Concepts and Experiences

The Social Integration
from Mozambique
of Child Soldiers

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1. Introduction

Huwa ya pfuna; ku miyela swa dlaya.

It helps to cry out; to remain silent brings death.¹

Although child soldiers² are not a phenomenon of modern times – even in the Thirty Years’ War and in the middle ages reports on that fact can be traced (Hahn 1998) – their problems have only just been acknowledged to a greater extent by relief organizations, media and research by the beginning of the nineties. In this light the situation of the child soldiers in the world seems to be rather a non-situation: Except for Somalia and the United States all nations of the world have signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child³ that at least forbids the recruitment⁴ of children below the age of fifteen and recommends the exclusion of children under eighteen years. Nevertheless, in 1997/1998 more than 300,000 child soldiers participated in wars and civil wars worldwide (Data in Brett and McCallin 1998:30).⁵

Nearly half the number of countries where child soldiers still fought in 1998, are in Africa (Rädda Barnen 1998b). As elsewhere there exists a tradition of using children and youngsters as fighters and active combatants. Additionally, specific regional causes play a role.⁶ Of great importance is the age structure in Africa: more than 50 % of the population south of the Sahara are younger than 18 years (The Economist 1999: 26). The fact that so many child soldiers are used can also be explained by the need for manpower. As African armies are not financially strong they mostly consist of ground troops provided with small-arms.

As it is not probable that in present and future times child soldiers are not used anymore, the necessary support and help for child soldiers must be carried out on two levels: First legally (according to international and national law) i.e. as a preventive measure, so that national armies can be stopped legally to recruit child soldiers, and governments and opposition groups can be held responsible for recruiting children under age. Second socio-practically through integrative work with (former) child soldiers. These

¹ Junod (1990: 123).
² The definition child soldiers applies to all persons under the age of 18 in the service of armies or armed groups who fulfil military or civil functions (compare definitions in the Appendix). The term child soldiers comprises male and female child soldiers if not indicated differently.
⁴ Recruitment means all manners of voluntary or compulsory recruitment by armies and armed groups (compare definitions in the Appendix).
⁵ Compared to the figures quoted by Ressler, Tortorici and Marcelino (1993: 117), who estimated a number of 200,000 child soldiers for 1988, this seems a rise in recruitments. The reason for it might be seen in an improvement of data gathering and not in an increase of the actual recruitments.
efforts should be made during the phase of demobilization (leaving or being discharged of the army or the armed group) and during the phase of integration (the integration and rehabilitation of the child soldiers into the communities chosen by them).\footnote{Compare the definitions of demobilisation and integration in the appendix.}

A wide spectrum of institutions and individuals is active in offering preventive programmes for child soldiers.\footnote{The international prevention of the recruitment of child soldiers is represented e.g. by The coalition to Stop the Use if Child Soldiers which is supported by amnesty international and the international Save the Children Alliance (THE COALITION TO STOP THE USE OF CHILD SOLDIERS1998).} But there is very little material available concerning the integration of child soldiers in Africa. Research in this field is only at the beginning. Overall studies of integration strategies implemented by external organisations or indigenous institutions are missing. But as the processes of demobilization and integration of child soldiers still continue, an analysis of concepts and experiences of actors in implementing programmes is necessary.

Mozambique, a country that suffered from an anti-colonial liberation war for ten years followed by seventeen years of civil war, may serve as an example for many African countries because of its history. The experiences they made with demobilizing and integrating child soldiers shall serve as a basis for an exemplary analysis of the integration structures for child soldiers after the end of wars.

The analysis of the demobilization and integration of child soldiers shall not only be regarded within the scope of humanitarian aid but also from the perspective of prevention and management of conflicts\footnote{The term conflict means the clash of two interests or acting tendencies of which at least one side is regarded as different and not compatible. Distinction is made between intrapersonal conflicts taking place within the individual and interpersonal or social conflicts developing between at least two persons but also between two social groups in a society/a state (conflicts from the point of view of domestic and international policy) (Compare Definitions in the Appendix).} on all levels of society. This means an overall view of the problems. Both, personal problems of the child soldiers (intrapsychic conflicts) and difficulties among child soldiers and their families and communities\footnote{Communities are individuals and groups contributing to the social live of the individual of a certain territory as such defined by its population in geographic or other terms (Compare Definitions in the Appendix).} are dealt with so that corresponding mechanisms of management and prevention can be examined.

Consequently, the different aspects of the qualitative demilitarization can be analysed which following CHACHIUA (1999: 25) serves as a basis for non-violent behaviour in post-war societies.

1.1 Problems of child soldiers: Case study Mozambique

From 1964 to 1992 Mozambique suffered from war, only interrupted by a short phase of peace following the Declaration of Independence in 1975. By the end of the seventies Mozambique became the target of military attacks across the border executed by the white
minority regime of Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe), that was also responsible for the foundation of the resistance movement RENAMO\textsuperscript{11} (RUPIYA 1998:12). RENAMO aimed at weakening the socialist FRELIMO\textsuperscript{12} government and their support of the fight for liberation in Zimbabwe. Because of the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 the position of RENAMO changed: They were taken over by the South African Apartheid regime and further developed into an effective means of destabilizing the country, of stopping Mozambique's support of the struggle for liberation of the African National Congress in South Africa and of heightening the economic dependence of South Africa's neighbouring states. But their intention to weaken the socialist regime was still kept fully (ANDERSSON, 1992: 80).

The war between RENAMO and FAM\textsuperscript{13} widened over all provinces and until its end 1992 it claimed about 1.100.000 deaths, among them estimated 600.000 children. Furthermore about 250.000 children were separated from their parents, 1.5 million refugees and 4 – 4.5 million internally displaced persons were looking for protection and a nearly completely destroyed infrastructure and industry were left over.

The end of the war, reached by signing the Acordo Geral de Paz de Moçambique (AGP General Peace Accord for Mozambique) in October 1992, was the result of long negotiations supported by religious and diplomatic mediators and enforced by financial means of pressure and incentives.\textsuperscript{14}

Especially since the mid-eighties child soldiers were used in Mozambique (ANDERSSON 1992: 60).\textsuperscript{15} Four different groups of child soldiers have to be differentiated: Child soldiers within RENAMO, FAM, national militia and regional rebel forces (among others Naparamas and Chimwenjes). The latter only appeared in the central and northern provinces of Mozambique. All four groups were different in their way of recruitment as well as in the kind of activities the children were involved in the armies and the military groups. The demobilization and integration of the child soldiers were also dependent on the sort of group they belonged to. On the basis of the case studies it is possible to indicate that the physical and psychological effects on the child soldiers were mostly different according to the different groups.

It applies to all groups equally, that they underwent ceremonies of internal integration\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{11} RENAMO: Resistência Nacional de Moçambique – National Resistance of Mozambique.
\textsuperscript{12} FRELIMO: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique – Mozambican Liberation Front.
\textsuperscript{13} FAM: Forças Armadas de Moçambique – Armed Forces of Mozambique of the FRELIMO government.
\textsuperscript{14} As to the negotiating role of external and internal actors during the war and after the peace treaty compare PAFFENHOLZ (1996) and VINES (1998).
\textsuperscript{16} Internal integration are all activities and strategies emerging from the community of the person to be integrated that are of support for the integration. The term internal also applies to persons, institutions and organisations in this
conducted by traditional healers, syncretic churches et cetera.\textsuperscript{17} Later on some of these child soldiers were also part of external projects and programmes of GOs (Governmental Organisations) and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organisations).\textsuperscript{18} Little is known about the extent to which child soldiers took part in integration ceremonies as well as in programmes of integration although this certainly happened very often (EFRAIME JÚNIOR 1997; 1998).

Some case studies about the combination of external and internal integration can be found in EFRAIME JÚNIOR (1998, 1997) and EFRAIME JÚNIOR AND SILVA (1996). These descriptions of the integration of a few child soldiers originate from the project on the Josina Machel Island and serve as the basis for this study.

Three gaps in the existing material can be noticed: 1. A lack of sufficient descriptions of strategies for internal integration. 2. A lack of descriptions and analyses of the concurrence of internal and external integration mechanisms. 3. A fundamental lack of studies on the effects of internal and external integration strategies from the point of view of the former child soldiers concerned and their families and communities. This last gap cannot be closed by the present study either.

\subsection*{1.2 Objective and methodology of the study}

Based on my work and experience\textsuperscript{19} with the Psycho-social Project for Former Child Soldiers on the Josina Machel Island, Maputo, from 1997 to 1998, and on the general discussion of the demobilization and integration of child soldiers in Mozambique and other African countries, the following questions arose:

- \textit{In which way have child soldiers been integrated or are still integrated by internal actors?}
- \textit{Is it possible to improve external integration strategies by perceiving and involving internal actors?}

As an example these questions shall be discussed for the region of Maputo during the period of 1992 to 1998. Interviews were conducted in the area with internal actors in order to capture the local integration net for the mentioned time. The interview partners were chosen from my field of work on the Josina Machel Island. The interviews were analysed


\textsuperscript{19} My own experience serves as basis for the research approach and the evaluation and analysis of literature and other sources of information.
qualitatively. Interviews with external actors were not necessary because of the availability of studies and corresponding literature.

In a descriptive way it is shown what kind of integration net results for child soldiers after demobilization. The integration net means a structure, comprehending all internal and external assistance to children and youngsters in order to integrate them into civil life; and which are not part of their private or family level. Main emphasis is placed on the presentation of strategies and experiences of the internal actors, as these are hardly recognized until now [Chapter 3].

From my experience gained in the psycho-social project it seems necessary to set up a structure of the various integration strategies in order to help analysing lines of conflict and cooperation between the different actors. For this purpose the integration net is a mainly visual auxiliary instrument supporting the simultaneous consideration of internal and external integration strategies.

The represented structure of the integration net has been developed from the visual conversion of the social net and experience made during my work with the Psychosocial Rehabilitation Project for War-affected Children and Youngsters Ilha Josina Machel (Maputo) and corresponds with the Repertory Grid Technique founded by KELLY (1991, 1955) and with the supporting network, concerning its construction, developed by AKEN, ASENDORPF AND WILPERS (1996). Embedding the integration net and its analysis into conflict theory was done being based on GALTUNG (1996) and concerning social conflicts GLASL (1994).

In a second step with the collected and with the help of the integration net arranged materials shall be clarified whether or not and in what way there exist compatibilities and incompatibilities between internal and external integration mechanisms. Finally an outlook shall be given on aims and strategies possible for external actors, especially for NGOs, to contribute to the improvement of the integration net for former child soldiers through involvement and cooperation with internal actors [Chapter 5].

This analysis is preceded by a summarizing report of the situation of the child soldiers, from recruitment to demobilization, in the south of Mozambique [Chapter 2].

The material presented and analysed covers the time starting from the official beginning of the demobilization, the Peace Accord of Rome in December 1992. The limitation of the research period until 1998 is due to the fact that at this time – according to most actors – the internal integration ceremonies and the external integration projects had come to an end. The only ongoing integration project focussed on child soldiers was the rehabilitation project on the Ilha Josina Machel existing until halfway through 1999.
2. The nature of the problem: Child soldiers in Mozambique – From recruitment to demobilisation

Mozambique can well serve as an example for child soldiers because it is possible to distinguish four groups representative for child soldier groups in many other countries:

- Child soldiers in the government troops FAM,
- Child soldiers in the opposition/rebel forces RENAMO,
- Child soldiers in the national militia of the FRELIMO Government and
- Child soldiers in smaller regional rebel groups, e.g. Naparama, Chimwenje.

Scope of the problem

Until now it has not been possible to find out the exact figures of the child soldiers recruited on a national level. Although there exist registration lists on the FRELIMO side and the RENAMO side as well, they have not been accessible until today, though both parties showed signs of reason when they admitted during a press discussion in 1998 that all sides recruited child soldiers.

In his study of demobilised soldiers in Mozambique PArDOEL (without year: 28) assumes that 27% of them were under 18 years at the time of their recruitment. But only 350 child soldiers were demobilised younger than 18 years at the time of demobilisation (ibid: 31). The cited figures do not include children recruited by the national militia of FRELIMO (Milícias) and those counted among the Naparamas and Chimwenjes either. EFRAIME JÚNIOR assumes 2.300 – 10.000 militarily instrumentalized children who were mostly abused as soldiers.

2.1 Recruitment

The reasons why children were recruited as soldiers in Mozambique vary as much as the forms of recruitment among the different armies and armed groups.

FAM, who recruited children not until the eighties, did that to maintain the manpower of

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20 Although there were only the first three groups found in the region of Maputo, all four groups are dealt with in this chapter to give an overall view of the situation.
21 Referring to NAPARAMAS compare MINISTRY FOR COORDINATION OF SOCIAL ACTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE; NATIONAL OFFICE FOR SOCIAL ACTION (without year: 2); WILSON (1992: 560-574).
22 Recording by the author during a round table discussion (Mesa Rodonda) on the subject of Campanha Ex-Criança Soldado (Campaign of former child soldiers) organized by the NGO Reconstruindo a Esperança on October 8, 1998 in Maputo.
23 PARDOEL assumes 92.881 demobilised soldiers on the whole.
24 The information of this chapter relies on the chapter Recruitment of Children During the Armed Conflict in DRAISMA AND MUCACHE (1997:3-5), if not indicated differently.
their troops. Because of their bad material and financial equipment, recruitment of adult men was difficult, as many of them had fled to South Africa.\textsuperscript{25} On recruitment FAM formally referred to the Law of General Conscription, where an age limit of 18 years was laid down. However, many times forcible conscription took place as “operação tira camisa” (shirt-off operation), when young people were picked up at random in public places. FAM took all youngsters without identification cards and those who seemed old enough to join the army. To hinder the recruits from running away during the operation they had to take off their shirts. FAM were the only military recruiting in towns.

RENAZO's strategy of recruitment was different: Beside the fact, that the number of adult men to be recruited was not sufficient, they had tactical reasons for using children: Young children can easier be turned into soldiers even against their will (Bret \textsc{and} Mcc\textsc{allin} 1998: 153; Co\textsc{hn} and Good\textsc{will-Gill} 1994: 27). Once under threat of violence or on drugs forced to commit cruelties they become willing tools, being stopped ever returning to their communities (Bret \textsc{and} Mcc\textsc{allin} 1998: 154; Cast\textsc{anheira} 1999; Co\textsc{hn} and Good\textsc{will-Gill} 1994: 27). Furthermore child soldiers of RENAMO served as shields against attacks of the FAM and the national militia. The kidnapping of the children aimed at demoralising the population and hindering possible resistance.

The forced recruitment of RENAMO was practised in such a way that children were kidnapped during attacks - partly together with their families – and taken to the military bases, where they were assigned to different activities. So RENAMO often collected very young children who grew into their duties. Reports verify direct recruitment of children at the age of 8 to 14 years (Cast\textsc{anheira} 1999).

There also existed “voluntary” child soldiers who joined RENAMO, attracted by the adventurous life and “opportunities” for gaining some sort of profit (plundering at hold-ups) (\textsc{andersson} 1992: 62). Additionally, RENAMO promised to pupils who broke off school, scholarships and good jobs within their party organisation.

The national militia, under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Defence, had a very different manner of recruitment. As those were mainly employed within their own local areas of living, children could be recruited through members of their families, village elders, members of the militia or by local administration personnel of FRELIMO to defend their own villages.

With the smaller armed groups the recruitment mostly depended on the respective local chief. Especially with the Naparamas, children were decoyed by his supernatural strength (protection against bullets) he was said to own. Additionally the Naparamas were very

\textsuperscript{25} In the south of Mozambique the recruitment of manpower was difficult because many men had migrated to the mines and farms of South Africa looking for jobs (Mcc\textsc{allin} 1998: 50).
successful in fighting against the RENAMO within their local region and drew many children and youngsters from schools there (WILSON 1992: 562). In that case the recruitment seems to have been executed rather voluntarily and due to the general war situation.

2.2 Functions

Child soldiers were assigned and misused to various tasks for

1. direct military activities;
2. jobs in transport and supply and
3. sexual abuse of – mostly – girl soldiers.

The first two categories can be found in all armed groups. But there exist major differences in view of the execution of military acts and treatment of the children in transport and supply. Whereas FAM treated the children the same way adult soldiers were treated, with the argument that the children had been recruited as replacement for adult soldiers “only”. Child soldiers within RENAMO were exposed to severe cruelties. These exceeded cruelties inflicted upon civilians or adult soldiers and even took into consideration the intense vulnerability of children at that age. So it seems useful to explain the different functions of the child soldiers differentiated for the four groups.

Child soldiers within FAM experienced the same bad conditions (food, equipment, pay) as adult soldiers. They had to participate in combats and commit and suffer the same cruelties adult soldiers had to. In addition they had to fulfil supply and transport duties inadequate to their age and physical constitution.

The situation of child soldiers within RENAMO has been documented in detail, making clear that the functions and the treatment of the child soldiers were especially brutal and inhumane. As sort of initiation rite the child soldiers very often had to kill members of their own families, to stop them ever fleeing back into their villages from the military camps. Part of the military tasks was fighting in combats against FAM and the national militia, but also participating in hold-ups of villages, small towns and vehicles. They also had to take part in terrorising the population, including very often their own relatives. If they had presented themselves as especially merciless before, the child soldiers were in command over fighters considerably older than themselves. (CASTANHEIRA 1999: 21-22)

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26 The information of this chapter is based on the chapter Functions and Treatment of Children in the Armed Forces (in DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 5), if not stated differently.
27 There exist few sources regarding child soldiers within FAM, so it is nearly impossible to give details as to their functions.
Children were not only confronted with violence in combat; just normal life in the military camp meant that during their normal work with supplies they had to witness killing and torturing of humans (BOOTHBY, SULTAN AND UPTON 1991: 12). Many youngsters reported being set on drugs and forced to commit atrocities.

One of the most massive wounds inflicted upon lives of child soldiers and their families is sexual abuse although scarcely paid attention to. This concerns girl soldiers above all. Because of the social taboo that surrounds violated girls, only a few reports exist until now. In many cases girls were forced to get married at the military camps by that being protected against sexual abuse through several men. It was especially difficult after the war when the young women had to make their choice between staying with their “husbands” or returning to their original family (BRET T UND M CCALLIN 1998: 85). Unintended pregnancies led to a further load of a child on the girls unless they carried out an abortion or were killed by their “husbands” for that reason.

The duties of the child soldiers with the national militia were limited to the defence of their villages or further surroundings including transportation of military material, digging of trenches, laying of mines etc.

As to the duties of child soldiers with smaller armed groups (except deployment in combats) there exist no details. Emphasis should be put on the fact that Naparamas for example did not use modern weapons in combat (WILSON 1992: 565).

2.3 Effects on the child soldiers

The consequences of war for child soldiers vary and differ in strength and length from those for adults. The different positive and negative effects are influenced by the following factors:

- manner of recruitment,
- age at time of recruitment,
- duration and social situation (with or without other members of the family or friends of the same age),
- kind of tasks and treatment,
- manner of demobilisation and
- integration in civil society or remaining within military structures.\(^{30}\)

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\(^{29}\) Even as adults very often had the same factual experiences, one has to assume, that children because of their still developing psychological and social structures react differently to extreme experiences and are stronger and longlasting negatively affected than adults. (FISCHER AND RIEDESSER 1998: 248-292).

\(^{30}\) As to the different influencing factors, important in this connection, compare BRET T AND M CCALLIN (1998: 141), M CCALLIN (1995:7-8) and BOOTHBY 1996: 143). It is necessary to stress that there scarcely exist any studies on the coping strategies of children in extreme situations.
The effects can be divided into two categories: Physical and psychological consequences.\textsuperscript{31}

2.3.1 Physical effects on child soldiers

In many cases child soldiers suffered from injuries, the effects of wrong food, food shortage and long-term effects following tasks they had to fulfil inadequate to their physical development. It has to be assumed, that especially girls often had internal injuries following sexual abuse and abortions.

2.3.2 Psychosocial effects on child soldiers

The following psychological and spiritual problems,\textsuperscript{32} the child soldiers suffered from, can be subsumed to a psycho-traumatic reaction:

- Sleep disorders,
- disorder of behaviour (aggressiveness and withdrawal),
- behaviour inadequate to age (because of heavy responsibility, too much for children, otherwise taken by elder members of the family or the community,
- socio-culturally inappropriate behaviour (disrespect for age and rank hierarchies within the community),
- low educational level (school closures),
- other problems indicating a psycho-traumatic reaction (FISCHER AND RIEDESSER 1998: 251 et sequ.).

Many of these problems were not directly attributed to violent experiences but to pursuit by the souls of the dead. Loss of confidence and anxiety are further psychosocial effects: Child soldiers are afraid of returning to their families and communities who know of their war actions, and they fear revenge.

Loss of confidence is the result of having missed protection by their parents before recruitment. But parents also have problems with their own “failure” and feelings of guilt. Social conflicts arise between child soldiers, who do not respect their parents anymore, and adults who do not want to listen to the children when they talk about war and their experiences.

\textsuperscript{31} In literature the various impacts of war on child soldiers can be found e.g. COHN AND GOODWIN-GILL (1994: 98-115), DJEDDAH (1997). As a summary a categorization was chosen making clear that different factors influence one another and are mutually dependent.

\textsuperscript{32} Many problems in South Mozambique, which are classified as psychological or somatic according to our medical-psychological conceptions, are explained as spiritual, i.e. caused by activities of ancestors or diseased, connected with the afflicted person (HONWANA 1993).
A problem, only concerning child soldiers who killed people – especially by shooting –, is the change of their social status when returning to civil life. During their time with the army they possessed power over life and death, no matter of what social rank the person in front of them had. This power they lost on their return.

A further constellation of conflict results from sexual abuse of girl soldiers (Charnley and Silva 1995: 4). Speaking about sexual abuse is under taboo mostly, that is the reason why no results can be presented of psychological effects and developing conflicts thereof. What can be made out clearly are social conflicts resulting of the problem that the girl and her parents fear not to find a husband for her. (Efraíme Júnior 1998: 53)

Besides the described negative effects male child soldiers also discern positive aspects of their time of participation in an army. First of all they value the solidarity among their peers, their experience with power – they could achieve anything they wanted with their weapons – but also sexual experiences. Brett and McCallin (1998: 144) attach importance to the positive view because it served as a sort of buffer against mostly negative experiences.

In connection with this, the experience of having survived is of extraordinary importance. This talent, often mentioned by the children themselves, has not received attention in science until recently. These competencies should not be underestimated, although war and recruitment of children are to be condemned. It is important to appreciate them because they helped the children to survive. Regarding the children’s integration it is worth acknowledging this potential source and considering whether these experiences could support the process of return into civilian life.

2.3.3 Effects on family and community

The fact that child soldiers were recruited during the war affected not only the child soldiers themselves but also their families and communities. Efraíme Júnior (1998: 52) describes, how parents and also the community lost confidence in their capability of protecting their children. Traditional authorities like traditional healers, syncretistic churches or parish leaders lost much of their credit and confidence. By that traditional coping mechanisms and institutions for conflicts were damaged.

33 As to the war impacts on women in the south of Mozambique and how they experienced them and feel about them, compare Sideris (without year).

34 It is not until a few years that a vivid discussion has taken place, how resilient children and young people are who live or have lived under extreme stress (Ommere, Sharma and Jong 1997; Summerfield 1997). But it is a problem to use the term resilient in connection with children and youngsters. Resilient means to restore to the original state of mind after having experienced extreme situations. This means a step back for children and youngsters because their development is still in process. Nevertheless, this discussion is very important because it draws attention to the coping strategies of children and young people which should be documented in greater detail.

35 Compare the discussion of the terms victim and survivor as well as the view of child soldiers as active or passive victims and survivors in Dawes and Honwana (1998: 77-78) and Summerfield (1996: 20-21).
Especially the child soldiers' return from war confronted parents and communities with new problems. Very often parents and relatives of the child soldiers were afraid of those who had killed people. Additionally they feared pollution by the spirits, that pursued the child soldiers. This fear of a social pollution (poluição social) through strange and bad spirits is commonly spread and needs special mechanisms of treatment (HONWANA 1998: 40ff).

2.4. Demobilization
Demobilization can be regarded as part of the integration of child soldiers. For external and internal actors, central in this study, the demobilization of what kind so ever is the basis of their intervention in all cases. Here formal demobilization by the ONUMOZ is distinguished from the informal demobilization by the army, the child soldiers themselves or by GOs and NGOs.

A formal demobilization i.e. an official and controlled dismissal of soldiers from the army and armed groups existed for only a few child soldiers. This fact was not only deplored by the child soldiers themselves - partly in form of public protests (HONWANA 1998: 77) – but also eg. by local parish leaders. For without formal demobilization the former child soldiers were not entitled to any integration benefits (CREATIVE ASSOCIATES INTERNATIONAL, INC. 1996:33).

2.4.1 The formal demobilisation by ONUMOZ

ONUMOZ only demobilized those children or youngsters who were fifteen years old at the time of the cease fire. Nevertheless once the news that 'children' were being demobilized came out in the press, even this process was discontinued.

(SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION AND MOZAMBIQUE CHILDREN AND WAR PROJECT 1995: 3)
The General Peace Accord of Mozambique between FRELIMO and RENAMO signed by both sides on October 4, 1992 serving as a basis for the UN operation does not comprise any regulations for the demobilization of child soldiers. So it could be assumed that all child soldiers and regular soldiers would be treated equally. But because of ONUMOZ' official direction to mobilize soldiers only from 16 years on, this did not happen.

36 The term spirits (Portuguese: Espíritos) means the souls of all ancestors, whether they are members of the family or other persons.
37 Also in the AGP a separation is made between demobilization (chapter IV, i) and reintegration (chapter IV, ii).
39 Compare definitions formal and informal demobilization in the Appendix.
40 As to the general formal demobilization of soldiers by UNOMOZ compare ALDEN (1995), BERDAL (1996), GHALI (1995: 38-47), KÜHNE, WEIMER AND FANDRYCH (1995) and as case study on the province Zambézia COELHO AND VINES (without year) and on the socio-economic profile of all demobilized soldiers in Mozambique PARDOEL (without year). The valuation of the formal demobilization especially of young soldiers compare CHACHUIA (1999: 30-31). He stresses the importance of social integration as part of demobilization.
In connection with this, it is of importance to mention that only the 92,000 soldiers of FAM and RENAMO were officially dismissed during the complete demobilisation which lasted from March to November 1994.\textsuperscript{41}

Already in November 1992 the FRELIMO government declared that they had started the dissolution of the national militia consisting of 155,000 soldiers that had been in equal parts under the command of the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Home Affairs respectively (KÜHNE, WEIMER AND FANDRYCH 1995: 21).\textsuperscript{42} Therefore they were not included in the official demobilization.

The formal demobilization by ONUMOZ\textsuperscript{43} was carried out in such a way that the soldiers of both sides, separated for FAM and RENAMO, were united in so called Centros de Tropas Nao Acontonadas (CTNA – Centres for unquartered troops). After registration and disarming they received their demobilization cards (Cartão de Desmobilização) as well as clothes and the first instalment of their compensation (totalling six months pay). Afterwards they were transported to a place of their choice. The mere demobilization phase was followed by the reinsertion phase and the reintegration phase (cp. CHACHIUA 1999: 29). The UN integration program is dealt with in detail in chapter 3.2.2. Very few child soldiers integrated in the formal demobilization of ONUMOZ received the same treatment as their adult colleagues.

\subsection*{2.4.2 The informal demobilization}

In connection with the problems of child soldiers it is useful to consider the informal demobilization separately because in many cases the children had left from the army by their own free will. The informal demobilization comprises the following forms:

\begin{description}
\item[a)] \textbf{Demobilisation by the children themselves}: During the war but also during the prolonged process of demobilization many children succeeded in escaping especially from the RENAMO troops.\textsuperscript{44} This means the fact of desertion from the military point of view.
\item[b)] \textbf{Demobilization by the army/armed groups}: Especially after the beginning of the truce in October 1992 but also during the war already the military groups unofficially demobilized child soldiers. To avoid critics from outside child soldiers on the side of RENAMO were not
\end{description}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{41} Other paramilitary troops and special units were dissolved by the Comissão de Cessar Fogo (CCF – peace accord commission and transferred to RENAMO- and FAM troops for demobilization or direct to Forças Armadas de Defesa de Moçambique (FADM – Armed Forces of Defence of Mozambique, the joint new army of Mozambique). (KÜHNE, WEIMER AND FANDRYCH 1995: 21)\textsuperscript{42} The dissolution of the national militia was in accordance with the AGP, but difficulties arose with former soldiers of the militia who claimed a formal demobilization. (DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 7).\textsuperscript{43} The demobilization was controlled by the CCF, who were supported in the technical implementation by a Special Unit of the UNOHAC (UN Office for Humanitarian Assistance).\textsuperscript{44} Cp. DRAISMA AND MUCACHE (1997: 7). It is interesting to learn that traditional healers and actors of the syncretistic churches offered ceremonies to the children especially abducted by RENAMO to help them to escape. (interview with an internal woman actor).}
allowed to the CTNAs. These child soldiers were sent home without any benefits or handed over to relief organizations (cp. Demobilization by GOs and NGOs).

Also the many child soldiers who served in the national militia of FRELIMO were demobilized that way. It was not as hard on them as on the RENAMO child soldiers, because they had mostly fought within their own communities and had only a few problems on return.

c) Demobilization by GOs and NGOs: The small official number of child soldiers in the CTNAs of RENAMO stood in contradiction to the officially known number of RENAMO child soldiers under age (DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 7). CREATIVE ASSOCIATES INTERNATIONAL, INC., who conducted a study on behalf of UNICEF, assumed that about 2000 children were still living on RENAMO military bases, 40 % of them girls. After negotiations with UNOHAC, RENAMO asked for help to return the unaccompanied children and gave access to the respective military bases. With reference to the CREATIVE ASSOCIATES INTERNATIONAL, INC. study (1994) the informal demobilization of 850 male child soldiers took place in the way of family reunification.

Finally it is necessary to emphasize that the informal demobilization of the child soldiers was not a process without any problems because some of them demanded the formal demobilization as soldiers. (DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 7)

The recovery of the [social] order (…) requires a radical change of attitudes, which can operate in a concomitant way at two levels:

1. At the magico-symbolic level or the level of the ‘decree’ – which consists of a ritual in which someone – known as a recognized and credited authority -, through a symbolic action [...] promotes the ‘social’ breaking of the individual or of the society from the past, and their entry into the rules of the new stage of the community.[…]

2. The second level of recovery of the social order is dynamic and takes time (diachronic). It consists in the accompaniment, re-education and re-adaptation of the individual to the new social situation (CHONGO 1998: 85)

As the majority of the internal actors do, the Mozambican psychologist Arlindo Chongo who worked with former child soldiers until 1998, looks at the integration of child soldiers from the point of view of the receiving community.

Especially on the background of the Mozambican civil war which above all affected rural regions, the internal integration mechanisms are of great importance. The rural population of Mozambique including child soldiers and their families had little access to external coping mechanisms. From their view point the internal ceremonies represent the basis of all conflict treatments, upon which external interventions can follow or be implemented in parallel. (HONWANA 1993: 61pp.; 1998: 75).45

For this reason the focal point of this chapter lies on the internal integration, since there exists only little material on the subject. In addition to that, the external integration is placed in the foreground of all studies of the integration of child soldiers and is used as a measure in existing analyses.46 Following the representation of internal integration, external integration strategies are described following the internal point of view.

3.1 Internal integration through syncretistic churches and traditional healers47

The internal integration can be divided into two processes: A short-term or anachronistic part consisting of ceremonies, and a long-term or diachronistic part concerning daily life in the community, accompanied by internal actors (CHONGO 1998: 85).

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45 A further reason for the intensified use of traditional mechanisms lies in the fact that the FRELIMO government acted ruthlessly against traditional religions and therefore also against healers since the end of colonial time. Contrary to that RENAMO incorporated traditional elements and ceremonies to a large extent. So the only way of protecting themselves against RENAMO attacks was the traditional way of defence through respective institutions and ceremonies. The incapacity of the government to guarantee protection beyond traditions, strengthened these structures additionally.

46 cp. e.g. MACHEL (1996).

47 This chapter is mainly based on interviews with internal actors on the Josina Machel Island in 1998.
The presentation of the internal integration is limited to the anachronistic part because it is the basis of the diachronistic integration. The latter results from daily life of the specific accepting community without any special discernible strategy.

Important for the comprehension of the internal integration strategies is not only the understanding of the nature of illness and healing but also of the general conviction of a physical and spiritual unity and the religious and social dimensions of the person belonging to the community.

(...) health is traditionally defined as harmonious relationships between human beings and their natural surroundings, between them and their ancestors, and amongst themselves. … Illness is therefore considered primarily a social rather than a physical phenomenon. (HONWANA 1998: 76)

Proceeding on this internal definition of health and the definition of the term conflict in this study as a clash of two interests or kinds of acting, which are taken as different and incompatible at least from one side, it can be assumed that the aim of the internal integration of child soldiers, the reconstruction of harmonious relationships, corresponds with the working definition of integration and its aims in this study.

So the dichotomy between body and spirit (soul, psyche) cannot be maintained in the Mozambican context. There may be a difference between them both, but as part of a greater unit, which as such cannot be considered. Rather the social dimension of a person, including the individual as such, and the physical body are differentiated (DAWES AND HONWANA 1998: 76; HONWANA 1993: 20; MBITI 1990).

Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to understand a person without his affiliation to his religion. In the rural regions of the south of Mozambique there exist beside traditional religions, to which healers belong, mostly syncretistic churches, i.e. indigenous churches, originating from autochton movements under missionary influence (HONWANA 1993: 22). In many fields different directions of traditional religions overlap with those of syncretistic churches.

Building up on these social and religious aspects the following description of internal integration strategies for the two internal actors groups is subdivided into syncretistic churches and traditional healers. The churches will not be described separately because the religious differences are marginal and mostly not even considered important by their followers.

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48 cp. Definitions in the Appendix.
49 In connection with them it is important to stress that even traditional healers or syncretistic churches tend to change and to adapt themselves to different situations of the society. In this sense traditional does not mean unchangeable here.
It should be taken into consideration that families if they want to undergo an integration ceremony, can choose what they wish to have as effect and treatment by selecting the respective traditional healers or churches and their priests. From this spectrum the described ceremonies only represent a small sector.

Concluding from the statements of the persons interviewed there exist no special ceremonies for child soldiers; they are the same as for adults. Within the scope of conflict research it is necessary to take into account that during ceremonies conflicts are not treated according to our meaning, but - together with evil spirits – are expelled.

3.1.1 Syncretistic Churches

Purification ceremonies can be applied in a healing or preventive way. Often they include both elements. In any case, they represent a break with the past (cp. CHONGO 1998: 85). This is reached by expelling the evil spirits (e.g. Mphukwa, the spirits of those who had been murdered or died far away from their home), or stopping them following the former child soldiers or penetrating into them.

The purification ritual as well as the ceremonies are different according to their purpose. This depends among other things on information the healer possesses on the former child soldier. In the interviews it becomes clear that e.g. certain elements of the ceremonies are dropped when the child soldier did not have to kill anybody or did not tell anything about it.

The description of a priestess of the Zionist Church serves as an example for the course of a ceremony:

*When the youngsters returned from the RENAMO military base, they came to see me. I got water and salt and put some ashes into it. I cleaned the children so that the evil spirit or the nervosity vanished. This moment I also used (…) to bless the child. (…) There exist certain ashes, magandzelo and the magandzelo mess. When they have sinned people celebrate this magandzelo mess by burning pigeons, goats and even cows (…). You take the two pigeons and go to church. There you look for the priest who will carry out magandzelo. Afterwards other people are also treated with these ashes. As to the salt: The bible says that it must not be missing, never for our lives. (…) The parents came and asked for all this. The person was washed in the church. We prayed and had to accompany the person home. We cleaned the*

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50 Purification ceremonies bear different names in Changana – ku basa, ku basisa, ku hlampsa - , all of them can be traced back to words like *pure or to clean/to wash.*
51 Nervosity (Portuguese: Nervosismo) is an inadequate translation from Changana. It is the expression for a not clearly defined complex of psychotraumatic and behavioural disorders and problems.
52 Magandzelo: Certain ashes that are supposed to expel evil spirits. At the same time the impacts of these evil spirits like nightmares or traumatic memories disappear.
53 In the interview the priestess continued, that "in case of illness or headaches (…) they take water, a little salt, pray, give the people to drink, and everything vanishes." This shows clearly that the ceremonies were not executed for the child soldiers especially but applied in general.
whole house. The water that cleaned the house, will wash all the people in the house. (…)
There exists something that is called ashes and candle: A candle was lighted on coal, and afterwards the youngsters and their relatives knelt down. This is the handing-over of the young person to his family. We prayed and so work was finished. (…)
The whole ceremony was preventive. (…)
The person who recounted that he had been forced [to kill somebody], for him existed a special treatment with a chicken. (…)
There exists a special chicken: Xihlani. This was killed, and the respective person had to be washed with its blood. This chicken blood repels the evil spirits, the guilt. Subsequently the person received water, so that the person always washed himself with blessed water and could also drink it to avoid problems and pain. (…)
But only the person who recounted [that he had killed somebody] was treated that way. Who did not tell anything, received a different treatment. (…)

The element of the actual washing or purification is reported by all actors, but there exist different ways of execution. Also the separation of those youngsters who have killed somebody from those not having done so, has not always been taken place. Another priest who does not make this distinction, describes in detail the actual purification of the young people, after explaining the function of this ceremony:

When the children and youngsters returned from war, they were received by the Zionist Churches and also by traditional healers. (…) There they were purified. Why were the children purified? We washed the children to make them forget what happened to them in the bush. 54 To be able to leave behind their lives there. Life in the bush was rather animal like. It happened that they were forced to take drugs 55 or to kill somebody without any necessity. This was a sort of self-defence: When the chiefs said: Kill this person! If you do not do it, you will be killed. So they had to kill other people to be able to live. (…)
The same day the youngster appeared at home, he was directly taken to the church. (…)
During this ceremony when the young people were washed, their parents are only spectators and do nothing. (…)
For this ceremony for the returned children pigeons, maize meal, salt, firewood, cooking oil and candles. The meaning of all this can be found in the bible, Leviticus, 5. It is the way to receive God’s forgiveness for the sins committed. To receive forgiveness the person must pass through all phases: From buying the pigeons to handing them over to the priest. The priest is not allowed to kill the pigeon with a knife. He must kill it with his finger nails. Only the blood of the first pigeon is needed. It must be sprinkled where the altar is, there where the wood and the maize meal are spread. The rest goes into a jar. (…) The blood is mixed and subsequently the youngster is marked with

54 Because the RENAMO military bases were very often hidden in the heart of the country, i.e. in the bush (Portuguese: mato), the term is used by the persons interviewed as synonym.
55 Here the priest refers to the fact that child soldiers with RENAMO were forced to smoke marijuana, very often mixed with gunpowder. Before attacks they also were given other sorts of drugs.
the blood on his forehead.
The rest of it is poured away. This is done with the first pigeon to receive God's pardon.
The second pigeon means a mess for God already to thank him. It must be burnt completely, afterwards he [the youngster] begins to wash himself with the ashes. This expels evil spirits. (…)

By means of these descriptions the following elements of the ceremony can be distinguished:

1. Handing over of medicine,
2. Prayers,
3. Washing of the child soldier with magandzelo,
4. Washing/marking of the child soldier with animal blood,
5. Offering of magandzelo,
6. Purification of the house and the family,
7. Advice and discussion with the youngster.

Through the ritual of the rubbing in of the ashes the effects of the evil spirit like nightmares or memories of traumatic situations shall be eliminated. By the end of the ceremonies the former child soldiers were given some pieces of advice which could be like a taboo. They mostly referred to their lives with their families and the communities. As to the taboo on recounting war actions or especially war experience of the young people opinions differ.

It is not possible to learn from the interviews which elements of the ceremonies serve which purposes.

**Summing up, the ceremonies serve the following purposes:**

1. Treatment of physical problems and illnesses,
2. Treatment and ending up of psychotraumatic problems of the former child soldiers,
3. *Active forgetting*\(^{56}\) of all experiences made in military times by the child soldiers,
4. Treatment/relief of feelings of guilt of the former child soldiers,
5. Change of behaviour of the former child soldier according to social rules generally accepted,
6. Treatment/relief of fear of rejection by their family, their friends or the community and even revenge,

\(^{56}\) *Active forgetting* would be called repression in our regions, so it is connected to a certain negative connotation.

7 Treatment/relief of fear on the side of the family and the community that the child soldier might continue his military way of living and of his evil spirits,
8 Re-establishment of harmony in family life,
9 Symbolic reunification of the child soldiers with their parents and
10 Strengthening of the relationship to God and family ancestors (family spirits)\textsuperscript{57}.

The exemplary representation and the following evaluation of the interviews make clear that the internal integration ceremonies of the syncretistic churches aim at the individual as well as at the family and the community. Herewith it becomes evident that every issues of concern orientate towards integration of the child soldier into the community so he might feel as part of it finally.

3.1.2 Traditional healers

Just as many different churches and religions exist, there exist different sorts of traditional healers.\textsuperscript{58} They can be divided into two groups: Healers who exclusively work with medical plants, and those who additionally work with the help of spirits. The second group\textsuperscript{59} is of special interest because of its great importance for the social balance of the communities in the south of Mozambique (HONWANA 1993: 11).\textsuperscript{60} Depending on the spirits through which they work – or are related with -, the healers have their special domains and as such act as mediators between the living and the dead.

Two of the interviewed healers stated that no special ceremonies were conducted for the child soldiers but the same rites and other elements were applied to adults and other conflict fields.

Below, the detailed interview with a traditional woman healer is presented followed by quotations attesting its difference in view compared with interviews of the two other healers.

\textit{The parents came and asked for ku hlampsa [a ceremony of purification] so that the child soldier would not be possessed of strange spirits any longer.}

\textsuperscript{57} \textbf{SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION AND MOZAMBIQUE CHILDREN AND \textsc{war} PROJECT} (1995: 2) stress that the child soldiers lost any access to social and cultural values and rules. From this perspective the strengthening of the relations to God and ancestors forms an access to just these values. Also HONWANA (1998: 79-80) describes this aspect of the ceremonies – but as a type of ceremony of its own, executed by traditional healers. Timhamba means worship of the ancestors, executed with the help of gandzelo (cp. magandzelo of the churches) – sacrifice for the ancestors. About the importance of the timhamba ceremony she writes (1998: 80): “Timhamba are acts of communication and communion with the dead. They represent a process of collective healing and re-establishment of balance between the living and the spirit world.” Cp. also GLUCKMAN (1965: 119).

\textsuperscript{58} As to the different categories of healers cp. HONWANA (1988; 1991; 1993).

\textsuperscript{59} All following facts and reports on healers refer to this group only.

\textsuperscript{60} Cp. As to the importance of traditional healers as a bond between past and today, and the connected feeling of continuity BRACKEN, GILLER AND SUMMERFIELD (1995: 1080).
This purifying and washing is done preventively so that the person remains clean without strange spirits. Because in the bush people were killed in many ways, and the youngster might have passed near the dead body. When smelling the stench of the dead body the youngster became already possessed of the soul of the killed person.

When they [the young people] returned from the military base, we knew that they had suffered a lot. Because life at the military base was no human life (…) They were forced to act in a way not necessary for them. And it was our duty to undo their deeds. And so we got the youngsters to undergo this purification (…).

When the youngster returned without problems we lit a small fire. Then he had to jump from one side to the other, from north to south, from west to east, three times. The name of this ceremony is ndzilo e murhi [fire and medicine]. This is a preventive measure against spirits he brought with him.61

If the youngster was poor in mind and had headaches62 when he came from the military base, there was a different treatment: There exists a medicine I poured into a small coal fire. The youngster put his nose above it until having breathed it in. After inhalation all problems disappeared.

In case of a youngster who had killed we prescribed a traditional medicine (…), that would help us in our search for the killed person who ill-treated the youngster. We needed this person to talk to63 and to drive him off or to learn what he claimed [to release the youngster] or even to apologize.

When the girls returned from the military base they received a medicine for purification and their bodies were cleaned externally. But they did not recount anything.

In addition we gave a medicine causing diarrhoea when the youngster has stomach-ache after meals at the military base. Afterwards they had to go to the purification.

When we gave this medicine we told the youngster not to speak about the things he had seen at the military base. Because the family could become angry when the youngster talked about these things inside the family. We gave this piece of advice to help the youngsters forget, to be able to start a new life within the community.

During the treatment I advised the youngster, “You must not be alone” and “you should get along with your brothers”. Even when the youngster was afraid, we advised him to come to an understanding with his family.

Another healer executes the element of purification more precisely and adds a vaccination (Changana: ku thavela) to the ceremony which has a primarily preventive effect:

When a youth had killed, a chicken was needed. It was killed and the blood (…) mixed with some herbs for the purification. This is done to drive off the spirits (…) and to bring together the youth and his family.

After the purification I make some small incisions above his eyes and on his head [in his skin] and put some medicine into them so that the horror of the bush, always returning, might disappear.

61 Here the woman healer adds that this sort of ceremony is executed for all persons who have similar problems with spirits.

62 Headaches (Changana: vabza nhloko) stand for a here not delimited complex of physical, psychological and psychosocial problems.

63 This part of the ceremony which also exists as ceremony on its own is called ku femba. (Nhancale 1996: 29)
The latter is, according to his instructions, only necessary for male child soldiers of RENAMO, because e.g. child soldiers of the national militia did not have to kill with their bare hands and consequently were not physically so very near to their victims.

Another woman healer goes into the aspect of advice to the youth in detail. In this case the taboo imposed on the past seems to have precedence:

\[
\text{[After the ceremonies] the youth is not allowed to talk anymore [about his war-time experience]. The healer also is not allowed to tell anybody that the youth returned from the military base and that she treated him in a certain way. Even without any advice the youth will not talk about this experience because has forgotten everything.}
\]

She again emphasizes the aspect of forgetting when treating female child soldiers who returned from the military base. She said about a girl who was treated,

\[
\text{until she forgot what she had done there. In this way she could fight for contact within her family.}
\]

Important to her are the problems of the youth which shall vanish during treatment.

\[
\text{The child [returning from the military base] mostly stayed isolated, did not speak to anybody, had no friends. The only thing he wanted to do was beating. When he did something wrong at home and his father wanted to beat him, he himself took a knife to stab his father.}
\]

She also gives details about the time that may elapse between the return of the child and the ceremony:

\[
\text{[The youth] may not return from the military base and come here [ into the community] without ceremony. Even if only two months passed the evil spirit got used to the house and that is bad. If only one, two or till a week elapsed that does not matter. [If there passed more time since the return of the youth] one needs a medicine so that the person can clean himself and also a medicine for the washing of the whole family. And the whole house must be cleaned also.}
\]

The following **elements of the ceremonies** can be revealed:

**Healing elements for physical problems:**

I) Medicine for physical illnesses
II) Healing of injuries

**Healing and preventive elements:**

III) Inhalation of smoke
IV) Washing of the child soldier
V) Washing of the family and the house
VI) Talking to the evil spirits
Preventive elements:

VII) Jumping over fire
VIII) Vaccinations
IX) Counselling

**Aims of the ceremonies in detail:**

A) Treatment of physical problems and illnesses,
B) Treatment/ending of psychotraumatic problems of the former child soldiers,
C) *active forgetting* of all experience made by the child soldiers during their time with armed forces
D) Treatment/release from feelings of guilt of the former child soldiers,
E) Alteration of the behaviour of the former child soldiers according to the rules accepted by the society,
F) Treatment/relief of the former child soldier's fear of rejection by his family, friends and the community as well as of revenge,
G) Restoration of the harmony in family life and
H) Symbolic reunification of the child soldiers with their parents.

### 3.2 External integration

Similar to the internal actors who treated child soldiers with ceremonies which were also applicable to other purposes and groups of persons, there barely existed external actors specifically concentrating on the group of demobilized child soldiers in the region of Maputo. Only the organisation *Reconstruindo a Esperança* (Rebuilding Hope) took care of a project especially for child soldiers on the Ilha Josina Machel from 1994 – 1999 (chap. 3.2.2).

Beside this there operated some non-specific psychosocially or economically orientated programs (rehabilitation programs of ONUMOZ for demobilized soldiers; localizing and reunification program for families of the Ministry for the Coordination for Social Action in cooperation with other organizations and the ADPP (Ajuda de Desenvolvimento Povo a Povo / Development Solidarity People to People with a project for street children), aimed at groups to which also child soldiers belonged. Their specific problems were taken into consideration and respected.

The external integration of the child soldiers in Mozambique did not start in 1992 but
already in 1987. At this time the first RENAMO child soldiers got into the hands of the FRELIMO government. After their presentation to the press it became clear that their social integration was most necessary. As the cruelties they had committed became also known, difficulties arose to integrate them into schools and communities (CAIRNS 1987: chap. 5). Further experience with the integration of child soldiers was made by the Departamento Nacional de Accao Social (Department for Social Actions)\(^{64}\) of the Ministry of Public Health in cooperation with Save the Children Fund U.K. (SCF-UK) in the Centre of Lhanguene\(^{65}\), where 42 children were put (BOOTHBY 1996:143 – 145; SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION 1993: 21-24).

Following these initiatives till the end of the war there only exist reports on the integration of the group of child soldiers within other programs like the Family Localization und Reunification Program for the region of Maputo.

### 3.2.1 Non-specific integration programs for child soldiers

**Family localization and reunification program (PLRF):** The PLRF started in 1987 on the basis of experience made with the Lhanguene Project for former child soldiers. Very fast it widened to the localisation and reunification of refugee children and their families and to children put in institutions (orphanages etc.). Originally started only by MICAS and Save the Children Federation US (SCF-US)\(^{66}\) more and more organisations joined and took part. Meanwhile the program goes on exclusively under the responsibility of MICAS. The tasks shifted from family reunification to follow-up (DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 7 – 8).

The six phases of the PLRF in an ideal implementation\(^{67}\):

- Identification of all children seeking help in tracing their family members,
- Documentation of the biographic interviews and photographs of the children,
- Localisation of the children's families,
- Checking of the situation whether children as well as family members want a reunification and whether all requirements are fulfilled for the reception of the child.
- Reunification, equipping with *family kits* or *agripacks* for the first time of their living together, measures of sensitization at schools and health and social institutions and

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\(^{64}\) Until this time subordinated to the Ministry of Public Health, later on the Departamento Nacional de Accao Social became a ministry of its own (Ministerio para la Coordenacao de Accao Social – MICAS).

\(^{65}\) This centre could be closed because of the successful reunification of almost all former child soldiers living there.

\(^{66}\) The part of PLRF that was supported by SCF-US was also named *Children and War Project*. As to evaluation and conclusions of the *Children and War Project* also see FELSMAN (1991).

\(^{67}\) DRAISMA AND MUCACHE (1997: 8) comment: „One of the weaknesses of the PLRF has been the preparation of both child and family and the follow-up. These aspects have been difficult and costly due to the great distances involved and poor communication." However, MICAS started a new home visit program as follow-up project in 1995. UNICEF financed the program. (AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN 1995: 12070 – 12071)
• Home visits, mobilization of the community's engagement, community-orientated economic initiatives, counselling and traditional services, follow-up visits.


It has been concluded that about 10,000 of the registered 16,000 children could be reunited with their family members (DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 8). There exist no data as to how many child soldiers were in this group, however, FTRP was also responsible for family reunification of child soldiers found in the RENAMO camps at the time of demobilization.

Integration programs for demobilized soldiers. Within the frame of the demobilization and repatriation under the direction of ONUMOZ the reintegration commission (CORE) was set up. CORE was – as part of UNOHAC (United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination) responsible for the coordination and execution of reintegration mechanisms.

UNOHAC integration program for demobilized soldiers:

1 Information and Referral Service (IRS) – regional offices of information and assistance for economic and social integration;
2 Reintegration and Support Scheme (RSS) – Payment of salaries to demobilized soldiers in their home provinces for further 18 months.
3 Occupational Skills Development Program (OSD) – Job orientated vocational training combined with micro-credits and
4 Provincial and Open Reintegration Fund (PF/ORF) – Funds originally created to accompany other mechanisms and planned to stop trouble among demobilized soldiers because of failing economic integration through micro-credits.


All formally demobilized children had access to these integration mechanisms. Unfortunately there exist no meaningful statistics how many of those who claimed these integration mechanisms could be considered child soldiers. Presumably only a small number took part in the program because of the low social esteem of the child soldiers.

But this possibility of reintegration must also be included in the integration net.

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68 For an evaluation of these mechanisms cp. CHACHIUA (1999: 28-32), CREATIVE ASSOCIATES INTERNATIONAL INC. (1997: 34-78), KÜHNE, WEIMER AND FANDRYCH (1995: 19-27), MUTSCHLER (1995: 202-204). Especially Chachiua laments: “Formal demobilisation was aimed at buying short-term stability for the elections. Demobilisation projects were accorded to this overall objective; (...) projects have not been designed to enhance ties between the young demobilised soldiers and their rural communities.”
Other initiatives: Between 1992 and 1998 three organizations were generally noticed who considered child soldiers to a small degree in their programs: ADPP (Ajuda de Desenvolvimento Povo para Povo, the Mozambican Red Cross and UNICEF. But their support (schooling and financing) of child soldiers only concentrated on individual cases.

### 3.2.2 Specific integration programs for child soldiers

The psychosocial rehabilitations project for war-affected children and youths – Ilha Josina Machel (Maputo) By the end of 1994 the Associação Moçambicana de Saúde Pública (AMOSAPU – Mozambican association for public health) initiated this rehabilitation project as one among three initiatives of the organization. The work on the Ilha Josina Machel can be divided into two phases:

**Phase 1 (end of 1994 – February 1997):** The project aimed at preventing psychological and social problems not yet manifested and handling and treatment of arising psychologic and social problems (conflicts) of the child soldiers, their families and the community. The intervention was to tackle problems in three fields (psychosocial; family/community and school/education). The project was mainly supported by local honorary collaborators (activistas).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims of the rehabilitation project for former child soldiers:</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Re-establishment of a feeling of confidence;</td>
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<td>• Re-establishment of the capability of classifying and evaluating traumatic experiences;</td>
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<td>• Re-establishment of self esteem;</td>
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<td>• Re-establishment of aggression control;</td>
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<td>• Re-establishment of a sense of identity;</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Construction of a future perspective;</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Re-establishment of common familiar, transgenerational, social contacts within an acceptable cultural context.</td>
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The following **methods** were planned for this purpose:

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69 The Portuguese original name of the project is: *PROJECTO DE ASSISTÊNCIA PSICO-SOCIAL DE CRIANÇAS E JOVENS VÍTIMAS DE GUERRA – ILHA JOSINA MACHEL (MAPUTO).* All details of this chapter originate from: EFRAIME JÚNIOR 1996: RECONSTRUINDO A ESPERANÇA 1998 and from personal notes of the author.

70 The area, about 130 km in the north of the Mozambican capital in the flood area of the rivers Inkomati and Nwatsekule, was chosen on recommendation of the organizations taking part in the PLRF. Here most children coming from the RENAMO military bases in the region of Maputo had been reunified with their families and relatives.
• Psychodynamic orientated psychotherapy (art- and occupational group therapy, individual talkdown therapy),
• psychological assistance and counselling (home visits, further education of the *activistas*, teachers and professional collaborators),
• activities for self-help groups of the youths (special girl groups, fishing, mat weaving).

Work with the former child soldiers was based on the mediating functions of the *activistas*, who knew the child soldiers as part of their own community and they themselves were experienced in the psychosocial field whether through work in churches, community organizations or as teachers at local schools. The *activistas* took over the actual care for the former child soldiers being supported and counselled by the professional colleagues of the project. On the other hand, the *activistas* could channel the wishes and ideas of the youths, their families and the community towards their professional colleagues.

An important element in planning and implementing this phase was the coalition with internal actors for certain parts of the project, i.e. traditional healers and actors of the syncretistic churches. Additionally, individual case talks were held by former child soldiers in cooperation with these internal actors.

The transition from one phase to the other was the result of a further development of the project, trying to realize experiences previously made. E.g. the experiment with the classic psychotherapy was not successful so the direction of this work was changed towards imaginative therapy. It also became clear that the economic situation of the child soldiers on the Ilha Josina Machel played a major role on their coping possibilities with their war-time experience. In summary, one can say that the whole project concentrated to a high degree on the community and work in groups.

*Phase II (March 1997 – middle of 1999):* The direction of the project shifted towards a division into three.

**New methodological orientation** of the rehabilitation project for former child soldiers, Ilha Josina Machel – Maputo

• psychotherapeutic (group-) work with former child soldiers,
• self-help orientated group work of the former child soldiers run by *activistas* and
• support of the infrastructure of the community (school, health station).

This project phase went on for 30 months and included 150 youths of 14 to 25 years of
age. To avoid stigmatization of the former child soldiers, other youths most heavily affected by war were integrated.

The strengthening of the economic integration within the self-help groups through payment of public relief to the youths and purchase of 40 cattle and a tractor originated in an idea of the community and the youths. Beside their work in the fields the youths were given access to literacy courses and income generating activities e.g. production of clay bricks and training to become a tailor.

The psychotherapeutic intervention followed a psychodynamic imaginative therapy model that helped the child soldiers coming to terms with their traumatic war experiences by means of imaginative techniques after strengthening of their psychological power. Finally it was possible to develop future prospects with the young people.71

In this phase the cooperation with the internal actors was reduced to personal contacts between child soldiers and single members of the project and an activista who was pastor of a syncretistic church.

Beside the project on the Ilha Josina Machel the NGO AMOSAPU organized the international congress Children, War and Persecution – Rebuilding Hope in Maputo where the theme of the child soldiers was subject to academic attention. Through media the international interest in the problems of the child soldiers gained publicity in Mozambique (EFRAIME JÚNIOR, RIEDESSER, WALTER, ADAM AND STEUDTNER 1998; WALGER 1997).

National Campaign for Former Child Soldiers: On 21 August, 1998, the Campanha Ex-Crianças Soldados (campaign for former child soldiers) was initiated by the NGO Reconstruindo a Esperança in cooperation with other NGOs. This campaign has been directed against the renewed conscription of former child soldiers. Besides public relations with the national press, its activities cover the cooperation with the international Campaign against the Use of Child Soldiers72 and other NGOs in Europe. At the same time seminars were conducted in the northern provinces of Mozambique aiming at sensitizing people to the problems of former child soldiers and military service. (CASTANHEIRA 1999: 42-44; FORQUILHA 1998).

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71 The advantage of an external therapeutic approach is that it is possible to treat the child or youth according to his psychological development during the therapy. This is an advantage over the internal ceremonies which use a certain type of ceremony regardless of the patient's age.

72 This international campaign is implemented by the Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, Geneva. Among others amnesty international and the Save the Children Alliance are members.
3.3 Summary of the integration strategies

The presentation of the internal and external strategies for the integration of child soldiers in the province of Maputo demonstrates that all the different elements serve the preserving of the social system. So it can be confirmed that the internal actors' approach is rather community-oriented. Whereas the analysis of the external projects and programmes shows a concentration on the individual.

The following chapters demonstrate from a conflict-oriented point of view what sort of integration net can be generated from internal and external integration strategies and what conclusions can be drawn from this.
4 Classification of the integration strategies within the field of conflict transformation and prevention: The integration net

Child soldiers are confronted with many conflicts after demobilization. Not only they themselves but also their families and communities accepting them. If demonstrations and protests of child soldiers take place, as described in chapter 2, even government bodies get included in some cases. All internal and external actors try hard to avoid or handle these conflicts through integration of the children and youths.

In this field many of the external programs and projects were evaluated individually and/or contrasted with each other (e.g. BRETT AND MCCALLIN 1998; MCCALLIN 1995).

Based on my experience within the Psycho-social Project for Former Child Soldiers – Ilha Josina Machal (Maputo) there results a further approach towards evaluation allowing an analysis of the different integration strategies concerning their compatibility. By graphic representation of the different integration mechanisms in form of a net - within a certain region and within a certain time frame – the different integration mechanisms on the level of intervention and conflict can be correlated and analysed.

By correlating the intervention- and effect levels – whereby the observed conflicts should be located in-between the former child soldiers and the effect levels – it is possible to check the completeness and compatibility of the integration approach.

This study in the field of conflict management and prevention offers the advantage of being able to spot and analyse social as well as psychological conflicts, that means inter- and intrapersonal conflicts. This also implies that the different systems of understanding on the part of internal and external actors serve as basis for analysis.73

A new aspect of classifying the integration of child soldiers includes traditional ceremonies. Although rites and ceremonies were already acknowledged in the sixties of the former century as parts of conflict management and prevention,74 these approaches in connection with or in contrast to mainstream conflict management approaches are not wide spread and receive little attention in research and publications.75 What is also new with the ceremonies in conflict research is that they are anachronistic contrary to the greater part of presentations in conflict management that are diachronistic, that means considered a process.

73 Further forms of analysis are also offered by the different participatory valuation techniques e.g. the Participative Impact Monitoring, PIM (GERMANN AND GOHL 1997). As to a critical view and further development of these approaches cp. WAR-TORN SOCIETIES PROJECT (1998: 7-10).
74 Cp. GLUCKMAN (1965) and NORBECK (1963).
4.1 The integration net: An analytical tool

Building on the idea of the social net – rather a popular scientific set phrase – the idea of the net was adopted to illustrate how children and youths are received when returning from war. Using this net model it was necessary to clarify which information referring to the integration strategies had to be depicted.

The experiences within the project on the Ilha Josina Machel showed that there existed contradictions between the psychotherapeutic external and the ceremonial internal integration approaches. As these incompatibility affected the young people directly, information on the different levels of intervention were mapped in the net. Thus, conflicts with regard to these levels can be made visible.

To be able to recognise from the net whether the internal or external integration mechanisms relating to handling or preventing conflicts complement each other, or overlap or omit some fields, the effect levels, that means the levels of conflict relating to the child soldiers must be included in the integration net.

In the integration net constructed of the three information fields namely integration strategies, level of intervention and level of effect, the last two fields form the axes or threads of the net, while the actors with their strategies enter the nodes. Thereby the idea of the collecting net is taken into account.

Until now only the integration strategies were mentioned to be entered at the nodes or intersections. It is also possible to use the different actors instead of the integration strategies. But it makes only sense if the different actors can be identified by their special strategies, otherwise ambiguity within the net might appear. This especially applies to the external actors, because their different programs very often include the same components (for example school-based measures or initiatives to sensitize the public). Therefore the term “integration components” is used in the representation of the internal and external integration strategies, characterising the individual tasks of the projects and programs.

A not yet specific integration net is therefore used containing the levels of intervention (I1, I2, I3), the impact levels (L1, L2, L3) and the integration strategies (S1, S2, S3) and is illustrated in Fig. 1.

**Fig. 1: Schematic representation of the integration net**

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76 Until now no analytical tool had been known which in a simple way - that means without academic training - allowed the combination of the internal integration strategies found with those planned and already implemented. The demand to be able to handle this analytical tool in a most simple way is the result of the author's cooperation with former child soldiers, their families and the local community.

77 The net or the network approach has been used very often in social sciences. In psychology there exist various research and analysis approaches using the model of a net. Examples are the support network for children, which AKEN, ASENDORFF AND WILPERS use in their article Das soziale Unterstützungsnetzwerk von Kindern: Strukturelle Merkmale, Grad der Unterstützung. Konflikt und Beziehungen zum Selbstwertgefühl [The social support network for children: Structural characteristics, degree of support, conflict and relationship towards self-esteem] (1996), and the Repertory Grid developed by KELLY (1991) in the fifties.
As noted, the different internal and external integration components (S) are entered at the intersections of the net threads (nodes). Thus, several integration mechanisms happen to gather at special intersections while others are empty. The analysis of the integration *net* proceeds in two ways.\(^\text{78}\)

*Analysis of the coincidence of integration components*: Entries at the same node of the net are considered. The question is whether these activities are compatible or incompatible for the persons (groups) and whether the combination of integration strategies concerning the aims strived for, that means handling and preventing conflicts, are contradictory or complementary.

*Analysis of the holes in the integration net*: Beside the vertical and horizontal analysis of the present integration strategies it is necessary – depending on the aim of the analysis – to look at the holes. This can be important in case an integration *net* is set up before planning external strategies for an integration project. In this situation the holes might be starting points for the project to avoid conflicts with already existing integration mechanisms and deficits to persist.

The integration *net* can be constructed for single actors, such as non-specific programs or traditional healers, for whole groups, that means internal or external actors, or as a sort of overview for all interventions executed simultaneously.\(^\text{79}\)

It is important for the evaluation of the integration *net* to keep in mind that its basis is a

\(^{78}\) In the following chapters the evaluation regarding conflicts and cooperation between internal and external actors is explained. Of course, there exist discrepancies between target and actual demands within one single actor. Because in most cases the external mechanisms base on internal ceremonies already held before, the analysis of both forms of integration together seems adequate to the situation.

\(^{79}\) A further partitioning of the integration *nets* is possible, for example a partition according to time for each year or for other periods.
representation obtained qualitatively and not quantitatively.\textsuperscript{80}

In the following step three integration nets are developed: The integration net for internal actors, the integration net for external actors and finally the summarized complete integration net for the child soldiers of the region of Maputo for the period of 1992 to 1998.

The decisive steps include the determination of the levels of intervention and effect for the internal and external net. Then collective categories are constructed representing the final integration net.

4.2 The internal integration net
Using the acquired results of the ceremonies in chapter 3.1 and the intervention levels visible in the presentation, the integration net for internal actors can be constructed.

Assignment of the intervention levels: The ceremonies of the syncretic church work, according to the actors, on three levels: On the physical level of the individual youth by administration of medical substances; on the psychological/spiritual\textsuperscript{81} level of the individual youth by prayers, purification and ritual sacrifices and on the level of the families involved through washings. The ceremonies of the traditional healers tie in with the same proceedings although theirs are more extensive.

Therefore the following elements can be found for the intervention levels of the integration net:

- individual physical level,
- individual psychological/spiritual level and
- family level.

Assignment of the impact level: At this point of categorizing it is necessary to classify conflicts as intra- and interpersonal problems which are treated preventively or as such by ceremonies. Those ceremonies aiming at the treatment of physical problems, treatment/healing of psychotraumatic problems (from the perspective of the individual), active forgetting of all experiences, treatment/relief of feelings of guilt, treatment/relief of anxiety of the child soldiers belong to the category of intrapersonal conflicts. Even if some of these aims can be part of social conflicts and therefore assigned under this category they belong definitely to the intrapersonal field. Within the level of intrapersonal conflicts there exist two clearly defined sections: individual psychological problems and individual

\textsuperscript{80} The reason for these considerations lies in the fact that qualitative information is the basis of the integration net estimating that quantitative analyses in this field of conflict research do not render applicable results.

\textsuperscript{81} The double designation psychological/spiritual takes into account and stresses the view of the external actors in this field.
psychological/spiritual conflicts.

Classifying the range of interpersonal conflicts, that means problems between individual and family and individual and the community, needs more efforts as a clearly defined classification does not exist. Therefore it is necessary to discuss the classification into the different levels for each ceremony aim.

*Treatment of physical problems and illness* (syncretic churches and traditional healers): This sort of handicaps or long lasting injuries lead to economic conflicts because the child soldier's family must support him, as he cannot contribute to the family income.

Physical problems of female child soldiers also lead to economic problems as far as they resemble those of male child soldiers. But if the girls are injured as a consequence of sexual abuse, it is a problem for them to find a life partner as in rural areas this is a family task. If it is impossible to find a husband, they will have problems with their families. Besides the individual psychological/ spiritual conflict it means an economical conflict because the families have to support the girls and must do without the nuptial money. Furthermore, the whole family has to suffer stigmatization which can lead to a conflict between family and community.

*Treatment and ending of psychotraumatic problems* (syncretic churches and traditional healers): These impacts very rarely result in social conflicts.\(^2\)

*Active forgetting of experiences* (syncretic churches and traditional healers): This aim of the ceremonies has a social component besides the mentioned intrapersonal conflicts, because tensions may arise between former child soldiers and family or community if the latter starts talking openly about his experiences and deeds. Ideas of revenge could develop on the one hand, possible accomplices could be incriminated on the other hand.

*Treatment / Relief of feelings of guilt* (syncretic churches and traditional healers): This aim can be assigned to intrapersonal conflicts as long as these feelings of guilt do not lead to a conflict-ridden behaviour of the child soldier which is dealt with in the following paragraph.

*Modification of the behaviour of the former child soldier according to the socially accepted rules* (syncretic churches and traditional healers): If the difficult behaviour of the former child soldier is modified according to the social rules, it is possible to avoid or resolve conflicts between the youth and his family or the community.

*Treatment / Relief of fear of the former child soldier* (syncretic churches and traditional healers): If these fears do not result in a conflict behaviour of the former child soldier this

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\(^2\) Efraíme Júnior (1997) describes the case of a former child soldier who suffers from sleep walking and disturbs his family, so a conflict arises. As this fact can be subsumed in the category of *Harmony within the family*, it does not enter social conflicts.
aim can be attributed to intrapersonal conflicts. Otherwise they correspond to behaviour according to social rules.

_Treatment / relief of fear of the family and community_ (syncretic churches): These fears relate to two spheres: On the one hand to fear of an aggressive and threatening behaviour of the former child soldier and on the other hand of the _evil spirits_ the former child soldier might have brought with him from times of war. These fears manifest themselves, according to internal actors, in the child soldier's isolation by the family and the community respectively.

_Restoration of family harmony_ (syncretic churches and traditional healers): This aim can be attributed to the prevention and treatment of conflicts between former child soldier and his family.

_Symbolic reunification of child soldiers and their families_ (syncretic churches and traditional healers): By this symbolic act conflicts between child soldier and his family shall be prevented and as such it works as precondition for _harmony within the family_. At the same time it is an outward sign to the community showing that the former child soldier _is not dangerous any longer_ and so it helps him to be integrated in the community.

_Stabilization of religious relations_ (syncretic churches): By declaring that he still belongs and acts according to spiritual/religious rules the former child soldier contributes to the balance of family and community. The ceremony serves as prevention of conflicts within family and community, because the former child soldier is regarded as part of both systems.

The following impact levels develop:

- physical individual,
- psychological,
- economic level
- family and
- community.

Finally the internal integration _net_ for former child soldiers in the region of Maputo from 1992 – 1998 develops, Fig. 2.
Fig 2: Representation of the internal integration net for former child soldiers in the region of Maputo from 1992 – 1998

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<th>Intervention Level</th>
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<td>Individual physical</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Individual psych./spirit.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family level</td>
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Abbreviations of the used ceremony components:

- M medical treatment of physical problems
- I ceremonies

4.3 The external integration net

The representations of external integration in chapter 3.2 serve as basis for determining the intervention levels and impact levels.

Assignment of intervention levels: The family localization and reunification programme (PLRF) is clear in its assignments. It contains the individual psychological/spiritual and family level as well as the mobilization of the community and the economic level in its latter phase. The UNOHAC integration programme for demobilized soldiers stresses the individual and economic support of the person in its intervention level.

Other initiatives attach importance to the individual physical, psychological/spiritual and educational level.

The project of the organization Reconstruindo a Esperança for rehabilitation of former child soldiers can be assigned, according to its therapeutic work, to the individual

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83 As evil spirits are also made responsible for economic success/failure (interview with a woman priest of the syncretic church), the ceremonies also aim at the economic level. But the internal intervention strategies have to be differentiated from those of the external actors as represented in the following chapter.
psychological/spiritual level as well as to the family level (home visits); the self-help part refers to the economic and schooling range. By employing members of the community to look after the former child soldiers and supporting the social infrastructure materially and personally this level is directly included.

The national campaign of former child soldiers concentrates on the national publicity level by working in many regions of Mozambique and using mass media.

So the intervention levels of the external integration net can be determined as follows:

- individual physical level,
- individual psychological/spiritual level,
- economic/educational training level,
- family level,
- community level and
- national public.

Assignment of impact levels: These can be traced for the family localization and reunification programme in the psychological/spiritual individual and family interpersonal conflict levels and in the avoidance of conflicts originating from economic bottlenecks in the receiving families and communities. Social conflicts between returning child soldiers and their families and communities are to be prevented by sensitizing measures preceding or accompanying the reunification.

Through intervention of the UNOHAC integration programme for demobilized soldiers social conflicts between returning soldiers and their families and communities should be prevented, by improving at the same time the individual/spiritual situation. The aim especially of the PF/ORF was preventing riots provoked by demobilized soldiers who were not sufficiently integrated in regard to their economic situation. This also refers to child soldiers. Other initiatives involve in preventing and treating solely individual physical, psychological/spiritual as well as economic problems.\(^{84}\)

In contrast to that, there existed the broad approach of the psycho-social project for war-damaged children and youths – Ilha Josina Machel (Maputo). The project focussed its attention on the intrapersonal psychological/spiritual conflicts of the former child soldiers. They tried to prevent conflicts between child soldiers and communities because of economic problems by offering schooling, vocational training and income-generating components. The prevention of additional conflicts between former child soldiers and

\(^{84}\) Here the division of the terms physical and psychological/spiritual referring to the individual level is used, given in the last chapter. This helps to bring together the internal and external integration net.
family and community caused by individual psychological problems was a further concern. These aims were to be reached by offering different therapies to child soldiers and sensitizing families and communities. The Campaign of Former Child Soldiers started at the public national level but mainly continued their work trying to prevent intrapersonal psychological/spiritual conflicts.

The following impact levels for external integration mechanisms can be made out:

- physical individual level,
- psychological/spiritual individual level,
- economic level,
- family interpersonal level,
- community and governmental/public institutions.

Fig. 3 shows the external integration *net* for former child soldiers in the region of Maputo from 1992 to 1998.
### Abbreviations of the used ceremony components:

- **F** family localisation and reunification components
- **H** health/medical-physical components
- **C** campaign of the former child soldiers
- **E** schooling, vocational and economic components
- **S** sensitizing components for the problems of the former child soldiers
- **T** psychosocial/therapeutic components
4.4 The integration net for the former child soldiers in the region of Maputo (1992 – 1998)

In a final step the two integration nets of the internal and external actors are joined together, to obtain the complete integration net for the former child soldiers in the Maputo region from 1992 – 1998.

At this point it is necessary to check whether the impact levels\(^{65}\) carrying the same terms in the internal and external integration nets match.

*Individual levels:* The differentiation between physical and psychological levels was obvious in both integration approaches, although the distinction between the terms physical and psychological/spiritual in the internal context is more difficult to identify. In external approaches this level belongs clearly to the modern medicine of doctors and hospitals. Because the interviewed internal actors distinguish between these impact levels – although limiting this by showing understanding for the unity of physical and psychological body – this differentiation can be accepted. But when analysing the complete integration net in chapter 5 this borderline case should not be ignored.

*Economic level:* The idea of the economic impact level is very vague among the internal actors because its aim is pursued during ceremonies when driving away evil spirits who may hinder or prevent the economic and professional success of the former child soldiers. In contrast to that there exist clear impact levels of lasting economic integration or long-term self-employment of the former child soldiers.

Despite these differences a common economic level can be assumed.

*Family level:* Internal as well as external actors refer to hindering social conflicts between former child soldiers and their families although using different integration strategies.

Within the different strategies there does not exist a uniform family image: Internal actors include – in contrast to to external actors – dead family members. But it does not make sense to distinguish between living and dead family levels because external interventions are always accepted within a comprehensive world view by the internal affected persons. They always consider interventions to belong to living and dead family members because they do not think one without the other.

*Community level:* Internal as well as external integration works on this level to prevent conflicts between child soldier and community whether they are of social, spiritual nature - because the former child soldier is afraid of evil spirits – or of economic nature - an encumbrance by the additional family member. Although there does not exist an explicit

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\(^{65}\) For the intervention levels this step is not necessary because of the evident assignment.
definition of community, it can be proceeded from the assumption that they include the same group of people in the neighbourhood of the former child soldier. So the impact level is the same.

National / public level: As this level has only been mentioned within the external integration, it can be kept as such.

As a result, the integration net of the former child soldiers for the region of Maputo from 1992 to 1998 is represented in fig. 4. It becomes clear that the main focus of all interventions lies on the individual psychological/spiritual level of the child soldiers. Further emphasis is is placed on the family level. When analysing the complete integration net in chapter 5 this should be taken into account.
**Intervention Level**

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<td>Individual</td>
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**Abbreviations of the used ceremony components:**

F family localisation and reunification components
H medical care by external actors
C campaign of the former child soldiers
M medical treatment of physical problems by internal actors
E schooling, vocational and economic components
S sensitizing components for the problems of the former child soldiers
T psychosocial/therapeutic components
I ceremonies of internal actors
Conflict prevention and transformation after wars: 
Integration of child soldiers by external actors

The following analysis of the presented integration net shall reveal and discuss compatibilities and incompatibilities of the internal and external integration mechanisms, furthermore draw conclusions for more external interventions in the same region and/or in other regions – as far as this is possible despite the unique situation each child soldier experiences.

Necessarily the retrospective study of the integration net for the years 1992 - 1998 of the Maputo region is different in its objective from evaluating an integration project in the run-up. The latter asks, on the basis of the integration net, for possibilities to support already existing projects by external actors, the first asks for positive or negative signs within the internal and external integration net concerning further projects or programmes.

After evaluating the integration net a survey of the latest developments concerning the situation of the child soldiers in the region of Maputo and on international level are given. Because of the limited period under study these data could not be taken into consideration. Finally an outlook of future research possibilities in this area is provided.

5.1 Evaluation of the integration net for external actors

The schematic presentation of the integration net makes it possible to evaluate positive and negative integration approaches in two respects. In a first step the nodes are viewed where project and programme components of the external actors exist and meet internal actors. These nodes are investigated with regard to intervention levels as well as impact levels. In a second step the holes in the net are analysed.

5.1.1 Evaluation of the coinciding integration mechanisms

Studying the coinciding integration mechanisms especially of internal and external initiatives by means of the integration net leads to three emphases of the analysis:

1. The coincidence of medical treatment by internal (M) and external (H) actors and of the ceremonies of the internal actors (I) on the individual physical intervention level and the individual physical and psychological impact levels.

2. The coincidence of psychosocial/therapeutic components (T) of external actors with the ceremonies of internal actors (I) and different other external components (F, E, S) on the individual psychological/spiritual and family level and individual
psychological, family and community impact level respectively.

3. The coincidence of different exclusively external integration mechanisms (E, S, T) on different intervention and effect levels.

The coincidence of medical treatment by internal and external actors and ceremonies of internal actors

The coincidence of internal and external medical and ceremonial components means a similar structure due to the locally different use of these health-based offers by child soldiers.

The coincidence of psychosocial / therapeutical components of external actors with the ceremonies of internal actors

The second big complex originates from the confrontation of the internal ceremonies and external therapeutic/psychosocial components. This covers two problematic and conflictive areas: (a) The different concepts of treatment – anachronistic break with experience versus diachronistic refurbishment of experience – and (b) the different approaches of work with the individual person individually (external approach) and with the individual person as part of the community (internal approach).

   a) Conflict between different concepts of treatment: As described in chapter 3.1 the internal treatment strategies mean a break with the past. Through banishing/rejecting of evil spirits and of war experience on the whole the former child soldiers can regard themselves as part of the community again. Likewise the community can accept them as part of their own without having to be afraid of them. Talking about war experiences or of acting in the military was mostly taboo. Contrary to that, the therapeutic concept of the external actors, mostly based on western therapy concepts, believes in the effectiveness of repeated confrontation with the experienced trauma, which means to verbalize memories. Here the former child soldiers have mostly no choice to decide for a certain treatment concept. They must undergo the ceremonies because of their families and the community. These are, as shown, very often the first actions after returning from war.

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86 As to the role of taboos within conflict avoidance cf. Nhancale (1996).
87 The so-called debriefing, i.e. repeatedly working through traumatic experiences has not only been discussed and criticized in other cultures. Also within western psychology it has not been considered safe whether the confrontation with the trauma has a positive impact. (cf. Raphael, Meldrum and McFarlane, 1995). As to cultural differences in treating traumatic experiences cf. Bracken, Giller and Summerfield (1995), Kleber, Figley and Gersons (1995) and Summerfield (1996).
88 Whether these ceremonies are of any impact shall not be discussed. But former child soldiers not having undergone these ceremonies had a negative feeling for themselves. (personal messages, Ilha Josina Machel, 1997/98). A priest of the syncretic church confirmed this fact in an interview. As to the reasons why these ceremonies helped and were successful for the integration Chongo (1998: 85) mentioned the following aspects: a. Motivation – there is community and/or family reinforcement for the individual to submit to such therapy; b. Expectations – One believes that the ritual
Within a rehabilitation project the former child soldiers are only offered the external therapeutic treatment strange to their own field of experience. Very often it is bound to other project components (school-based, economic, social) so they are under the impression to have an all-or-nothing choice only.

Thus the former child soldiers get into a double-bind situation (conflict of loyalty), which means, as they are dependent on external and internal integration, they must break a taboo to meet the requirements of the external programmes. However they do, they will find themselves exposed to another – at least intrapsychic – conflict.

On an individual intrapsychic level these opposed methods of treatment can cause confusion and even a further traumatisation / re-traumatisation, because in the ceremonies the child soldiers could not develop mechanisms that would help them to work through the traumatic situations again.

A further problem is that internal actors believe that the success of the ceremonies lies in expelling the evil spirits – associated with the conflictive behaviour and memories of the war experiences. In this way the social integration of the former child soldier is achieved. If the external actors resume talks about the past, it does not lead to the evil spirits’ return but to memories the internal actors wanted to stop. If the external actors show that child soldiers still have war memories or can evoke them, the social integration can be endangered. In extreme cases the external intervention could reduce or even revoke the effects of the internal ceremonies. In addition, there may occur a loss of confidence in the internal actors, that means an abasement of the social position of healers and churches.

b) Conflict between different therapy approaches: While internal actors treat former child soldiers in the presence of their families – even if those do not always play an active part in the ceremonies – the psychotherapeutic interventions are based on conversations among individual child soldiers or among a group of child soldiers and the therapist. Thereby the particularities of these children and youths have an outward impact, which may lead to social stigmatization and further conflicts.

To this situation the integration component of family localization and reunification (F) can be added. It forms the base, temporally and in fact, for the other components, but as it is not contradictory as regards content to the other components it can be disregarded in the analysis of the complex of conflicts.

More problematic are the sensitizing components (S) per se, which, on different levels of intervention and impacts, create awareness for the problems of the child soldiers and
inform about the different treatment mechanisms. If these components are not accomplished with the necessary sensitivity for the existing taboos, rejection processes can develop towards projects associated with them and lead to stigmatization of child soldiers.

Different intervention components strive for handling and preventing economic conflicts but they complement each other. Varied school, vocational and economic possibilities of support offer stand-alone perspectives and at the same time help families and communities to accept their returning members.

Conflicts could only arise through external projects or programmes if the group of child soldiers as target receives economic support without the actors having observed common social structures (hierarchies). The community and the families might wonder why the former child soldiers who did so much harm, nowadays were privileged. This could lead to social tensions which might result in the question as to the role of child soldiers and the projects. One can counteract this through awareness-raising measures. If the mentioned problems associated with taboos are respected, both components can mutually reinforce one another by offering economic stimuli for the integration of child soldiers.

When linking school / vocational and economic components with sensitizing components it is necessary to do this carefully, so that child soldiers are not stigmatized because of their belonging to projects and programmes and further discussions on guilt and innocence of the former child soldiers are avoided.

**Encounter of different external integration mechanisms**

One problem of the encountering of psychosocial external and economic components has been mentioned: The former child soldiers can develop an all-or nothing feeling towards both components. They take part in therapeutic programmes to benefit from the advantages of the economic intervention. Children and youths put themselves in the described double-bind situation between internal and external treatment processes of their wartime experiences. The voluntariness of the participation in psychosocial and therapeutic project offers is undermined.

Regarding the coincidence of school / vocational and economic and sensitization components, complementarity of the different fields can be observed. If during implementation of sensitization measures the problem of taboos is respected, both components can strengthen each other as the economic initiatives offer incentives for the integration of child soldiers.

But it is necessary to be careful when combining school /vocational / economic and
sensitization components. The stigmatization of the child soldiers when they belong to projects and programmes as well as a renewed discussion of guilt and innocence of the situation of child soldiers must be avoided.

5.1.2 Evaluation of the holes in the integration net

From the external actors' point of view the holes in the internal integration net as well as other holes in the total integration net must be examined. The analysis should answer the question at which spot in the net interventions by external actors were useful. Thereby ensuring that the additional engagement does not lead to conflicts for the persons concerned, this means intervention takes only place at levels where internal actors have not become active until then.

Here it strikes that one possible intervention level does not exist at all: The intervention level internal actors. They belong to the community level, but form an extra group. So it could be possible to support these persons and groups materially or vocationally by external sources. It would not be a matter of transferring psychological wisdom but of helping internal actors to expand their radius of action through discussions and exchange of experience so they could also intervene on a non-commercial level.

Within the existing integration net there are gaps in the field of the intervention level national public. Here it would be worth considering whether external actors could help improve the situation of former child soldiers through activities in the media and specific lobbying in national politics. Intervention in this direction could perhaps induce the official recognition of the child soldiers by the army and former war parties associated with – perhaps only symbolically – with a subsequent demobilization. Beside logistical problems the question is to clarify to what extent the already existing equilibrium within rural communities would be concerned by such activities.

5.2 Conclusions from the integration net

Looking backwards: The study shows that the integration net for former child soldiers in the region of Maputo from 1992 to 1998 was very dense in many places, that means at many nodes there existed several interventions. This applied to single locations, for example Ilha Josina Machel, or to single groups of child soldiers, for example formally demobilized child soldiers by ONUMOZ/UNOHAC.

Therefore as a result of the study can be emphasized that the different external

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89 The later demobilization could help child soldiers consider their own time during war to be not absolutely negative and tabooed, and as a group belonging to the regular army they could feel officially recognized.
interventions showed a locally limited effectiveness only. It can be said that a uniform
treatment of child soldiers by external actors did not exist.\footnote{Even the ceremonies of the internal actors have not been uniform for all child soldiers, but the majority of the former child soldiers at least in rural regions had access to them.}

The external psychosocial integration programmes, which mostly took place temporally after the internal integration ceremonies, did not follow rules and customs found in rural communities. In that way possible new conflicts arose for child soldiers, their families and communities.

In contrast, school /vocational / economic and medical components of projects did not show any problems according to the integration net. Of course, stigmatization of the target group of child soldiers was possible with all three components.

Looking forward: Seven years after the end of the war in Mozambique the problems of child soldiers have not yet disappeared from daily life. But when comparing the internal and external integration strategies it becomes clear that, ever since the end of the project on the Ilha Josina Machel in the middle of 1999, which was specifically directed towards child soldiers, currently arising problems are solved by internal powers. Whether it is still necessary to give some support on the family and community level must be clarified according to each individual case. The integration net identifies the danger of stigmatization of former child soldiers by specific programmes and project components and demonstrates that even broadly based support in the range of vocational and economic initiatives can cause conflicts.

And here is where initiatives and organizations should orientate when implementing projects and programmes – for example when officially recognizing and formally demobilizing child soldiers, as suggested.

Support of the internal actors at this time would only make sense in a preventive respect because of their anachronistic methods of intervention – meanwhile no longer executed for child soldiers: With regard to strengthening of internal forces to be able to tackle future crises and conflicts.

For future integration projects and programmes the evaluation of the integration net\footnote{These conclusions also contain results of a study by SUMMERFIELD (1996: 25-35), where he again stresses the importance of indigene explanatory patterns and treatment approaches for the prevention and treatment of conflicts.} shows the following results:

a) external interventions should note, grasp and consider the already existing integration net – this mostly presents the starting basis for external steps of
integration for former child soldiers (exception: Pure family localization and reunification components);\textsuperscript{92}

b) external actors should not use intervention mechanisms contradicting the goals of integration – this stimulates intra-community conflicts and undermines the impacts of the internal mechanisms;

c) the formal demobilization can be regarded as a first step for successful social integration through external actors – contrary to the tabooing of the theme.\textsuperscript{93}

d) family localization and reunification components form the basis for internal integration of child soldiers – without interfering with the actual internal integration;\textsuperscript{94}

e) medical, school, vocational and economic project components support and strengthen families and communities when integrating former child soldiers into their daily life,\textsuperscript{95} provided they do not aim at the target group of child soldiers only which would mean danger of stigmatization and social distribution conflicts;

f) external integration strategies shall support internal actors on a local level to enable them to have access to them (for example through financial / material assistance, facilitation of exchanging experiences and further education, perhaps within empowerment or civil society-orientated programmes).\textsuperscript{96}

5.3 Latest developments in relation to the problems of child soldiers and tasks of future research

At the conference on child soldiers in Africa held in April 1999 in Maputo the Mozambican government announced that they had installed an additional body for the medical examination of conscripts. They are especially responsible for conscripts who state having already taken part in war and it is their duty to check the psychological and physical fitness of the former combatants. If this institution comes to the conclusion that the conscript suffers from traumatic troubles or there is the risk of traumatic reactions as a result of former participation in war the young men are excluded from military service. (\textsc{The Coalition to Stop the Use of Childsoldiers and Maslen 1999a})

This plan formulated in a general way means a great step forward for the former child

\textsuperscript{92} Cp. also \textsc{Chachuia} (1999: 30-31).

\textsuperscript{93} Cp. also \textsc{Brett and McCallin} (1998: 189).

\textsuperscript{94} Cp. also \textsc{Brett and McCallin} (1998: 127, 190).

\textsuperscript{95} Concerning different models of age-adjusted education of former child soldiers, and also combination of school, vocational and traditional rural methods of informal (family or community) knowledge transfer cp. \textsc{McCallin} (1995: 21-24).

\textsuperscript{96} As to empowerment as culturally dependent concept cp. \textsc{McCallin} (1995: 24)
soldiers of Mozambique and may be considered a success of the national Campaign of former child soldiers of Mozambique and the international campaign to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.

The governments of other African states also announced similar steps towards an interdiction of recruiting child soldiers and formal rehabilitation and integration.97

These successes show clearly how external actors can exercise influence on the prevention and treatment of these problems.

There exists another organization in Mozambique that tackled the problem of child soldiers in 1999. The NGO Propaz (for peace), emerging from the two greatest organizations of demobilized soldiers AMODEG (Mozambican association of demobilized soldiers) and ADEMIMO (Mozambican association of disabled veterans) in particular stand up for improving the legal situation of former child soldiers. The legal recognition as demobilized soldiers would guarantee the right of demobilization payments and possible pension entitlements. (MUNGOI 1999: 38-40)

Despite successes of the international campaign and the raising of awareness for the problems of child soldiers many holes have still to be closed in the different integration nets. To arrive at an adequate external integration strategy, it is necessary to gather pre-existing regional internal and external integration mechanisms and to investigate their efficacy; not only from the point of view of external actors – international scientists included – but first of all from the perspective of former child soldiers, their families and communities and internal actors themselves. It would be useful to carry out investigations with those former child soldiers who only went through internal or external integration structures to be able to compare their different effectiveness. This is the only way to ensure that internal and external mechanisms lead to integration structures adequate to the special conflict situations of child soldiers.

6 Appendix

6.1 Definitions

Actors: Individuals, institutions or organisations, that actively contribute towards the integration of child soldiers.

Demobilization (formal and informal): Formal demobilization – the term official demobilization is used synonymously – means the official and controlled discharge of soldiers and child soldiers from any army and armed group.\(^\text{98}\) The opposite term informal mobilization subsumes all other ways of leaving any army or armed group. This includes self demobilization which means the non-official leave and return of soldiers to their families and their communities respectively on their own free will, (BERDAL 1996: 39), and the discreet demobilization (COELHO AND VINES o.J.: 41) of mainly child soldiers. This mostly implied renaming the child soldiers on RENAMO military bases as orphans or unaccompanied children. As a result it was possible to integrate them into this target group and to keep them out of the formal demobilization process (DRAISMA AND MUCACHE 1997: 7). Integration differs from demobilization in medium and long-term implementation and differing objectives (BERDAL 1996: 39).

External: All persons, groups, institutions, activities and strategies belonging to the outside of the community of the person to be integrated.

Community: Individuals and groups (neighbours, friends, colleagues, informal and formal leaders/authorities, traditional healers, volunteers, organizations and religious institutions) belonging to the social life of people within a certain area, defined in geographic or other terms by the population.\(^\text{99}\)

Integration:\(^\text{100}\) Integration and rehabilitation of a person into a chosen community. The aim of the integration should be the coexistence of integrated person and community so the same economic and social resources can be used without more frequent larger conflicts than normal.\(^\text{101}\)

\(^{98}\) This definition is based on the formulation chosen by the Symposium on the Prevention of the Recruitment of Children into the Armed Forces and Demobilization and Social Reintegration of Child Soldiers (1997: 1): „Demobilization means the formal and controlled discharge of child soldiers from the army or from an armed group.“


\(^{100}\) The reason why the use of the term re-integration is not correct in connection with the problems of child soldiers is the false impression that the possibility of their return into the initial situation seems realistic. But the child soldiers themselves have developed further independent of their former community and so has the community. Indeed there are still family ties between child soldiers and community but their living together must be reconstructed (NETZHAMMER 1995: 31). In this respect the case study from the Philippines, cited by BRETT AND MCCALLIN (1998: 125) is to be understood, where the term reintegration is replaced by the term rehabilitation.

\(^{101}\) Based on MINICA AND STUBBS (1996: 284) who offer a definition for refugee integration.
**Internal**: All persons, groups, institutions, activities and strategies emerging from the community of the person to be integrated.

**Integration net**: The structure comprising all internal and external powers supporting children and youths in their integration into civil life outside private or family level.

**Child soldier**: According to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 1, every person below the age of 18 years is a child. Therefore a child soldier is a child who, in any function, is part of a regular or irregular army or armed group. Included are cooks, porters, messengers and all those who accompany the army or armed group not only as family members.\(^{102}\) It also includes girls who have been recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriages. Former child soldiers are those who have been demobilized formally and informally. This definition corresponds to that formulated by the **Symposium on the Prevention of Recruitment of Children into the Armed Forces and Demobilization and Social Reintegration of Child Soldiers in Africa (1997: 1)**\(^{103}\) apart from a distinction between formally and informally demobilized child soldiers. This distinction is based on **McCallins (1995: 3)** definition of former child combatants and former young soldiers. It is necessary to be able to distinguish between child soldiers, who were under the age of 15 years at the time of demobilization and were demobilized formally and those who before and at the end of the war were excluded from fighting formations without any official integration support, that means demobilized informally.\(^{104}\)

**Conflict (constructive and destructive)**: Here conflict is understood as a clash of two different interests or tendencies for action judged as different and incompatible.\(^{105}\) A distinction is drawn between intrapsychic conflicts that means conflicts occurring within a person, and interpersonal or social conflicts that mean those conflicts between at least two persons, but also between two social groups in a society/a country (internal political conflicts) and international conflicts.\(^{106}\)

The subdivision into constructive and destructive conflicts: Constructive conflicts are conflicts estimated positively for the further development of the conflict by at least one

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\(^{102}\) As to this very widely set definition of the child soldiers' functions compare also **Hahn (1998: 41)** on child soldiers during the Thirty Years' War. A tighter definition is to be found with **Sultan (1997: 2)**. This includes only military functions.

\(^{103}\) **Symposium on the Prevention of the Recruitment of Children into the Armed Forces and Demobilization and Social Reintegration of Child Soldiers in Africa (1997: 1)**: „Child soldier‘ (…) means any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers, and those accompanying such groups, other than purely as family members. It includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage. It does not, therefore, only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried arms.”

\(^{104}\) **McCallin (1995: 3)**: „former child combatants who participated in military activity and are still under the age of 15 years.” But the age limit had to be adapted to the demobilization practice of ONUMOZ who demobilized soldiers only from 16 years on. Compare also **Creative Associates International Inc. (1994: 3)**.

\(^{105}\) According to **Nolting (1987: 552)** and **Ropers (1995: 3)**.

interested party and judged not negatively by one/or more representatives.\textsuperscript{107} 

**Recruitment:** This includes all forms of voluntary and involuntary joining of the army or armed groups. BRETTE AND MCCALLIN (1998: 41ff) distinguish four manners of recruitment: Recruitment on legal basis, e.g. conscription; forced recruitment, voluntary recruitment and induced recruitment. The last category is defined as situations where there is no evidence of forced recruitment but circumstances suggest no voluntary participation.

**Trauma:** Intrapsychic conflict originating from external traumatic experience or a sequence of external traumatic experiences, that can have an outward impact. This conflict-theoretical definition is supplemented by the definition of the traumatic experience by FISCHER AND RIEDESSER (1998: 351): “Psychological traumatisation can be defined as vital experience of a discrepancy between threatening situational factors and individual coping possibilities accompanied by feelings of helplessness and defenceless exposure and causing a permanent shock of self-image and understanding of the world.”

\textsuperscript{107} Compare GALTUNG (196: 70-73), WASMUTH (1992) and WELLMANN (1997).
6.2 List of abbreviations

ADEMIMO – Association of Disabled Veterans of Mozambique
ADPP – Danish peoples' Solidarity Association
AGP – General Peace Accord of Mozambique, 4 October 1992
AMODEG – Mozambican Association of Demobilized Soldiers
CCM – Mozambican Christian Council
CORE – Commission for the Integration of Demobilized Soldiers
FADM – Mozambican Defence Forces: new army built from demobilized members of FAM and RENAMO at the AGP
FAM – Mozambican forces on part of the government FRELIMO until 1992
FRELIMO – Mozambican liberation front – today's ruling party
FTRP – Family Tracing and Reunification Project, see also PLRF
GO – Governmental Organisation
IOM – International Organisation for Migration
IRS – Information and Referral Service (CORE – UNOHAC)
MICAS – Ministry for the Coordination of Social Tasks
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisations
OAU – Organisation of African Unity
ONUMOZ – United States Operations in Mozambique
OSD – Occupational Skills Development Program (CORE – UNOHAC)
PF/ORF – Provincial and Open Reintegration Fund
PLRF – Family Localisation and Reunification Programme
RE – Association Rebuilding Hope - 1997 originating from AMOSAPU for psychosocial projects
RENAMO – National Mozambican Resistance – former opposition army and today's opposition party
SCF – Save the Children Fund, UK
SCF-US – Save the Children Federation, USA
SMO – Compulsory military service
UNDP – United Nations Development Program
UNOHAC – United Nations Office for Humanitarian Assistance Coordination
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