Advanced Command Post and General Headquarters (Posto de Comando Avançado, PCA), 92, 97 África Livre, 115–17, 127, 130 African National Congress (ANC), 44, 69 Albino, Ambrósio, 114, 138, 168–69 aldeamentos (population camps), 75 Alto Ligonha, 113 Alto Molócuè district, 98, 101, 106, 113, 120 amnesty law, 136 ancestral spirits, António's special powers from, 103 Angoche, 115 Angola, 83, 107 antigos combatentes (Frelimo veterans), 158 António, Manuel	armas brancas (white weapons), 80 Armed Forces Movement (Portugal), 50 army, Mozambican coup, plots of, 85 ineffectiveness of, 71, 101 Naparama, conflict with, 135, 137 Naparama, co-operation with, 124–25 recruitment and training, 71–72 restructuring of, 72–73 as threat to population, 129 attrition, wars of, 19, 93 Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC), 15 avoidance, war of, 94 banditry, 75 Battalion 054, 129
ceremonies of, 131–32, 160–61	Beira corridor, 85
death of, 80-81, 125, 132, 135	Boina Vermelha (Red Berets), 73, 158
Frelimo attitude towards, 108, 166	
in Mecubúri, 142	Cabo Delgado
in Mocuba, 83	Frelimo liberated zones, 53
Muaquiua, battle of, 121	Islamist insurgency, 183-84
in Namagoa refugee camp, 120–22	liberation struggle in, 48
in Namarrói, 130–33, 135, 137	Manuel António's origins, 102
Naparama, creation of, 79, 88	Renamo activity in, 61
in Nicoadala, 160–61, 166	Carnation Revolution (Portugal), 50
nonpolitical objectives, 109–10	Casa Banana, Renamo headquarters, 64, 70
plea for agency, attention to, 164	case selection (research study), 28
refugee camps, recruitment in, 104, 120-22	Catholic Church, 84, 99
special powers, claims of, 102-3, 160, 182	Central Intelligence Organization (CIO,
as threat to Frelimo, 82, 106	Rhodesia), 58-59
travels of, 112–14	centros de acomodação (displacement camps),
archives, in research project, 10, 32	157

Chai, Frelimo attack on, 48	people's needs, fulfilment of, 17
Chicarre, Renamo base, 60	research, future avenues of, 182
child soldiers, 72	in Sierra Leone, 180–82
Chipande, Alberto, 48, 73-74	social conventions, role in, 46
Chissano, Joaquim, 61, 70, 72, 84–85, 92	spiritual dimension of, 78, 86
cholera, 35, 39	state, relationship with, 18, 107
civil patrols (Guatemala), 16	study of, 9–10, 13, 28–30
civil war in Mozambique	sustained diffusion of, 113
community response to, 76-78	trust, gaining and retaining of, 123
course of, 68-70, 84-85	violence, role in militia formation, 46
historiography of, 66-68, 86	Conselho Cristão de Moçambique
peace process, 83–86	(CCM), 84
civil wars. See also third actors in civil war	control zones (Gersony), 64-65
civilian agency in, 176-78	Cristina, Orlando, 59, 62
dichotomous understanding of, 13	cultural bonds, in militia diffusion,
governance in, 180	4, 121–22, 126, 130, 132, 138, 176
regionalization of, 22	
Civilian Defense Forces (CDF, Sierra Leone),	data analysis (research study), 29–30
181	data collection (research study), 28
Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF, Nigeria), 2	destruction zones (Gersony), 64–65
civilians	Dhlakama, Afonso
displacement of, 98–99	death of, 183
self-protection, 177	European tour, 62
wartime uncertainty, experience of, 4, 155,	Gongorosa, battle for, 84
165, 178	in post-war politics, 40, 86
commonality, in militia mobilization, 26, 155,	Maputo, virtual siege of, 76
160-62, 169	peace negotiations, 80
communal villages	as Renamo commander-in-chief, 63
alienation of population, role in, 36, 76, 101,	as Renamo president, 59
159	Renamo strategy, 91
creation of, 55–56	diffusion agents
displaced people, resettlement of, 98	Antonio as, 132
forcable resettlement in, 151	local residents as, 143
in Milange, 91	migration of, 11, 21-24, 122, 126, 138, 146
Renamo attacks on, 62, 141	in Nampula, 168
community-empowering stalemates	diffusion, of community-initiated militias,
emergence of, 11, 20–21, 89–97	112-13, 138, 144, 146-47, See also initial
timing of, 18, 181	diffusion, sustained diffusion
in Zambézia and Nampula, 89–97, 101	discontent, in militia mobilization, 156
community-initiated militias	Domingos, Raul, 91
characteristics of, 179	dos Santos, Hermínio, 184
as civilian self-protection, 177	dos Santos, Marcelino, 52
as expression of civilian agency, 3	drought, 98
definition of, 15–17, 174	dynamizing groups (grupos dinamizadores,
diffusion of, 112–13, 138, 144, 146–47	GD), 53–54, 123
elite unity, importance of, 113, 130, 179	E intiti in a
formation, location of, 21–24, 175	Economic Rehabilitation Program (Programa
formation, process of, 148	de Restruturação Econômica, PRE), 76
formation, timing of, 18–21, 88–89, 110–11,	elections
175	militias, role in, 7
military stalemates, effect of, 97, 178–79	multiparty, post-war, 85, 116
mobilization of, 24-27, 150-52, 175	peace negotiations, role in, 85

elites	Naparama, co-operation with in Lugela, 125
conflict between, 131, 137, 139, 176, 179 southern domination of Frelimo, 101	Naparama, toleration of, 81–83, 105–10,
stalemate, perception of, 89	166, 172, 176 peace process, 83–86
toleration or support of community-initiated	
militias, 20	return to repression, 184 socialization of the countryside, 54–56, 159
unity, importance of, 21, 24, 113, 144-45,	state-initiated militias, creation of, 86, 98,
I47, I75 Emoché toe fectory, III	150-52, 158-59
Emochá tea factory, 117 enemies of the people (Frelimo definition of), 54	territorial defense, 73–76, 106 traditional power, changing attitudes
Erati district, 56 ethnic and cultural bonds	towards, 81–83, 106
in militia formation, 180	traditional religion, stance on, 78
	gatalzaanar higa ga uz
in sustained diffusion, 23, 138	gatekeeper bias, 39, 41 Gaza
faminas all	
famines, 98	peace zones in, 82
Fernandes, Evo, 62	Renamo activity in, 68–69, 76
Fertit militia (southern Sudan), 15 fieldwork	Gorongosa
	Renamo base, 59–60, 64, 69, 84–85
data collection, 28	Renamo first congress, 84
ethical and practical challenges, 31–34	grupo decidido (the committed group), 100–1, 142
Naparama, interviews with, 40–41	grupos dinamizadores (dynamizing groups,
political sensitivity in, 38	GD), 53–54, 62, 123
research legitimacy, establishment of, 38	grupos vigilantes (vigilante groups), 73
researchers as intruders, 37	1 . (1
stakeholder approval of, 38	harvests, failure of, 98
suspicion of in communities, 34–36	historiography
with marginalized and high-risk groups, 41	civil war in Mozambique, 5, 66–68, 86
forças de defesa territorial (territorial defense	Frelimo triumphalism, 47–48, 51
forces), 151	Homoíne massacre, 70
forum for the demobilized of the war (fórum	hunter militias (Sierra Leone), 181
dos desmobilizados da guerra), 184	:4:6:
Frelimo (Frente de Libertação Moçambique)	identification problem, in irregular civil wars, 152
Second Congress, 52	Ila de Inhamgoma, Renamo headquarters, 84
Third Congress, 54	indiscriminate violence, 25, 96–97, 152–55,
Fourth Congress, 74	178
Fifth Congress, 84	Indonesia, 10
community-initiated militias, opposition to,	Inhambane, Frelimo military successes, 69
178	Inhassunge, 81
control over people as objective, 77, 86	initial diffusion
counterinsurgency strategy, 71–73	conditions for, 21, 24
detribalization, 83	of Naparama to Lugela, 120–22
economic and social policies, 53–56, 86	of Naparama to Mecubúri, 141–44
elites, southern domination, 36, 101	of Naparama to Namarrói, 130–32
formation of, 47–48	social context of, 149
inertia of, political and military, 105	Inlugo, Naparama/army clash in, 135
internal conflict, 50–52	International Monetary Fund (IMF), 76
liberation struggle, 47–50	International Red Cross, 85
Marxist-Leninist ideology, 54, 84, 166	I
military operations (civil war), 69–70	Janjaweed (Sudan), 2, 16
multiparty politics, 37	Jehovah's Witnesses, 99
N'komati Accords, 68	Jesus Christ, António as messenger of, 103

Kamajors (Sierra Leone), 2, 15–16, 181–82	Maputo Renamo activity in, 68
Lakwena, Alice, 5	virtual siege of, 70, 76
Lancaster House agreement, 1979, 59	Maquiringa, Renamo base, 126, 128–29
learning	Marea, community resistance in, 100
in militia diffusion, 23, 112, 144, 146–47	Marxist-Leninist ideology (in Frelimo), 54, 84,
in militia mobilization, 156	166
Naparama vaccination as, 165	Massina (administrator in Murrupula), 172
Licuar water facility, defense of, 158	Matsangaíssa, André, 59, 63
Lidimo, General Lagos, 97	Mecubúri
Limpopo valley, 70, 85	district town, Naparama retaking of, 143
Lomwe ethnic group, 115	fieldwork in, 34–36, 39–40
luck, in environment of arbitrary violence, 152,	grupo decidido in, 100–1
154	military situation in, 139–41
Lugela	Naparama initial diffusion, 141–44
9	
army weakness in, 119–20	Naparama custained diffusion 7.4.4.7
district town, battle for, 118	Naparama sustained diffusion, 144–47
Frelimo weakness in, 105–6, 120	Meque, Calisto, 60, 97, 121
geography of, 115	Mfumo, Amórico, 172
military situation in, 116–20	migration, in militia diffusion, 112, 122, 126,
Naparama initial diffusion, 120–22	144, 146
Naparama sustained diffusion, 122–26, 146	Milange
Naparama-army co-operation, 125	Renamo activity in, 61, 117
Renamo activity in, 117-19	UNAR activities in, 90–91
Renamo strength in, 115-16	milícias populares (popular militias), 73,
Lusaka Accord, 1974, 50, 52	149-50, 158-59
	militarization of society, 100
Mabadane, Renamo base, 157	military stalemates. See also community-
Mabote, Colonel-General, 71	empowering stalemates
Machel, Samora Moíses	civilian response to, 97, 100, 102
army plots against, 71	community-initiated militias, rise of, 89, 110
death of, 70, 72, 92	175
N'komati accords, 69	definitions of, 18–21
Naparama as bandits, 107	indiscriminate violence in, 93, 175, 178
peace talks, 84	in militia diffusion, 23–24
as President of Mozambique, 50	in Mozambique, 70, 76, 82
revolutionary vision of, 52	third actors in, 3–4, 105, 178–79
territorial defense system, 73	in war over people, 45–46
Madal tea factory, 117	militias. See also community-initiated militias,
Makonde ethnic group, 48, 51–52	state-initiated militias milícias populares
Makosso, Naparama commander, 134–37	definition of, 14–15, 174
Makua-Lomwe ethnic group, 103, 142, 160 Malawi	formation, location of, 21–24
	formation, timing of, 18–21
end of assistance to Renamo, 45, 69–70, 91	mobilization of, 24–27
refugees from, 55	reactionary agendas of, 14
refugees in, 98	research agenda on, 174
Renamo bases in, 61	trust, gaining and retaining of, 123
Renamo cross-border activities, 91, 115,	typology of, 15–18
117–18, 128	Mirasse, Silva Taitosse, 115
mambos (Renamo traditional leaders), 62, 64,	mobilization of community-initiated militias
86, 127	classic approaches to, 155
Manica, 84	learning, role in, 156

mechanisms of, 155-56	Namacurra, 112
security context of, 149	Namagoa, refugee camp, 119–23
social context of, 149, 155	Namahia, Renamo base, 139
state support, role in, 156	Namapa, 83, 183
Mocuba	Namarrói
Frelimo army headquarters, 116, 119–20	civilian defense against Renamo, 99–100
Naparama headquarters, 91, 114, 120	cultural explanation of Naparama failure,
Mogovola, 115	137
Moma, 115	district town, battles for, 128-29, 137
Mondlane, Eduardo, 48, 52	geography of, 115
Morrumbala, Renamo bases in, 91	indiscriminate violence in, 127–28, 130
Mothi	military situation in, 126-30
Naparama, formation of, 172	Naparama failure, alternative explanations,
traditional healing in, 168-69	137-38
vaccination in, 171	Naparama initial diffusion, 130-32
Movimento Nacional de Resistência	Naparama sustained diffusion, failure of,
(Mozambican National Resistance, MNR),	132-37, 147
44	Naparama, failure to integrate in security
Mozambican Christian Council (Conselho	apparatus, 133-34
Cristão de Moçambique, CCM), 84	Renamo popularity in, 126-27
Mozambican intelligence service (Serviço	Renamo strength in, 115-16
Nacional de Segurança Popular, SNASP),	spiritual power in, 137
142	state-intiated militias in, 148
Muabanama, PRM/Africa Livre attacks on, 117	Nametil, Renamo attack on, 139
Mualiua massacre, 127	Namilasse, Renamo base, 139, 167
Muaquiua, Naparama attack on, 114, 121–22	Nampevo, Naparama base, 114
Mucheluia, Renamo attack on, 140	Nampila (traditional healer), 115, 138, 142,
Muecate, Renamo base, 167	168–70
Muémue, Naparama/Frelimo conflict in,	Nampila, Gregório, 168
134-37	Nampula
Muite, Frelimo/Naparama co-operation in, 144	Albino, activities of, 115
mujeeba (Renamo police), 64, 86, 118, 127,	civilian vulnerability in, 98
136, 169, 172	community-empowering stalemate in, 89–97
multiparty politics, 37, 116	fieldwork in, 28
Mungoi, spirit of, 82–83	Frelimo support for Naparama, 108
Munhamade Bridge, Renamo destruction of,	geography of, 90
117 M	Naparama activity in, 79–80, 85, 138
Murrupula	opposition to Frelimo, tradition of, 36, 101
Frelimo toleration of Naparama, 106–7, 109,	Renamo activity in, 68
172	Namudavale (Naparama leader), 121–24
grupo decidido, visit to, 142–43	Namuli mountains, Renamo base, 61, 91
military situation in, 167	Namuno district, 102
Naparama diffusion in, 112 Narapama mobilization in, 149, 166–73	Nantutu, Renamo base, 126, 129 Naparama. <i>See also</i> Parama (Naparama)
research fieldwork in, 31, 37–38, 40–41	vaccine
1050a1011 1101dWolk 111, 31, 3/-30, 40-41	abducted people, rescue of, 123, 163–65
N'kavandame, Lázaro, 52	army, conflict with, 135, 137
N'komati Accord, 44, 68–69, 83	army, co-operation with, 124–25
Nacala corridor, 90	army, overpowering of, 145–46
Nahipa	civilian response to, 97–105, 176–77
grupo decidido in, 100–1, 142	code of conduct, 162
Naparama formation in, 142–44	demobilization benefits, struggle for, 31–32, 40
···r··································	

Naparama (cont.) disbanding of, 81, 183	Naparama revolt, post-war, 183–84 violence, experience of, 152
displaced people, rescue of, 104–5 farmland, reclaiming of, 163	Nihia, Major General António da Silva, 170
Frelimo's toleration of, 81–83 initial diffusion to Lugela, 120–22 initial diffusion to Mecubúri, 141–44	operação produção (Operation Production), 54 operação tira camisa (operation shirt removal),
initial diffusion to Namarrói, 130–32	Operation "Gordian Knot" (Portugese
initiation ritual, 2, 131–32, 149, 161, 165, 180	counterinsurgency campaign), 48
interviews with members of, 40-41	Parama (Naparama) vaccine
military effectiveness, 80–81, 84–85, 143–44 military strength of, 79	appeal of, 163, 165, 169, 173, 177 credibility of, 169
mobilization in Murrupula, 166–73	in Lugela, 120, 122
mobilization in Nicoadala, 160–66, 173	in Mecubúri, 142–46
mobilization of, 149	in Murrupula, 169–71
mobilization, alternative explainations for,	in Nampula, 115
165-66	Naparama code of behaviour, 80
nonpolitical objectives of, 108–10, 179	Naparama initiation ceremonies, 2, 149, 161
as rag-tag army, 176	stories and rumors of, 112
religious idioms of, 103–4	trust in, 125
rise of, 79–81, 86, 146	Pardido Revolucionário de Moçambique
role in ending the civil war, 174	(PRM), 90–91, 115–17
self-empowerment, appeal of, 162-65,	peace building, post-war, 34
169-71	peace zones, 99–100
social conventions, role in mobilization, 155,	peasant revolt, Renamo as, 67
169	Peru, 2, 7, 13, 17
sustained diffusion to Lugela, 122–26, 146	pleasure in agency (Wood), 27, 179
sustained diffusion to Mecubúri, 144-47	polarization, in post-war society, 32, 34
sustained diffusion to Namarrói, failure of,	political opportunity, in militia mobilization,
132–37, 147	156
violence against civilians, 81	politics of punishment (Machava), 47
window of opportunity, 107, 110	popular militias (milícias populares), 73, 98,
National Defence Force (Syria), 2	149-50, 158-59
Nauela, Naparama's loss of support in, 114	Portugal
Ndau ethnic group, 63	Carnation Revolution, 50
new man (Frelimo ideal of), 54	counterinsurgency campaign, 20, 48
NGO workers, percieved arrogance and	Frelimo militias, support for, 151
distance of, 37 Niassa, Reflimo liberated zones	Posto de Comando Avançado (PCA), 92, 97
Frelimo liberated zones, 53	process tracing, 29–30 Programa de Restruturação Econômica (PRE)
Nicoadala	Programa de Restruturação Econômica (PRE), 76
civilian passivity in, 98	prophetic armed movements, 5
displaced people in, 156–57	ProSAVANA (agribusiness project), 37
fieldwork in, 38, 40	proto-states, in civil wars, 180
Frelimo toleration of Naparama, 110	F
Frelimo, weakness in, 158–59	qualitative analysis in research project, 30
military situation in, 156-59	Quelimane, 40, 157–58
Naparam demobilization in, 81	717 37 3
Naparama headquarters in, 114, 156	reconciliation process, post-war, 34, 84
Naparama mobilization in, 149–50, 159–66,	Red Berets (Boina Vermelha), 73, 158
173	refugees, 98

Regone, Renamo base, 126	resettlement of population, as control over
regulados (chieftaincies), 53	people, 11, 46, 56, 65–66, 71, 75–76, 85
Renamo (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana)	resource allocation, in militia mobilization, 156
bases, 64-65	Revolutionary United Front (RUF), 2, 182
civilian nonviolent response to, 99	Rhodesia
civilians as human shields, 101	intelligence service, 9
control over people as objective, 77, 86	Mozambique, independence revolt, role in,
control, tax and destruction zones (Gersony),	52
64-65	Renamo, formation of, 57-59
cult of violence (Wilson), 78	Renamo, support for, 37, 44, 47, 61, 67
expansion of, 60-61	Ribáuè district, António's personal guard, 102
formation of, 56–59	Roberto, Holden, 107
Frelimo state, attacks on, 62	Rome peace agreement, 32, 84, 183
indiscriminate violence of,	rondas campesinas (Peru), 14, 17, 152
96-97, 155	Rudes, Jacinto, 129, 134
Lugela, military and political objectives in,	Rumbezi African National Union (UNAR), 90
117–19	rumors and storytelling, in militia diffusion,
military effectiveness of, 80	113
military hierarchy, 63-64	
military operations, 68-70	sampling bias, 39
mujeeba (Renamo police), 64, 86, 118, 127,	Sant'Egidio, Catholic community in Rome, 84
136, 169, 172	Savimbi, Jonas, 76, 107
Murrupula, activity in, 167	scorched-earth tactics, 19, 97
Namarrói, activity in, 126-27	self-defense committees (rondas campesinas,
Nicoadala, activity in, 156-57	Peru), 14, 17, 152
peace process, 83–86	self-empowerment, context for in militia
political goals, 62-63	mobilization, 26-27, 155, 162-65, 169-71
popular support for, 65-68, 86	Selous Scouts, 58
radio station, 59	Serviço Nacional de Segurança Popular
social base of, 86	(SNASP), 142
strength of, 60, 91	Shangaan ethnic group, 51
violence in 2013 183-84	Sierra Leone, 2, 10, 15–16, 180–82
violence, use of, 64–66	Simango, Uria, 52
war of the spirits, 78	Sitatonga, Renamo base, 59
research	snowball sampling, 38
archives, use of, 10, 32	social banditry (Hobsbawm), 17
design, 27–30	social conventions, in militia mobilization,
ethical and practical challenges, 31-34, 42	24–27, 173, 176, 179
in polarized societies, 42	socialization of the countryside (Frelimo
interviews in, 28	policy), 54–56
legitimacy, establishment of, 38	Sofala
Naparama, interviews with, 40–41	indiscriminate violence in, 96–97
neutrality in, 38–39, 43	Renamo activity in, 64, 84-85
political sensitivity in, 38	South Africa
politicization of, 40	Mozambique, destabilization of, 61, 86
power relationships in, 42	Mozambique, independence revolt, role in,
process tracing in, 29-30	52
qualitative analysis, 30	Mozambique, rapprochement with, 84
researchers as intruders, 37	N'komati Accord, 45, 68-69, 83
researchers as political actors, 42-43	Renamo, radio network, 63
stakeholder approval of, 38	Renamo, support for, 10, 37, 44, 47, 57,
suspicion of in communities, 34–36	59-60, 67, 89

special forces, Mozambican army, reliance on,	traditional healers, 78, 138, 161, 169
73, 129, 158	traditional religion, 27, 78, 103
spirit healers, response to civil war, 78	Transvaal, Renamo training camp, 59
spiritual dimension of war, 86, 161	
Stalemates. See community-empowering	uncertainty
stalemates, military stalemates	civilian experience in war, 4, 152–55, 165,
starvation, 98	178
state-initiated militias	in decision-making in war, 25, 156, 159
definition of, 16	social conventions in decision-making, 26,
doomed to fail?, 152	155, 173, 175, 179
effectiveness of, 158–59	United Nations Operation in Mozambique
forced recruitment of, 75	(ONUMOZ), 85, 183
full-time prfessionalized militias, 16	United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC).
in Frelimo territorial defense, 73–76	15
mobilization, problems of, 148, 150, 173	· 1 (D)
as threat to population, 17, 130, 151	vaccine, Naparama (Parama)
storytelling, in militia diffusion, 113, 122, 182	appeal of, 163, 165, 173, 177
structural adjustment, 76	credibility of, 169
sustained diffusion, 21	in Lugela, 120, 122
elites, role in, 24	in Mecubúri, 142–46
ethnic or ideological bonds, role in, 23	in Murrupula, 169–71
mechanisms of, 23, 139–40	in Nampula, 115
of Naparama in Lugela, 122–26	Naparama code of behaviour, 80
of Naparama in Mecubúri, 144–46	Naparama initiation ceremonies, 2, 131, 149,
of Naparama in Namarrói, failure of, 132–37	161
T D	stories and rumors of, 112
Tacuane, Renamo attack on, 117	trust in, 125
Tamaboro militia, Sierra Leone, 181	victim narrative, of civilians in civil war, 77
Tanzania	vigilante groups (grupos vigilantes), 73, 98
military intervention in Mozambique, 68, 73,	vigilantism, 7
92, 158	villagization, role in origins of civil war, 56, 66 violence
militia training in Mozambique, 151	
refugees from, 55	cults and counter-cults (Wilson), 78
withdrawal of troops, 76	fear of resurgence of, 34
tax zones (Gersony), 64–65	indiscriminate, 25, 96–97, 152–55, 178
territorial defense forces (forças de defesa territorial), 151	Voz da África Livre (Voice of Free Africa), 58
Tete, 37, 84	war of avoidance, 94
Thai, General Hama, 97	war of avoidance, 94 war of the spirits, 78
third actors in civil war	war over people
civilian agency in, 13, 15	Mozambique civil war as, 75–77, 86
in militia diffusion, 22	Naparama, role in, 79
rise of, 12, 176	warlordism, 75, 180
studies of, 3–4, 7, 177–78	white settlers in Mozambique, 52–53
Tocolo, Renamo attack on, 139	Wiriamu massacre, 50
traditional authorities	Williama massacre, 30
communal villages, resistance to, 56	Zambezi river, 97
Frelimo's abolition of, 36, 53–54, 83, 101, 166	Zambézia Zambézia
Frelimo's change of attitude, 83	António's travels in, 113
Naparama, support for, 103, 144	civilian suffering in, 97
Renamo, alienation from, 78	community-empowering stalemate in, 89–97
Renamo, support for, 46, 62, 66	displaced people in, 98
10	and proper in, 30

fieldwork in, 28
Frelimo support for Naparama, 108
geography of, 90
indiscriminate violence in, 97
military operations in, 69–70, 84–85, 90–94
Naparama activity in, 79–80
opposition to Frelimo, tradition of, 36, 101, 159
peace zones in, 99
religion in society, 103

Renamo activity in, 68 state-initiated militias in, 158–59 Zimbabwe independence of, 44, 89 military intervention in Mozambique, 64, 68–70, 84, 92 withdrawal of troops from Mozambique, 85 Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army's (ZANLA), 5, 57–58

