it is assumed that women can help in the pacification process through their ability to establish relationships of trust: women frequently engage in peace activism through protests, vigils, public speeches, and political and economic boycotts. Women's groups usually hold workshops that require members of opposing parties to work together. Individual women and women's organizations are best suited to meet with the enemy without arousing suspicion, thus helping to build trust. Women tend to undertake initiatives on behalf of their communities rather than obtaining personal gains, which are in most cases considered neutral. The presence of women in negotiations can also facilitate more productive, and less aggressive, interactions. Their presence can, therefore, temper any hostility and promote focus around the opportunities to improve society, given women are "less likely to express rage and more likely to propose compromises," which can lead to a less confrontational exchange.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

57

Women play an integral role in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), given they already often assume the task of "supporting, re-integrating and rehabilitating ex-combatants." Women do this by providing physical assistance and temporary housing, caring for child soldiers and offering counseling. Combatants are often more willing to hand over weapons to women. Women invest in a successful implementation of DDR because they know that they are vulnerable to extreme violence. Women can put pressure on their husbands or children to seek more peaceful solutions to the conflict. Many women's organizations also promote education for peace. Women, as well as women's organizations, adopt a variety of strategies to reduce the fear and uncertainty after a conflict and promote an environment of trust and collaboration.

4.3 Situational Overview of Mozambique

When asked about women's participation in the pacification process in Mozambique, the majority of the participants from the conversation circles affirmed that women did not actively get involved in the negotiation process. According to one of the participants, until 1992 Mozambique had no specific laws protecting of women and there was no debate on gender equality. Despite this, Mozambique already had norms that incentivized women's emancipation. However, it must be acknowledged that at both the Government and armed forces level, the space occupied by women was negligible. As a corollary, no woman was part of the delegations from the FRELIMO Government and RENAMO at the negotiations held in Rome, although the mechanisms of public consultation, carried out by then-president Joaquim Alberto Chissano, had involved women through a strong and popular consulting campaign, whose main objective was to raise public awareness and gather its opinion around the possibility of negotiating with RENAMO. According to some of the women interviewed, this process involved many women from the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM)[32].

Despite this possibility of participation through the public consultations held, women are aware that they are not yet recognized as relevant actors in the peace processes, which is confirmed by their continued absence from formal peace processes.

The discourse around emancipation helped women become more active and fight for their survival, but it did not break the patriarchal structure that governs Mozambican society, explained one of our interviewees when she affirmed that ''...despite the current emancipation speeches, not all is well because tradition and cultural practices also represent challenging obstacles to women's inclusion in peace and reconciliation processes or in post-war governance."[33]

It can be noted that progress has been made in strengthening the role of women in the public and political sphere of the country. However, these advances are still in the early stages as women do not yet have a voice in the decision-making structures. Still today, women demand a space. Not infrequently, as in the negotiations for the agreement of cessation of hostilities, some women[34], by virtue of their functions, were signalled to take part in the negotiation process but they did not have any decision-making power. There is no equity in decision-making. No woman participated in the peace process that led to the Rome Accord[35] and this scenario can only be reversed if society at large, including women and feminist movements, demands more space for affirmation in the peace negotiation processes, such as the one currently under negotiation.

[32] The Organization of Mozambican Women is a partisan organization of FRELIMO created by tthen president of Mozambique Samora Moisés Machel with the objective of organizing the emancipation of women. It currently brings together and organizes many women in rural communities.

[33] General Deputy Attorney of Gaza Province interviewed on August 26th, 2018

[34] Benvinda Levi, then Minister of Justice who joined the government's Delegation at the initial peace talks in 2016. In addition to Benvinda Levi from the government's side, Maria Joaquina joined RENAMO's delegation, which was later baptized as a mixed commission created in May 2016 with the aim of organizing the initial contacts for the meeting between the President of the Republic and then-RENAMO Leader.

[35] The Rome Accord had two delegations: One from RENAMO led by Raul Domingos and the other from the Government led by Armando Guebuza, which was mediated and accompanied by authorities from Christian churches, and specifically the Catholic Church, the Italian government and several African governments without any reference to the participation of women.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Women's Contribution to Peace in Mozambique

"...We weren't consulted because they think women are incapable. To be honest, men are selfish. Only men are participating in the current peace process. The only exception was the participation of Benvinda Levy and Maria Joaquina in the Joint Commission. Men still do not value women. They are afraid of women. Women think that they are not capable. Women limit themselves and as a consequence men do not give us space. Space is something to be conquered. Today women already have vision. Different from the woman of the past. During the war they were forbidden to carry out many activities. But women still continue to suffer various types of violence. One of the important forms of violence is the exclusion from decision-making processes around the most important political issues, especially those that deal with issues of defense and security. Not all men are satisfied with the freedom that women enjoy today and not all of them are interested in women's empowerment. Emancipation troubles some men. Other men do not accept the power that women are gaining in recent years. Women must complain in order to reach this position and complain in a united way. We are to blame, we do not complain nor demand our rights, the absence of women is due to the weakness of women themselves as they do not know how to make themselves heard nor impose themselves..."

Source: Testimony from a Conversation Circle in Nampula Province, September 2018.

According to the participants in the conversation circles, the involvement of women could significantly change the way in which certain issues and themes related to war are treated because their sensitivity and tact could contribute to making achievable impositions, making necessary compromises and working around obstacles that often arise from the unyielding and aggressive attitude of the negotiating parties, who often negotiate without considering the real implications that war has on its victims.

Advocacy for women's participation in negotiation processes essentially derives from their ability to listen and express feelings as well as the fact that they are the ones who suffer the most from the consequences of the conflicts.

According to the women interviewed, the management around the processes of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), and around the resettlement of refugees and those displaced by war could be better handled by women given their predilection for results and their natural capacities to manage complex processes and share scarce resources – they are more oriented towards equity.

The absence of women also occurred again in the formation process of the new armed forces, the Mozambique Defense Armed Forces – FADM. No woman was chosen to head the new units created.

In the negotiation process that culminated in the signing of the Cessation of Military Hostilities Agreement on September 5, 2014, women played their part in lobbying through pressure movements organized by some organizations that defend and promote women's rights so that peace could be negotiated and achieved between the parties.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

59

[36] On Monday, RENAMO announced the suspension of the ceasefire it had declared on May 7th, following last Thursday's resumption of confrontations between its armed wing and the army and attacks on vehicles on the country's main road, in the central region, which had already left at least one dead and 24 wounded...". With this stance, of armed bandits, there is no doubt that RENAMO continues to be the enemy of the Mozambican people, that RENAMO does not want peace, that RENAMO is afraid to participate in the general and provincial elections of October," concluded the spokesperson for FRELIMO. Article retrieved from Agencia Lusa: FRELIMO calls RENAMO armed bandits, available at http://m. redeango-la.info/frelimo-chama-bandidos-arma-dos-a-renamo/
"We Mozambicans are not all thieves. We Mozambicans are not corrupt," stressed Maria Ivone Soares, the head of the RENAMO's party bench, in a speech at the 6th ordinary session of the Assembly of the Republic, in clear accusation of FRELIMO's party for its scandals around corruption and fraud in electoral processes. Article retrieved from Jornal a Verdade, available at http://www. verdade.co.mz/tema-de-fundo/35the-madefundo/63791-nos-osmocambica-nos-nao-somos-todos-ladrãoes-rena-mo-nao-se-pode-combater-a-corrup-cao-com- umdiscurso-romantico-mdm.

In the current process, women are still being excluded from the formal peace negotiation processes as they have integrated neither the commissions on decentralization nor on demilitarization. In order to reverse this situation, feminist organizations could organize themselves to demand and put pressure, in a systematic way, for gender issues to be considered in the processes referenced above, on the basis of a specific pre-established agenda around how, and on what foundation, this peace must be achieved.

When talking about post-conflict coexistence, the question around the consideration of security and peaceful coexistence immediately emerges. For Kriesberg (1998:184), there are three ways to build a basis for peaceful and just relations in post-conflict situations: first, the agreement must fit within the current and concrete conditions of the conflict; second, various means must be used to reconcile adversaries; and third, the intervention must be constructive and useful to move the parties towards a better path.

Mutual consideration between ex-belligerents is an essential instrument for reconciliation since, from there, members of parties who had antagonized each other move to see each other with respect and recognize each other as human beings – and therefore possess equal rights. The issue of security forecasts the absence of any desire for retaliation, on the victim's part against his/her ex-aggressor, and former adversaries begin to trust one another without fearing any kind of attack from the other party. The fact is that the post-conflict coexistence in Mozambique, while not having resulted in wide-spread violence, does not allow us to state that reconciliation occurred or that there exists mutual consideration and feelings of security, as Veloso (2018:15) posits in affirming that "...the best reconciliation is the political and constructive recognition of the RENAMO party and vice versa..."

In regions where the war took on a more aggressive front, especially in the provinces of Gaza, Sofala and Zambézia, the people are still resentful and feel that they were wronged by one of the former opposing parties. People who were under RENAMO's control or protection maintain a high level of antagonism and dissatisfaction with the Government, and vice-versa. These resentments manifest themselves clearly and openly during the election periods, where discourse around victimization always summons past blames.[36]

Everyone incriminates everyone and whenever the opportunity arises, it resorts to violence. The sympathizers of the FRELIMO and RENAMO parties confront each other on a battlefield with the aim of denigrating the other based on what they had done in the past, which is often accomplished in search of some electoral benefit. As a result, reconciliation never takes place.

In the same way that they hold on to memories of the past, the sympathizers of the ex-belligerents do not feel safe enough to live without fear of retaliation or counter-attack from their adversaries. The fear of the opposition is clearly visible during the periods that precede the elections, when barricades around party identity are erected. Even after the elections looms a period of uncertainty around security because those who are unsatisfied with the results are always predisposed to start trouble. Although Mozambique experiences periods of significant calm, the political intolerance always manifests itself in each electoral cycle.

60

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Reparation Measures for Women After Armed Conflicts

Reparation Measures for Women After Armed Conflicts

5.1 National Overview of Post-Conflict Reparations in Mozambique

In Mozambique, there were no systematic and effective post-conflict reparation measures and initiatives within the framework of national reconciliation. The victims pointed out that they had to forgive the perpetrators of the war's atrocities in order to take advantage of the benefits of peace. The government authorities called for the horrors of the war to be forgotten and forgiven in the name of coexistence and harmony among brethren, just as the main signatories of the 1992 peace agreement had indeed treated each other (Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dlhakama).

Among the victims interviewed in the districts where the study was conducted, there were no identified cases of victims who had filed a formal complaint about the violence they suffered during the war. The victims highlighted that they did not even know where or how to file such complaints, and did not even know about the possibility of filing such complaints for violations. Furthermore, it was very difficult to find the perpetrators of such acts of violence.

Questions surrounding pardons and reconciliation were addressed throughout all the conversation circles and there was a mix of responses, ranging from the difficulty to accept and forgive, in a general way, those they believe to have been the cause of the conflict, having always maintained a clear separation between "them" and "us," and whose identification clearly depends on the region in question. For example, in Gaza province, "they" are RENAMO – and "we" – the people, being often mixed in with FRELIMO or with the Defense Forces that helped the populations after RENAMO's confrontations or attacks against the villages. While in Sofala, for example, "they" are FRELIMO, and "we" are RENAMO and the people.

Although the Peace Accord had been signed in 1992, it is clear that there are still some flaws in the transformation of the conflict[37]. This manifests itself in the way that different people in Gaza or Sofala province understand, or understood, the issues of the conflict, of the correlation of forces between the parties and those who have the obligation to atone for their mistakes and initiate a process of forgiveness and reparations that could change the dynamics of the relationship between those actors who were involved in the conflict and, consequently, the people in general.

The continuing electoral political crises are also proof that the conflict transformation process was not successful and that the parties, whenever they can, enter into direct confrontation and threaten a return to war.

Under the framework of the signing of the Cessation of Military Hostilities Agreement in 2014, the National Peace and Reconciliation Fund was approved.[38] This fund makes no mention of the women victims of armed violence, but allows for women combatants to access the funds via an application. Among the women interviewed, few applied for this fund and we did not have access to the data of the women who did access it at the national level. In fact, it was reported to us during the conversation circles that there had been only one beneficiary in Sofala province.

Beneficiaries of the Peace and National Reconciliation Fund

"In 2014, they came to tell us about the Peace and Reconciliation Fund. There was an announcement and a list of those who could benefit from this fund. As far as we know, only Dona Isabel received financing from the fund. We know that she received 40,000 meticais to start a business related to rental accommodations. Since the end of the war period in 1992, this has been the first major announcement of funding. There was the District Development Fund, but there never was clarity as to who could benefit from it."

Source:Conversation Circle Testimony in Sofala Province, September 2018.

[37] Process of recognizing the existence of conflict, where the parties engage to reduce the level of tension and hostility in order to move the conflict to an area of dialogue, not opposition.

[38] The National Peace and Reconciliation Fund is a fund created exclusively to assist former combatants through various income-generating and empowerment projects, yet while making no mention of the victims of the conflict. This fund essentially aims to promote the economic and social re-integration of the National Liberation Fighters and the Demobilized troops of the Government and RENAMO.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

63

The participants from the conversation circles in Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza provinces pointed out that, in Mozambique, issues of peace negotiation are men's issues. In 1992, just as in 2014, women did not participate in the peace negotiation processes.

Once again, it was affirmed that women should be called upon to participate in the next processes of peace negotiation and resolution of national political and military conflicts. This affirmation is in light of their experience in the resettlement processes of refugees and displaced persons as well as in the return of these very same people to their areas of origin. It is also in consideration of issues related to the stability and reconstruction of family life, where women played an important role in bringing families together and creating an environment of peaceful coexistence among them.

In relation to women's participation in the prevention and resolution of national problems, approximately 25% of the women participating in the circles pointed out that they have been empowering themselves, through training, in order to participate more actively and productively in the solution of national problems. In all the districts where the study was carried out, it was noted that women are the ones who guarantee the provision of health services in hospitals at the district-level. There is an awareness that women are capable of actively participating in the processes of prevention and resolution of problems – locally and nationally.

5.2 Amnesty and National Reconciliation Laws

Amnesties, understood as acts of forgetting or forgiving past offences that arose from conflicts, are a much-debated topic when discussing and pondering transitional justice; Mozambique is part of an extensive list of countries that has granted them in recent decades: negotiating justice in order to obtain peace, with the goal of ending the atrocities of war by forgetting the past. However, this puts a heavy burden on the victims, who did not get a space to address reparations or reconciliation with the offenders.

The experiences reported from the conversation circles in the Gaza, Sofala, Nampula and Zambézia provinces have brought to light this emotional and traumatic burden, repressed over the years, and the complete absence of appropriate mechanisms to enable the victims to confront and process their past experiences.

In conflict transformation approaches, political scientists such as Snyder and Vinjamur[39] argue that the motivation to obtain retributive justice through trials and the court systems can have pernicious effects on the establishment of the rule of law and democracy. They further defend a solution based in amnesty concessions, which can be more effective – in the short- and medium-term and especially at the moment of transition – in the promotion of the Rule of Law. Nonetheless, at the international level, it is increasingly argued that granting amnesty for war crimes and crimes against humanity is a serious violation of international human rights.

Retributive justice is the re-establishment of justice through the unilateral imposition of a punishment against the offender, consistent with what is believed the offender deserves for the damages caused against the community or country. Such a response to harms caused is accepted as sufficient to restore the status/power that a transgression had disrupted.

Until 1991, the parties involved in the conflict entered into negotiations and, in the case of agreements, defined an amnesty pact without any kind of international accountability. In the post-Cold War era, a series of norms emerged around humanitarian rights that initiated the configuration of a treaty that was finally approved in 1998, and came into force in 2002, with its ratification by close to 60 countries:

[39] Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trial and Errors," International Security, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 5-44.

64

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

the Statute of the International Criminal Court, which defines war crimes as imprescriptible and non-amnestiable, and obliges the ratifying countries to judge those responsible for such crimes committed during armed conflicts. Mozambique is a signatory State of this agreement but has not yet proceeded to ratify it.

In the case of Mozambique, the amnesty granted by law[40] allowed, following the general peace agreement of 1992, for the initiation of a process of democracy-building, whose main achievement was the transformation of RENAMO into a political party that participated in the country's first multi-party elections and elected representatives at the level of the General Assembly, unleashing a peacebuilding process that was considered by many to be successful until the conflict broke out again in 2012. However, these amnesties – complemented by the customary rites and traditions used at the local level to restore trust between communities – were not sufficient to create a genuine climate of peace among the people.

The amnesty laws systematically used in conflict-resolution processes throughout history now face opposition from the international community, which has a relevant role in determining whether human rights and conflict resolution practices are respected.

Women and girls, as the main victims of the conflict's violence in Mozambique, have constantly been denied access to justice, to the recognition of the atrocities they were – and still have been – exposed to in conflict situations. This increases their exclusion and their marginalization from their communities and society at large. For this reason, there is a need to find a mechanism that, beyond guaranteeing peace in cases of conflict, ensures that the atrocities committed against the victims be recognized and punished by law.

5.3 Access to Justice and Support Institutions For Women
Despite Mozambique possessing an advanced political framework and ratifying various international conventions related to human rights and gender equality, the gender inequalities in the country persist. They are due, among other reasons, to socio-cultural factors that continue to discriminate and exclude women and girls from social, political and economic life; factors such as: poverty, lesser access to education in comparison to boys who have priority to education in many of the country's rural communities, as well as the difficulty in implementing national laws and strategies that protect the rights of women and girls.

It is generally accepted that, at the national level, there is a major effort to approve and enact laws that formalize equality between men and women in many sectors and areas. In practice, however, these are implemented in a rather adverse environment that undermines their efficacy. In some cases, women and girls are not aware of their rights, and the legal system is not prepared to deal with the fact that women do not have access to justice, in a delicate way, in relation to gender issues. This is partly explained by the idea that "gender" is about women and not about equal rights and opportunities or equal power sharing between men and women (Gender Profile in Mozambique, 2016)[41].

Mozambique possesses a political framework – institutional and legal – favorable to the promotion of gender equality, founded on the Government's Five-Year Program for 2015-2019[42] and a network of public and civil-society institutions[43] that guarantee access to justice for women in a specific way, and for society in general. Nonetheless, there is a great deficit of information on the existence and opera-tion of such institutions, which has contributed to the continued marginalization of women, despite the existence of laws to defend their interests and rights.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

65

Women's access to justice meets a number of obstacles. The high levels of illiteracy in women hinder their access to institutions that, oftentimes, are only available in Portuguese – a language that a great many women in Mozambique do not know. The high judicial fees charged by the courts represent an economic barrier in accessing justice. Furthermore, within the judiciary system itself, matters relating to human rights in general, and women's rights specifically, are not well known to magistrates.

The socio-cultural constraints and the traditional role of women in society carry a rather significant weight when we analyze the demands of women in society. And despite the enormous visible effort, overcoming such cultural and social obstacles continues to be the great challenge that civil-society organizations, along with the State, must continue to work on.

Even with the increasing number of women in judicial institutions, such as in the courts, in prosecution offices and even in parliament, their influence on the promotion and defense of women's rights still needs to be consolidated. It is still necessary to confront the challenge of raising women's awarenesses to fight for their rights and to join forces so that the observance of women's rights does not continue to be a mirage and a focus of inequality in the country.

5.4 Proposals on Individual and Collective Reparation and Non-Repetition Measures

Nowadays, preventing conflicts, responding to human rights violations and rebuilding societies that suffered the consequences of war all require an approach that incorporates the perspective of academics, human rights defenders, relevant parties and victims in the resolution of the conflict, although the means to attain such ends may put them in positions that are contradictory, and sometimes even mutually exclusive. For example, there are some cases for which, in the interest of ending the conflict, the considerations around human rights and the criminal accountability of perpetrators who committed serious human rights violations are considered irrelevant.

This approach was confirmed by Eduardo Chiziane[44] who, during a transitional justice seminar organized in Maputo by LWBC in September 2018, recognized that throughout the peace negotiation process in which he was integrated as part of the decentralization commission, there was no mandate to address issues related to human rights violations (defended as essential by human rights defenders), much less to discuss and understand the root causes of the conflict they were trying to resolve (defended by academics as an essential condition for the resolution of the conflict, thus guaranteeing that a common understanding of the causes of conflict would prevent it from returning in the medium- or long-term).

In general, policies of national reparations include economic compensations, a variety of benefits towards physical and mental health, education, and symbolic measures, such as an apology from the government.

The results obtained in the field allowed us to conclude that, despite their different forms and also respecting the context and outcomes of the Mozambican conflict, the main reparation measures solicited by the victims interviewed were:

(i) The right to be heard and to have their memories of what occurred preserved so that it does not repeat in future generations;
(ii) The right to education for their descendants;
(iii) Access to medical and psychological assistance for the significant number of women and girls who continue to suffer psychological damage as a result of the conflicts, the traumas experienced, and their subsequent exclusion from society;

(iv) Access to income-generating projects to minimize the impact of the economic hardships that the majority of women victims of armed conflict are exposed to, due to the fact of having lost their families and, especially, their means of livelihood during the war; and

(v) Accountability for those responsible of atrocities committed against their own communities.

Some of these requests may be found transcribed in the following declaration by one of the victims:

Testimony of the Victims of War, in the Provinces of Gaza, Sofala, Nampula, and Zambézia

"...We already escaped the war once... now we would like to die of illness and not because of the war as my 5 children and family members did... so we do not want to hear about the war anymore. What we want is for our grandchildren to have the opportunity to go to school and have a future..."

"...Up to this day in the Community are women who came back crazed from the war and have not yet recovered... We seek support for these people and their families. They always return to the hospital but it was the war that did this to them..."

"...We lost our farms in the village where we were... I came here fleeing the war but I have not been able to find work... I would like to go back to doing something again. When I fled the war I was studying nursing but today I can do anything..."

"...My son died in the bush... during war you do not bury people in a ceremony. We dug a hole and left him there... but I would like to go back to honor my son... but I do not know if I would be able to get there alone..."

"...I do not have any more family... I live alone. Without my husband or my children but I would like to be useful...do business...learn how to sew clothes. To live again..."

"...The Government could come and listen to us... help us... we need many things because after the war we were left to our fate. We thank you very much for having come... Tell everyone what you have heard... You are our spokespeople and we hope that you will come back to give us results..."

In addition to the restorative measures described above, further measures can be added to honor the victims of the conflict in all parts of the nation's territory, including consultation with the victims to create memorials and museums of remembrance, converting public spaces such as former detention camps into memorials that may provide a place of mourning and healing for the victims, and creating opportunities for constructive social dialogue and education about the past, so that conflicts do not happen again. These measures are of valuable importance especially for the families who lost their loved ones in the bush and in places where they have had neither the opportunity to return or bury them with dignity.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

67

Another important proposal for the process of national reconciliation in the country is linked to an institutional reform to establish new institutions and/or reform the existing ones, such as the security forces or the police, to prevent future abuses and to ensure that human rights and democratic principles be respected. The political inclusion that seeks effective public participation and the empowerment of societal groups, between them and women – thus avoiding for certain relevant groups to be excluded in the process of transforming the conflict into peacebuilding – must also be part of this process.

Given that the elections, both at the national and local level, are considered to be the main source of conflict (and therefore represent one of the most delicate sectors in the country) a substantial electoral reform could be implemented. Such a reform should grapple with aspects of gender equity in the composition of these institutions' top positions so that they may represent and promote the rights of women and girls and become the voice for the voiceless.

In addition, several other measures of non-repetition could be relevant propositions within this study. Nevertheless, we believe that legislative reforms – those that continue to give priority to women's rights and guarantee, more than gender equity, the participation of women and other important segments of society in conflict transformation and peacebuilding, as prerequisites for sustainable peace and development – are essential and must be prioritized. Unfortunately, women continue to play a very marginal role with regards to peace and state-building post-electoral conflicts. There is a clear need to advocate for greater women's participation in those segments of society that impact their lives in such a specific and incisive way.

Many forms of gender-based violence reduce women's empowerment and this violence occurs every day in public and private spaces; it is never isolated from other forms of discrimination: socio-economic, geographical, ethnic, linguistic and even age-based, impacting girls, women and the elderly. For this reason, the promotion of public policies – ones that are inclusive and that respond to the needs of communities and the public in general – also plays an important role as a measure that will allow to accommodate, and conduct in an efficient manner, the wishes of the population, based on the vision of women.

The effective legal processing of cases of torture and forced disappearances of individuals also represents a measure of non-repetition that could have a significant impact in the transformation of conflict, especially if we consider that one of the most common crimes that women are subjected to – and not only in the context of conflict – is kidnapping. During the conflict, kidnappings represented a weapon of war; they were part of the belligerents' combat strategy. Its use was confirmed in several regions of the country where women, simply because they were women and had been militant during the struggle for national liberation, were forced to abandon their community and area of origin: they were vulnerable to kidnappings and attracted soldiers to their villages.

Testimony of a Victim in Manjacaze District, Gaza

"...The war limited all my possibilities to study and I still had to leave the village when I was demobilized because my father did not want me to stay here due to the RENAMO forces. He would say that I would attract the RENAMO forces into attacking the area because I had been a soldier... but other male soldiers could stay because they were the defenders of the village."

68

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Final Thoughts and Recommendations

Mozambique lived 16 years of armed conflict, whose end was considered in many international circles as a success story that lasted close to 20 years. However, between 2012 and 2013 there was a period of recrudescence in the cycles of violence that raised various questions about the way in which the peace and national reconciliation process was conducted and how this had contributed to the resurgence of the conflict.

The issue of women's participation as principal victims of armed conflicts deserved special attention in the present study, which was conducted in order to map out and grasp the national overview of the victims of conflicts through the analysis of women's participation in different phases of the conflict, including in its resolution and in the post-conflict period. This was based on international experience and the work carried out by the United Nations, especially Resolution 1325, which made visible across the globe the various challenges surrounding the condition of women in conflict situations – challenges that continue to be systematically ignored in various parts of the world.

Given the context of conflict that the country experienced these last 40 years since national independence, and whose solution has always been based in the exclusive interests of the political actors and elites, the present study recommends for the different segments of society – government, donors, civil society, academics and political parties – to call upon their shared responsibility for promoting an environment of promoting peace and transforming the conflict – a conflict that remains latent in Mozambican society and greatly affects women and girls throughout the country.

We recommend:

For the Government
To adopt measures, at all levels, that enable the participation of women in the current peace process in all areas, including in debate and decision-making platforms. This would be achieved through a clear demonstration of engagement and political will from leaders, allowing for effective transitional justice.

To conduct a profound process of national reconciliation and transitional justice that may grant society the guarantee that the conflicts will be resolved, based on inclusive perspectives that incorporate the vision of gender in its search for solutions to the problems of peace and conflict.

To incentivize the active participation of its political actors and civil society, in a process of joint and effective reflection, on the applicability of transitional justice and the discussion around its best models.

To guarantee access to information (either physically or electronically) so that people may have credible sources and accounts that demonstrate the reality of armed conflicts.

For Donors
To promote a national environment that allows for the vision and the perspective of gender to be brought into the ongoing peace negotiation process. This would address, in a clear and specific way, issues of gender, and recognize the necessary and important participation of civil society organizations in this process.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

69

To consider the experiences accumulated in different parts of the world; to bring forth examples and best practices adopted in other countries for the benefit of Mozambican civil society and public authorities. These would contribute to Mozambique's ability to achieve a sustained and effective peace process as well as a genuine process of reconciliation and transitional justice adapted to the national context.

For Civil Society

To develop practical tools that may help build a roadmap to implement the mechanisms of transitional justice in the country.

In particular for feminist and women's rights organizations, to deepen their knowledge of issues relating to women's participation in armed conflicts and peace processes – all of which may serve as a basis to advocate for greater participation of women in the national process.

To formulate clear and achievable proposals around what roles women can, and are willing to, play in the current peace process.

In particular, lawyers need to ensure that legal, national and international norms be duly respected by society in order to then demand its involvement and participation in a potential transitional justice process.

For Political Parties

To integrate, within its spaces, the urgency in adopting a perspective on gender in their political actions. However, this integration should not be reduced to a question of filling quotas within their organizational systems, which will then not be reflected in the quality of the debates concerning the challenges faced by women in the country.

To generate a greater awareness of the democratic platforms available to society so that the reliance on weapons does not continue to be an option to fight for political interests.

For the Academics

To integrate gender issues as an essential discipline and an object of study, analysis and research in all sectors where one may intervene to produce informed knowledge concerning the importance of women and their participation in various sectors of society, and especially in situations of conflict.

To develop studies and analyses related to issues of women's participation in conflicts and their impact, founded on the reality of the experiences lived by Mozambique during its conflicts.

70

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

Appendix I

QUESTIONNAIRE
IMPACT OF THE CONFLICT ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE.

Good morning/good afternoon. My name is (INTRODUCE YOURSELF AND SHOW YOUR BADGE).
I am an ISRI Researcher and we are working on a study of "The Impact of the Conflict on the lives of
Women and Girls in Mozambique."

All the information collected will be confidential and will only be used for the study; the names of the
people will not be disclosed.

I. Identification of the victims of conflicts
Demographic Characteristics

Age of interviewee

Address

Birthplace

Sex: Male/Female

What is the highest academic level that you have reached?

What is your marital status?

What religion do you profess?

Socioeconomic Conditions of the Interviewees

	Yes	No
Do you work?		

II. Overview of the Violence Against Women in Mozambique
Respect for Women

	Yes	No
Do you think that, in Mozambique, women are treated with respect?		
Do you think that women are treated the same as men in our country?		
In your opinion, in which social group are women most respected?		
Do you believe that Brazilian laws protect women from abuse and domestic violence?		
In which environment do you consider that women are most disrespected?		
a) At work		
b) In the family		
c) When requesting services		
d) In public institutions		
e) In Justice		

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

73

Traditional role of men and women

	Yes	No
It is the wife's duty to stand by her husband, in any circumstance.		
A woman must do anything to make the relationship work.		
The main function of the woman is to take care of the family and the home, while the man's is to be the provider.		
A woman must be protected by her partner.		
The man is expected to be more energetic in his attitudes, because he is the head of the family.		
The partner has the right to prevent his wife from wearing certain clothes.		
The man has the last word on decisions concerning the home.		
The woman must serve the man in bed whenever he needs it.		
The wife can never refuse to serve her husband.		

What is your opinion about domestic violence against women?

	Yes	No
It is a cultural issue.		
Violence against women is normal?		
A woman must accept her husband's violence so as to not lose her home.		
Some women like to be beaten.		
Some women deserve to be beaten by their husbands.		

What kind of violence do women suffer most in their homes and in society?

	Yes	No
Physical		
Sexual		
Psychological		
Moral		

How often do women suffer violence within their families?

	Yes	No
Always		
Almost always		
Once in a while		
Rarely		
Never		

What justifies domestic violence against women?

	Yes	No
When the man is unemployed and gets violent at home.		
Usually a man who hits a woman is under the influence of alcohol or other drugs.		
Men only beat their wives when they are jealous.		
He becomes aggressive when the woman misbehaves and gets involved with other men.		
If he does not hit me, it means he does not love me.		

The Victim's Responsibility

	Yes	No
If a woman has been raped, it is because she deserved it.		
A woman needs to be raped to stay in line.		
If a woman shows signs of interest in another man then it is acceptable for the partner to get upset and hit her.		
The woman is provocative by wanting to go out on her own. No wonder the man gets violent.		
Women like to be raped.		
A woman who has many male friends must be kept on a "tight leash."		
A woman who misbehaves and makes a man angry encourages domestic violence.		

III. Women's Participation in Armed Conflict

How did you get involved in the war?

	Yes	No
I went to war of my own free will.		
I was kidnapped and forced to go to war.		
I was born on a military base.		

How did women participate in the war?

	Yes	No
Spy		
Informant		
Messenger		
Combatant		
Cook		
Carrier of supplies		
Instigator and agitator		
Looting		

Why was violence perpetrated violence during the war?

	Yes	No
I had to follow orders.		
I was forced to assault other people.		
They sent people to rape a woman during the war.		
I was forced to kill.		
To avenge the murder of their loved ones.		
To protect themselves.		

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

75

IV. Violence Committed Against Women During Periods of Armed Conflict
What kind of violence do women suffer during the war?

	Yes	No
Have you ever been a victim of any kind of violence?		
What kind of violence was it?		
a) Sexual harassment		
b) Sexual assault		
c) Group rape		
d) Sexual slavery		
e) Rape involving the insertion of objects into the victim's vagina		
f) Female genital mutilation		
g) Forced marriages		
h) Trafficking of women for sexual exploitation		
i) Forced prostitution		
j) Sexual humiliation		
k) Forced to expose the body in front of several men		
l) Breasts and genitals touched by several men		
m) Forced anal penetration		
How many times have you been a victim of violence?		
How old were you the first time the violence occurred?		
Who was your aggressor?		
Have you ever witnessed an act of domestic violence against a woman?		

What justifies violence against women during the war?

	Yes	No
Rape as a strategy of terror to intimidate the population		
Rape as a means to create cohesion among combatants		
Women are used as prizes (spoils) of war		
Women are raped because of the needs of combatants		
Rape as a means to destroy social and cultural cohesion		
Rape as a way of extracting information		
It is a way to release the repressed sexual energy of soldiers		
It is an act that aims to create an atmosphere of submission in the population		
It is a way to demonstrate power and control		

76

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

What are the Psychological/emotional Consequences of the violence against women in war?

	Yes	No
Fear		
Rage		
Shame		
Loss of self-esteem and self-confidence		
Feelings of guilt		
Increased aggressiveness		
Depression		
Anxiety		
Panic attacks		
Loss of Confidence		
Sense of vulnerability		
Difficulty sleeping		
Difficulty concentrating		
Difficulty maintaining romantic relationships		
Post-traumatic stress disorder		
Behavioral disorders		

What are the physical consequences of the violence against women during the war?

	Yes	No
Reproductive organ damage		
Traumatic fistulas		
Forced abortion		
HIV-AIDS infection		
Early pregnancy		
Destruction of women's reproductive capacity (infertility)		
Memory loss		
Sexual dysfunction		

What are the social consequences of violence against women during the war?

	Yes	No
Divorce		
Social isolation		
Interruption of schooling		
Limited job opportunities		

What are the Economic consequences of the violence against women during the war?

	Yes	No
Women become poorer		
Women lose property and possessions		
Women lose the opportunity to study and are unable to find a job		
Women lose their jobs		
Pregnant women are unable to feed their children		
Women are excluded from economic benefits		

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

77

V. The National Reconciliation Process vs Post-Conflict Coexistence
Have you ever filed a complaint about the violence you suffered during the war?

	Yes	No
If you never did. Why didn't you press charges?		
If you have already filed a complaint. Where did you file the complaint?		
How were you attended to in the institution where you filed your complaint?		
Were you satisfied with the response?		

Why did you never press charges?

	Yes	No
The rapist is your current husband		
I never thought about it		
Fear of reprisals		
Someone discouraged me		
Someone prevented me		
Shame		
I did not want anyone to know		
I have already forgiven		
I would rather forget		
I had no one to complain to		
I did not know where to turn to		
There was no place to go to complain		
The services were too far or difficult to reach		

Did you get any support after the war ended?

	Yes	No
From the police		
From the hospital or health centers		
From social services		
From the Church or a religious organization		
From judicial services		
From organizations who support victims of the war?		

Has there been accountability for the crimes of sexual violence against women at the end of the war?

	Yes	No
Do you know any rapist who was held responsible after the conflict ended?		
Are you aware of anyone who has been judged for having committed sexual violence against women?		
Has anyone been judged here in the community?		

Have there been any reparations for the damages suffered by women during the war?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix II

LAWYERS WITHOUT BORDERS
AVOCATS SANS FRONTIERES
ABOGADOS SIN FRONTERAS
Canada

Seminar on Transitional Justice – A Look at Mozambique
Observations and recommendations
September 12-13, 2018

On September 12 and 13, 2018, Lawyers Without Borders Canada (LWBC) organized the "Seminar on Transitional Justice – A Look At Mozambique" in Maputo, Mozambique. The event was supported by the Mozambique Bar Association (MBA) and is part of the one-year project "Strengthening Access to Justice in Mozambique" that LWBC conducted in the country with the support of the High Commissioner of Canada (Global Affairs).

Over the course of two days, the seminar brought together close to 60 participants from a variety of sectors – including civil society organizations, diplomatic representations, political parties, government authorities, academia and religious congregations – with the aim of disseminating the concept of transitional justice (TJ) and the mechanisms that comprise it, in addition to debating its applicability in Mozambique.

International experts in the field shared their experience in the implementation of commissions on truth, and justice, and reparations in South Africa, Brazil, Mali, Guatemala and Colombia, providing practical examples of mechanisms aimed at truth-seeking, criminal accountability, reparation measures for victims and non-repetition measures.

In addition, the meeting was a timely forum for the dissemination of the preliminary findings of the research being developed by the Women, Law and Development Association – MULEIDE and the Center for Strategic and International Studies – CEEI/ISRI, in partnership with LWBC, on the impact of the armed conflict on the lives of women and girls in Mozambique. The researchers revealed the information derived from interviews they conducted with close to 240 women in 4 provinces of Mozambique (Nampula, Zambézia, Sofala and Gaza), through which they were able to observe, by listening to the very victims of the conflict itself, that the social wounds of the communities were not healed and that there are still various perceptions about the belligerent parties that are reflected in the modus vivendi and political choices of the various communities.

Below, we summarize the main conclusions drawn from the presentations and debates that took place during the seminar and which were shared with all the participants at the closing of the event:

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

79

Conclusions of the debate

The victims of the armed conflict: their voices and needs

1   The victims of the violence in the armed conflict want to talk, recount their stories, share what they suffered, and the consequences that the violence caused in their lives, oftentimes brutally interrupting the full enjoyment of their existence ("a future that never came").

2   The "rule" of silence and forgetting, which still permeates today in different sectors of society, cannot continue to prevail; it is paramount to overcome this obstacle.

3   The impact of the conflict on women's lives has not yet been addressed comprehensively, but only in a peripheral manner. There is a lack of data and information, and an urgent need to produce more in-depth reports and research on the many ways in which the armed conflict affected women's lives in various dimensions: social, economic, psychological and physical.

4   The women victims of conflicts complain about the lack of psycho-social support and of the lack of instruments in accessing education, work and economic empowerment post-war, given that the conflicts destroyed the communities' heritage; these women request support in various forms, including education and work and economic empowerment projects for their families.

Pillars for the implementation of an effective transitional justice process

5   The victims must be at the center of the transitional justice processes.

6   TJ presupposes a multi-sector and multidisciplinary participation, in which the victims play a central role. Researchers, lawyers, civil society organizations, religious groups, etc. – must all be involved, and the participants from different sectors expressed their desire to be an active part of this process. It is a process that implicates the broad and plural participation of diverse sectors of society. ("Transitional justice is not just something for lawyers").

7   The beginning and end of the transitional justice process is not easily determinable. What is important is for actions to be taken to ensure justice, post-war, for the victims and all other actors; civil society can initiate a transitional justice process independently, with or without the implementation of a formal process. The implementation of commissions on truth is neither the beginning nor the end. Nor is there a finished transitional justice model: each country must look at its own specifics and choose the best model for itself, potentially taking into account examples from other countries.

8   Leaders' engagement and political will are key in achieving an effective transitional justice.

9   The active participation of political actors and public authorities is necessary for an effective and joint reflection on the applicability of transitional justice.

10   As for commissions on truth, the most common model with the greatest potential in achieving results is for it to be created as a public structure, with its own statute that includes the independence of this very structure.

11   Access to information (whether by physical or electronic ways) is fundamental for people to have credible sources and accounts that demonstrate the reality of armed conflicts.

Transitional justice in Mozambique: its relevance and conditions for its application

12 Mozambican society needs transitional justice – "Mozambique is crying for it" – but people do not know what transitional justice is, its concept and components. However, what they request in practice are measures that make up the pillars of this institution. This seminar provided a pioneering platform to discuss and raise this issue.

13 Civil society needs practical tools that can help it build a roadmap on how to concretely implement the mechanisms of transitional justice in the country.

14 The re-emergence of the conflict in 2012 frightened citizens and civil society. Given the fear that the horrors of war will resurface, civil society and the victims would like to have a guarantee of non-repetition. It is believed that a transitional justice process can be part of the solution.

15 There still exists effects of the war in certain communities/provinces. They have not forgotten the horrors of the war and indirectly punish the party of the warring faction along with its members at various moments, including during electoral campaigns.

16 The fact that Mozambique has repeatedly found itself in situations of conflict means that the root of the problems have not been addressed; the participants identify the necessity to put an end to this reality and to reach lasting and sustaining peace.

17 Forgiveness and reconciliation were neither consolidated nor effective in Mozambique. The victims of war who, under duress, were made to carry out some functions in the conflicts (i.e. child soldiers) were not properly reintegrated into their communities.

18 Civil society and the victims are generally not consulted in peace negotiation processes, but it is essential that these very people have a space to speak and participate in the process of designing and implementing the peace agreements. Mozambican society needs to be mobilized to demand its involvement and participation in this process and, in particular, lawyers need to ensure that legal, national and international norms be properly respected.

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

81

Bibliographic References

- ABRAHAMSSON, Hans e Anders Nilsson (1995).Ordem Mundial Futura e Governação Nacional em Moçambique: "Empowerment" e Espaço de Manobra. PADRIGU e CEEI/ ISRI, Maputo.

- AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION (2016).Implementation of the Women, Peace, and Se-curity Agenda in Africa.African Union. Addis Ababa – Ethiopia

- BABBIT, Eileen F (2011): Conflict Resolution and Human Rights in Peacebuilding: Exploring the Tensions, UN Chronicle, Vol. XLVIII No. 2 2011 consultado no dia 22 de Setembro em https://unchronicle.un.org/article/conflict-resolution-and-human-rights-peacebuilding-ex-ploring-tensions

- BABBIT, Eileen F. and LUTZ, Ellen L. (eds.) (2009): Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Context: Colombia, Sierra Leone, and Northern Ireland. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press;

- BERGH, Lucia Van Den (2009). Porque Prevaleceu a Paz? Moçambicanos Respondem. AWEPA, Amesterdão/Maputo.

- BOWEN, Merle L. (2000): The State against the Peasantry: Rural Struggles in Colonial and Postcolonial Mozambique, University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

- CABÁ, Sérgio N (1997): A guerra na província da Zambézia e o papel do Malawi, 1975-1988, Dissertação de Licenciatura, Departamento de História, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, 1997.

- CASIMIRA, Aisake (2003). The Role of Women in Developing a Culture of Peace. Paper presented at the Ministry of Reconciliation and Unity workshop titled "The Hand that Rock the Cradle holds the key to a United Fiji"

- CASIMIRO, Isabel e ANDRADE, Ximena (1992). Construindo Uma Teoria de Género em Moçambique. Estudos Africanos N° 11/12. Maputo: CEA/UEM, 1992

- COELHO, Elza Berger Salema et all (2014), Violência: Definições e Tipologias, Universi-dade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis.

- CENTRO LATINO-AMERICANO EM SEXUALIDADE E DIREITOS HUMANOS (2009), Gênero e Diversidade na Escola: formação de professoras/es em Gênero, orientação Sex-ual e Relações Étnico-Raciais. Livro de conteúdo, versão 2009, Rio de Janeiro, CEPESC; Brasília : SPM, 2009

- DE GRUCHY, Jhon W (2002): Reconciliation: Restoring Justice (Minneapolis: Fortress Press,

- DINERMAN, Alice (2006): Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Revisionism in Postcolonial Africa: The Case of Mozambique, 1975-1994, Routledge, And London.

- EDOHO, Félix Moses (Editor) (1997): Globalization and the New World Order – promises, problems and prospects for Africa in the twenty-first century, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut London

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

83

• FARELL, Emily & SEIPP, Kathy (2008): The Road to Peace, a Teaching Guide on Local and Global Transitional Justice Consultado no dia 19 de Setembro em Fonte: https://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/road_to_peace_web_version_2.pdf

• GEFFRAY, Christian (1990): La cause des armes au Mozambique. Anthropologie d'une guerre civile, CREDU, Paris.

• HONWANA, Alcinda (2002): Espíritos vivos, tradições modernas: Possessão de espíritos e reintegração social pós guerra no sul de Moçambique. Maputo, Promédia https://www. cfr.org/ interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/case-studies

• JACKSON, Robert e SØRENSEN, Georg.(2007) Introdução às Relações Internacionais. Rio de Janeiro: ZAHAR

• JATOBÁ, Daniel. (2013)Teoria de Relações Internacionais São Paulo: Saraiva, 2013.

• KAUFFMAN, Joyce P. & WILLIAMS, Kristen P. (2013): Women at War, Women Building Peace: Challenging Gender Norms, Kumarian Press

• KORA, Andrieu (2010): Transitional Justice: A New Discipline in Human Rights disponivel em http://www.sciencespo.fr/mass-violence-war-massacre-resistance/fr/document/transi-tional-justice-new-discipline-human-rights-0

• LALÁ, Anícia e OSTHEIMER, Andrea (2003).Transição e Consolidação Democrática em África: Como Limpar as Nódoas do Processo democrático? Os Desafios da Transição e Democratização em Moçambique (1990 – 2003), Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Maputo.

• LEDERACH, Jhon Paul & MAIESE, Michele (2003): "Conflict Transformation," Beyond In-tractability, eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess, Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder

• MCCARTHY Mary K. (2011) "Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle? "University of Pennsylvania.

• MÁRIO, Tomás V. (2004): Negociações de Paz de Moçambique – Cronicas de Roma, CEEI-ISRI

• MATOS, Narciso (2018),Paz, Educação, Trabalho, Felicidade e Bem-Estar. In: Economia e Mercado – Julho/2018, p.24-25, Maputo, Moçambique.

• MAZULA, Brazão et all (Editor) (1995). Moçambique: Eleições, Democracia e Desenvolvi-mento. 1ª Edição. Inter África Group, Maputo.

• MINTER, William (1998). Os Contra do Apartheid: As Raízes da Guerra em Angola e Moçambique. Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique. Estudos 13. Imprensa Universitária UEM, Maputo.

• MOREIRA, Adriano (1962),Direito Corporativo, In: Instituto Superior de Estudos Ultrama-rinos (1962), Politica e Ensino, Estudos Ultramarinos – V.11, UTL, Revista Trimestral do ISEU – UTL.

- NEVES, Carlos Eduardo (2010): Justiça retributiva e justiça restaurativa, consultado no dia 13 de setembro de 2018 em www.direitonet.com.br/artigos/exibir/6818/Justica-retrib-utiva-e-justica-restaurativa

- NEVES, Sofia e COSTA, Dália (coord) (2017): Violências de Género, Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos de Género, Edições ISCSP, lISBOA.

- NGUYEN VO, Dan Sinh (2008): Reconciliation and peace transformation, consultado no dia 14 de Setembro em https://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/vo-reconciliation

- PERTERSON, M. J. e RUNYAN, S.A. (1993): Global Gender Issues. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

- RICCARDINI, Andreia (2008). A Paz Preventiva: Esperanças e Razões Num Mundo de Conflitos. Tradução de Humberto Luiz Sada de Almeida. Editora Cidade Nova, São Paulo.

- SARFATI, Gilberto (2006): Teorias de Relações Internacionais. São Paulo: Saraiva

- SEIBERTt, Gerhard (2003): The vagaries of violence and power in post-colonial Mozambique, in Abbink, Gerrit Jan; De Bruijn, Mirjam; Walraven, Klaas Van (eds): Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African History, Brill, Leiden.

- SENTAMA, Ezequiel (2014): Unity and Reconciliation Process in Ruanda. 20 years after the 1994 Genocide perpetrated against Tutsi

- SJOBERG, Laura e TICKNER, J. Ann. Feminist Perspectives on International Relations. In CARLSNAES, Walter, RISSE, Thomas e Simmons, Beth A. Handbook of International Relations. London: SAGE,

- TICKNER, J. ANN. Gender in World Politics. In BAYLIS, John; SMITH, Steve e OWENS, Patricia. The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations. Sixth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. PP. 258-273.

- TSEMBO, Sihaka (1992): Direitos e Papel das Mulheres no Contexto Político-Jurídico Tradicional: Evolução e Perspectivas. Estudos Africanos N° 11/12. Maputo: CEA/UEM, PP:183-210.

- VAN LELYVELD & AL KAFARMA Waffa (2018): Women's Participation in the Reconciliation Process, perspectives from Gaza

- VAUX, Tony et all (2006), Strategic Conflict Assessment: Mozambique

- VELOSO, Jacinto (2018: A caminho da Paz Definitiva. O Iceberg, o interesse nacional e a segurança do estado, JV Editores, Maputo-Moçambique

- WENZEL, Michael et all (2007): Retributive and Restorative Justice, consultado no dia 22 de setembro em www.researchgate.net/publication/5889247_Retributive_and_Restor-ative_Justice

- WHITWORTH, Sandra. Feminist Perspectives in WILLIAMS, Paul D Eds (2008) in Security Studies: an introduction, London

IMPACT OF ARMED CONFLICTS ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN MOZAMBIQUE
Field research report on the provinces of Nampula, Zambézia, Gaza and Sofala

85