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BIRMINGHAM

**COMPREHENDING STATEBUILDING THROUGH THE ROLES OF
TRADITIONAL HEALERS (NYANGAS) IN POST-CONFLICT MOZAMBIQUE:
WHERE HEALING MEETS JUSTICE**

by

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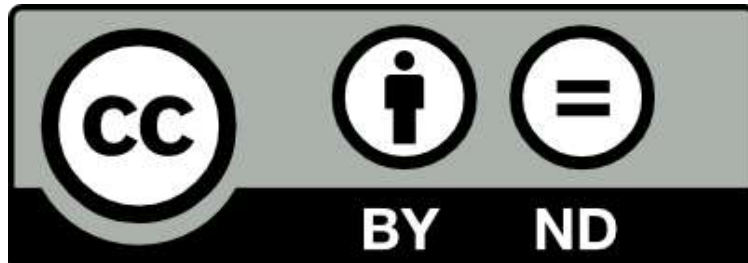
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Abstract

Recent debates in peace and conflict studies have developed the debate on ‘post-liberal’ peace and ‘hybrid forms of peace’. This debate aims to rethink the liberal rhetoric used by Western governments to justify international interventions and the main components of liberal peacebuilding. This thesis presents a development of the concept of post-liberalism to analyse processes of statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique. This study argues that liberal peace has depoliticised traditional actors and practices in transition countries, and this depoliticisation of the local is an unintended consequence of the political and normative closure of liberal approaches. In contrast, this thesis acknowledges that traditional healers represent statebuilding emerging from below since healers are subjects of statebuilding performing multiple roles comprising the Mozambican judicial and health system and the political sphere in which spirituality permeates these three areas. By applying hybrid political orders as an analytical framework for examining and exploring statebuilding, this research captures the complexity of statebuilding processes developed by healers in post-conflict Mozambique, challenging neo-Weberian approaches to the state. Whilst this study discusses the three central roles performed by traditional healers throughout the building of the Mozambican state, this research focuses on traditional justice and local governance, considering that Mozambique presents a complex landscape of legal hybrids, reflecting a mixture of different legal orders, including indigenous practices. In this scenario, traditional justice combines healing and justice, underlining the historical importance of traditional healers as traditional actors in the country. Furthermore, it opens up perspectives for the analysis of the power relations in the Mozambican society, on how ‘hybrid forms of statebuilding’ created can lead to the strengthening of the position of local actors. This study captures the complex roles of traditional healers and the ambiguous relationships between healers and the state. I discuss how traditional healers are recognised and institutionalised by the state through national institutions and how healers lie between acceptance and rejection of state structures, critically discussing ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique. By discussing local contexts and local agency, this research aims to contribute to an alternative view of statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, bridging gaps between statebuilding, peacebuilding and transitional justice literature. This thesis draws upon empirical material gathered through fieldwork in Mozambique from October 2016 to December 2016, in the provinces of Maputo, Inhambane and Sofala.

To the first healer I met in this life, Yatamalo, my mother.

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Notes on transliteration and language

Most of the research in this project was conducted in Brazilian Portuguese language. In some instances, I employed a Tsonga interpreter. All translations from Portuguese are my own. Interviews were transcribed into Portuguese and, after analysing them, translated for quotation in this thesis. The original words added in *italic* are usually in Portuguese.

List of Abbreviations

AERMO	<i>Associação dos Ervanários de Moçambique</i> - Association of Herbalists of Mozambique
AMETRAMO	<i>Associação dos Médicos Tradicionais de Moçambique</i> - Association of Traditional Doctors of Mozambique
ARPAC	<i>Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural</i> - Institute of Socio-Cultural Research
CAPES	<i>Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior</i> - Coordination of Improvement of Higher Level Personnel
DTA	Decentralisation/Traditional Authorities Component
FCO	Foreign Travel Advice for Mozambique
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FOMICRES	<i>Força Moçambicana para Investigação de Crimes e Reinserção Social</i> - Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reintegration
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> - Mozambique Liberation Front
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GETM	<i>Grupo Espiritual e Tradicional de Moçambique</i> - Mozambican Spritual and Traditional Group
GPA	General Peace Agreement
FIR	<i>Forças de Intervenção Rápida</i> - Fast Intervention Forces
HPO	Hybrid Political Orders
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMT	<i>Instituto de Medicina Tradicional</i> - Traditional Medicine Institute
IR	International Relations
IRST	Institute of Research in Science and Technology
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MANU	<i>União Nacional Africana de Moçambique</i> - African National Union of Mozambique
MDM	<i>Movimento Democrático de Moçambique</i> - Democratic Movement of

	Mozambique
NSJS	Non-State Justice and Security
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OREC	<i>Organização para Resolução Conflitos</i> - Organisation for Conflict Resolution
PALOP	<i>Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa</i> - Portuguese-Speaking African countries
PEC-G	<i>Programa de Estudantes-Convênio</i> - Student-Agreement Program
PSD	Peace, Security and Development
RENAMO	<i>Resistência Nacional Moçambicana</i> - Mozambican National Resistance
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
TC	<i>Tribunais Comunitários</i> - Community Courts
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDENAMO	<i>União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique</i> - National Democratic Union of Mozambique
UN	United Nations
UNAMI	<i>União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente</i> - African National Union of Independent Mozambique
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USRR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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Introduction

Various forms of statebuilding were developed in the African continent after its independence from European colonisation. This work deploys Richard Caplan's (2005: 4) definition that "statebuilding refers to efforts to reconstruct or in some cases to establish for the first time, an effective indigenous government in a state or territory where no such capacity exists or where the capacity has been seriously eroded". This thesis focuses on analysing the role of traditional actors in statebuilding processes. I use the term traditional actors meaning actors who perform traditional practices, which are mainly linked to traditional justice systems¹ and healing throughout this study.

This research critically discusses 're-traditionalisation', as I explore the role of traditional actors and practices in statebuilding processes in my case study. The concept of 're-traditionalisation' is used by Africanist scholars studying contemporary Africa in order to "describe not a return to the past, but the increased articulation of 'tradition', 'roots' and 'belonging' as part of wider processes of modernisation and/or reactions to these processes within the wider context of globalisation" (Kyed and Buur, 2006: 1). This leads to the following **research question**:

What role do traditional healers² play in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique?

The supplementary questions that will guide this research project are the following:

- What is the role of traditional healers within the justice system in post-conflict Mozambique?

¹Traditional justice systems predominated as the main rule of law systems in many states in post-colonial Africa (Tobiko, 2013).

²Traditional healers are also known as *médicos tradicionais* (traditional doctors), *curandeiros* (those who heal), *nyangas*, witchdoctors, shamans, prophets and mediums.

- What is the level of influence and involvement by the state with traditional healers and vice versa, and how do the power dynamics between state and non-state systems work?

I will focus on reconstructing traditional narratives, exploring local agencies³ and marginalised actors⁴ and how they act, and how processes and informal institutions work, discussing their own understandings. This is an important contribution to the peace studies literature, as this literature relatively neglects the Mozambican case and the Mozambican healers. The analysis of the healers' roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique and the relationships between these actors and the state are the main contribution of this work.

Introducing the theoretical framework of the thesis

This thesis argues that liberal approaches to statebuilding depoliticised traditional actors and practices in transition countries as an unintended consequence of the political and normative closure of these approaches. In contrast, I engage with the hybridity and post-liberal peace literature in order to analyse the role of traditional actors in statebuilding processes. I aim to contribute to an empirical anchoring of the concepts of the hybridity and post-liberal peace literature through my case study, which is an understudied case, bridging gaps between statebuilding, peacebuilding and transitional justice literature.

This work challenges neo-Weberian approaches to statebuilding by focusing on traditional actors as key actors in statebuilding processes. Neo-Weberian approaches to

³Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013: 770) see local agency from two different perspectives: focusing on “small-scale mobilisation for peace in practical terms in the context of everyday life and of the state” and from a philosophical and theoretical perspective, “in terms of the social and historical struggles which give rise to legitimate institutions in each context”.

⁴Strengthening central state institutions as the only focus “threatens to further alienate local societies by rendering them passive” (Boege et al., 2009: 19).

statebuilding focus on the bureaucratic foundations of the states, emphasising the maintenance of internal security and order, economic outcomes, force and empirical attributes such as effective government, for instance. A top-down perspective leads to a functionalist explanation which views society as an instrument to the enhancement of state capacity.

Neo-Weberian approaches are criticised by scholars in the field of peace and conflict studies (see Sabaratnam, 2013a; Sriram, 2012; Richmond, 2009, 2009a; Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013; Lemay-Hébert, 2011). These scholars have developed the debate on ‘post-liberal’ peace and ‘hybrid forms of peace’, challenging neo-Weberian approaches to statebuilding. They criticise the liberal peace debate, which refers to the dominant intellectual framework applied to policies and practices of post-conflict intervention. Liberal peace is, broadly speaking, constituted by democratisation, the rule of law and economic liberalisation in the form of free-market reform and development following the post-Treaty of Westphalia (Richmond, 2009) and it converges on the contemporary notion of peace-as-governance (Sriram, 2008; Richmond, 2009).

Hybrid political orders and statebuilding

This thesis’ analytical framework builds on the concept of hybrid political orders, an approach to statebuilding that combines state institutions, customary institutions, and new elements of citizenship and civil society in networks of governance (Boege et al., 2009). This approach argues that traditional societal structures and traditional actors on the ground determine the everyday social reality of large parts of the population in so-called fragile states. Boege et al. (2009: 10) claim that “the ‘state’ does not have a privileged position as the political framework that provides security, welfare and representation; it has to share authority, legitimacy and capacity with other structures”.

Therefore, HPO opens up new approaches to statebuilding in which the formal state overlaps with informal societal orders, including various actors such as chiefs, healers, customary kings, and indigenous knowledge (Boege et al., 2009). Furthermore, the focus on spirituality through HPO's theoretical constructs, as it investigates linkages between spiritual, social and political forces (Boege et al., 2009), reinforces the use of HPO throughout my analysis.

I engage with this theoretical framework, as I focus on the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. The relative weakness of state institutions, political disputes and local traditions in Mozambique caused the government to rely on traditional actors after the civil war. The main argument of this work is that these traditional actors have been contributing to statebuilding in the country, particularly through their roles within traditional justice systems⁵. The logic of the formal state is mixed with the 'informal' societal order and traditional knowledge, giving rise to hybrid political orders.

Hybridity and 're-traditionalisation' in post-conflict Mozambique

The concepts of hybridity and hybridisation suggest a way of seeing statebuilding and peacebuilding that challenges a "top-down perspective that regards statebuilding as the top-down transmission of ideas, practices and institutions" (Mac Ginty, 2013: 13). Post-conflict contexts are frequent sites of hybridity in which the interaction of local, national and international actors takes place (Sriram, 2012). This thesis also develops hybridity through the relationships between traditional actors and the state and hybrid structures such as community courts. In my case study, the state negotiates the local agency of traditional actors via national institutions, as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters.

⁵In pre-colonial African countries such as Ghana, for instance, social issues were handled by the traditional system, "a social institution of extended family members and traditional authorities" (Avendal, 2011: 2).

I discuss the main claims of the hybridity literature and its gaps throughout the literature review, focusing on how I aim to address these gaps using hybrid political orders. Hybridity emphasises the need to consider traditional values and practices in a statebuilding context, and traditional justice mechanisms are a clear example of the use of traditional values and practices in complex instances such as post-conflict Mozambique. Throughout the literature (Santos, 2006, 2006a; Kyed, 2013; Kyed and Buur, 2007; Meneses, 2007, Igreja, 2010, 2010a, 2012) there is a strong focus on the role of traditional justice in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, in which legal pluralism is linked to the complexity of Mozambique as a heterogeneous state since legal pluralism is a constitutional principle.

This hybridisation of legal orders reflects the adjustment of judicial and administrative instances to contemporary situations resulting in “an innumerable array of metamorphoses in the socio-legal field” (Meneses, 2006: 14). The Mozambican post-colonial state emerged in a “process of reinforcement of the differentiation between the so-called universal legal framework and the local, traditional legal frameworks” (Meneses, 2006: 11). In 2005, Act 9 recognised local authorities as indirect forms of state administrative organisation. Legal pluralism is an example of the connection between hybridity and traditional mechanisms, and the hybridisation of legal orders such as the community courts in post-conflict Mozambique reflects the diversity of traditional values, the adjustment of judicial and administrative instances and the recognition of traditional actors (Burke-White, 2004).

This thesis discusses legal pluralism, aiming to understand the state engagement with traditional justice and power politics, exploring how traditional justice mechanisms relate to formal/conventional judicial structures and the healers’ role within traditional justice systems. In this sense, this project discusses how practices performed by traditional healers were recognised and institutionalised by the state through national institutions. There is an

ambiguous relationship between healers and the state⁶, considering that the scope of the healers' roles has been limited as the Mozambican state focuses on health provision. Although locally forms of institutions of statehood are often connected with resistance (Richmond, 2010), fieldwork findings⁷ suggested that healers were keen to be incorporated into the state.

The recognition of local agency is one of the most important contributions of the hybridity literature as this thesis engages with hybridity lenses in a context in which traditional actors represent local agency as key actors within the Mozambican statebuilding processes. However, I acknowledge the methodological limits and blind spots of the hybridity literature, criticised by feminist insights in International Relations (IR) throughout this thesis. Feminist approaches support an understanding of hidden power relations between local and international 'gender-change agents' and of the concepts connected to hybrid initiatives, such as gender security (McLeod, 2015). A feminist approach to hybridity offers a nuanced perception of the power relations between local and international actors and the role of personal and political experiences of conflict, deepening the agenda settings. In this regard, a feminist approach offers a critical understanding of statebuilding as it questions the state, the separation of historical moments into unrelated realities, honouring the subaltern⁸ subjectivities manoeuvring within such contexts (Bueno-Hansen, 2017).

Mozambique faced complex conflicts and multidimensional political processes, taking into account that the country has a colonial, socialist, democratic and traditional political-legal background. All these radical political transformations occurred as multiple ruptures that

⁶Engaging with local communities shows the importance of these actors in the society and recognising that "institutions are rooted in society is decisive for the state's stability, effectiveness and legitimacy" (Boege et al., 2008: 16).

⁷I conducted fieldwork in Mozambique, from October 2016 to December 2016. Fieldwork was supported by CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior* - Coordination of Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) and the University of Birmingham, International Development Department.

⁸Spivak (1988) analyses the relationship between Western discourses and the possibility of speaking of (or for) the subaltern woman.

coexisted with continuities. A highly heterogeneous state emerged from these fusions and ruptures, in which statebuilding has been developed by traditional actors.

Mozambique is a country in Southeast Africa that recently declared its independence from Portugal in 1975, after a decade of war against the Portuguese, who began the process of colonisation in 1505 (Theal, 2010). The Mozambican War of Independence was followed by 26 years of conflict between the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Frelimo⁹ – which has ruled the country since independence) and the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Renamo – the main opposition party¹⁰). Conflict characterised the first decades of Mozambican independence, combined with failed central planning, disputes with the neighbouring countries, including Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe) and South Africa, lack of infrastructure, the loss of approximately one million Mozambicans, the displacement of 1.7 million Mozambicans and millions internally displaced. In 1992, the Civil War¹¹ ended with the Rome General Peace Accords, followed by the intervention of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ).

After 1992, academic interest in the war began to shift from the external origins of Renamo and its social base to issues of demobilisation, healing and other post-war dynamics (Morier-Genoud et al., 2018). Éric Morier-Genoud, Michel Cahen and Domingos Manuel do Rosário published a book on the history of the civil war in Mozambique, but there are no full studies on the role of traditional actors, especially traditional healers, in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Authors such as Carolyn Nordstrom (1997), Bjørn

⁹Mozambique Liberation Front, in English.

¹⁰Mozambican National Resistance, in English. Renamo mobilises a disaffected electorate with the Frelimo government and claims legitimacy on the General Peace Agreement and the process of democratisation (Sanches, 2015).

¹¹The use of the term civil war is controversial in general and in Mozambique specifically, in which the government prefers to talk of a ‘war of destabilization’ (term used during the conflict) or ‘sixteen years war’ (a more neutral term coined after the conflict ended). However, the war involved members of the same national community – Mozambicans against Mozambicans (Morier-Genoud et al., 2018).

Bertelsen (2011, 2009, 2016), Ken Wilson (1992), Corinna Jentsch (2018), Maria Paula Meneses (2006a) and Victor Igreja (2010) have considered traditional actors when analysing the dynamics of conflict in Mozambique, including traditional healers. However, there is a strong focus on analysing the role of healers in war disputes in the literature.

I build on the literature on the role of traditional healers as reconciliation actors, and I develop it, by arguing that traditional healers (*nyangas*¹²) have been contributing to statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, performing complex roles comprising three components of statebuilding: justice, health and the political sphere. Data triangulation of fieldwork findings confirmed that healers have been working in these three areas, as will be further discussed. These categories also reflect the healers' various identities in their communities.

This thesis focuses on traditional healers as their role as justice actors is underexplored in the literature, although fieldwork data suggested that they were considered the only actors in charge of resolving some cases in post-conflict Mozambique. Healers were invited to the Mozambican community courts to judge witchcraft accusations, for instance, as they transited between the spiritual and the material realms. The spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution within the Mozambican traditional justice systems.

Although justice and health are considered output domains – key public goods – of statebuilding that should be provided by the state (Fritz and Menocal, 2007), the Mozambican reality suggests that they are also part of the healers' domain with state recognition via the *Associação dos Médicos Tradicionais de Moçambique* (AMETRAMO¹³) and the *Associação dos Ervanários de Moçambique* (AERMO¹⁴). The Mozambican state created AMETRAMO in

¹²Healers, in *Shona* language. *Shona* is a *Bantu* language spoken in Mozambique and Zimbabwe (official language).

¹³Association of Traditional Doctors of Mozambique, in English.

¹⁴Association of Herbalists of Mozambique, in English.

1992, after a historical ban against traditional actors. AMETRAMO is an organisation for traditional healers, which registers healers throughout the country and grant certificates on their capacities, building a network of healers. This registration process works as a certification, which legitimates the healers' work since AMETRAMO seeks to identify the 'real healers' separating them from sorcerers or 'witch doctors' (Meneses, 2006). The institution also fosters the debate on the traditional/modern dichotomy, reflecting the post-conflict Mozambican environment in which it is common for state representatives to appeal to local chiefs. They have a crucial role as interlocutors of their communities, reinforcing the fragility of the tradition/modern dichotomy. In this regard, AMETRAMO represents hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2008) in post-conflict Mozambique and it has a key role as a bridge between the state and the healers, the 'modern' and the traditional.

With regard to the role of the healers as political actors, fieldwork findings suggested that healers had links with politicians, local chiefs such as *régulos* and the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO. Healers who were more influential were also considered powerful local chiefs by the community, influencing political campaigns and protecting their candidates.

The last component analysed is health, a key element of statebuilding in my research as the Mozambican state has been focusing on the healers' role as health providers. Health is a complex concept which also requires inner equilibrium with the ancestors, the family, one's neighbours, one's own body and so on (Meneses, 2004) in Mozambique. In this sense, "social illness" (Meneses, 2004: 19) is part of the Mozambican reality, and healers identify antisocial hostilities that can manifest themselves as illness, bad luck or even bring death to the community.

Fieldwork findings showed that spirituality permeated these three areas in the country,

demonstrating the complexity of the case. The complexity of justice in post-conflict Mozambique leads to the central focus of this thesis, as healers were considered the only actors qualified for judging some cases, as they transited between the spiritual realm and the material realm.

This research captures the complexity of statebuilding processes developed by healers in post-conflict Mozambique, challenging neo-Weberian approaches to the state. This approach acknowledges that the state is continuously morphing, being ‘built’ or created everyday. In this sense, Mozambican traditional justice systems and the role of traditional actors is little discussed in the transitional justice literature, and I aim to fill this gap. By exploring local contexts and local agency, I aim to contribute to a more holistic view of the statebuilding processes in Mozambique, developing a critical view of liberal approaches and the failure to recognise the everyday. I consider that focusing on the role of traditional healers and spiritual traditions in statebuilding processes conceptually adds more depth to the hybridity literature, and that is the reason for choosing Mozambique as a case study. The conflict escalation cycle and the lack of analysis of gendered history also justify my choice.

Furthermore, I am connected with Mozambique because of our shared colonisation and the African diaspora to Brazil¹⁵, as 56% of Brazil’s almost 208 million people define themselves as ‘black’, making for the world’s second largest black population after Nigeria¹⁶. Nevertheless, the Brazilian society is extremely racist, and police violence has been employed,

¹⁵Brazil was the last country in the ‘Western’ world to abolish slavery, in 1888. It is estimated that 4.9 million slaves were ‘brought’ from Africa to Brazil. ‘Vergonha ainda maior: Novas informações disponíveis em um enorme banco de dados mostram que a escravidão no Brasil foi muito pior do que se sabia antes’. Veja [website], 2015, <https://veja.abril.com.br/blog/ricardo-setti/tema-livre/vergonha-ainda-maior-novas-informacoes-disponiveis-em-um-enorme-banco-de-dados-mostram-que-a-escravidao-no-brasil-foi-muito-pior-do-que-se-sabia-antes/>, (accessed 5 dec. 2018).

¹⁶ Racial diversity in Brazil ‘turns to a new page’. Financial times [website], 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/abe60816-3cc9-11e8-bcc8-cebcb81f1f90/>, (accessed 30 nov. 2018).

particularly against the Afro-descended¹⁷. Although *Samba* is our most famous musical genre and dance style abroad, the Afro-Brazilian culture has been criminalised and marginalised in the country. I reflect that the recognition of the Afro-Brazilian roots and the connection with African countries is essential for the strengthening of the Latin American and African studies. The recognition of traditional actors and practices is a crucial element of this research. As a Brazilian immersed in peace studies for about ten years and interested in analysing the links between culture and statebuilding, the richness of Mozambique and its marginalised actors caught my attention substantially, considering the lack of literature in this field.

I conducted fieldwork in Mozambique from October 2016 to December 2016, in the provinces of Inhambane, Maputo and Sofala. I interviewed 42 Mozambicans, including traditional healers, members of civil society organisations, civil servants, religious leaders, and traditional actors involved in community courts, Mozambican ‘informal’ courts. While I use the term ‘post-conflict’ throughout this thesis, I acknowledge that Mozambicans are currently living in uncertainty once again, because of the tensions between Frelimo and Renamo members and recent terrorist attacks in the North of the country, for instance.

As mentioned previously, community courts are ‘informal’ courts in post-conflict Mozambique, and this thesis focuses on traditional justice and the links between healing and justice. Traditional justice mechanisms are particularly widespread in rural areas¹⁸ and disadvantaged urban communities where access to justice remains problematic for many citizens that need to deal with family and community disputes, protection of land, witchcraft-related concerns, among other issues. Witchcraft is part of the contemporary legal practice in

¹⁷A black person is murdered in Brazil every 23 minutes. ‘Brazil is targeting its black population for death’. Miami herald [website], 2018, <https://www.miamiherald.com/opinion/op-ed/article206652379.html>, (accessed 3 dec. 2018).

¹⁸In rural areas, faced with lack of popular legitimacy and capacity, people see non-state authorities as a solution, in which community leaders were formally drawn into assisting the state police with core policing functions (Baker, 2010).

the country, in which accusations of witchcraft are a form of social control as they undermine inequalities in wealth and power (Meneses, 2004). This will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In post-conflict Mozambique, traditional justice authorities include religious authorities, traditional healers, *grupos dinamizadores*, presidents of community associations, *regulados* and many other entities who are considered legitimate and are legitimised from below by the communities that recognise their authority¹⁹. Fieldwork findings suggested that Mozambicans sought assistance from traditional healers because they provided psychological, spiritual and physical relief and conflict resolution. Interviewees argued that healers possessed social and cultural legitimacy and were familiar with the historical, social and political background of disputes.

Reconstructing traditional narratives

Throughout the history of post-colonial Mozambique, there are moments of recognition and neglect regarding the incorporation of traditional actors into the national system, which is intimately bound up with the historical development of the state and the divide between the ruling Frelimo and Renamo. In 1977²⁰, two years after independence, Frelimo established a socialist²¹ one-party state and a series of revolutionary reforms aiming to institute forms of collective modernisation (Mondlane, 1969). The racialised divisions of the colonial state were to be replaced by a *Homem Novo* (New Man) ideal based on scientific socialism, equality and

¹⁹ The sheer range of actors and practices that feature under the auspices of traditional justice makes generalisations extremely difficult, and this thesis intends to analyse the different actors involved clearly. This diversity also highlights the highly localised and context-specific character of traditional justice, particularly in countries like Mozambique with intense levels of internal diversity.

²⁰ However, in the newly independent state prevailed a regime, which was governed by the laws characteristic of a capitalist society at an embryonic stage (Sabaratnam, 2013). “The government promoted the development of gigantic state farms and co-operatives (...) often producing the same crops as under colonialism (...) Due to the imports and the loss of foreign exchange, Mozambique went quickly from having virtually no foreign debt in 1980 to becoming very heavily indebted by 1984” (Sabaratnam, 2013: 5). Many government policies tended to reinforce structures of authority of management and social class (Sabaratnam, 2013).

²¹ Frelimo held the view that total liberation would be possible once the country reduced the capitalist influence (Venancio and Chan, 1998).

the rejection of superstition because the survival of systems of traditional chieftdom and traditional structures such as rituals would interrupt the progress of a revolution aimed “at social and political equality” (Mondlane, 1969: 164). This resonates with the pre-independence rhetoric used by Samora Machel (1974), the first president of Mozambique. In 1974, Samora Machel said: “To unite all Mozambicans, transcending traditions and different languages, requires that the tribe must die in our consciousness so that the nation may be born”. This vision involved a societal cleansing during the 1980s, followed by the executions of chiefs, attempts at abolishing traditional ceremonies and institutions and the persecution of traditional actors, including healers (Meneses, 2006).

Healers are marginalised traditional actors that remain understudied in the literature, mostly because of the focus on their role as reconciliation actors resolving war disputes²² (Igreja, 2003, 2007, 2012; Granjo, 2007; Huyse and Salter, 2008; Honwana, 1997, 2002) and historical stigma. After the civil war, victims and survivors sought available traditional mechanisms to repair their individual and collective lives, such as cleansing rituals performed by traditional healers (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008). In this scenario, it is essential to underline that the General Peace Agreement (GPA) signed in Mozambique in 1992 was founded upon a culture of denial of the past. It has brought relief to the victims of the civil war, but the Mozambican authorities did not develop mechanisms to hold accountable individuals allegedly responsible for committing war crimes and abuses²³ (Igreja, 2010), neither policies to deal with these abuses (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008).

²²Moreover, this research focuses on the south of Mozambique, while most of the literature on healers focuses on central Mozambique (Gorongosa) (see Igreja, 2003, 2007, 2012).

²³Amnesty Law No 15/92 established post-war impunity for crimes committed between 1979 and 1992 (Igreja, 2010).

Research contribution

The innovative and significant contribution of this thesis is to comprehend the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Interviews indicated that their role encompassed justice, health and the political sphere. Spirituality permeated these three elements of statebuilding. This thesis focuses on traditional justice and local governance, underlying the healers' role in traditional justice systems. In the literature, the role of the healers as justice actors is discussed mainly through the resolution of war disputes (Igreja, 2010, 2010a, 2012; Meneses, 2004, 2006, 2006a²⁴, 2007), although fieldwork findings suggested that healers were key actors in conflict resolution, as they were the only actors considered capable of judging witchcraft accusations, for instance. I argue that healers are part of hybrid political orders as they have been invited by the state to be part of community courts as justice actors.

Post-conflict Mozambique presents a complex landscape of legal hybrids, reflecting a mixture of different legal orders, such as state law, common law and religious laws, including local and indigenous practices and state institutions and processes²⁵. The relative weakness of state institutions after the civil war caused the government to rely on the traditional communities and actors to perform some state functions, contributing to the restoration of a customary rule, even though with some new forms. Traditional justice relates to statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique, as the country is predominantly rural and relies on local structures such as community courts, and because the spiritual realm is a constituent part of

²⁴The following authors also discuss the healers' role in justice systems in Mozambique: Santos (2006, 2006a); Kyed and Buur (2006, 2006a, 2006b).

²⁵It is suggested that in Africa justice is essentially restorative rather than punitive, and local accountability is based on the social healing of the community and compensation for those that have suffered (Allen, 2007). However, the current global call for legal reform seems to operate as if the developing countries are a "legal and judicial *tabula rasa*" (Santos, 2006: 70) even though there is a rich experience of diverse legal and judicial practices in states, such as in Mozambique.

conflict resolution within the Mozambican traditional justice systems, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

This research also compares the Mozambican case with the following African countries: Rwanda, Burundi and northern Uganda. This comparison is a relevant contribution to the African peace studies, considering that there is little literature on the links between traditional healers and justice involving these cases. The central contribution of this comparison to my research is the argument that healers in those countries focus on health and reconciliation, while I argue that the Mozambican healers have been playing a more central role in the provision of justice and statebuilding itself in post-conflict Mozambique.

Moreover, the building of the Mozambican state is analysed mainly through the Portuguese colonial legacy and the divide between Frelimo and Renamo, whereas I focus on the role of traditional healers. Although traditional leaders were widely discredited in the post-independence era in some African states, “because they had often been incorporated into (indirect) colonial rule as instruments of the colonial powers, and the new political elites of the independent states attempted to do away with them as anachronistic and reactionary forces of the past” (Boege et al., 2008: 8), customary forms of governance persisted. The authorities of states such as Mozambique, Uganda, Zambia and Ghana realised that it would be promising to incorporate the traditional leaders officially. The tendency of ‘re-traditionalisation’ in these countries presented the reincorporation of traditional leaders officially and their recognition as influential local players, as will be discussed further. In order to provide a critical angle to statebuilding approaches, the literature review discusses the colonial structures of the invention of tradition in Africa and ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique.

This thesis provides a critical discussion of the ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the country as I explain how healers have been historically stigmatised by the Mozambican state (see Chapter 3). The Mozambican heterogeneity calls for new analytical concepts that challenge the binary oppositions between ‘systems’ (i.e. the state/formal/modern versus the non-state/informal/traditional) and a rethinking of the rule-of-law model which has been the paradigm of statebuilding since the end of the civil war in 1992.

This research also focuses on the healers’ perceptions of their own roles, Mozambicans perceptions of the healers’ roles in statebuilding processes and the relationships between the state and the healers since the state recognises them through national institutions. Present literature has not fully accounted for the interactions between the healers and the state, and this thesis aims to address these gaps through a discussion based on the healers’ own voices regarding their relationship with the state, which moves beyond cooperation and resistance. In this regard, it is important to highlight that healers had a critical view in relation to state politics concerning their recognition through national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO (see Chapter 5).

This work addresses the use of traditional justice mechanisms and how national and traditional actors look at traditional justice and governance in post-conflict Mozambique. This potentially benefits both academics and practitioners. Fieldwork findings suggested that few non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been working with traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique, and I consider that they could benefit from the insights provided by this research as well.

Throughout the literature and state-owned media narratives, the reconciliation process and transition from war to peace in Mozambique appear very successful, although current conflict escalation and empirical findings suggested a different perspective. As I conducted

fieldwork in Mozambique during a moment of conflict escalation, I consider that the empirical chapters represent a significant contribution to peace and African studies.

Concerning the hybridity literature, this research also contributes to the development of hybrid political orders as an analytical framework. I argue that the spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution within the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, and this topic is underexplored in the literature. I reflect that HPO as an analytical framework has not covered the links between spirituality, justice and statebuilding through the role of traditional actors and practices in-depth as this thesis proposed.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of six chapters. The first chapter is the literature review, which focuses on the hybridity literature, discussing the main analytic claims of this literature, its gaps and critiques. This thesis' hybridity lenses draw on the concept of hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2008) in order to analyse statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique, as HPO provides an analytical framework where formal and informal elements, including indigenous practices, co-exist, overlap and intertwine.

The literature review discusses the contribution of the hybridity literature in explaining local agency and the interactions between different actors and practices, highlighting traditional actors and practices. Furthermore, it also critically discusses 're-traditionalisation' in post-conflict Mozambique and key categories such as spirituality and witchcraft throughout the anthropology and psychology literature, in order to explain the Mozambican cosmology.

Chapter 2 discusses this thesis' methodological considerations, challenges and procedures applied and approaches to data analysis and case selection. The methodology chapter discusses the use of constructivism and interpretative methods in this research and

how I combined the use of ethnographic approaches with interpretative engagement. This chapter also discusses the research methods of the thesis, including interview-focused approaches, documentary evidence, observation and triangulation. Data triangulation – focusing on a comparison of different points of view – helped me to identify and compare the perspectives of different people, as I triangulated healers, religious leaders, local chiefs, members of NGOs, members of the government, etc. Therefore, this method helped me to develop the central insights of this research and confirm my arguments. This chapter also discusses the ethical limitations of my research, language concerns, fieldwork location, researcher positionality and research limitations.

Chapter 3 analyses and explains the building of the state of Mozambique. Scholarly approaches to comprehending this building and its evolution in post-colonial settings consist of looking into the Portuguese colonial legacy and the divide between Frelimo and Renamo. The originality of this chapter lies in its focus on the role of traditional healers as actors throughout the colonial period (1498-1974), the independence war (1964-1974), the civil war (1976-1992) and post-conflict Mozambique (1992-onwards). Healers developed various roles throughout these complex periods of the Mozambican history, as providers of physical, spiritual and psychological healing and as military leaders and providers of justice and conflict resolution. However, this chapter highlights how the Mozambican state has stigmatised healers throughout its history and argues that the role of traditional healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes has remained relatively neglected in the literature.

The focus of this chapter to answer the research question is the emphasis on the roles of traditional healers in the building of the Mozambican state throughout the Mozambican history, including the relationships between the healers and the state, which changes from oblivion to recognition. This chapter also contributes to this thesis' overall argument as

fieldwork findings suggested that this process interfered with how healers have been interacting with other traditional actors and the state, thereby affecting their development as statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique. The chapter highlights the historical presence of Mozambique and healers as traditional actors in the literature. Concerning my theoretical background, combining political consciousness with historical resistance helped me to develop hybrid political orders, as this chapter indicates how traditional actors shape and are shaped by statebuilding processes.

Chapter 4 focuses on examining the main roles performed by traditional healers in statebuilding processes and their relationships with the state and traditional actors in post-conflict Mozambique. This chapter analyses statebuilding as it discusses the roles of traditional healers as justice, health and political actors. Nonetheless, the chapter focuses on traditional justice, as interviewees claimed that healers were the main actors connecting justice with the spiritual realm. They were considered the only actors ‘capable’ of judging some cases, for instance. This is an important finding considering that the spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution within the Mozambican justice systems, in which the healers transit between realms as mediums in order to identify stolen objects, culprits and sorcerers. Furthermore, fieldwork finding confirmed that community courts, the main traditional justice structures of the country, resorted to AMETRAMO in cases of witchcraft, involving the healers as key actors. This chapter challenges the literature that generally outlines the healers’ medical/therapeutic dimension, also opening up the discussion on the relationships between the healers and the state and the institutional focus on the health dimension of the healers’ role that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 focuses on the healers’ role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes regarding how Mozambicans see the healers and how they see themselves, also discussing their

perceptions concerning their relationships with the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO. This chapter argues that the state has an ambiguous relationship with the healers and vice-versa, discussing this process through the articulations of the respondents themselves. I argue that the state has been limiting the roles of the healers as statebuilding actors by focusing on health issues. The Mozambicans' perceptions of the healers' roles in statebuilding processes comprise the recognition of their work involving the beneficiaries (patients), the state (mainly via AMETRAMO and AERMO), civil society represented by NGOs and traditional local authorities such as *régulos*, local judges, neighbourhood secretaries and religious authorities. This chapter helps to answer the research question in that it discusses the Mozambicans and healers' perceptions on the healers' role in the statebuilding processes of the country and how the interactions with the state via national institutions affect these roles. I argue that although AMETRAMO and AERMO represent the presence of the Mozambican state, healers have been part of the Mozambican statebuilding processes as they have been 'autonomous' community leaders performing local governance mechanisms, shifting between cooperation and resistance in relation to the state.

Chapter 5 is divided into three sections according to thematic significance identified with data triangulation. I discuss Frelimo's 're-traditionalisation' through the recognition of the healers via AMETRAMO/AERMO; the healers' legitimacy in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, analysing the voices of the Mozambicans regarding the healers' roles as statebuilding actor; the healers' shift between resistance and cooperation, examining the healers' voices regarding their roles and their interactions with the state. This chapter addresses that critical voices were also heard and analysed in this research.

The empirical chapters are essential to this thesis as they discuss the three main roles of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Besides, as I

conducted fieldwork in Mozambique during a moment of conflict escalation little covered by state-owned media these chapters represent an empirical contribution to critical peace studies and African studies in IR. There is little literature on the role of traditional healers as traditional actors contributing to statebuilding and about their interactions with the state in post-conflict Mozambique.

The last chapter of the thesis is an analytical chapter in which I bring the main insights from the empirical material into an analysis which speaks back to the hybridity literature, particularly hybrid political orders. I also clarify how my findings challenge and develop existing literature. Therefore, this chapter underlines the main arguments and contribution of the thesis. I argue that healers are part of hybrid political orders as they have been invited by the state to be part of community courts as justice actors and that the Mozambican state has partially incorporated traditional justice systems. I argue that my work contributes to the literature as other scholars discuss the links between healers and justice focusing mainly on the role of healers concerning the resolution of war disputes in post-conflict Mozambique. I also compare the role of Mozambican healers in traditional justice systems with Rwanda, Burundi and northern Uganda, highlighting that the Mozambican healers and their links to statebuilding are fairly unique within Africa.

Then, this thesis moves to its final considerations, which summarises the main discussions of this work and future research directions. While this study discusses the various roles performed by traditional healers throughout the building of the Mozambican state comprehending three aspects of statebuilding – justice, health and the political sphere – this research focuses on traditional justice. Post-conflict Mozambique presents a complex landscape of legal hybrids, reflecting a mixture of different legal orders, in which the spiritual realm is a crucial constituent of conflict resolution. The traditional healers' role in the

statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique is analysed empirically through the analysis of data gathered during fieldwork in the country.

Chapter 1. Exploring hybridity and statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique through the role of traditional healers: A literature review

Introduction

The hybridity and post-liberal peace literature is the key literature to which this thesis seeks to contribute. I use the term ‘liberal peace’ in this work referring to “the dominant form of peacemaking as promoted by leading states, international organisations and international financial institutions through their peace-support interventions” (Mac Ginty, 2011: 22). The liberal peace has been explored by neo-Weberian scholars, who focus on supporting state-centric approaches to statebuilding, emphasising the bureaucratic foundations of the states. This study agrees that the liberal peace literature focuses heavily on international administrative structures and interveners, reproducing Eurocentrism, which has a depoliticising effect concerning traditional actors and practices.

This literature review discusses the major analytic claims of this literature and its gaps and critiques, explaining how these gaps can be addressed. The first section, ‘Rethinking liberal statebuilding through post-liberal peace’, proposes critical understandings of statebuilding, strengthening the argument that the liberal peace suggests a technocratic perspective which has failed to take into account the complex nature of the state, failing to connect with local dynamics. This technocratic perspective risks overlooking approaches to statebuilding that builds on indigenous practices (Mac Ginty, 2011) and sometimes have a spiritual dimension, as the healers’ dynamics in post-conflict Mozambique and the practices of AMETRAMO²⁶, for instance. I argue that the healers’ roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes challenge liberal statebuilding approaches, since healers work within

²⁶AMETRAMO works like an extra-judicial and extra-legal body within the state in terms of deciding on guilt within the Mozambican community courts through consultation with traditional healers.

state structures and represent, in part, indigenous practices and complex forms of statebuilding, transcending the neo-Weberian focus on state institutions and “ability to wield power” (Lottholz and Lemay-Hébert, 2016: 1474). The post-liberal peace school of thought responds to these critics to liberal statebuilding approaches by engaging with the hybridity literature and the dynamics of the everyday and the interface between liberal and local statebuilding.

Therefore, the literature review moves into the second section ‘Hybridity, hybrid political orders and statebuilding’ in which I introduce the central analytic claims of the hybridity literature, with a focus on local agency. This section links the post-liberal peace and hybridity literature to statebuilding, strengthening critical approaches to analyse statebuilding. I engage with the concept of hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2008, 2009), as I use it as an analytical framework to analyse statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique. This section demonstrates how the hybridity literature assists in understanding the processes of interaction between different actors and practices in a transitional environment, recognising the need to consider traditional values and practices in a statebuilding context. In this regard, this section also unpacks concepts such as witchcraft, spirituality and healing through the anthropology and psychology literature in order to explain the Mozambican cosmology and the complexity of statebuilding in the country.

The last section of the literature review, ‘Comprehending ‘re-traditionalisation’ and traditional justice in Africa and post-conflict Mozambique’, critically discusses the invention of tradition in Africa and the ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state, discussing tradition as colonial reinvention/creation. The core argument of this section is that there is a plural reality of statebuilding in post-colonial Africa supported by the presence of traditional actors. This section is relevant as this thesis focuses on the role of traditional healers in the

statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, and ‘re-traditionalisation’ is part of Frelimo’s political processes structuring the state through the recognition of traditional actors, including traditional healers, after a long period of exclusion of these actors.

1. Rethinking liberal statebuilding through post-liberal peace

As previously mentioned, this section discusses critical understandings of statebuilding through the hybridity and post-liberal peace literature. The main goal of this section is to review the contemporary literature on statebuilding in order to explain why I look into the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Traditional justice is a critical component of statebuilding in the country according to the literature (Santos, 2006, 2006a; Kyed, 2013; Meneses, 2008; Kyed and Buur, 2006) and is confirmed by fieldwork findings, as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters.

Post-conflict Mozambique indicates how traditional structures meet statebuilding (Meneses, 2006) highlighting the interaction between liberal approaches and traditional structures in contemporary statebuilding, as healers have been contributing to statebuilding through their various and complex roles. This section helps to provide a framework for answering this thesis’ research question, as I intend to look into traditional healers representing post-liberal statebuilding and processes that are not focused on technocratic guides as many international interventions (Richards, 2015, 2016; Chandler, 2006, 2010; Chandler and Richmond, 2015) and are politically aware (Jackson, 2012; Goetze and Guzina, 2008) embedded in existing institutions on the ground (Boege et al., 2009).

There are abundant criticisms and examples of the limits of liberal statebuilding in the literature with many examples of states that faced external dependency, for instance, but there is little on the role of traditional actors in the context of statebuilding, specifically in post-

conflict Mozambique. This thesis seeks to address this gap in the literature through the application of hybrid political orders (HPO) as an analytical framework for examining and exploring statebuilding, focusing on the role of traditional actors and practices. HPO will be discussed in greater depth in the following section.

Statebuilding is defined in many ways (Call and Cousens, 2008; Fukuyama, 2004; Paris, 1997; Balthasar, 2012, 2015; Caplan, 2005; Ante, 2010²⁷). This thesis works with Ante's (2010: 30) definition of statebuilding, in which statebuilding "means creating functioning structures and institutions (initially through externally generated processes) until local populations can (re)produce and maintain sustainable structures and institutions". Although statebuilding implies the "building of states until they become final completed structures" (Ante, 2010: 30) as the state "building" metaphor implies (Ante, 2010: 30), there is continuing participation of multiple external and internal actors, being a 'never-ending' process. In this sense, statebuilding is a continuous process, where states are in constant flux (Carneiro, 1978). In my case study, I focus on a limited timeframe during this continuous process, and on analysing the roles of traditional actors involved in this process, and their interactions with the state. Weberian approaches are the starting point for several analysis of statebuilding. Max Weber's famous definition of the state is that the state is a corporate group that has compulsory jurisdiction, exercises continuous organisation, and is "a human community that successfully claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber, 1946: 78), including "all action taking place in the area of its jurisdiction" (Weber, 1978: 56). Weber defines the state in terms of 'means' and not 'ends', where the distinctive means are force, relying on the bureaucratic foundations of the state

²⁷ Ante (2010: 29) argues "this occurs in the political, economic, social and cultural domains, and is accomplished by the indigenous population of that territory, with or without the support of international authorities who may take control of, or simply advise existing institutions". I brought Ante's definition of statebuilding in the introduction (see p. 14).

over time. The emphasis on force underlines “the empirical rather than the juridical (...) attributes of statehood” (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982: 2), placing state as “statelessness” (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982: 2). In this sense, a few African governments would qualify as states because they cannot always effectively claim to have a monopoly of force throughout their territorial jurisdictions (Jackson and Rosberg, 1982). This research reveals that in post-colonial Africa, empirical attributes such as effective government have been highly variable, for instance.

‘Neo-Weberian’ theorists are influenced by the ‘institutional approach’ (Lemay-Hébert, 2009) in which states require particular governance structures and machineries, following a liberal political order and a liberal economic order. In this regard, neo-Weberian approaches to statebuilding have failed to recognise the complex and diverse nature of the state, which has led to the conceptualisation of statebuilding interventions from a technocratic perspective (Lottholz and Lemay-Hébert, 2016).

Neo-Weberian approaches are criticised in the work of critical peace studies scholars (Sabaratnam, 2011, 2013a; Sriram, 2012; Richmond, 2009, 2009a; Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013). These scholars have reviewed the liberal peace debate, used as rhetoric to justify international interventions performed by the United Nations (UN)²⁸ in particular for their ‘one-size-fits-all’ (Lemay-Hébert, 2011) liberal peacebuilding. The liberal peace’s main components are argued to be democratisation, the rule of law, human rights, free and globalised markets and neo-liberal development (Richmond, 2009). The critiques of the liberal peace include the incompatibility of certain stages of democratisation and economic reform, the incompatibility of post-conflict justice with the stabilisation of society and human

²⁸After the end of the Cold War, security concerns were focused on the rights of individuals rather than the sovereign rights of the states. Ante (2010: 29) argues that after 9/11 the statebuilding agenda challenged drastically, and this change is summed up in the Bush administration’s National Security Strategy, which described failing states as more of a threat to the United States. States could not be ignored but must instead be supported and aided in building their institutional capacities.

rights (Richmond, 2009) and for disregarding local forms of political organisation. This thesis reflects that liberal peace has depoliticised traditional actors and practices in transition countries, as a consequence of the political and normative closure of liberal approaches. In contrast, this thesis engages with the lenses of hybrid political orders to comprehend the role of traditional healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

1.1 Critical approaches to liberal peace/statebuilding

From International Relations scholarship comes most contributions to the debate on liberal peace. The liberal peace debate explains the theory and practice of interventions in post-war countries led by international institutions supported by Western governments, including the deployment of peacekeeping forces²⁹, statebuilding (Heathershaw and Lambach, 2008), promotion of legal arrangements (Sabaratnam, 2011) and peacebuilding³⁰ as the transition from war to peace (Doucet, 2016; Roberts, 2013). The liberal peace scholarship sustains discourses of democratic peacebuilding and statebuilding that are reproduced in international policy analyses and major academic works and “dynamically reproduces technical solutions, which fail to address the core issues of conflict” (Heathershaw, 2008: 597).

In this sense, liberal peace tends to focus on international administrative structures and interveners, reproducing some sort of Eurocentrism that accentuates the development and sustenance of global liberal norms. This model supports a conservative discourse that emphasises sovereignty and moves away from non-intervention, representing top-down governance (Heathershaw, 2008).

²⁹In 2006, there were more than 80.000 military and police personnel deployed in 16 United Nations missions across the globe (Benner et al., 2011), following a liberal peace framework.

³⁰The institutionalisation of peacebuilding gained prominence in the 1990s when UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali launched an ‘Agenda for Peace’. In academic works, the usage of the word can be found in the Scandinavian tradition of Peace Research (Väyrynen, 2010).

With regard to external interventions in Mozambique, it is essential to highlight that humanitarian assistance has been a part of the development process of the country since 1980, following Frelimo's statebuilding project which involved the cultivation of a 'New Man' in the wake of colonialism, as will be discussed further. Subsequently, Mozambique had the impact of the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (UNOMOZ³¹) and a strong democratisation period, in which Frelimo was forced to abandon its socialist ideals, launching a program of modernisation that included banning traditional authorities.

The implementation of most of the main provisions of the General Peace Agreement (GPA) signed in 1992 after the civil war was conducted by the United Nations, and UN faced significant delays, sporadic crises in Mozambique and also the reluctance to cooperate on the part of the Mozambican parties (Alden, 1995), indicating Mozambicans' local resistance. UNOMOZ unplanned withdrawal revealed that the mission lacked a solid strategy "to move from relief to rehabilitation to development in Mozambique" (Donini, 1996: 82) since national structures could have been strengthened rather than the imposition of a "humanitarianism upstaged"³² (Donini, 1996: 83) constituted by a humanitarian assistance that was time-limited and heavily influenced by the agenda of donor governments. Various committees were created by the GPA in post-conflict Mozambique, which gave the donor community an unprecedented and active role in the management of the peace process and in policymaking such as the Group of 5 (France, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States

³¹UNOMOZ was established right after the signing of the GPA with a mandate to provide political guidance to the peace process, to monitor the cease-fire and demobilisation, to verify free and fair elections and to provide humanitarian assistance (Farah, 1995). Regarding the components of UNOMOZ, there were objections on the part of NGOs and donors concerning UN officials who were sometimes deemed too authoritarian in their approach in Mozambique.

³²Likewise, Smirl (2015) analyses the build-up of humanitarianism investigating the materialism of aid, such as five-star hotels and high-profile security measures of the aid community in post-conflict interventions and express the extreme power differential between humanitarianism and the people on the ground, setting aid workers apart as a special socio-professional group. Smirl (2015) challenges the objectivism of traditional IR and offers greater reflexivity of the researcher in the analytical process, focusing on political and moral realities in humanitarian aid and themes such as global power inequalities and governance.

and Portugal), and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (Donini, 1996). The goals of statebuilding and peacebuilding guide this “narrative of progress” (Heathershaw and Lambach, 2008: 273) and this explains how liberal peace comprises statebuilding.

On the other hand, the liberal monopoly on peace has gradually given way to a post-liberal world where the meaning of peace is contested, and the future of peacebuilding appears uncertain (Graef, 2015; Cramer, 2006). In this post-liberal scenario, a new governing paradigm rises in which emancipatory ambitions are supplanted by the governmental logic of post-liberal statebuilding, in which local autonomy is constructed (Graef, 2015), linking peacebuilding and statebuilding. Statebuilding is a pillar of liberal peace (Mac Ginty, 2011) in which statebuilding “has been awarded precedence in the sequencing of liberal peace interventions” (Mac Ginty, 2011: 138).

Throughout this literature, post-conflict interventions represent significant breaks in statebuilding and often redistribute political and social power. One of the failures of externally-led interventions is argued to be that inclusion is generally fostered on the terms of the external actors involved, creating the potential for continuing instability once the external actors exit. Furthermore, external interveners located within the “philosophical co-ordinates of Eurocentrism” (Sabaratnam, 2017: 54) have not been successful in understanding the historical experiences, trajectories of state-society relations (Sabaratnam, 2013) and the “subjecthood of target societies” (Sabaratnam, 2017: 54) although local actors have been designing their own versions of statebuilding, which are relevant to their own cultures, needs and desires. In this sense, statebuilding takes into account not just the rebuilding of state institutions but also the complex nature of socio-political cohesion, also known as nation-building (Lemay-Hébert, 2009).

Together with many other authors (Dinnen, 2009; Sabaratnam, 2013a; Lemay-Hébert, 2009, 2016) who criticise neo-Weberian approaches to statebuilding, I consider that the idea of local ownership in the statebuilding processes bridges the legitimacy gap between the needs of the local population and the state. Cases such as the UN intervention in Kosovo and Timor-Leste (Dinnen, 2009), for example, demonstrated that a lack of cultural sensitivity towards the dynamics of the society might preclude a mission's success and bring unfortunate consequences for external statebuilding, considering the empowerment of warlords, the increase of ethnic conflicts and the creation of a political economy built on dependency³³ (Montgomery and Rondinelli, 2004). As a consequence of these approaches and the lack of connection on the ground, liberal statebuilding strategies fail to connect with the local.

Throughout the statebuilding literature, I have identified scholars who criticised the rigidity of the current conception of acceptable statebuilding (Belloni, 2012; Richards, 2015). Rebecca Richards (2015), for instance, contributes to this literature by looking at the inclusion of traditional systems of authority in the central government. Richards (2015) merges traditional and modern forms of governance in Somaliland, contributing to a new wave of 'hybrid forms of peace', a theoretical alternative to currently limited international interventionist frameworks (Lemay-Hébert and Kühn, 2015) that will be discussed in the next section.

³³The structural adjustment policies initiated in the late 1980s in post-colonial Mozambique generated rapid social differentiation, in which benefits increased to a small business elite while the economic condition of many poor households deteriorated because of high inflation and reduced government subsidies (Pfeiffer, 2002). Mozambique joined the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1984, and the process culminated in a debt rescheduling agreement and the adoption of structural adjustment program in 1984 (Donini, 1996). In 1991, Mozambique had become one of the most aid-dependent countries in the world, since foreign aid accounted for 78 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP), or \$57 per capita, in a country where the per capita GDP was only \$80 (Donini, 1996). With regard to external dependency, Mozambique combines subservience to donor policy with apparently dramatic falls in poverty, since rural poverty in Mozambique is worsening (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2012). Donors have been divided on agriculture and rural development policy in Mozambique, but one constant has been to keep government out of the economy and agriculture. In this sense, international donors have forced the closure of the marketing boards, ended seed production and curbed agricultural research (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2012).

By introducing a critical understanding of the statebuilding literature, this section led me to a literature revision of the liberal peace and to a series of critiques on the liberal peace debate that reflect an understanding of a top-down/bottom-up view of the field. This section also justified the importance of studying traditional systems that have a crucial role in the statebuilding processes of some countries. The main argument of this section is that liberal peacebuilding has depoliticised the local and its processes. This de-politicisation is an unintended consequence of the political and normative closure that liberal peace creates. In contrast, post-liberal peace responds to this weakness by engaging with the hybridity literature and the dynamics of the everyday, between liberal and local, and with the interface between the two in terms of everyday life for local communities and actors.

With this in mind, the literature review moves to a discussion on the hybridity literature, the key literature to which this thesis seeks to make a contribution, discussing its central analytical claims, critiques and how I apply Boege et al. 's (2008, 2009) concept of hybrid political orders to analyse the role of traditional healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

1.2 Hybridity, hybrid political orders and statebuilding: Moving towards critical approaches to statebuilding

This section reviews the hybridity literature in processes of statebuilding, bringing different definitions and implications of it. The hybridity literature is central to this thesis as I draw upon hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) to analyse the role of traditional healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

Hybridity is often an ill-defined concept (Beswick, 2017). Hybridity has contributed to the debate on “understanding political orders in post-conflict settings in their own right, rather

than as a failure of government according to set standards derived from the ideal type of a liberal-democratic state” (Albrecht and Moe, 2015: 3). This section argues that the hybridity literature assists to better understand the processes of interaction between different actors and practices, recognising the need to consider local actors – agency – and practices in a statebuilding context. Therefore, this section highlights the focus provided by the hybridity literature on ‘local agency’ of local actors in peace and conflict situations (Mac Ginty, 2011) and its critique of the liberal statebuilding (Boege et al., 2008, 2009; Donais, 2009; Richmond, 2010) discussed in the previous section. This section also discusses different critics of the hybridity literature, contributing to the challenges of the academic community to refine the concepts of this literature. I argue that methodologically the hybridity literature can reproduce ‘Eurocentric’ cultural difference concerning its engagement with local actors and local approaches, built on an ontological distinction between the Western/international from the non-Western/local.

Processes of change in peacebuilding practices are discussed in the literature through the concept of hybridity, which has been used by several disciplines to investigate how different entities such as systems and cultures interact and transform in relation to one another (Bernhard, 2013). Hybridity has been adopted by sociology, anthropology, post-colonial studies, literature and organisational studies, although being a biological and horticultural term “used to show how the weak become compliant with hegemonic power in various ways” (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016: 221). Taking a post-biological view of hybridity, Mac Ginty and Richmond (2016: 221) define hybridity as “an emergent social construct”, rejecting notions of determinism, as they perceive it “as a long-term process involving social

negotiation, co-option, resistance, domination, assimilation and co-existence”³⁴ (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016: 221).

In the case of post-conflict settings, hybridity processes are dynamic, operating on many levels (Graef, 2015). Unpacking the ‘hybrid turn’³⁵ in the peacebuilding and statebuilding literature, Mac Ginty and Richmond (2016: 219) argue that hybridity is “torn between two contradictory trends”: one that represents a shift towards categories of institutions that transcend Weberian notions of the state and liberal institutionalism encouraging bottom-up lenses and recognising the “messy reality of politics” in post-conflict societies (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016: 220), and one that has been co-opted and instrumentalised by international organisations and peace-intervention states.

In this regard, throughout the literature review, I identified two main and complementary strands of hybridity, which have emerged in recent scholarly debates (Lemay-Hébert and Freedman, 2017). The first one focuses on the interplay between international and local practices, norms and institutions, as a way to emphasise local agency in its interaction with outside forces, and/or to engage with local actors as a direct challenge to liberal institutionalism. The second one focuses on transcending universalising theories to include the plurality of social orders challenging neo-Weberian notions of the state as a lens through which we generate knowledge about post-colonial and post-conflict societies. This scholarship does not focus on the necessity to fix ‘fragile/failed states’ but on the real diversity of governance arrangements across the world and the need to capture this complexity challenging specific concepts like the ‘state’, and ‘institutions’.

³⁴The authors use N.G. Canclini’s concept of ‘prior hybridity’, as they recognise that hybridity comprises a continuous process of “social interaction, friction and transculturation” (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016: 221).

³⁵Much of the ‘hybrid turn’ was derived from a “disillusionment with mainstream theory, policy-driven problem-solving approaches as well from fieldwork on post-transition societies” (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016: 222).

This thesis follows the second strand that does not focus on the international-local interface as much as on the complexity of the societal orders in post-colonial and post-conflict Mozambique, in which a range of traditional actors without official state support interact with different actors. In this sense, I apply hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2008, 2009) to analyse the role of traditional healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. Thus, this thesis contributes to the hybridity literature in an original way since it does not focus on how international actors co-opt local actors and practices neither on the impact of liberal institutionalism or international interventions and the failures of the top-down justice and reconciliation agenda which is a common focus throughout the literature.

A major analytic claim of the hybridity literature is hybrid peace. Mac Ginty (2011: 12) claims that the interstices between the following constantly changing variables is hybrid peace: “liberal peace assertiveness; liberal peace initiatives; the ability of local actors to resist, subvert, negotiate with, and ignore the liberal peace”. Hybrid peace enables an engagement with people, “in their own everyday³⁶ rather than in a static and distant context” (Richmond, 2009: 333). In contemporary post-conflict settings mechanisms of the everyday relate to the “responsiveness to communal and indigenous approaches to peace and political community” (Moe, 2011: 149), including small scale patron-client exchanges, family and kin protection networks as well as customary law and authority. In this regard, traditional healers are traditional actors working within the state structures (Boege et al., 2009) as part of the everyday social reality in post-conflict Mozambique.

Hybrid peace emerges as a critique of the practical and theoretical failure of the liberal peace project (Lemay-Hébert and Kühn, 2015), as previously mentioned, as a liberal-local hybrid form of peace. According to Lemay-Hébert and Kühn (2015: 1), studies about hybrid

³⁶Popular cultures, proverbs and folk wisdom are part of the everyday (Certeau, 1984).

orders have moved away from binaries of “local’ vs ‘international’, ‘bottom-up’ vs ‘top-down’, ‘modern’ vs ‘traditional’, ‘internal’ vs ‘external’, ‘Western’ vs non-Western”. In this regard, Mac Ginty and Richmond (2016: 224) claim that hybridity “has allowed us to move away from the rigid categories and binaries” that are often used to explain peacebuilding and statebuilding, allowing us to see more clearly multiple sources of power and agency, for instance.

Therefore, a key argument in favour of hybridity to the study of statebuilding is the importance given to the exchange of ideas and practices between actors, as it recognises the “plurality of peace” (Mac Ginty, 2011: 11). According to some authors (Boege et al. 2009, 2008; Donais, 2009; Richmond, 2013), hybridity enables a mature critique of liberal statebuilding allowing the interrogation of the nature of westernised contemporary peace that is offered where the local rewrites the environment to fit its own needs, transforming the orthodox peacebuilding that was once stabilised (Roberts, 2013) and also being transformed, by being a tool to subvert political and cultural domination (Bhabha, 1994). In statebuilding literature, hybridity represents the formal and informal, the local and the global, the old and the new in constant flux: and hybridisation is the process through which hybridity occurs (Mac Ginty, 2013) meaning “constantly changing conditions” (Mac Ginty, 2011: 9).

In post-conflict Mozambique, hybridity can be identified through the relationships between traditional healers and the state, as the Mozambican state negotiates the healers’ local agency via their recognition through national institutions. Furthermore, the healers’ autonomy in relation to the state is indicative of the country’s ‘local turn’ (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013) and hybridity is also represented through hybrid structures such as the Mozambican community courts, for instance. Mac Ginty and Richmond (2013) have published extensively

on the ‘local turn’ in peacebuilding studies and practice of peacebuilding. According to these scholars, the local turn represents a place where Western rationality “is challenged in different ways” (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013: 763).

One of the most important contributions of hybridity to this research is the focus on local agency since traditional healers represent local agency³⁷ as local actors in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, creating alternatives to the liberal peace, and it is a theoretical approach that helps to develop local agency through a range of everyday tasks (Richmond and Mitchell, 2011). Local actors are often ignored in many statebuilding reports or seen as ‘passive victims’ (Mac Ginty, 2013) although these actors are “true partners in the statebuilding processes rather than mere recipients of foreign aid” (Lemay-Hébert, 2011: 21). However, it is important to highlight that critical development and post-colonial studies considered issues covered by the hybridity literature such as the role of the ‘local’ and ‘social’ and the limits of top-down forms of power earlier than many in the IR and peace and conflict studies (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2016).

Moreover, using hybridity to analyse traditional justice in this research is helpful because it assists in explaining processes embedded within a hybrid structure in which legal pluralism describes multiple forms of law co-existing and legitimising traditional practices (Kyed, 2013; Mennen, 2007; Griffiths, 1998; Tamanaha, 1993), such as the links between healing and justice (Pimentel, 2010). Legal pluralism has recognised that justice is more than

³⁷Concerning agency, Jonathan Fisher (2013) discusses the relationship between aid structures and African agency contending that structures and agents are mutually constituted. Fisher (2013) argues that African governments’ interactions with external donors provide considerable room for agency, drawing upon structuration theory (see Cerny, 2000; Brown, 2012; Carlsnaes, 1992; Clapham, 2009). Although this thesis does not explore donor assistance, Mozambique faced scenarios in which the government’s agency in the economy is directly dependent on aid. Furthermore, my theoretical approach follows Fisher’s (2013) perspective that structure and agents are mutually constituted through their interactions when I discuss local agency in Mozambique focusing on the multiple roles performed by the healers and the interplay between healers as local actors and the Mozambican state. Constructivism, this thesis’ methodological approach, also supports this idea.

law, including the social field and the socio-cultural realm (Baines, 2010), which is important in the study of the healers' role within community courts.

So far, the present literature has not fully accounted for the dynamics of legal pluralism in post-conflict Mozambique, although it is a constitutional principle (Meneses, 2006). Legal pluralism discusses non-state legal regimes and how they influence states and how states often share legal authority with one or more regional courts and tribunals, for instance (Berman, 2009; Kariuki, 2007; Pimentel, 2011). Legal pluralism also offers possibilities as an analytical framework for thinking about spaces of resistance to state law (Reyntjens, 2016) and presents plurality as a receipt for innovation and freedom (Koskenniemi, 2005; Teubner, 1991). It helps to identify places where the state law does not penetrate and where alternative forms persist in which law is an ongoing process of articulation and adaptation. Besides, legal pluralism allows that traditional systems of dispute resolution incorporate distinct cultural identities (Mennen, 2007). In this sense, customary law and legal pluralism are representative³⁸ of the cultural identity that framed decades of civil war in some African countries (Mennen, 2007; Frémont, 2009; Gundersen, 1992; Mamdani, 2002), and customary courts are the primary mechanism for dispute resolution in some countries³⁹, including post-conflict Mozambique.

Attempts at statebuilding that ignore hybridity “are likely to experience considerable difficulty in generating functioning, effective and legitimate systems” (Clement et al., 2007: 50). In this sense, hybrid political orders, a combination of elements of the Western model and elements “stemming from local indigenous traditions of governance and politics” (Clement et al., 2007: 50) differ from the Western-model state as governance is carried by an ensemble of

³⁸On the other hand, Bertelsen (2009) questions legal pluralism based on case material collected in Chimoio, Mozambique, from 2007 to 2008. The author avoids universalising typologies and individuating features of some political and legal anthropology developed in the context of Africa.

³⁹In Southern Sudan, for example, customary courts place a high focus on transparency and community participation, also showing a great degree on jurisdictional flexibility (Mennen, 2007).

local, national and international actors, in which state institutions depend on the other actors and at the same are restricted by these actors (Clement et al., 2007). This thesis applies hybrid political orders in order to analyse statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, as will be discussed in the next sub-section.

1.2.1 Hybrid political orders and statebuilding

This thesis' hybridity lenses draw on the view of Boege et al. (2008, 2009) on hybrid political orders. Boege et al. (2008) challenge the mainstream thinking on statebuilding by presenting innovative approaches to statebuilding that challenge the field of state fragility and its characteristics of 'failed', 'failing', and 'weak', for instance, providing a unique way to analyse the dynamics of political orders in developing countries. They represent a critical approach to analyse statebuilding as they argue that economic policies of the 'strong' states "have contributed to the increasing fragility of states in the Global South" (Boege et al., 2008: 20).

In this sense, the interests of agencies such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and various development agencies regarding 'fragile states' highlights that this topic has a considerable impact on the practical development policies of major donor countries, going beyond being a topic of academic interest (Boege et al., 2008). In the United States, national security and military policies present 'fragile states' as a threat to its national security and to international security, for instance, in which the focus of statebuilding lies on the security dimension and the development of security agencies such as police, military and border protection (Boege et al., 2008). Nevertheless, challenging the "narrow state-centric view" (Boege et al., 2008: 6) that guides the fragile state discourse⁴⁰,

⁴⁰Olivier Nay (2013) elaborates five critical ideas concerning the scientific dimension of fragile and failed states.

Boege et al. (2009: 602) highlight the importance of comprehending the “context of what truly constitutes political order” in regions of apparent fragility, arguing that new elements of citizenship and civil society determine the everyday social reality of large parts of the population in so-called fragile states⁴¹, as “the state is only one actor among others” (Boege et al., 2008: 6), and there is a number of orders that form ‘state order’, such as “customary institutions” (Boege et al., 2009: 15).

The authors re-conceptualise fragile states as hybrid political orders (HPO), a perspective where formal and informal⁴² elements and “indigenous knowledge” (Boege et al., 2009: 15) co-exist, overlap and intertwine. Therefore, there is an element of interpenetration of the norms and institutions of the formal state and the traditional sphere (Kraushaar and Lambach, 2009), as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters regarding the Mozambican case, in which societal norms “seep into formal structures” (Kraushaar and Lambach, 2009: 5), adapting them to societal preferences. Boege et al. (2008, 2009) develop HPO based on the empirical analysis of the following cases: Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Bougainville, Timor-Leste (Boege et al., 2008). The authors also write about the instrumentalisation of traditional authorities for state purposes using the Mozambican case (Boege et al., 2009).

Regarding the links between hybridity and statebuilding, hybrid political orders opens up new approaches to statebuilding in which various non-state authorities such as chiefs, customary kings, healers and traditional societal structures such as clans, tribes and village communities determine the everyday social reality of large parts of the population (Boege et al., 2009). This approach leads to the deviation from the ideal type of state institutions (Boege

⁴¹The authors consider that “rather than thinking in terms of fragile or failed states, it might be theoretically and practically more fruitful to think in terms of hybrid political orders” (Boege et al., 2008: 2).

⁴²Formal institutions are connected to ideas of modernity while informality suggests tradition, custom and community. There is a theoretical gap regarding the conceptualization of the relationship of formal and informal institutions (Kraushaar and Lambach, 2009).

et al., 2008) and perceives community resilience and customary institutions not as problems, but as “assets and sources of solutions” (Boege et al., 2009: 20). Hybrid political orders draw on resilience embedded in the communal life of societies, based on the idea that despite the efforts of colonial encounters and newly independent post-colonial states to impose state-based modes of governance on communities, customary institutions have shown resilience (Boege et al., 2009).

In post-conflict Mozambique, the recognition of the relative strength of traditional actors and the relative weakness of state institutions led the government to rely on these actors for performing certain state functions, such as tax collection and policing (Boege et al., 2008), performing a dual role as representatives of the communities and agents of the state that shows their resilience. The logic of the formal state blends the ‘informal’ societal order and indigenous knowledge in the country, sharing authority, legitimacy and capacity with other state structures (Boege et al., 2009).

This focus on traditional authorities by the Mozambican government is an example of a customary rule, as in other cases such as Ghana, Somaliland, Uganda, Zambia, Cameroon, Namibia and South Africa (Boege et al., 2008). As this approach does not assess political phenomena in terms of interactions with the state – fieldwork findings suggested that healers had a considerable degree of autonomy, although they were strongly inclined to be recognised by state institutions – hybrid political orders constitute my focus on the combination of elements that stem from genuinely different societal sources, which follow different logics but do not exist in isolation from each other. In this regard, experiences that ignore hybridity face “considerable difficulty in generating effective and legitimate outcomes” (Boege et al., 2008: 11).

African countries such as Somaliland appear in the literature as a successful case of ‘hybrid statebuilding’ combining customary institutions, such as the *guurti*, a council of elders and modern state institutions such as parliament and presidency that was institutionalised as a second chamber of the Somaliland polity (Kraushaar and Lambach, 2009). This success was due to the involvement of traditional actors and customary institutions rooted in the traditional clan-based Somali society, which are “embedded in the political system of Somaliland (...) modelled along the lines of western statehood” (Boege et al., 2008: 13). Therefore, hybrid political orders is a model that reorientates external assistance in the sense that it changes the focus from narrow models of statebuilding to engaging with hybrid institutions (Boege et al., 2008). This model claims that state institutions co-exist with other institutions such as family and religious institutions (Boege et al., 2008), challenging narrow understandings of statebuilding, as state institutions are embedded in social and cultural norms and practices. In order to explain the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, the lenses of hybrid political orders will help me to comprehend the combination of state institutions with customary institutions and civil society in networks of governance embedded in the societal structures of the ground (Boege et al., 2008), as HPO suggests that the formal and informal political structures “should interact in some particular way” (Kraushaar and Lambach, 2009: 15).

In this regard, “institutional bricolage” (Cleaver et al., 2013: 5) focuses on blending formal and informal spheres, as it consists “of the processes in which people (consciously and non-consciously) draw on existing social formulae and arrangements (rules, traditions, norms, roles and relationships) to patch together institutions in response to changing situations”. These innovations and adaptations are legitimised by reference to tradition and existing

relations of authority (Cleaver et al., 2013), perceived by the hybrid dynamics of the modern and traditional, the formal and informal in post-conflict Mozambique.

Contributing to the literature on hybrid political orders, Albrecht and Moe (2015) shift the focus on interactions between entities to the enactment of authority, by introducing the concept of simultaneity of discourse and practice. This concept “explores the process through which seemingly contradictory sources of authority are played out at the same time in order-making to constitute political order” (Albrecht and Moe, 2015: 1), discussing the “tension of sameness and difference” (Albrecht and Moe, 2015: 3). It suggests a model for reading dialogically concepts such as kinship and bureaucracy, exploring their co-constitution in spaces of discourse and practice. By focusing on how post-colonial subject enacts authority, this concept contributes to the understanding of the way hybrid political orders are developed, responding to criticisms on hybridity’s reproduction of the same binaries it seeks to avoid, as will be further discussed regarding hybridity’s gaps.

This thesis applies hybrid political orders as an analytical framework for analysing statebuilding, as it investigates complex linkages between traditional practices and traditional actors and the state, and the linkages between spiritual, social and political forces through the role of traditional healers. Traditional healers are marginalised actors that are understudied in the literature. In the literature, the spiritual realm in post-conflict Mozambique is discussed mostly through the study of post-war cleansing and reconciliation rituals focusing on the resolution of war disputes (*gamba*⁴³ spirits). Fieldwork findings suggested it also permeated complex justice practices, health and the political sphere, and that healers have been resolving various disputes.

⁴³*Gamba* is the name of a spirit, an affliction, and a healer that specializes in *gamba* afflictions. In general, *magamba* (plural) are spirits of male soldiers who died during the civil war, and they generally possess women (Igreja, 2007). According to Igreja (2007), *Gamba* healers are becoming more popular than *Dozca* healers. Regarding links with the justice system, healers also use traditional justice mechanisms in order to heal those involved and establish guilt within the community courts.

Regarding health, healers are ‘*curandeiros*⁴⁴’, in Portuguese, and they have been regulated by the state via AMETRAMO and AERMO, institutions created by the Ministry of Health, as the health-care system in Mozambique includes conventional medicine and traditional medicine. I consider that the legitimisation of traditional healers via AMETRAMO represents a hybrid political order, for instance, being a bridge between modern and traditional (Boege et al., 2009), as AMETRAMO represents an attempt at control by the state and political parties and a plural space of assertion for the healers (Meneses, 2008) simultaneously. Fieldwork findings suggested that physical health was quite connected to the spiritual realm, and healers provided a holistic therapy that also involved the treatment of spiritual ‘diseases’. I describe the consultation with a healer in Chapter 4.

This thesis critically discusses ‘re-traditionalisation’, part of the political processes conducted by Frelimo, which involves the recognition of Mozambican traditional actors – including traditional healers – and its traditional societal structures, norms, social values and mental constructs of local environments and their everyday social reality. The concept developed by Boege et al. (2009) also helps to critically discuss ‘re-traditionalisation’ of traditional authorities, as they argue that customary forms of governance persisted after the colonial rule, and the authorities of the independent states incorporated these authorities – ‘re-traditionalisation’ (Boege et al., 2008: 8) – rather than suppressing and displacing them, after a period of discredit as political elites saw them as “anachronistic and reactionary forces of the past” (Boege et al., 2008: 8).

In post-conflict Mozambique statebuilding comprises traditional actors and indigenous practices, as a substitute for international interventions and personnel; traditional justice mechanisms and traditional settings (community courts; community meetings), as an

⁴⁴Those who heal.

alternative of Western approaches to reconciliation and justice, such as the international criminal courts and western actors. Traditional settings are key to the development of the Mozambican state because of the complexity of Mozambican justice, which comprises the spiritual realm in conflict resolution, for instance, where healers are the only actors ‘capable’ of judging⁴⁵ specific cases and disputes, according to fieldwork findings. In this sense, statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambican justice systems involves healing (spirituality) and justice. Post-conflict Mozambique challenges transitional justice as the conception of justice characterised by legal responses such as truth commissions and trials to confront the wrongdoings of repressive predecessor regime (Teitel, 2003; Baines, 2007; Huyse and Salter, 2008) as will be discussed through the study of Mozambican community courts and its complex cases involving accusations of, and concerns around, witchcraft. Community courts also represent hybrid political orders because they combine a mixture of legal orders and state and non-state actors, as will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

This research also opens up perspectives for the analysis of the power relations in African societies, on how ‘hybrid forms of statebuilding’ created can lead to the strengthening of the position of specific local actors, as will be discussed further. This thesis discusses how hybridity can develop statebuilding and connects hybridisation processes with underpinning power structures and relations (Lemay-Hébert and Freedman, 2017). Nevertheless, I consider that the hybridity literature and hybrid political orders have weak points and gaps that this research needs to acknowledge, as will be discussed in the next sub-section.

⁴⁵Fieldwork findings suggested that healers provided the ‘proof of guilt’ from divinations during the trials within community courts.

1.2.2 Hybridity gaps and its critics

This sub-section explains the limits of the hybridity literature in order to contribute to the field of post-liberal peace and expand the approach being taken in the thesis. This thesis acknowledges that methodologically the hybridity literature reproduces ‘Eurocentric’ cultural difference concerning its engagement with traditional actors and practices, built on an ontological distinction between the Western/international from the non-Western/local, as mentioned previously. As the study aims to perceive traditional actors as political subjects contributing to statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique, this sub-section reflects upon the blind spots of the hybridity literature.

Disaggregated hybridity underlines that international efforts to administer hybrid institutions or hybrid governance are unlikely to produce predictable local experiences and even have unpredictable and conflict-promoting effects (Millar, 2014a). This theory recognises different levels of hybridity, highlights the weaknesses of the field, and develops the strengths of the literature. The processes of truth-telling⁴⁶, for instance, is criticised as inconsistent with local forgetting in some African countries, disconnected from local conceptions of reconciliation and healing (Millar, 2014a). Disaggregated hybridity responds to the disconnections identified in recent studies between the expected and the actual local experiences of many forms of statebuilding and peacebuilding in transitional scenarios and highlights the evident problems with the prescriptive approach to hybridity that has become prominent in the literature. Scholars such as Rebecca Richards (2015, 2016), Dominik Balthasar (2012, 2015), Gëzim Visoka (2012), Nicolas Lemay-Hébert (2009, 2011, 2013) and Jenny Peterson (2012) also challenge the academic community to refine the concepts of hybridity and hybridisation. Richards (2015), for instance, develops the idea of dual hybridity

⁴⁶Through truth-telling rituals, victims of war evoked their suffering and restored their dignity, changing the culture of denial in post-conflict Mozambique (Igreja, 2012).

in Somaliland, as Somaliland has developed the “apparent antithesis” to Somalia, its parent state (Richards, 2015: 6). The author argues that dual hybridity is the mutual dependence between internal and external and between traditional and modern, which defines the Somaliland state (Richards, 2015: 12). In this sense, the clan has a key role in the central government and the statebuilding processes of the country (Richards, 2015).

With regard to hybrid political orders, Kraushaar and Lambach, (2009: 15) claim that although it has an innovative potential to integrate various strands of research, such as neopatrimonialism and para-statehood, there is too little empirical data to theorise about these formations, bringing the following questions: “Can different types of hybrid political orders be identified? If so, what are their internal dynamics? What is their impact on human security and human development?”. I consider that this thesis contributes empirically to the hybrid political orders’ literature, as the Mozambican case is little discussed in the literature.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention authors such as Meera Sabaratnam (2017, 2013), who explores the politics of interventions in Mozambique. I draw upon Sabaratnam’s (2013, 2013a, 2017) work as the author engages with the people targeted by interventions. The author critically discusses Eurocentrism and the legacy of dependency engendered by external interventions in the country. Furthermore, she claims that critical scholars reproduce intellectual Eurocentrism underpinning liberal peace rather than challenging it. Sabaratnam (2013a) argues that important writings that suggest a critique of liberal peace methodologically exclude the people targeted by interventions.

In this regard, I built on her contribution in order to argue that prescriptive approaches exhibited in Richmond’s (2010, 2011) work, for instance, evidences similarity with liberal peace, as the author brings up the assumption that combining individuals or processes from the local with those of the international will foster more positive and peace-promoting

experiences. This thesis questions approaches that inaccurately assume a predictable relationship between the administration of hybrid institutions and experiences of those institutions among locals. Richmond (2010) reproduces ‘Eurocentric’ cultural difference when he emphasises the need to engage with the indigenous of non-Western life, built on an ontological distinction between the Western/international from the non-Western/local. This thesis aims to perceive local actors as political subjects, challenge the liberal/local distinction, and discuss the failure of liberal peacebuilding in dealing with identity, trauma, and justice (Aaronson et al., 2016). However, it is significant to highlight that the romanticised view of some grassroots organisations might be dangerous because not everything at local level is unproblematic and bottom-up peacebuilding can reinforce patterns of authoritarianism (Beswick, 2017; Lefranc, 2012) and local justice systems may reinforce social systems they were derived from (Jackson, 2012). Traditional authorities and chiefdom systems, for example, usually discriminate against some groups at a local level (Jackson, 2012, 2009; Ogora, 2009). This topic will be addressed in Chapter 4.

Criticising the limits of hybrid political orders, Markus Hoehne (2013: 212) claims that the literature on hybrid political orders highlighted the importance of powers besides the state but “failed to specify the exact conditions under which these orders come into existence and the directions in which they developed over time”. By analysing the case of Somaliland, he argues that there is an imbalanced ‘crippled’ hybrid in “which neither state nor traditional institutions function really well and in fact negatively influence each other” (Hoehne, 2013: 200), as he argues that the state and traditional systems are imbalanced in the country since after leading the process of peacebuilding, traditional authorities were controlled by the government. Furthermore, *Guurti* courts became a growing barrier for the democratisation process, and hybrid political orders in Somaliland were never balanced as clan leaders

dominated the political scene, also producing legitimate traditional governance in areas that are geographically and politically far from the centre (Hoehne, 2013). Customary/traditional institutions have their own limitations as they involve practices which restrict groups such as women and youth, and the relationship between states and traditional authorities is not inevitably harmonious, so arguably hybrid orders “are more likely to deliver effective, functioning and legitimate outcomes” (Clements et al., 2007: 48 apud Hoehne, 2013: 200). With regard to gendered politics in hybrid Somaliland, initially only men sat in the Guurti, and recently a few women came in who ‘inherited’ the seats of their deceased husbands (Hoehne, 2013). I agree that the ‘romanticisation of the local’ might be a weakness of hybridity, in which the local is seen as exotic and good (Richmond, 2009, 2009a, 2013) although indigenous approaches can be flawed and counterproductive (Mac Ginty, 2011). This thesis will discuss these dynamics with regard to the links between healers and gendered politics and with the maintenance of chieftaincy systems in Chapter 4.

I consider that Hoehne’s (2013) major critique of hybrid political orders literature is the lack of analysis about power imbalances between the different “partners” (Hoehne, 2013: 212), as previously mentioned regarding power imbalances between the state and traditional authorities in Somaliland. As this thesis discusses the power dynamics of the relationships between the state and the healers and healers and other actors in post-conflict Mozambique, I consider that it helps to address gaps identified by Hoehne (2013).

A major challenge in the concept of hybridity is to define the actors and norms that interact in a context. Throughout the hybridity literature, there is an analysis of hybrid forms between liberal and local peacebuilding initiatives, leaving aside hybrid forms between approaches and ideas or the relationships between the national government and local

communities (Bernhard, 2013). This thesis intends to address this gap by analysing the relationships between the healers and the state in post-conflict Mozambique.

Another critique of the concept of hybridity that came up in this literature review concerns its ambiguity because everything is ‘hybrid’ (Albrecht and Moe, 2015) and it is not tangible and involves difficulties such as determining whether the hybrid form really comprises aspects from all the involved parties, and the tendency to invoke dichotomies that see ‘states’ and ‘non-states’ as if they had separate existences (Albrecht and Moe, 2015). In this regard, hybridity faces the risk of falling on the binaries it tries to avoid, as it focuses on “notions of dual parts” (Albrecht and Moe, 2015: 5). Additionally, the convenience of hybridity may be a problem because it might be convenient to international interveners that recognise the limits to what can be imposed on local communities (Mac Ginty and Sanghera, 2012) and can use the concept of hybridity as a mask for their own strategies and maintenance of power; and it might be a problem of cultural representation that reverses the effects of the colonialist (Bhabha, 1994). There is a line of critique that argues that hybridity analyses “idealised visions of positive accommodation between state and non-state actors” (Albrecht and Moe, 2014: 5).

Addressing hybridity’s gap of separation and otherness, Albrecht and Moe (2015: 2) suggest an approach that shifts the analytical attention from interactions between Western liberal peace and local agency to the “enactment and performativity of authority”. Therefore, by focusing on the post-colonial subject embedded and its articulations of authority, the authors try to move beyond the focus on political entities such as the state and liberal peace, demonstrating how people draw on numerous sources of authority simultaneously. The simultaneity of discourse was taken up in the field of black feminist literary criticism by Mae Henderson, who discusses “how black women writers enter simultaneously into discourses of

connection and affinity as well as difference and contestation”, aligned with reading processes of hybridisation (Henderson, 2000 apud Albrecht and Moe, 2015: 8). I consider that the simultaneity approach is an essential contribution to this research, as fieldwork conducted in post-conflict Mozambique suggested that statebuilding processes challenged entity thinking in the sense that society drew upon various sources of authority simultaneously, as people relied on state structures, local chiefs as *régulos*, religious authorities and healers. The healers’ various identities – as judges, doctors, counsellors, chiefs – also illustrate the variety of their authority, and that they blend with other actors, including state and traditional actors. In this sense, they internalise and embody the varied sources that constitute their subjectivity as authoritative figures (Albrecht and Moe, 2015). Their sources of authority include sacred and customary powers (Albrecht and Moe, 2015), ancestral ties, articulation with traditional and political actors, and their recognition by state structures.

Furthermore, I have identified gaps in the hybridity literature throughout the review, such as the lack of a profound dialogue with issues concerning spirituality as a practice of local actors and gender inequalities (McLeod, 2015; Väyrynen, 2010) and the colonial legacy in the field of International Relations, addressed by feminism (Simmons, 2009; Sylvester, 1994; Steans, 2007; Tickner, 1992), subaltern studies and post-colonial theory in International Relations⁴⁷. A feminist approach to hybridity is little developed in the literature (McLeod, 2015), although it provides methodological perspectives which I consider incredibly relevant to this research, covering “the centrality of questions of reflexivity and the subjectivity of the researcher; and a commitment to knowledge as emancipation” (Tickner, 1992: 6). I consider that these gaps matter to the hybridity literature in the sense that some hybrid structures still

⁴⁷Alternative concepts to hybridity such as localisation are used by some scholars (Acharya, 2004; Bernhard, 2013), meaning the place where foreign ideas or norms are re-formulated and modified and components are combined with a socio-cultural background in order to be suitable to the local context.

reproduce gender inequalities, as I will further discuss through the development of the Mozambican case.

Feminist research methodologically offers a “deep concern with which research questions get asked and why; the goal of designing research that is useful to women (and also to men) and is both less biased and more universal than conventional research” (Tickner, 1992: 6). Feminist decolonial theorising, for instance, foregrounds the interwoven dynamics of labour and economic exploitation, racialisation and hetero-patriarchy (Bueno-Hansen, 2017). It explains the gender-based violence within the colonial encounter and contextualises this violence at the rural community level. Feminist scholars such as Moraga and Anzaldúa (2015), Runyan (2018) and Collins (2000) defy Eurocentric paradigms previously discussed and emphasise that in Western philosophy the subject that speaks is always concealed from the analysis⁴⁸. This reference is quite relevant because there was in this research engagement with the experiences of Mozambican female healers regarding their different identities as farmers, community leaders, government workers via AMETRAMO and AERMO and health providers. In this regard, Chapter 4 will discuss the gender-based violence in post-conflict Mozambique and the reproduction of gender hierarchies through the patriarchal structures⁴⁹ of the authority of traditional actors, including the traditional healers.

The last main gap that I would like to address concerning the hybridity literature is the lack of empirical analysis of cases connected to the spiritual realm, although spirituality permeates the statebuilding processes of many post-conflict countries observed throughout hybridity lenses. The following sub-section discusses anthropology and psychology literature on witchcraft, healing and spirituality.

⁴⁸The decolonial turn in feminist world politics is highly varied, as not only politics, economies and cultures were colonised, but also land, bodies, identities and minds (Runyan, 2018).

⁴⁹Bueno-Hansen (2017) argues that modern hetero-patriarchy in Latin America can be understood only by holding the two analytical elements together, that of gender and coloniality.

From these critiques, I am taking away the importance of acknowledging the methodological limits of hybridity as a theoretical approach. My response to hybridity critiques involves using hybrid political orders as an analytical framework to analyse my empirical contribution. Fieldwork data comprises the three central roles of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique and the interactions between the healers and the state, also addressing a gendered perception of these structures.

1.2.3 Understanding the Mozambican cosmology: Unpacking witchcraft, spirituality and healing through the anthropology and psychology literature

This sub-section aims to unpack how I understand terms such as witchcraft, healing and spirituality in order to introduce the Mozambican cosmology, in which local agency (healers) is linked to witchcraft and the spiritual realm, as justice and conflict resolution are addressed through spiritual practices. This sub-section draws upon anthropology and psychology literature, highlighting the interdisciplinarity of this research. In order to discuss the spiritual realm and witchcraft in Africa and Mozambique, this research discusses Mozambican authors such as Victor Igreja (2007, 2012) and Alcinda Honwana (1997), psychologists such as Brian J. Zinnbauer (2015) and anthropologists such as Harry G. West (2008), Diane Ciekawy (1999), E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1935) and Peter Geschiere (1998, 2013).

Within the social scientific research, there is a lack of consistency in defining terms such as religion and spirituality (Kadar et al., 2015), as I recognised overlap and distinction between each construct throughout the literature. According to Řían (2004: 136) “religious phenomena is becoming narrower”, while spirituality came to abundant use that tends to “include religious experience and the search for it” (Řían, 2004: 150). Religion is primarily characterised by its rigidity, traditional forms and institutions (Řían, 2004), defined as “a set

of beliefs and practices associated with a religious tradition” (Hill and Pargament, 2003 apud Lazenby, 2010: 470) in which a group of people participate (Dyson et al., 1997). Spirituality is defined⁵⁰ by its focus on the “way individuals seek and express meaning and purpose and the way they experience their connectedness to the moment, to self, to others, to nature and the significant or sacred” (Puchalski et al., 2009: 887). In this regard, spirituality is regarded as an individual phenomenon “more functional” (Schlehofer, et al., 2008: 412) identified with things as meaningfulness and personal transcendence and cultural religious expression (Kadar et al., 2015). This thesis also borrows the claim that spirituality focuses on how beliefs, emotions and practices connect to diverse life events like death and injustice (Zinnbauer, 2015), considering that fieldwork conducted in Mozambique and the literature (Igreja, 2003, 2012, 2014; Honwana, 1997; Meneses, 2004; Nordstrom, 1997) suggested that life events were directly linked to spirituality.

In order to introduce and discuss the Mozambican cosmology and how it involves spirituality, the Mozambican author Victor Igreja (2012) argues that Mozambican culture has a particular interest in the ‘spiritual realm’ – I use this term throughout this thesis – given the connection between the body and the spirit, in which the body is seen as a vehicle for the spirits (Igreja, 2012) and healers are actors who establish contact with the spirits, being intermediaries between the living world and that of the ancestral spirits (Honwana, 1997). Death symbolises the transition to a new dimension of life in Mozambique, where the ancestral spirits are believed to influence the lives of the living (Igreja, 2012).

Therefore, this thesis develops how witchcraft can be defined in comparison to other terms such as healing, spirituality and religion, addressing spirituality through healing

⁵⁰I also borrow the definition of spirituality as “those aspects of religion and religiosity or religiousness that have an internal presence to the individual” (Swenson, 1999: 101 apud p. 101 Rían, 2004: 141) or “a quality of a person whose internal life is orientated toward God, the supernatural or the sacred... it includes such elements as feelings, moods, attitudes, beliefs, attributions, and the like” (Swenson, 1999: 397 apud Rían, 2004: 141).

practices. In this sense, medical anthropology has provided insights concerning health, illness and healing practices, as research on trauma has been demonstrating that trauma “encompasses biological, psychological, social, cultural, legal and political phenomena” (Igreja, 2003: 461). During the independence and the civil war in Mozambique, traditional healers performed cleansing and healing rituals in order to settle traumas related to the conflict and provide social support. This thesis argues that nowadays, healers have three central roles in the Mozambican society, as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters. In post-conflict Mozambique, healers respond to individuals and families, being critical vehicles for trauma healing. Healing processes can take place simultaneously, as “the agricultural cycle, the traditional system of justice and religious groups” (Igreja, 2003: 484) are healing resources operating in the country.

Witchcraft is a very malleable term, and the strength of the term lies precisely on its “diffuseness, making it a panacea that seems to apply to almost anything”. (Geschiere, 2013: 1). The term addresses “an all-pervasive presence that covered all sorts of occult dangers and fears, surpassing local distinctions and demarcations” (Geschiere, 2013: 8). People also apply it to “disconcerting phenomenon” in everyday life (Geschiere, 2013: 8), in which witchcraft represents a form of dangerous aggression as it “comes from inside” (Geschiere, 2013: 8), being entrenched in familiar realities of houses as it is linked to kinship or villages. The term represents “hybrid and fluid interregional conglomerate” that helps us to address the dynamics of local notions, although it can bring only a partial translation of these notions (Geschiere, 2013: 6).

Witchcraft plays a crucial role in the “preservation of morality, kinship and political authority” (Evans-Pritchard, 1935: 422) in Africa, and there are few African societies which do not believe in witchcraft as in many communities “witchcraft is a function of a wide range

of social behaviour” (Evans-Pritchard, 1935: 417). Witchcraft unwraps a “theory of causation” (Evans-Pritchard, 1935: 418) as a natural philosophy that defines “moral sentiments” and has an influence upon conduct (Evans-Pritchard, 1935: 419), as people are daily accused of witchcraft directed against others in order to cause them sickness or to prevent “their economic and social undertakings” (Evans-Pritchard, 1935: 420) in Africa. In post-conflict Mozambique, the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO has been registering healers all over the country, and this helps to identify ‘legitimate’ healers among *feiticeiros* (sorcerers), as fieldwork suggested that ‘bad’ witchcraft (*feiticaria*) and accusations of witchcraft were perceived as severe issues in the country. Witches are considered to be inhuman, having to be “removed from the community or destroyed” (Meneses, 2006: 71).

According to the socio-cultural anthropologist Harry G. West (2008), who combines political science and anthropology on his research about the relationship between power, the occult and witchcraft, Mozambican socialism had been tolerant of neither anthropologists nor healers, casting healers as purveyors of “obscurantism”. West (2008) elaborates “ethnographic sorcery” as he investigates witchcraft in northern Mozambique. By accessing what he calls the “invisible realm”, people in Mozambique control the visible world in order to realise in it “transforming visions” (West, 2005: 45), involving the making of lions by sorcerers, which provoke destructive attacks and social disruption, as will be discussed. With regard to the healers, West (2008) argues that healers are also figures of authority in the country said to be capable of entering into the invisible realm of sorcery.

Discussing the production of discourse on witchcraft in coastal Kenya, Ciekawy (1999) looks at “two sets of terms for magical harm, the Mijikenda term *utsai* and the term witchcraft”, discussing each discourse in terms of the political conditions of its productions and use. *Utsai* is used to refer to harmful magic that can be directed at people, events or

things, and the author links it to the desire for wealth and power; and presents witchcraft as a disciplinary technology with five components practices that explains statebuilding and the production of new forms of the occult. Among these five components, the development of collective moral discourses among Mijikenda common people, Mijikenda elites, and state agents about the “problem of witchcraft” Ciekawy (1999: 120) is the most relevant to this research, as I look into the interactions between healers and the Mozambican state. With regard to healers in Kenya, “they conduct the majority of rituals to diagnose or resolve problems caused by a variety of supernatural agents and *utsai* in order to help maintain the health of individuals, homestead and lineage members, and communities” (Ciekawy, 1999: 126).

As these rituals can be powerful political resources in Kenya⁵¹, they involve a continual struggle to maintain control over them by politicians and religious authorities (Ciekawy, 1999) for instance, highlighting the links between spirituality and the political sphere. According to Ciekawy (1999: 126), “since the 1920s administrative agents have relied on a series of legal acts to help them control and shape *uganga* and *utsai* discourses”. In 1925 the Witchcraft Act was created in Kenya, “which prohibit chiefs from allowing the practice of witchcraft and prohibit individuals from pretending to exercise witchcraft; supplying advice or articles for witchcraft with intent to injure; using witchcraft medicine with intent to injure; possessing charms; accusing persons of witchcraft; and attempting to discern crime with witchcraft” (Ciekawy, 1999: 126). The Kenyan post-colonial state also used court proceedings and practices of policing and licensing healers as forms of control, strengthening the power of state agents and state institutions in the rural areas. As the Mozambican case suggests, the

⁵¹The Giriama War of 1914 in Kenya, one of the strongest oppositions to colonial rule at the coast, was led by a Mijikenda healer (Ciekawy, 1999).

practice of licensing healers in Kenya by the state allowed them to become agents for the containment of magical harm (Ciekawy, 1999).

Many scholars also interrogate the association of witchcraft and politics in the discipline of anthropology (Ciekawy, 1999). Highlighting the Cameroon case, Rowlands and Warnier (1988: 121 apud Ciekawy, 1999: 121) argue “in Cameroon sorcery is not only a mode of popular political action but lies at the centre of the state-building process both in the present and in the past”. In this regard, Geschiere (1998, 2013) has also provided some of the most relevant frameworks for analysing the relationship between witchcraft/sorcery and forms of political action within African states, as Geschiere (1998, 2013) raises the possibility that sorcery was an integral part of many state processes in Africa, also challenging state authority. Geschiere (1998, 2013) writes about witchcraft (also using the term *la sorcellerie*) as political discourse, acknowledging that in Cameroon sorcery/witchcraft “applies to local politics within the village and also to modern relations to the state and national politics”⁵² (Geschiere, 1998: 2). The author defies the Western view that witchcraft is something traditional and will disappear with modernisation. Alongside “references to witchcraft as a levelling force which opposes new inequalities and relations of domination” (Geschiere, 1998: 5) there are interpretations of witchcraft as “an accumulative force that prevails in more modern forms of politics” (Geschiere, 1998: 5).

After the Mozambican civil war, the traditional aspect of having healers close to military commanders for protection and advice remained, such as the significance of *Mpfhukwa* in southern Mozambique (Honwana, 1997). *Mpfhukwa* are the spirits of the dead who did not have a proper ritual burial. They could cause illness and death to the families of

⁵²In Cameroon, the ascension of the new elites is linked to the occult force of the *la sorcellerie*, as after the independence the links between politics and witchcraft were reinforced by President Ahmandou Ahidjo and the national ideology that emphasised the need for unity against subversion (Geschiere, 1998). In the 1980s, regional lawcourts started convicting witches, in which the proof consisted of the testimony of a healer, similar to the Mozambican case, as will be discussed.

those who killed or mistreated during the war and many feared they could return after the conflict (Honwana, 1997: 298). Besides, health is approached in terms of a life process in post-conflict Mozambique, defined by the harmonious relations among people, spirits and the environment, where the spirits and the living compose the social life (Honwana, 1997).

Consequently, if the relationships between human beings and their ancestors, the environment and among themselves are not harmonious, the wellbeing of the community is risked. In this scenario, healers have a holistic approach, combining the social and physical dimensions of the malady, treating the individual as part of a community, never as a singular entity. This idea emphasises the community aspect of healing in post-conflict Mozambique and the healers' role in healing traumas and other social disorders, considering that they encompass emotional dimensions of "ill-health" (Honwana, 1997: 297). Health is a vital element of statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique since the Mozambican state has been focusing on the healers' role as health providers, and health is a complex concept which involves inner equilibrium with the ancestors, one's own body and so on (Meneses, 2004). Social illness is part of the everyday in post-conflict Mozambique, and healers identify "antisocial hostilities that could manifest themselves as an illness, bad luck or even bring death to the community" (Meneses, 2004: 20), indicating the importance of spirituality in the country.

Beyond health, fieldwork findings suggested that the Mozambican cosmology connected justice with the spiritual realm, as witchcraft was part of the contemporary legal practice in the country (Meneses, 2004; Igreja, 2010). Interviewees argued that community courts resorted to AMETRAMO in cases of witchcraft, involving the healers as key actors in resolving cases of accusation of witchcraft, as they were considered the main actors capable of connecting the material realm with the spiritual realm. Healers have been performing truth-

seeking rituals to identify culprits and stolen objects, and they have been performing purification rituals with ex-convicts so that they could be reintegrated into their communities peacefully. I consider that hybrid political orders assisted me in explaining the complexity of justice in post-conflict Mozambique as justice is interconnected to hybrid systems and different actors.

With regard to the political sphere, I emphasise the healers' role as political actors. Healers represent the state by being recognised via AMETRAMO/AERMO, and some healers interviewed were local AMETRAMO/AERMO leaders in charge of organising meetings with their communities in order to provide conflict resolution. Interviewees argued that healers supported politicians during the electoral period and healers were connected to local chiefs such as *régulos*, and *régulos* were key actors as they decided if they appealed to healers or AMETRAMO when cases involved witchcraft accusation, for instance. Moreover, healers performed rituals to protect politicians and healers were war leaders in the past, also performing protection rituals to protect soldiers, as will be discussed in the empirical chapters.

All authors discussed here helped me to explain how I understand spirituality, religion, healing and witchcraft, helping us to comprehend the complexity of the spiritual realm and the healers' role in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. This section leads to a critical analysis of the process of 're-traditionalisation' in post-conflict Mozambique.

1.3 'Re-traditionalisation' in post-conflict Mozambique

This section briefly discusses the Eurocentric invention of tradition in Africa, addressing colonialism as a construct that helps us to understand the development of 're-

traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique. This discussion is fundamental as this thesis discusses ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state through the recognition of traditional actors and practices. Thus, in order to understand the colonial structures of ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique, it is important to understand the concept of Eurocentrism. Sabaratnam (2017: 20) defines Eurocentrism as “the sensibility that Europe is historically⁵³, economically, culturally and politically distinctive in ways which significantly determine the overall character of world politics”. Eurocentrism establishes a hierarchy of modes of knowledge and knowers, where other knowledges are often ignored or circumscribed as distant from the Western academic knowledge, following an ontology of cultural “otherness” (Sabaratnam, 2017: 23). Thus, Eurocentrism tends to mark the West as the proper subject of political analysis with ‘other’ people and societies (i.e. the targets of intervention) as analytically subordinate⁵⁴. In this regard, this project aims to ground post-liberal peace theory without methodologically excluding target societies and the peoples targeted by interventions, considering that even among critical scholars there is a tendency towards the “methodological exclusion of targeted peoples” (Sabaratnam, 2017: 24).

Addressing modernity through liberal peace resonates with the colonial projection that African societies were “empty spaces historically and politically speaking” (Sabaratnam, 2017: 41). This colonial projection is a historical process embedded in the practice of inventing modernity through the ‘invention of tradition’ (see sub-section 1.4.1). Modernity, for many authors, is essentially a European phenomenon (Habermas, 1989) where the

⁵³The embodiment of World History in Europe endows Europe with a kind of universal right, in which Europeans are “the bearer of the development of the world Spirit and the spirit of other peoples has no rights” (Hegel, 1969: 430 apud Dussel, 1993: 73).

⁵⁴One of the foundations of globalisation was the social classification of the world population upon the base of the idea of race (Quijano, 2000).

‘periphery’, which surrounds Europe as the centre of the world, is part of its self-definition⁵⁵ (Dussel, 1993).

The narrative of modernity originates in Europe, and it is frequently identified with progress and development (Migñolo, 2011). In this sense, colonisation established relations of domination that maintained the colonised population in the past along a linear temporal trajectory that sees Europe as modern (Quijano, 2000) and stimulating conflict among indigenous people. Coloniality is the other side of modernity, including the modes of control used by Europeans to manage their colonies⁵⁶ (Tostanova and Migñolo, 2012), which perpetuated injustice, commodification and disregard for human life. For the post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha (1994: 199), there is no singular event of modernity, and post-colonial theory should be seen as “an attempt to interrupt the Western discourses of modernity through... displacing subaltern or postslavery narratives and the critical-theoretical perspectives they engender”. Bhabha (1994) focuses on re-inscribing ‘other’ cultural traditions into narratives of modernity and thus transforming those narratives – both in historical and theoretical terms – rather than simply re-evaluating the content of these other “inheritances” (Bhabha, 2014: 116). His idea reinforces the implication of analysing traditional actors and traditional practices in post-colonial Africa.

Therefore, the third chapter of this thesis explains the Portuguese colonial role in Mozambique and the subtle ways they denied the presence of some people as subjects of politics and favoured others, developing their own politics and motivating local tensions. The

⁵⁵Dussel (1993: 66) states that the possibility of modernity originated in the free cities of medieval Europe, when Europe could “constitute itself as a unified ego exploring, conquering, colonising an alterity that gave back its image of itself”, marking the process of misrecognition of the non-European.

⁵⁶Focusing on the Américas, Migñolo and Schiwy (2003) argue that modernity/coloniality refers to the project of colonization of the Américas, the epistemic system entrenched by this process, and its contemporary manifestations within the modern nation-state.

Portuguese *indigenato* system⁵⁷ empowered some traditional actors and dictated social relations that function through the present day, projecting relations of domination that came to be considered as “natural” (Quijano, 2000: 216). Chapter 3 contributes to this thesis’ focus on traditional actors as it engages with the historical presence of the Mozambican state and its traditional actors, focusing on the healers’ role throughout the building of the state. Thus, it looks at their significance for the politics of the country in the struggle against colonialism.

1.3.1 ‘Invention’ of tradition and ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique: Discussing colonial reinvention

As previously mentioned, this sub-section addresses the significance of colonialism as a construct that helps us to understand ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique. I understand colonialism as an unfolding experience of domination and injustice⁵⁸ connected to a contingent form of social ordering – namely, the sovereign state – as a crucial starting point for moving towards critical approaches to statebuilding in post-colonial Africa. This sub-section is essential because this thesis focuses on the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, and ‘re-traditionalisation’ is part of the political processes conducted by Frelimo, which involves the recognition of traditional actors – including traditional healers – and its traditional societal structures.

Moreover, this sub-section develops the discussion on traditional justice mechanisms in post-conflict Mozambique, a crucial debate as this thesis focuses on the healers’ role in Mozambican justice systems. In critically discussing the invention of tradition and ‘re-

⁵⁷The *indigenato* system is evidence of the ‘making of the customary law’ (Meneses, 2004), a political system that subordinated Mozambicans to leaders of communities, as will be discussed in the third chapter on the building of the Mozambican state.

⁵⁸Césaire (2001: 42-43) argues that between colonizer and colonized there is room only for intimidation, rape, forced labour, and the transformation of the indigenous man into an instrument of production. “I am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped out”.

traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique and traditional justice mechanisms developed by healers, this sub-section contributes to the development of the hybridity literature.

A vast set of literature⁵⁹ examines the development of the state in Africa from the pre-colonial period to the post-colonial period⁶⁰. The post-colonial African state⁶¹ entails, according to commentators, different forms of political authority and statebuilding. This sub-section argues that there is a plural reality of statebuilding in post-colonial Africa supported by the presence of traditional actors as statebuilding actors. It also critically discusses the invention of tradition in Africa and ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state, focusing on the recognition of *régulos* [pre-colonial chiefs] and traditional healers via AMETRAMO/AERMO in post-conflict Mozambique, discussing tradition as colonial reinvention/creation. This discussion is relevant as this thesis focuses on the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, and ‘re-traditionalisation’ is part of Frelimo’s political processes structuring the state through the recognition of traditional actors, including traditional healers. As previously discussed in the introduction of this thesis, the concept of ‘re-traditionalisation’ is used to explain the articulation of traditional actors via national institutions in post-conflict Mozambique after the official ban of traditional authorities. The last sub-section also discusses justice mechanisms performed by

⁵⁹See, for instance, Mamdani, 1996, 2002; Bayart, 1993; Bayart and Ellis, 2000; Dia, 1996; Reno, 1995; Hüsken and Klute, 2010; Cooper, 2002; Hagmann and Hoehne, 2009.

⁶⁰The colonial experience of Africa intensified in 1885 after the Berlin Conference, in which Africa was partitioned into European spheres of influence combining various ethnic groups subjected to European laws and institutions. In Mozambique, the Portuguese colonisation took little account of the needs of indigenous people – Mozambique has nine main different ethnic groups (Andersson, 1992) – and consequently Mozambicans were largely excluded from the development process (Farah, 1995), as will be discussed in the third chapter on the building of the Mozambican state.

⁶¹There is a diversity of theoretical schools and arguments on the state in Africa. Hagmann and Péclard (2010: 542-543) posit that four arguments seem to have achieved a consensus: historicity (see Bayart, 1993), in which the state in Africa must not be seen as imported product, acknowledging the appropriation of African societies and elites; the idea that states are external to society is erroneous, because they are deeply embedded in social forces; that states are not only the product and realm of bureaucrats, policies and institutions, but also of imageries, symbols and discourses; attempts to institutionalise and legitimise physical coercion and political power.

traditional healers, since this thesis focuses on traditional justice and local governance in post-conflict Mozambique.

Many Africanist scholars argue that the way that African countries cognitively engage with the world derives from an indigenous⁶² sociocultural environment (Wepener, 2015; Lassiter, 2000; Nyasani, 1997; Osei, 1971; Orre, 2007; Gyekye, 1996). Indigenusness refers to traditional norms, social values and mental constructs of local environments (Dei, 2002). Africanists (see Dei, 2002; Leonardi, 2013; Wepener, 2015; Igoe, 2006; Orre, 2007; Mugambi, 1998) argue that indigenusness constitutes a body of generated and shared knowledge for responsible action among local peoples, and ethnicity⁶³ is the product of a continuing historical process simultaneously old and new (Berman, 1998). Mahmood Mamdani (1996) explores the nature of the post-colonial African state focusing on political identity, and his central thesis is that colonial rule was based on “institutional segregation” (Mamdani, 1996: 7) which independence failed to abolish. The need for rulers to bridge the rural-urban gap to extend their hegemony led them to a retribalisation of the state through patrimonialism, and the tribal nature of the local state has led to strategies of resistance that made ethnicity prominent. Mamdani’s (1996) work provides a theoretical background, which supports Reno’s (1995) perception of customary authority as an ally of state power in strategies of local domination. Mamdani (2002) argues that Western colonial powers were more concerned to establish the traditional credentials of their native allies than they were to define the content of tradition. Beyond chiefs, the definers of tradition could include clans and religious groups. The practice during this period was to look for those local elites that had

⁶²The term indigenous implies a primordial state, preceding that which is foreign or acquired (Igoe, 2006).

⁶³Michael Elliot (2018) contributes towards a renewed form of dialogue on matters of justice and decolonisation, linked to an indigenous approach to statebuilding. Although the resurgence movement discussed by Michael Elliot takes place in Canada, his focus on independently rejuvenating Indigenous nationhood and culture supports the analytical framework that this thesis develops. Furthermore, the movement finds its origins in “everyday” acts and practices (see Cornthassel, 2008), which is also part of post-liberal approaches to statebuilding.

legitimacy but lacked authority and then to enforce their point of view as customary and reinforce their authority in law as traditional, connected with Hobsbawm and Ranger's (2012) arguments on the invention of tradition.

Concerning the 'invention' of tradition in Africa, Hobsbawm and Ranger (2012: 1) bring the argument that traditions appear to be old but "are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented", constructed and formally instituted. Invented tradition is a set of practices usually governed by accepted rules and of a symbolic nature characterised by continuity with the past that seeks to infuse specific values and norms of behaviour by repetition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012).

Europeans used two ways to make use of their invented traditions while spreading the traditions of modernisation in colonial Africa: the idea that some Africans could become members of the governing class and the attempt to make use of what European invented traditions had to offer in terms of a redefined relationship between leaders and led (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). The regimental tradition defined the role of both officers and men creating a hierarchical society in which Europeans commanded, and Africans accepted the command, exercising a subordination tradition. In the mines of South Africa, for example, white workers drew upon the invented rituals of European craft unionism to exclude Africans from participation based on an exclusive membership. Besides, the use of European invented traditions served to separate Africans into relatively specialised categories such as the servant and the teacher, providing a professionalisation of African workers embedded in the neo-traditions of governance⁶⁴ and subordination (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012).

⁶⁴In Nigeria, policies ensured that the British military and administrative services were part of the dominant traditions, with intense effort to develop neo-tradition such as the 'traditional' Coronation Day. In Uganda, the British neo-tradition created King's College, illustrating the idea that some Africans could become members of the governing class after training in a neo-traditional context within a shared framework of loyalty and subordination (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012).

Similarly, other scholars have also argued that ethnic groups and identities were creations of the colonial period (Davidson, 1992; Bayart, 1993; Berman, 1998; Vail, 1989). The ‘invention’ of ethnic groups is part of a political and intellectual culture of colonialism since the colonial powers practised a form of indirect rule through local chiefs and traditional authorities and because the colonial strategy of fragmentation, isolation and differentiation promoted ethnic competition and conflict (Berman, 1998). The alliance between European administrators and the chiefs⁶⁵ of administrative subdivisions and traditional authorities is an essential fact of this process, as chiefs were an essential link “between the colonial state and African societies” (Berman, 1998: 316).

In this scenario, influential elders of powerful local families and business people were provided with sources of income and patronage to supplement their salaries, making patron/client relations the fundamental relationship between ordinary people and those with wealth and power, manipulating ethnic identities through political competition. Traditional chiefs were also a critical source of social disruption because of their role in the class formation and social differentiation as the most powerful patrons in local society and a “threat to the maintenance of control” (Berman, 1998: 317). Therefore, “chieftaincy disputes influenced national politics and factional political styles” (Spear, 2003: 11) in Africa. These traditional authorities⁶⁶ also interpreted tradition to justify their gains and maintain their power through dominant discourses of ethnicity representing the complexity of the ‘invention’ of tradition and the ‘invention’ of ethnic groups in Africa. One of the challenges faced by these local actors is the instrumentalisation of authorities by state forces because African

⁶⁵Ethnic groups were a product of specific colonial forces as indirect rule created the conditions for ethnic politics (Vail, 1989). In French West Africa, for example, commandants relied on 47,000 village chiefs and 2,206 *chefs de canton* (Berman, 1998: 316).

⁶⁶The ethnic theory of African stagnation as expressed by Easterly and Levine (1997) contend that multi-ethnic societies are polarised and therefore the representatives of each ethnic group in a national political system favour the adoption of policies, which serve their group at the detriment of the state as a whole.

chiefs were integrated into the local governance system under the modern state, modelled according to European colonial standards.

The third chapter of this thesis establishes how chieftaincy was a central factor in Mozambican colonial rule regarding cohesion and cultural identity, which legitimated authority and regulated relations by “administering the local situations” (Meneses, 2005: 8). Recognised by the Portuguese administration, *régulos*⁶⁷ – pre-colonial local chiefs – were the administrators of customary and local political leaders linking central governments and rural populations, for example. As *régulos* were part of pre-colonial structures in Mozambique that were ‘recognised’ by Portuguese colonisation, and as the Portuguese attributed a political identity to Mozambicans through local (traditional) authorities (Meneses, 2004), they represent the ‘invention’ of tradition in post-colonial Mozambique, a post-colonial legacy of the colonial state. They are important actors in this research because they remain local chiefs nowadays, suggesting ‘re-traditionalisation’, and healers have established links with these *régulos*.

Although the Mozambican state banned traditional authorities after independence, since the 1990s a wave in Africa of what has been called ‘re-traditionalisation’ has reversed the preceding policy of “containing the chiefs as negative forces” (Kyed and Buur, 2006: 1), in which mainly bottom-up organisations or chiefs have been expanding their impact in “local and national politics” in places such as Congo, Uganda, Rwanda and Chad (Kyed and Buur, 2006: 2). Despite the attempts to ban kinship-based institutions and traditional actors “since independence most African countries have experienced a ‘mixed polity’ or a dualism of structures of power” (Kyed and Buur, 2006: 1).

⁶⁷Traditional chiefs known as *nhakwa* are responsible for managing the territories in the region of Gorongosa (central Mozambique) (Igreja, 2010).

In post-colonial Mozambique, the state continually instrumentalised traditional actors in local governance in a manner that was very similar to the Portuguese indirect rule. The third chapter will discuss the influence of the Portuguese indirect rule's legacy in contemporary statebuilding processes in Mozambique. In this regard, the invented traditions of African societies – whether invented by Europeans or by Africans – distorted the past and became realities through which the colonial encounter was expressed, and were introduced into Africa to allow Europeans and Africans to combine for 'modernising' ends, offering many Africans models of modern behaviour and models of commands. In post-conflict Mozambique, the recognition of traditional healers by AMETRAMO links to this debate as it represents the links between the modernising Mozambican state and the healers as traditional actors. This recognition can also mean that part of what the state claims as 'tradition' – for instance, how AMETRAMO refers to the healers as traditional medicine practitioners – is colonial reinvention/creation.

Furthermore, I argue in Chapter 3 that Frelimo's extreme political polarisation⁶⁸ encompasses moments of recognition and neglect of traditional healers as local actors in Mozambique. Therefore, I agree with Bayart's (1993) claim that Africa's ethnicity is rarely absent from politics since 're-traditionalisation' in post-conflict Mozambique is part of the political processes structuring the state. In this way, I aim to unpack how the invention of tradition as a process linked to political identity is currently a work in progress in post-conflict Mozambique, which is contributing to the formation of a particular type of group cohesion that stretches over racial and religious boundaries.

⁶⁸As Hagmann and Péclard (2010: 550) argue, "Frelimo has managed to impose itself and its structure as the only arena in which access to the state can be negotiated, despite the introduction of multi-party politics".

1.3.1.2 Traditional justice and ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state

Throughout the history of post-conflict Mozambique, there are moments of recognition and oblivion regarding the incorporation of traditional healers into the national system (Mennen, 2007), following the opposition between the ruling Frelimo and Renamo and the historical building of the state, as will be discussed in Chapter 3. In this sub-section, I acknowledge this topic and focus on clarifying the concept of traditional justice mechanisms, which is central to discuss ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state and the healers’ role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters. I consider that this sub-section contributes to bridging gaps between transitional justice and peacebuilding and statebuilding literature and is essential in as much as this thesis focuses on the traditional healers’ role within traditional justice systems in post-conflict Mozambique. According to the literature (Santos, 2006, 2006a; Kyed, 2013; Kyed and Buur, 2006; Meneses, 2008) and interviews conducted in Mozambique, justice is a critical component of statebuilding.

Transitional justice⁶⁹ emerged as a field in the late 1980s, mainly in response to political challenges in Latin America and Eastern Europe and the demands for justice in these regions (Yakinthou, 2017). From a focus on retributive justice and the rule of law, the

⁶⁹Transitional justice refers to a field focused on how societies address legacies of past human rights abuses including genocide and civil war, in order to build a more democratic or peaceful future (Bickford, 2004; Villalba, 2011). Transitional justice can be defined “as the conception of justice associated with periods of political change, characterized by legal responses to confront the wrongdoings of repressive predecessor regimes” (Teitel, 2003: 69). Teitel (2003: 70) traces the origins of modern transitional justice to World War I, through the “Allied-run Nuremberg trials” (Teitel, 2003: 70). Nevertheless, the author argues that it becomes understood as both extraordinary and international in the postwar period after 1945. The second phase is associated with the wave of democratic transitions and modernization that began in 1989, and the third phase comprises contemporary conditions of persistent conflict that lay the foundation for a normalised law of violence. Legal scholars and political scientists initially dominated the transitional justice literature. Recent contributions from philosophers, anthropologists, criminologists, sociologists, historians, psychologists (Skaar, 2013) and IR scholars, among others, have made the field interdisciplinary (see Teitel, 2003; Sriram, 2007; Olsen and Reiter, 2010; Skaar, 2013).

discussion on transitional justice has broadened⁷⁰ to include other elements such as reconciliation, forgiveness and healing (Skaar, 2013), the latter being the main element of traditional justice mechanisms in post-conflict Mozambique, playing a critical role in reconciliation at the individual level. Reconciliation is connected to four central transitional justice mechanisms: trials, truth commissions, reparations, and local justice initiatives (Skaar, 2013). This thesis focuses on local justice initiatives.

The tendency of ‘re-traditionalisation’ (Boege et al., 2008: 8) in post-conflict Mozambique presents the reincorporation of traditional authorities officially and their recognition as agents of the state (Kyed, 2013) via national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO, contributing to the resurgence of a customary rule, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. Despite the changes made due to the pressure exerted by the Portuguese, the actions of traditional authorities continued to be understood as local in post-conflict Mozambique, and the profound familiarity with feelings and issues of the communities legitimated their actions (Meneses, 2006) because they were generated by the respective communities and not by the law (Kyed and Buur, 2006a). The fact that traditional practices are present in the country is attributed to two main factors: the absence of alternative institutions for justice and the efficacy of local practice (Yousufzai and Gohar, 2005) that emphasises the Mozambican cosmology. Unofficial dispute resolution and the use of

⁷⁰The lack of cultural sensitivity related to the United Nations missions, for example, is analysed throughout the transitional justice literature, and this issue complements the discussion on traditional systems. In Northern Uganda, for instance, local chiefs have been criticising the interference of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in indicting the leader of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) Joseph Kony, alleging that justice could not be imposed by international decree (Allen, 2008). Northern Ugandan local chiefs argue that Western-style trials may disrupt (Sriram, 2007) delicate domestic reconciliation processes which engage in reparations and communal discussion over individual accountability. Thus, the ICC intervention is marked by controversy and this is related to the Court’s mandate which translates global legal obligations into functional justice at the local level (Simpson, 2008) overlooking the capacity of domestic jurisdictions to address atrocities (Clark, 2008; Goetz, 2008; Doxtader, 2004; Latigo, 2008). Likewise, in Mozambique, the creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was rejected as a process imbued with liberal approaches and not built upon local practices (Shaw, 2005) such as the use of traditional justice mechanisms developed by traditional actors. In Mozambique, no formal truth commission was created.

traditional justice mechanisms have been the norm in rural areas (Meneses, 2006), and official legal institutions have been regarded as secondary in importance mainly because of the inability to satisfy the community's sense of justice.

Hence, I discuss the meaning of traditional justice mechanisms, considering this thesis' focus on traditional justice and aiming to contribute to the literature. Throughout the literature (Chapman and Kagaha, 2009; Pimentel, 2011; Ogora, 2009; Huyse and Salter, 2008), the terminology related to traditional justice appears constantly fluid and vague. The study of traditional justice comprises an array of terms such as 'community-based', 'grass-roots', 'popular', 'local', 'informal', 'non-state', 'customary' and 'indigenous', sometimes used interchangeably and combined in discourses and practices, used to emphasise the contrast with the formal character of state justice institutions (Huyse and Salter, 2008).

The term 'traditional' has Eurocentric connotations and suggests "the existence of profoundly internalised normative structures" (Huyse and Salter, 2008: 7) and patterns embedded in static political, economic and social circumstances, as discussed in the previous sub-section on the invention of tradition. However, it is important to highlight that African institutions have never been static, and tradition is not a static or absolute phenomenon, but one that is inherently dynamic, fluid, and continuously adapting to change. Thus, the term traditional might be misleading insofar as it implies that traditional justice is a fixed phenomenon that has remained unchanged, and some have questioned the use of the term if traditional justice systems are susceptible to change (Kariuki, 2007).

The term 'tradition' refers to customs and usages which derive their popular authority from ancient practices⁷¹ and beliefs that pre-date the arrival of the modern state (Kariuki, 2007), being found in many post-colonial countries where the legacies of self-regulating

⁷¹Traditional justice passes from one generation to the other, in which customary law is described as a body of general rules within African tribal communities that govern personal status, communal resources and local organisation of the people (Kariuki, 2007).

‘stateless’ societies have survived⁷². These societies adapted to the impacts of colonialism and modernisation and, specifically, the establishment of the modern state, proving to be remarkably resilient and capable of continuously adapting to the local and external dynamics of social change. Traditional justice mechanisms have operated at the periphery of the formal justice systems⁷³ outside state control (Kariuki, 2007) and have the potential for enhancing access to justice and strengthen the rule of law⁷⁴, particularly amongst those excluded from the formal justice system.

These mechanisms include a range of local practices from customary law to conciliatory practices such as truth and reconciliation commissions, truth-seeking rituals, healing rituals and programmes for the reintegration of ex-combatants (Ferreira, 2005) and former prisoners (see chapter 4) and are usually opposed to the Western criminal justice processes that are predominantly retributive in character (Dinnen, 2009). They are embedded in diversity and fluidity, moving beyond top-down narratives and encouraging a more holistic view of justice, which supports multiple political, social and legal institutions operating jointly in a system that maximises the capabilities of each one and recognises peoples as subjects of their own history. Additionally, holistic approaches seek to respond to the various physical, psychological and psychosocial needs of individuals and groups after the conflict, as the Mozambican case reveals. The mechanisms used to resolve disputes under traditional

⁷²In Mozambique, they survived even though the country was colonised by Portugal for many years and had different political systems.

⁷³The literature brings the term ‘non-state justice’ (Schärf, 2003; Forsyth, 2007) and the importance of understanding the nature and shape of these systems in developing countries during the decolonisation period. The second most important period, which determined the nature of non-state justice, is the post-cold-war era, which in Africa is characterised by moves towards democratisation. Non-state justice and security (NSJS) systems refer to all systems that exercise some form of non-state authority in providing safety, security and access to justice, including a range of traditional, customary, religious and informal mechanisms that deal with disputes and/or security matters. Source: Non-state Justice and Security Systems, Policy Division Info series. Ref no: PD Info 018, Department for International Development, Briefing, 2004. *GSDRC*, [website], <https://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/ssaj101.pdf>, (accessed 8 aug. 2017).

⁷⁴Traditional justice mechanisms are a subset of customary dispute resolution mechanisms as they include customary laws of a particular ethnic group and are generally community-based (Chapman and Kagaha, 2009).

justice⁷⁵ fora include negotiation, mediation, conciliation, settlement, consensus approaches and restoration ⁷⁶ (Kariuki, 2007). In post-conflict Mozambique, traditional justice encompasses the community courts and community meetings organised by healers and other traditional actors, where everyday conflicts are resolved.

Traditional justice mechanisms such as cleansing/reconciliation rituals performed by traditional healers mobilised post-war generations to deal with unsettled conflicts and break the silence that official authorities had built in order to deny and forget the past (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008) being key elements of traditional justice in the country. Through *gamba* (plural *Magamba*) rituals performed by healers, ex-soldiers re-enacted war-time experiences to heal themselves and engage in communal repair (Igreja, 2012). Throughout the literature there are many examples of soldiers “contaminated by war and the spirits of the dead” (Graybill, 2004: 1126) going through rituals performed by healers in order to be accepted by their communities and cut their links with the past, being reintegrated into the practices of daily living (Nordstrom, 1997: 145).

The justice aspect of these traditional mechanisms is that within these narratives, past abuses are evoked, and there are appeals for restoring fairness and repairing damages. Although these mechanisms were generally designed to deal with minor disputes and crimes

⁷⁵In Timor Leste, the Solomon Islands and Indonesia, the emphasis in traditional justice is more on the restoration of social order and harmony than on conflict resolution (Dinnen, 2009). These cases elucidate that most traditional justice processes have a strong restorative justice approach, whereby all involved parties resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of an offence, highlighting the attempt to balance the needs of the offender, the victim and the community (Villa-Vicencio, 2004; Lambourne, 2009). Traditional justice mechanisms are as multiple as the local societies they derive from (Dinnen, 2009), being complex and evolving informal systems for dealing with conflict and disputes. Nevertheless, traditional justice mechanisms are not necessarily informal because sometimes they are incorporated into the formal justice system (Huyse and Salter, 2008), and this is an important link to statebuilding. For example, the *gacaca* courts in post-genocide Rwanda though conceptually based on pre-colonial customs of dispute resolution applies codified state law. The Rwandan case highlights how traditional or informal justice practices are part of the state and how they move beyond their origin and capture by the state (Huyse and Salter, 2008). Moreover, although traditional justice mechanisms are commonly used in countries that have experienced long periods of conflict and authoritarian regimes, it does not mean that they are used only in these scenarios. They are not created to “deal particularly with past crimes of human rights abuse in a post-conflict setting” (Mobekk, 2005: 282).

⁷⁶They also provide benefits such as easy access, the simplicity of procedures, reduction of delays and low cost.

(Kerr and Mobekk, 2007) in post-conflict Mozambique healing rituals worked even in severe cases, for example, in which the reintegration of child soldiers was particularly successful (Igreja, 2012). Nevertheless, this research does not focus on the analysis of cleansing/reconciliation rituals performed by healers to resolve conflicts related to the civil war. I focus on the role of healers as judges within the community courts, and I highlight their role as providers of everyday conflict resolution as healers identify criminals and stolen objects, for instance. I contend that traditional justice mechanisms performed by healers support the ‘re-traditionalisation’⁷⁷ of the Mozambican state, also underlining the importance of the spiritual realm in the country. The institutionalisation of traditional healers via AMETRAMO/AERMO also represents this process of ‘re-traditionalisation’, as will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

This sub-section discussed the invention of tradition in Africa and ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state, focusing mostly on chieftaincy and the recognition of *régulos* and traditional healers via AMETRAMO/AERMO as colonial reinvention/creation. The last sub-section also discussed traditional justice mechanisms performed by traditional healers, as this thesis focuses on traditional justice and local governance. This chapter outlines the importance of traditional actors in statebuilding processes and explains why looking at traditional healers in post-conflict in Mozambique is essential due to the lack of analysis of their broader roles in the statebuilding and hybridity literature.

⁷⁷Moreover, the following traditional actors are also involved in conflict resolution in Mozambique: *regulados*, religious authorities, dynamising groups, presidents of community associations. However, it is important to point out that the modern times and the expansion of churches represent the loss of tradition according to healers I interviewed during fieldwork, although in practice many Mozambicans are guided by both tradition and Christianity to face the demands of a plural world. In this sense, Mozambicans have developed an attitude that allows them to combine both tradition and Christianity in their lives.

Conclusion

This literature review addressed the hybridity and post-liberal peace literature in order to delineate the use of hybrid political orders as an analytical framework to analyse statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Hybrid political orders are the main theoretical lenses developed in this research, as in post-conflict Mozambique the formal state interacts with the ‘informal’ societal order and indigenous knowledge through the recognition of traditional actors such as healers, following different logics that do not exist in isolation from each other but permeate each other giving rise to different political orders (Boege et al., 2009), and HPO helps me to explore these interactions.

Moreover, the last section developed the debate on the invention of tradition in order to discuss ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique, focusing on the recognition of traditional actors by the state. It argues that *régulos* embody the invention of tradition in post-colonial Mozambique and AMETRAMO represents the links between the modernising Mozambican state and the healers as traditional actors, and it can also mean that part of what the state claims as ‘tradition’ is colonial reinvention/creation. The arguments of all sections are deeply linked to the discussion about liberal and post-liberal statebuilding developed in the first section of the literature review since the first section criticised Weberian approaches to statebuilding by introducing critical approaches to statebuilding, and all the sections addressed the restrictions of liberal statebuilding, developing a critical angle to analyse statebuilding through hybridity lenses.

Throughout the literature review, critical approaches to statebuilding involved criticising Weberian approaches through hybridity lenses, developed by post-liberal peace authors. From this literature review, I am taking away the importance of discussing traditional actors and practices in statebuilding. Thus, the innovative contribution of this thesis is to

comprehend statebuilding vis-à-vis the traditional healers' role in post-conflict Mozambique. The healers' role in statebuilding processes and the Mozambicans perceptions of these roles are analysed throughout the empirical chapters, drawing on data gathered during fieldwork in the country.

In order to develop hybrid political orders as an analytical framework for exploring statebuilding, which focuses on traditional actors and practices, this chapter discussed different critics to the liberal peace and hybridity literature. By applying hybrid political orders as an analytical framework to analyse statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique, this research aims to capture the complexity of statebuilding processes developed by healers. Fieldwork findings suggested that their role comprised three different components of statebuilding: justice, health and the political sphere, and spirituality permeated these three areas, as will be further discussed. This thesis focuses on traditional justice and governance mechanisms, key components of statebuilding regarding the Mozambican cosmology and the healers as local actors considered capable of connecting justice with the spiritual realm.

I identified and discussed some gaps in the literature throughout the literature review, but it is important to highlight that there is scarce literature on the role of traditional actors, especially traditional healers, in the statebuilding processes of post-conflict Mozambique, the main purpose of this research. Throughout the literature, there is a strong focus on the healers' role as local actors performing cleansing rituals after the civil war. This thesis contributes to the literature as it investigates the healers' role in statebuilding processes focusing on traditional justice and governance, it discusses the relationships between the healers and the state, and it aims to understand if/how healers are contributing to statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique, addressing gaps between the statebuilding, peacebuilding, and hybridity literature.

Chapter 2. Methodological approaches and research methods

This chapter introduces the methodological approaches and research methods of this thesis. In the first section, I discuss the use of constructivism and interpretative methods in this research. The key argument of the first section is that the interactions between healers and the state in post-conflict Mozambique can be analysed using a constructivist approach, as constructivism discusses the fluidity between institutions and traditional actors. The constructivist focus on the role of ideas and beliefs, including the relevance of collective knowledge also helped me to develop the main arguments of this research, as healers are traditional actors who represent complex belief systems in post-conflict Mozambique.

Regarding research methods, this research relied on qualitative methods, including the use of semi-structured and unstructured interviews, observation, triangulation and revision of documentary evidence. I used data triangulation to organise, explain and validate my fieldwork data. This chapter also discusses how I selected the research participants of this thesis, rationale of fieldwork locations, language concerns, ethical limitations, research limitations and researcher positionality.

Another central argument of this chapter is that data triangulation of different sources confirmed that healers were key actors in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Data triangulation helped me to identify three themes that connected statebuilding with the healers: justice, health and the political sphere. This method indicated that healers were promoting everyday conflict resolution, that healers were political actors and that healers were key health actors working with the Ministry of Health via national institutions. These themes are discussed here but will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Data triangulation was essential to this research, considering the scarcity of literature

concerning the role of traditional healers in statebuilding processes, as literature focuses on the performance of cleansing rituals and the resolution of war disputes, for instance. Furthermore, although healers have been working with the state via national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO, the literature on these interactions is quite scarce. In this scenario, interview-focused approaches followed by triangulation guided the research, as both a method and a source for societal research, since this thesis looks at the traditional healers as subjects of statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique.

2.1 Epistemological and methodological approaches: Explaining the use of constructivism and interpretative methods

Constructivism is an approach to social analysis which focuses on the role of ideas, identity, norms, and knowledge – ideational ontology rather than material ontology – stressing the role of shared understandings of social life and social facts⁷⁸ (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001). In this regard, the key contribution of constructivism⁷⁹ to IR theory is the claim that identities, interests and behaviours of political actors are socially constructed by collective interpretations of the world (Wendt, 1999).

Collective knowledge can be institutionalised as practice (Adler, 2013), and in post-conflict Mozambique, traditional actors such as healers have been institutionalised by the state, in the sense that they have been recognised as certified healers via national institutions. Fieldwork findings suggested that traditional healers represented collective knowledge in the country considering their links with their ancestors, their communities and the spiritual realm.

⁷⁸Constructivist studies in International Relations demonstrated that norms, culture, and other social structures have causal force and that these structures are not simple reflections of hegemonic state interests (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001).

⁷⁹Different authors such as Emanuel Adler (2013), John Gerard Ruggie (1998), Nicholas Onuf (2001) and Alexander Wendt (1999) have developed the constructivist research program in International Relations.

As this research investigates the role of traditional healers in statebuilding processes of post-conflict Mozambique and the interactions between healers and the state – norms and social understandings influencing agents, where identities and legitimacy conditions are continually evolving – constructivism helped me to better understand the interdependence and fluidity between institutions and traditional actors. In constructivist analysis agents and structures are mutually constituted (Adler, 2013), and by ontological assumption, constructivists understand that actors are shaped by the social milieu in which they live (Finnemore and Sikkink, 2001). State identity fundamentally shapes state preferences and actions, in which state identities are constructed within the social environment of international and domestic politics (Wendt, 1999). Alexander Wendt (1999: 199) argues “it is impossible to define the state apart from society”, and I consider that state and societies are conceptually interdependent.

Interpretative methods have been applied in constructivism, such as ethnography, genealogy, semiotics and narrative analysis. This thesis proposes a ‘minor ethnography’ as I sought to understand how Mozambicans comprehended the role of traditional actors, especially traditional healers, in statebuilding processes, and how healers were subjects of statebuilding in their communities, analysing their different perceptions.

There are ongoing controversies within anthropology and related disciplines over the definition of ‘ethnography’. Typically, ethnographies produced by trained cultural anthropologists involve relatively lengthy stays in a particular location, deep training in language and research on culture, and particular styles of participant-observation and interaction. The research undertaken for this project does not conform to such a method explicitly, as I conducted a short-time ethnography using ethnographic approaches. The

‘ethnographic stance’ is seen as “an intellectual (and moral) positionality, a constructive and interpretive mode, as it is a bodily process in space and time” (Ortner, 1995: 173).

Using an ethnographic approach⁸⁰ that demands a willingness to study the local social and cultural context closely and understands peacebuilding as experiential, not institutional, Gearoid Millar (2014) presents a methodology for peacebuilding evaluation. The author projects evaluation of local experiences that can be adopted by non-anthropologist academics and both evaluators and practitioners working in the field, highlighting the value of local engagement and evaluation projects. By offering insight into the local, ethnographic approaches⁸¹ can support attempts at rediscovering critical peacebuilding, conceived as a bottom-up, emancipatory and empowering process.

The ethnographic approach that Gearoid Millar (2014) describes “(...) demands recognition of the importance of culture in shaping how individuals see and experience their world and a willingness to try to understand alternative experiences of international interventions and processes” (Millar, 2014: 6). As the author, I do not consider that full participation in local life is required for non-anthropologists to adopt the form of evaluation he proposes. Still, the ethnographic approach does demand a healthy “anthropological imagination” (Millar, 2014). Instead of evaluating specific projects and results, ethnographic approaches helped me to dig into the healers’ role in the statebuilding processes of post-conflict Mozambique interpretatively.

⁸⁰Gearoid Millar (2014) evaluated the local experiences of a large bio-energy Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) project covering some 40,000 hectares and approximately 90 villages in the rural north of Sierra Leone, using ethnographic approaches. Millar’s (2014) evaluations uncovered acute differences between the expectations of the international interveners and the experiences of the supposed beneficiaries of these projects, in which the unexpected and unplanned negative experiences produced an unpredictable and potentially dangerous effect in the country.

⁸¹Analysing peacebuilding practices in Sierra Leone, Milne (2010) argues that the challenges of capturing the local are more complex than simply appending ethnography to the existing frameworks of conflict theory and peacebuilding since it does not fit with the dominant project management approach of peacebuilding, which often undermines local particularity.

The interpretative approach in International Relations comprises the intersubjective involvement of the researcher in the production of the phenomenon in question (Jackson, 2008). Interpretative research is about systematising the unique experiences that a researcher has in the field as the research instrument, on the borderline between the inside and the outside of a social group in order to reveal the distinctive social practices associated to that group (Jackson, 2008).

As I sought to comprehend the role of traditional healers with regard to statebuilding and interpreting their roles, the interpretative approach helped me to reflect on the complexity of the healers' roles in statebuilding processes, roles that I identified through data triangulation. This approach also helped me to comprehend issues of representation and resistance, for instance, considering the complex dynamics between healers and the state.

Via forms of interpretative engagement, this research aims to contribute to an opening up of the discussion on statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique. In order to organise, verify and explain my fieldwork data, I used triangulation, as will be discussed in the next section. Triangulation helped me to understand and explain the healers' role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, also covering the healers' own perceptions regarding themselves.

2.2 Research methods: The use of interview-focused approaches, observation and triangulation

This research is predominantly qualitative, and the research techniques used were semi-structured and unstructured interviews, revision of documentary evidence, triangulation and observation. The primary source for data collection was interviews. Interviews were conducted with 42 individuals drawn from six clusters/groups of interviewees, specifically: 42 individuals, such as traditional healers, religious leaders, members of NGOs, local actors

connected to the traditional justice system, local community leaders, and members of the civil service.

Data collection took place during three months of fieldwork in Mozambique, in two different regions of the country, to get a better sense of the role of traditional healers in statebuilding processes after the civil war and comprehend the interactions between healers and the state. I will explain the fieldwork locations in section 2.3. I divided the data collection into three processes.

Process 1: Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with actors engaged in statebuilding processes in Mozambique: representatives of non-governmental organisations and representatives of national institutions mainly located in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. These interviews sought to gain these actors' understandings of the traditional healers' roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes and links with the state, exploring the healers' various roles and links with traditional justice. Interviews with members of peacebuilding NGOs in Maputo were essential to help me to get access to traditional healers in the capital and different regions of the country.

Process 2: Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with traditional healers and individuals connected to traditional healers, such as local leaders and government employees. These interviews sought to comprehend the healers' role in the statebuilding processes of post-conflict Mozambique and the relationships between healers and the state.

Process 3: Documentary collection and analysis of grey literature: policies, policy briefs and project descriptions of national institutions involved in statebuilding, reconciliation, traditional justice and peace process-related work.

Interviews were scheduled by phone and in-person, and conducted in-person and by phone, using a digital voice recorder. Critical voices were also part of this research, including

healers who addressed their resistance to state politics, mainly through their relationships with national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO. I also interviewed healers who worked with local chiefs and healers in charge of conducting meetings to resolve everyday issues, representing AMETRAMO and AERMO, as will be further discussed.

The participants of this research were adults (above the age of 18), both men and women. For process 1, all participants hold a position in their respective organisation that had to do with the planning, implementing and/or evaluating work that was designed towards peacebuilding or governance and justice.

For Process 2, all interviewees were adults, both men and women were included. The category for exclusion or inclusion was that the interviewees were traditional healers or had a connection with traditional healers, such as local leaders, religious leaders, local judges and civil servants.

Sampling and recruitment for this project were conducted via snowball sampling and oral and online search for contacts. All major national organisations and different non-governmental organisations were contacted via phone and e-mail.

2.2.1 Research participants and data collection⁸²

In order to contact traditional healers, the main actors of my research, I contacted NGOs and local organisations, as previously mentioned. The following is a list of all NGOs and national organisations that I worked with during fieldwork in Mozambique and their main objectives, location and contact:

⁸²See Appendix 5. 'Interviews Schedule (Phase I and Phase II)' for detailed information, pp. 290, 291.

Table 1. List of Mozambican Organisations.

Organisation	Objectives	Location	Contact
IMT (<i>Instituto de Medicina Tradicional</i> - Institute of Traditional Medicine)	Promotes traditional medicine	Maputo	[REDACTED]
JUSTAPAZ (<i>Centro de Estudos Transformação de Conflitos</i> - Study Center for Conflict Transformation)	Promotes conflict resolution	Maputo	[REDACTED]
OREC (<i>Organização para Resolução de Conflitos</i> - Organisation for Conflict Resolution)	Promotes conflict resolution	Maputo	[REDACTED]
FOMICRES (<i>Força Moçambicana para Investigação de Crimes e Reinserção Social</i> - Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reintegration)	Promotes community reconciliation and reintegration	Maputo	[REDACTED]
GETM (<i>Grupo Espiritual e Tradicional de Moçambique</i> - Spiritual and Traditional Group of Mozambique)	Supports spiritual and traditional groups in Mozambique	Maputo	[REDACTED]
ARPAC (<i>Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural</i> - Institute of Socio-Cultural Research)	Institution linked to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Mozambique. Among other purposes, ensures the destination of the documents collected during the National Campaign for Preservation and Promotion of Culture	Maputo/Beira	[REDACTED]

All the NGOs and local organisations listed above were chosen because they were engaged in statebuilding and peacebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. They are all linked to this research because the members of these NGOs and the people with whom they worked had knowledge or experience of working with statebuilding in post-conflict

Mozambique, comprising processes of governance and justice. The following set of issues depended on the vision and range of projects of each organisation, but in general, it sought to understand:

- Links with traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique
- The connection between healers and political parties and government institutions

These organisations helped me to understand Mozambique's peacebuilding and statebuilding processes, highlighting the role of traditional healers in these processes. These organisations also helped me to comprehend the articulation of the state with the civil society, and the views of the state - through its institutions - concerning the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes of the country. Nevertheless, the reliance on NGOs for access to the healers was a considerable limitation of my research considering time constraints and possible bias.

After interviewing members of these NGOs and national organisations, mostly based in Maputo and Matola, I was able to contact traditional healers, the main actors of this research. Members of ARPAC (*Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural* – Institute of Socio-Cultural Research) for instance, also connected me with religious leaders, traditional actors involved with traditional justice such as judges and *régulos*, members of the civil service and local artists.

List of research participants:

Civil society organisations (10)

Traditional healers (21)

Members of the civil service (5)

Religious leaders (2)

Local artists (1 instructor of traditional dance and 1 painter) (2)

Local actors involved with traditional justice (1 local judge and 1 *régulo*) (2)

I started my data collection with NGOs, aiming to reach traditional healers and find possible projects where healers were local actors working for their communities. Then I interviewed healers, the main actors of this research, as I sought to find if they had links with statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, as the literature could not answer this.

I interviewed members of the government aiming to understand the links between healers and the state, as I found that healers were being institutionalised by the Ministry of Health via AMETRAMO and AERMO. I also wanted to verify if healers were contributing to statebuilding processes in the country. I interviewed religious leaders in order to understand if/how they perceived the healers as statebuilding actors, and if they recognised the healers as justice actors.

Regarding local artists, I interviewed two local artists, a painter and an instructor of traditional dance, since a number of respondents emphasised the connection between artists and traditional healers. I decided to interview them because I wanted to listen to their perceptions, as local actors working with traditional culture, concerning the roles of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in the country.

I interviewed traditional actors involved with traditional justice such as a local judge and a *régulo*, as I was trying to find out if healers were also traditional justice actors and if they were part of the community courts. I found some evidence of their participation in community courts in the literature (Meneses, 2006a) solving a variety of matters, although literature focused on their performance in reconciliation and cleansing rituals focused on the resolution of war disputes, as previously discussed.

2.2.2 Interview-focused approaches and triangulation

This research drew upon interviews with 42 Mozambicans in which I analysed perceptions of the role of traditional healers in statebuilding processes across villages in post-conflict Mozambique. In an environment in which there is not much-written documentation on traditional healers and their links with statebuilding, it was necessary to rely on the spoken word. The scarcity of information concerning the roles of traditional healers in statebuilding processes can be explained by the strong emphasis on the cleansing rituals performed by healers in the literature. Nevertheless, fieldwork findings suggested that healers were key actors in the statebuilding processes in the country as they were promoting everyday conflict resolution, as they were political actors linked to local chiefs and as they were health actors. Although healers have been working with the state via national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO, the literature on these interactions is quite scarce as well. In this scenario, interview-focused approaches followed by triangulation guided the research.

I used data triangulation, understood as the use of the “same approach for different sets of data in order to verify or falsify generalisable trends detected in one data set” (Oppermann, 2000: 142). This methodological technique helped me to analyse multiple perspectives, as I conducted 42 interviews. Triangulation is a qualitative research strategy that tests “validity through the convergence of information from different sources” (Carter et al., 2014: 545), helping me to develop a comprehensive understanding of the healers’ role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

As I had multiple data sets with different views from various categories of actors and a research question – what is the role of traditional healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique? – that could lead me through a variety of possibilities;

triangulation helped me to organise my data, helping me to think through my data and develop the central claims of this research.

In this regard, I triangulated data sources, examining the “consistency of different data sources” (Patton, 1990: 1193). I triangulated data through a comparison of observational data with interview data (Patton, 1990), as I observed healers leading community groups to solve everyday conflicts and I asked healers about their role in Mozambican justice systems. Because of project planning, I conducted interviews before collecting and analysing observational data.

I also triangulated data through historical analyses – as healers confirmed writing evidence on their roles during the civil war – and through a comparison of the different points of views. I consider that the most crucial contribution of data triangulation to my research was that it helped me to compare the perspectives of different categories of actors. I triangulated healers, religious leaders, local chiefs, members of NGOs, members of the government, etc. This approach helped me to develop the main insights and claims of this research.

Therefore, triangulation helped me to elucidate different perspectives and validate information obtained through interviews as I found “consistency in overall patterns of data from different sources” (Patton 1990: 1195) using this method. I used data triangulation as a method to organise and analyse my data. I arranged my fieldwork data chronologically. I started with my first group of research participants, NGOs and national organisations, followed by the other research participants, as I previously explained. I transcribed and translated my interviews (from Portuguese to English), and then I compared and cross-checked the consistency of information derived from my fieldwork. Through data triangulation, I identified repetition of themes and patterns in my results, and I noticed that not only healers were bringing topics such as conflict resolution and politics, but members of

the government, members of NGOs, religious leaders and local chiefs.

Data triangulation assisted me in understanding the complexity of the healers' roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, including their ability to adapt to changing political, economic, cultural or social realities. Interviewees suggested that these realities encompassed the tensions at play among the processes of incorporation, collaboration and resistance concerning the relationship between healers and the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO. Data triangulation confirmed that the state focus on the role of the healers as health actors contributed to the denial of their multiple roles as local actors and the relegation of these people to informal realms, for instance, as will be discussed throughout this thesis.

As this research investigates hybrid political orders, data triangulation assisted me to comprehend possible institutional partitioning of indigenous knowledge and the complex relationships between the healers and the state via national institutions. In this regard, triangulation of different sources confirmed that the state was focusing on health systems and actions, instead of acknowledging the healers' three central roles in the statebuilding processes in the country.

Therefore, data triangulation through the analysis of interviews with various sources helped me to reveal unique findings and provide a clear understanding of the research problem. Triangulation enabled me to understand when and why there were different perceptions regarding the healers' roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. This method also assisted me in identifying the roles of the healers as justice, health and political actors. In this regard, it helped me to think through the main claims of this research. These themes will be discussed in further details in Chapter 4.

These three themes were identified as I analysed my transcripts and identified patterns of meaning within data, identifying repetition of words and themes. Interviewees with different backgrounds claimed that healers were local judges chosen by AMETRAMO or local chiefs to be part of the community courts. In this regard, many interviewees suggested that healers were the only actors capable of judging crimes related to the spiritual realm and witchcraft accusations, a common issue in the country. Interviewees also mentioned that healers resolved everyday conflict as they identified perpetrators, and they performed rituals to reconcile people, including married couples.

Concerning the role of the healers as political actors, data triangulation showed me that healers were working together with local chiefs such as *régulos*; they were local figures of authority leading community meetings and particularly because of their complex interactions with the state via national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO. Interviewees suggested that influential healers were selected as leaders of their communities. In this regard, data triangulation helped me to identify that different categories of interviewees – members of NGOs and national institutions, members of the government, spiritual leaders, local chiefs – asserted that healers were political actors, supporting my thinking and developing my claims.

With regard to health, different categories of interviewees also supported the claim that healers have been contributing to statebuilding through their role as health actors as healers have been registered by the Ministry of Health through national institutions. Certified healers were recognised as traditional doctors by their communities, in charge of providing medical treatment. Data triangulation helped me to organise my thinking about this topic as it helped me to think about different points of view on health. Different actors explained the complexity of this topic. Medical treatment is very complex in the country in the sense that it involves the

treatment of psychological, biological and spiritual ‘diseases’. In this regard, healers are key actors as they are mediums, being the only actors capable of connecting the spiritual realm to the physical realm, providing holistic treatment.

Data triangulation helped me to develop claims concerning the roles of traditional healers with regard to these three main themes and to comprehend the relationships between the healers and the state. Data triangulation was essential to this research, considering the lack of primary information regarding the healers’ roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Triangulation helped me to bring confirmation of research findings through different perspectives, bringing validity to the research (Patton, 1990). My theoretical background – based on hybrid political orders, as discussed in the previous chapter – also supported my findings.

Throughout Chapter 5, data triangulation was used to develop the argument that the Mozambican state has an ambiguous relationship with the healers and vice-versa, as different sources claimed that the state has been limiting the roles of the healers as statebuilding actors. Triangulation assisted me in organising this chapter according to thematic significance, as fieldwork findings highlighted Frelimo’s ‘re-traditionalisation’ through the recognition of the healers via AMETRAMO; the healers’ legitimacy as statebuilding actors; and the healers’ shift between resistance and cooperation, through an analysis of the healers’ voices regarding their roles and their interactions with the state. I consider that triangulation enhanced the confirmation of data in my research findings. In this sense, convergence happens in triangulation when data from different sources agree (Mathison, 1988).

The main questions posed in order to triangulate and better understand the data were: “Why was this said, and not that?”; “Why these words?” (Parker, 2014: 4); “Who mentioned this theme?”; “Who criticised the interactions between healers the state?”; “Who claimed that

healers were part of justice systems?”. Texts were thus interrogated to uncover the unspoken and unstated assumptions implicit within them. In this sense, the interviewees’ voices that are generally neglected within dominant political structures and process seemed to function as forms of politics (Squire, 2005). Interviews provided a set of perceptions, including subjective aspects such as reality and imagination, symbolism, feelings and human passion. Through stories (agency facet), individuals expressed personal identity and agency.

2.2.3 Observation

Through observation of aspects of Mozambican society, I was able to better understand the roles of traditional healers as actors in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, particularly everyday conflict resolution. In this regard, I consider that observation helped me to complement the data I obtained through interviews. I observed one AERMO and one AMETRAMO meeting, in Maxixe and Inhambane, respectively. In Maxixe, the meeting was held at the healer’s house. In Inhambane, the meeting took place at one of AMETRAMO’s headquarters. The AERMO meeting was conducted by a female healer and was also led by an AERMO employee who took notes. Eight healers were discussing the cases brought by other residents of the community. There was only one male healer. The AMETRAMO meeting was held in Inhambane, Inhambane, led by a female healer. There were 13 healers in the meeting, including the leader. There was only one male healer; the other 12 healers were women. The meetings were conducted in the community’s local language.

I could observe the structure of these meetings and analyse the healers’ role in their communities and their interactions with AMETRAMO and AERMO. Observation served as validation of the data collected through interviews and analysed with triangulation. I observed

that healers were local leaders representing national institutions, and that they had different roles in their communities, as interviewees suggested.

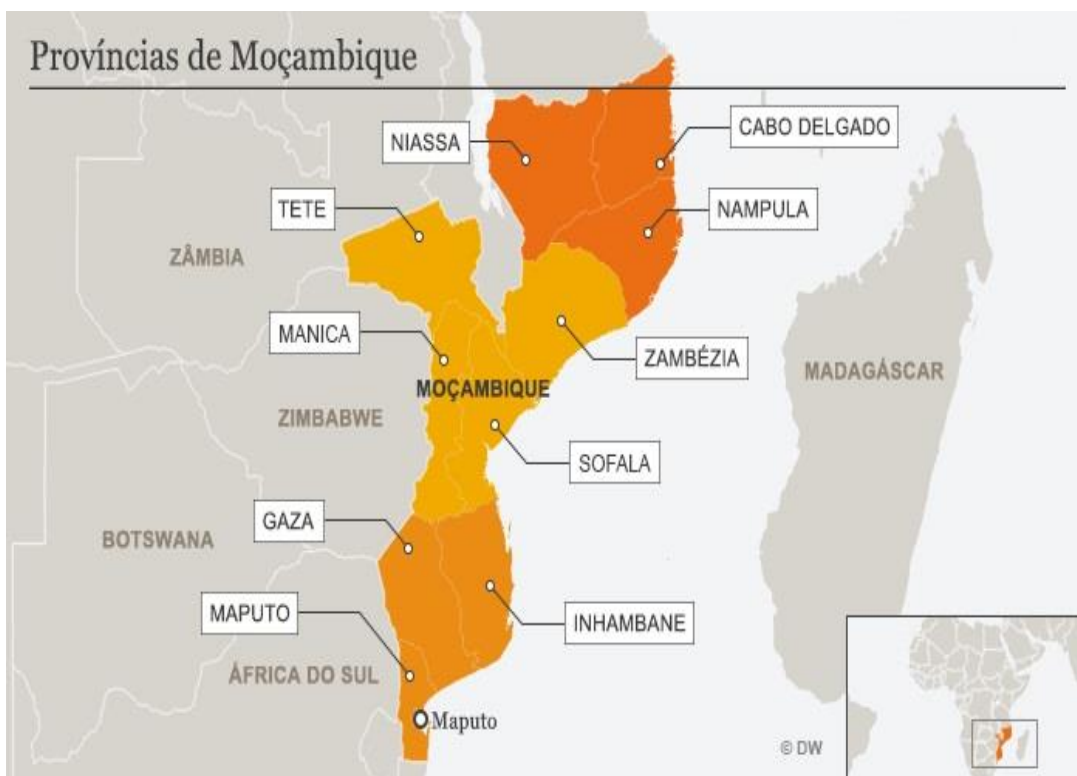
2.3 Fieldwork locations

Regarding the location of my participants, Mozambique is divided into three different regions: north, centre and south, and I conducted my research in the south and the centre of the country:

South: Province of Maputo (Matola and Maputo City) and Province of Inhambane (Inhambane, Massinga and Maxixe).

Centre: Province of Sofala (Beira, Dondo and Massambisse).

Map 1. Map of the provinces of Mozambique.



Source: <https://clubofmozambique.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/mozmapdw-1.jpg>, (accessed 21 nov. 2019).

I decided to interview healers in the south and the centre of Mozambique because I wanted to understand the links between healers and statebuilding processes, including their interactions with the state. In this regard, Frelimo's influence in the south of Mozambique is stronger than in the centre. Renamo had strong bases in the centre of Mozambique during the civil war, where healers were of political importance (Young and Hall, 1997). As will be discussed in Chapter 3, Renamo worked closely with traditional healers in the centre of Mozambique because Renamo spread throughout these areas establishing links with traditional actors such as healers and local chiefs while Frelimo state marginalised traditional authorities during the civil war. Moreover, I explored the political role of traditional healers in those areas and examined the healers' identities according to different regions and their relationships with the state and conflict because the conflict was escalating in 2013 in the central provinces of the country. I started interviewing people in the south of Mozambique because I needed to develop my network and get access to the healers through national institutions and non-governmental institutions based in the capital of the country. Besides, the first interviewees argued that there was a strong presence of traditional healers in the south of Mozambique, and that would be a good start for getting access to the healers.

Although I desired to explore the central region of the country in-depth, the escalating conflict situation barred my intentions. The conflict became known as the small war or 'proto-war' of 2013-2016⁸³ (Morier-Genoud, 2017). The peace deal held until 2013 in Mozambique, when armed clashes began⁸⁴ once again in the country's central regions⁸⁵, between Renamo

⁸³ For a list and description of the attacks, see *Map of the War*, [website], 2013, https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?msa=0&mid=1LCUIGpMrIQvzeiFUN6_6bdricKU&ll=-19.59238068182053%2C35.34027100000003&z=6, (accessed 21 may. 2018).

⁸⁴The Special Forces of the Police (FIR - *Forças de Intervenção Rápida*, Fast Intervention Forces, in English) attacked Renamo's headquarters in Muxúnguè, in the centre of the country where there was a civil and legal party meeting, with war weapons and tear grenades. The attack resulted in one death, eight wounded and sixteen prisoners (Morier-Genoud, 2017a: 161).

⁸⁵The attacks mainly affected the provinces of Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambézie (Morier-Genoud, 2017a).

and Frelimo. Renamo remains very popular in these areas (Bowker et al., 2016). The violence over the last years in Mozambique includes the looting and burning of towns and villages, rape and murder. According to an investigation conducted by Foreign Policy and supported by the Journalism Fund, the government forces are the chief aggressor in Mozambique's latest civil conflict, contradicting the dominant narrative propagated by state-owned media that blames the Renamo rebels (Bowker et al., 2016). 12,000 Mozambicans fled⁸⁶ to Malawi since the middle of 2015, and Human Rights Watch, UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) and Doctors Without Borders have reported the refugee's testimonies⁸⁷ (Bowker et al., 2016).

2.4 Language concerns

Most research participants used the Portuguese language as their medium of expression, which is my native language and the official language in Mozambique, although Portuguese can be a foreign language in the interior of the country (Cahen, 2015). Some participants did not speak Portuguese, and I worked with an interpreter in Maxixe, in the province of Inhambane, recommended by a traditional healer who was a representative of AERMO in his community. As AERMO is also a unit of analysis of my research, I acknowledged the limitation of this indication. However, the interpreter introduced me to many healers in Maxixe, Inhambane, and helped me to get access to the healers. As a member of the community, the interpreter knew the culture of the healers under study and the circumstances in which the translation took place. As the interpreter was also a member of AERMO, I was

⁸⁶The number of deaths is limited to hundreds, but there are tens of thousands of refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe (Morier-Genoud, 2017a: 154).

⁸⁷Bowker et al. (2016) provide first-hand testimonies from the refugees, which indicate that violence lies with the government.

aware of his links to the institution and potential bias as a limitation since I was also investigating the relationships between healers and the state via AERMO and AMETRAMO.

I talked to the interpreter before the interviews. I explained my project and I explained how he should be translating, to ensure that we were on the same page with regard to the project and his work. I asked him to translate only what I was asking and what respondents were saying, in order to ensure that he would not interfere in the respondents' replies. He agreed that he would only translate what I/respondents were saying.

During the interviews with the interpreter, I asked questions in Brazilian Portuguese, and he translated my questions into the languages of the healers. Traditional healers generally spoke *guitonga* and *chope, bantu* languages, a large family of languages spoken by the Bantu peoples throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. The healers answered in their language, and the interpreter repeated their answers for me. The entire process was recorded. When I noticed that the interpreter translated very short answers, compared to long response time, I confirmed with him the answer a couple of times, to ensure the correct translation. When I noticed that he was adding his own views about some issues, I asked him to repeat the respondents' answer.

As I worked with translation throughout the elaboration of this thesis, I was aware that collecting data in one language and presenting the findings in another language involved making decisions that could have an impact on the validity of the research. The impact of using translation is linked to three factors: the competence of the translator, the autobiography and material circumstances (Temple, 1997), which is the position the translator holds in relation to the researcher. One of the impacts with translated findings is gaining conceptual equivalence or comparability of meaning in a different language, since language carries a set

of assumptions, feelings, and values that the speaker may or may not be aware of but that the field worker, as an outsider, usually is not.

Throughout the elaboration of the empirical chapters, I checked the transcriptions for accuracy, and the literature and government publications complemented interview data. As previously discussed, data triangulation and observation were also used as validation strategies. Furthermore, I mitigated the issue of presenting the findings in another language by using some extracts of the interviews in Portuguese and presenting the translation of these terms using footnotes.

2.5 Ethical considerations

Concerning my role as a researcher, ethical considerations of qualitative research were empirical and theoretical and permeated the qualitative research process. There were inherent tensions in this qualitative research that were characterised by fluidity and inductive uncertainty. The ethical limitations in this qualitative research were part of its research design, such as the relationships between myself and participants; the interpretation of data; the prediction of the impact of different methods on particular participants (potential distress). I had to balance benefits with potential harm and consider legal requirements in terms of disclosure of harms; I had to account possible conflict of interest between myself and the participants and between participants; the role of self-reflexivity, emotion and intuition.

The dynamics of ethical dilemmas revealed themselves in the field and contact with persons or institutions, in which I had to weigh the research interest involving better knowledge against the safety concerns and interest of participants, concerning confidentiality, avoidance of any harm, etc. (Flick, 2018). An ethical issue was to consider the participants' well-being during and after the interview and consider the participants' roles. In this regard,

Millar (2014) highlights the difficult role played by evaluators when local people see them as potentially influential international actors, while they attempt to maintain neutrality in the field, and this was an ethical limitation to be considered.

Regarding responsibilities to society, during fieldwork, I balanced professional integrity with respect for national and international law, ensuring that research was commissioned and conducted with respect to, and awareness of, gender differences. I respected all groups in society, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion and culture. I respected under-represented social groups, avoiding their marginalisation or exclusion. I explained that the research process did not involve any unwarranted material gain or loss for any participants. I explained that I would avoid falsification, fabrication, suppression or misinterpretation of data. I reflected on the consequences of research engagement for all participants, in which I explained that reporting and dissemination of content would be carried out responsibly.

With regard to participation, I ensured that participation in research was voluntary; certifying that decisions about participation in the research were made from an informed position. I confirmed that all data would be treated with appropriate confidentiality and anonymity; certifying that research participants were protected from undue distress, physical discomfort, personal embarrassment, or psychological or other harm. In this regard, the research offered minimal risks to research participants as I asked questions about healers' practices and everyday understandings of statebuilding processes. This research did not request that participants mentioned traumatic events of the past linked to war but focused on peoples' understanding of traditional practices that have been aimed at supporting the rebuilding of relations in the country. If participants wished to refrain from answering any of the questions in the interview, I planned to move on to a more appropriate question and eliminate any questions the interviewee deemed inappropriate, but it did not happen during

fieldwork. When interviewing local participants, they were briefed about the research, its outcomes and dispositions regarding anonymity, confidentiality and protection of participants, all to help them in their supportive role.

Concerning potential risks, before conducting fieldwork in Mozambique from September 2016 to December 2016, I applied for ethical approval with the Ethics Team of the University of Birmingham. During that period, the Foreign Travel Advice for Mozambique (FCO) pointed out that there were no restrictions in its travel advice for Mozambique, and most visits were considered trouble-free. Nevertheless, I had to consider a certain number of precautions for the assurance of my safety and those of participants in the study during my fieldwork: I monitored local media, and I was aware of increasing tensions since FCO informed that street crime and armed attacks on vehicles on main roads sometimes occurred in Mozambique. I was aware of gender dynamics and safety issues. I sought trustworthy information about the places that I visited by contacting people who worked close to the areas, such as Mozambican researchers, NGO members and research assistants. I also took extra care regarding criminal kidnappings, as I avoided travelling after dark and walking at night. In this regard, I only accessed remote areas in Mozambique with people I trusted, recommended by local NGOs and by Mozambican researchers, etc. and I relied on NGOs' network when travelling around the countryside of Mozambique. I also kept in touch with my supervisors by phone and/or emails for the duration of my fieldwork.

I consider that specific logistical and security preparation helped me throughout my fieldwork, such as organising multiple research trips that were usually necessary for establishing a set of contacts that eventually served as a gateway to certain regions, interlocutors and interviewees. In this regard, I established operational security before and during the interview phase working with fixers, interpreters and drivers.

2.6 Researcher positionality

Regarding positionality, during fieldwork I was aware of the politics of interviews, considering that as a short-term outsider Latin American woman representing a Western institution, the interview process could be confusing, and interviewees might not feel comfortable to share their perceptions with me with full openness. Interviewees may have felt concerned that I could be representing a foreign government/NGO/donor. Before conducting the interviews, when I was introducing myself, I ensured that I was conducting fieldwork research by myself, as part of my doctoral studies. I explained that I was not representing a foreign government/NGO/donor. I also gave a short and a long research information sheet in Portuguese (see Appendix 7 and Appendix 9, pages 295 and 304) to all my interviewees, in which I explained the purpose, procedures, and the main details of my research.

Because of this, I was aware of the effects my own positionalities could have on my research (Bourke, 2014). In this sense, coming to terms with my own identities, be it class, race, gender, nationality or educational background, demanded a degree of introspection and was part of my fieldwork. Nevertheless, I consider that as a Brazilian researcher, it was easier for me to get access to people, mainly because of the language – Brazilian Portuguese – and shared colonisation. Mozambicans were very interested in Brazilian culture, and I felt very welcome⁸⁸.

In the context of the field, the researcher identity is continuously challenged by the implications of what body, race and gender might represent, such as difference and privilege and disconnection (Bourke, 2014). The difference was quite visible in post-conflict Mozambique, and as a researcher, I could experience difference more subtly, through

⁸⁸Two interviewees who were members of ARPAC (*Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural* – Institute of Socio-Cultural Research) mentioned close links with Brazilian culture because they had completed a master's degree in Brazil. Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/11/2016. During fieldwork, other interviewees mentioned Brazilian soap operas, a big hit in Mozambique, and policies carried out by Luiz Inácio 'Lula' da Silva, Brazilian former president.

language, ethnicity and class dynamics. During fieldwork, although I explained that I was a student and not a practitioner, some interviewees saw me as a spokesperson, someone that could reach the government and spread their claims. Thus, as a researcher, I explained my research purpose and my intentions to my interviewees clearly, in order to avoid possible tensions.

I consider that my researcher's positionality might have had affected the answers received in interview settings, as some healers I interviewed focused on talking about the lack of infrastructure in their villages, and how the state seemed distant from their needs. However, as I was not representing NGOs or national institutions, I believe that healers felt comfortable enough to talk about sensitive topics such as accusations of witchcraft and the relationships between themselves and the state via national institutions, as will be further discussed. In this regard, it is important to highlight that healers developed critical arguments concerning their relationships with the state, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

2.7 Research limitations

The Mozambican state is very bureaucratic, and in this sense, I faced various challenges during my fieldwork. When I was travelling in the south of the country, in the province of Inhambane, each district requested a different permit so I could interview healers, restraining my work to some regions because of time constraints. Furthermore, I could not secure direct access to AMETRAMO as an institution while I was conducting fieldwork because of bureaucratic obstructions, as the requirement of specific authorisations. The fact that there is not much online material regarding AMETRAMO or AERMO politics was also a big challenge. I believe that this was the main limitation of my research since my research also focuses on the relationships between traditional healers and the state mainly via

AMETRAMO. However, I was able to get access to healers – mostly registered at AMETRAMO – via local organisations who helped me to locate them.

Language barriers were also a limitation to my research. Although most traditional healers could communicate well in Portuguese, my native language, healers were used to their many dialects, and I felt that some healers had difficulties in elaborating their answers in Portuguese.

As discussed previously, the escalation of the conflict while I was conducting fieldwork limited the scope of my research, as I aimed to compare the healers' role in the statebuilding processes in the south and the centre of the country. Although I was able to conduct interviews in Sofala, I could not move as freely as I desired.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodological approaches and research methods of this thesis. The central arguments of this chapter are: the interactions between healers and the state in post-conflict Mozambique can be explained by constructivist theory, as constructivism discusses the fluidity between institutions and traditional actors; data triangulation helped me to develop and confirm the central insights of this research. Data triangulation of different sources confirmed that healers were key actors in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Data triangulation assisted me in understanding the complexity of the healers' roles in statebuilding processes, comprising three main themes: health, justice and the political sphere, as will be further discussed.

This chapter also discussed the use of ethnographic approaches in this research, including the use of interpretativism, and research methods such as observation. I also discussed some issues faced during fieldwork, such as language concerns regarding

translation and further ethical and research limitations. I also justified fieldwork locations and explained my positionality as a researcher conducting fieldwork in Mozambique.

Chapter 3. From the colonial legacy to Frelimo's *Homem Novo*⁸⁹: Unveiling the traditional healers' roles throughout the building of the Mozambican state

Introduction

This chapter develops a historical approach to discussing how the building of the state of Mozambique and its evolution in post-colonial settings took place. This chapter explains the 're-traditionalisation' processes in Mozambique through the roles of traditional healers and their relationships with the state throughout the building of the Mozambican state. Thus, it contributes to answering the research question in the sense that each section aims to discuss the relationships between the healers and the state as a way of characterising the evolution of the state in Mozambique. I consider that comprehending the relationships between healers and the state helps us to understand the role of traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique.

Existing scholarly approaches to answering these questions involve looking into the Portuguese colonial legacy and the divide between Frelimo, which has ruled the country since independence, and Renamo, the biggest opposition party and militant organisation. I develop the internal line of argument of this chapter by investigating the roles of traditional healers as traditional actors. Traditional healers were marginalised by the state until recently and by the literature, and I discuss their roles throughout the colonial period (1498-1974), the independence war (1964-1974), the civil war (1977-1992) and post-conflict Mozambique (1992-onwards).

The main argument of this chapter is that traditional healers have had multiple roles throughout the building of the Mozambican state. Colonial and post-colonial Mozambican states have related in a contradictory manner to the recognition of the healers since there are

⁸⁹New man, in English.

moments of recognition and stigmatisation of the healers by the state. This chapter claims that this process has been intimately bound up with the historical building of the Mozambican state, following the political agenda of the powers in command. It argues that the relatively recent incorporation of traditional healers into state structures via national institutions is part of the 're-traditionalisation' agenda developed by the state after the civil war, following the historical building of the Mozambican state and Frelimo's politics. Thus, the sections are chronologically divided, punctuated by macro-political changes. This chapter also draws upon empirical material gathered through fieldwork.

This chapter contributes to this thesis' overall argument – the assumption that healers have three main roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique – as it clarifies the healers' roles throughout the building of the Mozambican state. Furthermore, this chapter explains how the Mozambican state historically stigmatised the healers, followed by a process of recognition. I establish this historical timeline from the colonial state (1498) to Frelimo's 're-traditionalisation' process (1992-onwards). Fieldwork findings suggested that this process interfered with how healers have been interacting with other traditional actors and the state, thereby affecting their development as statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique. In this regard, I argue that FRELIMO's 're-traditionalisation' (1992-onwards), discussed in the last section of this chapter, affected the healers' roles in statebuilding processes in the sense that the state restricted their roles by focusing on health issues.

This chapter addresses the importance of the healers and the spiritual realm within the Mozambican culture since spirituality runs through the healers' practices, such as cleansing and reconciliations rituals, the provision of spiritual vaccines to make soldiers invincible, conflict resolution and spiritual guidance. The healers' resistance to the war through the creation of a movement called *Naparama*, the creation of peace zones during the civil wars

and mainly their own agency without state support indicates the healers' various roles throughout the building of the Mozambican state.

Throughout these complex periods of Mozambican history, traditional healers developed various roles, as health providers, military leaders, providers of physical, spiritual and psychological healing and as providers of governance and conflict resolution. However, the complexity of their roles has remained relatively neglected in the literature, as there is a strong focus on their role as reconciliation actors performing cleansing rituals to solve war disputes in post-conflict Mozambique (Igreja, 2012, 2003; Honwana, 1997; Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008).

This chapter relocates the identification, understanding and “political consciousness” (Sabaratnam, 2017: 43) of traditional healers as traditional actors throughout different moments in the building of the Mozambican state, acknowledging their historical presence. Historical awareness is essential in order to answer my research question regarding the healers' role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. Combining political consciousness with historical resistance helps me to develop hybrid political orders, in which I demonstrate how traditional actors shape and are shaped by statebuilding processes.

The first section discusses how Portuguese colonisation changed the role of traditional authorities in Mozambique, arguing that colonial structures such as forced labour and the *indigenato* system empowered some traditional authorities, explaining the links between informal (traditional authorities) and formal actors (Portuguese authorities) during this period. I reflect that the colonial legacy of having these traditional authorities has had consequences for the Mozambican statebuilding process, which resonates nowadays, meaning the evolution of the state and the development of power politics in the Mozambican society. Concerning the healers' role in colonial Mozambique, healers used to protect soldiers before armed conflict

and perform cleansing rituals after the conflict. Healers also used to divine, provide healthcare and perform rituals for widows providing trauma-healing and psychological support.

The second section focuses on post-colonial Mozambique, in which I examine the ways that the independence war (1964-1974), the civil war (1977-1992) and Frelimo's Marxist-Leninist turn impacted on the role of healers as traditional actors. I argue that healers had a key role throughout this period, providing healthcare, protection to the soldiers, and healing physical, spiritual and psychological wounds of the war. The section contends that the relationships between healers and the state were similar to the colonial period because Frelimo along its struggle with Renamo persecuted healers during the civil war.

The last section of this chapter discusses Frelimo's project to develop the Mozambican state and its relationships with traditional actors in contemporary Mozambique. It argues that Frelimo's political agenda divided the post-conflict Mozambican state and politicised traditional actors, punctuating the healers' role in this process, who were rejected at first and then recognised by the state, being institutionalised via national institutions such as AMETRAMO.

3.1 Colonial legacy: Indirect rule and the empowerment of (some) traditional authorities

This section discusses how the Portuguese colonisation of Mozambique changed the role of traditional authorities in the country. I claim that colonial structures of forced labour and the empowerment of traditional authorities such as *régulos* explains the links between informal (traditional authorities) and formal actors (Portuguese authorities) and reinforces the historical and political exclusion of traditional healers. This section argues that the role of local chiefs such as *régulos* was essential to the Portuguese indirect rule in the country. Nevertheless, the role of traditional healers is little discussed throughout the history of colonial Mozambique.

The colonial legacy of having *régulos* as statebuilding actors has consequences in the Mozambican statebuilding processes which resonates nowadays, according to the triangulation of fieldwork data. This legacy characterises the evolution of the state and the development of power politics in the country. In post-conflict Mozambique, *régulos* are local chiefs who are connected to the healers as they select healers to be part of the community courts, for instance.

Therefore, it is essential to conceptualise traditional authorities. The peace studies literature usually defines participants of traditional systems as traditional authorities (Meneses, 2006, 2008; Lundin, 1995), although I use the term traditional actors throughout this thesis. In Mozambique, the term refers to figures who derive influence and/or power from positions held within institutions built upon the organising principles of family ties. In post-conflict Mozambique, traditional authorities are traditional chiefs⁹⁰ such as *régulos* and *chefes de posto* (regional authorities), for instance (Kyed and Buur, 2006, 2006a, 2006b). I contend that the term also comprises healers, since many healers are local leaders within their communities, as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters, and because of their role as military leaders in the civil war (Nordstrom, 1997; Jentzch, 2018). The latter will be discussed in the next section.

In the works published by Irae LUNDI⁹¹(1995: 10) at the Decentralisation/Traditional Authorities Component (DTA) project⁹², the author refers to traditional authority as a

⁹⁰Among the functions of the traditional chiefs was the control of land, the regulation of rights, conflict resolution, distribution of lands, etc. (Lourenço, 2008).

⁹¹In the 1990s the political and academic debates developed in Mozambique focused on traditional political institutions. Irae Lundin took the intellectual lead of some of these scientific debates, as she was the coordinator of the project entitled Authority and Traditional Power from 1991 to 1995 (Lourenço, 2008). Lundin (1995) contradicted some structuring foundations of Frelimo's political ideology, arguing that rural culture was not reactionary obscurantism and that traditional authorities were not simply collaborators disguised as Portuguese colonialism. She argued that they were an important factor in social cohesion and cultural identity in Mozambique.

⁹²The DTA studies and workshops developed five brochures for the education of state functionaries on 'the role of traditional authorities' in Mozambique (Kyed and Buur, 2006).

“sociocultural affirmation of Africanness”, and the DTA affirms that their communities legitimate traditional authorities. However, this is an over-simplification since those levels of hierarchy in different parts of Mozambique existed prior to Portuguese conquest (West and Kloeck-Jenson, 1999), mounted by *Nguni* conquerors in the mid-nineteenth century, who used to extract tribute from subject populations who considered this anything but ‘traditional’.

Portuguese colonists arrived in Mozambique in 1498, modifying the systems of local authority to their own purposes. These systems were usually the political products of slave-lords whose power to extract tribute grew rapidly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries during which local forms of traditional authority were radically transformed (West and Kloeck-Jenson, 1999). Portuguese authority was established during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the northern and central parts⁹³ of Mozambique, and for 200 years, Portuguese colonisers were able to control the flow of commerce from the interior of the country to the coastal city-states and abroad (Mondlane⁹⁴, 1969). In this period, Portugal introduced the *prazo*⁹⁵ system, in which *prazeiros* were Portuguese and Goan settlers and landowners⁹⁶ who controlled districts and recognised only their own law (Lourenço, 2008). At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Portuguese began to set up their system of administration, and their degree of control varied widely across the country as the result of frequent wars, constantly changing zones of control⁹⁷, and a tendency toward rapaciousness (Nordstrom, 1997: 63) rather than development marked Portuguese colonisation. In 1899, the labour code implemented by Portugal defined men’s work as the production of commodities

⁹³In order to introduce Catholic missionaries in those areas (Mondlane, 1969).

⁹⁴Dr Eduardo Mondlane was a Mozambican who studied several years in the West and returned to Mozambique in 1961. Mondlane founded Frelimo in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (Andersson, 1992).

⁹⁵Name given to Portuguese dominated territories (Lourenço, 2008).

⁹⁶Jesuit and Dominican missionaries also had vast tracts of land during this period, collecting head taxes and dealing in slaves, like *prazeiros*. The alliance between state, church and commercial interests dates to the very beginning of colonial expansion in Mozambique (Mondlane, 1969).

⁹⁷In an effort to create a settler population of direct Portuguese descent and an economic base in Mozambique, Portugal instituted a system of *prazos da coroa*, crown states in Zambezia (Nordstrom, 1997).

and forced all able-bodied men to work, an obligation considered satisfied only if they had enough capital to live off the income, or had accomplished certain requirements, such as producing export crops in specified quantities (Nordstrom, 1997).

In this process, failure to work was a legal offence, contributing to the criminalisation of the African population and the resistance to colonialism by indigenous populations (Nordstrom, 1997). Besides, *chibalo* occurred in Mozambique during this period, in which African police – *sipais* – used corporal punishment, detention and deportation to discipline work. Despite the repression which surrounded forced labour, there was resistance, and according to O’Laughlin (2002), there is a rich historical record of fight, evasion and sabotage in Mozambique. Codified in the Organic Charter was the *indigenato* system, a particular form of the state which formalised a racial division between *indigenous* ‘native’ and citizens *assimilados* (assimilated), minority of natives who had supposedly adopted a Portuguese way of life after fulfilling conditions who “were crucial in Portugal’s attempt to buttress and legitimise its political authority in the colonies” (Sabaratnam, 2013: 3). By law, the “unassimilated” (Mondlane, 1969: 43) Africans were severely restricted in their economic activities, since they could not engage in any commercial activity and they did not have educational opportunities for a profession.

Thus, dualistic institutions of colonial governance supported forced labour legislation: Portuguese citizens had rights to private property, enjoyed freedom of movement and were governed by Portuguese laws, while almost all Mozambicans⁹⁸ – those subject to the *indigenato* – held property under customary tenure and were subordinated to *régulos*, pre-colonial customary chiefs selected by the Portuguese through a system of administrative alliances. *Régulos* could facilitate the management of the populations at the same time as

⁹⁸Women were initially assumed to have a productive role in agriculture or in the domestic economy (Nordstrom, 1997).

guaranteeing the presence of Portugal through the system of indirect rule, where the figure of traditional authority emerged with local legitimacy (Costa, 2011; Nordstrom, 1997). *Régulos*⁹⁹, highest ranking among *ex autoridades gentílicas*¹⁰⁰, were institutionalised as the lowest component of the colonial administrative system, working under the control of the local administrator with different functions of power: legislative, judicial, executive and administrative. During fieldwork, the [REDACTED] of the *Organização para Resolução Conflitos* (OREC¹⁰¹) based in Maputo, argued¹⁰²:

“The *régulo* is a statute. Their rule generally covers a very large area which can be confused with the district itself or more. In district *x*, we worked with a *régulo*, the *régulo* of all that zone. But beyond that, it is usually via traditional lineage. However, there are others [chiefs] such as neighbourhood secretary, secretary A, secretary B, or C. *Chefe de quarteirão*. This mechanism occurs in the public administration itself”.

This quote points out the relevance of the *régulos* as local chiefs in post-conflict Mozambique, as it suggests that their rule covers large areas and that they have been working with NGOs. Drawing on fieldwork findings and the literature on the Portuguese rule in Mozambique, (Lourenço, 2008; West and Kloeck-Jenson, 1999; Bertelsen, 2016; O’Laughlin, 2002), I argue that *régulos* embodied local logics of chieftaincy and ‘re-traditionalisation’ in Mozambique when they were recognised by Portugal. They supported the establishment of a colonial system that interfered in the Mozambican chieftaincy system, also aggravating anti-Frelimo hostility in rural areas, as will be discussed further. They are important actors in my research since healers support *régulos* and work with them, as will be discussed in the next

⁹⁹*Régulo*’s position was passed according to a hereditary system, and its legitimacy goes back to pre-colonial times (Nordstrom, 1997).

¹⁰⁰Native authorities (West, 2005). West and Kloeck-Jenson (1999) explain that when Portugal was mounting the system of *autoridades gentílicas* the Portuguese normally paid attention to pre-existing hierarchies and attempted to incorporate them into the colonial State’s system of native administrative intermediaries. Among their principal tasks were the collection of taxes, the recruitment of labour for wage employment on colonial plantations or for mandatory uncompensated public works (*chibalo*) and the enforcement of colonial rules and regulations.

¹⁰¹Organisation for Conflict Resolution, in English. OREC’s focus on working with community leaders was quite helpful for understanding the hierarchy of traditional leaders in Mozambique.

¹⁰²Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

chapter, and they are important actors within Mozambican traditional justice systems (Meneses, 2006), one of the main areas which link healers and statebuilding in my research.

In comparison to healers, *régulos* were institutionalised as local chiefs by Portuguese bureaucrats during the colonial rule, while the state institutionalised healers only after the civil war. The recent recognition of traditional healers by the state via the creation of AMETRAMO/AERMO highlights the importance of healing and the spiritual realm in Mozambique. This recognition also suggests the political necessity of FRELIMO to regain areas lost by Renamo's occupation during the civil war.

In 1907, the administrative reorganisation was undertaken grounded in Portuguese *administradores* (administrators), and *chefes de posto* (regional authorities) (Nordstrom, 1997). Regional authorities were the closest Portuguese officials to the Mozambican population, presiding over the collection of taxes, disputes and punishment as well agriculture and government projects in their areas, re-establishing a limited traditional authority for some African chieftains. Hence, the essence of the colonial system¹⁰³ was based on the existence of a traditional ruling system, upon which the colonial administrative and judicial system exerted its action, which explains the colonial legacy of traditional actors such as *régulos* as agents of the statebuilding processes of the country. The state is “perpetually unfolding” (Bertelsen, 2016: 10)¹⁰⁴ in Mozambique, following a noninstitutional approach to the state and the field of traditional, tracing how the traditional field constitutes a site of potentiality, where the traditional takes shape in relation to and frequently in opposition to state ordering. In this scenario, the Portuguese concentrated administrative capacity and power in the hands of a

¹⁰³Between 1890 and 1910 the main characteristics of Portuguese colonialism were established: a centralised net of authoritarian administration; the alliance with the Catholic Church; the use of foreign companies to exploit natural resources; concession system; the export of workers to South Africa and forced labour (Bertelsen, 2016). Mondlane argues (1969: 34) that in its essence the system today is the same, such as slavery, which continued into the twentieth century in many areas of Mozambique although it was abolished in 1869.

¹⁰⁴Bertelsen (2016: 10) states that for Mozambicans the state is frequently referred to as *o estado* (the state), *o governo* (the government), *o partido* (the party i.e Frelimo).

small group of people loyal to the colonial state, strengthening the colonial centralised bureaucratic state.

Consequently, the role of traditional chiefs such as *régulos* was essential to the Portuguese indirect rule in Mozambique. On the other hand, the healers' role in this process is not very clear in comparison to the other periods, since there are few mentions of the healers' role in colonial Mozambique in the literature and healers were persecuted by the state (Meneses, 2004). These colonial structures of forced labour and the establishment of *régulos* linking central governments and rural populations as the administrators of customary represent the links between informal (traditional authorities) and formal actors (Portuguese authorities) and have consequences in the Mozambican statebuilding processes which echoes nowadays. This legacy characterises the evolution of the state and the development of power politics in the Mozambican society since these re-invented traditional authorities interpreted tradition to maintain their power as agents of local politics, as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters.

In this regard, dualist politics of the *indigenato* system still dominate Mozambique¹⁰⁵ today (O'Laughlin, 2002), because there is one set of institutions of governance for the countryside and another for urban areas, maintaining patterns of rural poverty. It is possible to verify today the complex social interaction between the government and traditional actors in post-conflict Mozambique, following a system of decentralised despotism. The next subsection discusses the role of traditional healers in colonial Mozambique, in which the colonial powers persecuted them.

¹⁰⁵Mine labour and wage-labour on settler farms in the south. Plantation labour in the centre and smallholder cotton in the north (O'Laughlin, 2002).

3.1.1 Understanding the traditional healers' role in colonial Mozambique

This subsection explains the healers' role during colonial Mozambique, aiming to cover how far back healers appear in the literature and the changes colonisation brought to their role in the country, arguing that the Portuguese colonialism stigmatised healers. Tracing back the healers' history in Mozambique, Alcinda Honwana (2002: 55) states that before the invasion of the Kingdom of Gaza in 1828 there were only two types of healers: the *nyanga* (healers) who were not considered to be possessed by the spirits and the *nyangarume*, specialists in herbal medicine to divine, heal, and combat magic and witchcraft. Before joining the army in colonial Mozambique, soldiers had to go through rituals performed by healers, aimed at protecting them against the dangers of the war and giving them strength during the colonial period (Honwana, 1997). After the war, they had the perception that the war had polluted them, and they had to be purified, particularly because of the spirits of the dead. In this scenario, healers used to vaccinate people – *ku thlavela* – filling cuts with a medical paste obtained from a blend of different plants and prepare a talisman (*nhlulo*) for the duration of the person's military service.

During colonial times, healers conducted other rituals for victims of war, such as rituals performed for widows (Honwana, 1997). Moreover, throughout the literature on colonial Mozambique (Meneses, 2012; Honwana, 1997; Roesch, 1992) healers are mentioned in relation to the dichotomy between modern medicine and traditional medicine and on the distinction between sorcerers and healers, in which healers are those who heal, while sorcerers do bad spells (Meneses, 2004).

Regarding the relationships between the state and traditional actors in this period, although *régulos* were recognised by the colonial state, the colonial system negatively evaluated traditional healing practices and its actors in Mozambique, where healing practices

were viewed as negative and obscurantist, also involving forgetting and silencing¹⁰⁶ (see Meneses, 2012; Honwana, 1997). Therefore, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, several healers were arrested and condemned to exile by the colonial authorities (Meneses, 2004). However, due to the absence of doctors, the colonial state accepted the presence of some healers, for having no alternative to the health care system, in which healers requested formal authorisation to act as therapists in places where there were no practitioners of modern medicine (Meneses, 2004). In this way, traditional medicine and healers were tolerated by the colonial system. Thus, in the colonial period healers were stigmatised by the Portuguese colonialism.

Moreover, the recognition of traditional authorities such as *régulos* might have contributed to the stigmatisation of the healers. Although healers had multiple roles during this period protecting soldiers, healing and counselling people, they were not recognised by the Portuguese, and formal structures of the colonial system mostly persecuted them. The next section follows the movements for independence in Mozambique.

3.2 Post-colonial Mozambique: From the independence war (1964-1974) to civil war (1977-1992) and Frelimo's Marxist-Leninist turn

This section is chronologically developed, focusing first on the war for independence (1964-1974) and then the civil war (1977-1992) in Mozambique, and examining the healers' roles and relationships with the state in these processes. It argues that healers had a key role during this period as traditional actors leading soldiers, providing protection to the soldiers and reintegrating ex-soldiers throughout the country, as the state did not create an official

¹⁰⁶Meneses (2012, 2015) discusses the role of memories and history in Mozambique and she claims that the Mozambican state silenced the diversity of memories generated by the interaction between colonisers and colonised. Furthermore, the state justified the repression of those who questioned the official version of history by silencing the diversity of memories generated by the complex social interactions between the colonizers and colonized over the long period of Portuguese colonialism.

transitional justice/reconciliation mechanism after the civil war. However, the relationships between healers and the state are similar to the colonial period, because Frelimo persecuted healers through its competition with Renamo during the civil war.

National independence movements were founded during the 1950s in Mozambique, but the need to organise the resistance to the colonial situation politically began to produce its effects in the 1960s, especially among Mozambican emigrants in neighbouring territories (Mondlane, 1969). In this sense, resistance is part of the development of the Mozambican state. Frelimo was born out of the merger of three anti-colonial organisations, *União Nacional Africana de Moçambique* (MANU¹⁰⁷), *União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique* (UDENAMO¹⁰⁸) and *União Nacional Africana de Moçambique Independente* (UNAMI¹⁰⁹), as a political movement to contest Portuguese colonial rule (Venancio and Chan, 1998).

Although determined to try to gain independence by peaceful means, Frelimo members were convinced that war would be necessary, mainly because of the “character of the government in Portugal” (Mondlane, 1969: 123), since Portugal would not admit the principle of self-determination and independence. In the 1960s, Frelimo grew to prominence as the dominant force against the Portuguese colonists, leading the independence war, launched on 25 September 1964. Frelimo began the liberation struggle in the 1960s through the mobilisation of peasants in the north of the country, and in the early 1970s, it began to attack the settler zone and other strategic areas (Venancio and Chan, 1998).

The war for independence lasted ten years in Mozambique, between 1964 and 1974, affecting mainly rural areas (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008). On the Portuguese part, the war was sustained by the political principle of defending what was considered national territory, based on the concept of pluricontinental and multiracial nation (Afonso and Gomes,

¹⁰⁷African National Union of Mozambique, in English.

¹⁰⁸National Democratic Union of Mozambique, in English.

¹⁰⁹African National Union of Independent Mozambique, in English.

2010). On the part of the African liberation movements, the war was justified by the inalienable principle of self-determination and independence¹¹⁰, within an international framework of support of the decolonisation movement, reinforced after the Second World War. The independence war had a key role in building national identity in Mozambique, strengthening the people's consciousness of belonging to a nation and constructing a new country (Nordstrom, 1997). Unfortunately, there is limited literature on the role of traditional healers, specifically during the independence war.

In 1975, Frelimo and the Portuguese authorities signed the Lusaka Peace Agreement – Frelimo was the only Mozambican political force that participated in the negotiations (Sanches, 2015) – which led to the independence of Mozambique at the end of June and the transfer of sovereignty and power to the Frelimo authorities. Samora Machel became the first president of the Republic of Mozambique (Sanches, 2015). Right after the independence, Frelimo established a socialist single-party regime, in which the party's president was automatically declared president of the republic and the supreme legislative body – the Popular National Assembly – was indirectly elected through plebiscites (Krennerich 1999 apud Sanches, 2015: 45). In 1977, Frelimo assumed an avant-garde Marxist-Leninist¹¹¹ orientation; as well as its mission of “(...) to lead, organise and educate the masses, and to combat capitalism” (Sanches, 2015: 45), with the party's top military and political leaders taking up the reins of government.

¹¹⁰Inequalities generated under Portuguese colonialism extended throughout all levels of Mozambican society (Nordstrom, 1997). In 1955 the literacy rate of the entire population was between one and two percent. In 1963, at the University of Lourenço Marques, only institution for higher education in the country, only five of the three hundred students enrolled were African. Nordstrom (1997) adds that Mozambique is not only segregated in education, since health care, sanitation programs and housing for Mozambicans were substandard, banished to the peripheries of more sophisticated Portuguese infrastructure.

¹¹¹Frelimo is the only organisation in southern Africa aided by USRR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) and China during the Cold War (Cahen, 2005). Furthermore, Frelimo was the only Mozambican anticolonial movement recognised as legitimate by the Organisation the African Unity (now the African Union) and the United Nations (Sanches, 2015).

Regarding the structures of governance within the Mozambican Marxist-Leninist orientation, the Portuguese colonisation filled the social space with white communities, repressing the black elites (Cahen, 2015). There were a very small number of *assimilados* and *mestiços*¹¹² that were used mostly in the tertiary sector, living within or in the immediate proximity of the colonial state apparatus. Thus, the social model of the anticolonial agents was very close to the Portuguese model. The microelite wanted to create the nation for its own legitimisation in colonial spaces, creating Marxism-Leninism to implement a nation model that had a lot of the Portuguese rule: a nation homogeneous and hostile to its ethnicities – including the exclusion of rural inhabitants and *régulos* (Sanches, 2015) – with only one official language, with the state as the main actor of the economy, with a single party and with union corporatism. Thus, Marxism-Leninism was also part of the colonial legacy of the Portuguese model (Cahen, 2015).

Despite the centralisation of power, also known as democratic centralism as the executive, judiciary and legislative powers were vested in Frelimo (Igreja, 2013), they “faced several destabilisation fronts whose origins predate independence” (Sanches, 2015: 46). During the 1960s, Mozambique was an important player in the liberation struggle of the so-called Front-Line States¹¹³ and hosted insurgent movements that threatened the power of Ian Smith in Rhodesia and the Apartheid in South Africa (Sanches, 2015). This led the Rhodesians¹¹⁴ and the forces of South Africa and Malawi to unite and support Renamo (Sanches, 2015), in order to destabilise the Mozambican government (Nordstrom, 1997).

The Mozambican civil war began in 1977, two years after the end of the war of independence, and it lasted 15 years. Frelimo authorities saw the civil war as an extension of

¹¹²It refers to any mixture of Portuguese and local populations in the Portuguese colonies.

¹¹³Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Sanches, 2015).

¹¹⁴Rhodesia became the independent state of Zimbabwe.

the external war first led by the Rhodesians and later continued by the South African¹¹⁵ apartheid regime (Nordstrom, 1997). Renamo emphasised the internal component, triggered by Frelimo's post-colonial dictatorship and repressive policies. Renamo called for support from traditional leaders and rural inhabitants who were marginalised by the modernisation project implemented by Frelimo (Sanches, 2015). Others prefer to speak of a combination of "both internal and external factors" (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008: 62). These conflicts caused a devastating disruption and destruction in Mozambique since people had to shift between areas controlled by the government and Renamo-controlled areas to survive. Mozambicans experienced traumatic events and subjugation on a fratricidal fight as Frelimo and Renamo forced people to murder their own relatives (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca 2008). The Lusaka Accords of 25 September 1974 was the first transition from war to peace, and the second transition (1990) comprehended many processes.

After almost two decades of civil war in Mozambique, on 4 October 1992, the General Peace Agreement (GPA) was signed in Rome, between the Mozambican Government, represented by Frelimo, and Renamo (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008).

The civil war lasted from 1977 to 1992, causing the death of 500,000 people – 95% of the victims were civilians (Donini, 1996) – displacing 3.5 million people and forcing a further 1.4 million Mozambican refugees to flee into neighbouring countries. Under the GPA, it was agreed that troops from both sides would withdraw and a new unified army would be established. The remaining troops would surrender their arms to a UN peacekeeping force (UNOMOZ), and general elections were to be held under UN supervision (Farah, 1995).

The peace negotiations were followed by a set of political changes to the post-civil war Marxist-Leninist regime, replacing the regime with the pluralistic constitution of 1990,

¹¹⁵Renamo was trained, equipped and largely formed by South Africa, following the footsteps of Rhodesia (Venancio and Chan, 1998).

establishing a multi-party democratic system and a market-oriented economy. The GPA also recognised Renamo as a political party with full rights to participate in the political life of the country. The structure of social cleavages, the nature of transition, neo-patrimonial practices and the electoral system explains the evolution of the Mozambican party system (Sanches, 2015).

Throughout the literature (see Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008; Igreja, 2003, 2014; Honwana, 2002) on post-conflict Mozambique it is argued that the peace agreement was founded upon a culture of denial, as Frelimo and Renamo adopted a general amnesty for all veterans after the civil war, excluding “legal mechanisms to hold accountable individuals who were allegedly responsible for committing wartime abuses and crimes” (Igreja, 2010: 51).

In post-conflict Mozambique, there is not an official system oriented for transitional justice and reconciliation in comparison to most other post-conflict countries neither formal support¹¹⁶ of traditional structures of post-conflict trauma healing. However, fieldwork findings and the literature (Igreja, 2012; Honwana, 1997; Nordstrom, 1997; Igreja, 2015) suggested that traditional institutions such as the community courts played a crucial role in adjudicating wartime conflicts (Igreja, 2010) and healers played a fundamental role in the reintegration of ex-soldiers throughout the country during the civil war, conducting reception and reintegration ceremonies to reconnect them to their former communities (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008). The procedures followed by healers demonstrate that healing and war-related justice are not separate phenomena, and traditional healing practices are holistic because “they are as much about healing as about restorative justice” (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008: 76) as will be discussed in the next sub-section.

¹¹⁶Joaquim Chissano, the then president of Mozambique, did not mention the suffering of the war victims in his speeches, for example. On the other hand, Afonso Dhlakama, leader of Renamo, stated that they should recall the brothers who died during the war (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008).

3.2.1 Healers' roles during the Mozambican civil war

While much research on the Mozambican civil war has focused on the origins of the rebel group Renamo, other actors, including civilians, also played an active role (Jentzsch, 2018). The civil war led several popular armed and unarmed self-defense movements to stop the violence. Traditional healers had many roles in this period since healers led resistance movements, performed rituals to protect soldiers and war bases, performed rituals to reintegrate soldiers in the communities, counselled people and provided healthcare throughout the country. Healers were key actors in the Mozambican civil war as they were war leaders, leading *Naparama*, an important movement that resisted to armed oppression; they created peace zones, they developed *ad hoc* conflict resolution mechanisms, providing physical, spiritual and psychological care. The complexity of the healers' roles during the civil war suggests their relevance as traditional actors in the building of the Mozambican state, as they provided a structure that could not be covered by the state during the war, considering the importance of the spiritual realm to the Mozambican society. This subsection explains how healers developed these complex linkages during the Mozambican civil war.

Regarding the healers' role as war leaders, Manuel António¹¹⁷, for instance, was a healer who founded a traditional army called *Naparama*¹¹⁸ during the late 1980s in the north-central regions of the country, leading pockets of resistance to military oppression (Nordstrom, 1997). *Naparama* was formed after a large counter-offensive by Frelimo, and allied forces failed to stop Renamo's expansion. It emerged in the border region between Nampula and Zambezia provinces, spreading to their numerous districts from 1989 to 1990 (Jentzsch, 2018). *Naparama* was present in two-thirds of the northern territory of the country, and its success led to stability during wartime.

¹¹⁷His title was *Comandante Curandeiro* (Lieutenant Healer) Manuel António (Nordstrom, 1997: 58).

¹¹⁸*Parama* implies the drug used during the vaccination and *Naparama* the people that received the vaccine (Jentzsch, 2018).

In 1988, Manuel António's movement was "based on the belief in a vaccine to make people invulnerable to bullets" (Jentzsch, 2018: 75). The movement grew from a few hundred to several thousand members and spread across the central and northern provinces of Mozambique within one year. The spread of *Naparama* highlights a phenomenon common to many civil wars, in which the population is actively involved with traditional actors in various local arrangements to curb violence. These arrangements included militias, self-defense forces and paramilitaries, who became significant protectors of specific communities, challenging the distinctions between insurgents and the state (Jentzsch, 2018). In Mozambique, these armed grassroots groups¹¹⁹ were co-opted by the state as part of its counterinsurgency strategy, as soon as Frelimo "realised the potential of the *Naparama*'s power against Renamo" (Jentzsch, 2008: 76).

As the leader of *Naparama*, Manuel António was committed to saving his country from Renamo, and his army liberated¹²⁰ approximately 150,000 people from Renamo occupation in north-central Mozambique¹²¹ in 1990, demonstrating that healers have been fighting oppressive rule through different strategies of resistance (Nordstrom, 1997). Every soldier in *Naparama* experienced an initiation ceremony, and as a resurrected healer, Manuel António vaccinated his troops with traditional medicines that would make them invulnerable to Renamo's "bullets and the cuts of machetes" (Nordstrom, 1997: 58). Nonetheless, healers also had similar roles in Renamo bases, since they protected Renamo bases and soldiers

¹¹⁹People also devoted unarmed strategies of defense during the civil war such as peace zones: areas in which civilians were able to convince Renamo and Frelimo not to attack, supported by the Catholic Church and Jehovah's Witnesses (Jentzsch, 2018).

¹²⁰The *Naparama* army had a nonviolence attitude against Renamo, since their goal was not to kill the enemy, but to force Renamo to flee in the face of their power. However, when Renamo elected to fight, they decided it was legitimate to kill them (Nordstrom, 1997).

¹²¹In the places where Renamo originally recruited and operated during the civil war, traditional healers were of social and potentially political importance as they were in neighbouring Zimbabwe and some belonged to Renamo bases in Manica and Sofala such as Casa Banana (Young and Hall, 1997).

during the war, making them bullet-proof¹²², and healers were reported to have played a formal role in regulating daily military life since major military decisions were taken after consultation with the spirits with healers as intermediaries (Roesch, 1992). Besides, Renamo members also claimed the presence of ‘lion spirits’ invoked by healers to accompany and guard Renamo soldiers in the past (West, 2005).

Naparama’s empowerment was accompanied by internal struggles and powerful response from Renamo, which resulted in the death of Manuel António in late 1991 (Jentzsch, 2018). According to Corinna Jentzsch (2018), the short-term success and long-term failure of the *Naparama* can be explained by the importance of spiritual power in the Mozambican war, which contributed to an increase in fragmentation of armed groups. There was a competition for spiritual power and by extension for political and economic power by *Naparama* leaders, including the disputes between two main leaders in Zambezia and Nampula provinces. Spiritual sources of power were crucial for the *Naparama*’s success, emphasising the complexity of the dynamics¹²³ of the civil war in Mozambique and the role of traditional healers in these settings.

In southern Mozambique, in the village of Mungoi in Manjacaze, in the province of Gaza, a “spirit medium” created the most well-known case of a ‘peace zone’, an unarmed defense strategy (Jentzsch, 2018: 79). People believed that he was the spirit of a former headman, who spoke through his granddaughter. After a severe attack in December 1987 that killed 92 people, the spirit through his medium asked for a meeting with Renamo, demanding the “group to never attack the village again” (Maier, 1998: 52 *apud* Jentzsch, 2018: 80). The area was protected, and the village of Mungoi became a peace zone. There are other examples

¹²²Interviewees mentioned the bulletproof Mozambican soldiers. Those bulletproof soldiers were part of the *Naparama* movement, which traces its roots to Manuel Antonio, a traditional healer from eastern Zambezia. He claimed to have died of measles but after six days, he was revived to free people. Using large ritual ceremonial gatherings, he ‘vaccinated’ his followers (Young and Hall, 1997).

¹²³See Wilson (1992).

of peace zones in the literature (see Jentsch, 2018: 80), stressing the importance of the spiritual realm and its complexity¹²⁴ in Mozambique and how traditional actors mobilised cultural resources to finish the civil war.

Traditional healers are also referred as spirit mediums and witchdoctors¹²⁵ throughout the literature on Mozambican civil war, helping war-traumatised to return to a normal life by taking the violence out of the people and the communities through various ceremonies, treating violence as a disease and setting up healing networks informally (Nordstrom, 1997). Furthermore, healers helped people to reconstruct a new political culture through *ad hoc* conflict resolution mechanisms locally developed (Nordstrom, 1997), contributing to the development of statebuilding through their roles and practices. Carolyn Nordstrom (1997) argues that every place she visited in Mozambique countrywide had systems to resist violence in which those exposed to violence were encouraged to receive physical, spiritual and psychological care.

These systems included counselling towards peaceful responses since these problems could reverberate across lifetimes and communities (Honwana, 1997; Igreja, 2012) and rituals to exorcise or appease spirits¹²⁶, taking into account that healers mediate conflicts and establish links between the living and the dead. Nordstrom (1997) states that every healer she interviewed (of which there were hundreds) developed methods to help people survive the war and to institute peacebuilding processes in doing so, and the success was in part because traditional healing combines individual and collective resources at all levels of socio-cultural

¹²⁴“While Mungoi in southern Mozambique provided group protection, *Naparama* (and other spirit mediums) in northern Mozambique provided special powers to individuals” (Jentsch, 2018: 81).

¹²⁵Andersson (1992: 3-4) states that Mozambique is a country of contradictions, “where the witchdoctor’s legends hold the most sway, and black magic has a large following”.

¹²⁶Healers mediate conflicts and establish links between the living and the dead. In this regard, Honwana (1997: 299) describes an example shared by a man from Manica during the civil war, in which the *mpfhukwa* spirit of a Renamo commander killed in the area was attacking passers-by, and some reported feeling something beating them; other heard voices sending them back. A healer performed a ritual to catch the spirit, and after the proper rituals and spirits request were dealt, no more problems occurred in that road.

life. Nordstrom (1997: 147) describes “one of the most fascinating acts of civil resistance” she saw in Mozambique, where civilians kidnapped soldiers and took them back to their villages to put them through ceremonies to remove them from the war and remove the war from them, and to reintegrate them into civilian life with their community. However, few have documented the “countrywide peacebuilding system” that informal actors such as healers, rural school teachers and illiterate traders have developed in order “to heal the wounds of the war” (Nordstrom, 1997: 212).

Throughout my fieldwork experience, many healers also claimed that they performed rituals to take the war out of the people, providing the cure of diseases and physical ravages of war but also reintegrating them back into a healthy lifestyle in the community, as will be discussed in the next chapter. A cleansing ritual described¹²⁷ by a healer consisted in bathing the military clothes used by a soldier during the war with water and healing herbs to wash off the blood of war: “*ku hlampsa ngat ya impi*”¹²⁸ (Honwana, 1997: 300). FOMICRE’s CEO, who was a child soldier during the civil war emphasised¹²⁹ that during the civil war healers provided healthcare “in the bush” and that after the war he had to go through cleansing rituals. Otherwise, he could not get married, for instance.

His statement highlights that only after compliance with certain treatments former soldiers were accepted back into their communities, highlighting the importance of collective healing to the reestablishment of balance in Mozambican communities and how healers had a key role in bringing social stability through psychological and spiritual healing during the civil war (Honwana, 1997). Healers instituted a series of practices to rebuild people’s lives which provided conflict resolution during the civil war while peace negotiations bogged down in rhetoric, vested interests and bureaucratise (Nordstrom, 1997). Nordstrom (1997) argues

¹²⁷Healer 14. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

¹²⁸Tsonga language.

¹²⁹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/12/2016.

that creativity is a core survival strategy and a form of resistance¹³⁰ to political oppression in Mozambique which links to the healers.

Healers represent resistance throughout the building of the Mozambican state, on the grounds that they contributed to the development of the local state during the civil war as traditional actors when two models of social organisation were confronted. The first model was the state model, played by governmental structures led by Frelimo party and its organisations. The second model was a social reproduction model politically supported by the Renamo party, as a force of opposition to the state and the Frelimo party (Lourenço, 2008).

The development of the local state throughout this period is to a large extent based on the dynamics of opposition and confluence between these two models (Lourenço, 2008), and many healers as traditional authorities were part of rural communities increasingly discontented with Frelimo, becoming more receptive towards Renamo's social policy (Lourenço, 2008). Furthermore, trained and provisioned by the Rhodesian and later South African security forces (Venancio and Chan, 1998), Renamo operatives began their military campaign of social destabilisation in these areas. They soon discovered that the once respected traditional authorities spread throughout rural Mozambique were often willing to cooperate with this new military revolt against the Frelimo party-state, which had marginalised, shamed and committed a series of political, cultural and social abuses (Geffray, 1990). Concerning the interactions between traditional authorities and the state in this period, disagreeing with Frelimo meant, among other political aspects, a return to a historical past in which the traditional authorities were respected, obeyed and integrated into their respective structure of political authority (Lourenço, 2008).

Traditional lines of authority in the countryside formed by *régulos* aggravated anti-

¹³⁰Furthermore, healers keep oral traditions in Mozambique and the importance of transmitting accounts of African resistance to younger generations, which could not be controlled by military and political elites.

Frelimo¹³¹ hostility in rural areas, in which Maputo's open attempts at discouraging traditional religious practices accentuated the divide between peasant life and the alien regime in Maputo (Venancio and Chan, 1998). For most of the people, the ancestral religions are the most important ones (Venancio and Chan, 1998), as they are concerned with rights to land and the means of ensuring the land's fertility, including cults of rain-making which are associated with spirit mediums, also known as traditional healers.

Regarding the relationships between the state and the healers during the civil war, like the colonial state which ignored traditional healers and focused on the social control of chiefs and traditional political structures, Frelimo ostracised healers as obscurantists and concentrated its efforts on replacing traditional political structures with popularly elected ones (Roesch, 1992), probably because they considered healers as Renamo collaborators (Nordstrom, 1997). Nevertheless, healers liberated people from Renamo occupation, as discussed previously. Although Frelimo did not encourage the use of traditional institutions in the war, officers and soldiers made recourse to the healers for various reasons, consulting them for protection against the enemy (Honwana, 1997) and joining the battalion of a commander they knew to be protected and counselled by a good healer. The next section explains the post-conflict Frelimo state and how Frelimo proceeded from a complete rejection of the healers as traditional authorities towards incorporation into state structures.

¹³¹Anti-Frelimo hostility among the peasantry was also inflamed by Frelimo's lack of ability and means with which to respond the problems created from the mid-1970s onwards when the country was distressed by a series of natural disasters. Frelimo was seen "not only incompetent but almost unwilling to carry out efforts directed at bettering the peasant's predicaments" (Venancio and Chan, 1998: 9).

3.3 De-colonising Mozambique: Frelimo's *Homem Novo* and its rejection of traditional authorities and turn to institutionalisation

This final section discusses Frelimo's politics in post-conflict Mozambique, focusing on Frelimo's relationships with traditional authorities. I contend that Frelimo's political agenda divided the post-conflict Mozambican state and politicised these actors, punctuating the healers' role in this process. Healers were rejected at first and then recognised by the state so that Frelimo could regain support among the rural and urban population through 're-traditionalisation', as will be discussed in this section, being institutionalised via national institutions such as AMETRAMO. This section contributes to this thesis' overall argument as the 're-traditionalisation' of the state affected the healers' various roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, considering that the state restricted the healers' roles by focusing on their role as traditional doctors. This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

As previously discussed in the introduction, after independence Frelimo established a socialist one-party state and a series of reforms focusing on collective modernization through the *Homem Novo* (New Man), ideal grounded on scientific socialism and rejection of traditional structures and actors that could interrupt the development of the country (Mondlane, 1969). Consequently, Frelimo banished traditional authorities and labelled political and social institutions based on logics of kinship as retrograde and feudal (Meneses, 2006), following the article 4 of the first constitution approved in 1975 that stated the need to eliminate "colonial and traditional structures of oppression and exploitation and the accompanying mentality" (Meneses, 2006: 6). In this regard, only with independence Frelimo's indifference toward healers passed into open repression (Roesch, 1992), because the Frelimo state persecuted all those who were considered healers, punishing and condemning

them (Meneses, 2004; Castanheira, 1979; Tomé, 1979; Machel, 1981). However, after the abolition of traditional authorities, there were no resources to deploy the new political structures throughout Mozambique (Meneses, 2006) and where they were deployed, the population did not automatically accept them. As a result, traditional authorities continued to rule under different forms and conditions (Kyed and Buur, 2006), and this thesis explores this through the role of traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique.

There is a strong critique of Frelimo's position after the independence (Geffray, 1990) considered an authoritarian and alien political force unable to acknowledge and deal with some socio-cultural particularities¹³² of rural communities (Lourenço, 2008) while traditional authorities were usually more sensitive to these social issues and more competent to deal with them (Lundin, 1995). On the other hand, Renamo maintained its traditionalist vision of Mozambicans political realities, promoting the "revival of traditional authority" and the politicisation of traditional authorities (West and Kloeck-Jenson, 1999: 460).

During the '90s different projects and initiatives took place in Mozambique funded by the government and by external actors such as the Ford Foundation and the Agency for International Development (AID), focused on developing traditional authorities and their sociocultural relevance. Besides, the openness towards traditional medicine widened in this period, and healers were gradually seen as key to re-legitimise Frelimo after the civil war (Meneses, 2006). In 1994, Frelimo approved legislation that held the devolution of responsibilities, duties and resources to the counties, and the Law 3/94 (art. 8.2) established that the bodies of municipal districts would listen to the views and suggestions of the traditional authorities. Frelimo would also coordinate the realisation of activities aimed at the

¹³²Marriage, divorce, inheritance issues, family and/or community conflict resolution, the staging of initiation rituals and control of witchcraft are part of the everyday life in the rural areas (Lourenço, 2008).

satisfaction of specific issues in the communities of the traditional authorities¹³³ (Lourenço, 2008).

The recognition of traditional authorities demonstrates Frelimo's failure to erase obscurantism in Mozambique (Bertelsen, 2016) and need to use traditional authorities to govern – 're-traditionalisation' – and a tentative move by the state to reclaim areas that have been lost to the opposition Renamo during the civil war. This move undermined Renamo's support among the rural and urban populations¹³⁴ as a custodian of tradition¹³⁵ vis-à-vis its grassroots social character and praxis, where sorcery and spirits had become part of Renamo's domain (Roesch, 1992).

In 1992, the state created AMETRAMO, following the state lifting of the ban against traditional authorities, which was upheld until 1986, as a state attempt to organise traditional healers, as will be discussed further. By regulating healers, the Frelimo state attempted to regain control over Mozambique's complex political landscape. The tendency of 're-traditionalisation' (Boege et al., 2008) in post-conflict Mozambique embodies the reincorporation of traditional authorities officially and their recognition as agents of the state¹³⁶ (Kyed and Buur, 2006). This tendency has contributed to the resurgence of the customary rule with state support through the development of community courts, for instance.

¹³³Nevertheless, only one year and a half after its adoption, the Law 3/94 was revoked, and in 1996 a constitutional amendment profoundly changed the democratic decentralisation, with the substantial limitation of administrative and financial autonomy of local authorities, reducing its participation in the decision-making process (Lourenço, 2008).

¹³⁴In the central and southern part of the country, it is possible to identify the proximity between representatives of AMETRAMO and Frelimo, considering that AMETRAMO members have Frelimo's flags at their headquarters, which represents the links between tradition and modernity as hybrid political orders.

¹³⁵However, Roesch (1992) claims that in Gaza Province the ancestral spirits spoke through local spirit mediums – healers – about the violence being practised against their descendants by Renamo, pointing to the fact that not all traditional political and religious authorities are necessarily supportive of Renamo. Roesch (1992) also argues that Renamo appears to enjoy little popular support in southern Mozambique, highlighting its tendency to warlordism, being a clear example of how tradition can be harnessed into a project of destabilisation.

¹³⁶Relative weakness of state institutions caused the government to rely on traditional authorities to perform some state functions (Kyed and Buur, 2006). In Mozambique, the obligation placed on chiefs to collect taxes and to police rural communities illustrates that they have a dual role as representatives of the communities and agents of the state in a position that merges the customary and the state domains.

I consider that community courts represent hybrid political orders as the logic of the formal state is mixed with traditional actors and indigenous knowledge within these structures, supporting the theoretical background discussed in the literature review.

Throughout the history of post-conflict Mozambique, there are moments of recognition and neglect regarding the incorporation of traditional healers into the national system which is intimately bound up with the historical building of the Mozambican state and the divide between the ruling Frelimo¹³⁷, which has been ruling the country since independence, and Renamo.

3.3.1 Healers' role in post-conflict Mozambique

This sub-section introduces the healers' role in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, developing this thesis' argument that healers have been developing three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, comprising mainly justice, health and the political sphere. This topic will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

After the civil war, Mozambique was ravaged by desperate poverty. About one million people died, millions became refugees, thousands were disabled, two million have experienced some dislocation – *deslocados* – and thousands of children became combatants (Nordstrom, 1997), leading to a heavy social price. After independence, the trading structure almost broke down entirely in the country, which faced the danger of turning into an “aid-reliant” economy (Andersson, 1992: 23).

¹³⁷Concerning Frelimo's pragmatism, Correia (2015) refers to the paradigm of authoritarian nationalism, which is understood to be Frelimo's political project of statebuilding, focusing on national imagination as the social base of *Mozambicaness*, presented in the political discourse as the historical or mythical link of the national unity and justification of the territorial integrity of the ex-colony. In this sense, myth is part of the common colonial experience developed in Dr Eduardo Mondlanes' thesis. The myth stems from the political conception adopted by Frelimo, which with its founding it had become the sole political authority whose legitimacy in the struggle for Mozambican independence, state formation and nationbuilding, was justified because it was the contemporary consecration of its secular struggle.

Most of the population affected by the civil war lived in rural areas, and the most significant destruction of the social fabric happened in these areas. In this context, there is a great deal of expertise in rural areas where traditional “institutions” such as healers have been dealing with social reconstruction and conflict resolution (Honwana, 1997: 294), embedded in a shared system of meanings that regulate the social life. Throughout the literature, traditional healers are the main actors concerning post-war healing and social reconstruction in the country (Honwana, 1997; Igreja, 2012). As discussed in the section on the healers’ role during the civil war, in post-conflict Mozambique healers also practised cleansing rituals, taking the war out of the people and the country (Nordstrom, 1997).

Besides, fieldwork findings suggested that healers have had multiple roles as traditional actors in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique. Data triangulation of fieldwork findings suggested that healers have been providing justice and governance, healing, psychological and spiritual relief. These multiple roles performed by traditional healers relate to Igreja’s (2003) claim that in the post-war period in Mozambique health and justice at the individual and community level cannot be viewed as two separate entities, in which the restoration of health involves justice and reparation and healers are significant actors in this process.

Fieldwork data ¹³⁸ also showed that healers protected and supported political candidates during the electoral period; they were local leaders organising meetings with the community in order to solve everyday problems; and they were recognised as health providers via AMETRAMO¹³⁹, as will be discussed throughout the empirical chapters. Regarding the traditional justice field in post-conflict Mozambique, traditional healers who were chosen via

¹³⁸I interviewed a representative of the government who claimed: “Healers assist in the treatment of diseases and conflict resolution”. Inhambane, Inhambane, 10/11/2016.

¹³⁹AMETRAMO uses the term traditional medicine practitioner referring to healers. Fieldwork findings suggested that the focus on health issues might be problematic, since it restricts their various roles.

AMETRAMO were working together with local judges and *régulos* within the community courts, local instances for conflict resolution that help people to access justice.

Concerning the relationships between healers and the state in post-conflict Mozambique, this chapter argues that healers were rejected at first and then recognised by the state, following Frelimo's political agenda. In the 70s and 80s, the first movement of traditional healers in Mozambique was towards getting more public space for action (Meneses 2004), and one of the aims requested by a group of traditional healers to the Transitional Government Health Services Restructuring Commission¹⁴⁰ was rejected, due to the obscurantism of traditional medical practices (Meneses, 2004). Beliefs and practices regarding possession by the spirits were repressed both by the colonial regime and by the post-colonial government (Honwana, 2002). Nevertheless, in 1992 the creation of AMETRAMO revealed that the state could not ignore the presence of healers as important traditional actors, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, and by recognising healers via AMETRAMO the Frelimo state also attempted to regain control over a field supported by Renamo.

Conclusion

This chapter explained the building of the Mozambican state, clarifying how it has evolved, taking particularly into account the nature of the Mozambican conflicts chronologically and the relationships between the state and its traditional actors, punctuating the traditional healers' roles, the main actors of this research, throughout this processes. Healers built the Mozambican state, as they were part of resistance processes throughout the history of the state, exercising various roles with regional variations. Healers were war leaders, leading

¹⁴⁰*Comissão de Reestruturação dos Serviços de Saúde do Governo de Transição*, in Portuguese. The request referred to the need to create a School of Tropical Medicine in order to train traditional healers (Meneses, 2004).

pockets of resistance to military oppression, performing protection spells, solving conflicts, and developing healing networks, healing the social fabric through physical, psychological and spiritual healing, in regions where the spiritual realm is indeed part of the everyday.

The first section discussed how the Portuguese colonisation changed the role of traditional actors in Mozambique, developing the argument that colonial structures of forced labour and the empowerment of traditional actors such as *régulos* symbolise the links between informal and formal actors during this period and the invention of tradition in Africa, as discussed throughout the literature review. I argued that the role of local chiefs was essential to the Portuguese indirect rule. Concerning the relationships between the state and the healers during the colonial rule, the Portuguese stigmatised traditional healers in Mozambique, although healers had various roles in the Mozambican society, such as protecting soldiers and conducting cleansing rituals. On the other hand, the Portuguese recognised some traditional actors, *régulos*, who are local chiefs nowadays, immersed in power politics.

The second section focused on the Mozambican independence war, the civil war, and Frelimo's Marxist-Leninist turn after independence, focusing on the healers' role and relationships with the state in this process. This section argued that the relationship between healers and the state in this period was similar to the colonial period because Frelimo persecuted healers through its competition with Renamo during the civil war. At the beginning of the war, some rural communities became increasingly discontented with Frelimo and moved away from the state and consequently from Frelimo's project, becoming more receptive towards Renamo's social policy.

Concerning the healers' role during the civil war, throughout this period healers were leaders of resistance movements, they protected soldiers and war bases, they performed different ceremonies to assist those exposed to war, providing psychological, spiritual and

physical care, and they helped with everyday conflict resolution. About the relationships between healers and the state, like the colonial state, which ignored traditional healers and focused on the social control of chiefs and traditional political structures, Frelimo ostracised healers as obscurantists and concentrated its efforts on replacing traditional political structures with popularly elected ones.

The third section explained the development of post-conflict Mozambique through Frelimo's project of statebuilding and how Frelimo's ideological discourse selectively recognised traditional actors. I argued that Frelimo's political authoritarianism divided the state and politicised traditional actors, punctuating the healers' role in this process, who were rejected at first and then recognised by the state, being institutionalised via national institutions such as AMETRAMO. The literature presents that healers are the main actors concerning post-war healing in Mozambique. Fieldwork findings suggested that healers had the following multiple roles as traditional actors in post-conflict Mozambique: healers provided the cure of diseases working with the state via AMETRAMO as health providers; healers provided psychological and spiritual relief; healers were invited by AMETRAMO and local authorities to judge cases within the community courts; healers protected and supported political candidates during the electoral period; healers were local leaders organising meetings with the community in order to solve everyday problems, providing governance and conflict resolution, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Therefore, this chapter supports this thesis' overall argument, which is developed in more detail in the following chapter, as it introduces how healers have been contributing to statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique.

This chapter clarified the stigmatisation of traditional healers by the Mozambican state historically, followed by 're-traditionalisation' via the creation of AMETRAMO/AERMO. I critically discussed 're-traditionalisation', considering the power politics identified throughout

the institutionalisation of traditional healers by the state. I argued that the traditional healers' place in the Mozambican statebuilding processes has been negotiated throughout its history, identifying moments of stigmatisation and recognition of the healers as traditional actors in Mozambique, which follows the political agenda of the powers in command. The dynamics of stigmatisation versus recognition discussed here supports the arguments developed in Chapter 5.

The recent institutionalisation of the healers as health providers by the state reveals the focus on health issues, which might restrict their various roles, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. I argue that the Mozambican state has an ambiguous relationship with the healers and vice-versa, discussing how the state has been limiting the healers' role in statebuilding processes. In this regard, I build on the concept of hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) as an analytical framework to analyse statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique.

Tracing back the history of Mozambique, this chapter demonstrated how resistance was part of the building of the Mozambican state, and how healers were part of these processes. Healers were key actors throughout these complex periods of the Mozambican history. Healers developed similar holistic roles, considering their role as military leaders, providers of physical, psychological and spiritual healing and their role as providers of justice and conflict resolution. In this process, their spiritual facet represents the uniqueness of their approach in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, contributing to the thesis' overall argument.

Furthermore, the arguments developed throughout this chapter contributed to this thesis' overall argument as the historical exclusion of traditional healers explained here interferes with how they interact with other traditional actors and the state, thereby affecting their role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

Chapter 4. Comprehending statebuilding through the roles of traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique: justice, health and the political sphere

This chapter argues that healers have three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes after the civil war, comprising their roles as justice, health and political actors. These three different components of statebuilding were underlined by respondents and confirmed via data triangulation. Fieldwork findings suggested that the spiritual realm permeated these three areas in post-conflict Mozambique, highlighting the healers as key actors in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. This chapter explains the role of the Mozambican healers in these three areas. I consider that the healers' role as justice actors, political actors and providers of physical, spiritual and psychological healing embody their different identities¹⁴¹.

This chapter focuses on traditional justice and governance mechanisms, critical aspects of statebuilding in the country connected to the healers, as interviewees argued that healers were the only actors 'capable' of judging some cases. This is an important finding considering that the spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution within the Mozambican justice systems, in which healers transit between realms as mediums in order to identify stolen objects, culprits and sorcerers. Community courts resorted to AMETRAMO in cases of witchcraft, for instance, involving the healers as key actors. Fieldwork finding also suggested that healers were performing purification rituals with ex-convicts so that they could be reintegrated into their communities. This chapter supports the argument that justice is approached in complex terms in post-conflict Mozambique, considering that witchcraft is part of the "contemporary legal practice" in the country (Meneses, 2004: 33). Therefore, I consider that the arguments developed in this chapter support my overall argument that healers have

¹⁴¹Hermans' (2014) theory of dialogical self assisted me to reflect on the complexity of cultures and selves as his theory conceives self and culture in terms of a multiplicity of positions with mutual dialogical relationships.

been contributing to statebuilding especially throughout their roles as justice actors in post-conflict Mozambique, which I discuss in detail in this chapter.

There is little literature on the roles of healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, and this chapter challenges and contributes to this literature. Present literature on post-conflict Mozambique focuses on the healers' role as reconciliation actors resolving war disputes, performing cleansing and reconciliation rituals (Igreja, 2003, 2007, 2012; Granjo, 2007; Huyse and Salter, 2008; Honwana, 1997, 2002). There is also very little literature on the healers' role within the Mozambican justice systems (see Meneses, 2006a; Santos, 2006, 2006a; Igreja, 2012; Jacobs, 2010; Kyed, 2013).

Nevertheless, fieldwork findings pointed out that traditional justice systems had a significant role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes and healers were key actors in conflict resolution. The use of hybrid political orders as an analytical framework helped me to discuss the presence of the healers within the Mozambican community courts and the links between the healers and the state within the community courts. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the healers' role as political subjects, considering their role as community leaders, their links with politicians, *régulos* and the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO and their role as military leaders in the civil war.

Fieldwork findings also suggested a strong focus on the healers' role as health providers in post-conflict Mozambique developed by the incorporation of traditional healers by national institutions. In this sense, this chapter discusses this healing role and introduces the debate about the interactions between healers and the state – developing this thesis' theoretical background – that will be further discussed in the next chapter. Furthermore, I critically discuss chieftaincy, witchcraft and patriarchal structures connected to the healers in the last section of this chapter.

4.1 Understanding the complexity of Mozambican justice through the roles of traditional healers

Throughout the transitional justice literature on post-conflict countries in Africa, healing practices are associated with justice (Igreja, 2012; Allen, 2008; Sabaratnam, 2017; Ferreira, 2005; Lambourne, 2009; Clark, 2008; Balthasar, 2012). This section discusses the role of traditional healers in traditional justice systems in post-conflict Mozambique, focusing on their role as justice actors within the community courts¹⁴² and their relationships with other traditional actors and with the state. This section argues that healers are key actors in the Mozambican statebuilding processes mainly through the development of traditional justice, which connects spirituality and justice in post-conflict Mozambique, contributing to everyday forms of conflict resolution.

In post-conflict Mozambique, the Constitution provides for the existence of the Supreme Court, Administrative Court and Judicial Courts. The Mozambican Constitution of 1990 abandoned the judicial system of ‘Popular Justice’ as part of a policy of dismantling the colonial state apparatus and creating a new judicial system by Law no. 4/92 of 6 May (Lundin, 1995). The community courts were created to fill the void created by the formal abolition of the popular courts, and nowadays, community courts are alternative spaces for resolution of contemporary crimes. Law 10/92 regulated the community courts, and these courts deliberate and promote reconciliation on small controversies of a civil nature, following local customs and practices. Although I do not focus on the resolution of wartime disputes, these courts show that “the state amnesty law has not ended struggles over justice for wartime disputes” (Igreja, 2010: 66) as war survivors have been using these courts to attain justice for serious abuses and crimes committed during the civil war.

¹⁴²*Tribunais comunitários* (TC), in Portuguese. Igreja (2010) also uses the term traditional courts when referring to community courts.

Community courts are present in both rural and urban contexts, combining procedural, restorative and retributive justice (Igreja, 2010). They also combine official and non-official legal orders, reflecting a mixture of different legal orders such as state law, common law and religious laws. Principles of the local ethics of reciprocity are part of the *modus operandi* of the community courts, in which “the local ethics of reciprocity are shaped by rules established by spirits and customs of the living”¹⁴³ (Igreja, 2010: 57). The spirits of dead victims distress the suspected perpetrators or their relatives requiring redress at any cost until the living find a fair resolution to the conflict (Igreja, 2010), for instance, confirming the links between justice and the spiritual realm in the country.

Community courts operate in the borderland between formal and informal systems of law (Gundersen, 1992), for the reason that although the state created them, fieldwork findings suggested that they have been functioning in a largely organic way as they have been continuously regulated by the state, being an adjunct part of it. When asked about the role of the government within these courts, a traditional healer in Maxixe claimed¹⁴⁴: “There is no one who represents the government. For this reason, it is really communitarian [community courts]. Only in situations where no consensus can be reached it is passed to the government”. Community courts show that formal and informal systems are not opposites but are different legal orders that interact in a hybrid way with different consequences in post-conflict Mozambique. Moreover, legal pluralism is a constitutional principle (Meneses, 2005; Santos, 2006) in the country, reflecting the diversity of the traditional values and the adjustment of judicial and administrative instances to contemporary situations.

¹⁴³One of the features of the ethics of reciprocity in the former war zones of Gorongosa is *micero ai vundi*, meaning: “a conflict does not get rotten unless when there is an active resolution by the legitimate institutions” (Igreja, 2009: 423-424).

¹⁴⁴Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

These courts are examples of legal hybridisation, “showing the porosity of the boundaries of the different existing legal orders and cultures and the deep cross-fertilisations or cross-contamination among them” (Santos, 2006: 71) in post-conflict Mozambique. The final aspect of Mac Ginty’s (2011) hybridisation model clarifies the community courts as alternatives deployed by local actors, as an embryonic form of justice representing the system being fought from below, such as *Gacaca* courts in Rwanda¹⁴⁵. Similarly, the executive secretary of Massinga in the province of Inhambane (south) claimed¹⁴⁶:

“We have the creation of community courts. We have structures already created, that even leaders help in solving these problems. They help in the sense that, there is a situation that there is a conflict between the parties. They sit down; seek mechanisms for resolution at the community level. Therefore, if there is a situation that exceeds community-level capabilities, then there are other mechanisms through community leaders. We have top-level community leaders at the village level. We have central community leaders. These serve as *régulos*; they are those that help to decide on a certain subject. When there is a situation of conflict with the law, passing the capacities, they already know that they should refer to higher levels, at the state level”.

This quote highlights the significance of *régulos* as traditional justice actors in post-conflict Mozambique forming part of hybrid political orders, as these authorities are recognised by the state. They relate to healers as respondents mentioned that healers and *régulos* interacted as local chiefs of their communities, and they invited healers to be part of the community courts. This recognition strengthens my argument that the healers’ role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes is particularly connected to traditional justice.

The links between healers and *régulos* also strengthen the argument developed in the previous chapter that healers have been traditional actors in post-conflict Mozambique. The recognition of *régulos* by the Mozambican state in the past contributed to the stigmatisation of the healers, as discussed in the previous chapter. When asked about sanctions within traditional justice systems, the executive secretary of Massinga discussed the *régulos*’ role in

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶He has been working as a public manager in Massinga since June 2014.

Mozambican justice systems in-depth, explaining how these traditional chiefs assumed expanded importance after the signing of the 1992 peace agreement as key-actors within community courts:

“What we call traditional leaders. They, at the community level. They are number one. They are recognised. Any situation cannot occur without the recognition of the *régulo*. They decide it has to be like this; it has to be this way. It happened in this or that term. They team up with their advisors to have a middle ground in solving a subject (...) In colonial times, we had the *régulos* at the community level. Whenever there was an infraction of some rule, they would have to pay some fines through some assets. The offender, the culprit, was obliged to pay the tax; he could take chickens, or goats, to the *régulo*. (...) With the passage of time, this was losing its values. In the era we live, they will even apply some sanctions. But they are internal. Consensual actions at the community level. They recognise this failed; this has to do this. You have to do a cleaning on a farm, in a public place (as a sanction)”.

In post-conflict Mozambique, the main contemporary conflicts solved in the community courts included marriage, divorce, theft, accusations of witchcraft and problems with tenancy agreements. According to various interviewees, traditional healers were also invited by AMETRAMO to the community courts to identify culprits and to judge different conflicts and disputes, highlighting the links between the state and the healers. In cases in which the community courts neither the *régulos* could find the perpetrator for the act of witchcraft, they sent the parties to a healer, who was generally selected by AMETRAMO. AMETRAMO “decides which healer will carry out the divination and the application of the ordeal, so as to ensure the neutrality of the witch-finding process” (Meneses, 2006a: 76). This ordeal is a form of divination performed by healers that simultaneously expose offenders and

punish them. In this regard, one member of JustaPaz¹⁴⁷, the Centre for Study and Transformation of Conflicts, based in Matola, Maputo, argued¹⁴⁸:

“This traditional healing story has to do with *curandeirismo* (healing). Here in Mozambique, we have traditional healers, and there is an association that is composed of traditional healers. So, the judges when they judge those involved with witchcraft accusations, they call AMETRAMO”.

This quote confirms that healers have also been invited by AMETRAMO to be part of the community courts, as the trials include witchcraft accusations, for instance, connecting spirituality – via the healers – with justice. Furthermore, in situations where defendants refuse to accept culpability, judges transfer the case to a traditional healer – always men – who are specialised in unveiling facts (Igreja, 2010). Suspects ingest a beverage that once ingested, it is supposed to run through the body looking for witchcraft: “if it does not find any, it will be excreted or vomited, thus proving the innocence of the person falsely accused; in that case, the accusers will compensate him. If *muavi* locates witchcraft, it will stop, and the accused will ‘fall down’ and even die” (Meneses, 2006a: 76-77). The ones found ‘guilty’ as witches used to be left to die in the past, and nowadays, they can be banished from their communities (Meneses, 2006a).

I draw on the concept of hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) in order to explain the functioning of the Mozambican community courts and the links between the healers and the state within these courts, as the state invites the most influential healers to be part of these

¹⁴⁷Centre for the Study, Governance and Transformation of Conflict located in Maputo. The organisation was created in 1999, and it has developed and promoted constructive ways of understanding and dealing with conflict through a wide range of training and action initiatives that enable conflict transformation at the levels of Mozambican local governments, police and religion. Main goals of Justapaz: to organise and implement debates on the exchange of experiences and conferences in order to promote the vision and the knowledge of practical and necessary skills to be effective in the transformation of conflicts, mediation and promotion of restorative justice. Develop, collect and circulate resources on conflict transformation, mediation, and restorative justice including manuals and other relevant material, Provide training services, conflict research, and potential and conflict intervention at all levels of society. *Justapaz*, [website], 2016, <http://www.justapaz.org.mz>, (accessed 15 may. 2018).

¹⁴⁸Matola, Maputo. Interview on 18/10/2016.

hybrid courts via AMETRAMO. Triangulation of fieldwork data suggested that only male healers were invited to these courts, although most healers I interviewed were women, influential women who were in charge of gathering the members of the community to discuss everyday conflicts and resolve them, through counselling or the conduction of specific rituals. I will discuss the gender dimension of my analysis in the last section of this chapter.

AMETRAMO acts as an intermediary within the traditional courts' environment, conducting healers to the trials and following the whole process, suggesting the recognition of the traditional healers' role by the state and the links between justice and healing in post-conflict Mozambique. However, although the state has been inviting healers to be part of the community courts via AMETRAMO, the state still focuses on the healers' role as health actors, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Fieldwork findings indicated that the processes of legitimisation of traditional healers via AMETRAMO were part of Frelimo's 're-traditionalisation' of the Mozambican state, as discussed previously. Right after the independence when healers were still persecuted by the state, they continued to help the informal justice systems as expert witness. They helped the judges establish evidence against witches (Meneses, 2006a). I argue that healers have been interacting with varying degrees of cooperation or resistance concerning the state on multiple issues and multiple levels in post-conflict Mozambique. Through their own agency as local actors, they can resist or engage with the structures of the state as will be discussed in the following chapter, which indicates their situation as critical actors.

Concerning the role of healers within the community courts, fieldwork findings suggested that healers were consulted by other traditional actors such as *régulos* in the community courts because of the Mozambican cosmology, which connects justice with the spiritual realm, the fact that healers speak the language of the local culture, they are speedy in

their intervention, and they are informal, accessible and not intimidating in matters that formal justice has shown ineffectiveness in solving. In this regard, the Head of the Secretariat of the Palace of Justice in Maputo argued¹⁴⁹ that community courts were legitimate in rural areas because traditional actors knew how to use local customs. He added that community courts were recognised with legitimacy to resolve conflicts in neighbourhoods but comparing to the rural areas “in the city, the capacity of the community courts is reduced”. In rural areas and disadvantaged urban communities, access to state justice remains problematic for many citizens.

Interviewees such as Albino Forquilha, the CEO of the *Força Moçambicana para Investigação de Crimes e Reinserção* (FOMICRES¹⁵⁰) also underlined that healers had a significant role in the community courts and consequently in the Mozambican statebuilding processes because in some cases local judges elected by the population and *régulos* must observe the healers’ opinion to make decisions and to promote conflict resolution. In this regard, Albino Forquilha claimed¹⁵¹:

“The traditional healer assumes a role of investigator and even final judge. He is called to discover what happened in a situation that would normally be an investigator. Let us say, a criminal investigation agent. He is called to find out what happened. They play an important role in what they draw as a conclusion, many times, they are right. And people believe in this situation. Besides, after this traditional healer says, for instance, who stole or killed x or z. The judge himself, the *régulo* of a neighbourhood, can determine. But the whole discovery was made by the traditional healers. It still exists”.

His claim corroborates the argument that healers have a crucial role within the Mozambican justice systems. In this respect, interviewees mentioned that healers provided the

¹⁴⁹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 14/12/2016.

¹⁵⁰Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reintegration, in English.

¹⁵¹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/12/2016. A group of former child soldiers, including Forquilha, founded FOMICRES after the civil war in Mozambique. According to Forquilha, they collected and destroyed over 1,000,000 small arms and reintegrated over 1,000 child soldiers into their communities. The organisation has been developing civic education programmes throughout the country and it was the main civil society representative in lobbying on revising legislation on small arms and light weapons.

‘proof of guilt’ from divinations during the trials within community courts, supporting this argument. There are also cases where people arrive in the courts demonstrating signs of possession, in which the judges transfer the cases to a healer¹⁵² (Igreja, 2010).

The most common set of divination in southern and central Mozambique used by the healers is *tinholo*, which acts as the starting point and catalyst of communication relations, as a means through which the spirits can speak. *Tinholo* set is composed by nutshells, coins, stones, turtle shells, seeds, bones etc. and it is used for confirmation on the first throws of consultations and as independent sets when it is necessary to answer a client’s direct questions (Granjo, 2007). *Tinholo* evokes the existence of an archetypical era when there was a spiritual connection between the animal that provided the bone and the social entity represented during the divination process (Granjo, 2007).

Spirit possession is a local *sine qua non* condition for the practice of and ability for divination between healers, and it is important to highlight that healers are not supposed to choose to become healers, they are chosen for that task by spirits who “want to work” through them by the act of possession. Interviewees voiced that spirits selected them among their relatives and usually the spirits’ claim over a person assumed the form of a “calling illness” that, together with individualised manifestations, usually included strong pains and general weakness¹⁵³.

Besides the ‘proof of guilt’, during fieldwork interviewees argued that only healers could judge witchcraft accusations, a serious issue that creates many conflicts in the country¹⁵⁴, “especially if people are healers”¹⁵⁵. In Maxixe, in the province of Inhambane

¹⁵²Victor Igreja (2010) mentions a case where a woman arrived in the court showing signs of possession by a male *gamba* spirit. The judges transferred the case to a *gamba* healer that dealt with it successfully and she won the case.

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴When asked about community justice, many healers mentioned accusations of witchcraft.

¹⁵⁵Maxixe, Inhambane, Interview on 15/11/2016 with a representative of AERMO.

(south), a healer who was an AMETRAMO judge – recognised by AMETRAMO to be a judge within the community courts – argued ¹⁵⁶ that concerning challenges to achieving justice today in Mozambique, witchcraft was a big one:

“Witchcraft is not only between the populations. Witchcraft also occurs between families. It happens that the son says that the father is bewitching him [...] I have been a judge of AMETRAMO. I have judged people and many times there was this witchcraft issue¹⁵⁷ [...] a father as myself or other, someone who has been alive for a long time, there is no African who does not go through the healers”.

The claim of this healer-judge supports the argument that healers are justice actors as healers are considered the only actors capable of judging accusations of witchcraft. These accusations are a common issue in the Mozambican reality, according to many respondents. Almost every person in southern Mozambique recognises that witches can cause accidents and damage property (Meneses, 2006a). The people afflicted with witchcraft are usually close to the perpetrators, such as neighbours, relatives, lovers, and workmates. Witchcraft is generally motivated by jealousy in situations of envy, or by unresolved conflicts between or among community members (Meneses, 2006a). Honwana (1997) claims that healers have been contributing to conflict resolution, as they help to identify perpetrators, for instance.

Witchcraft is seen as the root of many misfortunes in the country, being a form of social control (Meneses, 2006a). In this regard, Geschiere’s (2013) work on witchcraft, intimacy and trust suggests that sorcery was a vital part of many statebuilding processes in Africa, as discussed in Chapter 1. Accusations of witchcraft are linked to people’s struggles to survive where competition for jobs becomes intense (Meneses, 2006a). Those who succeed are susceptible to become the object of suspicion that can degenerate into actual accusations

¹⁵⁶Healer 5. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 15/11/2016.

¹⁵⁷Healer 5. As an ‘AMETRAMO judge’, the healer explained that he “looked at the problems, analysed the problems first. To oblige people to fulfil what they owed, if they owe their spirits, there is a problem. [...] People had to follow the rules well. When you say that this root will work like that, you have to work according to what the healer said”.

and even the appointment with a healer so as to garner protection against a witch attack by a potentially envious or jealous member of the community (Meneses, 2006a).

Old and young men and women have been accused or “have been the object of gossip relating to witchcraft practices” (Meneses, 2006a: 72) although older women are generally targets of anti-witchcraft actions. It is a problem difficult to tackle as people are exposed to “intangible forces” immersed in insecurity (Meneses, 2006a: 72). Official law seems unfit to deal with this issue (Meneses, 2006a) and healers are crucial actors in solving cases of witchcraft accusation as they transit between the spiritual realm and the material reality of their communities. When people believe that they are under attack, they visit healers in order to discover the cause of their troubles and the person who is attacking them (Meneses, 2006a).

In this regard, a healer based in Beira claimed¹⁵⁸ that approximately six healers via AMETRAMO performed consultations to find out the truth concerning witchcraft cases¹⁵⁹. On the other hand, the secretary of the district of Massinga, Inhambane, highlighted¹⁶⁰ that there were also cases when the conflict with the law involved healers, and people were afraid of joining the parties to solve the problem because the other person involved in the case was a healer. He explained:

“Many, for example, cannot face, to join the parties to solve the problem. Only the fact, for example, of him being a healer. There is this fear on the part of what the community courts sometimes do not enter with much force. For them being a healer. They can make magic for me. They prefer to take the matter to the government”.

The interviewee added:

“Some places can solve because some members of AMETRAMO are part of justice; in these cases, they seat and resolve. There is a small fear that occurs with those who are further away”.

¹⁵⁸Healer 21. Beira, Sofala. Interview on 08/12/2016.

¹⁵⁹Healers also help to settle mysteries involving car thefts beyond the community courts, helping to discover the real culprits involved, according to a healer interviewed in Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

¹⁶⁰Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 10/11/2016.

This last quote illustrates the importance of AMETRAMO's recognition of traditional healers, which legitimises the healers' presence within the community courts concerning witchcraft accusations. Moreover, it is important to highlight the *régulos*' role in this process since they help to identify healers or sorcerers. In this regard, the [REDACTED] of OREC claimed¹⁶¹:

“Is it difficult to separate who legalised the healer? It is the *régulo*. He who does the test himself if she/he is a healer or sorcerer. There is a line that says there is no healer or sorcerer. They [*régulos*] give that herb, to all said healers. And it is a great ceremony. And those who, after taking, become possessed. And they began to speak”.

Beyond witchcraft accusations, community courts also resolve people's demands to overcome threats called *ku pikirira* or *ku temerera*, in which spirits of the dead intervene to create justice. This is a type of illegal verbal threat used by people to force wrongdoers “to right their wrongs” (Igreja, 2010: 58) according to the local ethics of reciprocity. In some cases, the community believes that the death of a suspect confirms that a case had to be resolved to appease the spirits (Igreja, 2010)¹⁶².

Still concerning complex cases of traditional justice involving traditional healers, on the way to Dondo¹⁶³, in the province of Sofala (centre), an evangelical pastor who connected me to some healers in Sofala argued¹⁶⁴ that cases in which people were believed to have turned into animals¹⁶⁵ were part of the Mozambican cosmology, involving traditional justice and healers as the main actors in local conflict resolution. He shared a very famous case in the region, which involved two neighbours who cultivated food for subsistence. One of these neighbours was never successful in his cultivation while the other was producing corn, one of the main agricultural products of the region, in a satisfactory quantity for the subsistence of

¹⁶¹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

¹⁶²Victor Igreja (2010) covers the period between 2001 and 2009, creating a database of 700 cases that were resolved in three traditional courts in Gorongosa.

¹⁶³District of Sofala located about 30 kilometres from Beira, capital of the province of Sofala,

¹⁶⁴One of the healers that he recommended was his aunt. Although he was a pastor, he highlighted the importance of the healers in the community. Beira, Sofala. Interview on 7/12/2016.

¹⁶⁵Mysticism and the supernatural are aspects very common to the Mozambican everyday life.

his family. One day, the neighbour who was having problems with the crop saw a rooster running through his plantation and destroying everything, and he killed that rooster. After a few hours, his neighbour's wife came to him claiming that her husband was dead and that he had killed him. As farfetched as it seems, cases in which people turn into animals¹⁶⁶ are part of the Mozambican cosmology and involve traditional justice and traditional healers as the main judges of these cases.

This issue represents the complexity of traditional justice in post-conflict Mozambique because these types of crimes are commonly solved in the community courts, in which traditional healers have a strong role in judging cases involving witchcraft. A traditional healer from Maxixe, in the province of Inhambane, claimed¹⁶⁷ that once members of a community court called him to solve a case of witchcraft involving a woman in Maxixe who was accused of bewitching more than six people. Traditional healers are the actors who solve this type of conflict within the community courts. Therefore, traditional healers have a crucial role in traditional Mozambican systems of conflict resolution.

Furthermore, healers also perform final ceremonies in the courts and people's houses concerning cases of spirit possession¹⁶⁸, sometimes involving the whole community, since justice is very communitarian in the country. The complexity of justice in post-conflict Mozambique highlights how healers are essential actors as justice is interrelated to the spiritual realm, and healers are the main actors capable of connecting the material realm with the spiritual realm in order to resolve these issues.

Traditional healers also develop restorative justice in post-conflict Mozambique since they engage in communally based treatments of culprits and reparations instead of retributive justice, involving truth-telling and trauma healing, key transitional justice initiatives. In this

¹⁶⁶Harry West (2005) describes several cases involving Mozambican sorcerers conjuring lions.

¹⁶⁷Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

¹⁶⁸Victor Igreja (2012) describes cases involving spirit possession (*gamba* spirits, spirits of dead soldiers).

regard, Igreja and Dias-Lambranca (2008) argue that traditional healers perform the only post-civil war phenomenon that relates closely to transitional justice and profoundly engages with the past creating post-war healing, where restorative justice is practised. In the transitional justice literature, through restorative justice all involved parties resolve how to deal with the aftermath of an offence collectively, highlighting the attempt to balance the needs of the offender, the victim and the community (Lambourne, 2009). In the community courts, reparations are also largely community-based. When culpability is accepted, judges generally ask the injured party to determine the form of reparation. Then, judges determine the punishment if they regard the infraction as serious, advising the cultivation of understanding and forgiveness in the litigants' homes¹⁶⁹ (Igreja, 2010). Forgiveness is included in thicker conceptions of reconciliation (Skaar, 2013: 12). On the other hand, according to FOMICRES' CEO¹⁷⁰, community courts still lack the training of the judges who are on the border between traditional habits and the law, mentioning the use of *chamboque*¹⁷¹ as a common punishment method.

In this regard, it is important to underline the power relationships of the healers who are invited to be part of the community courts. Healers who are older and more influential in the community are generally invited. Besides, there is a gender issue related to those instances because the community courts are composed of older male judges¹⁷², and the traditional healers who are invited to those instances are generally men according to some interviewees. This is a significant issue because most of the healers that I have spoken to were women and

¹⁶⁹Victor Igreja (2010) describes the adjudication of different wartime abuses and crimes within community courts in Gorongosa. "Although people's narrative of the events follows a similar structure (outset, development and end), people often define and narrate problems in their own terms to establish the full context of the breach" (Igreja, 2010: 59).

¹⁷⁰The Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reintegration. Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 2/12/2016.

¹⁷¹*Chambocar*: to beat, to hit with a stick or rattle.

¹⁷²Victor Igreja (2010) claims that he met only six female judges while conducting research in the region of Gorongosa. The presence of female judges was explained by Frelimo's post-colonial reforms on gender relations.

some were local leaders conducting meetings with community members to discuss and resolve various conflicts, and some were AMETRAMO's representatives in their communities. Interviewees who were not healers voiced the importance of the female healers in the Mozambican culture. An interviewee who was a painter in Beira, Sofala, underlined¹⁷³ that it would be interesting to interview women about the impact of the healers in their lives because he believed that the healers' role in women's lives was very important.

Regarding the relationships between the community courts and the state via AMETRAMO, interviews showed that there was a lack of harmonisation between constitutional principles and the administrative organisation of the community courts and that there was an overlapping of different structures of intervention in the resolution of conflicts in which each person's role was not clearly defined yet. One issue linked to this was the lack of involvement on the part of legislators with the community, highlighting the relevance of the healers as mediators between the formal state and the society, and the fact that the material in the community courts was in Portuguese. This issue makes it difficult for traditional actors to internalise legal aspects because many do not speak Portuguese fluently. In 1987, the first independent census of the country showed that only 1.27% of Mozambicans had Portuguese as their mother tongue (9% in 2014) (Cahen, 2015). In the south of Mozambique, in the city of Inhambane, in the province of Inhambane, the secretary of the Massinga district argued¹⁷⁴:

“I think a great difficulty occurs. And it is the question of the law itself. Because we do not have, for example, translated norms. Civil code, criminal code. For example, we do not have these instruments translated at the community level. So, this has also been presented. There is a situation where we can solve problems with an analogy. This in the law has framing x. But in the community, it may no longer be framed”.

¹⁷³Beira, Sofala. Interview on 07/12/2016.

¹⁷⁴Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 10/11/2016.

Interviews demonstrated that the phenomenon of representation was an essential aspect of the constitution of the healers' legitimacy¹⁷⁵. Interviewees suggested that legitimacy was not so much grounded in formal processes of the state system because traditional authority was often more important than the legal/rational type of legitimate authority in the country.

In addition to the healers' role as justice actors within the community courts, fieldwork findings suggested that healers were key local actors in the process of arranging and leading meetings with local people in order to resolve conflicts through AMETRAMO/AERMO. The fact that AMETRAMO/AERMO mediated the work that the healers performed at these meetings highlights the relationships between healers and the state, in which the performance of the traditional healers and AMETRAMO/AERMO overlaps in an ambiguous relationship, involving resistance and cooperation concerning the position of the healers. This issue will be discussed in-depth in the following chapter. At these meetings, healers listen to the demands of the community and seek to resolve everyday conflicts, evoking sociocultural forms of justice and reconciliation, through rituals and counselling. In this scenario, the healers' work also comprises psychological and spiritual relief (Igreja, 2012) to their patients, providing a holistic justice. This section discussed the healers' role as providers of justice and governance via various mechanisms, contributing to the thesis' overall argument. This section explained why I focus on the role of healers as justice actors in post-conflict Mozambique, considering the links between justice and the spiritual realm. The next section discusses another role performed by healers in post-conflict Mozambique: the healers' role as political actors.

¹⁷⁵The literature on legitimacy in International Relations and political theory is extensive and the conceptual history of the term legitimacy in IR is not easily captured. The term legitimacy has changed from legality to popular approval to moral appropriateness, and its meaning concerns action's legality, morality, drawing to varying degrees on concepts of moral and epistemic right, legality, custom, tradition and popular approval. See, for instance, Coicaud (2002).

4.2 Healers as political actors

This section discusses the traditional healers' role as political figures involved in political disputes and power dynamics in post-conflict Mozambique, with regional variations. It also briefly discusses the healers' role as political actors during the civil war (see Chapter 3)¹⁷⁶.

Concerning the healers' role as political actors in post-conflict Mozambique, during fieldwork few healers mentioned their relationships with politics through political parties, stating that political affiliation did not matter since they did not support politicians. The founder of the *Grupo Espiritual e Tradicional de Moçambique* (GETM¹⁷⁷), a traditional healer based in Maputo, claimed¹⁷⁸ that healers were neutral parties, saying: "True healers should be nonpartisan, they should not represent one party or another even though there is the greater influence of one or the other political party in other provinces". When asked about the relationships with the state, he claimed that corruption was the biggest challenge in Mozambique, which hampered the good development of the country and made it impossible to develop traditional justice. He added that the lack of legislation that regulated the healers' situation also prevented their development and that even with the creation of the Institute of Traditional Medicine things have not improved much and that little attention was given to this area.

On the other hand, some representatives of state institutions underlined the role of traditional healers as political figures in post-conflict Mozambique. According to the member of the District Secretary for Women's Health and Social Action, based in Massinga, in the prov-

¹⁷⁶It is important to highlight that Mozambique is a post-conflict state in which the danger of failure and reversion to armed conflict is real, with potentially disastrous consequences for a society and economy already debilitated by the decades of war and destabilisation since independence. A further factor that serves to limit public debate and oversight of the reform process is the fragility of civil society and political disputes in Mozambique. What is being pointed is the absence of a tradition of independent social organisation and participation capable of scrutinising the actions of the state and defending civic interests (Grest, 1995).

¹⁷⁷Healer 1. Mozambican Spiritual and Traditional Group, in English. The organisation was founded by Angelo Januario, and it is based in Maputo. According to Angelo Januario, GETM was created as a religion with its own statute and principles, promoting traditional indigenous spirituality. In his office, Angelo presented a poster comparing the current separation of justice, conventional medicine and social problems with the uniqueness of these three elements advocated by the GETM. Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 27/10/2016.

¹⁷⁸Healer 1. Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 27/10/2016.

ince of Inhambane (south), and one member of the *Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural* (ARPAC¹⁷⁹), based in Maputo, there was a political influence on the functioning of associations such as AERMO and AMETRAMO involving party interests mainly during the electoral period. The interviewee based in Massinga, Inhambane, explained that in this scenario some traditional healers who were older and more influential in their communities were recognised as leaders who transmitted messages with legitimacy and were commonly involved in political disputes. According to the interviewee, healers who were also community leaders and members of the community courts were mostly part of the opposition, under Renamo's influence¹⁸⁰. In Inhambane, Inhambane, I asked the secretary of the district of Massinga (Inhambane) about the political influence of Renamo in the area, and he said that there was an influence, claiming¹⁸¹:

“Actually, because of we in the provincial assembly. The provincial assembly here. We have three members of the provincial assembly. As there were elections, we had to have some members from each party. It means eleven of the opposition. One is from MDM¹⁸². Another ten are from Renamo. Of these ten, three are from the district of Massinga. This means that it has a focus on the representation of Renamo”.

Nevertheless, when asked if there was influence regarding the recognition of traditional healers in places where Renamo had a strong impact, he said: “I think there is no interference. They [healers] work freely. Everybody needs their service (...) Whether or not there are opposition parties at the community level, it does not influence the question of traditional medicine”.

¹⁷⁹Institute of Socio-Cultural Research, in English. Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

¹⁸⁰However, in Maxixe, Inhambane, the healers were closely linked to Frelimo. In one of the community's meetings of AERMO in Maxixe there were flags of Frelimo on the main table. In Inhambane, Inhambane, the headquarters of AMETRAMO was decorated with Frelimo's political material.

¹⁸¹Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 10/11/2016.

¹⁸²*Movimento Democrático de Moçambique* (MDM), Democratic Movement of Mozambique. MDM is a centre-right political party created in 2009 in Beira, capital of Sofala (Chichava, 2010). Beyond Renamo and Frelimo, it was the only political party that elected deputies in 2009 and 2014 (Sanches, 2015: 49).

In Beira, Sofala (centre), one interviewee who was a member of ARPAC argued¹⁸³ that the region had great political interference because “the opposition was born in Sofala”¹⁸⁴. He underlined that Renamo worked closely with traditional healers because Renamo spread throughout the rural areas of post-conflict Mozambique establishing links with “traditional authorities” such as healers and *régulos* who were marginalised by the Frelimo state, as Frelimo’s ‘New Man’ politics tended to modernise the state, as discussed previously. Rural Mozambicans tended to perceive Frelimo as an institution hostile to what Frelimo termed ‘obscurantist’ institutions, practices and beliefs. In this sense, Renamo recognised figures who promised to be pliant intermediaries such as *régulos* and traditional healers. Some of these figures volunteered themselves perhaps out of sympathy with Renamo’s stated aims or, perhaps, as a strategic calculation to further their individual interest (Young and Hall, 1997). The interviewee voiced that many healers ended up becoming politicians in the region (Sofala) and in the time of campaign, they supported the candidates and protected the elite. The same interviewee claimed: “Political leaders are widely believed to seek healers, so they can perform rituals to ensure electoral success and power, and many use these perceptions to build visibility and deference”. Similarly, Albino Forquilha (FOMICRES’ CEO), who was a former child soldier during the civil war, highlighted¹⁸⁵ that politicians sought healers for protection nowadays, and an artist interviewed in Beira claimed¹⁸⁶ that even the political elite sought the healers although they did it in secret, and that was part of the African culture.

Regarding the political influence of AMETRAMO and its relationship with traditional healers, the ‘president’ of AMETRAMO in Massinga, Inhambane, voiced¹⁸⁷ that AMETRA-

¹⁸³Beira, Sofala. Interview on 7/12/2016.

¹⁸⁴Renamo’s regional base during the war was located in Manica and Sofala, where the insurgency began (Young and Hall, 1997).

¹⁸⁵Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 2/12/2016.

¹⁸⁶Beira, Sofala. Interview on 7/12/2016.

¹⁸⁷Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

MO had no party, but the government protected and supported AMETRAMO “which is the child of the government”. Fieldwork findings suggested that the recognition of the healers by AMETRAMO and AERMO influenced on the political positioning of the healers, as these institutions clearly represented the Frelimo state. In the places of the meetings with the community organised by healers representing AMETRAMO/AERMO, for example, I could observe the flags of these institutions and the influence of the state through its regulations. Thus, the approach to political transformation at the local level in Mozambique ultimately feeds back into party politics (Young and Hall, 1997). During fieldwork, I could observe the healers’ role as community leaders in these meetings in Inhambane and Maxixe (Inhambane) because the healers representing AMETRAMO or AERMO were in charge of gathering the community to resolve everyday conflicts. In these instances, healers used to conduct the discussions, provide the ‘proof of guilt’ through divinations, provide counselling and even perform rituals to provide psychological and spiritual relief, individually or together with the community. In this scenario, it is essential to point out that there was an ambiguous relationship between AMETRAMO/AERMO and the traditional healers, which is the focus of the next chapter.

In order to understand the *régulos*’ roles and their relationships with healers as political actors in post-conflict Mozambique, the *régulo* of Pembe, the administrative post of the district of Homoíne, in the province of Inhambane, was interviewed. A member of the organisation JustaPaz highlighted Homoíne since it was heavily punished by the Mozambican civil war. During the civil war, the population of Pembe fled to Homoíne in search of refuge, because the region was very affected by the conflict. Nowadays, the biggest difficulty faced by the people of Pembe is the lack of water since it has not rained in the village for over a year. Without food production, the municipality receives food continuously through the govern-

ment. The *régulo* of Pembe explained¹⁸⁸ that his father was a *régulo* and he passed his teachings to him, following the tradition: “My dad taught me the tradition when he was alive. Before he died in 1983, he started teaching me when I was 20 years old”. Nowadays he is a *régulo*, a traditional leader of Pembe. He talked about his work in the community as a counsellor, always trying to resolve conflicts. When asked about the meaning of the word justice, the interviewee claimed: “Justice means solving problems. To solve community problems”. When asked about community courts, he claimed: “There are no community courts here. The community courts are us”. In this sense, he argued that he was sought after by community members as a counsellor, also talking to those who committed crimes. “If he steals, we will come to him. We will talk to him. Sir, why did you do this? What is your benefit? If you steal, you will stay in jail. What about your children? Where and what will the food be? (...) You will suffer. If they do it again, we call the police”.

The *régulo* claimed that the conflict that plagued the northern region has not yet arrived in Pembe, and in that sense, we talked a little about the difficulties faced by the Mozambican people, as well as the lack of water and food. When asked about if healers participated in the community justice, he replied that they did, explaining that he advised healers not to accuse people of witchcraft: “The healer can say to a son, *epa*, your mother is a sorcerer. We advise the person not to say that she/he is a sorcerer. If she/he knows, the son or daughter will kill her/his father (...) I work with them [healers]. I give advice. He gives me advice”.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a traditional healer called Manuel António mobilised followers against Renamo through *Naparama* during the civil war. In order to become *Naparama* combatants, youths had to go through an initiation ritual that involved cuts with razor blades, and the application of medicine (Jentsch, 2018). In this scenario, traditional

¹⁸⁸Pembe, Imhambane. Interview on 11/11/2016.

healers used to protect soldiers and their bases during the civil war, making soldiers invisible and bulletproof. *Naparama* created such fear among Renamo combatants that it often did not come to a confrontation between the two forces. About Frelimo's response to *Naparama*, although Frelimo was at first sceptical of the emerging movement, it soon tolerated and even supported the militia when "Frelimo officials realised that *Naparama* forces were loyal to the government and could support its war effort" (Jentzsch, 2018: 88). Renamo leaders used spirit mediums in their bases and referred to the civil war as a "war of the spirits" (Jentzsch, 2018: 88).

The evolution of *Naparama* challenged Renamo's superiority in the spiritual domain as a 'cult of counter-violence' to challenge Renamo's spiritual power. According to Jentzsch (2018), the main proof of *Naparama*'s spiritual superiority was the death of Renamo's northern commander Calisto Meque. The fragility of spiritual power also reveals the increasing fragmentation and polarisation of the social, political and military landscape of the country (Jentzsch, 2018). *Naparama* demonstrates the complexity of the dynamics of war in its final years in Mozambique and suggests that traditional healers worked as political actors to settle local conflict in this period.

During the civil war, civilians were also 'vaccinated'¹⁸⁹ with substances extracted from the body of dead soldiers "based on the idea that the body is a fragmented entity that retains power beyond death and dismemberment" (Igreja, 2012: 412) and the idea that one who eats the dead becomes immune to death and suffering. This practice was linked to *gamba* spirits, spirits of male soldiers who died in the war, as previously explained in the literature review. In the past, some Renamo fighters, especially *Ndau*¹⁹⁰ also had a special reputation for supernatural powers linked to vengeance after death and consequently to the spiritual realm

¹⁸⁹Healers 'vaccinated' Renamo combatants to make them immune to enemy bullets (Young and Hall, 1997) using special medicinal plants and symbolic razor cuts (Emerson, 2014).

¹⁹⁰Ethnic group which inhabits central Mozambique.

(Young and Hall, 1997). It was common on Renamo bases for the claim to be made that a ‘war of spirits’ was being waged by Renamo to return Mozambique to its ancestral and traditional ways (Young and Hall, 1997). According to Otto Roesch (1992), all residents on Renamo bases were obliged to participate in regular ceremonies in which the ancestral spirits ideologically legitimated Renamo’s war against Frelimo.

Furthermore, the presence of ‘lion spirits’ conjured by healers to accompany and guard Renamo soldiers was also claimed by Renamo members in the past (West, 2005) and is discussed in the literature. In this regard, Paolo Israel (2009) writes about the lion attacks in Muidumbe, rural district of northern Mozambique, in which 50 people were estimated to have been slain by lions ‘fabricated’ through sorcery. The apogee of the crisis would be the ‘War of Lions’, an uprising against the local government, suspected of fostering the activities of the lion fabricators. The rumours presented the ‘fabricators’ as people disguising themselves in lion¹⁹¹ skins and wearing paw-shoes (Israel, 2009), highlighting the unconscious or pre-conscious articulation of the imagery of rumours in the country. A symptomatic reading of ‘witch-hunts’ reveals their linkages with Frelimo’s project of ‘total politicisation’ and Frelimo’s unfulfilled promises (Israel, 2009). Similarly, although Renamo bases hosted religious people from African Christian churches, especially Zionists, traditional healers provided support for Renamo (Young and Hall, 1997).

In central Mozambique in the *Shona*-speaking areas where Renamo originally recruited and operated, traditional healers were of social and potentially political importance as they were in neighbouring Zimbabwe, and some were part of Renamo bases in Manica and Sofala, such as the famous Casa Banana (Young and Hall, 1997), which was taken by government forces in 2014 (Bowker et al., 2016). Rural residents often walked the familiar

¹⁹¹ Rumours indicate that the group of lions sold the organs of the victims for traditional medicine in Mozambique (Israel, 2009).

path to meet an elder (Young and Hall, 1997), generally a healer, when in need of counsel or social coordination, finding such figures often more appreciative of the subtleties of social relations within the community than members of the *grupo dinamizador*, for example. These practices demonstrate how spirituality is connected to the healers' political actions.

Although few healers mentioned their role as political actors, empirical findings and analysis of Mozambican history suggested that traditional healers have had a role as political figures in the country – considering their links with politicians, *régulos* and the state via AM-ETRAMO/AERMO, their role as military leaders in the past and their role as community leaders. These relationships have had an impact upon perceptions of their roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes because healers who were more influential were considered powerful local chiefs by the community, influencing political campaigns and protecting their candidates. Regarding the links with the justice system, those healers who were more influential and powerful were the ones who were invited to be part of the community courts. This section is a significant contribution to the hybridity literature since their political role is marginalised in the literature. The next section discusses the healers' role as health providers in post-conflict Mozambique.

4.3 Healers as *nyangas* and the spiritual realm

The Mozambican cosmology holds that health is a complex concept, which requires multifaceted levels of inner equilibrium, including the ancestors and one's own body since antisocial hostilities can manifest themselves as illness. Fieldwork findings indicated that people considered healers as legitimate traditional actors providing health care, including psychological and spiritual relief. In post-conflict Mozambique, traditional healers are more popular than professional doctors while hospital and medical supplies are not always available

in the provinces. In 2013, there was one doctor for every 35,000 people, but one healer for every 80¹⁹². Therefore, this section focuses on the healers' role as *nyangas*.

According to a 30-year-old traditional healer interviewed¹⁹³ in Maxixe, Inhambane, he preferred the term *nyanga* instead of the term traditional medicine practitioner (used by AMETRAMO, as will be discussed in the next chapter). According to him, the term traditional medicine practitioner conflicts with the term *nyanga*, restricting the meaning of *nyanga* since medicine practitioner involves end and principle. “*Nyanga* is a vocation that has no beginning but has an end”. He justified that in the justice field, highlighting that the term traditional medicine practitioner would not make much sense because the person [healer] was not exclusively medical, reducing the purpose of his/her actions.

Additionally, the healer argued that the term ‘healer’ was the Africanisation of the word ‘cure’ and that the *nyanga* is suffering “colonisation” for being a doctor, adding that the statutes governing non-governmental associations such as AERMO had much more to do with state affairs than with the *nyanga*. “The *nyangas* are less schooled and are structural and non-logical subjects, and all this hinders the structuring of the *nyanga*”. In this sense, he voiced that “there must be people with experience in associations and community dynamics to represent the *nyanga*”. He claimed: “There are things that *nyanga* does that the state does not know, for example (...) *Nyanga* is a state by itself, a natural state that has its own structure”. The next chapter discusses how the state limits the scope of the healers' various roles in-depth.

This interview led me to rethink the origins of the healers, and all healers told me similar stories about how they became healers. This is relevant to my analytical framework as this thesis investigates complex linkages between spiritual, social and political forces through the

¹⁹² ‘Mozambique has a healer for every 80 inhabitants’. Globo Reporter [website], 2013, <https://g1.globo.com/globo-reporter/noticia/2013/08/mocambique-tem-um-medico-para-35-mil-habitantes-mas-conta-com-um-curandeiro-para-cada-80.html>, (accessed 19 oct. 2018).

¹⁹³Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

role of the healers, and they are healers because of their connection with the spiritual realm. Moreover, fieldwork findings suggested that the connection with the spiritual realm was the most distinctive characteristic of the healers. Many healers have quoted heredity, wherein his/her family there was a father/mother, grandfather/grandmother or great-grandmother/great-grandfather who was a healer. Healers also emphasised having an incurable disease, which led them to look for a healer, and realise that they were born as healers and that they had to work as healers. A senior healer interviewed in Maxixe argued¹⁹⁴ that the work she did was hereditary, claiming: “When my mother was still pregnant, she always dreamed of a spirit that said like this: This baby who will leave is going to be a practitioner of traditional medicine”. This interview was conducted with an interpreter, who explained that this created the separation of father and mother because the father rejected her. Although her mother was not a healer, maybe her grandfathers were. Close to the place where she lived, there was a military outpost in the past. She added: “When they went to the bush for manoeuvres, some of them became ill. So, they came here for an appointment”. The interviewee claimed that she never charged consultations with these militaries because her spirit never allowed her to collect money.

Even though there were practices of denial in the Mozambican transitional justice processes after the civil war as previously explained, the war victims and survivors sought available indigenous resources to repair their individual and collective lives through healing rituals performed by traditional healers. Through truth-telling rituals, for example, victims of war evoked their suffering and restored their dignity, changing the culture of denial. In a state of spirit possession, healers re-enacted wartime experiences in order to heal people creating a socio-cultural environment adequate to engagement with the past and communal

¹⁹⁴Healer 8. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016. Interview conducted with an interpreter. He might have used the term ‘practitioner of traditional medicine’ because he worked with AERMO, Mozambican Association of Herbalists in Maxixe.

repair (Igreja, 2012). Fieldwork findings indicated that healers were not performing cleansing rituals as they used to do right after the civil war, but they have been performing cleansing rituals mainly with prisoners and people involved in traffic accidents, for example, according to some interviewees. The following quote addresses the links between healers and justice, by a healer who claimed¹⁹⁵ that he was too young to perform cleansing rituals after the civil war:

“But there is that situation of the people who go to jail, and they need some purifications, and of those who have had accidents constantly (...) For example, someone who always crosses the street has suffered an accident monthly or annually. (...) Then you have to undergo purification. Or even someone who owns a car and has a monthly accident”.

Regarding the ‘invisible work’ of the healers, witchcraft and spirit possession is not uncommon in post-conflict Mozambique. According to different interviewees and the literature (Igreja, 2012; Granjo, 2007), unless the appropriate rituals were performed, the culprits were doomed to suffer for years. In this sense, Albino Forquilha (FOMICRES’ CEO), who was kidnapped and forced to become a child soldier during the civil war, underlined¹⁹⁶ that after he returned from the war, he had to go through cleansing rituals conducted by the healers. These rituals¹⁹⁷ ‘cleared’ him of any evil spirits and reinserted him into society so that he could have the right to marry, for instance. According to him, people were purified in groups or individually by the healers, and he emphasised that “if he is alive it is because of the traditional healers”, because during the civil war “traditional healers were the ones who healed and offered protection in the bush while the troops survived because of the traditional medicine”, arguing¹⁹⁸:

¹⁹⁵Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

¹⁹⁶FOMICRES is based in Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/12/2016.

¹⁹⁷He claimed that in Manica, his hometown, this cleansing and purification ritual was known as Kusuka Muiri. In 1982, Renamo controlled Manica and Sofala provinces. He added that when he was a child, he suffered many years until he discovered with the intervention of a healer that he had a specific sickness linked to the realm of the spirits, the invisible realm (West, 2005).

¹⁹⁸Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/12/2016.

“Nearly 99 per cent of the Mozambicans who left the troop, or a difficult situation were or continue to be involved [referring to cleansing rituals], it must have helped a very important role from the psychological point of view, of reconciliation. Each one, the one who thought that x, y or z, was killing people, after the purification, he believes that the person is alive and normal like himself. That the person has all the rights. There is no longer the presence of some evil spirit. The purified people themselves as I was, I began to have a feeling of certainty that all the others here in the community see me as a normal person. I could already have the right to marry, to fall in love with someone, a job. And even when it became difficult, I no longer blamed the evil spirit. I have already felt purified. [...] The grouping of people to see the corners is aimed, in fact, that everyone around me... believes that this person is free. This helped a lot in the reconciliation of the Mozambicans in the bloody war that we had. That is why I believe that the role of these traditional doctors or traditional medicine was very important for the reconciliation stage that Mozambique is experiencing today, but also that they will continue to play a significant role in the coming years. At that moment I can say that the greatest number of Mozambicans, even when they have problems, illness, when they have aspects that they cannot understand or explain better, in the home, in the family, etc., etc., resort to traditional medicine. There is still a very great civilisational conflict between Western culture and African or Mozambican culture that sometimes causes some people not to feel the urge to speak, and to say look I appeal to the healer, or during the time that I live in that house [...] 70 or 80% go to the healer instead of the hospital. Because of this cultural conflict. But in their silence, they do this, and they fulfil it. This is a fact in our country”.

In this regard, a female healer based in Maxixe, Inhambane, emphasised¹⁹⁹ that there was a military post near her house in the past and that soldiers sought her for consultation when returning from war and she helped many former warfighters find “peace of mind”. I also interviewed²⁰⁰ a male healer in Maxixe who had an important role in the healing process of ex-soldiers after the civil war in Mozambique. According to his words, he used to practice the *Pudula* ritual, a ritual that consisted of bathing the uniform worn by a former soldier in an herbal mix. Concerning his own perceptions vis-à-vis interactions with the state, he said that at the present time he contributed to peacebuilding process because people felt good after consultations with him, and they recommended his work to others.

Spirits and spirit possession demonstrate the idea that conflicts arising from illegitimate killings, for example, do not erode or decrease with the flow of time but remain irresolvable for generations until the violation is dealt with by legitimate institutions (Igreja, 2012).

¹⁹⁹Healer 12. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

²⁰⁰Healer 14. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

A healer in a state of *gamba* spirit possession, for example, re-enacts with the patient violent scenes typical of the war zones in which the spirits seek reparation and closure. These healing rituals reinforce the idea of “multiple temporalities” (Igreja, 2012), and represent a new social space against the Mozambican culture of denial of the past. These multiple temporalities refer to the coexistence of consecutive experiences of multiple time references in everyday life, juxtaposed with the idea within transitional justice literature that the flow of time is homogeneous and linear (Igreja, 2012). The latter is a dominant western perspective in which trials and truth commissions are evoked to seal off the past and initiate a new era. In this regard, a rigid temporal sequencing fails to grasp the complex realities of people living in sociocultural contexts where multiple temporalities are experienced in everyday life (Igreja, 2012), in which wartime violence remains part of the Mozambicans’ imagination, daydream and emotions²⁰¹. Furthermore, time is also connected to life-cycle rituals and cyclical ecological rhythms²⁰² in Mozambique.

Nowadays, the ‘consultation’ – an analogy to medical science terminology – with a healer is described as a communication between the healers, his/her spirits, the client and his/her ancestors. When a client arrives at the healer’s house, he/she asks for a consultation, sometimes without further specification as to his/her motives. Shortly after that, the client is invited to the hut belonging to the spirit who will lead the work that day. The healer then dresses in that spirit’s *capulana*²⁰³ and face his/her paraphernalia, calling the spirit to work by informing the spirit that there is someone who seeks their help. After invoking the spirit to the premises, a literate healer writes in a hospital-like register provided by AMETRAMO, taking

²⁰¹Igreja (2003) states that on one occasion an entire village woke up at dawn in a panic because of ‘shots’ fired by dead soldiers buried in the middle of the village.

²⁰²People in Gorogonsa use the following nature sources of time orientation: different phases or aspects of the moon, the appearance of certain types of clouds in the sky and the changing colours of the forest. Additionally, spirits of the dead also constitute an important source of time orientation (Igreja, 2012).

²⁰³Type of a sarong worn in Mozambique.

notes on the client's official name and genealogy. Once the healer feels the spirit's presence, she/he can throw the *tinhlolo*. Then, the healer presents his/her reading of the *tinholo*. The healer is supposed to identify the motive for a client's visit, using her/his experience and observational abilities to get closer to the real issue, such as a spirit demanding compensation for a deceased kin's past actions. Furthermore, a client may also be afflicted not because of one's own actions or omissions, or even because of guilt inherited from a deceased relative, but rather as a way to cast blame upon the one who is at fault – in this case, some close relative.

Consultation is expected to reveal more than just the future, and that future revealed is not expected to be sure and unchangeable²⁰⁴ (Granjo, 2007). Consultations with healers are required to detect *a posteriori* underlying reasons for events and, in doing so, to make the events understandable, allowing for an effective reaction to them – through correction of their ultimate causes or protection against them. Divination predicts what is in one's favour and point out obstacles surrounding future projects, in order to allow accurate options, strategies and precautions.

In this regard, a senior healer that has been working since 1970 in Maxixe, in the south of the country, explained²⁰⁵ that her clients were people who had dementia, “which sometimes is related to the presence of spirits, and sometimes not”. In Beira, Sofala (centre) another healer claimed²⁰⁶ that she healed fertility²⁰⁷ problems many times, and after the creation of AMETRAMO more clients emerged. In Inhambane (south), another female healer stated²⁰⁸ that she performed cleansing rituals (bathing) using “roots”. She told me that the most serious

²⁰⁴Granjo (2007) develops the concept of *domestication of aleatoriness* when analysing spirit possession in Mozambique. He argues that this is a system based on a deterministic structure that seeks to explain and regulate uncertainty, but its outcome is chaotic due to the complexity of the involved factors, unknowable in their totality and characterised by agency.

²⁰⁵Healer 19. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

²⁰⁶Healer 21. Beira, Sofala. Interview on 08/12/2016.

²⁰⁷In Mozambique, one of the effects of spirits' possession is the disruption of the reproductive capacities of the possessed, blocking people's ability to bear children unless they take on the proper rituals (Igreja, 2012).

²⁰⁸Healer 6. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

illnesses she faced as a healer were HIV and tuberculosis. She added that young and seniors constantly looked for her work, but generally, she had more young patients.

In contrast, a healer from Maxixe claimed²⁰⁹ that she did not like treating young people because often when they left their homes, they sought the healers, and this created a big problem for them. She noted that she only treated young people when their families accompanied them. Thus, she added that she generally treated elderly people and that they had problems with insomnia and several other diseases. Isabela Davide, AERMO member since 2002, claimed²¹⁰ that she had patients every month, and many people sought her so that she could take out bad spirits. A healer interviewed in Maxixe, Inhambane, underlined²¹¹ that her work involved picking up evil spirits from people and treating diseases like gonorrhoea with the use of roots. She also claimed that she worked with former warfighters, helping them with the use of herbs, and she described a spiritual session. During a spiritual session, the spirit reveals what herbs she should use to heal. After a spiritual session, she gives their patients compounds of dried herbs and roots or takes their patients through a variety of ‘wellness’ ceremonies, such as bathing in goat’s blood or making special cuts with a razor blade all over the patient’s body. She underlined that her patients were of all ages, and she did not work with justice or accusations of witchcraft.

Still on the topic of health provision, one healer claimed²¹² that when her patients had malaria, HIV or tuberculosis, she guided the patients to the hospital. Another healer argued²¹³: “We cannot cure this disease. Like tuberculosis. We do not have medicine to take care of this disease. We just give the bath... and hospital”. According to the healers, this was part of the

²⁰⁹Healer 8. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

²¹⁰Healer 9. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016. Pedro, executive secretary of AERMO in Maxixe, said that there were approximately 160 AERMO members in Maxixe.

²¹¹Healer 13. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

²¹²Healer 9. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

²¹³Healer 18. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

training offered by the state via AMETRAMO and AERMO. During fieldwork in the south of the country, many other healers claimed that they would bathe the patient [of roots] then pass the person to the hospital. Furthermore, interviewees underlined that when patients had ‘spirituals’ problems that could not be healed in the hospitals, doctors conducted them to the healers. In Maxixe, a healer described²¹⁴ her work with the state: “I do my part. [...] I work with health. We do the treatment and... along with health²¹⁵ [...] I fill out documents and forward [the patient] to the hospital”. In the same way, a healer in Maxixe told me²¹⁶: “Once it arrived here an individual who had problems of seropositivity (...) This one I will not be able to. (...) I do my part. What I do: I give first aid as a practitioner of traditional medicine, and I pass that guide²¹⁷ to him”. A ‘focal point’²¹⁸ of traditional medicine in the District Secretariat for Women’s Health and Social Action in Massinga, Inhambane, explained²¹⁹ that the government trained healers in primary health, malaria, sanitation and medicinal plant conservation and that there were 138 healers registered at AMETRAMO and 38 registered at AERMO in Massinga. Likewise, a *régulo* in Pembe, in the province of Inhambane, underlined²²⁰: “The government arrives here to make this campaign against HIV-AIDS”. This recognition by AERMO/AMETRAMO increased the legitimacy of the healers as health providers, as fieldwork findings suggested that healers who were registered in these institutions were not sorcerers.

Beyond being ‘traditional medicine practitioners’²²¹, healers generally also work on the *machambas*²²² to complement their income in post-conflict Mozambique. In this sense,

²¹⁴Healer 4. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 09/11/2016.

²¹⁵Depending on the illness, the healer conducts the patient to the hospital.

²¹⁶Healer 5. Maxixe, Inhambane. 15/11/2016.

²¹⁷Forms provided by AMETRAMO.

²¹⁸*Ponto focal*, in Portuguese. She was the person in charge of traditional healers’ demands in the District Secretariat for Women’s Health and Social Action in Massinga, Inhambane.

²¹⁹Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

²²⁰Pembe, Inhambane. Interview on 11/11/016.

²²¹Official term used by AMETRAMO.

many healers complained about the lack of clients because of the crisis²²³ that the country is going through and because of the competition with the church. According to the AMETRAMO leader in Inhambane²²⁴, the main difficulties faced by the healers were part of the development of many churches close to their headquarters. The interviewee voiced that members of these churches were leaders who have been performing traditional rituals similar to the rituals performed by the healers in their own churches with some flaws that compromised people's health and well-being. Besides, the healer complained that religious leaders from different churches told people that they should not seek the healers, consequently "stealing" their clients. A representative of AERMO in Maxixe said²²⁵: "These emerging churches have been telling believers that they cannot seek traditional medicine. On the contrary, the evangelical pastors themselves take their family at night and go to the traditional doctor²²⁶". He added: "Those who come to the meetings as members of AERMO, most go to the church, will commune in the Congregational church (...) most [healers] pray".

His quote indicated that despite all competition between the church and the healers, religious syncretism is very strong in post-conflict Mozambique, where healers seek the church, and evangelical pastors²²⁷ seek healers. Likewise, OREC's ██████████ said²²⁸: "People go to the Zionist church, the Catholic church. But at the end of the day, there is the healer". Churches are an important part of the reconciliation in Mozambique, and they are being urged

²²²Place where people grow vegetables and fruits.

²²³With regard to the economic crises, a member of JustaPaz told me "It is difficult for us to talk about peace with someone who is hungry, because they cannot buy the bread, they had bought two years ago for their children. So, the economic crisis, politics... are making our work a little more complicated than a while ago". Matola, Maputo, Interview on 18/10/2016.

²²⁴Healer 11. Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 17/11/2016.

²²⁵Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 15/11/2016.

²²⁶Traditional medicine practitioner.

²²⁷An evangelical pastor arranged a meeting with three healers in Dondo, Sofala. One of the healers he introduced me to was his aunt. Despite his religious beliefs, he highlighted the importance of the healers in the Mozambican society during our short trip from Beira to Dondo, Sofala, 7/12/2016.

²²⁸Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

to reassume their responsibility for parts of the education and healthcare systems (Abrahamsson and Nilsson, 1992).

Regarding the relationships with the state, in Beira, in the province of Sofala, one local artist claimed²²⁹ that there were some cases of mass student fainting in the city of Maputo where community leaders and healers were called via AMETRAMO/AERMO and cases have subsided or ended after the intervention of the healers. These schools were formerly cemeteries, which had no ceremonies for the construction of the schools. He also claimed that the government often invites healers to conduct some ceremonies for the inauguration of public works, and other healers confirmed this. In this sense, the recognition of the healers' work helps to legitimise the healers. On the other hand, the state de-legitimises their "invisible" work when it focuses on the healers' role as health providers, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

4.4 Comprehending the gendered use of traditional justice, chieftaincy and witchcraft through hybridity and feminist lenses

Although healers have been playing three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, fieldwork findings also underlined some issues related to their work as I identified links to patriarchal structures, chiefdom systems and witchcraft. The analysis of gendered structures proposed here links back to the discussion of feminist approaches to hybridity discussed in the literature review, as I use feminist and hybridity lenses throughout this section. This section discusses aspects of my interview data which can best be read as manifesting hybridity in relation to gender, competition and (in)security in post-conflict Mozambique, contributing to the hybridity literature.

²²⁹Instructor of traditional dance. Beira, Sofala. Interview on 7/12/2016.

During fieldwork in post-conflict Mozambique, interviewees argued that healers were part of chiefdom systems since they had links with local chiefs such as *régulos* and religious authorities and local political leaders who linked central governments and rural populations, as previously discussed. Chiefdom systems usually discriminate against some groups at a local level (Jackson, 2012), but interviewees did not mention any problems concerning the interactions between healers and local chiefs. It is essential to point out that the healers' recognition by AMETRAMO/AERMO enhanced the protection and resources of the healers who were considered local chiefs since the communities perceived them as real healers.

Another issue that challenges the healers' work in post-conflict Mozambique is witchcraft, mentioned by various interviewees, considering that fear of witchcraft affects how people organise their lives. Interviewees mentioned healers because healers can be sorcerers who practice witchcraft and because they treat witchcraft, as they are spirit mediums. In post-conflict Mozambique, fieldwork findings suggested that most organ trafficking and cannibalism was due to witchcraft (Igreja, 2014) involving the abduction of albinos, women, migrants from South Africa, children and white people²³⁰.

Fieldwork findings also revealed a critical gender issue, the focus of this section, concerning the use of traditional justice mechanisms in post-conflict Mozambique, particularly via community courts. According to interviewees, male judges (elders) constituted the leadership of the courts, and traditional healers invited to those instances were generally men. This is a significant issue because most healers interviewed were women, and two female healers interviewed were representing AMETRAMO and AERMO in their

²³⁰Just like the Mozambican case, witchcraft accusations and the invisible realm (West, 2005) are part of the Ugandan reality. A famous northern Ugandan case linked to witchcraft is the story of Alice Lakwena, an Acholi Woman who was possessed by an alien Christian spirit and started the Holy Spirit Movement, a prophetic movement followed by a very nearly successful military insurrection against the government of Uganda (Behrend, 2000). Likewise, there was considerable suspicion and negativity in Burundi concerning the healers' role in the country, with healers being described as charlatans or sorcerers (Irakunda and Heatherington, 2017).

communities (government workers), playing a key leadership role. In this regard, one interviewee voiced²³¹ the importance of female healers in the Mozambican culture. Furthermore, fieldwork revealed that female healers had different identities as farmers and rural residents.

There are some issues regarding gender and the ‘conservative perception’ of traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique, according to a female member of the District Secretary for Women’s Health and Social Action, based in Massinga. The interviewee underlined²³² the widow’s cleansing ritual, in which after losing their partners, wives were enforced to have unprotected sex with males of their deceased husbands’ family, generally their brothers-in-law, in order to purify themselves after the death of their husbands. Although women still face much pressure by the respective families to perform this ritual²³³, some people have abandoned the belief in the ritual and not every woman faces exclusion from the family when refusing the ritual nowadays (Jacobs, 2010). In addition to the entire psychological burden involved, this often spreads HIV-AIDS and reduces women’s rights to freedom. The interviewee also argued that polygamy was also customarily practised by male traditional healers and according to her polygamy in a society founded on patrilineal kinship was a big challenge for society and women’s rights.

Moreover, during the civil war, Renamo military-logistic strategy involved forced labour, the rape of girls and sexual slavery of women: *gandira*. Following the war, *gandira* husbands felt humiliated by their failure to protect their wives and wives felt shamed and stigmatised, and many men accused their wives of adultery, bringing instability to marital life in a context in which divorce could be a form of the burden for the women (Igreja et al.,

²³¹Artist based in Beira, Sofala. Interview on 07/12/2016.

²³²Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

²³³Besides, the interviewee added that it has already been proved that the use of herbal medicine cleanses the widow, so sex would not be “necessary”.

2008).

In addition to widow's cleansing rituals and polygamy, post-war *gamba* spirits also spread gender and marital politics in post-conflict Mozambique, as generally *gamba* spirits possess women, revealing the role of gender politics in this process²³⁴. In general, *gamba* are spirits of male soldiers who died during the civil war and their bodies were not properly buried, returning to the world of the living to fight for justice²³⁵ (Igreja et al., 2008). These spirits generally return through the bodies of women with personal or family experiences of extreme suffering and whose relatives were involved in the use of protective medicines²³⁶ or involved in the murder of the soldiers themselves. Healers are the actors in charge of resolving this issue. There are cases where a *gamba* spirit demands a woman as payment, resulting in the woman being both the wife of the spirit and a healer under her husband's authority, in which the man is the head of the household (Igreja et al., 2008). Feminism in hybridity helps to discuss these issues since the feminist theory is concerned with cultural differences being used to discriminate and marginalise individuals and groups (Bernhard, 2013).

In this regard, the feminist insight that the "personal is political" (McLeod, 2015: 15) promotes the diversity of the personal experiences and its relations with political practices by focusing on the ways in which the personal is political for local actors, including some traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique. Laura McLeod (2015) develops a feminist approach to hybridity²³⁷, suggesting that a feminist post-structural approach opens the ways for a deeper understanding of the logics underpinning concepts simulating hybridity peace,

²³⁴In this process, young virgins are offered as wives to an avenging spirit.

²³⁵"The *gamba* healer in a possessed state re-enacts the war experiences of the soldier, including his death: crawling, shooting, fighting, running, smoking cannabis, drinking alcohol, and fainting. The goal of these performances is to call on the afflicting spirit to become manifest in the patient's body" (Igreja et al., 2008: 359).

²³⁶Usually pieces of the corpses of fallen soldiers (Igreja et al., 2008).

²³⁷McLeod (2015) develops a case study of a gender security initiative concerned with challenging the presence of small arms and light weapons (SALW) abuse in domestic violence in Serbia.

security and development (PSD) initiatives (e.g. gender security), such as the idea that war and post-war can be experienced in multifarious ways. On the other hand, McLeod (2015: 49) also criticises the methodological limits of the hybridity literature, when she argues that “hybridity is rarely conceptualised in a feminist way”. This links back to the discussion of feminist approaches that challenge the hybridity literature, as previously discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 1).

Regarding hybridity and gender studies, Hannah Partis-Jennings (2017) draws on a feminist approach to hybridity in order to explore her field research in Afghanistan, in which hybridity is addressed by the foreign and female experience and resistance and reflexivity within her research. The author argues that “gender is affectively guided by certain masculinist logics which render it uncertain, and laden with insecurity” (Partis-Jennings (2017: 412). In this sense, being female becomes hybrid, uncertain and linked to insecurity. The patriarchal context in Afghanistan relies on hypermasculine signifiers that help to perpetuate the conditions in which the female is “marked with insecurity” (Partis-Jennings, 2017: 411). This view helped me to understand the patriarchal structures in my case study, as in post-conflict Mozambique contradictory gendered structures are also indicative of relations of power functioning as “sites of gendered negotiation and boundary building” (Partis-Jennings, 2017: 412). I could perceive insecurity as female interviewees mentioned that only male healers were invited to be part of the community courts as judges despite the role of many female healers as local chiefs conducting ad hoc forms of everyday conflict resolution.

When asked about the implementation of projects related to traditional justice, OREC’s²³⁸ ██████████ answer²³⁹ led me once more to the gendered hierarchies of

²³⁸Organisation for Conflict Resolution. OREC’s focus on working with community leaders was quite helpful for understanding the hierarchy of traditional leaders in Mozambique. I interviewed the ██████████ simultaneously.

²³⁹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

justice in post-conflict Mozambique:

“It is a matter of language. All our work is to promote traditional justice. Therefore, a local justice. The people who usually solve conflicts, who are the members of the community courts, the community leaders. What we do is (...) These people solve conflicts. But these people many times or because of gender issues, or because of cultural issues, they tend to resolve a conflict that many times it is supposed that a person comprehends a just decision. (...) But often in the condition of the woman, who goes, for example, to a group, which will present a problem, tendentially, first because these organs are constituted by their great majority by men. As she goes on speaking, they, what is often perceived, it is not the problem she presents, but it is the condition of each of the parts. I am a man and a woman, and she was saying that. I do not admit it either. But when she came to present a problem, she expected a fair decision. Which is to look at what afflicts her. Alternatively, why, for example, she abandoned her husband because he was drunk. A set of... Therefore, in the ones we do, yes, we will try to solve them, but we are giving these abilities to them to realise all this. Probably they do not need to solve that problem. They probably have to call *matronas*²⁴⁰ to be part of the group they are working on. On the one hand, we increase the capacity, the process of empowering women by being part of these groups. At the same time, we have developed gender relations”.

With regard to the development of gender relations in post-conflict Mozambique, the

██████████ of OREC in Maputo emphasised:

“Men *violentam*²⁴¹ women, let’s say, in various ways. For me, sexual violence, it is the worst. But little is said, and little is taken, because of men, right? I think it is a matter that should (...) That is what you are saying. When we try to solve a problem. Men are accustomed to seeing women as being inferior. Always the man can. Always the man knows. So, he is always protected too”.

Her answer shows that men can be easily protected in Mozambique, perpetuating patriarchal structures in the country. Domestic violence against women is a severe issue in the country, as 6 out of ten women are victims of domestic violence. According to the NGO

Forum Mulher (Woman Forum), two daughters of former presidents, Valentina Guebuza and

²⁴⁰The interviewee explained the meaning of *matrona* “Those groups are important. In which there is already a collective practice of women who perform abortion. But it is legitimised by *matronas* because it is the *matronas* that go to look for the herbs, very often culminates in the death of the young lady. How the woman is punished for having aborted. And sometimes that understanding is missing. Because she went to the hospital because they said that she was having a formation problem, in which she had no other mechanism and had to have an abortion. There are several explanations, but often depending on the type profile of the girl, when she returns, she suffers from prejudice. That group [*matrona*] is important. We work a lot with women, and they are doing those little lectures. This is another area of justice. In the sense that when a group wants to settle that case, they ask the *matronas*. There is a process of masculinising decisions. Regardless of whether it is a woman or a man who takes it. We try to minimize this a bit. Working with certain groups, these groups have the responsibility to work (...) In recent years it has improved a bit”.

²⁴¹In Portuguese *violentam* means applying violent or threatening means against (someone) to overcome their resistance; coerce, constrain, force, not necessarily rape.

Josina Machel, were recently subjected to domestic violence²⁴². Therefore, violence has also been visible in the higher social strata, not only in economically disadvantaged social groups. However, the patriarchal system in Mozambique intensifies the gaps in law enforcement concerning violence against women.

In a post-conflict context, echoing the voice of female Mozambicans in these historically silenced areas highlights the subject of the “subaltern woman” (Spivak, 1998: 90) in the country. In this sense, I borrow Spivak’s (1998: 66) argument: “between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of the woman disappears, not into a pristine nothingness, but into a violent shuttling which is the displaced figuration of the ‘third-world woman’ caught between tradition and modernisation”²⁴³.

This resonates with the argument of Hudson et al. (2009) that those with physical power also dominate political power, so that men created legal systems that, generally speaking, favoured male reproductive success and interests. With adultery as a crime for women but not for men, male-on-female domestic violence and marital rape not recognised as crimes and with polygamy legal but polyandry proscribed, the development of male dominance hierarchies might also alter female evolution, in which females apparently began to make adaptive choices that serve to perpetuate this system. Primary among these female choices that cement violent patriarchies is a general preference for the most dominant men and female-female competition for these males, which reduces the opportunity to form countervailing female alliances to offset male violence against women (Hudson et al., 2009).

Furthermore, the feminist theory explains that inclusion and exclusion are gendered

²⁴²*DW Academy*, [website], 2016, <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/viol%C3%Aancia-dom%C3%A9stica-%C3%A9-preocupante-em-mo%C3%A7ambique/a-36850499>, (accessed 22 aug. 2017).

²⁴³Some of the most radical criticism coming out of the West today is the result of an interested desire to conserve the subject of the West, or the West as Subject (Spivak, 1998). There is a global gender hierarchy that privileges males over females and European Judeo-Christian patriarchy over other forms of gender relations (Spivak, 1998).

and reveals the relevance of analysing gendered positions and experiences in the post-conflict context (Tickner, 1992). One methodological approach that feminist researchers use is intersectionality, which focuses on the intersections between forms or systems of oppression and domination. Intersectionality is also a political tool that creates epistemologies and practices of resistance (Fotopoulou, 2012) for the reason that it seeks to understand how social, biological and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, religion and ethnicity interact on multiple levels. It also aims to understand how these categories are linked to social hierarchy, inequality and oppression in post-conflict scenarios and under a hybrid perspective. Intersectionality suggests that patriarchal structures are part of the traditional justice systems developed in post-conflict Mozambique.

Comparing the gendered use of traditional justice mechanisms in post-conflict Mozambique with other African countries such as Burundi, among the criticisms levelled at Ubushingatahe as an institution, the exclusion of women is a significant one since the council has traditionally excluded women following the patrilineal tradition of the country (Nindorera, 2003). Concerning Rwanda, post-colonial gacaca courts involve women as judges and members of the General Assembly, although they were seriously excluded in the past. In northern Uganda, gendered hierarchies within traditional rituals are also a big issue. In Somaliland, women are not permitted to participate in the discussion and judgements within the courts, but Somaliland women's groups have an essential role in shaping the 'everyday' through internal strategies of hybridisation, displaying a capacity to influence social and political relations and exclude external pressure. As in Mozambique, Somali society is "patriarchal and patrilineal" (Sandstrom, 2012: 137) in which women have a dual allegiance which comes from their belonging to the clan of both their father and their husband.

However, women's groups have been creating multiple sites of resistance in

Somaliland, such as female ‘peace councils’ that meet in parallel with the traditional male councils (Sandstrom, 2012). They represent the influence of international gender education programmes and their limits because external programmes are usually not adjusted to the local reality, while there is a strong internal legitimacy of the women’s groups. Furthermore, Somaliland rejected the presence of UN troops and it organised and funded its own peace conferences, which represents an example of how social pressures of Somaliland ‘everyday’ worked to influence the reconciliation and peace process. Although restricted, women have a social and political influence at these conferences (Sandstrom, 2012)

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the three main roles performed by traditional healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes and briefly discussed their relationships with the state, also discussing gender issues connected to the healers. Fieldwork findings suggested that healers have been acting as justice actors (incorporation into community courts, as local leaders organising meetings to solve everyday conflict and performing truth-seeking rituals); healers were political figures (relationships with *régulos*, politicians and the state, as military leaders in the past and local leaders representing state institutions in the present) and healers were health providers and *nyangas*. This chapter also provided some clarification on the healers’ actions and rituals, helping to answer the research question as these practices help to clarify the dynamics of their three central roles in post-conflict Mozambique.

This chapter challenged the literature that focuses on the healers’ role as reconciliation actors focusing on war cases. Interviews revealed the lack of reconciliation structures in post-conflict Mozambique and the fact that healers were not performing post-conflict cleansing rituals as they used to be, neither solving war disputes. Fieldwork findings indicated that the

links between spirituality and justice have been a distinctive characteristic of statebuilding processes in the country because of the complexity of justice, which involves the healers as key traditional actors in charge of resolving complex cases of traditional justice. Healers have been providing the ‘proof of guilt’ from divinations during trials in the community courts, and local judges and *régulos* must observe the healers’ opinion in order to make final decisions, evidencing their role. Healers also resolve everyday conflicts in their communities, evoking sociocultural forms of justice and governance, through rituals and counselling, and are the main actors considered capable of judging witchcraft accusations.

The fact that traditional healers are local judges in the community courts develops the concept of hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) since the state invites the most influential healers – traditional actors – to be part of these hybrid courts via AMETRAMO. Although few healers mentioned their role as political actors during fieldwork, empirical findings and the Mozambican history suggested that traditional healers have had a role as political actors in post-conflict Mozambique, particularly with regional variation. Healers who were more influential were powerful local chiefs by the community, influencing political campaigns and protecting their candidates.

My analytical framework based in the hybridity and post-liberal peace literature supports fieldwork findings, considering that traditional healers as traditional actors have three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. This chapter clarified the healers’ agency as local actors when the government is not as effective when it comes to dealing with impunity regarding witchcraft, for instance, a complex issue that is part of the traditional Mozambican justice and underlines the links between healers and statebuilding processes. Using hybridity to analyse traditional justice in post-conflict Mozambique was

helpful because it assisted me in understanding mechanisms embedded within a hybrid structure in which plurality comprises multiple legal regimes, such as the community courts.

I discussed in this chapter that justice is approached in complex terms in post-conflict Mozambique. The fact that healers are traditional actors in the Mozambican justice system has implications for understanding statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique as their role within the Mozambican justice systems comprises the connections between the spiritual realm and justice. This is a unique characteristic of their approach to conflict resolution. This chapter supported this thesis' overall argument that healers have been statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique, comprising three different components of statebuilding, but focused on discussing their role as justice actors, considering that healers are the only actors in charge of judging some cases, and they are also invited to be part of the community courts. This is an important finding considering that the spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution within the Mozambican justice systems, and healers transit between realms as mediums in order to identify stolen objects, culprits and sorcerers. Furthermore, most of the literature on the healers' role as justice actors (Meneses, 2006, 2006a; Igreja, 2012, 2012a) focuses on wartime disputes, and I discussed various actions and processes involving the healers as key actors in conflict resolution within Mozambican justice systems. This chapter also discussed that community courts resorted to AMETRAMO in cases of witchcraft, involving the healers as key actors. Therefore, I argue that healers have been contributing to statebuilding, especially throughout their roles as justice actors in post-conflict Mozambique.

This chapter also critically discussed issues connected to the healers' work in post-conflict Mozambique such as witchcraft and chieftaincy and the gendered dimension of their work. Triangulation of fieldwork data and literature review of patriarchal structures connected to healers in the country confirmed the arguments developed here. In this regard, this chapter

also strengthened gender and hybridity studies and provided an innovative contribution to the literature.

**Chapter 5. The interplay between the state and traditional healers in post-conflict
Mozambique via AMETRAMO and AERMO: between cooperation and
resistance**

The previous chapter analysed the multiple roles that traditional healers play in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, focusing on their roles as health, justice and political actors. This chapter looks at the healers' roles in terms of how the Mozambican people see the healers and how the healers see themselves, also discussing the healers' perceptions regarding their relationships with the state, which varies between cooperation and resistance. The research participants were traditional healers, members of civil society organisations and members of the civil service. The main argument of this chapter is that the Mozambican state has an ambiguous relationship with the healers and vice-versa, and the state has been limiting the roles of the healers as statebuilding actors by focusing on health issues. I discuss this process through the articulations of the respondents themselves, bringing their own critical voices into the discussion²⁴⁴.

Empirical data suggested that the state legitimised the healers' role as health providers but limited the scope of their roles. In this regard, interviewees highlighted conflict resolution as key aspects of the healers' work. Data triangulation of fieldwork findings indicated that healers were keen to be recognised by the state, although they expressed dissatisfaction with how the state has focused on their healing role. On the other hand, AMETRAMO developed new spaces of official recognition of traditional healers after a period of strong denial of traditional authorities. This process of recognition is part of the 're-traditionalisation' agenda

²⁴⁴I interviewed a total of 42 Mozambicans. See more detailed information about the interviewees in Appendix 5, pp. 290, 291.

developed by the Mozambican state, resonating the historical formation of the state and Frelimo's politics (see Chapter 3).

This chapter explains how the Mozambican community recognises the practices developed by healers and how the healers see their relationships with the state and other actors. I develop hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2008, 2009) as an analytical framework for examining statebuilding as this chapter examines the interactions between healers as local actors and the state, focusing on the role of traditional actors and practices. I argue that community courts are hybrid political orders as they intersect the formal state with informal societal orders, operating without much state intervention.

This chapter supports my theoretical approach and helps me to answer this thesis' research question because it looks at Mozambicans and healers' perceptions of the healers' role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. I also discuss the relationships between the healers and the state, and I consider that understanding these interactions are essential in order to explain the healers' roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. Moreover, it confirms that healers have been contributing to statebuilding through their role as justice, health and political actors, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Fieldwork findings established that the popular/state perceptions of the healers' role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes encompassed the recognition of their work involving the beneficiaries (patients), the state (mainly via AMETRAMO and AERMO), civil society represented by NGOs and traditional local actors such as *régulos*, local judges, neighbourhood secretaries and religious authorities. On the other hand, there was a stigmatising element vis-à-vis the healers' roles linked to historical stigma and power dynamics, which resonates with Frelimo's political agenda. The vision of Samora Machel, who was the first president of Mozambique, from 1975 to 1986, involved a societal cleansing

followed by the persecution and executions of chiefs, including traditional healers (Bertelsen, 2011), seen as obscurantists and a threat to modernity (Meneses, 2015). In this sense, the person in charge of religious affairs and programs related to the Church at JustaPaz²⁴⁵ argued:

“In history, we tried to put it aside. If you read, you will find that after independence (...) At some point, he, as president of Mozambique, did not want to know of these plans [involving traditional healers]. But now they have seen that it is not worth hiding under the rug because people end up going, instead of going to conventional medicine, to the hospital, they end up going to traditional medicine”.

This quote highlights the historical stigmatisation of the healers by the state, discussed in Chapter 3, and the fact that Mozambicans seek the healers despite this stigmatisation, suggesting their importance as traditional actors.

This chapter is divided into three sections according to thematic significance identified with data triangulation. In the first section, I analyse Frelimo’s ‘re-traditionalisation’ through the recognition of the healers via AMETRAMO, discussing the institutionalisation of the healers. The second section discusses the healers’ legitimacy in the Mozambican statebuilding processes as I analyse the voices of Mozambicans regarding the healers’ roles as statebuilding actors. Fieldwork findings suggested that Mozambicans saw healers as local actors contributing to statebuilding processes in the country, in which statebuilding mainly comprised traditional justice and the resolution of spiritual conflicts by the healers. In section 3, I analyse the healers’ voices regarding their roles and their interactions with the state, addressing that critical voices were also heard. In this regard, I use hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) as an analytical framework for analysing the healers’ roles as traditional actors contributing to statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique.

²⁴⁵Peacebuilding Organisation based in Matola. Interview on 18/10/2016.

5.1 The creation of AMETRAMO and the institutionalisation of traditional healers by the state: Discussing Frelimo's 're-traditionalisation'

This section discusses the recognition of the healers via AMETRAMO as 're-traditionalisation' of Frelimo's approaches, introducing the ambiguous relationship between the state and traditional healers. Although locally developed forms of institutions of statebuilding are often connected to resistance throughout the hybridity literature (Richmond, 2010), most healers were keen to be incorporated into state structures in post-conflict Mozambique, by their inclusion in AMETRAMO/AERMO, with regional variations. Nevertheless, some healers I interviewed complained about the delegitimisation of their three main roles by the state. Fieldwork findings suggested that these relationships had an impact upon the healers' perceptions of their own role as traditional actors playing multiple roles in post-conflict Mozambique, considering the strong influence of AMETRAMO.

The Mozambican government established AMETRAMO in 1992, in the immediate aftermath of the civil war, following the official softening up of the ban against traditional authorities discussed in the third chapter. In this respect, a healer interviewed in Maxixe, Inhambane, claimed²⁴⁶:

"There was a moment when the traditional healer was not considered, and it was worthless. After Independence, it [the state] began to appreciate this group of people who practice the traditional medicine. Not only, it started to consider an activity that could be exercised during the day. Because formerly it was just at night. For being afraid [healers] of the punishments that the state gave at that time".

This quotation underlines the issue of stigmatisation of the healers, who used to work during the night, hiding from the Mozambican society, and the re-traditionalisation' of the Mozambican state through the recognition of traditional healers by AMETRAMO. AMETRAMO is an institution for traditional healers, which regulates healers throughout the country and grant certificates on their capacities, building a network of healers. This registration

²⁴⁶Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

process works as a certification that legitimates the healers' work, considering that one of the main aims of AMETRAMO is to identify the real healers separating them from charlatans and sorcerers, a severe issue in the country. A healer and AMETRAMO leader in Inhambane, Inhambane, argued²⁴⁷ that AMETRAMO was the association responsible for “detecting fake healers” and resolving these issues. During fieldwork, AMETRAMO members sustained that the formalisation of the association reinforced the need to organise healers in post-conflict Mozambique and to gain support for them, ensuring their social and professional statutes, also restricting competition from other practitioners, particularly foreign healers living in the country.

The association has been developing guidelines, orientation programs and workshops with the healers in order to regulate traditional medicine, strengthening the relationships between healers and the state, since the Ministry of Health created AMETRAMO. AMETRAMO stands for the Association of Traditional *Doctors* of Mozambique, and many interviewees mentioned healers as traditional doctors/practitioners, not *curandeiros*²⁴⁸ or *nyangas*. It is important to highlight that the health-care system in Mozambique includes conventional medicine and traditional medicine (Fialho, 2003).

AMETRAMO's focus on health is so strong that after the institutionalisation of the healers, books about healers at the Eduardo Mondlane University's library demonstrates the place of healers, as books can be found in the Health Sociology section. This demonstrates how *curandeirismo*²⁴⁹ is placed in the field of health, not religion (Acçolini and de Sá Júnior, 2016).

Healers have been trained by the government in the treatment of diseases, also guiding patients to the hospital if they have symptoms of serious illnesses such as HIV and malaria,

²⁴⁷Healer 11. Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 17/11/2016.

²⁴⁸Healers, in Portuguese.

²⁴⁹Healing, in English.

and they have been trained in sanitation and conservation of medicinal plants. The continuous training of traditional healers in matters related to chronic diseases is enhanced by the Institute of Traditional Medicine, for example, a state institution that is part of the Ministry of Health. Fieldwork findings suggested that this training has been changing the healers' perceptions of serious diseases such as malaria or meningitis, which were often regarded as spiritual problems. The trained healers could identify and send these cases to the health units, according to different healers and members of national institutions such as the District Secretary for Women's Health and Social Action²⁵⁰.

In this regard, a member of the District Secretary for Women's Health and Social Action in Massinga, Inhambane, also argued²⁵¹ that when doctors could not cure patients in hospitals, possibly spiritual illnesses, they referred patients to the healers, highlighting the links between spirituality and wellbeing. According to a young healer²⁵² based in Maxixe, Inhambane, "AMETRAMO was created to aggregate the traditional healers and serve as a mediator, that is, of an institution regulating traditional medicine". Another healer from Maxixe argued²⁵³ that he worked well with the government and felt supported by the state. He added that he referred patients with Malaria or HIV to the hospital, and many other healers claimed during interviews that if they could not cure a patient, they referred the person to the hospital and vice versa, as mentioned previously.

Beyond the intense focus on the healers' role as health providers²⁵⁴, AMETRAMO has a key role in the traditional justice system in post-conflict Mozambique, as the institution acts as an intermediary within the community courts' environment. AMETRAMO invites and

²⁵⁰Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

²⁵¹Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

²⁵²Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

²⁵³Healer 5. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 15/11/2016.

²⁵⁴During fieldwork, members of NGOs and civil servants referred to healers as practitioners of traditional medicine, *praticantes da medicina tradicional*, in Portuguese.

conducts healers to the trials according to different interviewees, as discussed in the previous chapter. The healers' role as conflict mediators recognised by the community led the state to attempt to regulate them through the creation of the association (Meneses, 2008).

Moreover, interviewees outlined that the government invited healers via AMETRAMO to conduct rituals for the inauguration of public works, such as the construction of bridges and walkways. According to a member²⁵⁵ of JustaPaz, based in Maputo, "many times, when we have public works, generally they [AMETRAMO] always call the traditional healers to make a ceremony, to invoke the spirits".

Fieldwork findings suggested that although AMETRAMO represented the presence of the Mozambican state and legitimised the healers' presence within the community courts, these courts operated fairly organically, as previously discussed. I recognise these courts as hybrid political orders in the sense that they are formed by various actors, intersecting the formal state with informal societal orders. Moreover, they have been operating without much state intervention, as interviewees suggested that traditional actors have been conducting these courts. The fact that healers – as part of a hybrid political order – have been providing conflict resolution, with or without state support, strengthens the argument that healers have been contributing to statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique as justice actors. In this process, the Mozambican cosmology, which connects healing and justice, supports the healers' role as justice actors, as healers are considered the only actors capable of connecting the spiritual realm with the material realm.

About the ambiguous relationship between healers and the state, interviewees underlined that the state de-legitimises the healers' 'invisible work' (West, 2005) when it does not create laws and practices that regulate their work and develop their visibility. Healers have

²⁵⁵Matola, Maputo. Interview on 18/10/2016.

been incorporated into the Mozambican state structures by their inclusion into AMETRAMO, but their resistance to the system relates to their views against AMETRAMO's focus on their healing role, according to many healers interviewed during fieldwork. According to a healer interviewed²⁵⁶ in Maxixe, for instance, the term 'traditional medicine practitioner' used by the government restricted the scope of the work carried out by the healers, which is complex and holistic, as previously explained.

AMETRAMO is a meeting point of centrifugal forces, which represents an attempt at control by the state and political parties and a plural space of rational legitimisation of the healers (Meneses, 2008). AMETRAMO has become a means of controlling and legitimising traditional healers on the part of the Mozambican state (Trentini, 2016), bureaucratising the practices of the healers (Bertelsen, 2016). Maria Paula Meneses (2007) argues that the knowledge and power of the healers are inextricably linked to their border transgressions between categories such as 'indigenous' and 'science', 'traditional' and 'modern'. I agree with this argument because healers interviewed were located on the border between indigenous and science, between this world and the invisible realm (see West, 2005). For instance, the Medical and Law Faculties in Mozambique does not recognise the healers' knowledge, while medical personnel do not hesitate to consult the healers (Meneses, 2008). This contradiction is supported by the norm established by the state, which is based on a legal and rational model of legitimacy, and in this sense, the main goal of AMETRAMO – to create a space of social struggle for the recognition and promotion of traditional medicine – was not achieved during the first decade of its existence (Meneses, 2008).

On the other hand, the Mozambican Minister of Health, Nazira Abdula, declared in September 2016, that the Ministry of Health was working for the approval of a law that regu-

²⁵⁶Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

lates the activity of ‘traditional medicine practitioners’²⁵⁷ adding that this was the key to combat bad practices that affect the Mozambican society²⁵⁸. Given the lack of legislation on the subject, anyone can claim to be a healer in the country, which contributes to the devaluation of the work and the proliferation of charlatans. The Legislation Project is called ‘Projecto 189/CM/2017’. The project mentions the “crescent and persistent expansion of the utilisation of traditional medicine, not only by the population but also by an important number of professionals who see in these medicines an alternative to health problems that conventional medicine does not respond to” (Projecto 189: 1²⁵⁹).

The project recognises traditional medicine as part of the *modus vivendi* of the Mozambican communities, identifying the objection to its exercise as a violation of civil law and human rights since it contributes with substantial evidence on the improvement of the health status of the population. Moreover, the legislation proposes to combat the phenomenon of mistreatment and death of the elderly on charges of witchcraft and the devastation of protected and endangered medicinal plants.

In this regard, a traditional healer and AERMO leader in Maxixe argued²⁶⁰ that some seniors were accused of practising witchcraft, many were mistreated, and some were killed because of false accusations. A member of JustaPaz also underlined²⁶¹: “We have many cases of the use of witchcraft on the elderly, and they [state] have to settle this, and in some cases, it has to involve AMETRAMO because the religious leaders simply cannot solve these cas-

²⁵⁷This is the formal way of referring to healers in Mozambique.

²⁵⁸Anabela Massingue, *NoticiasOnline*, [website], 2016, <https://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/index.php/primeiro-plano/57809-medicina-tradicional-legislacao-vai-disciplinar-exercicio-da-atividade.html>, (accessed 10 jun. 2017).

²⁵⁹Projecto 189/CM/2017, [website], 2017, <https://www.oam.org.mz/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Proposta-de-Lei-sobre-pr%C3%A1tica-da-medicina-tradicional-e-alternativa-em-Mo%C3%A7ambique.pdf>, (accessed 13 jul. 2017).

²⁶⁰Healer 4. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 09/11/2016. The healer represented AERMO in Maxixe, the economic capital of the province of Inhambane. She was a local leader responsible for organising meetings with the local community on a regular basis to discuss everyday issues and resolve conflicts. AMETRAMO and AERMO have leaders – usually healers – in many cities throughout the country.

²⁶¹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 18/10/2016.

es”. A traditional healer and AMETRAMO leader in Inhambane, Inhambane, argued²⁶² that dishonest healers who were connected to those corrupt practices were mainly foreigners especially from countries in the Great Lakes region and AMETRAMO was the association responsible for detecting those healers and resolving these issues. The interviewee said that there were 138 healers registered by AMETRAMO in Inhambane, and the association was the bridge between healers and other community leaders. She added that traditional healers met twice a week at AMETRAMO’s headquarters in Inhambane, Inhambane, but lately they did not have patients mainly because of the expansion of churches²⁶³ in the region, and they could not work as farmers²⁶⁴ anymore because the land was very dry²⁶⁵, which indicated the need for legitimisation by the state.

The president of AMETRAMO in Massinga, Inhambane, stated²⁶⁶ that AMETRAMO arrived in Massinga in 1992, and it made progress despite some difficulties such as the reluctance of some healers in registering and the lack of proper AMETRAMO headquarters²⁶⁷. He added that his work was to maintain the link between traditional and modern medicine since “people seek traditional healers as Africans because of their tradition”, highlighting AMETRAMO’s main goal according to different interviewees. In this sense, a member of the District Secretary for Women’s Health and Social Action claimed in our interview²⁶⁸ that healers registered by AMETRAMO in Massinga were trained in primary health, malaria, sanitation,

²⁶²Healer 11. Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 17/11/2016. The healer was the AMETRAMO leader in Inhambane, Inhambane. She was in charge of organising meetings with other AMETRAMO members – healers – at the headquarters of AMETRAMO in Inhambane, Inhambane.

²⁶³Rapid church expansion in Mozambique has been driven by the intensification of economic and social inequality produced by privatisation implemented from 1998 to 2000. The increased fears of witchcraft also comprise this expansion (Pfeiffer, 2002).

²⁶⁴Generally, healers also do a range of agricultural work to cover their living expenses.

²⁶⁵Mozambique’s recent history has been dominated by almost three decades of war intercalated by years of floods and drought (Igreja, 2014).

²⁶⁶Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

²⁶⁷Though AMETRAMO is a formal organisation, it is ruled as an informal aggregate of individual healers, and its headquarters are usually the leading healer’s house (Igreja, 2014).

²⁶⁸Interview on 24/11/2016. As a traditional medicine ‘focal point’, she was in charge of working with the healers of the community.

and conservation of medicinal plants. Regarding the healers' roles and interactions with the state, the interviewee explained that five different localities form Massinga and each locality had a healer and that "patients believe more in tradition" and healers were the gateway to tradition in Mozambique.

Likewise, the secretary executive of Massinga district, Inhambane, argued²⁶⁹: "People *legitimam*²⁷⁰ traditional medicine very much, and the government recognises the work of the healers since it knows that there are other ways". He argued that the government (via AME-TRAMO) intervened in raising awareness of more serious diseases such as HIV/AIDS, but the government needed to invest more in the community courts. He argued that when they (public managers representing the state) held meetings to exchange experiences in the communities, they realised that healers lacked recognition from the government. He explained that when there was a conflict of law, sometimes healers were avoided because many people were afraid of spells that could be cast by healers. Thus, he claimed: "The recognition of some healers by AMETRAMO alleviates the situation because the recognised healers already have more legitimacy since they are not considered sorcerers" and AMETRAMO has demystified charges of witchcraft.

Moreover, the interviewee highlighted an important point about religious matters that was connected to the healers' recognition, which was the idea that the Mozambican state is secular and there cannot be much government interference in related matters. One can try to relate this fact to the government's indecision in taking a more determined position regarding the healers' situation nowadays, according to a member of ARPAC located in Maputo²⁷¹.

Therefore, healers in post-conflict Mozambique develop a "social body" (Schumaker et al., 2007: 709), and they compete with other social bodies in the country, including AME-

²⁶⁹Inhambane, Inhambane, Interview on 10/11/2016.

²⁷⁰Legitimate, in English.

²⁷¹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/11/2016.

TRAMO. This issue is supported by the historical phases of denial and recognition of traditional actors in the country, and AMETRAMO/AERMO present an attempt of the state to co-opt traditional practices and actors, as an attempt to gain control of traditional structures by propelling itself into the controversial areas of witchcraft and spirit possession. In this process of 're-traditionalisation', fieldwork suggested that AMETRAMO's focus on the healers' role as health providers and the consequent resistance of the healers to AMETRAMO approaches and the progress of their own governance mechanisms highlight their roles as statebuilding actors through their local agency in post-conflict Mozambique.

Regarding the interactions between healers and AMETRAMO, the executive director of the peacebuilding organisation FOMICRES, claimed²⁷² that AMETRAMO's work was in the initial stages yet, and the "debate fostered by the organisation needs to be more academic" and civil society needed to promote healers in a better way, not just the government. He added that "AMETRAMO appears in the media generally defending itself, and it is not the perspective that I would like to see" and that the state should develop the first serious debate on the appreciation of the culture and class of healers, in addition to the focus on medicinal plants. He emphasised that spirituality was not being well discussed in the country and that it was necessary to categorise the healers "since healers are usually experts in some cases and diseases". His emphasis on spirituality highlights the importance of this aspect to the Mozambican society and the gaps in Frelimo's politics, even with the creation of AMETRAMO.

Despite the ambiguous relationship between healers and AMETRAMO, the association is so connected to the healers that generally when interviewees such as members of peacebuilding organisations and national institutions mentioned AMETRAMO when they were referring to the healers themselves who were registered at AMETRAMO. Moreover,

²⁷²Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/12/2016.

many healers underlined during fieldwork that the relationship they had with the state was ‘only’ through AMETRAMO/AERMO, representing the impact of these associations as key state references for the healers.

Hence, the regulation of traditional healers via AMETRAMO and AERMO is part of the ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state discussed throughout Chapter 3. The concept of hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) addresses this process since AMETRAMO represents a bridge between the state and the healers, the ‘modern’ and the traditional focusing on the resilience of sociopolitical formations that are present on the ground and the idea that traditional actors such as healers blend their ways of doing things with state actors, as previously discussed concerning the healers’ links with the state. It is important to highlight that in the south of the country it is possible to discern the proximity between AMETRAMO representatives and Frelimo, and the interactions between AMETRAMO and Frelimo is linked to the traditional-modern dichotomy previously discussed. In hybrid political orders, competing structures and logics of orders co-exist, overlap, interact and intertwine, combining elements of Western models of governance and elements from local indigenous traditions. In this scenario, the state has no monopolistic position as the only actor providing security and representation, since it must share authority and legitimacy with other institutions (Boege et al., 2009). Therefore, the next section brings people’s perceptions about the healers’ role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, discussing how the Mozambican community see the healers and their roles.

5.2 Discussing the legitimacy of the healers' role as traditional actors in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique through the Mozambicans' voices

This section discusses Mozambicans' perceptions of the healers' role in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique in order to understand the legitimacy of the healers as statebuilding actors. Interviewees²⁷³ included one secretary of Mozambican districts in Inhambane (Inhambane), one member of the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture in Maxixe (Maxixe), the Head of the Secretariat of the Palace of Justice (Maputo), two artists based in Beira (Sofala), one AMETRAMO's president in Massinga, one *régulo* in Pembe (Inhambane), one AERMO's executive secretary in Maxixe (Inhambane), two members of national institutions such as ARPAC (Beira and Maputo, capital) and three members of peacebuilding organisations²⁷⁴ such as OREC, FOMICRES and JustaPaz (Maputo, capital). Interviewees indicated that traditional healers had a substantial role in providing justice and conflict resolution in post-conflict Mozambique, as discussed in the previous chapter, going beyond AMETRAMO's focus on their healing role.

According to fieldwork findings, Mozambicans saw healers as traditional actors contributing to statebuilding processes in the country, in which statebuilding comprised traditional justice and the resolution of spiritual conflicts. This supports the argument developed in the previous chapter, that a distinctive characteristic of the healers encompasses the ways they connect the spiritual realm and justice. According to ██████████²⁷⁵, OREC's ██████████

██████████²⁷⁶ based in Maputo:

²⁷³See detailed information in Appendix 5, pp. 290, 291.

²⁷⁴This category includes members of NGOs and national institutions such as OREC. OREC was founded in 2001 by a network of civil society groups. The organisation has been helping individuals and groups solve conflict through mediation and capacity building,

²⁷⁵Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

²⁷⁶Organisation for Conflict Resolution.

“Traditional healers are legitimate not only because the government recognised them through the creation of the IMT²⁷⁷ (*Instituto de Medicina Tradicional* - Traditional Medicine Institute) and AMETRAMO, but because the government looks for them to carry out activities and they are sought by many people in the treatment of diseases and spiritual conflicts”.

The interviewee also spoke about the distinction between religious leaders²⁷⁸ and healers, highlighting the importance of demystifying the healers’ role associated with witchcraft and obscurantism, which was often negative for the healers and it was part of AMETRAMO’s politics. He emphasised that in Maputo, many healers were seen as charlatans, people who wanted to get money at the expense of others, and these were not real healers, adding: “There is a perception that the real healers are out”. In this regard, there is a lack of a clear policy that tackles the stigma that surrounds the healers’ work, even with the creation of AMETRAMO.

Regarding the healers’ roles in post-conflict Mozambique, AMETRAMO’s president in Massinga, Inhambane, argued²⁷⁹ that traditional healers were legitimate because people believed in tradition before going to hospitals and were continuously resorting to healers in order to solve their problems. The proportion of the population that relies on traditional healers is high also because of poverty, inaccessibility of biomedical health services and years of attack against the government’s rural health personnel and infrastructure during the civil war. The GETM estimates a ratio of one traditional healer for every 200 people in Mozambique, and given a national population of about 17 million, Mozambique can be estimated to have approximately 85,000 healers (Green, 1999). Traditional medicine ensures the reproduc-

²⁷⁷The Ministry of Health created the Institute in 2010.

²⁷⁸The interviewee also explained the presence of different traditional leaders in Mozambican administration processes. “There are traditional leaderships. There are those who are called land chiefs, those who are often involved in the conflict over land. Depending on each type of problem, these traditional land bosses are often part of the ancient traditional lineage. In overlapping with these, there are other leaders. They call them community authorities. They are the ones that even have a subsidy from the ministry; they are even part of the public institution”. Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

²⁷⁹Massinga, Inhambane. Interview on 24/11/2016.

tion of the social fabric since it acts as a regulatory factor of social rhythms, and the major reason for the vitality of traditional medicine is the fact that traditional medicine treats diseases and at the same time resolves society's problems, whether they are associated with order or with conflicts (Meneses, 2008). This fact highlights the links between justice and spirituality in post-conflict Mozambique and strengthens the use of hybrid political orders as an analytical approach for examining statebuilding, as it recognises diversity within groups and the relevance of traditional values and practices in a statebuilding context (Boege et al., 2009).

In this regard, FOMICRES' CEO contended²⁸⁰ that nowadays healers have been helping to identify thieves and murderers and to solve witchcraft accusations, which have been commonly solved by healers:

“In Mozambique, there is a type of conflict that needs only the intervention of traditional doctors²⁸¹: our country has a lot of witchcraft. There is much talk about this, right? There are many robberies that sometimes we do not have a criminal identification police to identify who is stealing. There are many of these things. And who has been intervening so are the traditional doctors, who know how to gather, seek to find out what happened, who killed, and people secularly, until today believe it. Even if it is, maybe a little empirical method. But they are the ones that make this social carpet stand, and people believe. That is why I say that they will play a great importance for social stability, understanding between people and even harmony”.

This quote strengthens this thesis' argument that healers have a key role as traditional justice actors in post-conflict Mozambique. Fieldwork findings suggested that healers have been developing justice connected to the spiritual realm through their role as judges concerning witchcraft accusations, as discussed in the previous chapter. The executive secretary of AERMO in Maxixe, highlighted²⁸²: “The complaints come to the headquarters of the herbalist. The herbalist makes a consultation to determine if the person is a sorcerer/sorceress or not. On

²⁸⁰Maputo. Interview on 02/12/2016.

²⁸¹The interviewee used the term traditional doctor, *médico tradicional*, in Portuguese, which is closer to the term traditional medicine practitioner, used by AMETRAMO.

²⁸²He referred to healers as herbalists – AERMO members – or practitioners of traditional medicine. Maxixe, Interview on 16/11/2016.

Tuesdays, we meet in a cupula only to resolve these conflicts. She [healer] cannot solve herself'. Moreover, the ████████ of OREC, based in Maputo, argued²⁸³:

“Healers worked with people returning from the war. That in fact, it was a conflict that the person was in the bush came and back. They indeed had a convenient treatment. That it was for the person to stay clean and forget the past. And stay a normal person. Now they continue to do this. Even with people in prison, this treatment was done. Sometimes there is an issue in the neighbourhood, in the community. There was conflict; a person killed someone in the community. The person is arrested. When this person comes back, he cannot come back anyway. It has to be received by these people [healers] who know the treatment. To be integrated into the community. It is also a way of resolving conflicts. But we do not work directly with these people. These are practices that exist”.

The literature on the healers’ role in post-conflict Mozambique focuses on their role as reconciliation actors performing cleansing rituals with former soldiers, and this quote reveals that nowadays healers perform these rituals with former prisoners, helping to reintegrate them into their communities. It also discloses that spirituality permeates justice in the country, supporting the argument that healers have been contributing to statebuilding through their role as justice actors.

Connected to the healers’ role as justice actors, one ARPAC member based in Beira, in the province of Sofala, claimed²⁸⁴: “In Africa, there is no disease or death without culprit”. He explained that traditional healers were the actors who found the culprits, adding that there was prejudgement concerning the healers, but political leaders sought the healers although they hide it. He argued: “Frelimo and Renamo have their base in the field, and healers have great authority in the field and offer much psychological support”. The interviewee said that healers legitimised the trials within community courts and “after the guilty party is notified to the community court for judgement, the healers have a key role” which emphasises the role heal-

²⁸³Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 25/10/2016.

²⁸⁴Beira, Sofala. Interview on 07/12/2016.

ers play in the Mozambican statebuilding processes concerning their links with traditional justice.

When asked about the healers' role in post-conflict Mozambique, a member of ARPAC based in Maputo explained²⁸⁵ the presence of traditional healers in different historical moments of Mozambique, from the pre-colonial period to the present period. He described the inconsistencies of the government concerning the recognition of the healers since in certain periods, they were recognised and in others not, as discussed in Chapter 3. According to the interviewee, the very lack of action on the part of the government disengaged the healers' work, since several people, including people in high positions, often secretly sought them. He also emphasised that around 80% of the population sought traditional healers for healing purposes, which underlines the recognition of the healers by the local communities and their role within the Mozambican communities. In this regard, the interview²⁸⁶ with a member of JustaPaz²⁸⁷ who was in charge of religious affairs supported the healers' legitimacy in post-conflict Mozambique:

“It is not by chance that the Ministry of Health ended up creating a department for traditional medicine. Because the traditional healers are, in the first instance, many times the first ones that are sought by the people of the communities before they go to the hospital”.

With regard to the healers' role in Mozambican society, a painter I interviewed in Beira said that even the political elite sought the healers although they did it in secret, and this was part of the African culture. He claimed²⁸⁸: “We try to forget where we came from, but it is our tradition” referring to the healers. He said that there were cases where traditional medicine worked and that in general people believed in healers and that even the most influential per-

²⁸⁵Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 02/11/2016.

²⁸⁶Matola, Maputo. Interview on 18/10/2016.

²⁸⁷Peacebuilding Organisation based in Matola.

²⁸⁸Interview conducted with a painter in Beira, Sofala, at the Cultural Centre of Beira. I conducted an interview with a traditional dance instructor simultaneously. Interview on 07/12/2016.

son sought the healers. He emphasised that it has been proven that medicinal plants healed, and in this sense, healers were very important to the local communities. The interviewee added that at the inauguration of large public enterprises such as hospitals and bridges, the government usually invited healers to perform rituals in order to protect the place and the workers, highlighting the links between healers and the state.

A member of the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture in Maxixe, Inhambane, expressed²⁸⁹ that “despite being an African” she did not believe much in the divination work of the healers, but she believed in the use of medicinal plants by them, and she added: “the creation of AMETRAMO gave credibility to the work of traditional healers in Mozambique”. Her quote supports the argument that the legitimacy of traditional healers also derives from their recognition by the state. As I previously argued in Chapter 3, the ‘re-traditionalisation’ processes led by the state affected the healers’ role in statebuilding processes.

Concerning the healers’ role in post-conflict Mozambique and their interactions with the state, the secretary of the district of Massinga, Inhambane, highlighted the importance of local legitimacy through the recognition of traditional healers by the community, claiming²⁹⁰:

“The people legitimise enough; they give great importance to the traditional situation. Then, the reason for which the government enters as mediator. In order to see if there are actions that we feel that cannot just end there, for instance, there are diseases that have to do with HIV/AIDS, and... Diseases that we think the healer is not able to solve. Therefore, we come in more to mediate and say no, that you have to leave and have to go to the hospital. There are situations that the state itself (...) when it is working with a patient who stretches and sees nothing. A situation is occurring. But they do all kinds of analysis and see nothing. Therefore, for example, they do not say directly that they will see the healer, but they say they will see other ways. It means that there is a recognition by the state, that there are other ways to solve other problems. They are problems that the naked eye cannot deal (...) there is this situation”.

²⁸⁹The interviewee asked me not to reveal his/her real name.

²⁹⁰Inhambane, Inhambane. Interview on 10/11/2016.

Likewise, the Head of the Secretariat of the Palace of Justice argued²⁹¹ that healers were considered legitimate actors regarding their role in solving conflicts within the community courts. He added that community courts were recognised with legitimacy by the state and healers were legitimate in the rural areas because they knew how to use local customs, and “even before AMETRAMO traditional healers were always heard” in those instances. This quote supports the argument that healers have been important actors providing traditional justice before state recognition via AMETRAMO.

Regarding traditional legitimacy among the healers themselves, legitimacy is reinforced by belonging to and sharing an ancestral knowledge (Meneses, 2008). Moreover, the commitment to heal a patient and the ethical behaviour of the healers reflect on her/his professional success. Many healers interviewed argued that when they did good work, they became known and the respect from their patients revealed the reality of their social recognition based on traditional legitimacy. Thus, the healers’ legitimacy in post-conflict Mozambique is not so much grounded in formal processes of the state system (Boege et al., 2009) because often traditional authority is more important than the legal/rational type of legitimate authority.

In this process, legitimacy draws upon local processes and values (Clark, 2005), focusing on social and subjective beliefs. Thus, the whole notion of legitimacy is no longer a quantitatively assessable concept but a qualitative phenomenon specific to distinct communities and their actions (Andersen, 2012). Healers have internal legitimacy in Mozambique since they are supposed to convey the message of the spirits and are culturally closer to their communities (Jacobs 2010), as the spiritual realm is an essential part of the Mozambican society. Linking statebuilding and legitimacy in IR, this section contributes to sociological understandings of legitimacy concerned with how the Mozambicans assess the healers’ situation

²⁹¹Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 14/12/2016.

(Andersen, 2012). The next section discusses the healers' perceptions of themselves in post-conflict Mozambique, aiming to advance their own voices as statebuilding actors.

5.3 Comprehending resistance and cooperation through the *nyangas*²⁹² perceptions about themselves and their relationships with the Mozambican state

This section delves into fieldwork findings regarding how *nyangas* see themselves and their relationships with the state in order to understand their critical position concerning the Mozambican state, which moves between resistance and cooperation. I used the term *nyanga* in the title of this section as it is a term in the local language that better encompasses the complexity of the healers' roles according to a healer interviewed in Maxixe, Inhambane, suggesting that I also bring critical voices to this research. This section applies hybrid political orders (Boege et al., 2009) as an analytical framework for analysing statebuilding by bringing in the voices of the healers in post-conflict Mozambique, traditional actors that were historically stigmatised by the state and are underexplored in the literature. Boege et al. (2009: 602) highlight the importance of comprehending the constitution of political orders in post-conflict regions, arguing that there are other actors beyond the state.

Data triangulation established that although some healers have shown resistance to policies developed by the state via AMETRAMO and complained about its lack of support, healers were keen to be registered by AMETRAMO and cooperated with the state because it offered protection, patients, prestige and legitimacy – considering that witchcraft is a serious issue in the country. Therefore, HPO also helped me to comprehend how formal and informal elements, including traditional practices and actors, intertwine and overlap in post-conflict Mozambique.

²⁹²Healer 7. Interview on 16/11/2016.

Based on interviews conducted with 21 healers²⁹³, this section suggests that traditional healers have been statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique because their stories presented that they have been challenging the state focus on health through their complex roles as actors providing conflict resolution. All type of people, regardless of social class and gender, seek them for healing and justice purposes, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Concerning the healers' role in statebuilding processes and links with the state in post-conflict Mozambique, a healer based in Maputo [REDACTED] highlighted²⁹⁴ that the lack of legislation which regulated the healers' situation prevented their development. He stressed that even with the creation of the Institute of Traditional Medicine, things have not developed much since little attention has been given to this area. The interviewee underlined that healers existed throughout the country and that he conducted workshops in several provinces in Mozambique and in different countries. He argued: "People consider healers as legitimate actors who are part of the development of the peaceful Mozambican state, considering that many people seek out healers". In this sense, healers have been replacing private or governmental institutions that do not allow their holistic approaches to healing and conflict resolution.

Regarding perceptions of the healers' role in terms of how they see themselves in relation to the state, a healer based in Maputo, emphasised²⁹⁵: "Government support is lacking, and healers are not considered". He added: "We [healers] do not study much, we are simple people, so it is difficult to have government recognition". He underlined that in the provinces healers were "more well-thought-out" than the capital because this recognition did not depend on "people's faces", suggesting that in the capital people judged them negatively. I associate

²⁹³See detailed information in Appendix 5, pp. 290, 291.

²⁹⁴Healer 1. Maputo, Maputo. Interview on 27/11/2016.

²⁹⁵Healer 2. Maputo, Maputo. Interview conducted by phone on 31/10/2016.

recognition with legitimacy since many interviewees mentioned recognition and consideration when asked about legitimacy.

When asked about her role in post-conflict Mozambique, a female healer who was the AERMO ‘leader’ in Maxixe, Inhambane, stressed²⁹⁶ that her work was “very valid to heal people and bring good”, building peace in the community. She stressed that she usually worked with the elderly, and she was the leader of an organisation that worked with ‘defense’ for the elderly against witchcraft. The interviewee argued²⁹⁷ that it was common for families to leave the elderly in Mozambique. In addition, many elders were accused of witchcraft. In cases of accusation of witchcraft, she used divination processes to discover the truth of conflict situations. In this regard, a healer from Sofala emphasised²⁹⁸ that one of the advantages of being part of AMETRAMO was that she “could no longer be accused of witchcraft as a registered healer”²⁹⁹. She added: “Before AMETRAMO when a patient died because of a serious disease, the healer was considered guilty of the patient’s death, and this does not happen anymore”. Concerning the healers’ links to witchcraft, a healer in Maxixe who was a judge underlined³⁰⁰:

“Especially if you are a traditional doctor. I was a judge at AMETRAMO. I always judged people, but that was a lot there [of witchcraft]. But it was not because of witchcraft. A father like me or another who has been born for a long time. He lived for a long time. We Africans, there is nobody in Africa who does not pass a healer. Anyone who passes the healer gets *noda*³⁰¹. If you do not fulfil that tradition well. And you must follow the rules well. When I say, that root will work like that, yes. You have to do this (...) There are many people who seek healers to get lucky (...) You have to know that you have to pay for the healer every year. Then the sorcerer comes. It starts like this when you agree with the doctor, and you do not comply with the norm (...) Someone is complaining, saying I do not know who is bewitching me. When I see that this is not the case... I solve it”.

²⁹⁶Healer 4. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 09/11/2016.

²⁹⁷Ibid.

²⁹⁸Healer 20. Massambisse, Sofala. Interview on 07/12/2016.

²⁹⁹AMETRAMO brings together all the healers from across the country. AMETRAMO issues them with a license to practice ‘doctor’ activities, ‘registering’ the healers. Likewise, the secretary executive of AERMO in Maxixe said that ‘they’ go to the communities to visit and register the healers. Interview on 16/11/2016.

³⁰⁰Healer 5. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 15/11/2016.

³⁰¹*Noda*, in Portuguese, is a stain; a signal left by something dirty.

This quotation emphasises the importance of the spiritual realm in post-conflict Mozambique and supports the argument that healers are key justice actors in the country, as they have been resolving witchcraft accusations as judges – in this case, invited by AMETRAMO – and are spiritual leaders.

Concerning interactions with the state, a healer and AERMO leader³⁰² in Maxixe was well recognised by the local community because as an AERMO leader she was responsible for organising important sessions in her house, where the community discussed small conflicts mostly related to theft and marriage issues. Thus, by being registered by AERMO, she was seen as an important local leader by the community. On the differences between AERMO and AMETRAMO, the interviewee claimed that all healers used medicinal plants, but they did not sell plants while AERMO members sold medicinal plants to AMETRAMO members. She added that AERMO was different from AMETRAMO because AERMO also worked with the border countries, facilitating the control of the herbs that were sought by South Africans and people from Swaziland, for example. During fieldwork in Maxixe, I interviewed one AERMO member who worked on the registration of healers delivering guides that were filled by the healers' patients who were referred to the hospital, depending on the seriousness of the disease, executing the same work performed by AMETRAMO.

Moreover, all the healers that were registered at AERMO declared themselves as herbalists. According to a healer interviewed³⁰³ in Maxixe, “The AERMO is not so much the state. We seek to affiliate. It is rare for the state to follow us to register. I do not think there ever was. If there has been a recent connection between traditional medicine and scientific medicine. It is more to create this bridge between traditional medicine and scientific medicine”. On the other hand, the same interviewee emphasised: “there is, and there is no legitimacy” on the

³⁰²Healer 4. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 09/11/2016.

³⁰³Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane, Interview on 16/11/2016.

work conducted by the healers. He said that after independence, there was more appreciation of the healers' work, who spent a long time healing the war survivors. He added that the work of the healers helped greatly in the balance of families and local communities. He stated: "I remember the role of traditional healers in the state, in the communities. I think traditional healers have been helping a lot in the balance of communities (...) in various conflicts, husband and wife; the *nyanga* seeks to create balance". However, he argued that the state still did not know about their roles, and state support was going to a non-propitious side. In this sense, he demonstrated resistance to the state by complaining about the state focus on health, which restricted their three main roles in statebuilding processes:

"But what you should realise is that the statues of traditional medicine. That is, of the associations [AMETRAMO, AERMO] have a lot to do with that which are state interests. And it does not have much to do... If you are to pick up the statues of the AMETRAMO that were of the AERMO, you will not find subjects related to the life of the own *nyanga*. You will find more elements that fit the state. And this can be a danger to traditional medicine itself. Yes. The *nyanga* seems like a structural subject. He does not appear as a logical subject. So, it gets complicated".

When asked about ways to resolve this ambiguous relationship between healers and the state via AMETRAMO, the healer stressed:

"As an association, one of the first solutions: We should not look at the election of the presidents of the associations only in the aspect that the president has to be a *nyanga*. Because we have a problem, the *nyangas* here in Mozambique. We are less schooled. This makes it difficult for us to structure our interests better. But an association can be presided over by a person who has good notions of *associativismo*³⁰⁴. It does not necessarily have to be *nyanga*. When he is president of the *nyanga*'s association, or the teachers, who is not a teacher. Let him be an individual who understands the norms of *associativismo*. This problem sometimes affects us because we do not have conditions for ourselves to extend our empire and to be able to say and talk about what is of our interest. The solution is that there are forums that can be said to have the doctors meet each other, discuss their role, and bring that role to light. For there is a great deal that *nyanga* does that the state can know, that is to say, not know... perhaps every member of the state knows. But there is not something clarified, and that is stated as possible. For me, the very solution is that the *nyangas* must appear to declare and make themselves felt".

³⁰⁴Associativism, in English. The interviewee was highlighting the importance of strengthening local capacities and dialogue between the state and non-state actors.

His claims revealed that AMETRAMO's focus on the healers' role as health providers and the absence of a more robust structuring of their roles in Mozambican society has engendered resistance on the part of some healers in the south of Mozambique, revealing their critical voices. Although the state recognised the healers, fieldwork findings suggested that they have been part of statebuilding processes as they are independent actors resolving everyday conflicts through their own governance mechanisms, which are connected to the spiritual realm. Still reflecting on his perceptions as a *nyanga* and relationships with the state, the same healer argued:

“It has nothing to do with the language [Portuguese]. It has to do with *nyanga*'s own lack of an object. Because I think the objects of traditional medicine itself can be well written in Portuguese. There are no problems. The point is that they are not included. Here *nyanga* is considered a structural subject only. There is nothing to speak of what is the *nyanga* or the traditional doctor in its essence. It appears as a solid object. It does not appear. The statute itself has no lines that speak of the interior, of the very internal structure of the *nyanga*”.

About the meaning of justice, a crucial aspect of statebuilding analysed here, and his role within traditional justice systems, the healer emphasised: “The meaning of justice is to create a balance between parties”. He argued that *nyangas* were involved with counselling, and their work had a positive impact since they also provided strong psychological and spiritual relief. He said that “there are many cases of traditional justice”, describing:

“As it happens, I do not know in what context, but I will respond in some contexts. Because there are cases that... one of the examples is witchcraft. But there are several. In the case of children. Because the son is not his son. There are problems there. His mother stepped, there was adultery. Then they go to *nyanga*, the traditional doctor, for him to ascertain the truth whether he is actually the son of that house or not. I have also been involved in such cases. Among other conflicts, such as land conflicts. In those circumstances where (...) Land conflicts not only. Someone leaves a buried treasure. Then you can go to the traditional doctor to know if someone left it [treasure] or not, it is more diviner or discovery. Maybe it is not justice. There is justice because after getting the value is left without knowing to whom the value goes. Among other problems that have happened and that the traditional doctor will be involved. Robbery issues, too (...) A cell phone disappears, a bag. Therefore, the traditional doctor sometimes solves it. Well, he can find out who the person was. So, he can help recover the good. There are circumstances in which people lose something in a place in the open where

there is no culprit. Maybe a store. Then you can make it appear. I think it is one of the parts that the traditional doctor has been involved with”.

His perceptions support the argument that traditional justice is an essential aspect of statebuilding in the country which involves the healers, as healers have been providing justice and spiritual relief through their own mechanisms of conflict resolution. In this regard, a healer interviewed in Maxixe highlighted³⁰⁵ a case where she helped a couple to discover who stole something from their house. She threw the *tinholo* set and found that the one who had deviated the object was the wife. Truth-seeking highlights the healers’ role as justice actors as truth-seeking fosters reconciliation and deters future crimes (Mendeloff, 2004). These mechanisms unfold without the intervention of the state, and it links spiritual and social forces since healers resolve everyday conflicts through their connections with the spiritual realm. In this regard, other interviewees stressed the element of justice linked to the healers’ work in the communities, as discussed in the previous chapter.

With regard to the relationships between healers and the state, in Beira, Sofala, a female healer argued³⁰⁶ that although the state recognised her work via AMETRAMO, the government did not help her, despite the payment of taxes once a year. She underlined that there were community courts in every neighbourhood in Mozambique and healers were involved in these courts via AMETRAMO. Although she was not part of any community court as all the female healers I interviewed, she claimed that her community believed that she resolved conflicts, being part of statebuilding processes beyond the recognition of the state. Still on the relationships with the state, one healer based in Maputo highlighted³⁰⁷ that because of the economic crisis in Mozambique he did not have many clients, adding: “There is no support

³⁰⁵Healer 12. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 22/11/2016.

³⁰⁶Healer 21. Beira, Sofala. Interview on 08/12/2016.

³⁰⁷Healer 3. Maputo, Maputo. Interview conducted by phone on 31/10/2016.

from the government”. Although most of the healers interviewed were registered in AME-TRAMO, many complained about the lack of support from the institution and on the way that AMETRAMO negatively affected their development. They underlined closer links with state affairs and the focus on health rather than their demands, the lack of a clear policy that tackled the obscurantism and stigma associated to them, which was negative and devalued their work, and particularly the lack of legislation that recognised their three main roles within the Mozambican statebuilding processes. According to a young healer interviewed³⁰⁸ in Maxixe:

“There are internal challenges, and there are challenges in relation to the state. Because there are many internal problems, I do not know how much time it would take to run. But what I realise is that traditional medicine itself still requires a great deal of structuring and needs, that is, traditional healers being well identified and what their potential in relation to the other, what they know best. There is no mapping, there is no, say, within the organisation itself, the association or even between us outside the association, there is not a very clear structure. And there are times when the traditional healer himself does not recognise his true role. It is not sometimes because his role is not widely recognised and valued, especially by the state. Because, for example, in a traditional justice, the traditional doctor can bring information, but that information can be, say, just scorned. Without seeking to see the operations by which the traditional healer treats that subject”.

This quote suggests how healers have a critical voice in relation to the state as they claim a need for better recognition and structuring of their work, reflected by the lack of structure of the association (AMETRAMO). Concerning AMETRAMO, the same interviewee claimed: “AMETRAMO should be a union that would control associations, controlling how they work. However, unfortunately, it has a name that encompasses all but not all are affiliated there”. I link these negative perceptions to the healers’ resistance to the state and the state failure in acknowledging their three main roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. However, healers demonstrated that recognition seemed a good option; otherwise, local communities could see them as sorcerers, and they could face persecution.

³⁰⁸Healer 7. Maxixe, Inhambane. Interview on 16/11/2016.

Conclusion

This chapter investigated the healers' role in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique following three main thematic discussions suggested by triangulation of fieldwork data: Frelimo's 're-traditionalisation' via the recognition of the healers via AMETRAMO; the legitimacy of traditional healers as statebuilding actors understood through the voices of Mozambicans; and the healers' shifts between resistance and cooperation, through the analysis of their voices regarding their roles and interactions with the state.

Fieldwork findings explained how healers have been part of statebuilding processes as many interviewees highlighted that all types of people, regardless of their economic and social situation, sought healers for healing and conflict resolution throughout the country. This chapter also supported the argument that healers have an ambiguous relationship with the state, in which the state registers healers via AMETRAMO/AERMO although many traditional healers complained about the way that the state delegitimised their central roles in statebuilding processes.

In this scenario, fieldwork findings uncovered mixed perceptions regarding the interactions between healers and the state. Interviews with healers indicated that their perceptions of themselves were influenced by the state structures represented by their inclusion into AMETRAMO/AERMO. Most of the healers interviewed were registered in AMETRAMO, and many complained about the lack of support from AMETRAMO and about the way that AMETRAMO negatively impacted on their development. Healers highlighted AMETRAMO's closer links with state affairs and focus on their role as health providers rather than developing their other two main roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. Healers also underlined the lack of a clear policy that tackled their stigma concerning the way they were seen by the Mozambican society, which devalued their work, and particularly the lack of legislation

which regulated their activities and recognised their three main roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. I link these negative perceptions to the resistance of some healers to the state, and the state failure in acknowledging the healers' multiple roles in post-conflict Mozambique, which is connected to the legacy of Portuguese colonial structures and Frelimo's 'New Man' agenda. On the other hand, while healers moved between cooperation and resistance to the state, healers were keen to be incorporated into the state in post-conflict Mozambique.

Although the state has recognised the healers' role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes through the creation and development of national institutions such as AMETRAMO/AERMO, the state has not established the necessary structure for the healers' work according to many interviewees, including healers and members of national organisations. In this process, healers have been developing their three central roles in statebuilding processes regardless of state support.

Fieldwork findings revealed that AMETRAMO's focus on the healers' role as health providers and the absence of a more robust structuring of their roles in Mozambican society engendered resistance on the part of some healers in the south of the country. Therefore, I argued that AMETRAMO's focus on the healers' role as health providers and the consequent resistance of the healers to AMETRAMO approaches and the progress of their own governance mechanisms have established their local agency and their roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

This chapter contributed to this thesis' overall argument – the assumption that healers have three central roles as statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique – as interviewees mentioned health, justice and the political sphere (particularly via the relationships between healers and AMETRAMO/AERMO) concerning the roles of healers in statebuilding process-

es. This chapter also discussed the interactions between the healers and the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO, and I consider that these dynamics are relevant in order to better understand and explain the roles of healers in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. In this regard, I argued that healers have been contributing to statebuilding particularly as justice actors despite the influence of AMETRAMO/AERMO (state), and they shift between cooperation and resistance in relation to the state.

The validation of traditional knowledge by the state is a process strongly intertwined with agency and power dynamics in the country, which reflects the constant political competition between Frelimo and Renamo³⁰⁹, as discussed in Chapter 3. This process is also part of the ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state discussed throughout my literature review and Chapter 3. The concept of hybrid political orders supports it because of its focus on the resilience of local sociopolitical formations and the idea that traditional actors such as healers blend their ways of doing things with state actors. However, this hybrid political order has its confines because the state legitimises the healers’ healing role and delegitimises their different roles. Thus, ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique also involves limiting the scope of traditional actors.

Although some interviewees claimed that there was prejudice regarding the healers’ work in the contemporary era because of the modernisation, globalisation and expansion of preventive medicine, this chapter argued that Mozambicans recognised the healers’ three central roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, particularly related to traditional justice. I argued that healers have been resolving everyday conflicts in their communities, evoking sociocultural forms of justice and governance,

³⁰⁹The Mozambican Democratic Movement (MDM) is the third political party in the country. The party was created in 2008 and quickly becomes the third political force in the country. MDM appeared as a result of Renamo’s refusal to support the candidacy of Daviz Simango for the mayor of Beira during municipal elections in 2008 (Morier-Genoud, 2017a).

through rituals and counselling. In this scenario, healers are the main actors in solving complex cases of traditional justice, connecting conflict resolution and spiritual relief. Therefore, this chapter supports this thesis' overall argument that healers have three main roles as statebuilding actors, with a focus on their role as justice actors.

Chapter 6. Healers as statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique: Analysing empirical data through the lens of hybridity

This final chapter of the thesis brings together and synthesises the main insights from the empirical material through the lens of the hybridity literature and framework developed in Chapter 1, underlining and strengthening the main arguments and contributions of the thesis. This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, I discuss my empirical data drawing on my analytical framework, composed by the hybridity literature, specifically hybrid political orders (HPO). I also discuss how the Mozambican state engages with traditional justice systems. The main arguments of the first section are the following: healers are part of hybrid political orders as they have been invited by the state to be part of community courts as justice actors according to my findings; the Mozambican state has partially incorporated traditional justice systems, and healers have shown resistance to this process.

The second section of this chapter reconsiders the work of other scholars concerning the main topics discussed throughout the thesis: the role of healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique and the role of healers within Mozambican justice systems. I argue that my work departs from this body of work in that the latter primarily explores the links between healers and justice focusing mainly on the role of healers concerning the resolution of war disputes in post-conflict Mozambique (Igreja, 2010, 2010a, 2012; Meneses, 2004, 2006, 2007). By contrast, I demonstrate that healers have a crucial role in Mozambican justice systems more generally, as they have been resolving everyday conflicts and providing a holistic justice, considering that they are the only actors that connect the spiritual realm to the material realm. Furthermore, I critically discuss the recognition of the healers by AME-TRAMO/AERMO as ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the Mozambican state, identifying the power

politics between Frelimo and Renamo and categorising these national institutions as hybrid political orders. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the literature on post-liberal peace and hybridity, bridging gaps between statebuilding, peacebuilding and transitional justice literature. Theoretically, the focus on the links between spirituality and justice, drawing on psychology and anthropology literature, adds more depth to the hybridity literature. The links between spirituality and justice in hybrid political orders and the Mozambican case are little discussed in the literature.

This chapter also compares my case study with the following African countries: Rwanda, Burundi and northern Uganda. Comparing those countries with Mozambique, the central distinction and contribution of this section to my research is the argument that healers in those contexts focus on health and reconciliation. I argue that healers have been playing a more central role in the provision of justice and statebuilding itself in post-conflict Mozambique. Analytically, this comparison allows me to justify further and illustrate my central argument - that healers have a crucial and broader role in Mozambican justice systems. Rwanda, northern Uganda and Burundi show that Mozambican healers and their links to statebuilding are fairly unique within Africa, as Mozambican healers are part of traditional justice systems. This comparison is a relevant contribution to the African peace studies, as there is little literature on traditional healing practices and the actors involved in those practices with a focus on statebuilding and justice. The last section of this chapter also supports hybrid political orders as an analytical framework for examining statebuilding in Africa.

Reflecting on the research question of this thesis, *what role do traditional healers play in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique?*, the core contribution of this thesis is the argument that healers have three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, comprising three components of statebuilding: justice, health and the political sphere.

Fieldwork findings showed that spirituality permeated these three areas, demonstrating the complexity of the case. I focused on justice as fieldwork findings and the literature (Igreja, 2010, 2010a; Meneses, 2006, 2006a) suggested that the spiritual realm was a constituent part of conflict resolution within Mozambican justice systems, and healers were the only actors considered capable of judging and resolving some cases as they transited between the spiritual and the material realm as mediums. Therefore, statebuilding is being developed by the healers themselves through their role as justice actors.

Another crucial contribution of this thesis is the argument that healers were historically stigmatised and marginalised by the Mozambican state (see Chapter 3) and overlooked by the statebuilding/peacebuilding literature. This is a relevant concern in the sense that healers were key traditional actors throughout the formation of the Mozambican state, as previously discussed. This thesis opened up new avenues for discussion as I critically explored the ‘re-traditionalisation’ of the country. In this regard, I discussed how the political disputes between Renamo and Frelimo were connected to the relatively recent incorporation of traditional healers by the state. I explained how traditional healers were historically stigmatised throughout the building of the Mozambican state, followed by a period of recognition through the creation of AMETRAMO in 1992. I argued that throughout the colonial period (1498-1974), the independence war (1964-1974), the civil war (1977-1992) and post-conflict Mozambique (1992-onwards) traditional healers developed the following roles: military leaders, providers of physical, spiritual and psychological healing and providers of justice and conflict resolution. Chapter 3 also developed the argument that historical moments of stigmatisation and recognition of traditional healers by the Mozambican state – supported by fieldwork findings – have been bound up with political disputes between Frelimo and Renamo. This process interfered with how healers have been interacting with other traditional actors and the state,

thereby affecting their development as statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique. Moreover, I claimed that historically *régulos* embodied local logics of chieftaincy when they were recognised by Portugal, while the state stigmatised the work of traditional healers.

As previously discussed in Chapter 3, traditional justice mechanisms such as *gamba* rituals performed by traditional healers mobilised post-war generations to deal with unresolved conflicts (Igreja and Dias-Lambranca, 2008). Nevertheless, this thesis aimed to identify and address their roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique beyond the literature's focus on their role in reconciliation processes solving war disputes. However, I contributed to the literature that focuses on the resolution of war disputes as some interviewees mentioned rituals performed by healers to resolve issues related to the civil war (see Chapter 4). This thesis provided a different perspective of looking at the Mozambican healers as I focused on the role of the healers in statebuilding processes, particularly in relation to justice and the governance of the spiritual realm and I discussed the interactions between healers and the state via national institutions, critically discussing 're-traditionalisation'.

In this regard, I argued that there is an ambiguous relationship between healers and the state via their recognition by the state through AMETRAMO and AERMO (see Chapter 5), as healers claimed that the state has been overly focusing on their role as health actors, limiting their central roles in statebuilding processes. However, healers were keen to be recognised by the state as these institutions provided legitimacy, clients and prestige. I claimed that although AMETRAMO/AERMO represented the presence of the Mozambican state, healers have been 'autonomous' community leaders performing local governance mechanisms, and they shift between cooperation and resistance in relation to the state. I categorised hybrid structures such as the Mozambican community courts and the recognition of the healers by the state via

AMETRAMO/AERMO as hybrid political orders, as I will discuss in the following section through the lens of the hybridity literature.

6.1 Where hybridity meets justice: Comprehending the role of traditional healers as justice actors immersed in hybrid political orders

As argued in Chapter 4, healers have been providing the ‘proof of guilt’ within Mozambican community courts, and they have been solving everyday conflicts individually or in groups, delivering a form of traditional justice which combines healing and justice. During fieldwork, interviewees argued that only healers could judge witchcraft accusations, a common issue that underscores the importance of the spiritual realm in the everyday reality of Mozambicans (see Chapter 4). Regarding accusations of witchcraft, for instance, a hybrid of legal bodies such as community courts and traditional actors “continue to be the entities that can act against and punish witches” (Meneses, 2006a: 80). This section supports the thesis’ central argument that healers have been contributing to statebuilding as justice actors as I explain their role in Mozambican justice systems through the lens of the hybridity literature, focusing on hybrid political orders. In this regard, I bring the argument that healers are part of a hybrid political order because of their role within Mozambican community courts, recognising these courts as HPO. I also argue that the interactions between healers and AMETRAMO/AERMO represent HPO and that the Mozambican state partially recognised traditional justice systems in post-conflict Mozambique.

The fact that traditional justice mechanisms are complementary to the formal judicial approach to rendering justice settling various kinds of disputes without the need to transfer them to formal tribunals in post-conflict Mozambique highlights how this case draws on the hybridity literature. Concerning the hybridity literature, this thesis applied hybrid political

orders as an analytical framework for analysing statebuilding as HPO investigate complex linkages between traditional practices and traditional actors and the state, and the linkages between spiritual, social and political forces (Boege et al., 2009). HPO look at alternative approaches to statebuilding in which various non-state authorities such as chiefs, customary kings, and *healers* (Boege et al., 2009) determine the everyday social reality of large parts of the population and the state is only one actor among others, as previously discussed in Chapter 1. HPO's emphasis on the combination of formal and informal elements that follow different logics but do not exist in isolation from each other, including traditional practices and actors and formal structures (Boege et al., 2009) led me to use it as an analytical framework, considering that the main actors analysed in this research were traditional healers. Moreover, the focus on spirituality in HPO's theoretical constructs – it investigates linkages between spiritual and political forces, as previously mentioned – reinforces the use of HPO throughout my analysis. The spiritual realm is part of everyday conflict resolution involving the Mozambican healers as main actors, considering that they connect the spiritual realm to the material realm. This research contributes to the literature on HPO as the links between justice and spirituality are little discussed in the literature.

The use of hybrid political orders as an analytical framework in this research assisted me in characterising and explaining the role of traditional actors and practices in statebuilding processes, as they were embedded within hybrid structures. In post-conflict Mozambique, plurality comprises multiple legal regimes, such as the community courts, and the interactions between state and non-state actors. In this regard, HPO claims that the state shares authority, legitimacy and capacity with other state structures (Boege et al., 2009). In Chapter 5 I argued that the recognition and legitimisation of Mozambican healers via AMETRAMO/AERMO suggested a HPO, symbolising the links between formal structures and traditional actors and

structures in the country through the interactions between healers and the state, being a bridge between modern and traditional (Boege et al., 2009). AMETRAMO/AERMO simultaneously represent an attempt at control by the state and political parties and a plural space of assertion for the healers (Meneses, 2008). This thesis explained the development of the recognition of traditional actors and practices historically, bringing the argument that Frelimo's 're-traditionalisation' of the state was a colonial reinvention and discussing the healers' position between cooperation and resistance in relation to the Mozambican state (see Chapter 5).

Furthermore, as discussed in the literature review (Chapter 1), hybrid political orders draw on the resilience of post-colonial societies based on the idea that customary institutions have shown resilience (Boege et al., 2009) despite the obstacles of colonial encounters and newly independent states. Fieldwork findings suggested that although healers faced historical moments of denial and stigmatisation by the Mozambican state, healers have been showing resilience and resistance as traditional actors developing multiple roles in the building of the state.

The healers' three main roles in statebuilding processes discussed in this thesis highlighted their local agency in post-conflict Mozambique, explained by the local turn literature in hybridity (Mac Ginty and Richmond, 2013). I consider that one of the most important contributions of hybridity to this thesis was this focus on local agency, as healers interacted with varying degrees of cooperation or resistance concerning the state on multiple issues and multiple levels, and through their own agency, they were able to resist, ignore, engage with and explore the resources attached to the state. The hybridity literature sustained the development of complex arguments throughout this thesis, also helping to clarify the relationships between healers as traditional actors and AMETRAMO/AERMO as state institutions.

The primary research method I used in this thesis, triangulation, was supported by the hybridity literature. As I analysed various perspectives of different categories of actors, the plural approaches of the hybridity literature, comprising local agency, legal pluralism and the interactions between different actors and the state in statebuilding processes, for instance, helped me to comprehend and analyse the complexity of my fieldwork data. Data triangulation assisted me in developing the main insights and validating the claims of this research, drawing on the hybridity literature. Fieldwork data suggested strong links between the state and healers, for instance, immersed within hybrid structures, such as the community courts.

Therefore, it is essential to highlight that the hybridity literature also helped me to analyse the healers' role in the community courts in Chapter 3, as fieldwork findings suggested that healers were invited by the state to be part of these courts, indicating the hybrid links between the state and traditional structures and actors. Data triangulation confirmed possible institutional partitioning of indigenous knowledge, as traditional actors and structures were partially incorporated by the state (see next sub-section). I contended that the study of the healers' role within Mozambican community courts contributed to the understanding of these courts as hybrid political orders. The healers' role in these courts is underexplored in the literature, although fieldwork findings suggested that they were the only actors in charge of judging complex cases such as witchcraft accusations, and identifying culprits and lost items, for instance, as they transited between the spiritual and the material realm. These findings depart from other findings in the literature, as there is a strong focus on the role of the healers as reconciliation actors solving mainly war disputes and as health actors in the literature, as will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

Since the formal justice coverage does not reach all districts and cannot provide a holistic justice which involves the spiritual realm, fieldwork findings indicated that community courts were critical in post-conflict Mozambique. In July 2018, Mozambique's Supreme Court Chief Justice Adelino Muchanga said that regulating the functioning of the community courts so that they used the same criteria as formal courts was a matter of urgency³¹⁰. His position suggests an approach to the complementarity between formal and community justice, speaking to the literature on hybrid political orders, in which formal and informal structures overlap and intertwine (Boege et al., 2008). This aligns with my argument developed in Chapter 4 in that traditional justice and governance mechanisms were critical aspects of statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique that were connected to the healers.

6.1.2 The engagement of the Mozambican state with traditional justice systems in post-conflict Mozambique

As discussed in Chapter 4, the community courts were created by the Mozambican state by Law no. 4/92 of 6 May, replacing the judicial system of 'Popular Justice' (Lundin, 1995). These courts were created as spaces for the resolution of contemporary crimes in rural and urban contexts. Community courts operate in the borderland between formal and informal systems of law – hybrid political orders – and this sub-section explains how the Mozambican state engages with these structures. I argue that the state partially incorporated traditional justice systems, as fieldwork findings suggested that they were functioning in a quite organic way as they were not continuously regulated by the state. The role of the healers in those courts strengthens my argument that healers have been contributing to statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique as justice actors.

³¹⁰ Chief Justice proposes regulation of community courts in Mozambique. Club of Mozambique, 2018, <https://clubofmozambique.com/news/chief-justice-proposes-regulation-of-community-courts-in-mozambique>, (accessed 15 nov. 2018).

Regarding the strategies of a state in engaging with traditional justice mechanisms, full incorporation involves fully integrating non-state justice with a defined role vis-à-vis the state system and non-incorporation grants free rein to local communities to apply and follow their local values, norms and customs (Dinnen, 2009). In this approach, state and customary justice co-exist but operate independently, with strict jurisdictional boundaries between them. The last strategy would be partial incorporation, based on attempts to blend the advantages and disadvantages of both state and non-state justice, in which state and non-state justice spheres operate relatively independently but with the latter receiving some recognition and resources from the state.

Fieldwork findings revealed that the state partially incorporated traditional justice systems in post-conflict Mozambique. Data triangulation assisted me to verify that although the recognition of traditional healers by AMETRAMO/AERMO represented the presence of the state and legitimised the healers' role within the community courts, healers were also being invited to be part of these courts by other actors, such as *régulos*, and *régulos* and local judges had autonomy to organise and conduct those instances. Respondents highlighted the lack of involvement on the part of legislators with the traditional actors in these courts. They also indicated overlapping of different structures of intervention in the resolution of conflicts in which each person's role was not clearly defined. I also interviewed one judge who was in charge of conducting trials at his community, without much state intervention, indicating the partial incorporation of traditional justice systems by the state.

The role of the healers as community leaders providing conflict resolution via the community courts (see Chapter 4), strengthens the argument that the state partially incorporated traditional justice mechanisms. Although these healers were representing AMETRA-

MO/AERMO in their communities, fieldwork findings suggested that they had the autonomy to gather people to resolve everyday conflicts with limited support from the state.

Moreover, in Chapter 5 I claimed that AMETRAMO/AERMO's focus on the healers' role as health providers and the absence of a more robust structuring of their roles engendered resistance on the part of some healers in the south of Mozambique, revealing their critical voices. Although healers complained about AMETRAMO/AERMO's lack of support, they argued that being recognised by AMETRAMO/AERMO was necessary, considering that local communities could see them as sorcerers practising bad witchcraft or charlatans and AMETRAMO/AERMO provided legitimacy, protection and resources. I argued that there was an ambiguous relationship between traditional healers and the state in which healers were co-opted by the state structures by their inclusion into AMETRAMO/AERMO, and the validation of local knowledge by the state was a process strongly intertwined with agency and power dynamics in the country. The negative perceptions of the healers in relation to the state revealed by respondents indicated their resistance to the state and the state failure in acknowledging their multiple roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

Therefore, state recognition and active involvement in informal justice systems varied, in so far as some areas had the backing of the state (via national institutions) and some operated independently of the state. In reality, different spheres of justice, such as traditional/state-justice do not operate separately but tend to intertwine in practice (Boege et al., 2008). Fieldwork findings suggested that community courts have been connecting religious law, common law and state law with traditional practices and actors, suggesting a hybrid political order. In this regard, the use of hybrid political orders as an analytical framework helped me to understand how traditional actors could play a role in those systems with high levels of legal pluralism, in which simultaneous jurisdiction appeared beyond the control of the state. As fieldwork

findings suggested, healers were immersed in hybrid political orders as they were invited by the state and by local chiefs to be part of community courts and they were performing a significant role as judges, particularly concerning the governance of the spiritual realm. The role of healers in these courts supports my core argument that healers have been contributing to statebuilding through their three main roles, mainly as justice actors. I contribute to the literature as the role of the healers in Mozambican justice systems and the links between spirituality and justice in the resolution of everyday conflict in post-conflict Mozambique are little discussed in the literature.

With regard to the healers' legitimacy as statebuilding actors, fieldwork findings underlined some issues related to the work of the healers as I identified links to patriarchal structures, chiefdom systems and witchcraft (see Chapter 4). I used feminist and hybridity lenses throughout the last section of Chapter 4 as triangulation of fieldwork data confirmed critical gender issues such as the constitution of community courts only with male healers; gendered purification rituals performed by healers, such as the widow's cleansing ritual and *gamba* rituals; and polygamy, customarily practised by male healers. This chapter contributed to the literature that criticises the romanticisation of local actors in hybridity studies (Beswick, 2017; Lefranc, 2012), strengthening hybrid political orders as my analytical framework.

6.2 Underlining how my findings challenge and develop existing literature on the role of Mozambican healers in statebuilding processes

In order to answer how my research findings challenge and develop existing literature, I analysed the work of other scholars who also focus on the role of healers, particularly within Mozambican justice systems (Igreja, 2010, 2010a; Meneses, 2006a). This section confirms the argument that healers have central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes,

especially through their role as justice actors in the country. Maria Paula Meneses (2006a), for instance, discusses how traditional healers deal with witchcraft accusations. My fieldwork data confirmed the importance of the healers as key actors resolving witchcraft accusations, but I discussed the healers' role as justice actors beyond witchcraft. I claimed that healers worked with *régulos* in order to provide justice; they were leading community gatherings to solve everyday conflicts as representatives of AMETRAMO/AERMO; and they played another underexplored role within Mozambican justice systems as they performed rituals with former prisoners to reintegrate them to their communities, providing a holistic justice (see Chapter 4). I develop existing analysis as I argue that the roles healers have been playing as part of the customary judicial processes of the country show that healers have been providing conflict resolution with or without state support.

Authors such as Carolyn Nordstrom (1997) and Corinna Jentzch (2018) have examined the role of healers in the building of the Mozambican state. These authors supported my argument that healers had various roles during the Mozambican civil war going beyond the literature's focus on reconciliation (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, although we share similar perspectives, their work focuses on war tactics, explaining the healers' role as war leaders during the civil war. I challenge their analysis as I discuss the healers' role beyond the civil war, discussing the three central roles that healers have been developing in post-conflict Mozambique.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Victor Igreja (2010) claims that community courts are present in both rural and urban contexts, combining procedural, restorative and retributive justice. The author brings various cases judged within the community courts, focusing on the resolution of wartime disputes, challenging the amnesty established by the Mozambican state (Igreja, 2008, 2010, 2010a). As previously discussed, Igreja (2010) focuses mainly on *gamba*

cases. These cases discuss the healers' role as justice actors with a focus on solving wartime matters, as *gamba* are spirits of male soldiers who died during the civil war. Nevertheless, my fieldwork findings showed that healers have not been focusing on the resolution of wartime disputes anymore (see Chapter 4) as patients were not bringing these issues nowadays and they had various roles within Mozambican justice systems, as mentioned previously.

However, a significant contribution of Victor Igreja (2012: 404) to this research is the idea of multiple temporalities, as the author argues that “indigenous understandings and practices of justice and healing are constituted by multiple temporalities that blend present, past and future in contingent and contested ways and on an ongoing basis”. I build on this comprehensive understanding of the continuities and changes in the meanings of justice and healing as it helped me to understand that traditional justice is better interpreted as an open-ended process in post-conflict Mozambique (Igreja, 2012). As the transitional justice literature has not developed appropriate scholarly attention on the complexity of traditional practices of conflict resolution, which encompass multiple temporalities in post-conflict Mozambique, I consider that this thesis contributed to this literature. In Chapter 3, I explained how healers were key actors within the Mozambican justice system, connecting the spiritual realm to the material realm. I argued that healers were judges in the community courts, helping to identify culprits and stolen items, for instance, and they were also conducting ad hoc forms of everyday conflict resolution evoking sociocultural forms of justice and governance, through rituals and counselling.

Another interesting contribution of the author (Igreja, 2018) to this thesis, as I use hybrid political orders, is his work on “post-hybridity bargaining”. The author questions hybridity as a “permanent state of co-existing and overlapping political orders” (Igreja, 2018: 164), claiming that in Mozambique war survivors, community leaders and spiritual agents

(healers) sometimes negotiate with state authorities the terms of their relations. He argues that hybridity is suitable “in its attempts to tame the universal modelling” of the proponents of the Weberian state (Igreja, 2018: 166) but is limited if we take a genealogical approach to this concept or an ethnohistorical analysis of the encounters of Western European colonial officials “with social institutions and actors in non-Western worlds” (Igreja, 2018: 166). His move towards post-hybridity bargaining³¹¹ flashes the hybridity turn but points out the complex dynamics of power struggles identified through the development of embodied accountability for serious offences committed during the civil war in Mozambique (Igreja, 2018). In this process, healers bond to police officers and local chiefs to increase their bargaining power and pursue personal interests, for instance, while state actors also “make and break alliances to pursue personal and alleged state plans” (Igreja, 2018: 178). The complex dynamics between state agents and the people and among the people themselves show that in Mozambique there are no fixed boundaries nor stable bricolages, considering that sides interpenetrate and raise their boundaries (Igreja, 2018).

Although I also acknowledge the limits of hybridity (see Chapter 1), I consider that hybrid political orders helped me to understand and explain the role of healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, as previously discussed. HPO helped me to understand the role of healers as justice actors in community courts, identified as HPO, and to discuss ‘re-traditionalisation’ in the country critically. HPO focuses on the resilience of local sociopolitical formations and the idea that traditional actors, including healers, blend their actions and practices with state actors, considering that the healers’ local agency is negotiated through the relationships with the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO. However, ‘re-traditionalisation’ in post-conflict Mozambique infers that hybrid political orders have

³¹¹The perspective of post-hybridity bargaining can develop future policy initiatives, as Victor Igreja (2018) mentions an experimental policy area focused on acknowledging the central role played by women in accountability processes involving crimes committed during the civil war.

limitations in the country as the state can legitimise the healers' healing role and delegitimise their different roles, limiting the development of their three main roles as statebuilding actors.

6.2.1 Comparing the role of traditional healers in Mozambique with the following cases: Rwanda, northern Uganda and Burundi

Traditional justice mechanisms have perpetuated as the main rule of law systems in many post-conflict states in Africa, and this thesis showed that the tendency of 're-traditionalisation' in some African states such as Mozambique represents the reincorporation of traditional actors officially and their recognition as influential local players. In this regard, in order to better understand the role of healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, I compared the role of healers in Rwanda, northern Uganda and Burundi with the Mozambican case. This is a way of exploring whether Mozambique is just one of many similar examples in Africa, or if there are specificities which make it more difficult to generalise from. This comparison shows that the Mozambican healers and their links to statebuilding are fairly unique within Africa. The comparison also strengthens the thesis' central argument that healers have a crucial role in Mozambican justice systems. These African countries also embody hybrid political orders, with a focus on traditional justice.

6.2.2 Addressing the role of traditional healers in Rwandan justice systems

Gacaca courts in Rwanda demonstrate a form of internal hybridity which entails different types of objectives and processes with dynamic holistic responses (Clark, 2010) being also embedded in the Rwandan hybridity system along with national courts and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). Gacaca is not a static traditional system since it is a continually evolving phenomenon that comes in various forms, both state-run and outside of

any political or judicial structures (Clark, 2010: 50). In the past, the Rwandan government ran pre-gacaca hearings³¹², for example, in which local and international NGOs observed hearings and provided feedback. Over the years, gacaca became more institutionalised and hybrid³¹³, influenced by a wide range of cultural, political and religious sources, remoulding tradition to suit current circumstances. Modern gacaca (post-colonial era) diverges from the traditional system by relying on written law and imposing prison sentences, but the state still plays a vital role in the day-to-day operation of gacaca (Clark, 2010).

As with the traditional Mozambican courts, gacaca courts are the primary method of ensuring justice and social order in communities across Rwanda. The courts deal with cases referring to land use, marriage and damage to property, in which orality, elder councils, truth-telling, reconciliation and informal dispute resolutions and procedure are constants (Clark, 2007). Furthermore, Rwandan gacaca courts are entirely part of the official policy, and they are nationally pre-colonial systems responding to mass crimes, while in Mozambique community courts were created after independence responding to everyday crimes and traditional justice mechanisms are partially incorporated by the state.

Comparing the role of traditional healers in Rwanda with Mozambique, Gacaca courts are constituted by elders as judges, while in Mozambique the community courts are composed mainly of local judges, *régulos* and healers, where healers have a crucial role in judging some cases, as discussed previously. Throughout the literature, healers are mentioned as healthcare providers using medicinal plants in the treatment of diseases in Rwanda (Mukazayire et al.,

³¹²Parallel to the government's initiation of gacaca, unofficial versions of the institution also emerged around Rwanda, in which two unofficial forms of gacaca examine genocide crimes had evolved (Clark, 2010: 65). One is the 'prison gacaca', characterised by detainees confessing their crimes at the assemblies and the other is 'Gacaca *nkiristu*' or 'Christian gacaca', which employed priests in the role of gacaca judges and parishioners confessing their sins to the congregation and asking for forgiveness.

³¹³Clark (2007) explores two terms when analysing gacaca's hybridity: reconciliation and justice, in which reconciliation involves the rebuilding of fractured individual and communal relationships after the conflict, encouraging meaningful cooperation between former antagonists; and justice involves the necessity of punishing those who committed mass crimes.

2011; Kamagaju et al., 2013; Hakizamungu et al., 1992; Ngang et al., 2007; Maikere-Faniyo et al., 1989; Alphonse et al., 2010; Van, 1996). The country has a very popular traditional medicine since the majority of the population initially consults healers before going to hospital facilities (Van, 1996) due to the accessibility to herbal medicines at considerably reduced costs compared to imported medicines and a considerable trust in traditional healers³¹⁴ (Mukazayire et al., 2011). In Rwanda, many traditional healers are working in associations organised by the Ministry of Health and the Institute of Research in Science and Technology (IRST), similar to the Mozambican approach. Few traditional healers survived the genocide in Rwanda, and they now concentrate more on their role as herbalists (Chauvin et al., 1998).

6.2.3 Discussing the role of traditional healers in Burundian Ubushingantahe councils

The Ubushingantahe councils have played an essential role during the crises that have regularly shaken Burundi (Nindorera, 2003), as at least one million Burundians have died because of the ethnic divide since 1965 (Nindorera, 2003). Regarding its composition, elders constitute the ancient institution of Ubushingatahe, and it has presided over the judicial organisation of the country at all levels. Ubushingatahe plays the role of checks and balance of power and settling various kinds of disputes relating to matters of succession, family and social disputes, starting from family arbitration, and continuing through local-level arbitration to arbitration of the deputy chief and to the arbitration of the chief and then the king's court (Naniwe-Kaburahe, 2008).

Comparing the Burundian Ubushingatahe with Mozambique, Mozambican traditional courts are not recognised as part of the formal judiciary on a national level as Ubushingatahe

³¹⁴In Southern Rwanda, liver diseases are frequently treated by means of herbal remedies (Mukazayire et al., 2011).

is in Burundi. In Burundi, it is a secular institution, which is integrated into the state's political apparatus as part of the formal judiciary playing the role of checks and balance of power and settling various kinds of disputes. In post-conflict Mozambique, the state partially incorporated traditional justice mechanisms after the independence, and fieldwork findings suggested that the community courts have been functioning in a somewhat organic way. Regarding statebuilding similarities, in both countries, traditional mechanisms are complementary to the formal judicial approach to rendering justice settling various kinds of disputes without the need to transfer them to formal tribunals.

Concerning the healers' role in the Burundian traditional justice systems, literature presents that healers are not incorporated into Ubushingatahe institution, while in Mozambique they are invited to be part of traditional courts via AMETRAMO or by local chiefs. Healers adjudicated local disputes within Ubushigantahe before colonial presence (Kadende-Kaiser and Kaiser, 1997).

Throughout the literature on traditional healing in Burundi, (Ngezahayo et al., 2015; Irankunda and Heatherington, 2017; Kadende-Kaiser and Kaiser, 1997) healers are mentioned as herbalists and diviners, diagnosing illness through spiritual means (Ventevogel et al., 2018). Even with the expansion of modern medicine, they are still popular, since more than 80% of the population resorts to traditional medicines (Ngezahayo et al., 2015). Associations of traditional healers are recognised through the Burundian Ministry of Public Health, as in Mozambique, and the Burundian Government also created the National Department of Traditional Medicine in the Ministry of Public Health in 2002 (Ngezahayo et al., 2015). A possible explanation is that healers have access to valuable therapies unavailable to modern providers, and they provide high levels of effort compared to government facilities (Ngezahayo et al., 2015). Likewise, Irankunda and Heatherington (2017) present findings that

indicate high expectancies about the efficacy of spiritual treatment performed by traditional healers in Burundi regarding mental health problems. Comparing the Burundian healers with Mozambican healers, I could not find claims on the role of healers as justice actors in Burundi in the literature.

6.2.4 Understanding the role of traditional healers in northern Uganda

Uganda has a particularly vibrant history of the use of traditional mechanisms, and they are used in many of the 56 different ethnic groups within the country (Quinn, 2007). Acholi people have been reintegrating and forgiving people who have performed violent acts during the war, as those who have been with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Through a ritual called *mato oput* they seek compensation rather than punitive justice, which is more common in the formal justice system (Allen, 2008), and the ultimate goal of this ritual is to restore relations³¹⁵ between offended clans in cases of accidental or purposeful killings, encompassing principles of truth, accountability and compensation. The practice concludes with a ceremony and feast in which clan representatives share a drink made of sheep's blood and roots from the bitter *oput* plant, symbolising the washing away of bitterness between the clans (Anyeko et al., 2012). In 2007, *mato oput* was recognised by the government of Uganda and the LRA through the Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation as a central part of the framework of accountability (Soares, 2015) and it is the most commonly known Acholi justice process (Baines, 2007). Thus, *mato oput* strengthens the links between statebuilding and traditional justice mechanisms in northern Uganda.

The *mato oput* ceremony is an example of how local people living through extreme violent conflicts develop their own ways of achieving resolution and reconciliation. In

³¹⁵*Mato oput* ceremony has a communal dimension because guilt and punishment, reparation and victim-hood are viewed as collective in Uganda (Allen, 2008).

Uganda, the Acholi also carry out a ceremony called *nyouo tong gweno*, a welcome ceremony for ex-combatants, similar to rituals conducted in post-conflict Mozambique, in which an egg is stepped on. Historically, different Councils of Elders in Uganda deal with conflicts or crimes, and conflicts involving domestic affairs are resolved by elders according to oral by-laws, and parties are reconciled through ritual ceremonies (Baines, 2007). Culturally, many people believe that it is necessary to go through a local justice process to avoid *cen* – a spirit of a person who dies and takes vengeance on those responsible – and reconcile with the community. Acholi people associate *cen* to misfortune such as illness, accidents and even death affecting an entire clan (Baines, 2007: 92-93). This issue denotes the importance of the spiritual realm as part of conflict resolution in the country, as the Mozambican case. However, healers are not mentioned in the literature as the actors responsible for performing rituals, but elders and elders are not necessarily healers.

Comparing the role of traditional healers in justice systems between Mozambique and northern Uganda, although both countries have similar traditions³¹⁶, throughout the literature the traditional actors who perform traditional justice mechanisms in Uganda are referred as traditional leaders, traditional chiefs, cultural leaders, elders (see Baines, 2007). However, it is not clear about the healers' role in these processes³¹⁷. Throughout the literature, the healers' role in northern Uganda concerns their role as herbalists and health providers, providing biopsychosocial health services, for emotional or mental health needs (Okello and Ssegawa, 2007; Hewlett and Amola, 2003; Accorsi et al., 2003; Kamatenesi et al., 2011; Kiapi-Iwa and Hart, 2004; Roberts et al., 2009). As in the Mozambican case, medical personnel have made efforts to professionalise traditional healers in Uganda (Allen, 2007).

³¹⁶*Gomo tong*, bending the spears, was a ritual that symbolises the end of a conflict (Clark, 2007).

³¹⁷Baines (2007: 93) writes about reconciliation and compensation rituals performed by traditional healers and spirit mediums in Northern Uganda in order to resolve post-conflict traumatic experiences connected to the spirit realm. The author uses terms such as traditional leaders and elders interchangeably.

It is significant to highlight that the Ugandan case contributes to the debate on the ‘invention of tradition’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012), previously discussed in the literature review. In Uganda rules and regulations that became established at local courts were mainly the product of British indirect administration and many chiefs were members of Christian churches involved with government’s regulation (Allen, 2007), as *régulos* in post-conflict Mozambique. When there is external support in these countries, figures of authority might be created to perform the rituals, and “they may become formalised into a pseudo-traditional system” (Allen, 2007: 155). Likewise, Harrison (2002) highlights the dangers of conceptualising chiefly power as traditional, mainly because of concerns linked to gendered hierarchies, administration, and the extent of politicisation. In this sense, Ugandan *mato oput* and Mozambican traditional justice mechanisms share some common issues such as the links with gendered hierarchies and particular lineages.

6.2.5 Drawing out conclusions from the comparisons

Comparing the links between statebuilding and traditional healers in post-conflict Mozambique with these African cases, the main distinction is that the literature shows that healers in these other contexts focus on health/reconciliation while those in post-conflict Mozambique play a more central role in justice provision and statebuilding itself. These cases helped me to justify the links between healers and statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique, as they supported the argument that healers are crucial actors within Mozambican traditional justice systems. This comparison also underlines that the Mozambican healers and their links to statebuilding are quite unique within Africa, as Rwanda, Burundi and northern Uganda indicated. Geographically, all these countries are located in East/Central Africa, whereas there are no comparative studies covering them all.

Furthermore, these post-conflict African countries contribute to this thesis' critical discussion of 're-traditionalisation' of the state, since the state has officially recognised the use of traditional justice mechanisms in these countries. The Mozambican state has been working on the institutionalisation of traditional actors, including healers – 're-traditionalisation' – rather than focusing on the instrumentalisation of the mechanisms themselves, as in Rwanda, Burundi and northern Uganda. In this regard, healers were keen to be incorporated by the state via AMETRAMO/AERMO although there was resistance, as previously discussed.

I also justify the case selection of Burundi, Rwanda, northern Uganda to highlight that the role of traditional healers as local actors is under-explored in the literature across these cases and so I compared them to fill this gap and place Mozambique in context. As traditional healing practices in all these countries are rarely documented within the English ethnographic literature, this comparison offers a relevant contribution to the African peace studies, supporting hybrid political orders as an analytical framework for examining statebuilding in Africa.

Conclusion

The last chapter of this thesis underlined and reinforced the main arguments I developed throughout my empirical chapters using my analytical framework, based on the hybridity literature, focusing on hybrid political orders. I also discussed how the work of other authors on the role of healers in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique depart from my findings and how my findings contribute to the literature. In this regard, this chapter underlined the focus of the literature on analysing the healers as providers of the resolution of war disputes, while I argue that healers have three main roles in the Mozambican statebuilding

processes, with a focus on justice systems and the governance of the spiritual realm. This last chapter also compared the role of traditional healers within justice systems in Rwanda, northern Uganda and Burundi with the Mozambican case. I argued that the Mozambican healers and their links to statebuilding, mainly through their roles in justice systems, are quite unique within Africa compared to these other cases, supporting the central argument of the thesis.

Empirical data collected in post-conflict Mozambique confirmed this thesis' overall argument that healers have three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, comprising predominantly justice, health and the political sphere. The focus on traditional justice throughout this thesis is justified by triangulation of interviews with different sources which underlined that the spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution, involving the healers as main actors, as they transited between the spiritual and the material realm. Fieldwork findings demonstrated that healers were considered the only actors in charge of judging cases that involved witchcraft and spirit possession, for instance, and they had various roles as justice actors that are underexplored in the literature. This chapter also supported the argument that healers are immersed in hybrid political orders as they are part of community courts, identified as HPO according to the analysis of my findings and as they are recognised by national institutions (AMETRAMO/AERMO) that also represent HPO. However, I argued that the state partially incorporated traditional justice systems, as these structures were not regularly regulated by the state and healers had autonomy inside and outside those instances to resolve everyday conflicts (Chapter 5). This analytical chapter also addressed the following topics that were not covered throughout the empirical chapters:

- Why the use of the hybrid literature, particularly hybrid political orders, was useful in order to analyse the roles of healers as actors contributing to statebuilding;
- How the Mozambican state engages with traditional justice systems;

- How hybridity supported data triangulation;
- If/how my findings depart from other findings in the literature and how I contribute to the literature, including a comparison with other African cases.

Therefore, I consider that this thesis contributed to the literature on post-liberal peace and hybridity, transitional justice and African studies, as I offered an empirical contribution to these fields. This thesis also draws on anthropology and psychology literature. In this regard, a multidisciplinary approach was essential in order to comprehend and investigate the complex topics discussed here.

My research also expands hybrid political orders as an analytical framework, as I focused on the importance of the spiritual realm as a constituent part of conflict resolution within statebuilding processes, and this topic is underexplored in the literature. In this regard, I reflect that HPO as an analytical framework has not covered the links between spirituality and statebuilding through the role of traditional actors and practices in-depth as this thesis proposed. The spiritual realm in post-conflict Mozambique is discussed mainly through the resolution of war disputes and the performance of post-war cleansing and reconciliation rituals by healers, as previously discussed. Fieldwork findings suggested that the spiritual realm was a constituent part of conflict resolution in post-conflict Mozambique, and it also permeated health and the political sphere, involving the healers as key actors.

Furthermore, I connected hybrid political orders to different theoretical fields, as I linked it to the discussion on witchcraft and politics in the discipline of anthropology, for instance. This thesis also bridges some gaps in the hybridity literature (see Chapter 1) as I contributed to the literature that criticises the romanticisation of local actors in hybridity studies (Chapter 3).

I will discuss the main arguments and findings of this thesis and avenues for future research in the conclusion.

Conclusion

This thesis drew upon critical understandings of statebuilding through the lens of the hybridity and post-liberal literature, taking into consideration the idea that the state is one of multiple political orders, interacting with traditional actors. In this regard, I discussed the limits of neo-Weberian approaches to statebuilding by applying hybrid political orders to analyse statebuilding in post-conflict Mozambique. Answering this thesis' research question, *'What role do traditional healers play in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique?'* I argued that traditional healers have been contributing to statebuilding processes in the country through their roles as health, justice and political actors. Data triangulation of different sources confirmed that spirituality permeated all these three main areas in the country connecting the material and the spiritual realm, highlighting the healers' roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. Therefore, I discussed complex linkages between spiritual, social and political forces. This thesis focused on the links between spirituality and justice. Fieldwork findings indicated that healers have been resolving various justice disputes, located between the spiritual and the material realm.

Concerning justice, I argued that traditional healers have had a key role contributing to everyday forms of conflict resolution, and they have been developing traditional justice in post-conflict Mozambique. Within the community courts, the central instance of resolution of contemporary crimes in rural areas, healers have been providing the 'proof of guilt' through divination, in which local judges and *régulos* must observe the healers' opinion in order to make final decisions. Traditional healers were considered the only actors capable of dealing with possession in the community courts and judging witchcraft cases, very problematic cases in the country (see Chapter 4), as interviewees suggested that healers were the only actors capable of transiting between realms as mediums. Moreover, traditional healers have been

developing a restorative justice in post-conflict Mozambique since they have been engaged in communally based treatments of culprits and reparations instead of retributive justice, involving truth-telling and trauma healing, key transitional justice initiatives. Therefore, I argued that statebuilding has been developed by the healers themselves through their role as justice actors. In this scenario, fieldwork findings confirmed that the spiritual realm is a constituent part of conflict resolution within Mozambican justice systems, involving the healers as central actors. Healers have been resolving conflicts by developing a holistic approach, comprising psychological and spiritual relief.

In addition to the healers' role as justice actors within the community courts, I claimed that healers have been key local actors in the process of arranging and leading meetings with local people in the villages they live in order to resolve conflicts, being led by AMETRAMO/AERMO or aggregating people by themselves. The fact that these organisations mediate the work that the healers perform at these meetings highlights the relationships between healers and the state, in which the performance of the traditional healers and AMETRAMO/AERMO overlaps in an ambiguous relationship, as previously explained. I argued that community courts in post-conflict Mozambique represent Boege et al. (2009) hybrid political orders as they combine a mixture of legal orders and state and non-state actors, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Regarding the healers' role as political actors in post-conflict Mozambique, respondents underlined that influential healers were recognised as powerful local chiefs by their communities, influencing political campaigns and performing rituals to protect politicians and influential people. In the past, healers were also war leaders. Fieldwork findings also suggested that healers have been developing a political role as state actors via AMETRAMO/AERMO. Although few healers mentioned their relationships with politics and

politicians during fieldwork, empirical findings and the Mozambican history suggested that traditional healers have been playing a role as political figures in the country's political processes and that they had different identities, if we consider regional differences and the influence of Renamo in those areas.

With regard to the healers' role as health actors, I argued that the state has been focusing on their role as health providers, as the state has been working with healers through national institutions such as AMETRAMO and AERMO. Fieldwork indicated that there was a quite interesting work being developed by the state with the healers as AMETRAMO and AERMO have been training healers to recognise the symptoms of HIV and malaria and conducting patients to the hospital when they had these diseases. Interviewees also argued that when patients had 'spirituals' problems that could not be healed in the hospitals, doctors conducted the patients to the healers. I provided some clarification on the healers' roles as health actors, addressing some gaps in the literature (see Chapter 4).

In order to comprehend the roles of traditional healers in statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique, I also discussed the building of the state of Mozambique through the role of traditional healers throughout the colonial period (1498-1974), the independence war (1963-1974), and the civil war (1977-1992). The main argument of this thesis' background chapter (Chapter 3) was the claim that throughout all these complex periods, healers developed various roles, although the colonial and post-colonial Mozambican states related in a contradictory manner to the recognition of the healers. I identified moments of recognition and stigmatisation of the healers by the state. I argued that the historical stigmatisation of traditional healers interfered with how healers have been interacting with other traditional actors, particularly *régulos*, and the state, in so doing affecting their development as statebuilding actors in post-conflict Mozambique. Considering the building of the Mozambican state and

the historical moments of neglect and recognition of traditional healers, as discussed in Chapter 3, the elaboration of this chapter also showed that Mozambican healers have considerable flexibility in adapting to new circumstances and are attempting to create new 'roles' within a society that is profoundly changing.

Furthermore, I examined the healers' voices in order to answer the research question, with a focus on the relationships between healers and AMETRAMO/AERMO. I consider that analysing these interactions between the healers and the state in Chapter 5 was crucial in order to explain the healers' roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. I also explored the Mozambicans' perceptions of the healers' role in the Mozambican statebuilding processes (see Chapter 5). The sampling of the Mozambican society included members of national organisations, members of non-governmental organisations, local judges, traditional chiefs (*régulos*) and beneficiaries. Fieldwork findings suggested that healers have been contributing to the Mozambican statebuilding processes because all types of people, regardless of their economic and social situation, sought traditional healers for conflict resolution and healing.

I discussed the processes of legitimisation of traditional healers via AMETRAMO and AERMO as part of the 're-traditionalisation' of the Mozambican state, following the political agenda of Frelimo. In this scenario, the healers' local agency has been negotiated through their relationships with the state via these national institutions. I identified the moves between resistance and cooperation concerning the healers and the state, suggesting that critical voices were also heard during fieldwork (see Chapter 5). I argued that there was an ambiguous relationship between the state and healers in which the state structures incorporated healers by their inclusion into AMETRAMO/AERMO. Many healers complained about the way that the state delegitimised their various roles as AMETRAMO overly focused on their role as health

providers. According to the youngest³¹⁸ healer interviewed during fieldwork, the term traditional medicine practitioner used by AMETRAMO limited the scope of their work as a *nyanga* – the term he preferred – because *nyangas* were not only medical doctors, as their complex roles suggested (see Chapter 4). Consequently, interviewees suggested that the state legitimised but delegitimised the healers, as there has not been much support regarding their role as justice actors, for instance, and the state has not established the necessary structure for their work (see Chapter 5).

Nevertheless, I argued that although the relationships between the healers and AMETRAMO/AERMO represented the presence of the Mozambican state, healers have been part of statebuilding processes as justice actors despite the influence of AMETRAMO/AERMO (state). Community courts have been operating organically, and healers have been ‘autonomous’ community leaders developing traditional justice systems and practices. The study of the healers’ critical voices concerning their roles in post-conflict Mozambique and their interactions with the state helped me to explain their roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes.

Much of the literature on transitional justice in post-conflict Mozambique focuses on the spiritual realm developed mainly through the study of post-war cleansing/reconciliation rituals. These practices include rituals in which war-time experiences are re-enacted to heal people and create a socio-cultural environment adequate to engagement with the past and communal repair. According to some interviewees, healers were no longer performing cleansing rituals as they used to do in the past, but they performed these rituals mainly with prisoners and people involved in traffic accidents. I argued that the healers’ role nowadays is not as closely linked to trauma healing and reconciliation rituals as the literature suggested, as

³¹⁸Healer 7. 30-year-old male healer interviewed in Maxixe, Inhambane, 16/11/2016.

they have been developing three central roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes. I provided some categorisations of the healers' various roles vis-à-vis their relations with different actors and institutions, surpassing the medical/healer dimension outlined in much of the literature.

Moreover, I perceived that throughout the transitional justice literature, Mozambique is seen as a good example of the implementation of reconciliation processes, externally or internally developed. However, I asserted that the country has a strong culture of denial as the state has denied the implementation of international courts to deal with the spoils of the war and ignored the presence of local mechanisms of trauma healing and conflict resolution.

Regarding the theoretical contribution of this thesis, I identified some gaps of the hybridity literature, stressing the importance of this thesis' conceptual framework as lenses to analyse the healers' roles in the statebuilding processes in post-conflict Mozambique and complement the hybridity literature. I discussed the meanings of witchcraft, healing and spirituality using anthropology and psychology literature, and critically addressed the invention of tradition and 're-traditionalisation' in post-conflict Mozambique.

I reflect that this research developed HPO as an analytical framework, as I focused on the links between the spiritual realm and statebuilding. HPO has not covered the links between spirituality and statebuilding through the role of traditional actors and practices in-depth as this thesis proposed.

A key contribution of the literature review was the claim that the healers' roles in the Mozambican statebuilding processes have challenged liberal statebuilding approaches, as healers have been working within state structures, representing, traditional practices and complex forms of statebuilding. Their role as statebuilding actors transcend the neo-Weberian focus on state institutions and ability to wield power. The literature review contributed to the

fields of transitional justice, hybridity, statebuilding and peacebuilding (see Chapter 1). I also discussed patriarchal structures linked to the healers' work drawing on feminist literature, addressing gaps faced throughout the hybridity literature, as discussed in the literature review (see Chapter 4).

In order to summarise the main findings of my research, I discussed the empirical material concerning the hybridity literature in the last chapter of this thesis. The last chapter highlights how HPO as an analytical framework helped me to understand and explain my data, also clarifying how/where my findings departed from other findings in the literature. The main arguments of the last chapter are the following: healers are part of hybrid political orders as they have been invited by the state to be part of community courts as justice actors; the Mozambican state has partially incorporated traditional justice systems; my work contributes to the literature as other scholars discuss the links between healers and justice focusing mainly on the role of healers concerning the resolution of war disputes in post-conflict Mozambique. I built the last argument of the chapter through a comparison of the role of the Mozambican healers with healers in Rwanda, Burundi and northern Uganda, focusing on traditional justice. I argue that healers have been playing a more central role in the provision of justice and statebuilding itself in post-conflict Mozambique.

Avenues for future research

While I conducted fieldwork (October 2016 to December 2016) in Mozambique, the country was facing a severe economic crisis. The secret debt³¹⁹ supposedly contracted to fight Renamo was followed by high inflation and uncertainty, since clashes between Renamo and Frelimo were escalating through a hidden war (Morier-Gnoud, 2017). It felt like a hidden war since security forces were being accused of human rights violations. People were being

³¹⁹Called *dívida oculta*, in Portuguese.

kidnapped and executed, thousands of civilians were fleeing to Malawi, and the state-owned media failed to cover it clearly, focusing on Renamo as the main perpetrator of all violence.

The reasons behind the escalation of conflict in Mozambique while I was conducting fieldwork remain unclear, but they were linked to Renamo's frustration at having failed to make gains through democratic means, according to the Mozambican media³²⁰. In October 2014, after losing the election, Afonso Dhlakama, Renamo leader, threatened to take power by force in six out of 11 provinces of the country, where Renamo had polled best³²¹. The government described the outbreaks of violence as localised disturbances that were dealt with by the police, rather than the military (Bowker et al., 2016). The reasons of the armed conflict were also linked to the start of exploitation of huge coal deposits in the centre of the country and the discovery of significant oil and gas reserves in the north of the country (Morier-Genoud, 2017), and this issue could be explored by other scholars. The political marginalisation of Renamo following the reconstitution of the party-state and Frelimo's internal divisions also contributed to conflict escalation. Furthermore, other researchers could expand the reconciliation politics in post-conflict Mozambique.

The victory of Filipe Nyusi (Frelimo) in the national elections for the presidency held in October 2019 raises critical questions about the consolidation of peace in the country. The continuation of instants of war and peace, with retreats and advances in peace negotiations and without definitive resolution of an armed conflict was a constant scenario in Mozambique while I was doing fieldwork. I suggest that the political disputes involving the two main parties of the country could be studied by peacebuilding/statebuilding scholars, as power

³²⁰The conflict follows the negotiations between the government and Renamo. The negotiations initiated when Alfonso Dhlakama demanded a new electoral law and a renegotiation of the 1992 peace agreements (Morier-Genoud, 2017a).

³²¹Dhlakama topped the vote count in several central and two Northern provinces in 2014. He passed away May 3, 2018. *Al Jazeera*. [website], 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/05/mozambique-opposition-leader-afonso-dhlakama-dies-aged-65-180504060224224.html>, (accessed 18 aug. 2018).

disputes between parties have been generating conflict. Furthermore, as the role of traditional healers and other local actors in this current conflict is not clear in the literature yet, I consider that this could be an interesting field for research.

Regarding other areas that should be examined by scholars, this thesis raised the importance of looking into the relationship between traditional healers and the state via national institutions such as AERMO and AMETRAMO through different geographical regions of Mozambique. This thesis focused on the south of the country, as most of my interviewees were located in the south. Scholars could compare the regional variations and the role of traditional healers in these regions during different moments of the building of the Mozambican state. In this regard, there are gaps concerning the effects of the conflict in the past and the present on the healers' role in the statebuilding processes of the country. Although this thesis investigated the healers' role primarily in Maputo, Inhambane and Sofala, three provinces of 11 Mozambican provinces, the research contributed to the literature, as there is little research on the healers' role beyond their role as reconciliation actors focused on the resolution of war cases, as discussed previously. It is essential to highlight that the escalation of the conflict and the limitation of time and resources also prevented further research in the centre of the country, where Renamo's influence was stronger in comparison to the south, as discussed in the methodology chapter (see Chapter 2).

There is also a vast gap that could be addressed by other academics concerning the role of female traditional healers in developing local governance mechanisms because most of the healers interviewed were women and some were representing AMETRAMO and AERMO in their communities. There is a key field of study regarding the healers' identities as farmers

and rural residents, as most female healers interviewed worked as farmers, and agriculture³²² remains the main economic activity in the country³²³. Scholars could look at patriarchal and matriarchal structures in post-conflict Mozambique in-depth, ideally using African scholars, and the ethnic divides of the population according to different regions.

Scholars could also explore a comparative angle. I have explained that post-conflict Mozambique is a distinctive case in comparison to Rwanda, northern Uganda and Burundi, as Mozambican healers are part of the traditional justice systems. Scholars could expand this by comparing the roles of Mozambican healers with other African countries.

This research focused on the role of Mozambican healers as justice actors, but I also discussed how healers have been contributing to statebuilding as health and political actors. The role of the healers in these two areas can be better developed in the future. Furthermore, fieldwork findings also suggested that healers had different identities as leaders, doctors, mediums, psychologists, judges and farmers. Scholars could use theories from psychology to analyse this critical area as well, in order to comprehend the development of the healers' multiple selves.

Brazilian scholars interested in peacebuilding and statebuilding studies could investigate international agreements related to the promotion of education and

³²²While 80 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, this sector contributed only 20 percent of the GDP in 2012. In recent years, the rising cost of living has sparked riots in urban areas in Mozambique. On 5 February 2008, young people rioted in the capital, Maputo, because of World Bank and International Monetary Fund prescriptions, which have destroyed jobs and failed to promote agricultural development (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2012). Two decades of a donor-led, free-market rural development strategy have failed in Mozambique and across Africa (Cunguara and Hanlon, 2012: 14). Countries were pushed to privatize state services and close marketing boards in the belief that farmers would respond to price signals to produce the most profitable crops and pull themselves out of poverty, but the opposite happened: production and productivity stagnated, in which the poorest peasants drooped back into subsistence production.

³²³'FAO in Mozambique', Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations [website], 2018, <https://www.fao.org/mozambique/fao-in-mozambique/mozambique-at-a-glance/en/>, (accessed 5 dez. 2018).

multiculturalism between Brazil and Mozambique³²⁴, to better understand the relationships between both countries and strengthen PALOPs' (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*³²⁵) studies. In this regard, researchers could develop research that connects Latin American and African studies, comprehending the constituent regions individually and their mutual interdependence.

With the political competition between Frelimo and Renamo that still unfolds and the economic crisis that the country is facing, there is an open space for future research on the role of traditional actors in the Mozambican statebuilding processes, as well as the future of its traditional institutions and practices. Therefore, scholars could use hybrid political orders as an analytical framework for examining and exploring statebuilding, focusing on the place of traditional actors and practices in post-conflict societies.

³²⁴During fieldwork, I interviewed members of national institutions who completed their Master's degree in Brazil funded by PEC-G (*Programa de Estudantes-Convênio*, in Brazilian Portuguese), a program developed by the Brazilian Ministry of Education that grants scholarships in Brazil for citizens of developing countries with whom Brazil has educational and cultural agreements, such as Mozambique. 'Ensino Guia de Educação', [website], 2018, <https://canaldoensino.com.br/blog/brasil-oferece-bolsas-de-estudo-para-estrangeiros/>, (accessed 7 dez. 2018).

³²⁵Portuguese-Speaking African countries, in English.

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Appendix 1. Interview script with civil society organisations in Brazilian Portuguese

ROTEIRO DE ENTREVISTAS COM ORGANIZAÇÕES DA SOCIEDADE CIVIL

- Por favor, explique a história da sua organização, focando na sua fundação, projetos atuais de desenvolvimento e de consolidação da paz.
- Qual é o impacto social, político e/ou econômico da sua organização em Moçambique?
- Como a sua associação influencia e implementa projetos relacionados com a justiça tradicional?
- Qual é o nível de influência e envolvimento do Estado com os mecanismos tradicionais de justiça, e vice-versa?
- Como os praticantes da medicina tradicional se envolvem com a resolução de conflitos?
- Qual a percepção do povo em relação à justiça tradicional? Acredita que são considerados legítimos?
- Quem usa mecanismos tradicionais de justiça e para que tipo de disputas ou questões de segurança e cura?
- Como o povo moçambicano percebe as práticas tradicionais em relação a questões de justiça de transição e reconciliação?
- Você acha que o trabalho da sua organização envolve ‘justiça tradicional’? Se sim, o que este termo significa para você e como ele se aplica ao seu trabalho?
- Os projetos desenvolvidos pela instituição que representa envolvem práticas de busca da verdade? Que relação tem essa dimensão com reconciliação?
- A sua organização tem quaisquer relações de trabalho com outras organizações da sociedade civil/organizações internacionais ou curandeiros tradicionais em Moçambique? Você acha que essa parceria é vital para a realização de seus programas?
- Quais são os desafios e obstáculos mais comuns ao o trabalho que sua organização realiza e à construção da paz em Moçambique?
- Na sua opinião, quais são os benefícios e desafios dos rituais de cura para as pessoas em Moçambique?
- Como a dinâmica de hibridismo dos tribunais comunitários e das autoridades tradicionais têm desenvolvido, e quais formas eles adquiriram?
- Qual é a relação entre a cura de traumas e as políticas de justiça transicional?
- A Lei no 4/92 criou os Tribunais Comunitários (TC) em Moçambique como parte de instâncias locais de resolução de conflitos atuante fora do Sistema Judicial. Existe interação entre os TCs e os mecanismos tradicionais de justiça? Se sim, como se dá essa interação?
- Como se dá o processo de capacitação de líderes religiosos realizado pela sua instituição?
- A sua associação inclui praticantes da medicina tradicional em sua formação ou capacitação? Como?
- Os núcleos locais de resolução de conflitos interagem com praticantes de medicina tradicional ou líderes espirituais?
- Como os praticantes de medicina tradicional se envolvem em processos de resolução de conflito?
- Qual a relação entre os mecanismos tradicionais de justiça e a construção do Estado em Moçambique?
- O processo de reconciliação em Moçambique é caracterizada pelo método formal e o método tradicional (rituais de cura). Fale sobre a legitimidade dos rituais de cura no processos de desenvolvimento da justiça e construção do Estado em Moçambique?

- Como se dá a articulação dos praticantes da medicina tradicional com os tribunais comunitários em Moçambique?

O seguinte conjunto de questões depende da visão e gama de projetos de cada organização, mas, em geral, procura compreender:

- A ligação com a justiça tradicional em Moçambique e a legitimidade desses mecanismos.
- A conexão com os partidos políticos e instituições governamentais.
- Uma ilustração ou um exemplo claro de como eles concebem e implementam projetos de paz e como estão relacionados com comunidades locais.

Appendix 2. Interview script with participants and beneficiaries of traditional justice programs in Brazilian Portuguese

ROTEIRO DE ENTREVISTAS COM PARTICIPANTES E BENEFICIÁRIOS DE PROGRAMAS DE JUSTIÇA TRADICIONAL

- Por que é importante lembrar o passado através de rituais de cura e outras iniciativas de justiça tradicional?
- Os mecanismos tradicionais de justiça ajudam a reunir as comunidades e são beneficiados pelo trabalho de construção da paz?
- Qual é o significado de ‘cura’ para você e como isso contribui para a reconciliação dos povos em Moçambique?
- Qual é o significado de ‘justiça’ para você e como isso contribui para a reconciliação dos povos em Moçambique?
- Na sua opinião, quais são os desafios e obstáculos mais comuns que são particulares à justiça tradicional em Moçambique?
- Quais são os benefícios e desafios de rituais de cura para as pessoas em Moçambique?
- Você considera que o governo apoia curandeiros tradicionais? Como?
- Qual é a fonte da autoridade dos mecanismos tradicionais de justiça?
- Você acredita que os mecanismos tradicionais de justiça são legítimos?
- Por que é importante revisitar o passado através deste tipo de iniciativa?
- Seu trabalho envolve justiça tradicional? Se sim, o que o termo significa para você e como se aplica ao seu trabalho?
- Você tem parceria com outras organizações da sociedade civil ou curandeiros?
- Como se dá a articulação dos praticantes da medicina tradicional com os tribunais comunitários em Moçambique?
- Quem usa mecanismos tradicionais de justiça e para que tipo de disputas ou questões de segurança e cura?
- Como os praticantes de medicina tradicional se envolvem em processos de resolução de conflito?
- Qual relação do seu trabalho com a construção da paz em Moçambique?
- Qual o impacto e legitimidade dos rituais de cura no processo de desenvolvimento da justiça Moçambique?

Appendix 3. Interview script with civil society organisations in English

INTERVIEW SCRIPT WITH CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

- Please explain the history of your organisation, focusing on its foundation, current development and peacebuilding projects.
- What is the social, political and/or economic impact of your organisation in Mozambique?
- How does your association influence and implement projects related to traditional justice?
- What is the level of influence and involvement of the State with traditional mechanisms of justice, and vice versa?
- How do practitioners of traditional medicine engage in conflict resolution?
- What is the people's perception of traditional justice? Do you think they are considered legitimate?
- Who uses traditional justice mechanisms and for what kind of disputes or security and healing issues?
- How do the Mozambican people perceive traditional practices regarding issues of transitional justice and reconciliation?
- Do you think your organisation's work involves 'traditional justice'? If so, what does this term mean to you and how does it apply to your work?
- Do the projects developed by the institution you represent involve truth-seeking practices? What relationship has this dimension with reconciliation?
- Does your organisation have any working relationships with other civil society organisations / international organisations or traditional healers in Mozambique? Do you think this partnership is vital to the realisation of your programs?
- What are the most common challenges and obstacles to your organisation's work and peacebuilding in Mozambique?
- In your opinion, what are the benefits and challenges of healing rituals for people in Mozambique?
- How has the hybridity of community courts and traditional authorities developed, and what forms have they acquired?
- What is the relationship between trauma healing and transitional justice policies?

- Law 4/92 established the Community Courts in Mozambique as part of local conflict resolution bodies operating outside the Judicial System. Is there interaction between Community Courts and traditional mechanisms of justice? If yes, how does this interaction take place?
- How does the institution-building process of religious leaders take place?
- Does your association include practitioners of traditional medicine in their training or capacity building? How?
- Do local conflict resolution centres interact with practitioners of traditional medicine or spiritual leaders?
- How do practitioners of traditional medicine engage in conflict resolution processes?
- What is the relationship between the traditional mechanisms of justice and the building of the State in Mozambique?
- The process of reconciliation in Mozambique is characterised by the formal method and the traditional method (healing rituals). Talk about the legitimacy of healing rituals in the processes of justice development and state building in Mozambique?
- How is the articulation of practitioners of traditional medicine with the community courts in Mozambique?

The following set of questions depends on the vision and range of projects of each organisation, but generally seeks to understand:

- The link with traditional justice in Mozambique and the legitimacy of these mechanisms.
- The connection with political parties and government institutions.
- An illustration or a clear example of how they conceive and implement peace projects and how they relate to local communities.

Appendix 4. Interview script with participants and beneficiaries of traditional justice programs in English

INTERVIEW SCRIPT WITH PARTICIPANTS AND BENEFICIARIES OF TRADITIONAL JUSTICE PROGRAMS

- Why is it important to remember the past through healing rituals and other traditional justice initiatives?
- Do traditional justice mechanisms help bring communities together and benefit from peace-building work?
- What is the meaning of "healing" for you and how does it contribute to the reconciliation of peoples in Mozambique?
- What is the meaning of 'justice' to you and how does it contribute to the reconciliation of peoples in Mozambique?
- In your opinion, what are the most common challenges and obstacles that are unique to traditional justice in Mozambique?
- What are the benefits and challenges of healing rituals for people in Mozambique?
- Do you consider that the government supports traditional healers? How?
- What is the source of authority for traditional justice mechanisms?
- Do you believe that traditional justice mechanisms are legitimate?
- Why is it important to revisit the past through this type of initiative?
- Does your work involve traditional justice? If so, what does the term mean to you and how does it apply to your work?
- Do you partner with other civil society organisations or healers?
- How is the articulation of practitioners of traditional medicine with the community courts in Mozambique?
- Who uses traditional justice mechanisms and for what kind of disputes or security and healing issues?
- How do practitioners of traditional medicine engage in conflict resolution processes?
- What is your relationship with peacebuilding in Mozambique?
- What is the impact and legitimacy of healing rituals in the development of justice processes in Mozambique?

Appendix 5. Interviews schedule (Phase I and Phase II)

Interviews Schedule

Phase I: National organisations

	Organisation	Location	Interview date
1	OREC (<i>Organização para Resolução Conflitos</i> - Organisation for Conflict Resolution)	Maputo	25/10/2016
2	JUSTAPAZ (<i>Centro de Estudos Transformação de Conflitos</i> - Study Center for Conflict Transformation)	Matola	18/10/2016
3	FOMICRES (<i>Força Moçambicana para Investigação de Crimes e Reinserção Social</i> - Mozambican Force for Crime Investigation and Social Reintegration)	Maputo	02/12/2016
4	ARPAC (<i>Arquivo do Patrimônio Cultural</i> - Institute of Socio-Cultural Research)	Maputo Beira	24/11/2016 07/12/2016
5	GETM (<i>Grupo Espiritual e Tradicional de Moçambique</i> - Spiritual and Traditional Group of Mozambique)	Maputo	27/10/2016
6	IMT (<i>Instituto de Medicina Tradicional</i> - Institute of Traditional Medicine)	Maputo	02/11/2016

Phase II: Traditional healers, local leaders, civil servants

	Occupation	Gender	Location	Interview date
1	JustaPaz Member	Female	Matola, Maputo	18/10/2016
2	JustaPaz Member	Female	Matola, Maputo	18/10/2016
3	OREC Member	Male	Maputo, Maputo	25/10/2016
4	OREC Member	Female	Maputo, Maputo	25/10/2016
5	Healer 1	Male	Maputo, Maputo	27/10/2016
6	Healer 2	Male	Maputo, Maputo (Phone)	31/10/2016
7	Healer 3	Male	Maputo, Maputo (Phone)	31/10/2016
8	ARPAC Member	Male	Maputo, Maputo	02/11/2016
9	ARPAC Member	Male	Maputo, Maputo	02/11/2016
10	ARPAC Member	Male	Maputo, Maputo	02/11/2016
11	JustaPaz Member	Male	Maxixe, Inhambane	07/11/2016
12	Member of the Provincial Directorate of Education and Culture	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	08/11/2016
13	Healer 4/AERMO leader	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	09/11/2016
14	Massinga District Secretary	Male	Inhambane, Inhambane	10/11/2016
15	<i>Régulo</i>	Male	Pembe, Inhambane	11/11/2016
16	Healer 5	Male	Maxixe, Inhambane	15/11/2016

17	Healer 6	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	16/11/2016
18	Healer 7	Male	Maxixe, Inhambane	16/11/2016
19	Healer 8	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	16/11/2016
20	Healer 9	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	16/11/2016
21	Healer 10	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	16/11/2016
22	Healer 11/ AMETRAMO leader	Female	Inhambane, Inhambane	17/11/2016
23	Healer 12	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
24	Healer 13	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
25	Healer 14	Male	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
26	Healer 15	Male	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
27	Healer 16	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
28	Healer 17	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
29	Healer 18	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
30	Healer 19	Female	Maxixe, Inhambane	22/11/2016
31	Employee of the District Secretariat for Women's Health and Social Action	Female	Massinga, Inhambane	24/11/2016
32	President of AMETRAMO in Massinga	Male	Massinga, Inhambane	24/11/2016
33	FOMICRE's CEO	Male	Maputo, Maputo	02/12/2016
34	Local artist/painter	Male	Beira, Sofala	07/12/2016
35	Local artist/ instructor of traditional dance	Male	Beira, Sofala	07/12/2016
36	ARPAC Member	Male	Beira, Sofala	07/12/2016
37	Pastor, religious leader	Male	Beira, Sofala	07/12/2016
38	Pastor, religious leader	Male	Massambisse, Sofala (Phone)	07/12/2016
39	Healer 20	Female	Massambisse, Sofala	07/12/2016
40	Local judge (neighbourhood court)	Male	Manga, Beira, Sofala	07/12/2016
41	Healer 21	Female	Beira, Sofala	08/12/2016
42	Head of the Secretariat of the Palace of Justice	Male	Maputo, Maputo	04/12/2016

Appendix 6. Short research information sheet in Brazilian Portuguese



Repensando *State-building* através da Justiça Tradicional em Pós-conflito Moçambique

INFORMAÇÕES SOBRE A PESQUISA

Informação geral

Este estudo busca analisar o papel e a legitimidade dos mecanismos tradicionais de justiça em Moçambique assim como as interações destes mecanismos com o Estado e com actores locais/organismos nacionais, através de uma série de entrevistas semi-estruturadas/não-estruturadas com pessoas envolvidas em programas relacionados à justiça tradicional e construção da paz em Moçambique. As principais práticas de justiça tradicional que serão estudados são os rituais de cura realizados em diversas regiões de Moçambique.

Propósito do estudo

O projeto estuda o papel dos mecanismos tradicionais de justiça no processo de construção do Estado de Moçambique no período pós-conflito (depois do Acordo de Paz assinado em 1992) e as interações destes mecanismos com o Estado, assim como as interações com actores locais/organismos nacionais. O projeto busca colaborar com a sociedade civil e agentes locais envolvidos com justiça tradicional em Moçambique.

Procedimentos

O estudo envolve entrevistas curtas (máximo de uma hora de duração) com agentes de consolidação da paz em Moçambique, em que questões sobre a prática da justiça tradicional, desenvolvimento e construção do Estado serão feitas, a fim de obter um quadro mais amplo do estado atual da prática da justiça tradicional no país e as interações com o Estado. A pesquisa de campo inclui entrevistas com pessoas que exercem a justiça tradicional através dos rituais de cura em Moçambique e os beneficiários destes processos. Estas entrevistas procuram recolher percepções desses processos, suas limitações e as interações com o Estado. A pesquisa também inclui entrevistas com grupo focal.

A pesquisa irá depender fortemente da participação de ONGs e organizações locais. Estas organizações irão ajudar a pesquisadora a identificar e localizar os participantes essenciais, tais como os curandeiros tradicionais e os beneficiários de justiça tradicional, que conhecem as questões trabalhadas na investigação e estão localizados principalmente em áreas remotas.

Retirada ou exclusão da Pesquisa

A participação neste projeto de pesquisa é completamente voluntária. Os participantes tem o direito de deixar a pesquisa em qualquer ponto da pesquisa.

Os participantes podem optar por não responder a perguntas específicas ou deixar de participar a qualquer momento. Os participantes podem deixar o projeto depois de quatro (4) meses após a entrevista inicial. Em relação aos grupos de foco, o pesquisador será incapaz de ignorar a opinião dos indivíduos.

Riscos

O risco envolvido na participação deste estudo é mínimo. Embora nenhum risco esteja previsto, é possível que durante a entrevista o entrevistado possa considerar algumas questões sensíveis. Deve-se ressaltar que as ONGs locais trabalham com reconciliação e mediação de conflitos têm lidado com este tipo de questões ao longo dos últimos anos, e seus membros sabem como lidar com questões emocionais ligadas ao trauma, por exemplo. Como o processo envolve contactos com essas organizações, eles vão ser informados e consultados sobre a escolha do participante, o conteúdo e a lógica por trás da entrevista e, se necessário, aceitar a estarem presentes no processo de entrevista, a fim de proteger participantes de qualquer dano. Além disso, a pesquisa não solicita que os participantes mencionem eventos traumáticos do passado ligado à guerra, mas centra-se na compreensão dos processos tradicionais, que destinam-se a promover a reconstrução pacífica do país.

Confidencialidade

Todas as informações fornecidas durante a pesquisa serão mantidas em confiança e a menos que o participante indique especificamente o seu consentimento, seu nome não irá aparecer em qualquer relatório ou publicação da pesquisa. A confidencialidade será fornecida na medida do possível por lei.

Feedback

Os participantes serão contactados via e-mail, por telemóvel e através de ONGS moçambicanas após o trabalho de campo e durante a análise e período de escrita, a fim de explicar e mostrar o conteúdo das entrevistas que serão apresentados na tese e para verificar se estão bem representados no estudo. Este processo de feedback não só irá incluir uma revisão dos resultados das entrevistas, mas uma reiteração de garantias sobre o anonimato, confidencialidade e protecção de dados, quando necessário.

Participação voluntária

A sua participação no estudo é completamente voluntária e você pode optar por deixar de participar a qualquer momento.

Documento e protecção de dados

Se parte do processo envolver a coleta de documentos da organização representada pelo participante, o participante estará livre para aprovar ou desaprovar o uso desta informação documental. Se a sua organização tem uma política de segurança de dados a pesquisadora irá acrescentar isto na condução da investigação. Quaisquer dados que surgirem a partir desta pesquisa serão armazenados com segurança em um local conhecido apenas pelo pesquisador principal e protegidos com uma senha, em um sistema de computador adequadamente seguro e em um pendrive criptografado. A pesquisadora irá utilizar o serviço de BEAR DataShare da Universidade; se o Dropbox for utilizado, os dados serão criptografados usando BoxCryptor.

Publicação dos resultados

O entrevistado fornece consentimento para a publicação dos resultados do estudo em revistas acadêmicas, conferências, bem como na tese da pesquisadora.

Financiamento da Pesquisa

A pesquisa é financiada por um programa conjunto entre a Universidade de Birmingham e a

CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior) Brasil.

Contacto

Investigadora principal:

Samara Dantas Palmeira Guimarães
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Samara Dantas Palmeira Guimarães é pesquisadora realizando seu doutoramento em Desenvolvimento Internacional na Universidade de Birmingham, Reino Unido. Samara possui bacharelado e mestrado em Relações Internacionais pela UFSC - Brasil e pela UEPB - Brasil, respectivamente.

Supervisores acadêmicos:

Supervisor principal: Dr Jonathan Fisher

Contacto: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Co-Supervisor: Dr Nicolas Lemay-Hébert

Contacto: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Appendix 7. Short research information sheet in English



Rethinking State-building through Traditional Justice in Post-conflict Mozambique RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

General information

This study seeks to analyse the role and legitimacy of traditional justice mechanisms in Mozambique as well as the interactions of these mechanisms with the State and with local actors / national bodies through a series of semi-structured / unstructured interviews with people involved in programs related to traditional justice and peacebuilding in Mozambique. The main traditional justice practices that will be studied are the healing rituals performed in several regions of Mozambique.

Purpose of the study

The project studies the role of traditional justice mechanisms in the process of building the State of Mozambique in the post-conflict period (after the Peace Agreement signed in 1992) and the interactions of these mechanisms with the State, as well as the interactions with local / national bodies. The project seeks to collaborate with civil society and local actors involved with traditional justice in Mozambique.

Procedures

The study involves short (maximum one-hour) interviews with peace-building agents in Mozambique, where issues of traditional justice, state development and construction will be made in order to obtain a broader picture of the state current practice of traditional justice in the country and interactions with the state. Field research includes interviews with people practicing traditional justice through healing rituals in Mozambique and the beneficiaries of these processes. These interviews seek to collect perceptions of these processes, their limitations and interactions with the State. The survey also includes focus group interviews. Research will depend heavily on the participation of NGOs and local organisations. These organisations will help the researcher identify and locate key participants, such as traditional healers and beneficiaries of traditional justice, who are aware of the issues involved in research and are located primarily in remote areas.

Withdrawal or exclusion from research

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. Participants have the right to leave the survey at any point in the survey.

Participants can choose not to answer specific questions or to stop attending at any time. Participants may leave the project after four (4) months after the initial interview. In relation to focus groups, the researcher will be unable to ignore the opinion of individuals.

Risk

The risk involved in participating in this study is minimal. Although no risk is anticipated, it is possible that during the interview the interviewee may consider some sensitive issues. It should be noted that local NGOs working with reconciliation and conflict mediation have dealt with such issues over the last few years, and their members know how to deal with emotional issues related to trauma, for example. As the process involves contacts with these organisations, they will be informed and consulted about the choice of the participant, the content and logic behind the interview and, if necessary, accepting to be present in the interview process, in order to protect participants from any damage. In addition, the survey does not require participants to mention traumatic events from the war-related past but focuses on understanding traditional processes that are designed to promote the country's peaceful reconstruction.

Confidentiality

All information provided during the survey will be kept in confidence and unless the participant specifically indicates your consent, your name will not appear in any survey report or publication. Confidentiality will be provided to the extent possible by law.

Feedback

Participants will be contacted via e-mail, by mobile phone and through Mozambican NGOs after the fieldwork and during the analysis and writing period, in order to explain and show the content of the interviews that will be presented in this thesis and to verify if they are well represented in the study. This feedback process will not only include a review of interview results, but a reiteration of assurances about anonymity, confidentiality, and data protection when necessary.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may opt out at any time.

Document and data protection

If part of the process involves the collection of documents of the organisation represented by the participant, the participant will be free to approve or disapprove the use of this documentary information. If your organisation has a data security policy the researcher will add this in conducting the research. Any data arising from this survey will be stored securely

Appendix 8. Long information sheet in Brazilian Portuguese



Repensando a Construção do Estado através da Justiça Tradicional em Pós-conflito Moçambique

INFORMAÇÕES SOBRE A PESQUISA

Informação geral

Este estudo busca analisar o papel e a legitimidade da justiça tradicional realizada pelos praticantes da medicina tradicional em Moçambique, assim como as interações com o Estado e com actores locais/organismos nacionais, através de uma série de entrevistas semi-estruturadas/não-estruturadas com pessoas envolvidas em programas relacionados à justiça tradicional e construção da paz em Moçambique. As principais práticas de justiça tradicional que serão estudadas são os rituais de cura realizados em diversas regiões de Moçambique.

O projeto estuda o papel dos mecanismos tradicionais de justiça no processo de construção do Estado de Moçambique no período pós-conflito (depois do Acordo de Paz assinado em 1992) e as interações destes mecanismos com o Estado, assim como as interações com actores locais/organismos nacionais. O projeto busca colaborar com a sociedade civil e agentes locais envolvidos com justiça tradicional em Moçambique.

Depois de um longo período de conflito e violência, os esforços de construção do Estado envolvem conexão com as necessidades das populações locais, que devido às divisões criadas pela guerra têm problemas de reconciliação que precisam ser abordados. Entretanto, a ênfase sobre direitos individuais, obrigações e responsabilização derivadas de abordagens de *statebuilding* liberais nas Relações Internacionais não parece adequada para sociedades que enfatizam a reconciliação comunitária, como Moçambique, ao passo que na sociedade moçambicana reparação e vitimização são associadas com o coletivo. Nesse sentido, o projeto procura explorar mecanismos tradicionais de justiça que podem complementar os sistemas judiciais convencionais promovendo justiça, reconciliação e paz, preenchendo as lacunas deixadas pelas abordagens liberais e pela cultura moçambicana de esquecimento do passado, pois em Moçambique as vítimas de guerra foram persuadidas a perdoar e esquecer o passado violento como parte da construção da paz e reconciliação nacional.

O processo de reconciliação em Moçambique é caracterizado por dois mecanismos distintos: a lei de anistia (método formal) e rituais de cura tradicionais (método tradicional). A pesquisa foca em rituais de cura tradicional, mecanismos que desempenham um papel importante na resolução de disputas e manutenção da ordem diariamente, regulando conflitos e proporcionando justiça. Práticas tradicionais de justiça tais como os rituais *Magamba* realizados em Moçambique tem uma dimensão comunitária, ao passo que na sociedade moçambicana reparação e vitimização são associadas com o coletivo. Essas práticas fomentam a reconciliação e curam feridas de guerra, desempenhando um papel central na realização da justiça restaurativa entre os sobreviventes da guerra. Neste sentido, cura e reconciliação são dois processos fundamentais em Moçambique.

O país apresenta uma paisagem de híbridos legais, refletindo uma mistura de diferentes ordens jurídicas que forma um estado heterogêneo que inclui práticas locais

tradicionais e instituições e processos estatais. Moçambique é o único país africano que tem pluralismo jurídico como um princípio constitucional, e atualmente o pluralismo jurídico pode ser visto como uma rede dinâmica na qual muitos atores interagem. Tal hibridismo de ordens jurídicas reflete a diversidade dos valores tradicionais e o ajustamento das instâncias judiciais e administrativas a situações contemporâneas, em que Moçambique apresenta-se como um estado pós-colonial em um processo de reforço da diferenciação entre o chamado quadro jurídico universal e os quadros jurídicos tradicionais.

Justificativa

A pesquisadora está no segundo ano de doutoramento em Desenvolvimento Internacional na Universidade de Birmingham, Reino Unido, sob a supervisão dos Professores Drs. Jonathan Fisher e Nicolas Lemay-Hébert. No segundo ano do curso é muito comum que os doutorandos façam pesquisa de campo, pois a maioria das pesquisas em Desenvolvimento Internacional engloba pesquisa de campo, fundamental para o avanço do trabalho.

O projeto irá explorar as interações da justiça tradicional realizada pelos praticantes da medicina tradicional com o Estado, desenvolvendo uma abordagem crítica que destaca as contradições da construção do Estado liberal e a importância da justiça tradicional, contribuindo para discussões sobre a justiça transicional na África e fortalecendo a literatura de construção da paz nas Relações Internacionais. Até o presente momento a literatura atual não foi capaz de abordar a dinâmica desses mecanismos em Moçambique, que complementam instituições formais de justiça como tribunais, e como eles estão conectados com o Estado em um contexto delicado de reconciliação pós-conflito. Em relação à abordagem teórica, a pesquisa fortalecerá abordagens críticas da paz liberal em Relações Internacionais repensando a construção da paz através das lentes da paz pós-liberal e hibridismo, estudos críticos de construção da paz que formam um campo crescente em Relações Internacionais. Além disso, políticos, acadêmicos e organizações da sociedade civil podem levar em conta o estudo sobre mecanismos tradicionais na implementação de projetos relacionados a reconciliação em Moçambique.

Ao explorar mecanismos tradicionais em um contexto pós-conflito a pesquisadora busca desenvolver uma pesquisa crítica que destaque as tensões da justiça de transição, explorando as dinâmicas que colocam obstáculos às liberdades das pessoas e as que facilitam as relações com as estruturas de justiça em um processo de reconciliação, que é supostamente o ponto final da justiça de transição. Além disso, a tese procura destacar algumas questões pertinentes que devem ser abordadas na tentativa de implementação de sistemas de justiça tradicionais, a fim de desenvolver uma melhor compreensão sobre processos de reconciliação e *statebuilding* na África. Nesse sentido, a pesquisa preencherá lacunas teóricas, ao passo que há pouca literatura sobre o papel de mecanismos tradicionais locais e tentativas contemporâneas para melhor incorporar esses mecanismos nas estratégias de justiça transicional.

Os trabalhos acadêmicos relacionados analisam como alguns países estão utilizando mecanismos locais de reconciliação, mas via de regra acadêmicos abordam pouco as dinâmicas da justiça tradicional na África, talvez porque alguns casos envolvam rituais locais e expectativas contraditórias sobre como lidar com os legados do passado violento. Dessa maneira, pretendo preencher essa lacuna ao estudar Moçambique e, especificamente, rituais de cura, que não são bem examinados na literatura embora a reconciliação moçambicana esteja fundamentalmente estruturado por meio da lei de anistia e rituais tradicionais de cura. Neste sentido, o projeto busca explorar a justiça tradicional para além da perspectiva antropológica ou jurídica regular, mas como um fenômeno que pode ser observado por um

acadêmico de Relações Internacionais, focando nas interações com o Estado, ao passo que há pouca literatura sobre o papel de mecanismos tradicionais locais na construção do Estado em Moçambique, e sobre como o Estado interage com esses mecanismos.

A realização de pesquisa de campo é imprescindível para a pesquisa, ao passo que para explorar mecanismos de justiça tradicional em Moçambique e suas interações com o Estado serão utilizadas abordagens etnográficas e narrativas, explorando as experiências vividas pelo povo relacionadas à justiça tradicional, assim como entrevista com curandeiros tradicionais e membros de organizações não governamentais e associações moçambicanas que trabalham com projetos relacionados à justiça tradicional e reconciliação. A pesquisa será construída através de inúmeros relatos de memórias, histórias orais e lições expressas pelos entrevistados, e para isso faz-se necessária a pesquisa de campo. Além disso, a observação está prevista como método de pesquisa, em que irei mergulhar no cenário de investigação ao me envolver diariamente com atividades rotineiras conectadas com reconciliação e justiça. A observação também facilitará o reconhecimento de padrões de comportamento e relações de poder entre os atores locais envolvidos no ambiente de pesquisa, proporcionando o entendimento de como os atores compreendem e constroem a transição pós-guerra.

Métodos etnográficos são essenciais neste estudo porque sem eles não existiria a possibilidade de obtenção de informações fundamentais para o desenvolvimento da pesquisa, ao passo que não há uma forte cultura da escrita no ambiente de sistemas tradicionais de justiça. Através da conexão das abordagens etnográficas e narrativas com o trabalho de campo e com o referencial teórico proposto essa tese contribuirá significativamente para o desenvolvimento empírico e conceitual da literatura.

Objectivos

Primários: Explorar o impacto e a legitimidade dos mecanismos tradicionais realizados pelos praticantes da medicina tradicional em Moçambique na construção do país, focando na percepção das pessoas sobre esses mecanismos. Compreender as interações dos sistemas de justiça tradicional com o Estado em Moçambique.

Secundários: Explorar a dinâmica da justiça tradicional em Moçambique, compreendendo as interações com as ordens jurídicas do país, com foco no pluralismo jurídico. Explorar o envolvimento internacional e nacional na justiça tradicional moçambicana.

Breve descrição da metodologia empregada na pesquisa de campo

O projeto conta com uma metodologia qualitativa, em que serão realizadas entrevistas, observação e revisão de documentos relacionados com os seguintes temas: justiça e reconciliação em Moçambique.

Processo 1: Entrevistas semi-estruturadas e não estruturadas com actores envolvidos no processo de paz em Moçambique: representantes de organizações não governamentais e representantes de instituições nacionais. Essas entrevistas visam obter o entendimento desses atores sobre a justiça tradicional e a reconciliação e os vínculos com o Estado, a maneira como concebem e implementam projetos de paz e exploram a conexão de seu trabalho com a justiça tradicional em Moçambique.

Processo 2: Entrevistas semi-estruturadas e não estruturadas com indivíduos que participaram de projetos relacionados à justiça tradicional e pessoas que conduzem a justiça tradicional através de rituais de cura em Moçambique e os beneficiários desses processos. Essas entrevistas buscam coletar percepções sobre esses processos e quais são suas limitações e as

interações com o estado.

Processo 3: Recolha documental e análise de políticas, resumos de políticas e descrições de projectos de instituições nacionais envolvidas na reconciliação, justiça tradicional e trabalho relacionado com o processo de paz.

Para o Processo 1, será necessário um total de 30 participantes para entrevistas semi-estruturadas. Os participantes serão representantes de instituições moçambicanas e representantes de organizações não-governamentais. Os participantes são adultos, homens e mulheres, e serão entrevistados em seus locais de trabalho no Centro e Sul de Moçambique.

Para o Processo 2 serão necessários mais 30 participantes para entrevistas. Todos serão adultos, homens e mulheres serão incluídos. Eles serão entrevistados no local da organização a que pertencem no Centro e Sul de Moçambique, em locais onde trabalham e nos locais onde se reúnem com a comunidade

A seleção dos participantes nessa pesquisa não será aleatória, o que significa que os participantes serão escolhidos sob o critério que melhor possa informar as questões de pesquisa e melhorar a compreensão dos fenômenos em questão. É importante que os participantes sejam capazes de informar aspectos e perspectivas importantes sobre o fenômeno em questão.

A única categoria para inclusão é que os entrevistados trabalhem com justiça tradicional ou sejam beneficiários de projetos que têm sido particularmente destinados a objetivos de justiça e reconciliação em Moçambique.

Participantes

Curandeiros tradicionais – *nyangas*

Líderes religiosos

Atores sociais envolvidos em tribunais comunitários

Organizações da sociedade civil

Locais de Estudo

Quanto à localização dos participantes, a pesquisadora pretende conduzir a investigação em duas províncias/distritos de cada região:

Centro - Província de Tete e Manica

Sul - Província de Maputo e Inhambane

As pessoas serão entrevistadas no local da organização que representam, ou em outros locais de trabalho. A amostragem e o recrutamento para este projeto serão feitos através de amostragem de bola de neve e busca online de contacto e através de ONGs e associações moçambicanas, como já foi mencionado. Todas as principais organizações nacionais e ONGs serão contactadas por e-mail e telefone antes do início da pesquisa.

Os locais de estudo serão as sedes de organizações envolvidas na pesquisa, como AMETRAMO, OREC, Justapaz, FOMICRES. Além disso, os locais de trabalhos serão os locais onde acontecem reuniões comunitárias e locais de trabalho dos praticantes da medicina tradicional, que serão acessados através de guias membros de organizações locais.

Considerações éticas: Recrutamento e consentimento

A amostragem e o recrutamento para este projeto serão feitos através da técnica bola de neve e busca online de contatos (antes da pesquisa de campo). Todas as principais organizações nacionais e a investigação moçambicana serão contactadas por e-mail e telefone. Ao chegar em Moçambique, o recrutamento será feito por telefone e presencialmente, através de ONGs e instituições nacionais.

Este trabalho de campo dependerá fortemente de ONGs e instituições locais que ajudarão a investigadora a identificar e localizar participantes essenciais como os curandeiros tradicionais e os beneficiários da justiça tradicional, com conhecimento das questões de pesquisa e localizados principalmente em áreas remotas. Os indivíduos selecionados terão experiência com os mecanismos de justiça tradicionais e tais informações e experiências são relevantes para responder à questão de pesquisa que está ligada às realidades históricas e contemporâneas em que alguns dos entrevistados foram/são participantes-chave. A pesquisadora obterá o consentimento dando ao participante o Formulário de Consentimento do Participante declarando que a pessoa é convidada a participar de um estudo de pesquisa, explicando brevemente a pesquisa, as perguntas e o que a pesquisadora pretende fazer com os dados e que as informações recolhidas para o projecto serão processadas na Universidade de Birmingham de acordo com as disposições da Lei de Protecção de Dados de 1998 e nenhum dado pessoal identificável será publicado. O formulário também conterá informações sobre a retirada/anonimato e sobre as entrevistas gravadas/off record. A pesquisadora também explicará quem ela é, trazendo seus detalhes de contato e informações como a instituição à qual ela está associada, financiadores e supervisores. O participante também estará ciente de que o pesquisador publicará os resultados do estudo em periódicos acadêmicos, conferências, bem como na tese do pesquisador.

Procedimentos

O estudo envolve entrevistas curtas (máximo de uma hora de duração) com agentes de consolidação da paz em Moçambique, em que questões sobre a prática da justiça tradicional, desenvolvimento e construção do Estado serão feitas, a fim de obter um quadro mais amplo do estado atual da prática da justiça tradicional no país e as interações com o Estado. A pesquisa de campo inclui entrevistas com pessoas que exercem a justiça tradicional através dos rituais de cura em Moçambique e os beneficiários destes processos. Estas entrevistas procuram recolher percepções desses processos, suas limitações e as interações com o Estado. A pesquisa também inclui entrevistas com grupo focal.

A pesquisa irá depender fortemente da participação de associações locais. Estas associações irão ajudar a pesquisadora a identificar e localizar os participantes essenciais, tais como os curandeiros tradicionais e os beneficiários de justiça tradicional, que conhecem as questões trabalhadas na investigação e estão localizados principalmente em áreas remotas.

Retirada ou exclusão da Pesquisa

A participação neste projeto de pesquisa é completamente voluntária. Os participantes tem o direito de deixar a pesquisa em qualquer ponto da pesquisa.

Os participantes podem optar por não responder a perguntas específicas ou deixar de participar a qualquer momento. Os participantes podem deixar o projeto depois de quatro (4) meses após a entrevista inicial. Em relação aos grupos de foco, o pesquisador será incapaz de ignorar a opinião dos indivíduos.

Riscos

O risco envolvido na participação deste estudo é mínimo. Embora nenhum risco esteja previsto, é possível que durante a entrevista o entrevistado possa considerar algumas questões sensíveis. Deve-se ressaltar que as ONGs locais trabalham com reconciliação e mediação de conflitos têm lidado com este tipo de questões ao longo dos últimos anos, e seus membros sabem como lidar com questões emocionais ligadas ao trauma, por exemplo. Como o processo envolve contactos com essas organizações, eles vão ser informados e consultados

sobre a escolha do participante, o conteúdo e a lógica por trás da entrevista e, se necessário, aceitar a estarem presentes no processo de entrevista, a fim de proteger participantes de qualquer dano. Além disso, a pesquisa não solicita que os participantes mencionem eventos traumáticos do passado ligado à guerra, mas centra-se na compreensão dos processos tradicionais, que destinam-se a promover a reconstrução pacífica do país.

Confidencialidade

Todas as informações fornecidas durante a pesquisa serão mantidas em confiança e a menos que o participante indique especificamente o seu consentimento, seu nome não irá aparecer em qualquer relatório ou publicação da pesquisa. A confidencialidade será fornecida na medida do possível por lei.

Feedback

Os participantes serão contactados via e-mail, por telemóvel e através de ONGS moçambicanas após o trabalho de campo e durante a análise e período de escrita, a fim de explicar e mostrar o conteúdo das entrevistas que serão apresentados na tese e para verificar se estão bem representados no estudo. Este processo de feedback não só irá incluir uma revisão dos resultados das entrevistas, mas uma reiteração de garantias sobre o anonimato, confidencialidade e protecção de dados, quando necessário.

Participação voluntária

A sua participação no estudo é completamente voluntária e você pode optar por deixar de participar a qualquer momento.

Documento e protecção de dados

Se parte do processo envolver a coleta de documentos da organização representada pelo participante, o participante estará livre para aprovar ou desaprovar o uso desta informação documental. Se a sua organização tem uma política de segurança de dados a pesquisadora irá acrescentar isto na condução da investigação. Quaisquer dados que surgirem a partir desta pesquisa serão armazenados com segurança em um local conhecido apenas pelo pesquisador principal e protegidos com uma senha, em um sistema de computador adequadamente seguro e em um pendrive criptografado. A pesquisadora irá utilizar o serviço de BEAR DataShare da Universidade; se o Dropbox for utilizado, os dados serão criptografados usando BoxCryptor.

Publicação dos resultados

O entrevistado fornece consentimento para a publicação dos resultados do estudo em revistas acadêmicas, conferências, bem como na tese da pesquisadora.

Financiamento da Pesquisa

A pesquisa é financiada por um programa conjunto entre a Universidade de Birmingham e a CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior) Brasil.

Contacto

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possui bacharelado e mestrado em Relações Internacionais pela UEPB – Brasil e UFSC – Brasil, respectivamente.

Supervisores acadêmicos

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Appendix 9. Long research information sheet in English



Rethinking State Building Through Traditional Justice in Post-conflict Mozambique

RESEARCH INFORMATION

General information

This study seeks to analyse the role and legitimacy of traditional justice practiced by practitioners of traditional medicine in Mozambique, as well as interactions with the State and with local actors / national bodies through a series of semi-structured / unstructured interviews with persons involved in programs related to traditional justice and peacebuilding in Mozambique. The main traditional justice practices that will be studied are the healing rituals performed in several regions of Mozambique.

The project studies the role of traditional justice mechanisms in the process of building the State of Mozambique in the post-conflict period (after the Peace Agreement signed in 1992) and the interactions of these mechanisms with the State, as well as the interactions with local / national bodies. The project seeks to collaborate with civil society and local actors involved with traditional justice in Mozambique.

After a long period of conflict and violence, state-building efforts involve connecting with the needs of local populations, which because of the divisions created by the war have reconciliation problems that need to be addressed. However, the emphasis on individual rights, obligations, and accountability derived from liberal statebuilding approaches in International Relations does not seem appropriate for societies that emphasize community reconciliation, such as Mozambique, while in Mozambican society, reparation and victimisation are associated with the collective. In this sense, the project seeks to explore traditional mechanisms of justice that can complement conventional judicial systems, promoting justice, reconciliation and peace, filling the gaps left by liberal approaches and Mozambican culture of forgetting the past, because in Mozambique the victims of war were persuaded to forgive and forget the violent past as part of the construction of peace and national reconciliation.

The process of reconciliation in Mozambique is characterised by two distinct mechanisms: the amnesty law (formal method) and traditional healing rituals (traditional method). The research focuses on traditional healing rituals, mechanisms that play an important role in resolving disputes and maintaining order on a daily basis, regulating conflicts and providing justice. Traditional justice practices such as the Magamba rituals held in Mozambique have a communitarian dimension, while in Mozambican society reparation and victimisation are associated with the collective. These practices foster reconciliation and heal wounds of war, playing a central role in the achievement of restorative justice among war survivors. In this sense, healing and reconciliation are two fundamental processes in Mozambique.

The country presents a landscape of legal hybrids, reflecting a mix of different legal orders that forms a heterogeneous state that includes traditional local practices and state institutions and processes. Mozambique is the only African country that has legal pluralism as

a constitutional principle, and today legal pluralism can be seen as a dynamic network in which many actors interact. Such legal hybridism reflects the diversity of traditional values and the adjustment of judicial and administrative instances to contemporary situations, in which Mozambique presents itself as a post-colonial state in a process of strengthening the differentiation between the so-called universal legal framework and the traditional legal frameworks.

Justification

The researcher is in her second year of Ph.D. in International Development at the University of Birmingham, UK, under the supervision of Professors Drs. Jonathan Fisher and Nicolas Lemay-Hébert. In the second year of the course it is very common for Ph.D. students to conduct field research, since most of the research in International Development includes field research, fundamental for the advancement of the work.

The project will explore the traditional justice interactions held by practitioners of traditional medicine with the state, developing a critical approach that highlights the contradictions of liberal state building and the importance of traditional justice, contributing to discussions on transitional justice in Africa, and strengthening the literature of peace building in International Relations. To date, current literature has not been able to address the dynamics of these mechanisms in Mozambique, which complement formal justice institutions such as courts, and how they are connected with the state in a delicate context of post-conflict reconciliation. Regarding the theoretical approach, the research will strengthen critical approaches to liberal peace in International Relations by rethinking the building of peace through the lenses of post-liberal peace and hybridity, critical peacebuilding studies that are a growing field in International Relations. In addition, politicians, scholars and civil society organisations can consider the study of traditional mechanisms in the implementation of projects related to reconciliation in Mozambique.

When exploring traditional mechanisms in a post-conflict context, the researcher seeks to develop a critical research that highlights the tensions of transitional justice, exploring the dynamics that put obstacles to the freedoms of the people and those that facilitate the relations with the structures of justice in a process reconciliation, which is supposed to be the end point of transitional justice. In addition, this thesis seeks to highlight some pertinent issues that must be addressed in attempting to implement traditional justice systems in order to develop a better understanding of reconciliation and statebuilding processes in Africa. In this sense, research will fill theoretical gaps, while there is little literature on the role of traditional local mechanisms and contemporary attempts to better incorporate these mechanisms into transitional justice strategies.

Related scholarly work examines how some countries are using local reconciliation mechanisms, but academics often approach little the dynamics of traditional justice in Africa, perhaps because some cases involve local rituals and conflicting expectations about how to deal with the legacies of the violent past. In this way, I intend to fill this gap when studying Mozambique and, specifically, healing rituals, which are not well examined in the literature although Mozambican reconciliation is fundamentally structured through the amnesty law and traditional healing rituals. In this sense, the project seeks to explore traditional justice beyond the regular anthropological or legal perspective, but as a phenomenon that can be observed by an International Relations academic, focusing on interactions with the State, while there is little literature on paper of local traditional mechanisms in the construction of the State in Mozambique, and on how the State interacts with these mechanisms.

Field research is essential for research, while to explore mechanisms of traditional justice in Mozambique and its interactions with the State will be used ethnographic and narrative approaches, exploring the experiences lived by the people related to traditional justice, as well as interview with traditional healers and members of non-governmental organisations and Mozambican associations working on projects related to traditional justice and reconciliation. The research will be built through countless reports of memories, oral histories and lessons expressed by the interviewees, and for that it is necessary the field research. In addition, the observation is intended as a research method, in which I will delve into the research scene by engaging daily with routine activities connected with reconciliation and justice. Observation will also facilitate the recognition of behavioral patterns and power relations among local actors involved in the research environment, providing insight into how actors understand and build the postwar transition.

Ethnographic methods are essential in this study because without them there would be no possibility of obtaining fundamental information for the development of the research, while there is not a strong culture of writing in the environment of traditional systems of justice. Through the connection of the ethnographic and narrative approaches with the field work and with the proposed analytical framework, this thesis will contribute significantly to the empirical and conceptual development of literature.

Objectives

Primary: Explore the impact and legitimacy of the traditional mechanisms practiced by traditional medicine practitioners in Mozambique in the construction of the country, focusing on people's perception of these mechanisms.

Understand the interactions of traditional justice systems with the state in Mozambique.

Secondary: Explore the dynamics of traditional justice in Mozambique, including interactions with the legal systems of the country, with a focus on legal pluralism.

Explore international and national involvement in traditional Mozambican justice.

Brief description of the methodology used in field research

The project has a qualitative methodology, in which interviews, observation and review of documents related to the following themes will be carried out: justice and reconciliation in Mozambique.

Process 1: Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with actors involved in the peace process in Mozambique: representatives of non-governmental organisations and representatives of national institutions. These interviews seek to obtain the understanding of these actors about traditional justice and reconciliation and the links with the State, the way they conceive and implement peace projects and explore the connection of their work with traditional justice in Mozambique.

Process 2: Semi-structured and unstructured interviews with individuals who have participated in projects related to traditional justice and persons conducting traditional justice through healing rituals in Mozambique and the beneficiaries of these processes. These interviews seek to collect perceptions about these processes and what are their limitations and interactions with the state.

Process 3: Documentary collection and analysis of policies, policy briefs and project descriptions of national institutions involved in reconciliation, traditional justice and work related to the peace process.

For Process 1, a total of 30 participants will be required for semi-structured interviews. Participants will be representatives of Mozambican institutions and representatives of non-governmental organisations. Participants are adults, men and women, and will be interviewed in their workplaces in Central and Southern Mozambique.

For Process 2, an additional 30 participants will be needed for interviews. All will be adults, men and women will be included. They will be interviewed at their organisation's location in Central and Southern Mozambique, where they work, and where they meet with the community

The selection of the participants in this research will not be random, which means that the participants will be chosen according to the criterion that can better inform the research questions and improve the understanding of the phenomena in question. It is important that the participants are able to inform important aspects and perspectives on the phenomenon in question.

The only category for inclusion is that respondents work with traditional justice or are beneficiaries of projects that have been particularly targeted at justice and reconciliation goals in Mozambique.

Participants

Traditional healers - *nyangas*

Religious leaders

Social actors involved in community courts

Civil society organisations

Study Locations

Regarding the location of the participants, the researcher intends to conduct the research in two provinces / districts of each region:

Central - Province of Tete and Manica

South - Maputo Province and Inhambane

People will be interviewed at the location of the organisation they represent, or at other places of work. Sampling and recruitment for this project will be done through snowball sampling and online search of contact and through NGOs and Mozambican associations, as already mentioned. All major national organisations and NGOs will be contacted by email and telephone prior to the start of the survey.

The places of study will be the headquarters of organisations involved in the research, such as AMETRAMO, OREC, Justapaz, FOMICRES. In addition, workplaces will be the venue for community meetings and workplaces of traditional medicine practitioners, which will be accessed through guides members of local organisations.

Ethical considerations: Recruitment and consent

Sampling and recruitment for this project will be done through snowball technique and online search of contacts (before field research). All major national organisations and Mozambican research will be contacted by e-mail and telephone. Upon arrival in Mozambique, the recruitment will be done by telephone and in person, through NGOs and national institutions.

This fieldwork will depend heavily on local NGOs and institutions that will assist the researcher in identifying and locating essential participants such as traditional healers and beneficiaries of traditional justice with knowledge of research issues and located primarily in remote areas. The selected individuals will have experience with traditional justice mechanisms and such information and experiences are relevant to respond to the research question that is linked to the historical and contemporary realities in which some of the

interviewees were / are key participants. The researcher will obtain the consent giving the participant the Participant's Consent Form stating that the person is invited to participate in a research study, briefly explaining the research, the questions and what the researcher intends to do with the data and that the information collected for the project will be processed at the University of Birmingham in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act of 1998 and no identifiable personal data will be published. The form will also contain information on withdrawal / anonymity and record / off record interviews. The researcher will also explain who she is, bringing her contact details and information such as the institution to which she is associated, funders and supervisors. The participant will also be aware that the researcher will publish the results of the study in academic journals, conferences, as well as in the researcher's thesis.

Procedures

The study involves short (maximum one-hour) interviews with peace-building agents in Mozambique, where issues of traditional justice, state development and construction will be made in order to obtain a broader picture of the state current practice of traditional justice in the country and interactions with the state. Field research includes interviews with people practicing traditional justice through healing rituals in Mozambique and the beneficiaries of these processes. These interviews seek to collect perceptions of these processes, their limitations and interactions with the State. The survey also includes focus group interviews. Research will depend heavily on the participation of local associations. These associations will help the researcher identify and locate key participants such as traditional healers and beneficiaries of traditional justice who are aware of the research issues and are primarily located in remote areas.

Withdrawal or exclusion from research

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. Participants have the right to leave the survey at any point in the survey.

Participants can choose not to answer specific questions or to stop attending at any time. Participants may leave the project after four (4) months after the initial interview. In relation to focus groups, the researcher will be unable to ignore the opinion of individuals.

Risk

The risk involved in participating in this study is minimal. Although no risk is anticipated, it is possible that during the interview the interviewee may consider some sensitive issues. It should be noted that local NGOs working with reconciliation and conflict mediation have dealt with such issues over the last few years, and their members know how to deal with emotional issues related to trauma, for example. As the process involves contacts with these organisations, they will be informed and consulted about the choice of the participant, the content and logic behind the interview and, if necessary, accepting to be present in the interview process, in order to protect participants from any damage. In addition, the survey does not require participants to mention traumatic events from the war-related past but focuses on understanding traditional processes that are designed to promote the country's peaceful reconstruction.

Confidentiality

All information provided during the survey will be kept in confidence and unless the participant specifically indicates your consent, your name will not appear in any survey report or publication. Confidentiality will be provided to the extent possible by law.

Feedback

Participants will be contacted via e-mail, by mobile phone and through Mozambican NGOs after the fieldwork and during the analysis and writing period, in order to explain and show the content of the interviews that will be presented in this thesis and to verify if they are well represented in the study. This feedback process will not only include a review of interview results, but a reiteration of assurances about anonymity, confidentiality, and data protection when necessary.

Voluntary participation

Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may opt out at any time.

Document and data protection

If part of the process involves the collection of documents of the organisation represented by the participant, the participant will be free to approve or disapprove the use of this documentary information. If your organisation has a data security policy the researcher will add this in conducting the research. Any data that arises from this search will be stored securely in a location known only to the principal investigator and protected with a password, on a properly secured computer system, and on an encrypted flash drive. The researcher will use the University's BEAR DataShare service; if the Dropbox is used, the data will be encrypted using BoxCryptor.

Publication of results

The interviewee provides consent for the publication of study results in academic journals, conferences, as well as in the researcher's thesis.

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