The reintegration of war-affected youth: The experience of Mozambique

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Preface

This report, prepared by Stuart Maslen, is an input to the ILO “Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict”. The Programme aims to learn from the experiences of selected post-conflict countries in Africa, Asia and Central America in order to offer guidance to countries newly emerging from armed conflict. The objective of the Programme is to increase the capacity of governments and other national and local bodies to facilitate the rapid and effective reintegration of war-affected groups, through training and employment creation. Outputs of the Programme include:

- guidelines for the planning, implementation and assessment of training and employment programmes for war-affected communities, with special attention to youth, women and disabled persons;
- training courses and materials to build institutional capacity at national and community levels;
- a database of organizations and individuals having practical experience in reintegration programmes in a number of countries, as a resource for the design, implementation and evaluation of training and employment programmes in countries newly emerging from armed conflict.

The Programme has undertaken a number of studies in the field of training and employment needs in war-affected countries. Some of the reports focus on specific target groups, such as youth, women and disabled persons. The present report considers the particular situation of war-affected youth and makes a number of proposals regarding policy and programme to guide future action.

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Executive summary

Shortly after independence was achieved in 1975, Mozambicans became embroiled in a savage internal struggle between the government of FRELIMO and the armed opposition group of RENAMO. The struggle was to last 16 years and to cost hundreds of thousands of lives. Against this backdrop of savagery, millions of children and youth have grown up in Mozambique knowing little else but the horrors of war. For Mozambican youth living — and dying — in the midst of armed conflict, the choices were clear: fight; flee; or risk life, limb and liberty trying to eke out a meagre existence amid the minefields and madness. The present study examines the experiences of Mozambique in providing vocational skills training and employment to war-affected youth as part of the reintegration process. The research for this paper was undertaken in Maputo, Manica and Sofala provinces in Mozambique during a three-week period in December 1996.

Although it can sometimes be unhelpful, and even perhaps misleading, to categorize children and youth as members of discrete vulnerable groups, a certain compartmentalization is almost inevitable. While stressing the grinding poverty that affects the majority of children and youths in Mozambique, a number of additional threats to survival and development characterize those with particular experiences as a result of the war. In seeking to isolate these threats, a distinction must be made between youth who were active participants in the armed conflict and those who remained civilians throughout the long years of conflict. Rightly or wrongly, this distinction was fundamental to the programmes of reintegration designed and implemented by the international community in Mozambique, at least between 1993 and 1996. The mainstay of international effort and resources was directed, intentionally, at the soldiers demobilized from the armies of FRELIMO and RENAMO.

Overall, reintegration assistance for demobilized soldiers, in particular that provided by the International Organization for Migration, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit and the International Labour Office (ILO), was adjudged to have been positive, although insufficient in comparison to the needs of the beneficiaries.

Deliberately excluded from the demobilization process in Mozambique were an unknown number of “child soldiers” under the age of 15. No one knows precisely how many children served in the armed forces of FRELIMO or RENAMO during the 16-year civil war in Mozambique, but the number is widely believed to be in the thousands. Vocational training is crucial to the successful reintegration of former child/young soldiers. Research conducted for the ILO in Liberia, Mozambique and Sierra Leone has emphasized the need not only for vocational training per se, but also the children’s need for basic education and training in life skills to assist their reintegration. However, former child soldiers should not be treated as a distinct or separate group but should be integrated into skills courses with other trainees.

Girls and young women, both those who served in the armed forces and those who remained civilians throughout the war endured particularly harsh treatment. In addition, research conducted for the United Nations Study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children found that the experience in Mozambique suggested that the disintegration or disruption of community life caused by the war posed a threat even to the “informal” education received by girls, since they were often denied the skills traditionally taught to them as a consequence of the entire community having to concentrate on mere survival.

Another group of youth who may have special needs are the disabled. Thousands of young men and women were physically and mentally disabled as a direct result of the fighting (e.g. as a result of bullet wounds, shrapnel from bombs or artillery shells, or injuries from land mines or
unexploded ordnance) or torture and abuse committed by warring parties, or as an indirect result of the lack of available health care caused by the destruction or theft of medical facilities and supplies, or they may be born with physical or mental disabilities, perhaps exacerbated by the social dislocation engendered by armed conflict.

The largest category of war-affected civilian youth were the refugees and internally displaced. The armed conflict in Mozambique dislocated and displaced an estimated 6 million Mozambicans — 4.3 million internally and 1.7 million as refugees across into neighbouring Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In its assessment of its largest ever repatriation and reintegration programme, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) affirmed that although some of the younger returnees, often prompted by their parents, returned to their former countries of asylum in order to look for work, there were no large-scale refugee back-flows.

The vast majority of returnees ... are peasant farmers. The key to successful reintegration is their ability to grow enough food. While returnees (like others in Mozambique) have a wide variety of survival strategies and coping mechanisms, they all start with having a successful small farm. If returnees can, within one or two seasons, be growing “enough” food, their reintegration will be successful. If they don’t, no number of schools, health posts or water points will make much difference.

Internal displacement continues to be an issue in post-conflict Mozambique. Displaced families remain in, especially, peri-urban areas unwilling to return home to the countryside as they fear that little or no infrastructure awaits them. An indirect consequence is the thousands of children and youngsters who drift along or into the streets of Maputo, Beira, Chimoio and Quelimane. The vast majority of the street children are boys. It is believed, however, that the number of girl prostitutes, many as young as 12 or 13, continues to increase. According to the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF):

... there has been a dramatic upsurge in the number of street children in recent years and the phenomenon is becoming a major social problem. In the past, street children were often those whose families had been split up by war. Bereft of support they were driven to life on the street in order to survive. Times, however, have changed and now the majority of children on the streets have families.

Ultimately, of course, the responsibility for ensuring the development of the nation’s youth will rest with the Mozambican Government. Thus, in October 1994, Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Mateus Katupha, stated that the future government of FRELIMO would seek to improve development programmes for youth, creating the conditions for genuine progress. However:

... [t]here is an awareness that the Government itself will not be able to meet the many needs of the population. Thus there is a need to encourage community initiatives which are usually low cost and of greater impact, as well as to build up local capacity to

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3 Quoted by Alice Mabote in *Aro*, fortnightly newspaper, 28 Nov. 1996, p. 20 (author’s translation from Portuguese).
resolve their own problems through programmes based on the communities themselves, managed by them and that are self-sufficient and sustainable.⁴

Although, as one concerned agency has pointed out, reintegration is not an exact science, the Mozambique experience has produced a number of important lessons. Perhaps the single most important lesson from the Mozambique experience is the need to plan adequately on the basis of appropriate needs assessment. Such assessment should comprise socio-anthropological study of the intended beneficiaries and a labour market survey, including identification of actual or potential employers. In particular, in the preparation of the assessment the views of the target beneficiaries — individuals and communities — should be sought. In addition, the special needs of potentially vulnerable groups, including youth as a whole and women and the disabled in particular, should be carefully considered. The underlying objective of targeted programmes should be to include these groups in the mainstream activities wherever possible.

It may be inevitable, initially at least, that certain training and assistance programmes target demobilized soldiers specifically. But upon return to the communities, as far as possible, reintegration assistance should support the communities as a whole, using the resources of the family and the community, without singling out certain groups for special treatment or privileges.

As programmes of reintegration assistance and vocational training are not available in unlimited quantities, preference in the selection of beneficiaries should be given to those most likely to benefit from such programmes over the long term. This is particularly important in the case of training intended to lead to self-employment because of the intrinsic difficulty of successful and sustained self-employment in a post-conflict society. In particular, individuals that are clearly severely traumatized by their experiences during the war are unlikely to finish a training course. If refused a place on a training programme, however, referral for appropriate psychosocial assistance should be automatic, otherwise a feeling of exclusion or stigmatization may be reinforced.

It is necessary to develop special courses for war-affected populations that take into account their experiences. In addition, certain components should be included to reflect the special vulnerability and needs of children and youth. There is a need to develop basic modules that can be adapted to local circumstances. In particular, HIV/AIDS and mine awareness training, as well as literacy and numeracy courses and civic education, may save lives and promote successful reintegration of war-affected youth. In addition, trainers of war-affected populations should be taught to identify those who have been severely traumatized by their experiences (including themselves) and must know to whom referral can be made for psychosocial assistance. Trainers should not, however, be expected to serve as formal psychosocial counsellors themselves. In the case of training programmes for women, there should be a preference for the use of female trainers who may be more sensitive to the needs of war-affected women.

All training courses should aim to ensure that employment is already secured for the programme beneficiaries. Consideration should be given to the possibility of incentives to employers for employing disabled and other trainees potentially the subject of employment discrimination. Moreover, information packages for training beneficiaries should be in local languages as far as possible and their content clearly explained to those unable to read.

Monitoring and evaluation should not be considered an optional extra in any programmes, least of all training programmes with a long-term objective of facilitating access to sustained employment. In-house quantitative studies are not an accurate measure of the success of a programme. It is not therefore adequate merely to state that a certain number of people have been trained or have found employment since this measure fails to assess both whether the job is related

to the training, and whether the employment is sustainable. A detailed study should be made of the situation comparing beneficiaries of formal vocational training with others who have not received any training so as to assess the “value added” by the training programmes.

The ILO, with its expertise in skills training leading to employment, has a great deal to contribute in formulating country-specific strategies towards employment creation and promotion as a country seeks to move from war to peace. In developing such strategies, there are three principles that should remain at the forefront of policy: planning, participation and partnership. Planning should be the basis of all interventions and yet in the rush to “do something” so often is rather neglected. It should incorporate strategies for monitoring and evaluation of programmes and allow for their necessary adaptation based on experiences gained. Participation draws attention to the need to involve the beneficiaries at all stages of the process. This helps to ensure successful project implementation and sustainability such that the project becomes a social process. Finally, partnership — with the government, other agencies, local and international NGOs and, especially, the local communities — is the basis of successful coordination of efforts. It widens the pool of knowledge and expertise which can be drawn on and avoids unnecessary duplication and overlap.
1. **Introduction**

This report is divided into four sections. The first section outlines the impact of armed conflict on Mozambican youth and the prevailing economic and labour situation in post-conflict Mozambique. The second section reviews the process of reintegration of military and civilian children and youth, concentrating on vocational training programmes provided by the Mozambican Government and selected non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations and bilateral agencies. The third section discusses the relevance and importance of reintegration skills and knowledge in the context of the Mozambique experience. The final section summarizes the major lessons learnt from the programmes of vocational training reintegration and recommends possible action for future reintegration programmes in other countries emerging from armed conflict. The attached bibliography is followed by an annex listing selected organizations that have been involved in vocational training of youth in Mozambique.

The present study examines the experiences of Mozambique in providing vocational skills training and employment to war-affected youth as part of the reintegration process. The research for this paper was undertaken in Maputo, Manica and Sofala provinces in Mozambique during a three-week period in December 1996. It identifies needs and makes practical recommendations and proposals for different training requirements leading to employment for war-affected youth. Particular attention is paid to the possibility of including support for “reintegration skills and knowledge” as part of, or linked to, vocational training programmes. The recommendations are based on gained experiences in Mozambique on launching different reintegration programmes for young persons affected by armed conflict.

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5 The term *youth* is inevitably subject to differing definition. For the purpose of this paper, it shall be understood to include only those persons between the ages of 14 and 25, even though certain Mozambicans regard 30-year-olds and even 35-year-olds as *youths*. According to 1990 government statistics more than one-fifth of the population of Mozambique is between the ages of 15 and 25 and more than one-quarter is between 15 and 35. A population census is currently being prepared. Where specific reference is made to *children*, in accordance with international and national law, this term shall be deemed to refer to those persons under the age of 18.

6 “Reintegration skills and knowledge” demand the provision of basic and specialized education and information courses that, although not normally included in vocational training, may be essential to an individual if training is to lead to successful long-term employment. Examples of courses include literacy and numeracy training; education in human rights and labour standards; and public health information, covering, for instance, HIV/AIDS, drug and alcohol abuse, and protection from anti-personnel land mines.
2. **Background: The impact of armed conflict on youth in Mozambique**

2.1. **The long years of war**

Shortly after independence was achieved in 1975, Mozambicans became embroiled in a savage internal struggle between the government of FRELIMO\(^7\) and the armed opposition group of RENAMO\(^8\). The struggle was to last 16 years and to cost hundreds of thousands of lives. Against this backdrop of savagery, millions of children and youth have grown up in Mozambique knowing little else but the horrors of war. For Mozambican youth living — and dying — in the midst of armed conflict, the choices were clear: fight; flee; or risk life, limb and liberty trying to eke out a meagre existence amid the minefields and madness.

Thousands of youth, including an unknown number of young women, joined the armed forces of government or opposition and many became active participants in the conflict. Some did so willingly, while others were pressed into service, sometimes at the barrel of a gun. It has been reported that in some instances, children were abducted and then forced to kill or torture friends or even family to ensure that their links with the community were completely broken.

Once enrolled, life in the army tended to be harsh: discipline was frequently merciless, punishment severe. Thus, in addition to the threat of death or injury fighting in the front line, recruits ran the frequent risk of physical or sexual abuse at the hands of their own side. In the bitterness of the struggle for supremacy, appalling atrocities were committed against civilians and other soldiers alike. The impact of abuses of the fundamental norms of humanity will take decades to expunge from the collective psyche of all Mozambicans, both young and old. Moreover, a generation of young soldiers were deprived of access to basic education and health care.

As the war continued and hopes of peace withered with the untended crops, millions of Mozambicans fled into neighbouring Malawi, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. As refugees, daily life was difficult, but not impossible. Adequate schooling and health care was provided through the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and, in addition to Portuguese, many young Mozambican refugees were able to learn English in their countries of asylum. But being cut off from their homes and cultural heritages and frequently dependent on external aid, the young tended to be deprived of instruction in the life and work skills that are traditionally passed down from their parents. Girls became heads of households at increasingly younger ages and, charged with the responsibility of bringing up even younger siblings, themselves lost the chance of receiving an education.

Especially vulnerable were the internally displaced in Mozambique, bereft of the entitlement to protection and care accorded to refugees under international law, and without the benefit of an international agency mandated specifically to watch over their rights and interests. Inadequate food security; vulnerability to attack, forced recruitment, physical and sexual abuse and the dangers of land mines; and social and economic instability were the frequent realities for the millions of

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\(^7\) Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

\(^8\) Resistência Nacional de Moçambique.
The impact of armed conflict on Mozambican social infrastructure was equally dramatic. War destroyed more than 40 per cent of Mozambique’s health centres between 1982 and 1986 and left two-thirds of the country’s 2 million primary school age children without classrooms. Between 1980 and 1988, the lack of food, safe drinking water and adequate health care in war zones contributed to an estimated 490,000 child deaths in Mozambique.

### 2.2. The legacy of the conflict

The war in Mozambique finally ended in October 1992 with the signing of the General Peace Accord. But the legacy of the long years of conflict remains. Despite a number of valuable natural resources, such as coal, natural gas, titanium and a large fishing potential, Mozambique is today one of the world’s poorest countries. More than 70 per cent of Mozambique’s 16.5 million inhabitants live in absolute poverty and per capita gross national product was estimated in 1994 to be US$80. Despite abundant fertile agricultural land, agricultural production is no more than 75 per cent of its 1981 level, and grain has to be imported. Even in a good year such as 1996, the main problem was still selling surpluses. Poor roads, lack of transport and few shops meant that much of the surplus will rot or be sold extremely cheaply. Moreover, areas in the south where the harvest was poor will experience shortages. Industry operates at only 20 to 40 per cent of capacity. In 1996, the infant mortality rate was estimated to be between 140 and 173 per thousand, and the maternal mortality rate may be as high as 1,000 per 100,000.

In March 1996, the Minister of Labour in Mozambique, Guilherme Mavila, told the Assembly of the republic that the official unemployment rate (based on those registered unemployed) was 7.2

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10 ibid.
12 UNICEF, *Mozambique situation update, May-July 1996*, Maputo, undated. In addition, as a result of the difficulty of obtaining credit from banks, shopkeepers in rural areas are unable to buy the local produce and it is often exported, for example to Malawi.
14 UNICEF, op. cit.
per cent, but admitted that the official figures were a gross underestimate.\textsuperscript{15} He thought that the real rate was in excess of 50 per cent of an economically active population of some 8.5 million. Every year, an additional 600,000 people join the labour market. The vast majority of those in work are self-employed or work in family businesses. Only one in 6 of the workforce is waged and just one in 125 is an employer.\textsuperscript{16} Approximately 40 per cent of the population live in the northern provinces of Nampula and Zambezia, which have the most fertile agricultural land. Tens of thousands of men living in the southern provinces have traditionally migrated to work on mines and farms in South Africa.

\textsuperscript{16} ibid.
Although the trade union movement in Mozambique lacks power and resources, there are two national trade unions in existence: OTM, the Organizacionao dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique, historically with close links to the Government, and Sintigrim. OTM is particularly concerned with the consequences of privatization, which is causing employers to shed large numbers of workers. With particular regard to youth, OTM fears that many young people have been marginalized by society and are turning to drugs and criminality. It believes that this development can be ascribed, in part, to deficiencies in the demobilization and reintegration process.

The legal minimum age for work in Mozambique is 15 and for hazardous work 18. Education is compulsory for every children between the age of 7 and 13. In spite of this legal requirement, however, in both rural and urban areas, an unknown, but substantial number of young Mozambican children, are working instead of attending school. Traditionally, children in Mozambique were involved in hunting and herding, but since the beginning of the 1990s, as the economic crisis deepened, children were put to work in other areas. In rural agricultural areas, children do weeding, pick cotton, sesame and sunflower seeds, and gather cashew nuts. In Maputo, children work as street vendors, bus ticket collectors, or workers at home-based industries. Thousands of children pour into the city everyday to compete to watch over parked cars, sell chewing gum, or fill a minibus with passengers. Some young vendors are contracted by established businesses to sell their products on the streets.

Mozambique’s deep-rooted problems notwithstanding, a general optimism does appear to pervade the country. The economic climate is better than it has been for many years, although some question whether the political structure is equal to the task of ensuring long-term growth and stability. Rising criminality, especially violent crime, directed against foreigners and Mozambicans alike, is an increasing concern, particularly in the overcrowded cities where job opportunities other than in the informal sector are scarce.

Thus, it is against the backdrop of long years of armed conflict and within an exacting climate — social, political and economic — that the success or failure of programmes supporting the reintegration of war-affected Mozambican youth must be judged.

17 OTM groups together 13 separate organizations with a combined membership of 290,000.
18 Discussion with OTM officials, 5 Dec. 1996.
19 International Labour Office, Child labour: Targeting the intolerable, ILO, Geneva, p. 40. Of the major ILO Conventions, Mozambique has ratified No. 105, which abolishes forced labour.
20 ibid.
21 AIM Report, op. cit.
3. Reintegrating war-affected youth into society in Mozambique through vocational skills training programmes

In reviewing the successes and failures of the reintegration of war-affected youth in Mozambique, one must take care not to confuse reintegration programmes with the reintegration process. A programme can promote a process but it cannot replace it. A wide number of factors, many of which lie far beyond the control of those involved in designing and implementing reintegration programmes, can contribute to the success or failure of certain targeted individuals to reintegrate. Identification and assessment of relevant factors affecting the process of reintegration are of course essential components in the planning stage of a reintegration programme. As will be seen below, this remains an important lesson to be drawn from the experience of Mozambique.

Moreover, although it can sometimes be unhelpful, and even perhaps misleading, to categorize children and youth as members of discrete vulnerable groups (because of the interrelatedness of problems and situations), a certain compartmentalization is almost inevitable. While stressing the grinding poverty that affects the majority of children and youths in Mozambique, a number of additional threats to survival and development characterize those with particular experiences as a result of the war. In seeking to isolate these threats, an initial distinction must be made between those children and young men and women who were active participants in the armed conflict and those who remained civilians throughout the long years of conflict. Rightly or wrongly, this distinction was fundamental to the programmes of reintegration designed and implemented by the international community in Mozambique, at least between 1993 and 1996. The mainstay of international effort and resources were directed, intentionally, at the soldiers demobilized from the armies of FRELIMO and RENAMO.

The following three sections outline and assess the demobilization and reintegration of youth combatants, child soldiers, and youth civilians, respectively. As will be seen, the targeting of assistance to specific groups of war-affected children and youth came to an end only very recently.

3.1. The demobilization and reintegration of former youth combatants

22 Most agencies no longer support programmes designed to benefit solely or primarily ex-combatants. This issue is discussed further below.
The General Peace Accord of October 1992, which officially brought an end to 16 years of civil war in Mozambique, provided for the establishment of the United Nations Office in Mozambique (UNOMOZ) and for the United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination (UNOHAC), which included the Commission for Reintegration (CORE). Assembly Areas for demobilization were opened in late 1993 and the first soldiers arrived in early 1994. The demobilization process took anything from six weeks to four months, during which time there was some unrest by soldiers frustrated by the long period of encampment in often overcrowded conditions.

Demobilized soldiers received six months severance pay from the Government and, following concern about the potential threat to peace and law and order posed by the demobilized soldiers, 18 months’ financial assistance was paid by the international community through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) as part of a Reintegration Support Scheme. Twenty-three

Forty-nine


24 Fears continue to be expressed about the dangers of disgruntled former soldiers turning to violence in order to survive, especially in view of the easy availability of cheap semi-automatic weaponry in Mozambique. This issue is discussed further below.

25 See E. Berman, Managing arms in peace processes: Mozambique, UNIDIR, Geneva, forthcoming, p. 52. Owing to the continuing devaluation of the Mozambican currency, the metical, against the US dollar, funds remained after the 18-month period of payments had ended. After discussion between the donors and the Mozambican Government it was decided to distribute an additional sum to the demobilized. Many people feel that this was a mistake (although perhaps understandable in view of the potential consequences of returning the money to the donors). A number even believe that the 18 months of international financial support to the demobilized was inappropriate. Indeed, in a survey of 150 demobilized soldiers in Manica province it was found that even the soldiers themselves could not agree on the reason for their receiving the money. Some felt it was to be used to eat and drink with their families, others thought it was compensation for time spent in the army, and a third group did not know the reason and simply spent the money on beer. In spite of this, Victor Igreja, the researcher for the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford, United Kingdom, who conducted the survey, contrasted the situation of men coming back from six months’ work at the mines in South Africa “laden” with money and gifts for the whole household, and that of the demobilized who returned with pay that was insufficient to be shared round the family.
Mozambican monitors were trained and sent to the Assembly Areas to conduct education programmes, including basic literacy classes. In addition, each demobilized soldier received clothing, food rations and a tool kit with seeds. This was in line with a survey that suggested that most soldiers wanted to return to agriculture.

No one knows exactly how many men, women and children fought on all sides during the civil war in Mozambique, and equally no one is able to tell with precision how many were spontaneously or even officially demobilized at the war’s end. This applies a fortiori for the number of children and youth in the armed forces, since children under 15 years of age were excluded from the official demobilization process largely as a result of political sensitivities. Estimates of the total numbers of soldiers who left the armies at the end of the conflict range from around 90,000 to 150,000.

26 Bryant, op. cit.
27 Berman, op. cit.
28 Discussion with Julio Joaquim Nimuire, President, AMODEG, 4 Dec. 1996. AMODEG, the Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (the Mozambican war veterans association), is a national NGO established in 1991 to represent the interests of the demobilized. It claims a membership of 75,000 former FRELIMO and RENAMO soldiers.
According to one report in February 1996,\textsuperscript{29} CORE provided 12,000 ex-combatants with vocational kits, employment promotion and vocational training activities, through programmes implemented by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), UNDP, ILO and the German cooperation organization, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). \textsuperscript{30} The ILO, for instance, has implemented with the Ministry of Labour the Desenvolvimento de Habilidades Ocupacionais\textsuperscript{31} (DHO) Project to assist the reintegration of demobilized soldiers. According to its monthly report for October 1996, the cumulative results of the project were as follows:

- 9,239 current or past beneficiaries of vocational or business management training, of whom 5,250 have successfully completed their training and 589 did not take or failed the graduation test;
- 5,462 kits have been distributed;
- 70 per cent of the trainees have found paid jobs or have established self-employment or micro-enterprises;
- 320 trainers have been trained in vocational training, as well as 120 employment specialists;
- 614 micro-enterprises have been created generating 2,069 employment posts;
- contributions have been made to the rehabilitation of training centres and employment promotion centres in Beira (Sofala) and Inhambane.

As a result of its reintegration projects, GTZ claimed to have already created 6,200 jobs on paper for demobilized soldiers in four provinces,\textsuperscript{32} of which 5,000 former soldiers were actually employed. The head of the GTZ reintegration programme in Mozambique believed that a substantial percentage of the jobs would be sustainable.

Non-governmental organizations were also involved in the reintegration programmes as implementing partners of vocational training courses. For example, an Italian NGO, Coordinação Organização Servicio Voluntario (COSV), provided the funds for vocational skills training for several hundred disabled ex-combatants in agriculture, carpentry, brick-making, car mechanics, electronics/radio repair, tailoring, shoe-making, small-scale trading and secretarial training. In completion of the training programme, the trainees were given tools or kits to start themselves in self-employment. At the end of the first course, however, roughly half of the 70 disabled ex-combatants had sold the kit distributed at graduation, since on return to the community they were

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{31} In English, “vocational skills development”.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Discussion with Rudolf Mutschler, GTZ, 6 Dec. 1996.
\end{itemize}
unable to find or initiate employment and were under pressure from the household to make a financial contribution. 33

33 ibid., p. 28.
ISCOS, the Instituto Sindical Italiano de Coperação Ao Desenvolvimento, is a trade union-based non-governmental organization which began working in Mozambique in the early 1980s in the field of vocational training. Technical courses for 2,000 demobilized were supported at a number of different training centres in Maputo, Beira and Chimoio. For those wishing to engage in self-employment, a 15-day course in basic management was included, although it was found to be inadequate when compared with the needs. On completion of the course, graduates were given the option of a six-month work placement or the heavily subsidized purchase of a professional kit and support in self-employment. Some 1,500 demobilized soldiers received kits the average value of which was $300. A six-month monitoring period followed involving four to five home visits for each trainee. In a work placement scheme, the project paid the salary of the graduate in a company and other necessary expenses incurred for a period of six months.\textsuperscript{34} According to an ISCOS representative, 30 per cent of those trained and placed in the formal sector are still in work.\textsuperscript{35}

Box 1 below describes one of the centres in which ISCOS implemented its vocational training programmes for the demobilized soldiers.

\textsuperscript{34} Bryant, op. cit., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{35} Discussion with ISCOS, 11 Dec. 1996.
Box 1
Vocational training for demobilized soldiers at the Centro de Formação Profissional Metalo-Mecânica, Maputo

The Centro de Formação Profissional Metalo-Mecânica (CFPM) is a vocational training centre for electricians, locksmiths, machine toolists and technical drawers that is now run by the largest trade union in Mozambique, the Organizacionão dos Tralhadores de Moçambique (OTM). Until 1991 it was supported by the Instituto Sindical Italiano de Cooperação Ao Desenvolvimento (ISCOS), which gave the centre equipment and materials and also subsidized training costs.

In 1994, the Centre organized a three-month training course for 200 demobilized in a project supported by ISCOS. The course sought to train 120 demobilized as locksmiths and 80 as electricians and included lessons in mathematics and Portuguese and a very simple management course with basic book-keeping skills, explanation of terms such as “profit” and instruction on how to write a cheque. The staff at the centre were convinced that the training period was too short but felt that they had no choice but to accept. The trainers were pleasantly surprised by the quality and dedication of the demobilized trainees. The head of the training course ascribed this to “good military discipline”. He said that the former soldiers had difficulties in dealing with the theoretical parts of the course, but were strong on the practical aspects.

At the end of the course, all but six of the soldiers were successful and received a certificate recognized by the Ministry of Labour. Of the six who did not pass, two failed the final test and the other four did not finish the course. The trainer claimed that this was due to psychological trauma as a result of war experiences. Upon leaving, successful graduates were given the opportunity to purchase heavily subsidized tool kits but the trainer regretted the lack of resources to conduct proper follow-up with the graduates.

Nowadays, the centre advertises its programmes in the press. As a result of the worsening economic situation, in 1995 CFPM ceased to offer long-term training courses (of one to two years’ duration) because they were too expensive for the students. Now the maximum duration of the training courses is six months’ half-time study. All courses include general knowledge, Portuguese and mathematics in the curriculum.

The centre has to survive on a shoestring budget. The centre’s equipment is getting old and money is not available for repairs or replacements. Theory and practice are taught in equal amounts because of the lack of serviceable equipment. Raw materials are in short supply; the centre does not even have enough iron for the trainee locksmiths to use. It recently had all its computers stolen.

Private companies no longer tend to send their employees to the centre as most are reducing staff numbers and prefer to hire employees that already have the technical knowledge required. As a consequence, most of those attending the training courses are private individuals and not company employees. The centre tries to get companies to accept the successful trainees as apprentices. Since it is difficult in the current market to charge the full cost of training, CFPM hires out its training rooms for meetings and has begun to offer English classes to try to pay its way. To survive in the future, the centre hopes to change its statute so that it can become a training centre for industrial associations.

In its last assessment of the reintegration of demobilized soldiers, conducted for the International Organization for Migration, Creative Associates International, Inc., a US-based consultancy company that was itself involved in the reintegration programme, found that most former soldiers seemed to be reintegrating well into society and that in most areas it was difficult to distinguish between the demobilized soldiers and the other members of the community.¹ The report states that reunification with family is a vital factor in the social

¹ Creative Associates International, Inc., Study of demobilized soldiers facing difficulties in the reintegration process, final report prepared for the International Organization for Migration, Maputo, Sep. 1996, p. i. The Information and Referral Service (IRS), set up to provide information on benefits and opportunities to demobilized soldiers, determined that the objective of reintegration was “to cancel the differences between [demobilized soldiers] and the rest of the community.”
reintegration of demobilized soldiers and that the soldiers themselves cited reunification with family as one of the major reasons for perceiving themselves to be reintegrated. Another important factor was the possibility to obtain their own house.\(^1\) Surprisingly, although training was listed as a reintegration goal and desired reintegration outcome, those interviewed did not generally stress training as a need or indicator for successful economic reintegration.\(^2\)

Although positive about the reintegration process, the assessment did find that reintegration programming was perceived by the recipients as insufficient. Transparency regarding project selection, a much enhanced outreach program, and follow-up for those activities funded were mentioned as needed programming improvements.\(^3\) When asked to list factors which must still be addressed in order to ensure sustained reintegration, the former soldiers rated assistance with self-employment, *machamba* production and formal employment as the most important needs.\(^4\)

Other studies have also pointed to strengths and weaknesses in the reintegration programmes. One survey based on interviews with 500 demobilized soldiers in Maputo City and province found no structural distinction between households with demobilized soldiers and those without, but recorded strong reservations from demobilized soldiers about the

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\(^2\) ibid., p. 24. According to Victor Igreja, however, when asked whether they had learnt anything in the army, most former soldiers said that they had not. In the words of one demobilized soldier, “If you give me a gun, I’ll be your teacher!”

\(^3\) ibid., p. ii.

\(^4\) ibid., p. 7.
training programmes and subsequent follow-up. A number of experts, for instance, felt that the assistance should have been targeted wider. Since only one in six demobilized soldiers received vocational training, five in six did not. It would be useful to compare the situation of those who received formal training with those who did not so as to assess the “value added” by the vocational training programmes.

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5 Discussion with Dr João Paolo Borges Coelho, Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 17 Dec. 1996.

6 AMODEG, for example, asserted that the vast majority of demobilized soldiers did not benefit from any reintegration support projects, while some soldiers received support from multiple sources, due to poor coordination between implementing agencies. This situation inevitably resulted in widespread and considerable frustration and discontent on the part of those excluded.
Thus, in a strategy paper for the demobilization and reintegration of former soldiers in Angola, it is interesting to note that the authors recommend not to set up specialized training for the demobilized but only to set quotas for the demobilized to ensure their access to vocational training. The paper further states that on the basis of ILO studies on demobilization in other countries, it is believed that only 5-15 per cent of the demobilized forces should have access to vocational training as only this number will be absorbed into the formal, informal and service economies.¹

As far as demobilized youth are concerned, AMODEG felt that far too little was being done to assist them even though they had been the backbone of the two armies and had foregone the chance of attending school in order to fight. Vocational training programmes were not specifically targeted at the young even though the belief is widely held that the nature of vocational training is more conducive to younger people. Moreover, many young former soldiers were ineligible for pension allowances. Under Decree No. 3/88 of July 1988, FRELIMO soldiers of the armed liberation struggle and soldiers of the Mozambican Government army were entitled to veterans severance pension (Reforma).² This was, however, limited to demobilized soldiers from the government side who were drafted at the age of 18 or older and who had completed at least ten years of military service, thereby excluding all RENAMO soldiers and those FRELIMO soldiers recruited below the age of 18. This injustice continues to cause resentment.³

According to AMODEG, although the vast majority of combatants in the Mozambican civil war were men, a number of women served in both the Government and opposition armed forces. According to the Head of the Women’s Department of AMODEG, women ex-combatants continue to suffer discrimination, and various forms of assistance, such as financing for housing, are only available to men.⁴ She claimed that, initially at least, demobilized women were excluded from vocational training courses. Since September 1995, however, under pressure from AMODEG, a number of sewing classes have been organized, but unless crèche facilities are provided, women may be prevented from attending.

² Chapter II, section II, article 13.
ADEMIMO, an organization working on behalf of the estimated 10,000 disabled former soldiers\(^5\) felt that although the Mozambican Government was unable to fulfil its promises, many demobilized soldiers were being unrealistic in their expectations of the Government. ADEMIMO believed that most demobilized soldiers were actually doing little or nothing even if they had been trained, since the training did not provide a sufficiently high level of skill to enable the trainees to compete upon returning to their communities. Of the 600 disabled who received vocational training, ADEMIMO claimed that less than 5 per cent were successfully reintegrated into their communities. They complained that government companies did not really want to employ the disabled.

\(^5\) ADEMIMO strives: to confirm and organize disabled former soldiers in areas of residence; to help them to obtain due allowances; to join the disabled with NGOs able to help them or provide them with work; to find out the true number of disabled former soldiers; and to assess legislation relevant to the disabled. ADEMIMO hopes to set up regional businesses to employ its members, for example in small farms, and not merely to provide them with training. According to ADEMIMO’s Vice-President, Daniel Bomba, the idea for the organization started “under some trees” only a few years ago and yet the organization had expanded rapidly to the extent that it already had offices in every province. He complained that IOM had promised to help the organization but had done nothing.
Some expressed disappointment as to the lack of information provided to the demobilized. The Information and Referral Service set up by IOM enjoyed “limited success” since materials were prepared in Portuguese for a “largely illiterate group of demobilized combatants”. The result was uncertainty on the part of the demobilized about their rights and duties resulting in demands for money.¹

IOM’s International and Referral Service/Provincial Fund (IRS/PF) project for the demobilized soldiers ended in January 1997. It seems unlikely that programmes aimed specifically at the demobilized soldiers will continue.² Indeed, a report prepared for IOM recommended that demobilized soldiers no longer be treated as a separate group as of 1997.³

The issue of targeted assistance to the demobilized has been controversial from the outset. Many NGOs, for example, were reluctant to implement reintegration programmes aimed specifically at demobilized soldiers because of:

a. a belief that programmes should be directed at the population as a whole;
b. a fear that targeting the demobilized will reinforce their perception that they are a special group with special rights;
c. a view that the demobilized are not the most vulnerable or deserving group.⁴

On the other hand, a number of experts felt that it was necessary, at least initially, to recognize the demobilized as a special group, since having been trained as soldiers they had the potential to be an especially volatile and violent segment of the population.

Overall, AMODEG felt that the reintegration assistance provided by IOM, GTZ and ILO was “positive”, although insufficient and inadequate to the immediate needs of the beneficiaries. According to AMODEG, one of the main reasons for this was the failure to base programmes on preliminary needs assessments. This view was repeated by a number of commentators. According to ILO in Mozambique, IOM was supposed to undertake a labour market survey of local areas for reintegration prospects, but this was apparently never done.⁵ In addition, and perhaps partly as a result, programmes were often poorly tailored to the areas to which the soldiers were returning. For example, some demobilized

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¹ Teresinha da Silva, Researcher at the Centre for African Studies, Maputo, discussion with the author, 17 Dec. 1996.
² See for example Creative Associates International, Inc., op. cit., p. 3.
⁴ See Bryant, op. cit., p. 15.
⁵ Discussion with José Mañuel Pinotes, Project Director, ILO Mozambique.
soldiers were trained to be electricians but were returning to areas without electricity; others were trained to be car mechanics and returned to areas where there were few if any cars. The head of GTZ’s Mozambique programme claimed that this was due to the mistake of listening to what demobilized soldiers wanted. Others, however, felt that insufficient attention was paid to what soldiers really wanted and what the society expected.

6 Discussion with Dr. João Paolo Borges Coelho, Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 17 Dec. 1996.
7 Discussion with Rudolf Mutschler, GTZ, 6 Dec. 1996.
One expert referred to the need of many of the demobilized for a “proper” job (defined as salaried employment since men do not tend to consider activities in the informal sector as constituting work) in order to reintegrate. According to socio-anthropological realities, if Mozambican men have a regular salary coming in, they are prepared to earn less than their wives who are working in the informal sector. As in any society, status in Mozambique is an important factor. Moreover, in order successfully to reintegrate, if a Mozambican goes away for a long time the family expects him to return with something. The demobilized soldiers, however, tended to come back with almost empty hands. Far from improving the family’s situation they often made it worse since the family they had to do extra work for the former soldiers because they “wanted to be helped”.

In addition to, and linked with, the concerns about the planning of vocational training programmes, a number of problems arose from their implementation. AMODEG, for instance, claimed that demobilized soldiers were trained in unmarketable skills, and were sometimes given poor quality kits which they later had to sell. A number of experts thought that a careful selection process for trainees should have been instigated. A representative of ISCOS, however, claimed that any selection process would have been difficult because of a perception among the demobilized that they had a right to training simply by virtue of their being demobilized.

The length of the training courses was also subject to scrutiny. Both AMODEG and ISCOS felt that three months was too short to learn properly a new skill. José Mañuel Pinotes of ILO claimed that the more important figure than the overall duration of the course was the actual number of hours spent training. He felt that 900 hours of instruction over a six-month period were needed for most courses. A representative of US/AID, however, said that excessive “hand-holding” was not desirable and the head of the GTZ’s programme in Mozambique felt that the length of training was not the major problem with the reintegration programme.

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1 Discussion with Dr. João Paulo Borges Coelho, Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 17 Dec. 1996.
2 Discussion with Daniel Bombe, Vice-President, ADEMIMO, 5 Dec. 1996.
4 Discussion with Rudolf Mutschler, GTZ, 6 Dec. 1996.
Of possibly greater concern was the failure to link the training with jobs or to promote appropriate employment. As one expert pointed out, successful self-employment in Mozambique is very rare. A number of commentators regretted that little effort had been made to identify potential employers. At least one NGO even felt that the aim of the training packages was to “keep the demobilized quiet”; and therefore job creation was very much a secondary aim. Rudolf Mutschler thought that in the case of Mozambique formalized training had been more of a burden than a benefit to the society as thousands of the demobilized had been thrown into a labour market where there were no vacancies. As has been pointed out: “the demobilized are more likely to feel frustrated and even betrayed if their training does not lead to employment. The referral service should endeavour to find a placement before the trainee enters the course.”

The primary focus on the reintegration of demobilized soldiers into agriculture was also not without its critics. João Paolo Borges Coelho claimed that the assumption that agriculture would attract demobilized soldiers was a strategic mistake. He felt that Mozambique had little history of genuine family agriculture involving men because of the tradition of migrant labour. Furthermore, in rural areas no real commercial market operated since prices were too low, roads and transport were vastly inadequate, and the threat posed by land mines was serious in many places. Small-scale credit was not even available for agriculture. In his words: “Everything was against it.”

A representative of US/AID, on the other hand, thought that the vast majority of demobilized soldiers felt themselves to be farmers whereas many were trained as carpenters. AMODEG agreed that there was good potential in the agricultural sector but stressed the need for a high level of technical expertise in order to succeed. They also felt that in general reintegration programmes focused too strongly on urban to the detriment of rural areas.

As far as the inclusion of specific “reintegration skills” in the vocational training courses for demobilized soldiers is concerned, a number of commentators referred to the lack of provision for identifying those with acute psychological problems as a result of their experiences. Teresinha da Silva, for example, complained that the demobilization programme covered only material and not psychological issues. No formal opportunities were provided for demobilized soldiers to discuss their experiences in the conflict and there was a corresponding lack of organized dialogue in the communities upon their return.

5 Discussion with Dr. João Paolo Borges Coelho, Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 17 Dec. 1996.
6 João Paolo Borges Coelho wondered, for instance, why road building companies such as in Zambezi province had not been approached, since construction projects were planned and the companies could have been encouraged to take on demobilized soldiers.
7 Discussion with ISCOS, 11 Dec. 1996.
1 Discussion with Dr. João Paolo Borges Coelho, Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 17 Dec. 1996.
2 A similar view of the problems, albeit with a slightly less pessimistic outlook, was given by Professor Simão Sevene, President of the Associação dos Jovens Agricultores de Moçambique (AJAM) in discussion with the author on 18 Dec. 1996.
especially in the case of those who had fought for RENAMO. Reconciliation either occurred spontaneously or, for example, with the support of the church.

One expatriate thought that trauma “wasn’t an issue” and that it was best to try to convince people that the war had never taken place. This view is strongly rejected by researchers with experience in the field. Victor Igreja, researcher for the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford, for instance, thought it was quite unrealistic to expect soldiers merely to forget the past. He pointed out that in a survey of 150 demobilized soldiers, many stated that they continued to suffer nightmares and became extremely aggressive if provoked.

Follow-up support for both trainees and micro-project beneficiaries was also perceived to have been inadequate. It was alleged, for instance, that very few of those trained had obtained jobs connected with their training. Trainees claimed that they could not start self-employment because they had no raw materials and no raw equipment. They complained in particular that banks required large deposits in order to secure loans, which effectively excluded the demobilized.  

A final issue of importance when assessing the success of the reintegration of the demobilized soldiers relates to whether they can be linked to the rising crime wave that is sweeping through Mozambique, especially in the towns and cities. A Study of demobilized soldiers facing difficulties in the reintegration process prepared for the International Organization of Migration in September 1996 found that:

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3 Discussion with Julio Joaquim Nimuire, President, AMODEG, 4 Dec. 1996.
In no cases did [demobilized soldiers] show disposition towards violence or social disruption. The importance of military structures has clearly waned and community structures (family, traditional authority, community organizations) seem to have replaced military structures in assisting with conflict resolution, problem solving, and social support. Community leaders drew no links between [demobilized soldiers] and crime or conflict. In some cases, community leaders stated that they even depend on certain [demobilized soldiers] to assist them in resolving community problems to avoid conflict.¹

This conclusion is contested by many Mozambicans. Even if it is not necessarily demobilized soldiers pulling the trigger, they have skill in handling a gun (which can be passed on), access to or knowledge of the location of weapons, relatives to pull the trigger for them and, when together in groups, they have a propensity for violence.² In addition, there were reports of riots by demobilized soldiers in Zambezia in the first half of 1996, mistakenly claiming that they were entitled to a lump-sum payment of 3 million meticals (about US$270). In one town, several hundred demobilized soldiers looted shops and houses and ransacked the house of the district administrator.³ Finally, ADEMIMO pointed out that during and in spite of the brutality of the war, there was no criminality in the city.

¹ Creative Associates International, Inc., Study of demobilized soldiers facing difficulties in the reintegration process, final report prepared for the International Organization for Migration, Maputo, Sep. 1996, p. ii. The report was based on interviews in four provincial capitals, ten district capitals and 19 villages with a total of 176 demobilized soldiers. The report further concludes that “while unrest and potential conflict may still result from non-payment of pensions, these isolated incidents could not be generalized to the overall [demobilized soldier] population. In addition, although some incidents of crime may involve [demobilized soldiers], it cannot be said that [they] are specifically disposed to crime any more than any other citizen facing social or economic difficulties.” (p. iii).

² For instance, discussion with Dr. João Paulo Borges Coelho, Lecturer, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, 17 Dec. 1996.

3.2. The reintegration of child soldiers

Deliberately excluded from the demobilization process in Mozambique were an unknown number of “child soldiers” under the age of 15. According to recent research conducted for the United Nations, some 250,000 children under the age of 18 are currently serving in government armed forces or armed opposition groups around the world. In 1995-96, children took an active part in 33 armed conflicts.

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4 The current international minimum age for recruitment into the armed forces and participation in armed conflict is 15. A great many countries, however, including Mozambique have set 18 as the minimum legal age for recruitment and participation under national legislation, and negotiations continue under the auspices of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to draft an Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which would potentially raise the international minimum to 18.

No one knows precisely how many children under 18 served in the armed forces of FRELIMO or RENAMO during the 16-year civil war in Mozambique, but the number is widely believed to be in the thousands. Given that the longer a conflict goes on, the greater is the tendency to recruit ever younger children, it is likely that many of those Mozambican youth who were officially demobilized (i.e. those 15 or over), had originally been recruited as young children. At the end of the conflict, however, the demobilizing agency of the Mozambique Government, Accion Sociale, determined that there were only 850 children under 15 years old remaining in the RENAMO armed force, of whom 574 were identified and referred for rehabilitation.

According to Save the Children Federation (US), it worked with some 2,000 child soldiers before the 1992 peace agreement; 850 were found in RENAMO bases during the demobilization in 1994; and another 6,000 were reported by communities as having returned spontaneously when RENAMO let them go during the peace process. The group of 6,000 were mostly porters and domestic help, while the 850 kept in bases until the demobilization were likely to be soldiers.

The 850 children who were kept in 19 RENAMO army bases were transferred to 12 transit centres (nine in RENAMO-controlled areas and three in government-controlled areas) in seven provinces in a joint SCF/UNICEF/Red Cross project prior to reunification with their families (where this was possible) and reintegration assistance. Most of the children had been kidnapped between 1988 and 1990 and had lived in the bases for several years; very few had been abducted after the peace negotiations had started.

The treatment of child recruits during their “service” in the army was reported to have been extremely brutal:

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6 Guy Mullin, Coordinator of LINK, for instance, thought that 10,000 to 15,000 children had served in the RENAMO army alone. Discussion with the author, 12 Dec. 1996.


2 AIA/Sayagues, Traditional rituals heal child soldiers, press release, Maputo, 18 Nov. 1995. UNICEF, however, reported that although some had been involved in fighting and some had held military ranks, many had worked as servants for the soldiers, washing their clothes, cleaning the compound, cooking and carrying their weapons. (UNICEF, The expansion of CEDC Services/Peace Education Project, UNICEF report, Maputo, undated, p. 15.)

As soldiers in the [opposition] bases, the children were severely punished if they disobeyed the orders of their superiors. The punishments varied from simple corporal punishment, deprivation of food, amputation of fingers, nose, ears, and even execution carried out by one or the more “mature” children.\(^4\)

In addition, the duties that children were required to perform during the conflict have had serious and long-lasting consequences for them:

The main injuries received by the children are deafness, blindness, burns, damaged limbs leading to amputation, given the frail nature of their bodies, and from the hazards of carrying heavy weights, inhaling toxic substances, land mines, and long marches, to name but a few.\(^5\)

As a consequence, many demobilized child soldiers complained that bullets or pieces of shrapnel had not been removed from their bodies. Their families rarely had the money to pay for the necessary operations.\(^6\)

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\(^4\) Brett and McCallin, op. cit., p. 130.
\(^5\) ibid., pp. 133-4.
\(^6\) ibid., p. 133.
The research conducted for the United Nations Study on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children on child soldiers stressed that it was “only through an appreciation of the conditions of life which define the children’s social and cultural environment upon demobilization that effective strategies can be implemented to address the consequences of their participation, and effect their social reintegration.” It was found that the linkage between education, employment opportunities, and the economic security of the children’s families were factors that would not only determine successful social reintegration but also contribute to efforts to prevent further recruitment. 

Vocational training is crucial to the successful reintegration of former child/young soldiers. Research conducted for the ILO in Liberia, Mozambique and Sierra Leone has emphasized the need not only for vocational training per se, but also the children’s need for basic education and training in life skills to assist their reintegration. As has been the case in the UNICEF-sponsored programme, however, former child soldiers should not be treated as a distinct or separate group but should “be integrated into skills courses with other trainees. It is considered that this will ensure their assimilation and acceptance and work towards conflict resolution. As vocational training is seen as an integral component of reintegration, efforts should be made not to further marginalize the children, but rather to raise awareness that ‘their needs may be different, more complex, or more acute than other children in difficult circumstances’.”

UNICEF found it very difficult to determine accurately the age of the children although they believed that most had been kidnapped at between 8 and 12 years of age. According to UNICEF, the children were not generally showing signs of trauma. A pilot project of trauma counselling was nevertheless established in Maputo and Gaza provinces by AMOSAPU (Associação Moçambicana de Saúde Pública), an NGO grouping several practitioners of mental health. The project employed qualified Mozambicans to provide psychological support and counselling to 75 youths, some of them previous child soldiers. UNICEF felt that the limited number of children assisted and the use of highly educated staff made the project unsustainable over the long term and incapable of replication around the country. Indeed, approaches to the psychosocial care of former child soldiers and other war-affected children vary widely. Some favour a more clinical approach, which seeks to adapt Western expertise in child psychology and psychiatry to the local context, seeking to encourage children diagnosed as “traumatized” to talk about their experiences. Others

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1 Brett and McCallin, op. cit., pp. 141-2.
3 ibid., p. 23.
4 ibid.
6 Discussion with Jean-Claude Legrand, Chief of CEDC and Emergency Sections, UNICEF Maputo, 13 Dec. 1996. Nevertheless, the experience gained during the project will be summarized in the form of a manual on trauma counselling for social workers and health workers.
reject this as fundamentally inappropriate to the situation in Mozambique, since in the local
culture silence does not necessarily mean repression. Mozambican communities have their
own healing mechanisms: religious rites and traditional cleansing rituals. Communities
believe that evil is put into the body of a child soldier which must be cleansed. As many of
the rites include a component of rejection of so-called “modern” or Western values, which
are perceived as alien and an enemy of traditional culture, local people are generally
unwilling to talk about the past with foreigners.

In addition, the Western emphasis on healing through play is criticized by some. Enrique Querol, for example, an Argentine psychologist and director of the Red Cross
training centre in Chimoio (Manica), states:

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Discussion with Eunice Sarita Mucache, Director of Programmes, Mozambican Red Cross, 12 Dec. 1996.
It’s one thing to take your child twice a week to a psychologist and have the child play in a room full of toys, then to go to a one-room hut where the whole family lives, children have no toys except those they make themselves, and they are expected to work.¹

Querol favours an approach where the community activist gains access to the family through other means, and only gradually introduces play as therapy, using the toys made out of bamboo, wood and scrap metal by children. The use of social workers for this role, however, has not been without its problems. Social workers have not traditionally been perceived either by the community or indeed by themselves as interlocutors but as providers. Both parties found the new role a difficult concept to accept.²

Based on its own experiences, UNICEF felt that it was no longer right to target specific programmes at child soldiers. They also stressed that individual therapy was generally inappropriate. Effort and resources should be put into vocational training with psychological support, including group consultations. Individual counselling should only be used in extreme cases. UNICEF plans to hire a consultant in 1997 to evaluate the success of its vocational training projects.

### 3.3. The reintegration of youth civilians

The armed conflict in Mozambique dislocated and displaced an estimated 6 million Mozambicans, 4.3 million internally and 1.7 million as refugees across into neighbouring Malawi, South Africa, Swaziland, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. UNHCR facilitated the repatriation of some 375,000 refugees, providing them with transport and reception facilities. In UNHCR’s largest ever post-repatriation assistance programme (costing $100 million to implement), reintegration and rehabilitation activities were undertaken throughout almost the entire country.³

Referring to the situation of the returning refugees, UNHCR reported that:

While there is a lack of empirical data on the subject, returnees seem to have a standard of living and health status which is comparable with — and in some instances perhaps better than — that of other members of the population.⁴

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² Discussion with Jean-Claude Legrand, Chief of CEDC and Emergency Sections, UNICEF Maputo, 13 Dec. 1996.
⁴ ibid., p. 3.
They reported that although some of the younger returnees, often prompted by their parents, returned to their former countries of asylum in order to look for work, there were no large-scale refugee backflows.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{5} ibid.
The vast majority of returnees ... are peasant farmers. The key to successful reintegration is their ability to grow enough food. While returnees (like others in Mozambique) have a wide variety of survival strategies and coping mechanisms, they all start with having a successful small farm. If returnees can, within one or two seasons, be growing “enough” food, their reintegration will be successful. If they don’t, no number of schools, health posts or water points will make much difference.¹

UNHCR’s assessment of its Mozambique programme, as laudable for the transparency of its unrestricted distribution as for the quality of the analysis, found that:

With its logistical system, field presence and implementing partners in place, the organization evidently had the potential to extend its activities beyond the mid-1996 phase-out date designated in the reintegration strategy. To have done so, however, would have taken UNHCR beyond the immediate task of reintegrating and stabilizing displaced populations and into a semi-developmental realm which many donors consider to lie outside of the organization’s mandate ... [Yet] while UNHCR was wise to retain its original phase-out date, it is evident that the reintegration strategy should have been formulated at a much earlier stage of the peace process and integrated with the planning of the repatriation movement. In fact, the organization had a tendency to treat repatriation and reintegration as two distinct and consecutive tasks, with the latter being considered in a systematic manner only when the former was well on the way to completion.²

The failure to plan adequately is strikingly resonant of some of the concerns about the reintegration programmes for the demobilized soldiers. Of course, as one UNHCR staff member commented: “It is only human to become totally immersed in the hectic repatriation and food distribution routine, and only marginally attend to the reintegration work.”

The report recommends inter alia that a follow-up evaluation be undertaken for mid-to late 1997, in order to assess the effectiveness of the UNHCR reintegration programme in a longer-term perspective. Discussion of UNHCR’s future role in reintegration continues with some arguing the need for longer term-commitments, in part as a result of the experience in Mozambique.

The situation of returnees internally displaced is less well known and less well documented. Hundreds of thousands of families were displaced or drawn into the cities by the long years of war, and in particular as a result of the destruction of food stocks and crops. A research team of the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) found in 1995 that internally displaced children were disadvantaged when compared with refugee children, either because resources had not been made available to the internally displaced or because the ongoing conflict had prevented resources reaching the displaced.³

Internal displacement continues to be an issue in post-conflict Mozambique. Displaced families remain in, especially, peri-urban areas unwilling to return home to the countryside as they fear that little or no infrastructure awaits them. An indirect consequence is the thousands of children and youngsters who drift along or into the streets of Maputo, Beira,

¹ ibid., p. 8.
² ibid., p. 18.
³ W. Njuguna et al., Children and armed conflicts in Africa: An assessment of the state of women and children who have been displaced by war in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia, ANPPCAN Regional Office, May 1995, p. 5.
Chimoio and Quelimane. As stated by Ana Marai Loforte, “the phenomenon of street children is common in many cities around the world and is frequently related to rapid urbanization and industrialization or profound socio-economic crises.” In the case of Mozambique, however, she believes that the majority of children found in the street are the consequence of war and the accompanying political, military, economic and social destabilization.

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The war, which destroyed the vast majority of Mozambique’s economic and social infrastructure, has forced numerous families (some of which are already separated or fragmented) to abandon their villages and seek refuge in the cities in search of safety and better living conditions. They leave their areas of cultivation which, under normal circumstances, guarantee a degree of nutritional security, and travel to urban centers where the socio-economic situation is constantly changing and where the network of services (health, education, and food supply) is long since saturated and cannot support any more users. One consequence is numerous children in the streets, some of whom are sent out by their parents looking for means to sustain themselves or means to make money to contribute to the meagre family budget.\(^1\)

The study conducted by Ms. Loforte distinguished two types of street children: children of the street (i.e. those who are orphaned or abandoned and actually living in the streets); and children on the streets (those who live with their families by night, but who work during the day to help support their families). The most common work activities include: transporting bundles of fish, boxes of fruit, vegetables and crates of beer; washing or guarding cars; begging; transporting fishing nets, or fishing; carrying out tasks such as delivering messages, shopping and looking after the children of certain families.\(^2\) No one knows how many children there are in each category although the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport estimates that there are 11,000 to 12,000 children in the streets of Maputo and some 30,000 in all the cities of Mozambique.\(^3\)

The vast majority of the street children are boys. One expert ascribed this to African culture which determined that boys could take care of themselves and could earn money whereas girls should be at home.\(^4\) It is believed, however, that the number of girl prostitutes, many as young as 12 or 13, continues to increase. According to UNICEF, for example:

... there has been a dramatic upsurge in the number of street children in recent years and the phenomenon is becoming a major social problem. In the past, street children were often those whose families had been split up by war. Bereft of support they were driven to life on the street in order to survive. Times, however, have changed and now the majority of children on the streets have families.\(^5\)

\(^1\) ibid.

\(^2\) ibid, p. 157.

\(^3\) José Neves Maluleca, National Director for Youth Associations, Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport, discussion with the author, 11 Dec. 1996.

\(^4\) ibid.

Nor is the problem confined to Mozambique. According to a report in the Mozambican newspaper *Notícias*, hundreds of Mozambican children of both sexes continue to wander through the streets of the Zimbabwean capital, Harare.¹ During the day the children, most between 12 and 17 from the nearby provinces of Manica, Sofala, and Tete, do light work, and then at night become prostitutes or rent boys or use drugs. When questioned, most of the children claim that they were among the 240,000 refugees in Mozambique, but that after returning there was “nothing to do in Mozambique”—no money for studies and no chance of work. They could make 100,000 meticais (approximately US$8) a day in Harare.²

The problems faced by street children include unemployment, lack of access to education and health care, and a shortage of food and clothing. They are at obvious and substantial risk of physical and sexual abuse, and are likely to engage in petty theft in order to survive. The children are also an extremely vulnerable workforce. As they are working illegally, they have no legal recourse and are easy to exploit. Street children are frequently arrested by police in “cleaning” operations.³ The children themselves, while realizing that some activities are not appropriate for their age, prefer to work than to wander through the streets doing nothing.⁴

A number of programmes, governmental and non-governmental, exist to assist street children and youth. UNICEF, for example, working through a network of NGOs, aims to provide shelter, health care, basic education and skills training to 1,100 children, mainly in Maputo, Beira, and Quelimane. The programme promotes family and community reunification, the provision of vocational training and open services in order to reintegrate and maintain as many children as possible in their original social environment. Thus, in 1996, UNICEF decided to cancel an agreement with one NGO that was not willing to follow established government policy to promote contacts between the children and their community of origin.⁵

Although most of the street children are boys, girls too continue to face a number of real and substantial threats to their survival and development, largely as a result of the war. For example, a World Vision International report on the effects of armed conflict on girls conducted for the United Nations Study on the impact of armed conflict on children found that the experience in Mozambique suggested that the disintegration or disruption of

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² ibid.
³ Discussion with Jean-Claude Legrand, Chief CEDC and Emergency Sections, UNICEF Maputo, 13 Dec. 1996.
⁴ Laforte, op. cit., p. 158.
community life caused by the war posed a threat even to the “informal” education received by girls, since they were often denied the skills traditionally taught to them as a consequence of the entire community having to concentrate on mere survival.⁶

Culture also plays a significant role. As a report by ANPPCAN on Mozambican refugees has pointed out, gender equity is scarcely ingrained in the cultural psyche of Mozambican men. Women in general and girls in particular were to be “seen and not heard.” Despite the cultural obstacles to equality, as Teresinha da Silva pointed out, “culture is not static, it can change.” She felt that parents did want their children to go to school, to learn and claimed that the numbers of male and female school enrolments were similar, but the number of girls dropping out was much higher than the number of boys. She ascribed this to the fact that there were few women teachers, and therefore no models for the girls and their parents, especially in rural villages and communities. In addition, male teachers frequently made the girl pupils pregnant — scarcely an incentive to ensure better attendance. She also felt that the curriculum was inappropriate, not giving girls the practical skills they needed. It was therefore necessary to revise the training of teachers and the school curriculum.

**Box 2**

**Santa Maria College of Sisters, Macheva**

*(Maputo province)*

In 1991, the Santa Maria College of Sisters began receiving children affected by the war. The Government was bringing in children from the countryside, many of whom became street children. The numbers of children grew so rapidly that the Sisters decided to build a centre to help them. The College now has between 180 and 200 children and youth aged between 7 and 22. Its work is supported by a Spanish NGO, the European Union, NORAD, Terre des Hommes Lausanne, and the Government of France.

Although many children come to the centre for food, the sisters believe that it is important to provide education to the children and not just food. The curriculum follows that of the Ministry of Education, but with the addition of moral and civic education to teach the children “respect for other people and nature”. General studies are taught so as to make the children aware of national and international events. The children are also provided with psychological and medical assistance when it is needed. The Sisters have been specially trained for this.

The Sisters believe it important to keep the children busy with activities, so opportunities are provided for dance, music, physical education, manual work, basket making, shoemaking, sewing and bookbinding. There are five Mozambican teachers at the school and five “masters” for vocational training. An agricultural project has begun, involving also the raising of chickens. The College is attempting to become self-sufficient in food.

In 1995, 17 children were reunited with their families. Most come from extremely poor backgrounds. Now the oldest of the children still at the college are 22 and government permission has been granted for houses to be built for them. The children themselves will participate in the construction work, which is being supported by an NGO.

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7 W. Njuguna et al., op. cit., p. vi.
A number of experts have stressed the need to strengthen vocational training programmes for girls.\(^1\) To support girl’s education, UNICEF has persuaded the Government to agree to a project specifically for girls. In addition, UNICEF has supported a project to train trainers (primary-school teachers) and to produce a basic training manual on gender issues.\(^2\) Ms. da Silva, however, thought it preferable to support the entire family and not to create special programmes for girls.

As a direct and indirect result of the conflict in Mozambique, many youths have been physically or mentally disabled. According to one research team, for example:

\(^1\) The Head of the Women’s Department of the RENAMO Party, for instance, emphasized the importance of more training — and not just in sewing — but pointed out that the training should be directly linked to employment or income-generating activities. Discussion with Domencos Mengina Assuza, Head of the Department of Youth, Culture and Sport, RENAMO Party, 13 Dec. 1996.

War, combined with poverty and recurrent drought, has increased the incidence of impairment, leading to disability in children in Mozambique. Prevalence, however, is unlikely to have increased, because disabled children, as one of society’s most vulnerable groups, have had little chance of survival in the harsh conditions arising from the war. Lack of treatment, starvation and simply not being able to flee in the face of an attack are some of the reasons for disabled children not surviving. Scarce resources and negligible specialist facilities mean that the majority of disabled children have no access to adequate health care or educational facilities.

Children and youth may be physically and mentally disabled as a direct result of the fighting (e.g. bullet wounds, shrapnel from bombs or artillery shells, or injuries from land mines or unexploded ordnance, leading to temporary or permanent disability) or torture and abuse committed by warring parties, or as an indirect result of the lack of available health care caused by the destruction or theft of medical facilities and supplies, or they may be born with physical or mental disabilities, perhaps exacerbated by the social dislocation engendered by armed conflict.

Miles and Medi challenge the oft-held assumption that children with disabilities are often neglected or not fed, especially in conflict situations or with parents with no access to appropriate advice about how to care for children with severe disabilities. Although such abandonment or neglect may occur, oral testimony collected from disabled Mozambican refugees while in refugee camps in Swaziland revealed that they had been carried to safety over extremely long distances by relatives.

UNICEF is working with ADEMO (Associação des Deficientes Moçambicanos), Handicap International, the Ministry of Social Welfare (Acción Sociale), the Provincial Department of Social Welfare in Zambézia and Sofala provinces and, more recently, the international NGO, POWER (Prosthetic & Orthotic Worldwide Education and Relief). ADEMO, for instance, has organized country-wide sports activities for children with disabilities as a means of integrating these children into the regular school system. This activity culminated in provincial sports festivals where children with disabilities demonstrated their capacity to challenge these handicaps.

In Quelimane (Zambézia), the Sangariveira Social Centre was rehabilitated in 1993 and 1994 and vocational training began in 1995. Activities included skills training courses in tailoring, carpentry and bakery for 60 street children and children with disabilities. Twenty-five of the children are deaf and the staff of the centre are being gradually trained in sign language. In 1996, the curriculum was strengthened, with the addition of literacy courses. Physical rehabilitation of land-mine victims is provided through POWER, which has taken over the management of the limb-fitting centres in Maputo and Beira and the provincial hospitals in Quelimane and Nampula formerly run by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

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4 ibid.
Cross. ADEMO is helping to identify those in need of rehabilitation, and UNICEF is funding the cost of providing artificial limbs to 450 children and women.

In addition to specific categories of war-affected youth, there are inevitably a great many children and young persons who have been deprived of basic education for many years as an indirect consequence of the conflict. There remains an acute shortage of schools and trained teachers in Mozambique. For most children, school ends at the fifth grade. Thousands of youth are now too old to integrate into primary education and thus remain marginalized and unemployed. Children who have not started education by the age of 11 are too old to do so, according to rules laid down by the Ministry of Education. This increases the need for vocational training with a strong educational component.

In line with a recommendation that more emphasis be put on vocational training after primary education, UNICEF is currently supporting training and literacy courses for 3,100 youths, including 1,800 girls. Despite the relatively high cost of good vocational training, Jean-Claude Legrand, the head of UNICEF’s CEDC section did not see any contradiction between quality and quantity. He felt that orphanages should not develop their own weak projects but should combine with specialists and he commended the Salesian boarding school at San José as one providing excellent vocational training.

**Box 3**

_Salesian boarding school at San José (Maputo province)_

The Salesian school at San José is a boarding school for 80 boys aged 11-14 offering high-quality education and professional training in electrical engineering, carpentry and metalworking and including an excellent theatre for child and youth productions. The courses are running for three years and include also civic education. In 1996, the school selected the 50 poorest of 150 applicants. The children are not street children but are victims of the war. They are "orphans" living with other relatives or those who their parents cannot look after. The boys visit their families every two weeks. The Brothers believe that they are helping to solve future problems rather than present ones. They are already making contacts with companies in Maputo City in order to place the children when they have completed their training.

**3.4. Selected examples of mainstream vocational training courses**

In addition to the many programmes specifically in favour of war-affected populations, there are a number of development projects in Mozambique which, amongst others, cater for youth in general without consideration to whether or not the intended beneficiaries are war-affected. Three examples of such projects follow.

**3.4.1. GPE/GTZ Micro-enterprise Promotion Project in Mozambique**

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5 ibid., p. 17.
1 Discussion with Jean-Claude Legrand, Chief of CEDC and Emergency Sections, UNICEF Maputo, 13 Dec. 1996.
2 ibid.
The GPE/GTZ Micro-enterprise Promotion Project in Mozambique started with an experimental phase in January 1992, which was transformed into a long-term phase in July 1993. It is contained within the Gabinete de Promoção de Emprego (GPE), the Employment Promotion Office of the Mozambican Ministry of Labour. The project aims to create jobs and generate income through the promotion of micro-enterprises by awarding micro-credits (volume between US$200 and US$800) and conducting training courses on basic management issues. It operates primarily in the three major cities in Mozambique: Maputo, Beira and Nampula.³

Since the beginning of credit operations in January 1994, more than 2,200 credits to the value of US$1 million have been disbursed (in Maputo and Beira only) and a reimbursement rate of more than 90 per cent has been achieved. 1 In so far as training is concerned, a methodology known as Competency-based Economies through Formation of Enterprise (CEFE) has been used. It is a participatory and action-oriented training programme using games and simulations consisting of a set of different training modules. The course takes 22 hours half-time study over one week and includes instruction on business behaviour, basic book-keeping, price and cost control 2 and sales promotion.

A number of important lessons have been learnt during the four years the project has been running. For instance, the success of the project has been increased by opting for low-value individual credits and by concentrating on people with existing business experience. Eighty-five per cent of the course attendees 3 are from commercial enterprises, and thus only a few are involved in production or service activities. Production companies could be developed but production is inherently risky and needs a much higher input of capital and technical expertise. Current profit margins in the commercial sector are a reasonable 20 per cent, but are likely to fall within the next 3-4 years.

The project coordinator pointed out that there were potential risks in promoting self-employment for youths without family responsibilities. Unless there was sufficient monitoring, credits might be more prone to abuse.

3.4.2. Agricultural Training Centre  
(Centro da Formação Agrário)

The Centro da Formação Agrário falls under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture and provides high-quality training courses linked to rural agricultural development. The Maputo centre (there is a centre in every province) has had no programmes of self-employment, save for a trial project in 1995 for the demobilized soldiers. Separate training courses are offered on project development, monitoring and evaluation, leadership, gender, extension farming systems and community participation. A standard training course is for three weeks. Ninety-two per cent of the participants in the special gender courses are women; women make up an average 20 per cent of the participants of all the courses. The issue of gender is included in all the training courses provided.

The training courses are held in a participatory style and the content is relevant to daily life. Most of the participants are working for NGOs. The average age of the participants is 35 and the youngest 18. The head of the training section stressed the need for rural development to win back youth but pointed out that the young tended to be attracted by the prospect of earning large sums of money not available in the agricultural sector. In addition, agriculture was hardly a career with high social status.

1 ibid.
2 The Project Coordinator felt that more time might usefully be devoted to this issue. Discussion with Rolf Speit, 5 Dec. 1996.
3 Half are women and half are men, though not apparently by design.
The difficulty of finding, and securing, good land was also felt to be a substantial obstacle. Attempts were being made to resolve the long-standing land law problems with new legislation, but it was not clear whether the draft law proposed would be acceptable to all parties concerned.

3.4.3. Ntwanano project (Polana Caniço)

The Ntwanano project is a small community-based initiative established by the national NGO KULIMA. The word Ntwanano means “mutual support” in Shangana, the local language. In the centre of a small village on the outskirts of Maputo a few dozen children are learning carpentry, sewing and English, practising their theatrical skills, and playing football. The objective of the project is to offer kids an alternative to the street by providing not only education but also health care, sports facilities and support to the orphans in the project to integrate into parts of their extended or foster family. A total of 50 children of various ages are involved in the project. KULIMA had selected three priority groups: children who had lost one or both parents; children from poor families; and those children who demonstrated particular dedication to the project. The project is also working with the parents of the children, teaching them civic education and helping them to organize meetings to mobilize the community. A shop run by the community has opened recently to sell small household items to passers-by. The project, which is clearly replicable elsewhere, is sponsored by a small number of Italian families.

Ultimately, of course, the responsibility for ensuring the development of the nation’s youth will rest with the Mozambican Government. Thus, in October 1994, Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports, Mateus Katupha, stated that the future government of FRELIMO would seek to improve development programmes for youth, creating the conditions for genuine progress. However:

There is an awareness that the Government itself will not be able to meet the many needs of the population. Thus there is a need to encourage community initiatives which are usually low cost and of greater impact, as well as to build up local capacity to resolve their own problems through programmes based on the communities themselves, managed by them and that are self-sufficient and sustainable.

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1 Quoted by Alice Mabote in Aro, fortnightly newspaper, 28 Nov. 1996, p. 20 (author’s translation from Portuguese).
2 Brett and McCallin, op. cit., p. 160.
4. Incorporating life skills into vocational skills training

According to the Recommendation concerning vocational guidance and vocational training in the development of human resources, “vocational” training is that which is “directed to identifying and developing human capabilities for a productive and satisfying working life and, in conjunction with the different forms of education, to improve the ability of the individual to understand and, individually or collectively, to influence working conditions and the social environment.”\(^1\) Implicit in the definition, and of obvious and especial importance in a post-conflict society, is the need to impart basic skills and knowledge as part of or linked to a programme of technical training where this is feasible and appropriate.

In the same way that the content of all courses should be based on careful assessment of needs, training and education in basic skills and knowledge should flow from a realistic evaluation of the level of existing human resources and future employment prospects and obstacles. This section considers a number of issues that could be included in the context of the training and addresses some of the factors to be taken into account when seeking to determine whether or not they should in fact be included.

4.1. Literacy and numeracy

Armed conflict inevitably deprives children of education, whether because of service in an armed force or as a result of individual or familial displacement. In the case of Mozambique, a number of vocational training courses included (or were accompanied by) literacy and numeracy training and the experience seems to have been positive. Set against this is the view of some who maintain that literacy and numeracy competence should be a prerequisite in selection criteria for participation in vocational training courses, particularly where self-employment is envisaged. This view probably applies more in the case of short-term courses, such as those conducted for the demobilized, than longer-term projects for youth who have missed out on basic education.

For social as well as individual reasons, internally displaced youth are especially in need of vocational training that includes literacy and numeracy, yet they are most unlikely to receive it. Refugee children and youth tend to have better access to basic education; this seems to have been the experience in Mozambique also. As noted above, the provision of vocational training combined with support to families could not only protect and assist “street children”, it could also prevent the phenomenon from occurring.

4.2. Basic management skills

\(^1\) Paragraph 2(1), Recommendation concerning vocational guidance and vocational training in the development of human resources, Recommendation No. 150 of 23 June 1975.
In order to succeed in self-employment once a training course has been completed, a high degree of self-reliance is called for as monitoring and follow-up are likely to be scant, if they exist at all. A number of vocational courses included basic management skills, covering issues such as workplans, costing, invoicing and basic book-keeping. If anything, the experience in Mozambique seems to have been that not enough time was spent on these issues, especially where self-employment was the objective. In the case of agriculture, for example, training in how to manage projects and production was felt to be important, but was rarely considered important enough to include in training courses. At least one commentator thought that this may change as a result of experiences.\footnote{Prof. Simão Sevene, President, Associação dos Jovens Agricultores de Moçambique, in discussion with the author, 18 Dec. 1996.}

The level of management training inevitably depends on the trainees, but in Mozambique it was found that even basic skills, such as how to write a cheque, and knowledge of basic terms, such as the difference between income and profit, were badly needed by the trainees.

4.3. Civic education

A report by the European Parliamentarians for Southern Africa (AWEPA) claimed that the democratic process introduced into Mozambique was something of an anathema to a culture where respect for elders and leaders was of great importance. It affirmed that there remained a major lack of understanding of the adversarial system of governance. “The limits of political action and the role of the opposition in this new system were not clearly defined or understood as a result of which there remains a need for substantial civic education.”\footnote{AWEPA, \textit{Mozambique Peace Process Bulletin}, Issue 16 (Dec. 1995), Part 1.}

Basic information on the democratic system is included in a number of training courses and development projects in Mozambique. In seeking to promote a transition to a “culture of peace” (in the words of UNESCO), a clear understanding is needed of the political process, backed by a conviction that it will be respected. It is, however, important to see democracy through local as well as Western eyes. Democracy and decision by consensus are not mutually incompatible, though they are sometimes difficult to reconcile.

4.4. Peace education

Little effort at peace education was included in the demobilization process, yet as stated by Federico Mayor, UNESCO Director General: “Yesterday’s soldiers of war can become tomorrows soldiers of peace...they too should be given the opportunity to engage in the process of building peace.”\footnote{Quoted in Centro de Estudios Internacionales, \textit{Demobilized soldiers speak: Reintegration and reconciliation in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Mozambique}, CEI, Managua, 1996, p. iii.}
AMODEG is currently examining the potential of peace education in the reintegration process. Yet a recent conference on peace education scheduled to be held in Mozambique in December 1996 was cancelled at the last minute for fear of reinforcing the group identity of demobilized soldiers. The need to strengthen peace and advocate peaceful resolution of conflict remains a priority. Hundreds of thousands if not millions of semi-automatic weapons are believed to be stored in arms caches throughout Mozambique. Some weapons are already in use. The Christian Council of Mozambique is promoting an exchange project whereby villagers can “exchange” guns for bicycles, sewing machines, and so on. These can be given anonymously. Previously, people kept guns because of uncertainty about the sustainability of the peace process. With the conviction that peace is here to stay, a substantial number of weapons are beginning to be handed in. In fact, the Council recently encountered a problem because it ran out of materials to exchange.¹

UNICEF is preparing a booklet on peace education which will be made available to all adults dealing with children, including teachers, social workers, health workers, NGO workers and community leaders and volunteers.

### 4.5. Knowledge of human rights and labour standards

In 1994, as part of the activities prepared for the Day of the African Child, UNICEF organized elections on the rights of the child. Some 94,000 children from six provinces chose the most important principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The objective of the event was to disseminate the contents of the Convention among children, parents and teachers, and to undertake a practical democratic exercise in preparation for the national elections that took place in October 1994. The children’s rights elections also served as an advocacy tool to sensitize government officials, legislators, representatives from the media and other organizations working on behalf of children in Mozambique about the rights of children.² UNICEF continues to work with the Christian Council of Mozambique to promote children’s rights.³

As seen above, “gender” training has been included systematically in courses offered by the Government’s agricultural training centre. On the whole the experience has been positive, although of course cultural realities cannot be changed overnight. In addition, UNICEF is preparing a booklet on gender awareness which will be made available to all adults dealing with children, including teachers, social workers, health workers, NGO workers and community leaders and volunteers. A task force on human rights in the NGO forum, LINK, started in October 1996 joining together local NGOs.

Despite these initiatives, it is clear that the dissemination of human rights and labour standards occupies a fairly low priority in Mozambique, both among government officials and among agencies and non-governmental organizations. This is in part due to the fear that standards are set that cannot possibly be respected in the current economic situation in Mozambique. Ingraining a rights culture among the young, however, strengthens protection efforts and reinforces a sense of international solidarity. Rights training should, in time, become part of the curriculum.

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but could also usefully be included in vocational training courses, particularly in the training of trainers. The discussion need not be technical but should help to ensure that those charged with protecting or assisting children and youth do not end up abusing their rights through ignorance.

4.6. HIV/AIDS awareness

According to the Ministry of Health, between January 1990 and May 1996, a total of 3,318 cases of AIDS were diagnosed in Mozambique. The worst-hit provinces were Manica and Tete, followed by Sofala and Zambezia, all of which are in the centre of the country. These are the provinces which are home to the greatest number of refugees returning from high-HIV-infected areas, such as in Malawi and Zimbabwe. Few health units, however, have the technical resources to diagnose the HIV virus and government estimates suggest that as many as 16,000 Mozambicans have AIDS and possibly 1 million (one-sixteenth of the population) have the HIV virus. The results of the latest governmental HIV/AIDS survey are expected soon.

The Ministry of Health, together with the Mozambican Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations, has tried to alert the public to the need of using condoms in any casual or extra-marital sexual encounters. UN AIDS was launched in April 1996 in Mozambique. A technical group has been preparing a list of all AIDS-related activities in the country and efforts have begun to encourage an intersectoral approach to HIV prevention.

In addition, an international NGO, Comunicação e Marketing Social Para Saude (PSI), has been involved in AIDS and other STD-awareness activities. Their focus has been on high-risk groups, such as soldiers, the police, lorry drivers and sailors. Activities are also carried out with children in groups of not more than 20 both in school (a youth-to-youth school-based programme has begun in Tete province with the Ministry of Education and expansion to other provinces is planned) and out of school (e.g. through theatre, associations and church groups.) The emphasis is on peer education. PSI picks someone from community and trains him or her to become a trainer.

Condoms are provided free by the Government in health centres — this has always been the case. PSI, on the other hand, import Jeito from the United States and sell the condoms. The cost of a packet of four, which is heavily subsidized, is 500 meticais (equivalent to approximately 4 US cents). A free condom is supplied in an awareness pamphlet (which is unfortunately only in

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4 Dr. Avertino Barreto, Head of the Health Ministry’s AIDS Programme, quoted by AIM Reports, Issue No. 87 (18 June 1996).


3 The selection process is done through the local health centre. Selection criteria are that the individual must be aged between 18 and 30, must be able to read and write, must know the local language, and must be trusted within the community.

4 The word means “cool” or “style” and is thus clearly youth-oriented.
Portuguese). PSI also run three radio spots. Rap music is used as a method of communication with the youth. The concentration of the messages is mainly in urban and peri-urban areas, but work in some high-risk rural and border areas started in December 1996.

A number of obstacles have been encountered during the programme. There is some cultural resistance to the use of condoms on the part of men, who say that they reduce their sexual pleasure. “You don’t eat a banana with the peel on!” is a message commonly heard. Many women have a fear of negotiating with their partners for the use of contraceptives. At school level, the organization found that it had as many objections from teachers as it did from parents (on the basis that they were teaching about sexuality). There is a need to work on curriculum development to institutionalize HIV/AIDS awareness.

PSI is also working with prostitutes but find that it is difficult to gain their trust. Men are willing to pay more to have sex without a condom. Although some prostitutes insist on the use of contraception, not all do so.

Another initiative aimed at the literate young is the free distribution of the Magazine SIDA by the youth newspaper, Aro. The paper, which is only available in Portuguese, has had a distribution of 21,000. Its publication was supported by Redd Barna (Norwegian Save the Children).

Given the risk posed by the demobilized soldiers, it is rather surprising that no HIV/AIDS awareness seems to have been undertaken in the assembly areas, whether linked or not to the vocational training programmes. The opportunity to inform captive high-risk audiences of the dangers of AIDS should be seized. In addition, even though HIV/AIDS training may not be formally included in vocational training programmes, information and awareness posters can be put up on walls as they are, for instance, in the CFPM training centre described in box 1 above.

4.7. Psychosocial assistance

As noted above, the demobilized did not receive any counselling or assistance prior to, during, or following the demobilization apart from that provided through individual interviews at the Information and Referral Service.1 In addition, staff working with the demobilized and other war-affected populations did not have adequate skills to recognize and cope with their own and others’ stress-related problems. The training of trainers should at least enable the identification of those with acute psychological problems and should inform the trainers of the appropriate action to take. It is not suggested, however, that they become psychological counsellors.

Training social workers on home visiting methodologies has been implemented by the Ministry of Social Welfare with the technical assistance of UNICEF. A training module on trauma counselling adapted to the needs of social workers has been prepared by the Psychotrauma Institute and will be used in the training curriculum of social workers. During visits to the children, information on additional needs (e.g. counselling, vocational training, education) is collected and centralized provincially and nationally for further intervention. According to UNICEF, at least 2,000 children are regularly visited by social workers country-wide.2

4.8. Drug and alcohol abuse

1 Bryant, op. cit., p. 33.

Given the apparently widespread and increasing drugs problem in Mozambique, it is surprising that PSI has found no groups to link with in its HIV/AIDS-awareness work. Drug and alcohol abuse is often found among former soldiers and are frequently indicative of deeper psychological disturbances. Again, training of trainers should ensure the sensitivity of the trainers to these problems.

4.9. Mine awareness

Mine-awareness education seeks to alert the civilian population to the dangers of land mines and other unexploded ordnance (UXO) and to equip them with skills to minimize the risk of injury while living in a mine-affected area. As in dozens of other countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America, land mines are a substantial impediment to post-conflict development in Mozambique, rendering fertile agricultural land useless and endangering the lives and limbs of predominantly rural populations.

No one knows how many mines have been laid across Mozambique. The United Nations estimates that 3 million mines remain uncleared, although a Mozambican Parliamentarian has poured scorn on this figure. Whatever the true figure, some 17,000 Mozambican men, women and children have been killed or injured in land-mine explosions since the 1992 peace agreement. As a result of the dangers of mines and UXO, a number of non-governmental organizations, including Halo Trust, Handicap International, Mozambican Red Cross and Norwegian People’s Aid, have undertaken mine awareness programmes in Mozambique.

The Mozambican Red Cross has a special youth programme using Red Cross volunteers who undertake drama activities which they find a good way of passing on the message. Also used in the programme are plastic bags, stickers, sarongs and exercise books distributed to schools, all with mine-awareness messages. UNICEF has supported the mine-awareness programme by Handicap International, which in 1995 and 1996 trained adults (though surprisingly not children) in mine awareness in six provinces of the country. In 1997, UNICEF support will focus on two provinces, Manica and Sofala, where provincial offices for mine awareness will be established.

International guidelines for its community mine-awareness programmes are currently being prepared by UNICEF in New York and will be available as a resource tool to interested agencies and organizations. It is clear that “effective” mine awareness requires experience and should not be undertaken by amateurs. A high level of technical knowledge is not, however, necessary. A linkage to vocational training can be advantageous if the trainees are likely to return to a high-risk area, but is relatively pointless for urban dwellers as cities in Mozambique are clear of mines.

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2 Sergio Vieira, Rapporteur of the FRELIMO party and former Deputy Defence Minister.
3 AIM Reports, Issue No. 87 (18 June 1996).
5. Recommendations

As one concerned agency has pointed out, reintegration is not an exact science.\(^1\) One researcher, speaking of the reintegration of demobilized soldiers, even opined that it was almost impossible to set immutable standards.\(^2\) It should also be remembered that reintegration is likely to be, in the words of the GTZ, into the “poverty of the village”. These provisos notwithstanding, it appears that Mozambique has successfully achieved a peaceful transition and that a certain level of social, economic and cultural reintegration has taken place. That success should not, however, mask the challenges and obstacles that remain. Millions of young Mozambicans have survived the war. Now they must struggle to survive the peace.

The primary focus of this paper is an assessment of reintegration programmes for skills training and employment for youth from 14 to 25, but given the involvement of even younger children in the armed conflict in Mozambique, either as victims or as perpetrators, and who now fall within this age range, the needs of those who might otherwise be excluded must be taken into account. Moreover, although extrapolation is inevitably a hazardous business, the recommendations are intended to reach an audience that is potentially wider than merely those involved in the planning, implementation or evaluation of reintegration programmes for youth in Mozambique. Different environments, cultural, social, economic and political, may call for different approaches. But the principle that underlies these recommendations — the desire to promote peaceful and sustained reintegration into a society that aspires to social justice — remains, it is hoped, untainted and universal.

5.1. Planning technical and life (basic) skills training as well as employment creation programmes

Perhaps the single most important lesson from the Mozambican experience is the need to plan adequately. Planning should be based on appropriate needs assessment.

5.1.1. Needs assessment

a. All potential reintegration programmes should be preceded by a detailed needs assessment of the situation and needs of youth in the region concerned, which should inform the direction and content of relevant skills training courses. The assessment should comprise socio-anthropological study of the intended beneficiaries and a labour market survey, including identification of actual or potential employers.

b. In the preparation of any needs assessment the views of the target beneficiaries — individuals and communities — should be elicited. The right of children and youth up to


the age of 18 to actively participate in all decisions affecting them is a central principle of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child; constructive engagement is a significant determinant in the success and sustainability of reintegration programmes for youth.

5.1.2. Mainstreaming of “vulnerable” groups

c. In planning for reintegration programmes, the special needs of potentially vulnerable groups, including youth as a whole and women and the disabled in particular, should be carefully considered. The underlying objective of targeted programmes should be to include these groups in the mainstream activities wherever possible.

d. In the case of girls and young women, changes in their traditional roles and responsibilities during or as a result of armed conflict must be acknowledged in post-conflict reintegration programmes. Whether women were affected by conflict as civilians or as soldiers, their potential must be recognized and respected. Thus, opportunities must be provided as far as possible to be trained for formal or informal employment opportunities. A range of traditional and non-traditional training programmes should be provided to women.

e. Likewise, in the case of the young disabled, overcoming social or cultural prejudices demands that positive efforts be made to avoid discriminatory practices in the selection of beneficiaries for vocational training and for subsequent employment.

5.2. Implementation of skills training programmes for war-affected youth

It may be inevitable, initially at least, that certain training and assistance programmes target demobilized soldiers specifically. But upon return to the communities, as far as possible, reintegration assistance should support the communities as a whole, using the resources of the family and the community, without singling out certain groups for special treatment or privileges.

5.2.1. Selection of beneficiaries

f. As programmes of reintegration assistance and vocational training are not available in unlimited quantities, preference in the selection of beneficiaries should be given to those most likely to benefit from such programmes over the long term. This is particularly important in the case of training intended to lead to self-employment because of the intrinsic difficulty of successful and sustained self-employment in a post-conflict society.

g. In particular, individuals that are clearly severely traumatized by their experiences during the war are unlikely to finish a training course. If refused a place on a training programme, however, referral for appropriate psychosocial assistance should be automatic, otherwise a feeling of exclusion or stigmatization may be reinforced.
5.2.2. Selection and training of trainers

h. Consideration should be given to the possibility of training trainers in participatory teaching techniques. Experience has shown that these techniques motivate both the trainers and the trainees. This is especially important for war-affected populations because they are likely to experience difficulties in concentration and focus on more formal training.

i. Trainers of war-affected populations should be taught to identify those who have been severely traumatized by their experiences (including themselves) and must know to whom referral can be made for psychosocial assistance. Trainers should not, however, be expected to serve as formal psychosocial counsellors themselves.

j. In the case of training programmes for women, there should be a preference for the use of female trainers who may be more sensitive to the needs of war-affected women. Women trainers will also constitute positive role models to counter societal prejudice.

5.2.3. Content of courses

k. It is necessary to develop special courses for war-affected populations that take into account their experiences. In addition, certain components should be included to reflect the special vulnerability and needs of children and youth. There is a need to develop basic modules that can be adapted to local circumstances.

l. Training programmes should be closely related to employment opportunities, as determined by a detailed labour market survey.

m. No hard and fast rule can be given for the appropriate length of vocational training courses; this should be determined by the preceding needs assessment. The objective of the training programme should be to promote competitiveness and to offer the trainees a realistic chance of securing employment.

n. Where self-employment is the objective of the training course it should include systematically basic management courses.

o. Notwithstanding recommendations (g) and (i) above, opportunities for group discussions of the impact of conflict should be a standard component of a training course for war-affected youth since, even though beneficiaries may not be severely traumatized, they will none the less have been affected as a result of their experiences during the war.

p. HIV/AIDS awareness should be undertaken during training courses for all high-risk groups, especially soldiers.

q. Although all war-affected youth will benefit from literacy and numeracy training, demobilized soldiers are particularly likely to have been deprived of access to education during their service in the armed forces. While in assembly areas, access to education should be ensured, as it was in Mozambique, taking into account the need for formal as well as informal education methods.

r. Civic education programmes should also be provided to trainees, especially demobilized soldiers, in order to help consolidate peace and reinforce the democratic process.
s. Mine-awareness programmes should be conducted for those intending to return to potentially mine-affected areas (normally rural areas rather than urban centres). Teaching urban youth not at risk about the problem of mines may reinforce feelings of insecurity and vulnerability without providing them with a positive skill.

t. Training centres should also promote recreation activities such as sports, drama or music for youth to support a holistic development and to keep the young people off the streets.

5.2.4 Follow-up

u. Demobilized soldiers, especially former child soldiers, should be returned to their communities of origin wherever possible and feasible but successful reintegration will often demand follow-up from appropriate authorities to ensure their acceptance and general well-being. Where needed, assistance should be given to the communities to promote effective reconciliation of those returning after the war.

v. All training courses should aim to ensure that employment is already secured for the programme beneficiaries. Consideration should be given to the possibility of incentives to employers for employing disabled and other trainees, potentially the subject of employment discrimination.

w. Information packages for training beneficiaries should be in local languages as far as possible and their content clearly explained to those unable to read (which will include many soldiers).

5.3. Monitoring and evaluation

Monitoring and evaluation should not be considered an optional extra in any programmes, least of all in the case of training programmes with a long-term objective of facilitating access to sustained employment. In-house quantitative studies are not an accurate measure of the success of a programme. It is not therefore adequate merely to state that a certain number of people have been trained or have found employment since this measure fails to assess both whether the job is related to the training and whether the employment is sustainable.

x. A detailed study should be made of the situation comparing beneficiaries of formal vocational training with others who have not received any training so as to assess the “value added” by the training programmes.

5.4. Policy considerations

Although, as mentioned above, it is unwise to extrapolate too far on the basis of a given situation, there may be a number of lessons from the Mozambican experience that could potentially influence the determination of future ILO policy towards reintegration assistance in war-affected countries. First and foremost, it is appropriate to reaffirm the tremendous need in any post-conflict society for vocational skills training for youth. The social upheaval that conflict
generates inevitably affects adversely the system of secondary and tertiary education essential to long-term social and economic development. The ILO, with its expertise in skills training leading to employment, has a great deal to contribute in formulating country-specific strategies towards employment creation and promotion as a country seeks to move from war to peace.

In developing such strategies, there are three principles that should remain at the forefront of policy: planning, participation and partnership. Planning should be the basis of all interventions and yet in the rush to “do something” so often is rather neglected. It should incorporate strategies for monitoring and evaluation of programmes and allow for their necessary adaptation based on experiences gained. Participation draws attention to the need to involve the beneficiaries at all stages of the process. This helps to ensure successful project implementation and sustainability such that the project becomes a social process. Partnership — with the government, other agencies, local and international NGOs and, especially, the local communities — is the basis of successful coordination of efforts. It widens the pool of knowledge and expertise which can be drawn on and avoids unnecessary duplication and overlap.
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INTERNET addresses:
Annex 1

Selected list of organizations providing vocational training to youth in Mozambique

Associação dos Jovens Agricultores de Moçambique (AJAM)
(Association of Young Farmers of Mozambique)
Maputo
Status: National NGO
Contact: Prof. Simão Sevene, President

Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (AMODEG)
Av. 24 de Julho No 1274
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 430220
Fax: (2581) 429970
Status: National NGO
Contact: Julio Joaquim Nimuire, President
Head of Training Department
Head of Women’s Department

Centro de Formação Agrária e de Desenvolvimento Rural
Avenida das FPLM, s/no
Caixa Postal 3658
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 46 92 19
Status: Government training centre

GPE/GTZ Project, “Creation of Micro-enterprises Training”
Av. 24 de Julho, 2350
Maputo
Contact: Rolf Speit, Programme Coordinator
Tel: (2581) 43 19 01
Status: Technical Cooperation between Mozambique and Germany

Instituto Sindical Italiano de Coperação Ao Desenvolvimento (ISCOS)
Av. Julius Nyerere
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 496166
Status: National NGO
Contact: Tiziane Salmistraro

KULIMA
Av. Karl Marx 1452
Caixa Postal 4404
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 430665/421622
Fax: (2581) 421510  
Status: National NGO  
Contact: Domenico Liuzzi, General Coordinator
Organizacionão dos Tralhadores de Moçambique (OTM)
Rua Manuel Antonio de Sousa, 36
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 428300/426477
Fax: (2581) 421671
Status: Trade Union

OTM Centro de Formação Profissional Metal-Mecânica
Av. de Angola, 2586
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 46 52 18
Status: Training centre owned by principal Mozambican trade union.

United States Agency for International Development (US/AID)
Caixa Postal 783
Maputo
Tel: (2581) 49 16 89 or 74 44 84
Fax: (2581) 49 20 98
Status: Bilateral assistance agency
Contact: Tim Born or Sidney Bliss