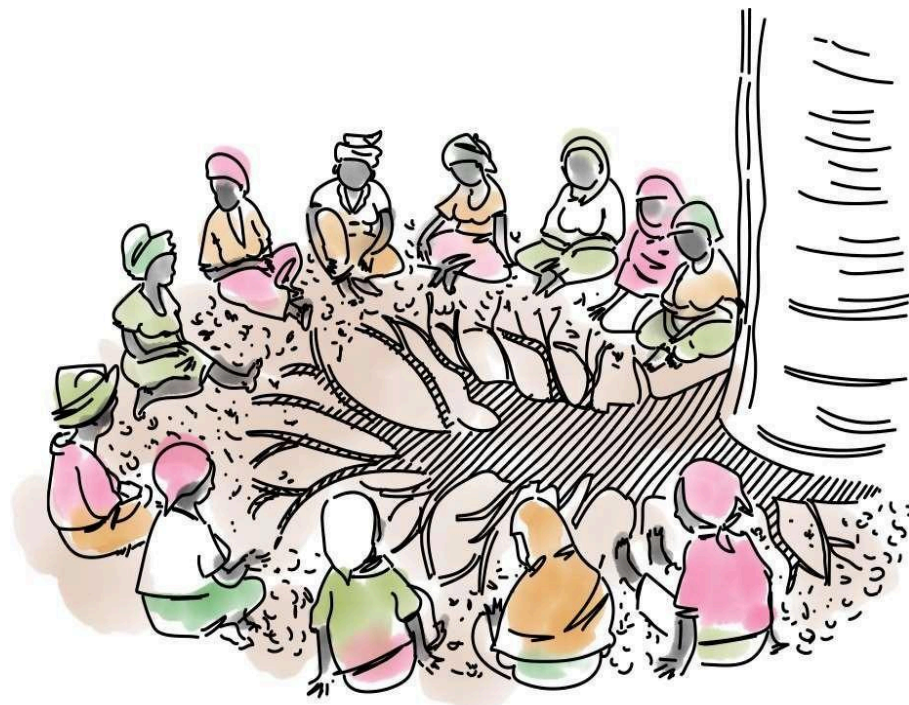**THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE IN THE VOICE OF**

WOMEN AND GIRLS AFFECTED BY THE CONFLICT IN

CABO DELGADO:

A FEMINIST ANALYSIS

Ancuabe District, Nacussa B village (November 2021)

Disclaimer

The research was undertaken into Portuguese, then translated into English and the FSS reviewed the translated version. The FSS is not responsible for any of the research work, only for the review. However, should there be any discrepancies, the Portuguese version prepared by the team of researchers is the binding document.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The research the **Past, Present and Future in the Voice of the Women and Girls Affected by the Conflict in Cabo Delgado: A Feminist Analysis,** conducted by the team of researchers at Mukadzi - Colaboratório Feminista and funded by the Women's Voice and Leadership (WVL) ALIADAS Program, using a feminist approach, seeks to document, analyse and share, , the realities and experiences of women affected by conflict in Cabo Delgado and bring forward recommendations for interventions, programs and policies that aim to benefit them, based on their voices and perceptions.

The specific objectives include 1) collection and documentation of the stories and perceptions of the women affected by the conflict and internally displaced, as well as the survey of their socio-demographic profile, drawing up a feminist and multidimensional analysis of the impact of the conflict on their lives; 2) identification of activities and demands in the interventions of local women-focused organizations; 3) sharing recommendations on the most appropriate intervention strategies to inform women's organizations' programs, other CSOs and Government policies on the mitigation of the impact of conflict on women's lives, and, finally, 4) widely disseminating the findings of this study in in-person and virtual formats to all key actors and society at large through the construction of a digital platform and other accessible resources.

A qualitative methodology articulating fieldwork for primary data collection - through ethnographic analysis, semi-structured individual and focus group interviews/conversation circles, life stories, timeline, analysis of perceptions and emotions - combined with bibliographic research for collection and analysis of secondary data, based on relevant literature and documents on Cabo Delgado and the current armed conflict, women, peace and security and other related themes, was used. The combination of these different methods was guided by feminist principles in the conduct of all research and action research approaches, prioritising feminist analysis and the use of gender as a key category of analysis, which entails that women are included in the research as subjects who participate in the process of co-production of knowledge, through their experiences and perceptions, rather than merely as objects of study.

The fieldwork was divided between Maputo City, where we started interviewing some

key stakeholders, and Cabo Delgado Province, more specifically the city of Pemba and in districts of Metuge (Cuaia village), Ancuabe (Nacussa B village) and Montepuez (Nacaca village), where we continued the interviews with key stakeholders and started focus groups and individual interviews with displaced people (women and men, community leaders), heads of host families and a group of non-displaced women affected by the conflict. In total, over 90 people participated in this research.

This document addresses the following issues:

- **Analysis of the main findings**, divided between past, present and future, on: conditions and management of IDP centres/villages and access to essential social services (housing and non-food goods; food security and livelihoods; water, hygiene and sanitation; menstrual privacy and hygiene; health, psychosocial support and women-friendly spaces; social protection; education); resistance strategies, mutual aid and support strategies; main changes in gender roles and relations; perceptions on experiences of gender violence before and after the conflict; cultural and religious-spiritual impact; conflict and invisible solidarity: the relations between displaced people and local people; participation of women and civil society in the Peace, Security and Reconstruction Agenda; participation of women and local civil society in the Women, Peace and Security Platform and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda; participation in Humanitarian Response Programs and "Clusters" and Development Projects; the role of women in Development and Reconstruction Programs; the participation of displaced women in studies and research and the conditions and causes of conflict and paths to peace;
- **Life stories of displaced women** from Pemba City and Metuge, Ancuabe and Montepuez districts;
- **Recommendations** for the areas of Advocacy, CSO Coordination in development programs and humanitarian response; Governance and participation; Women, Peace and Security Agenda; Access to social services; Development and Reconstruction programs and Recommendations for strengthening the capacity of Civil Society Organizataions, particularly at the local level and led by women and youth.

The conclusions of this study highlight important aspects, such as:

1. Despite the existence of a Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado, an Internal Displacement Management Policy and Strategy and all the investment and humanitarian support programs being made, the situation in the centres and villages of displaced people is still very poor, not only in terms of infrastructure and access to essential social services (health, education, water and sanitation, etc.), but also in terms of lack of material goods, land for cultivation, food and income and access to income generation programs;

2. The approaches used in psychosocial support programs need more attention. Therapeutic interventions with feminist approaches draw on the political contexts and the diversity of personal and social identities of women and girls who experience various types of violence. Understanding how social and cultural contexts as well as identities and development impact on exposure to various forms of violence, on women and girls' responses to violence, and on the healing process is crucial to avoid further harm;

3. While it is true that the impact of the conflict has deepened inequalities through the withdrawal of authority and legitimacy that women had in some spheres of their lives, research has shown us that this context can also lead to some changes in power relations and women's agency, highlighting their dynamism and proactivity and changes in their perception of themselves as subjects of transformation, contestation and resistance;

4. Conflicts over land, natural resources, forms of discrimination and exclusion, among other social and ethnic tensions between displaced and "native" populations, reveal the need to develop and expand more interventions for the promotion of peace and the resolution of community conflicts aggravated and generated by forced displacement, looking mainly at the structural causes and also involving public service providers and other government entities;

5. Campaigns against forms of discrimination against IDPs, dissemination of laws and rights of IDPs to all key stakeholders in society are key as part of actions aimed at reducing these conflicts between IDPs and natives. This also includes the need to expand basic social services through mobile brigades and alternative ways of ensuring access to these services under emergency

conditions, as well as land re-planning to allow for greater food security for displaced families. The promotion at local level of the value of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity and the promotion of solidarity campaigns and promotion of IDP rights are also essential. Many of these invisible conflicts also result from the fact that indigenous and displaced communities have had little opportunity to participate and decide on the ways in which villages and host centres have been established and managed. It is important to improve and, in many cases, create mechanisms for greater community participation and consultation at village and host centre levels;

6. The multiplicity of disconnected formal and informal spaces may cause local organisations, with very limited human and financial resources to participate and mobilise women's participation in the various fora, to become overwhelmed and lose energy. It is therefore necessary to evaluate how to link institutionalized spaces to the WPS Agenda. In this sense, a better articulation between different formal and informal spaces for civic participation of communities in the prevention and resolution of these new conflicts and social tensions and in the framework of the macro- Peace and Security Agenda is fundamental;

7. Despite the experience of conflict and peace negotiation processes in the country, including a strong legal and regulatory framework that favours the participation of women and displaced persons, such as PNAMS and PEDGI, it is noticeable that participation mechanisms have been ineffective. Historically, previous peace negotiation processes in Mozambique were characterised by the absence of a gender approach and the invisibility of women and their specific demands. The non-participation of women is also due to a broader exclusion of civil society stakeholders during peace negotiation processes. Although Peace negotiation processes have not yet been announced regarding the conflict in Cabo Delgado, it is fundamental that national and local civil society strengthens the preparation, mobilization, organization and dialogue of women and displaced women for the construction of advocacy agendas and better participation in Peace processes at various levels, including preparation of recommendations for the next PNAMS (2023-2025);

8. The participation of displaced women, so that they can channel and/or present their needs directly, requires technical and material resources, given the context of high deprivation. In this regard, both civil society and the government should have integrated humanitarian-development-peace response approaches. This means that organisations that do not have humanitarian or peace response as part of their mission should contemplate strategic ways of creating synergies and partnerships for more collaborative actions that enable a more holistic intervention that addresses different fronts;

9. Building paths for Peace is a systemic, continuous process that requires an intervention that understands the interconnection between the various structural and historical causes of the conflict, from ethno-religious issues, the predatory extractivism model and its deep link with patriarchal structures, the arms trade and the recrudescence of militarisation in defence of large corporations and to the detriment of the populations, the poor redistribution and management of natural resources, the ecological crisis and the context of high vulnerability to climate change to which the province is subject and its differentiated impacts on women, men, children and young people. It is, therefore, necessary that actions in response to the conflict and support to displaced people have systemic and integrated approaches that articulate peace, development and humanitarian response from a gender perspective.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ADIN - Northern Integrated Development Agency

APSA - African Peace and Security Architecture

CCCM - Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster

CTV - Centro Terra Viva

DPS - Provincial Directorate of Health

FADM - Mozambique Armed Defence Forces

FDS - Defence and Security Forces

FNDS - National Fund for Sustainable Development

FOCADE - Forum of Civil Society Organisations in Cabo Delgado

INGC - National Institute for Disaster Management

INGD - National Institute for Disaster Risk Management

JA! - Environmental Justice

MULEIDE - Women, Law and Development Association

CBO - Community Based Organisations

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

CSO - Civil Society Organization

IDP - Internally Displaced Persons

PEGDI - Internal Displacement Management Policy and Strategy

PRCD - Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado

WFP - World Food Program

PNAMPS - National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security

SADC - South African Development Community

GBV – Gender-Based Violence

UNAC - National Farmers' Union

UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund

UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNOCHA - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

USAID - United States Agency for Development

WLSA - Women and Law in Southern Africa

They hold moons

And, have magical powers

To stitch wounds and heal pains

To give hope

And from the womb

flow flowers.

They build schools

of mortar and feed

generations

They fertilise barren soils

With seeds of love

Even swimming in dead

seas,

They never give in to exhaustion.

They put their bare feet on

the ground

And spread suns

and peace across the land

- ***But we don't want women to be martyrs***

tassiana

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, our most sincere and warmest thanks to all the displaced women from Pemba, Metuge, Ancuabe and Montepuez, as grand as the countless baobab trees we met along the way, strong, resistant, imposing and standing despite the bad weather. The contact with these women was intense and transforming, despite being short, and from them we learnt the true meaning of the word resistance. Women who, despite all the pain, loss, and suffering, are still standing, resisting, rolling up their sleeves and continuing to give a sense of normality to their lives in the midst of chaos. Women who have a voice and want it to be heard in the first

person and to echo throughout the country. Women who have their heads *"(...) full of stories and experience that they want to share as if that would help them release some of their anguish"* (Cunha, 2021:34).

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INTRODUCTION

(...)they are not passive beings waiting for some salvation to come and rescue them without having worked hard for it. On the contrary, they are resisting the silences imposed on them; they are breaking away from conformism and are present in many ways, and above all they are raising their voices so that their courage and contributions to the common effort to end the war and to the causes that caused it and feed it are explicitly recognised. (Cunha, 2020:56).

Ngoenha et al (2020) note that war is the greatest risk that the country faces, a systemic risk, transversal to all other risks in terms of social, economic, political and cultural consequences. In this sense, as the authors argue, peace would then be an interval between two wars, pointing to the challenges in the country's history of building sustainable peace (Ngoenha et al, 2020). Since October 2017, peace in the country has again been compromised. An Islamist group with affiliation to the self-proclaimed Islamic State has unleashed armed attacks, first on villages and towns and then on district capitals and strategic locations in Cabo Delgado province. More recently, attacks spread to Niassa province. With a delayed response, the Mozambican authorities have been engaged in military operations in the province, with the assistance of private military forces and, from 2021, with the support of Rwandan and SADC military forces.

Between 2017 and September 2021, more than 732,000 people were forced to be internally displaced as a result of the conflict, within Cabo Delgado province and to other provinces such as Nampula and Niassa (UNOCHA, 2021). This means that approximately 1 in 3 people in Cabo Delgado were forced to be internally displaced, having experienced profoundly traumatic displacement-displacement processes, with huge human and material losses.

This context confronts us with an acute humanitarian crisis in the country, in a region affected by Cyclone Kenneth in 2019, vulnerable to cyclical natural disasters and burdened by the COVID-19 pandemic. In this scenario, with the closure of schools, the destruction of health centres, the loss of livelihoods and a military conflict with no end in sight, the lives of

internally displaced populations, especially the most vulnerable groups, have been negatively affected in all dimensions. Furthermore, different analyses have shown that this conflict has multifaceted causes, which cannot be disassociated from the history that has placed Cabo Delgado as one of the provinces with the worst human development indices in the country, or from the discovery - in the last 10 years - of natural resources and the subsequent negative impact of the implementation of foreign extractive industry mega-projects, or even from religious and ethnic issues that affect the province (Feijó, 2020; Cunha, 2020; OMR, 2020).

The needs of displaced people are multiple and of different kinds (psychosocial, spiritual, material, resources and services). Displaced communities have faced difficulties in accessing housing, food and basic social services, without the capacity to cope with the exponential increase in demand generated by the conflict and migratory flows. Latest UNOCHA data (2021) suggest that more than 1.3 million people are in need of emergency humanitarian assistance. The data from this agency for Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Niassa provinces indicate that 901,000 people are in a situation of severe food insecurity, 470,000 children suffer from acute malnutrition, 478,000 people are living with HIV/AIDS, 575,000 cases of malaria and 66% of girls who will become mothers before reaching 18 years of age in Cabo Delgado province alone. A reality with the potential to be profoundly worsened by the conflict in the North.

In this context, women, girls and children have been the most unprotected groups and have been affected differently by violent extremism and impoverishment resulting from the destruction caused by the conflict in Cabo Delgado province. Furthermore, accusations of human rights abuse by the Mozambican Defense and Security authorities were presented by human rights organisations, with the most shocking and media reported case being the murder with 36 shots of a woman, identified as Paulina Chitai, which the Defense and Security Forces deny having carried out. The murder, which was filmed and disseminated on social networks, also drew attention to the specific condition of women affected by the conflict and violent extremism, who are vulnerable to insurgent groups, but also to the Defence Forces.

Women and girls have experienced new and continuing forms of gender-based violence (GBV), whether in conflict zones, by insurgent groups or Defense Forces, namely physical violence, economic violence, abductions, sexual violence including sex trafficking, sexual exploitation and abuse, forced and early unions; whether in host centres, villages or

families, namely partner violence (with increased collective trauma and alcohol consumption), partner abandonment, physical and sexual violence as well as discrimination by members of local/native communities, which the conflict has reinforced. At the same time, due to normative gender roles, women also disproportionately bear all care and provision responsibilities for families in host centres and sites, and in many cases are the sole providers for their families while surviving all forms of violence and exploitation. In this regard, conflict contributes to the feminization of poverty. Moreover, structural gender inequalities and limited access to economic resources and basic services tend to exclude and marginalise these women from decision-making processes regarding conflict resolution and peace.

Despite some visibility and media coverage of the conflict, assessments and surveys carried out by CSOs and other stakeholders in the host centres, and albeit the increasing number of studies, research and webinars on the conflict in Cabo Delgado, including on the role of women in the Peace and Security Agenda, there is still an absence of the voices, stories and experiences of displaced women and their perspectives and perceptions. Equally, the need for more public spaces and forms of direct participation by women affected by the conflict remains a challenge.

Who are these women, what are their life backgrounds, how are the widowed women and elderly women living, how many are pregnant, how are they coping with the loss of their relatives, husbands, sons and daughters captured by insurgents, how many have been forced into premature unions, what are the specific challenges of the women with disabilities who are in the centres, how many women are survivors of sexual violence, what were their main income-earning activities, how are they living in the host centres, what are their main concerns, needs and aspirations and, above all, what do they think about the conflict and what are their prospects for rebuilding their lives and communities? These and other questions are fundamental to ensure that the humanitarian interventions carried out are not based solely on inventories of basic necessities but capture the human complexity of the impact of the conflict. The absence of answers to some of these questions and the urgent need to project the voices of women affected by the conflict, to give them a stage and visibility, are the main purposes that led to the preparation of this research, since, as Teresa Cunha states, *"they don't speak: they are spoken about"* (Cunha, 2021:52) and it is essential to change this state of affairs.

It should be noted again that important qualitative studies on the situation of women and girls in the context of the conflict in Cabo Delgado have been published since 2020, and it is relevant to highlight as examples the report, *"O impacto dos conflitos violentos em Cabo Delgado, por uma abordagem de género, com foco para as mulheres e meninas"* (MULEIDE, 2020); the study by researcher Teresa Cunha entitled *"Já somos gente de pouca esperança, só vivemos". Cabo Delgado e a Guerra na vida das mulheres e raparigas* (2021); the research of WLSA Mozambique entitled, *"Narrativas e práticas sobre direitos humanos no contexto do(s) Conflito(s) em Cabo Delgado: uma análise de género";* the research carried out by João Feijó, *"O Papel das Mulheres no Conflito em Cabo Delgado: Entendendo ciclos viciosos de violência"* (2021) and also the article by Ângela Collet, *"Reimagining Conflict: the (In)visible web of conflict in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique"* (2020). These studies provide important background information, descriptions, analyses and some testimonies of women. They also analyse and question their roles, going beyond the idea of women as mere passive victims, signalling key elements to look at the agency of these women in all processes of the conflict.

To complement the research mentioned above as well as others, and to contribute to the advocacy effort for peace, human rights and particularly the rights of women affected by the conflict in Cabo Delgado, this study seeks to share and analyse women's perceptions on aspects such as living conditions in host centres and villages, current interventions of humanitarian and development response programs - both from the Government and Civil Society and international organizations - and their spaces for participation and decision making, their aspirations and demands regarding conflict resolution, reconstruction and peace.

Furthermore, the literature review that preceded this study also showed the need for more integrated analyses that capture the socioeconomic, cultural and psychological dimensions from a critical and feminist perspective, seeking to discuss the transformations in gender relations arising from the conflict and the need to understand the perceptions of key stakeholders such as women's organizations, local, national and international CSOs that are active in assisting women affected by the conflict, with regard to their interventions, outlining their main challenges and opportunities, weaknesses and threats in the context of their actions. In parallel, it is important to analyse the implementation of legal and normative instruments by the Government, such as the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (2018-2022).

Structure of the Research

In this sense, this study aims to address the aspects raised above, bringing a feminist and interdisciplinary analysis of the impact of the conflict on women, starting fundamentally from the collection and documentation of their voices, stories and experiences and those of other relevant stakeholders, organised and structured around temporal dimensions: Past, Present and Future. The Past presents aspects of women's lives before the conflict. The Present addresses the current living conditions in the host centres and villages, the main demands of the women and their daily strategies of resistance and mutual assistance. It also includes an analysis of changes in gender roles and relations generated by the conflict, experiences and perceptions of forms of gender-based violence faced, the cultural and religious impact of the conflict, relations between "native" and displaced populations, perceptions of the military and current challenges to women's participation in the Peace and Security Agenda and humanitarian response programs. The Future presents challenges and opportunities concerning women's participation in decision making processes about the future of Cabo Delgado, whereby development and reconstruction programs and plans and necessary paths to Peace have to be analysed in order to bring recommendations and perspectives about the future of Cabo Delgado from the voices of women and girls affected by the conflict. Although the structure of the document has the various sections organised chronologically, we recognise time as circular, and the dimensions of past, present and future as interconnected. In this sense some of the themes explored in the Future section, for example, could also be framed in the Present.

Objectives and Expected Outcomes

Overall Objective

- Document, analyse and share, based on a feminist approach, the realities and experiences of women affected by the conflict in Cabo Delgado and make recommendations based on their voices and perceptions so as to influence the intervention strategies of women's movements and organizations, other CSOs and the Government.

Specific Objectives

1. Collect and document the stories and perceptions of conflict-affected and internally displaced women, as well as their socio-demographic profile, and conduct a feminist, multidimensional analysis of the impact of the conflict on their lives;

2. Identify activities and demands in the interventions of local women-focused organisations; share recommendations on the most appropriate intervention strategies to inform the programs of women's organisations, other CSOs and Government policies in mitigating the impact of conflict on women's lives;

3. Widely disseminate the results of the study in face-to-face and virtual formats to all key stakeholders and society in general, using innovative resources accessible to the general public.

Expected Outcomes

1. A comprehensive and holistic study on the situation of women elaborated and the multiplicity of gender impacts resulting from the conflict in Cabo Delgado (including the socio-demographic profile of displaced women) documented;

2. Recommendations to guide more effective and holistic interventions, as well as

influence policies that better contribute to giving visibility to and improving the situation of women affected by conflict, ensuring their rights shared;

3. the visibility and inclusion of wo'en's voices in the definition of strategies, programs and policies in response to the conflict in Cabo Delgado promoted;

4. The results of this study, in in-person and virtual formats, widely disseminated to all key stakeholders and society at large.

METHODOLOGY

This research is based on a mixed qualitative methodology, which uses fieldwork for primary data collection - through ethnographic analysis, semi-structured individual and focus group interviews, life stories/trajectories, timeline, analysis of perceptions and emotions - with bibliographic research work to collect and analyse secondary data, based on relevant literature and documents on Cabo Delgado and the current armed conflict, women, peace and security and other related themes. Moreover, the research methodology in itself served as a means to create a participatory space and exchange among women, encouraging their agency and civic and political empowerment.

Feminist methodological principles

The combination of these different methods is guided by action research[1] approaches and feminist principles and analysis, which assume that women are included in the research as participant *subjects* in the process of co-producing knowledge, through their experiences and perceptions, rather than being merely considered *objects* of study. Thus, the research is participatory and democratic in nature, having at its core the voices, stories, experiences and perceptions of women as plural agents and *subjects* which reflect the differentiated historical and social points of view, and not as a homogeneous social group. In this regard, the meanings that women give to their realities are of utmost relevance. All fieldwork, tools, methods and research decisions were flexible and redefined according to the concerns, safety, needs and well-being of the women who were interviewed.

It is extremely important to stress that this research has gender as a fundamental

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[1] Action-research is a privileged method of doing committed feminist research*, "(...) designed to bring about change within unequal gender social relations, but also to challenge researchers to contest the means of research to be more open to the concerns of activists, and because it calls for ethical consistency in our research behaviours".* (Casimiro, 2012:214). By committed feminist research, *we mean one which has "(...) a historical perspective; the problematics are created from women's experiences and perspectives; it is built on critical traditions and is emancipatory; it is for women and its aim serves women; it must also be empirical, not only based on abstract reasoning, using facts and arguments, not considering them as absolute truths, but as an important way of communication between different researchers and the results of the research (...)"* (Casimiro, 2012:214-215).

category of analysis to understand the differentiated power relations that place women in unequal positions or those of subordination, but from a perspective of *intersectionality* that understands that there are multiple social categories of exclusion and inequality that are articulated in an intersectional manner, such as race, ethnicity, religion, class, age, sexual orientation, marital status, among others that factor into women's lives. With this in mind, it was paramount to meet heterogeneous groups of women, as much as the context allowed us to. The research and methodologies chosen were intended to facilitate women's political and social agency through tools that provide self-knowledge and self-reflection, such as "life trajectories" and "timelines" and thus contribute to self-empowerment.

Similarly, it is important to emphasize that we, the researchers, consider ourselves feminists and draw inspiration from different feminist movements, schools and practices. In this sense, our relationship with the women interviewed influenced the results of this study and had an impact both on our lives and, we believe, and on theirs.

This is an interdisciplinary research seeing that the analyses intersect different disciplines (History, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, Gender Studies) and combine different methodologies and categories of analysis. The combination of methodologies aims to increase the possibility of a better understanding and higher credibility in the analyses, findings and conclusions. All the work was guided by a code of ethics and conduct in order to safeguard the well-being of the women-participants, considering the risks and the context of high violence, trauma and lack of access to basic necessities. This code of ethics conducted the research in accordance with legal requirements and prior authorization from relevant government institutions (Secretary of State, district governments), as well as respected human rights and women's rights at all stages, including during the conduct of interviews, surveys and/or focus groups. The team ensured respect for free and informed consent, privacy and confidentiality of personal information, justice and equity, cultural and religious diversity, human rights and gender equality, the protection and safety of interviewees and the truth (non-distortion of data and testimonies).

This research report contains an ethnographic analysis, as we describe the physical, emotional and subjective environment of the context in which the work was done, as well as the interactions between us, the researchers, and the participants, as they provide relevant clues for a more holistic understanding of their experiences, as well as those of the researchers. Furthermore, it is also important to mention that this is a secondary analysis based on our self-reflective processes and based on what feminist epistemology calls "situated knowledge" - in which the researchers also present themselves as subjects, locating themselves socially and politically in the relationship they establish with the participants and in the observations they produce.

Tools for data collection

Women's participation was achieved through a combination of three main tools: Life Stories/Trajectories, Timeline and Conversation Circles. The first two tools allowed for a self-reflective analysis by the women, guided by questions that allowed them to unpack a series of remarkable experiences in their lives, as well as reflect on how they are now and how they imagine their future. This technique also allowed us to reconstruct the conflict's Timeline based on their lives and their view of events. The third tool, Conversation Circles, was inspired by the millennial tradition of circular dialogue, helping women to share different themes with each other in a horizontal exchange of life experiences, emotions, perceptions and knowledge, allowing self-awareness and learning.

Criteria for selecting research participants

The main participants of the research, those to whom we paid most attention and gave most focus, were the displaced women directly affected by the conflict in Cabo Delgado. The main place of conversation is, therefore, theirs. As previously stated, the main criterion in the composition of the groups was to guarantee the representativeness of the local diversity and heterogeneity regarding categories such as age, origin, ethnic background, religion, number of children, marital status, level of education, special needs, among others.

Consideration was given to women living in formal host centres, but also to those outside of these host centres, namely those who are housed in the different neighbourhoods of Pemba City. In this way, we were able to gather perspectives of their realities in the formally established accommodations versus other forms of accommodation, such as host families.

The other relevant group that was interviewed was the native women from the host communities and families, in order to understand some of the dynamics established between this group and the displaced women. With regards to host families, we spoke with two male heads of families who took in displaced persons. We also interviewed a focus group of displaced men affected by the conflict, in order to capture some of the gender dynamics and roles resulting from the conflict, crossing women's perceptions with men's perspectives. We also interviewed representatives and workers from civil society organizations, community-based organizations with interventions in Cabo Delgado, community leaders (one man and one woman), researchers and academics with articles and studies on Cabo Delgado.

Criteria for selecting Districts

These sites were selected because they are the districts with the highest number of displaced families and people. According to the Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado (2021), Montepuez currently has a concentration of 11,961 families and Metuge 34,484. The city of Pemba was also included considering its geopolitical relevance as the capital of Cabo Delgado province.

DETAILED SAMPLE PER DISTRICT			
DISTRICT	SAMPLE	TOTAL MEN	TOTAL WOMEN
Pemba (city)	1 Focus Group of 12 displaced women 1 Focus Group of 3 displaced men 2 Interviews with heads of households 2 Individual interviews with women activists/volunteers	5	14
	2 Focus Groups of 20		

Metuge (village of Cuaia)	displaced women 4 Individual Interviews with displaced women 1 Interview with a community leader	1	20
Ancuabe (village of Nacussa B)	1 Focus Group of 13 displaced women 6 Individual interviews with displaced women	0	13
Montepuez (Nacaca village)	1 Focus Group of 14 native women 1 Focus Group of 12 displaced women 4 Individual Interviews with displaced women 1 Individual Interview with a native woman	0	26
TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED		**6**	**73**

Description of Sites and Fieldwork

The interviews and focus groups were conducted in as safe and private spaces as we could provide within the local conditions, to ensure as much privacy as possible. In the villages, interviews were mostly conducted outdoors, under a tree and as isolated as possible (this was difficult to achieve, as the leafiest trees are usually in the 'centre' of the villages). An exception was one of the focus groups of women in the village of Cuaia, Metuge, that took place inside the school built by the women themselves, as we will report later. In Pemba, the interviews and focus groups took place at the headquarters of a community association that kindly lent us the space which was outdoors and in a small room at the rear of the garden. The focus groups and individual interviews were conducted with researchers, interviewees and interpreters sitting on the floor, facing each other (in the individual interviews) or sitting on the floor in a circle (the focus groups).

The first week of the fieldwork, spent in Pemba, was dedicated to interviews with key stakeholders - officials of civil society organizations (local, national and community-based), of international agencies, researchers and other relevant people - and to organizing and conducting individual interviews with heads of host families and focus groups of displaced women and men in Pemba. For this, we were supported by staff and activists from some civil society organizations present in the 3 districts (local and national), who assisted us in identifying and contacting the groups of women with whom we have interacted. Our network

of support and contacts, built up while we were still in Maputo, was extremely important for the implementation of these activities. With the support of two translators, we started our interviews in the city of Pemba at the end of the first week, followed by the villages of Cuaia (Metuge), Nacussa B (Ancuabe) and Nacaca (Montepuez) in the second and last week of fieldwork. The interviews were conducted over 2 days in each village, with the first day dedicated to focus groups and, after the selection of women belonging to these groups, to conducting individual interviews on the second day.

Brief socio-demographic profile of displaced women

Most of the women interviewed belong to the Makua (36 women) and Mani (22 women) ethnic groups, with Makonde and Aja (3 and 1, respectively) in smaller numbers, between the ages of 17 and 81, most of them married (more than 25 women) and with more than two children (but a considerable number with more than five children). Most of them come from the districts of Quissanga (16), Mocímboa da Praia (15) and Macomia (11) and are Muslim (58 women). Most of them have no formal education (18 women), some have completed the Grade 3 and a considerable number have completed Grade 12.

Most of the women say they got married between the ages of 18 and 20, but there are at least four who say they got married at 15. This is a fuzzy issue for several reasons. First, because the concept of marriage would require further explanation when filling out the profiles and better exploration by us researchers. We consider married women to be those who cohabit/live with a partner (officially/legally or otherwise), however, we realise that some women may have chosen to consider themselves single even though they are cohabiters, assuming that only officialised relationships were valid. Secondly, we noticed some inconsistencies in relation to the age at which some women claim to have married and the age at which they had children, with some claiming to have married later than when they had children (many had them before the age of 18). In our understanding, the reason for this may be linked to the fact that women are aware of the legal framework on early marriages, preferring to hide the real age at which they married. This issue comes up again, when we analyse it below, when we question the women about gender violence and some practices common in their communities, such as early unions. Many of them demonstrate that they know the discourses (mainly from the government and civil society organisations) against

early unions and claim that there are few cases in their communities, but besides this claim going against the statistics on early unions in this province, it was possible to identify some inconsistencies between the socio-demographic profile data and the narrative of the individual life stories.

Research limitations and constraints

The limitations and challenges experienced during the fieldwork are mainly to do with the context of the pandemic, the time available, the language factor and the research topic itself, the conflict. With regard to the first aspect, we opted, whenever conditions allowed, to conduct the conversation circles and individual interviews in the open air. This, in turn, meant that we did not always have privacy and adequate spaces to talk about sensitive and intimate issues. Privacy and security were two aspects that we always prioritised when choosing the spaces for our interviews and this issue was undoubtedly a challenge.

Although we exceeded our initial expectations regarding the number of women to be interviewed and the districts to be covered, if more time had been available to conduct the research, more voices could have been included. In some specific moments, we felt that an additional time of socialising in each place would have made it possible to strengthen the bonds created, more trust and ease among us, allowing a greater openness by the women, mainly when it came to talking about sensitive subjects (as is the case of the experiences of gender violence and the initiation rites). The group of women from Nacussa B, for example, surprised us by reporting details of the initiation rites, something we would have liked to explore further had there been time to do so.

Time constraints also forced us to make choices about the key stakeholders to interview, as we chose to prioritise visits to centres and villages and the development of individual and focus group interviews, as well as interviews with NGO activists and staff. As a result, it was not possible to interview state entities, public service providers, district administrators, provincial directorates of basic services and religious denominations, although we did have brief but valuable conversations with the Administrator of Montepuez and of Ancuabe, as well as with some officials of the Provincial Directorate of Gender and Social Action and of the Secretary of State of Cabo Delgado. We consider this a relevant gap, insofar

as we explored the challenges and perceptions of the Government side, including service providers, less. However, future studies could consider focusing on these key stakeholders, assessing the capacities that need to be added, also considering the pressures on service providers, who are poorly prepared to respond to emergency circumstances.

The language factor was undoubtedly a big challenge for us, as few of the interviewees could speak Portuguese or were comfortable with it, the only language we spoke in that context Although we had two translators who helped us not only with the translations of Emakhuwa, Shimakonde and Kimwani, but also with some logistical and facilitation issues, we are aware that, a lot of information may have been lost in translation, especially details that may not seem important at the time of translation, but that, later in the process, were needed for a more in-depth analysis. That is why we made use of other forms of communication, such as gestures, facial and body expressions, silences, games, songs and dances.

Finally, we cannot forget to highlight what was undoubtedly our greatest challenge, one for which we prepared ourselves very carefully (and yet it impacted us deeply): how to talk to women who have gone through and are living through traumatic situations without reinforcing or aggravating those traumas? How to seek sensitivity to create empathy, attention and show respect for women and their stories? In the end, it was they who guided us and showed us the limits of what can and cannot be asked, how to do it and how to respect silences, the unspoken and, above all, when to stop. As we said before, our main concern was to create safe and comfortable environments, with plenty of ease and, above all, respect if and when women did not want to talk about an issue or answer a question.

ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

PAST

&

PRESENT

PART 1

When we are told that women do not want to talk, to share what they know, to testify, it is because either they are not listened to properly, or they feel insecure about sharing their thoughts.

However, their heads are full of stories and experiences that they want to tell as if that would help them get rid of some of their anguish.

Any research on war and women has to pay attention to two things that are paramount: listening with empathy and attention and ensuring that their courage in telling is not rewarded with repression and more violence. Under such conditions they speak out, they express themselves, they make us understand that the war concerns them deeply and all they want is for their accusations to help put an end to it (Cunha, 2021:34).

1. *"Life as it was"*: The past of displaced women

Since 2017 - when the violent attacks began - Cabo Delgado (and some neighbouring provinces) has been the scene of one of the fastest growing displacement crises in the world. It is estimated that in August 2021 in Cabo Delgado alone, there were 663,000 IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons), of which 567,000 were in accessible areas, 86,000 in partially accessible areas and 10,000 in hard-to-reach areas. This means that almost 1 in 3 people were at that time IDPs, many of whom had to flee several times (UNOCHA, 2021). Especially from 2020 onwards, with the intensification of attacks and reports of killings, mutilations, abductions, sexual violence and looting - not only of civilians' property but also of public services and state buildings - a mass exodus of populations, mostly women and children, was observed (UNICEF estimates that in June 2021, 46% of IDPs were children).

Fleeing from their villages and their lands and fields, mostly in haste and leaving goods and family behind, represented and still represents a painful rupture for women, a rupture from which the women of Pemba, Cuaia (Metuge), Nacussa B (Ancuabe) and Nacaca (Montepuez) have not yet recovered neither psychologically nor spiritually, and their greatest desire for the near future is to return to their lands. Moreover, these women were forced to flee and abandon their homes and land where they lived, produced and honoured their ancestors, the land that fed them and their families, and from which they drew their livelihood and sought healing plants (Osório and Cruz e Silva, 2021). They left the land where they sang and danced, where they prayed and practised their customs and habits, the land that is more than property, it is *"identity, way of life, dignity, access to material and immaterial goods"* (Cunha, 2021:9). The land that is the place of life, origin and roots, of neighbourhood and support networks, community and mutual aid.

The flight also brought loss of authority and legitimacy of these women, since a great part of it is related to their use of the land, which includes the production, processing, sale and consumption of food and their knowledge of medicinal plants. It is also related to their role in the various rituals and traditional ceremonies, with their caring for the children and the elderly and also with the neighbourhood and solidarity networks they had in their communities and in which they played a major role (Cunha, 2021).

In the focus groups and individual interviews, they shared their stories of escape and the whole route they took to reach the host centres, hiding in the bush for several days as a way of escapingthe violence. Many had to flee the villages in haste, without taking any belongings with them, and arrived at their (temporary) destinations empty-handed. Some even needed capulanas to cover themselves on arrival at the centres. In this aspect, Feijó (2021) analyses how the process of displacement of people shows a clear social inequality. While families with more economic means or extended family networks were able to leave before their villages were attacked, saving their belongings and family members, more disadvantaged groups were not able to afford the move, staying longer in their places of origin and fleeing in a risky way, without being able to take any belongings or food, hiding for days on end in the bush, without any adequate conditions and being separated from family members, many of whom they have had no news until today.

It is unclear how many people may have died while fleeing and hiding in the bush, but some women reported losing family members in these circumstances. One of the focus group participants from Nacussa B (Ancuabe) recounted her escape as follows:

> *The day the war broke out in my village, I left Mucojo and walked for three days without sleep or food. I spent all that time in the bush. Since I fled, running from Mucojo to Macomia, I reached my destination with pains and aches all over my body. Here in the centre I have no space to sleep. When it's time to sleep I lie on the ground. And as a consequence, I wake up with my whole body aching, from the ribs to the chest and other parts. When I fled away, I couldn't take anything. Here in the centre I lack clothes (Women's Focus Group, Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).*

Some participants from the villages of Cuaia (Metuge) and Nacussa B (Ancuabe) reported that they had been surprised by terrorist groups on their way back from the well, they were asked if there were men in their houses and threatened not to raise the alarm of their presence, which they did not comply with. After warning relatives and neighbours, they fled as quickly as they could (some on foot, hiding in the bush, others by truck, boat, etc.), leaving most of their possessions behind.

But before being forced to flee by the conflict, these women lived with their families and their main sources of income were the sale of firewood, charcoal, ice, fish and their farms, where they produced a series of vegetables, rice, corn, cassava, sesame, among other crops, which they used for their own consumption and that of their families. The other part of this production was sold to buy clothes for themselves and their children, mattresses and other domestic utensils, food, school materials, etc. The women from the coastal areas lived mainly from artisanal fishing and from buying and (re)selling fish and ice, and used the money earned to buy clothes (some in Tanzania) to wear and to resell.

Nearly all of the women interviewed had some kind of small business (selling fish, clothes, cakes etc.) that helped them to support their families, notwithstanding the fact that they were part of savings groups such as *xitiki*, a practice that they said they miss a lot. One of the women from the village of Nacussa B (Ancuabe) said *"(...) in our area of origin we did*

business. We would sell food products to support our families, but here where we are that is not possible".

The loss of income and the consequent lack of money is something that distresses them, since they report being charged for some of the essential items for day-to-day living in the host villages and centres, from charcoal to energy (to charge mobile phones, the only means of contact with relatives who are far), water, firewood and the use of land. Those who do not have money live in a situation of extreme precariousness. Those who capable of chopping firewood to make charcoal earn a living from the sale of charcoal. Others sell their own firewood, but in general there are no business opportunities. The women say that they miss their pre-conflict lives very much, because they were independent and had their own houses and farms, from which they made a living for themselves and their families. "*We want to go back to our land because that is where we can lead a normal life,"* that is the wish of all the women we spoke to.

When we asked them how they felt and what their life is like nowadays, the most common statement we heard was *"Just sitting".* Sitting with their arms folded and waiting, like children, this is how they described themselves. Waiting to be able to go back to their homes, to their lands and farms, to resume their social life and for the conflict to come to an end. What we saw and heard from their accounts and life stories, however, led us to different conclusions. Despite the apparent loss of autonomy, choice and decision-making power, all the challenges they face and the traumas they carry with them, they still resist and take care of their families. They are definitely not sitting on their hands.

In the following section, we analyse the situation and conditions of the host centres and villages we visited, in terms of their infrastructure and access to basic social services, based on the accounts and assessment of the women interviewed, in contrast to what has been officially projected and the support these places have received from the Government and national and international organisations.

2. Conditions and management of the host centres and villages and access to social services

In addition to the massive displacement of people and the destruction of their villages and property, the conflict has also caused widespread destruction of infrastructure and equipment, including roads, telecommunications, public and private administration buildings, airports, hospitals, schools, sanitation and the electricity grid, making people's access to essential services highly restricted. The delivery of essential services - especially health - was also hampered by the absence of key personnel, who were forced to abandon their posts and flee (UNOCHA, 2021; PRCD, 2021).

In response to this situation, the government has drawn up the Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado (2021) whereby the general objective is to ensure that humanitarian, social and economic conditions do exist for the normalization of life in the affected areas and the return of the population to their areas of origin, which includes an intervention strategy divided into two phases. The first phase, short-term (one year), includes actions with an immediate impact, aimed at restoring essential public and private services (public administration, water and sanitation, energy, roads, health and education, telecommunications and transport, social protection, micro and small businesses, among others), in addition to humanitarian assistance to people in the recovered areas. The second phase, medium-term (three years), concerns actions that require more structured and definitive solutions, i.e. the definitive restoration of some basic public infrastructures and services, stimulating the reactivation of private infrastructures and services, and the resumption of economic activity (PRCD, 2021).

However - and taking into account that the National Policy and Strategy for Internal Displacement Management (*PEGDI, 2021*) assigns a series of roles and responsibilities to various stakeholders, which include communities and CBOs as well as NGOs - a large proportion of CSO and CBO staff, activists and other key stakeholders interviewed have little or no knowledge about this plan and claim not to have been consulted at the time of its drafting and approval, as is clear from the interviews had with staff from a national CSO and the staff member of a community association:

Unfortunately, we didn't participate in the drafting of such plans. Usually, the civil society is only called in to validate plans that have already been drawn up. Therefore, we can say that we didn't participate in the elaboration of the plans, because participating in a validation meeting is not the same as participating from the very outset (...) so we as civil society do not feel involved in the process of elaboration of such plans (...) For example, we have the Reconstruction Plan for the Reconstruction of Cabo Delgado, but we as civil society did not participate in its elaboration, we did not have the opportunity to share our opinion. We were simply called in to validate the plan itself (National CSO staff, Pemba, 2021).

I think we are rushing with reconstruction too much. I think we should start with pacification first, then think about reconstruction. I have heard that they want to rebuild the infrastructures. How are we going to rebuild something when the war is not yet over? This was not participatory plan, and they made the decision alone. I think it is a plan from outside, it is not endogenous, it comes from international institutions, and it wasn't even presented to the General Assembly nor was it discussed at provincial level. Civil society has now been invited to a conference of the Provincial Development Observatory on December 2nd, which will only be to legitimise the plan and within civil society we have that obedient wing, which is called to clap and listen, and in the end give its opinion. So, I don't know what the governance agenda of this country is. I don't even know what is intended (Community Association Member, Pemba, 2021).

The destruction of essential infrastructure and the massive displacement of people has caused (and continues to cause) enormous pressure on essential social services, mainly health, water and sanitation, in districts that were already struggling in these areas before. A member of a district civil society platform explained how the arrival of IDPshas put severe pressure on

existing social services:

> *With the influx of displaced people, something has changed here in the district. First, the number of people has increased and therefore the basic services are being spread thi. We can no longer cope with the increase of our displaced brothers and sisters. This means that there are long queues, especially at the health centres. In addition, medicines run out quickly because of the number of patients (seeking medical assistance). In the hospital wards, some patients are forced to sleep on the floor, in the corridors. There are not enough beds in the maternity, paediatrics and internal medicine wards. And this also brings a disruption to the district, to the government. In addition, there is an increase in the number of children out on the streets, and this is very worrying. Every month you hear that two or three children have been run over. They usually walk in the streets, running the risking of being contaminated from diseases because they walk in those places where rubbish is piled up in search of food.*

> *Even now that they are in the host centre, or even in the resettlement centre, there are children who leave the centres and walk to town. Most of the girls have been carrying water. Yes, to their households, to see if they can cook something and buy something for the family. It's not that it didn't happen before, but now it has increased because of the IDPs. And some of the IDP families have children who were in secondary school, but in the centre where they are at the moment there are no secondary schools. And some centres are far away from here, therefore, these children had to interrupt their lesson. They can no longer attend their classes* (Member of the District civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

In her interview, an employee of an international agency also analysed the issue of pressure on essential services, mainly in the health sector:

> *The districts are under great pressure, especially the health system. I have had the opportunity to be in Mueda, for example, in the health unit*

where from 5 o'clock on, it is overcrowded, including outside the premises you find it completely "packed up with people".

It is not like in the cities, for example Maputo City, 12 or 1 pm patients have already settled been attended to. The major diseases here are malaria, diarrhoea, cholera because there is shortage of water as water sources are very scarce. In some remote areas, people fetch water from the river and to make matters worse such areas have lack of roads which poses a challenge for the health sector to reach them to allocate medicines, even when they are available in Pemba City. People fall sick but there are no referral health facilities where they can seek medical assistance. For example, if you go to Chiure District, there is a referral health facility with a drug store. However, taking those drugs from that drug store to the periphery is a challenge even for the drug redistribution system. The distribution system can allocate drugs in the referral health facilities, but it faces challenges to allocate these drugs to the health facilities in the remote areas which also have lack of GBV services. (Employee of an international agency, Pemba, 2021, Pemba, 2021).

In addition to access to basic social services, one of the priorities in assisting displaced people is the provision of a space for housing. To prepare transit centres and temporary shelters and identify as well as make safe and appropriate places for hosting displaced people avaliable are two of the strategic actions present in the *PEGDI* (2021). According to PRCD (2021), 36 villages or Resettlement Centres[2], were established by August 2021, distributed throughout 11 districts (Montepuez, Macomia, Mueda, Nangade, Metuge, Mecufi, Ibo, Ancuabe, Namuno, Balama e Chiúre). Out of a total of 786,520 IDPs, the villages and centres housed 87,509 IDPs by August 2021. According to PRCD (2021) plots for housing and cultivation and agricultural production kits were distributed amongst the resettled people. The Government and partners have also built houses, with more under construction and others planned.

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[2] The PRCD does not specify whether there are differences between resettlement centres and villages. The *PEGDI* only defines resettlement as *"the settlement of IDPs in areas of the national territory considered safe in relation to the cause of displacementincludin the creation of shelter/housing conditions, infrastructure and basic services including health, education, water supply, sanitation and other social facilities"* (*PEGDI*, 2021:1421).

According to the latest list made available by Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster (CCCM)[3], dated December 2021, there are 83 official and unofficial sites distributed throughout 14 districts[4] and defined as relocation sites[5], temporary centres[6], host community extension[7] e unknown[8], whereby the CCCM Cluster is present in 31 of them. The villages of Nacussa B (Ancuabe) and Cuaia (Metuge) they are included on this list as relocation site, the first without CCCM Cluster and the second with is presence. Nacaca Village (Montepuez) is not on the list.

In the three sites we visited, women are not satisfied with the conditions in which they live and complained about the absence of the government and the lack of basic infrastructure, such as water and sanitation, and access to essential social services, such as hospitals and schools. They also complain about the lack of land from which they can farm their food and do business.

One of the women in the focus group of women from Nacussa B (Ancuabe), had the following to say about the lack of land: *"the farms have been turned into terrorism ground".*

According to them the only roughly regular aid they receive is from the World Food Program (WFP), which at first distributed foodstuffs such as rice, oil and beans, and later cheques, but this aid is never enough for all the people. Many women also report having been visited by some organisations that went to conduct research and helped them with some *capulanas*, water and food, but were unable to say which.

All in all, the women interviewed feel that the government is sorely lacking in

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[3] CCCM is the name given to the standardised coordination mechanisms that refugee operations apply through the Refugee Coordination Model and that IDP operations apply through the CCCM Cluster. The CCCM mechanisms ensure that services are delivered efficiently and that displaced persons are protected in all types of rural or urban displacement community settings, whether they live in planned camps or in camps or camp-like settings, including all temporary communal shelter options such as formal camps, collective centres, communal buildings, spontaneous settlements, transit centres, evacuation centres, reception centres (UNHCR).

[4] Ancuabe, Balama, Chiúre, Macomia, Mecufi, Meluco, Metuge, Montepuez, Mueda, Namuno, Nangade, Meconta, Lichinga and Marrupa.

[5] These can be planned by local authorities alone or in coordination with the CCCM, thus ensuring that appropriate standards are followed. These sites aim to provide for a sufficient area of land per family to become viable areas for permanent settlement, should IDPs be unwilling to return to their areas of origin. According to the government's plan, agricultural land should be provided in the area surrounding the sites, allowing for livelihood activities.

[6] Areas with basic infrastructure used by IDPs – ideally – for a short period of time. These are usually pre-existing areas, such as school buildings, community halls, etc.

[7] Areas that were identified by the Administrative Post. Communities often move into these areas due to wider family ties and local land use arrangements, which may require future housing, land and property considerations.

[8] Sites that have not been visited by humanitarian stakeholders to collect sufficient information.

assisting them in their current situation. Below, we present some findings on the conditions of the villages visited, based on the perceptions of the women living there.

2.1 Housing and Non-Food Items

According to UNOCHA (2021) data, by August 2021 there were more than 540,000 IDPs in need of basic shelter assistance and household utensils, including for cooking. Ensuring decent housing, as mentioned above, is part of the short- and medium-term strategic actions included in the PRCD (2021) and *PEGDI* (2021). However, in the villages we visited, the space and housing conditions are both precarious and unstable. The women interviewed complain about the houses/tents without basic conditions, which are small for the whole family, and of the tarpaulins that are already worn out and need to be replaced. They are very worried about the coming rains because they fear that the houses will not hold, that there will be flooding and that they will be left homeless. This is the case in the village of Cuaia (Metuge), which is in a low-lying area, prone to flooding. At the time of the interviews, several women raised concerns about the coming rainy season. This is the case in the village of Cuaia (Metuge), which is in a low area, prone to flooding. At the time of the interviews, several women displayed concern about the coming of the rainy season.

In the village of Nacussa B, Ancuabe, the women themselves built all the houses, from mud and bamboo collected from the bush:

> *We built the houses we live in ourselves. The government did not provide any support. We have asked for tarpaulins, pots, latrine covers, clothes etc. and up to the present day we have received nothing. The only organisation that supports us is WFP. The lack of support has made some families choose to return to their homes, because there they can afford to eat and live minimally, despite the exposure to danger* (Focus group of women from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

(Houses in the village of Cuaia, Metuge, which is in a low-lying area. The tents were donated by IOM)

(Houses built by the women of Nacussa B village, Ancuabe)

Another common complaint in all the interviews and focus groups we conducted was the shortage of beds and mattresses. The women sleep on the floor and complain a lot of bodily pains, especially in the ribs. Some showed us the beds they sleep on, made of bamboo and wicker, without a mattress, blanket, sheet, *capulana* or pillow, complaining about how painful it is. One of the women we spoke to said:

> *(...)In our houses we had beds made of wood, which we bought from carpenters. Moreover, with the money we got from selling our produce, we were able to buy mattresses to put on the beds. But since we came here, we are suffering sleeping on the floor* (Focus group of women from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

They also lack pots, mats, buckets, stools, chairs, blankets, sheets, dishes, clothes and footwear for them and for their children (it was quite common for some women to point to the children playing or peeping in the surroundings, showing them walking barefoot and with their clothes all torn and dirty). During the interview with the focus group in the village of

Nacussa B, in Ancuabe, one of the women said:

> *We are suffering. We have no pots, plates, water and clothes. Without clothes, our bodies are exposed, and we are vulnerable to sexual abuse. We have elderly people who, when they are sick, cannot go to hospital because of the distance, cannot go to hospital. For example, I'm sick and I can't even sweep. I have pain in my stomach, back and other parts of my body. I can't do anything, not even walk to the hospital in Ancuabe* (Focus group of women from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

Roof sheets, electricity (they have to pay to charge their mobile phones, often in neighbouring villages, through solar panels), lamps or lanterns (mainly to be able to use the latrines at night), tents, bicycles or motorbikes to go to hospitals and health centres and material for cultivation (hoes, seeds, scythes, machetes, among others) are some of the other non-food goods that the women mention as being limited or lacking.

2.2 Food Security and Livelihoods

The displacement and destruction of people's livelihoods have both drained already scarce household resources and caused increased food insecurity and malnutrition. According to UNOCHA (2021), an estimated 1.9 million Mozambicans will suffer high levels of acute food insecurity during the shortage season (November 2021 to March 2022) and will require urgent humanitarian assistance - including approximately 40,000 people in emergency situations. Of these, 1.32 million live in Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Nampula and Zambézia provinces, which have a high concentration of IDPs. Still according to the same agency, by August 2021 there were 901,000 people in Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Niassa provinces suffering from serious food insecurity. Recent UNICEF data (2022) indicates almost 75,000 children (aged 6 to 59 months) are threatened by acute malnutrition, with almost 27,400 at risk of severe acute malnutrition and 545,100 children in need of nutritional support.

Most people who were forced to flee their areas of residence remain mostly unable to access their livelihood activities, which makes them heavily dependent on humanitarian

assistance. This situation does not affect only IDPs, but rather has had a major impact on the host communities, who have shown incredible solidarity, but whose resources have been drained after opening their homes to IDPs.

Restoring and ensuring the conditions and means of livelihood of the populations, resuming economic activities that will provide income and livelihoods, distributing parcels of land for cultivation and ensuring their tenure, ensuring minimum stocks of food products and sending food and non-food products are strategic actions contained in both the PRCD (2021) and the *PEGDI* (2021). According to the PRCD (2021), by August 2021, food products (cereals, beans, oil, sugar, salt, etc.) and non-food products (soap, shelter kits, hygiene kits, tarpaulin, plastic rolls, tool kits, etc.) were sent to the districts most affected by the conflict, in assistance to affected/displaced families who lost their properties.

However, the women and girls in the villages that were visited have not yet had access to these supports. They define access to food support and farming land as scarce and problematic:

> It's a challenge to get access to everything here in the centre. We don't eat properly. We don't have access to anything, not even land for agriculture (Women´s Focus Group, Pemba, 2021).

Having no access to land for farming means that women cannot feed their families, thus alienating their role as main providers (Osório and Cruz e Silva, 2021). The only support they claim to receive on an irregular basis, as mentioned above, is from the World Food Program (WFP), but this is insufficient and not very diversified. The women receive rice, oil, beans or peas, but they miss vegetables and fish, which are normally part of their diet. Although they are aware that they should not do so, they are often forced to sell some of the products they receive as a way of obtaining other products that are in short supply, such as bread, soap, curry and toothbrushes and toothpaste. Some women have reported receiving out-of-date products.

In the village of Nacaca (Montepuez), women were supported by WFP in food products, but began receiving cheques based on lists or databases which, according to them, often do not have the names of all the people who should receive the amount. Women staying in host families in Pemba also complain about the aid in the form of cheques, saying that they

have registered several times but have never been called, or that the amount of the cheques is not enough to adequately sustain the whole family. This is, in fact, a fairly recurrent and reported complaint, not only by displaced women and men, but also reported by activists and staff of CSOs and researchers. There are many reports of corruption, perpetrated by local structures, when drawing up the lists and distributing the cheques, adding names that should not be on them and omitting those that should be there. One of the women in the focus group in Pemba stated that *"for example, I am a widow and I have registered 4 times, but until today I have not received any cheque and we are a family of 16 people"*. In addition, the lack of an identification document - which many people have lost in their escape - is another barrier to obtaining this aid (Cunha, 2021; Feijó, 2021; MULEIDE, 2020).

The value of the cheques is mostly insufficient, as there is no regulation and monitoring of the price of the products, as reported by a participant of the focus group in Pemba:

> *Initially, WFP offered us rice, oil and beans. Over time, it started to give us a cheque for 3600.00 MZN for each family, for 60 days. Just to give you an idea, the price of 25kg of rice here ranges from MZN 1300.00 to MZN 1700.00, and the value of the cheque is MZN 3600.00. We still have to buy fish, oil, soap and other things. The money we receive is not enough for the family's expenditures.* (Women's focus group, Pemba, 2021).

Moreover, the use of cheques in specific commercial establishments is compulsory, which makes the situation even more difficult, as many traders do not allow families to buy other products such as soap, brushes and toothpaste with that amount. This means that families have to sell part of their rice or oil to be able to buy these goods. As a result, most women prefer to receive the value in kind, which does not happen.

With a piece of land to farm, the women could diversify their diet a little more, feed their families and earn income from selling the surplus, as they used to do in their homelands, but this is not the case. However, they all complain about the lack of fields or prohibition - by the local population – to work on their land, with some having to pay to use someone else's land, leaving, in exchange, part of their harvest. Others reported that they used to work on other people's fields, but after a certain time, they were forbidden to do so. Children are often

forbidden from collecting fruit from the trees by the owners of such trees.

2.3 Water, hygiene and sanitation

One of the consequences of the conflict has been the destruction of the main water supply and sanitation systems and the pressure that the massive displacement of the population has caused on access to these essential services, notably drinking water. UNICEF (2022) estimates that 950,000 people need access to safe water. The severe disruption of essential services - water, sanitation, hygiene and health - has led to an increase in the prevalence of cholera in Cabo Delgado, particularly affecting displaced people. In this regard, one of the immediate actions contained in the RCDP (2021) is the rehabilitation of water supply systems. The PEGDI (2021) also has as a strategic action to ensure the provision of water and sanitation in the host and resettlement areas.

However, the lack of water is a reality present in the daily life of the villages and centres visited. In general, the existing boreholes/water sources are insufficient for the number of people and are far away, which compels women to walk long distances (to draw water). In the village of Nacussa B (Ancuabe), women complain that the water available is not sufficient for the number of people:

> *In this centre we have only two boreholes. We need to have more water available. We are 550 people and two boreholes are not enough to supply everyone. Furthermore, this centre has more women and children* (Women´s Focus Group, Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

Another constraint hindering access to water is the fact that many women have to pay for it. Some women in the Pemba focus group complained about this issue:

> *There are taps in the centre, but the water doesn't come out. In order to have access to 20 litres of water, you must pay 100 MZN. Therefore, often people cry to have water to at least cook* (Women´s Focus Group, Pemba, 2021).

In the village of Cuaia (Metuge) there is no water, a situation that further aggravates the situation of hygiene and sanitation. For women to have access to water, they rely on a well that provides water to the local population, but this is not always possible because the number of people is greater than the amount of water available. According to the women interviewed, this situation causes great discomfort between them and the native women.

2.4 Menstrual Hygiene and Privacy

Talking about menstrual hygiene is also talking about gender equality, as poor or inefficient menstrual hygiene management affects the mobility of women and girls and can compromise their education, health, hygiene, and economic development, thereby preventing them from equitably participating in society. Effective menstrual management requires a number of elements including menstrual products, information and education, breaking taboos, positive social norms and water, hygiene and sanitation infrastructures. In a context of humanitarian crisis, where essential health, water, sanitation, and education services are undermined, inequalities with regard to positive menstrual hygiene are exacerbated. However, and despite being something that negatively affects women and girls - who are the majority of IDPs - these needs have consistently been side-lined by conflict response policies (Anderson et al, 2020).

Although there are several national organisations and international agencies that distribute so-called *hygiene/dignity kits* to displaced women and girls, there is a need for interventions more adapted/specific to the context where these women are, and most importantly, women and girls need to be consulted during the design phases of these initiatives, contrary to what is currently taking place, as an employee of an international organisation explains:

> *I don't think there is an active involvement (of women) because, generally the so-called projects, come here ready-made. (...) However, from what I have seen nowadays, for example, with our partners who support the women friendly spaces, they negotiate the activities they implement there. Therefore, it is generally the women who suggest the type of activities they would like to be implemented. And so our partner*

makes arrangement for such activities to be implemented and in the end all the women engage the same activity(...) The dignity kit, for example, is just a way we found to talk about the GBV message. (...) after the distribution of the dignity kit we try, after a while, say a month or, two, to go back to the place of distribution to understand to what extent the material they have received was useful for them, or if there is anything else that needs to be done so that we can then influence (...) the discussion with our colleagues at central level, on what is important for them and say look they prefer this. Yes, because sometimes, we've seen them receiving ordinary sanitary pads, but the community here does not use them. Women here use small pieces of cloth, pieces of capulana, etc. and we have instructed that they are reusable, so after using they have to wash them. That is our way of engaging some women because, on the other hand, I feel that maybe they (other organizations or partners) involve women, but we do not have such information (Employee of an International Agency, 2021)

The effectiveness of the distribution of the kits may vary according to the hygiene conditions of the places where the displaced women are, as well as their social and cultural habits. For example, disposable sanitary pads may be a good solution in settings where water and sanitation conditions are not adequate, but most women are either not in the habit of using or have never used this type of item. They are also usually provided only for a short period of time, making it difficult for women to manage their menstrual cycle in the long term. In addition, their continued use can be a strain in contexts where there is inadequate sanitation, and they are also useless without underwear. Re-usable sanitary pads, menstrual collectors and absorbent underwear - while more durable, sustainable and environmentally friendly alternatives - require access to soap and water, and privacy for women to hang these intimate items out to dry (Anderson et al, 2020).

The distribution of menstrual products is, in this regard, only one of the elements for efficient menstrual management in the contexts where these women are found and should be associated with access to information and adequate facilities. Therefore, it is

fundamental to prioritise integrated and holistic intervention strategies that address contextualised menstrual needs, include appropriate and sufficient menstrual products and, above all, engage women and girls in the design and implementation of these types of interventions. With regard to the need to think about context-sensitive kit distribution, the staff member of a national CSO mentioned that:

> *The kits are usually different. Some kits usually have capulana pads, in which case they just have to fold them, use and then reuse them, but they are hygienic. However, it is difficult to use them, due to lack of water and soap to wash in the resettlement centres and lack of place to hang them to dry because (it is something intimate and) they usually not supposed to show it. Now we have decided to give kits with disposable sanitary pads and the activists work to raise awareness, teaching them how to use them and they are gradually learning.* (Staff member of a national civil society organisation, Pemba, 2021).

In the host centres and villages that were visited, the women and girls interviewed complained a lot about the lack of hygienic and sanitary conditions and adequate menstrual products. The lack or shortage of water for the number of residents, of adequate toilets and latrine covers, of privacy, of sanitary pads (something most are not used to using and say they have never received since arriving at the centres), of *capulanas* and of soap make the management of menstruation hellish.

Most women and girls tear small strips of *capulanas* to wear during their menstrual period but washing them becomes difficult because soap is rarely available and *capulanas* are scarce, with only one used for several purposes (as clothes, as a sanitary pad, as a dressing, as a blanket, among other uses). Women often have to tear the very *capulanas* they wear around their waists in order to have something to use. They ask for *capulanas* and soap and complain about the lack of private spaces where they can hang out the *capulana* strips. Two women said:

> *We women, in this centre, have never received sanitary pads to deal with the issue of menstrual periods. When we are on our monthly period, we have to use the capulana. And then it becomes difficult to clean that capulana as we don't have hygiene and cleaning products.*

(Women´s Focus Group from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

We received sanitary pads when we were affected by Cyclone Kenneth. But now that we are fleeing the war, there is nothing. When the cyclone hit, we lost a lot of things, from houses, different crops, clothes to household utensils. We had already started rebuilding, but with the conflict we lost everything again. (Women´s Focus Group, Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

Lack of privacy is another element that hinders not only the management of menstruation, but the coexistence between families and couples. The houses are very close to each other, and some have families with more than 10 people living in them. Moreover, as mentioned above, there are no spaces where women can hang out the *capulanas* they wear during their menstrual period, something private. There is also the issue of privacy between couples. As one of the participants explained: "*Everyone sleeps in a row and often without a blanket, a situation which prevents couples from having their intimacy. Clearly there is no sex.*" (Nacussa B Women's Focus Group, Ancuabe).

Below is an issue also brought up by an employee of a national CSO, when talking about the distribution of dignity kits, one of the activities they carry out:

In truth, it is all about privacy, being in resettlement centres is not private. They are houses attached together, they are low tents, people complain about the heat, we try to minimise the suffering, but we can't do everything for people, each partner tries to do whatever is within their reach. But with regard to the issue of sanitary pads in particular, now women are learning how to use them, because the activists strive to explain to them how to use them and they are happy (National CSO staff member, 2021).

2.5 Access to Healthcare

According to PRCD (2021), out of a total of 131 existing Health Units in Cabo Delgado province, the conflict caused the total destruction of 10, the partial destruction of 29

and the vandalization of 39, which means that about 36% of the existing Health Units are not operational (UNICEF, 2021). Data from UNOCHA (2021) points to the forced closure of almost half of the health centres (43 out of 88) due to insecurity. Multiple health emergencies, which include the rise of malaria[9] and cholera, are further straining the already fragile health system (emergencies also exacerbated by poor or non-existent access to services such as drinking water, sanitation and hygiene). People living with HIV/AIDS have also been uniquely impacted by the disruption of access to health care, especially with regard to access to medicines[10].

According to UNOCHA data (2021) by August 2021 there were 537,000 people living with HIV/AIDS. This in a universe where the estimated prevalence rate in the province is 11.4% among adults aged 15-49 years, with the rate significantly higher among women (13.9%) than men (8.8%) (UNOCHA, 2021). According to UNICEF data (2022), there are 596,000 children in need of immunization services.

The staff member of a district civil society platform warned about the current health situation in Montepuez, which has been severely impacted by the conflict and displacement:

> *With the arrival of the displaced people, something has changed here in the district. Firstly, the number of people has increased and so basic services have become somewhat strained. We can no longer cope with the increase of our displaced brothers and sisters. This means that first of all there is a big queue, especially in the health units. In addition, the drugs don't last long because of the number of patients. Even in the ward some hospitalized patients have to lie on the floor, in the corridors. There are not enough beds, in the maternity, paediatrics and medicine wards, everywhere. And this also brings a disruption for the district and the government. (...) Another issue that we are also facing here in Montepuez is the fact when people go to the hospital, they are told that there are no drugs available but the hospital personnel recommend the patients to go to a private pharmacy x. They (hospital personnel) even say where the pharmacy is, "go to the pharmacy and*

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[9] According to OCHA data (2021), from January to August 2021, 575,000 cases of malaria were recorded.
[10] The situation of people living with HIV/AIDS has also been aggravated by food insecurity.

you'll find it". Then, a displaced person, someone like me goes there with just 5.00Mt to buy one blade, you'll hear 500Mt or 600 Mt. And we have been questioning this for a long time. Moreover, it's not just about private pharmacies; the market is full of drugs for sale in the open air. We've reported this time and time again. We have asked where these drugs come from and the answer has been: " there are people who go to Tanzania to purchase them in bulk, and then, they come to sell in retail here. There is no control, there is no control of drugs at all. (Member of the district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

The short-term and medium-term strategic actions stipulated in the PRCD (201) include the immediate restoration of health services, the continuation of health care for the population based on the use of ready-made health facilities, and the rehabilitation and/or upgrading of health facilities. The *PEGDI* (2021) also calls for the ensuring of basic health services and the provision of primary health care. But just as in the case of access to land, decent accommodation and food security, access to health is also extremely restricted in the villages visited. The health centres are far away, consequently, women have to walk long distances or pay for transport, which they cannot afford. When the displaced women from the village of Nacaca (Montepuez) arrived there, there was an emergency unit, but it was only open once a week. At the time of the interviews, the nearest hospital was far away and they had to pay MZN 60.00 for transport, round trip, which most of them do not have.

Women from the village of Cuaia (Metuge) reported that there are two health centres, but they are all about 1h away, which puts patients at risk. They also reported cases of obstetric violence, where women who gave birth to their children along the way on account of the long distances were ill-treated by the nurses when they arrived at the health centres, asking them *"Why are you bringing that cake for me? Just take it back!".*

With regard to sexual and reproductive health and family planning, women and girls in Cabo Delgado were highly vulnerable even before the conflict, due to factors including poverty and patriarchal social norms. In 2015, only 1 in 5 married or cohabiting girls used contraceptives, one of the lowest rates in the country, and the teenage pregnancy rate (15 to 19 years old) was the highest, standing at 24% (UNFPA, 2021). According to a 2015 gender study on the situation of women in Cabo Delgado, the in-hospital maternal mortality rate was 191 per 100,000 live births, the highest

of all provinces (González, 2015). Moreover, according to 2021 UNFPA data, there were an estimated 160,621 displaced women and girls of reproductive age (15-49 years) and 18,972 pregnant women. Without the urgent restoration of health services, especially with regard to maternal and child health, the current disruption of services could result in dozens of preventable maternal deaths.

Without access to health facilities that include delivery services and emergency obstetric care, pregnant women are at risk of fatal complications, as reported by women from the village of Cuaia (Metuge). Poor or non-existent access to hospitals and health facilities has also affected family planning services, exposing women and girls to unwanted pregnancies in dangerous contexts and conditions. Women and girls also become more vulnerable to sexual violence, exploitation, and HIV/AIDS infection, further highlighting the essential connections between sexual and reproductive health and gender-based violence (UNFPA, 2021).

Even when they go to hospitals and health centres, women do not find adequate treatment because there is a shortage of medicines (they only give paracetamol). One of the focus group participants from Nacussa B reported that

> *(...) the only medication available or that patients are given has always been paracetamol, regardless of the illness the person is suffering from, from headaches, stomach aches, fever, body aches, toothache, etc. The most serious problem is the fact that the centre does not at least have traditional doctors to help the patients and there is no health centre nearby (Focus group of women from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).*

In addition to back pain and severely cracked feet due to lack of proper footwear, the women complained mainly of malaria, tuberculosis, high blood pressure and the inability to follow up on health problems they suffered from before fleeing. One of the women in the village of Nacussa B, who was ill at the time of the interviews, said she had not yet been able to get proper follow-up care for a surgery she had undergone before fleeing. Originally from Macomia Sede (Village headquarters), she recounted the day she came across the terrorists on her way from the well:

> *(...) From there I ran home to find the family still asleep. I woke everyone up and informed them that we were immersed in war. At the*

time, I had just undergone surgery in Pemba and the run activated the
wounds from the surgery. I went through hell. (Woman from Nacussa B,
Ancuabe, 2021).

2.6 Access to Psychosocial Support and Women-Friendly Spaces

The provision of psychosocial support to the IDPs, with special attention to the most vulnerable, is one of the strategic actions included in the *PEGDI* (2021) and the PRCD (2021). These are regarded as short- and medium-term actions, within humanitarian assistance. This is also an action assigned to CSOs and religious denominations, as envisaged in the *PEGDI* (2021):

> "Civil society organisations and religious denominations play a primary role in psychosocial support to IDPs, humanitarian assistance, as well as in reducing vulnerability and its social impacts on the families and communities involved" (*PEGDI*, 2021:1416).

For all that they have been through and are still going through, women and children (who make up the majority of displaced people) bear many scars from all kinds of violence, silencing and trauma, not only physical but mainly psychological, caused by the conflict. They all urgently need some form of psychological support. UNICEF (2022) estimates that there are 440,200 children in need of mental health and psychosocial support services. However, despite being recommended in plans and policies to support displaced people, this service is very limited, both in government institutions and among CSOs.

The women we interviewed in the various districts had little or no contact with this kind of support, something they urgently need. Lacking any professional, trained support, they resort to other ways of healing from their traumas. Activities such as skipping the rope, singing and dancing help them forget what they have been through and cheer them up, even if only for a moment. Through songs (many created by them), they vocalise and externalise their traumas, anxieties, uncertainties and desires, and dance has the power to take them back to their villages and to past moments of happiness. However, some participants complain that in some places they are not allowed to sing and dance, claiming that they make too much noise. The following excerpts show how important these activities are for the healing of these women, besides being a form of protest:

To this day, we have not received psychosocial support that could help us cope better with the war. On the other hand, I believe that in the absence of psychosocial assistance, women could get together in groups and sing traditional songs and dance in order to ease their state of mind (Woman from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

If the locals would only accept us and make us comfortable, it would help a lot for inner peace and quiet (Woman from Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

We have not received any support. But among ourselves, we have relied on other ways to cope with the situation or impact of the conflict (Woman from Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

We have not yet had psychosocial support, nor do we have a strategy to better cope with the impact of the conflict on our lives. The only things we do is to sing traditional songs and dance. (Community Leader of Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

One of the national CSOs interviewed provides psychosocial support to displaced women and girls in 8 districts (Ancuabe, Metuge, Pemba, Mecufi, Chiúre, Montepuez, Balama and Namuno), within the so-called women's-friendly spaces. Similarly, the international agency whose staff member we interviewed manages some of these spaces in some districts, both inside and outside the centres:

(...)we also have sessions with psychologists there [in the women's spaces]. *We have an agreement with the Provincial Hospital under which the hospital has assigned two psychologists who have been supporting us. They usually come to these spaces twice a week so that they can talk to the women and provide some therapies. They do group therapy and sometimes individual therapy, depending on the situation of each woman. So, the women already know that on day X, for example, on Fridays, the psychologist will be there, and those who need to talk can go and talk to the psychologist.* (National CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Women's safe/friendly space is, according to an international agency staff member;

> *(..) it´s really a woman-friendly fun place. So, it really depends on area to area. There is team of activists from the organisation that works there, who have an agreement with the women because the idea is really to be engaged in everything. Some women go to the farms, sometimes they go fishing, etc., they have other activities, which is good. So, the activists agree with the women on when they are available. Those who have activities in the morning, usually go there in the afternoon. For example, in a centre in Metuge, women go only on Mondays, they prefer it that way. So, they do their activities, but every Monday they are there. While there are others, for example in Ancuabe, who go three days a week. So, this is discussed among them because the idea is that they are friends, they always discuss what the best times are. So, it's not only women, there are also have girls. So, in some centres we have girls who go to school. So, depending on the school timetable, they determine the time they can go to that space, and the same happens with regard to activities. Some activities in the areas of life skills are proposed by them (...) It is not an imposition, it also depends on what is available in the area (...) Practically, in general, regarding psychosocial support, we have awareness-raising activities and recreational ones because they need them. Also, as part of these activities, some of them are involved in basket weaving. So, our partners have as a team structure: Activists, and we recommend for such spaces that they are all female so that the women feel free to talk. All the activists, facilitators for all the courses provided there. But there are local female activists who also conduct activities in the community to create demand not only for that space, but also to talk about the existence of illegal acts against women, such as GBV.* (International Agency Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

However, this type of support is limited not only by the lack of qualified staff, but also

by the costs:

> *(...) ... It is very difficult to have psychologists at provincial level. Now we will need psychologists in these four districts we are going to work with, and we will try to see if we can find psychologists in the districts through partnerships with local hospitals. But, you see, even in this case, there are two psychologists (in this centre). However, sometimes they are not available. For example, last week I needed them, but they were in Maputo for training. So, it is very difficult (...) there is lack of professionals to respond to this area because it is also very expensive to pay a psychologist. When they go to the district, they charge 6,000 meticais per session. Here in Pemba, we still manage to get them in our centre because when they don't travel, the cost is lower. So, we manage to have one or the other to hold the sessions* (National CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

The staff member of the international agency also mentions the lack of qualified personnel as one of the main gaps in the psychosocial support to women and girls in the women-friendly spaces of some centres they coordinate:

> *There are still many gaps. For example, talking about official factors, I will start from the services provided. I think that the technicians who work on gender issues, those from the Provincial Directorate of Gender and from the District Services need more training in this area of psychosocial support. [These technicians] (...) are not psychologists. They claim to be social technicians. But they need to learn a bit more of the issue, at least the basics. It doesn't have to be that full package, but the basics. They need to learn how they have to assist somebody. For me all the GBV Focal Points should be trained for all areas, not only social protection because to some extent, when they are attending to a survivor, they need to. (...) We have an agreement with the [CSO], the [CSO]. We have an agreement with the DPS [Provincial Directorate of Health]. There are few psychologists or mental health technicians, so*

they coordinate with the DPS to have these technicians. But they are not there every day. Yes, I think that they manage to have these health professionals in these spaces once or twice a week. For us, this is a step forward. Unfortunately, it's not how we would like it to be, because IDPs appear at any time. Not always the survivor will appear on a day and then be able to (see a health professional). S/he may come Monday, while s/he [the health professional] isn't there, he's only there on Wednesday. (Female staff member of an international agency, Pemba, 2021).

Psychosocial support and mental health programs are extremely important in emergency contexts, but as the interviewee analysed in the quote above, there is little expert guidance on how to intervene in mental health for women and girls who are suffering or have suffered gender-based violence, specifically in a context of emergency and extreme violence. According to Jeanne Ward (2020), a recognised GBV expert, many of the basic principles and approaches used by GBV specialists in their work with survivors in humanitarian contexts are drawn from feminist theory and practice. However, there is no guidance on the importance of using feminist principles in the context of emergencies, nor on what it means to apply a feminist approach.

This is a necessary and extremely important approach in contexts such as that of Cabo Delgado, where women and girls have experienced and are experiencing all kinds of violence and traumas and where, for cultural and social reasons, little importance is given to this psychosocial component. Therapeutic interventions with a feminist approach, according to Ward (2020), are premised on the belief that the psychological suffering experienced by women cannot be understood without reference to the political contexts in which they are inserted.

Thus, in feminist approaches, special attention is paid to the influence of the patriarchy on violence and healing, understanding that the violence experienced - as well as feelings of self-blame and many other reactions that follow exposure to violence - are rooted in a structural gender inequality (Ward, 2020:2). It is also necessary to pay attention to the diversity of women and girls' personal and social identities (such as race, ethnicity, religion, social class, disability status, sexual orientation, etc.) as a way of understanding how social

identity informs women's expectations and behaviours and their experiences of privilege or oppression. Applying a feminist approach therefore means understanding how social and cultural contexts, identity and development impact on exposure to various forms of violence, women and girls' responses to violence and the healing process. Acknowledging the context - not only by the specialist but also by the woman - must involve an understanding of the multiple forms of structural violence that she experiences. Hence, it is extremely crucial that professionals and technicians working directly with displaced women/trauma survivors receive adequate training and supervision to ensure that they do not cause further harm.

2.7 Social Protection

One of the consequences of the spreading conflict, as we have been analysing, is the increased burden and collapse of essential social services, such as social assistance systems. The disruption of displaced people's income-generating activities, such as agriculture and trade, makes it impossible for them to care for themselves and their families and to contribute to social security systems (INSS). This, in turn, makes this group dependent on social assistance programs. Consequently, the capacity of the programs to respond to the needs of the displaced has declined (Suita, 2020).

The emergency has also caused not only the separation of families, but the abandonment and orphans, who are the majority among the displaced people. According to data from Save the Children (2021), more than 336,000 children have been displaced by the conflict and 315,000 are in need of protection services (against gender-based violence in emergencies and to prevent sexual exploitation and abuse and trafficking of minors) (UNICEF2021). In July 2021 alone, the number of unaccompanied or separated children fleeing Cabo Delgado to resettlement centres in Montepuez had increased by 40% (Save the Children, 2021).

The loss and/or lack of identification documents has also been a constraint for displaced people as they restrict access to health and education services. For example, according to UNICEF (2021), it is estimated that about 52% of children have lost their identification documents. To this end, the government and its cooperation partners have been conducting campaigns to register births and obtain identification documents. It is estimated that by April 2021 new documents had been issued to 46,000 IDPs, of whom 20,000 were

children (DW, 2021).

The lack of identification documents was analysed by a national CSO staff member, who reported that

> *Several human rights are violated at community level. We know that people left because they were fleeing, but when they look for work potential employers are still able to ask if they have documentation, to present their ID card, for example. So very often they lose opportunities because they don't have an identification document from the area where they came from. They are discriminated against simply because they don't have an ID card. For example, I met someone who said he was a teacher in Mocímboa da Praia, he applied for a job, but because his ID card says Mocímboa da Praia, he was discriminated against because those from Mocímboa da Praia are regarded as insurgents. So he lost the opportunity. These are some situations that require training so that this type of situation is avoided* (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

In order to respond to these issues, the PRCD (2021) and *PEGDI* (2021) have included in their short and medium term actions to ensure social protection and provide basic social security subsidy; ensure civil registration and the issuing of identity cards for those affected within the scope of social protection; create, train and provide technical assistance to the Community Committees, in vigilance and social protection to vulnerable groups, especially children; ensure the resumption of transfers of basic social protection to families displaced/returned to areas of origin; expand social protection to new families in situations of poverty and vulnerability who are displaced/resettled/returned; capacity building of community leaders in matters of surveillance and social protection to vulnerable groups.

However, just as with the other services described above, the women interviewed report having had little or no support with regard to social protection. In addition to the separation of families and not knowing the whereabouts of family members and neighbours, the conflict and flight have also caused a high number of orphaned children. In the village of Nacaca (Montepuez), orphans are in the care of families staying there. Participants say they are receiving little support from the government (INAS) and CSOs to care for these children,

who join already large families in great need. They report that there has been a little support, whereby some people received rice, oil, soap, sugar and tea leaves, but these items were not enough for everyone. The institution that distributed these goods promised to return, yet this had not yet happened at the time when the interviews were conducted.

A staff member of a civil society platform in Montepuez reported that the increase of orphaned children in the city is very visible:

> *There are many around here. Even among the displaced, there are orphaned children who live with aunts, grandparents. Sometimes some orphans live with us. Unfortunately, not so many people care for their siblings' children. Usually, orphaned children suffer.*

> *Montepuez district is now full of orphaned children. Some of them can't even afford to go to schools even if they are willing to. They are really suffering. (…) there are a lot of children who spend all day in the streets until late in the evening. Even at 7 pm you can still find young children in the streets seeking for something [to eat] because where they stay with their aunts, uncles or brother the situation is not good [there nothing to eat]. Unfortunately, no NGO has come forth to address the issue of these orphaned children.*(Staff member of district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

In the village of Nacussa B (Ancuabe) according to information provided to us by the secretary, who has everything written down in a notebook, including the number of inhabitants (about 669 people) there are more than 60 orphaned children. These children are taken care of by family members, specifically by women. This is a delicate issue, which puts more pressure on women who already have a lot of additional tasks, as they are already socially responsible for the care work. (MULEIDE, 2020; CUNHA, 2021).

2.8 Access to Education

The destruction of infrastructure, the lack of security and the consequent fleeing of the population have contributed to education being one of the sectors most affected by the

conflict. This situation makes the education context even more fragile since Cabo Delgado is one of the provinces with the highest illiteracy rate. According to INE data, 61% of the population of Cabo Delgado over 14 years of age do not know how to read or write, with the female literacy rate being lower than the male, as well as the rural versus urban rates. With regard to school dropout rate, it is higher for boys in primary education, while in secondary education it is mainly the girls who drop out. Socioeconomic factors such as child labour, early pregnancy and premature unions may be behind the reason these statistics (González, 2015). One of the most common reasons for not attending school in this province, with 55.9% of the answers, is the lack of interest, the fact that school is useless, followed by premature unions. With regard to the secondary and technical-vocational school network, this is the province with the fewest schools, which limits the possibility of transition to secondary education and consequent professional qualifications. Furthermore, it has one of the worst teacher/student ratios, with 1 teacher to 70.6 students (ESA, MINEDH, 2018).

The Provincial Education Directorate announced that due to the destruction of school infrastructure and insecurity, the school year would start, in January, with less than a fifth of the schools that teach Grades 1 through 12, or 183 out of a total of 985 public schools in the province. (Club of Mozambique, 2022).

According to data from PRCD (2021), the conflict caused the destruction of 348 primary schools and 8 secondary schools, the loss of teaching materials and the closure of 2 technical institutes with about 96,274 students from the different education subsystems, which has caused enormous difficulties in access to education for displaced people, especially children. UNICEF (2021) estimates that 541,000 children need access to safe learning spaces. The conflict and subsequent displacement of the population has also led to a drastic reduction in the number of teachers due to the need for the latter to flee their places of origin and the assassination of some teachers.

To address this situation, the PRCD (2021) and *PEGDI* (2021) recommend strategic actions such as the immediate restoration of education services, the creation of conditions for the immediate return of students and teachers (providing temporary emergency spaces, replacing destroyed equipment, distributing school books and offering psychosocial support) and ensuring the normal functioning of education institutions. In the list of emergency actions carried out at the time of drafting the Plan, there were no actions related to education services.

Access to education in the villages visited is yet another essential social service with huge gaps. Although in some villages there are primary schools nearby, not all grades are available, especially at secondary level. Teachers are not present every day and school infrastructure is inadequate. In the village of Cuaia (Metuge), two classrooms were built by the women themselves, with bamboo and plastered with mud. These classrooms were supposed to hold classes for Grades 1 to 3, but only those of Grade 1 classes were being taught.
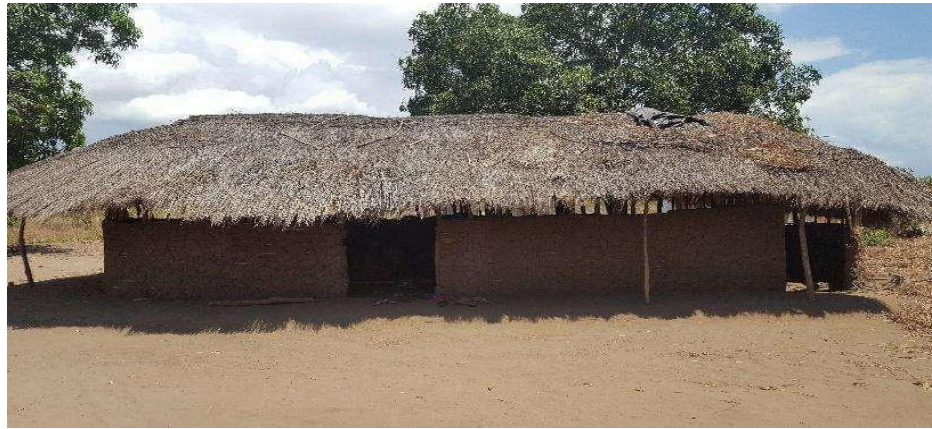
Classroom in the Village of Cuaia, Metuge

Although there are schools in the village of Nacussa B, the path the children have to use to get to school passes through a forest, which makes it insecure. One of the women in this village, interviewed individually, reported that the children who study have private lessons with teachers from the villages who live there. Another constraint the women report is the lack of money to buy school material, uniforms and to pay for transport for the children to school, as they have no sources of income. The women in the focus group in Pemba complained that often the children do not go to school, which are far away, due to lack of transport money. Before the conflict, women used the income earned from their various businesses (selling agricultural products, cakes, clothes, etc.) to buy school materials and

transport.

Difficulties in access to education are a concern for some of the CSOs interviewed, which seek to do advocacy work for the improvement of essential social services:

> *The resettlement areas need basic work to make them more and more habitable. The displaced people need to know that and say this is my new home, and I have to stay here and become aware that it is my new home. So, I need to work on making my home a habitable place. And more effort should be put into bringing basic services (schools, hospitals) to these places because health centres are still far from the population. There are first aid tents, but these are not a hospital. There should be more civil society organisations working there and developing activities not as an emergency, but for the development of the community itself, making people work for themselves, for the human development of the people themselves. Having the (organisation) there doing work on a routine/regular basis, people who work on behalf of the child should be there to try and develop the resettled community* (National CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

> *And, with regards to the displaced people, there are families whose children were in secondary school, but are now living in this centre without a secondary school. Besides, some d some centres are far away from here. Therefore, these children are hindered from attending their secondary school (...) classes*

> *Regarding primary education, they are already trying to put some schools there, but unfortunately the problem of secondary education has not yet been addressed. And we, as civil society, have already raised this issue during the two visits we received here. The first visit was from the Human Rights Commission, and the second was from the Vice Attorney General's Office in Maputo. We raised these issues during the visits as they asked for a meeting with civil society to also realise the situation of displaced persons. So, we have presented this issue and thank God, if all goes well, the Human Rights Commission*

has offered to support the platform to see if they can provide follow-up assistance to the IDP centres. They have promised to fund something to address transportation issues (Staff member of the district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

3. Everyday strategies of resistance and mutual help

By saying that the displaced women are far from sitting back and folding their arms, we mean the strategies of resistance, mutual help and solidarity that they build with each other and through which they seek to give a sense of normality to their current lives. As we said above, they are the ones who built their houses and classrooms, as well as a place to hold their prayers (in the village of Cuaia, Metuge and in that of Nacussa B, Ancuabe). In addition, they are also in charge of cleaning the villages/centres, of looking after the children, the orphans and the elderly, of food (they look for pieces of land where they can farm and dry cassava to cook) and of fetching water. They are, therefore, the ones in charge not only of all domestic chores and reproductive work but have also taken over part of the productive work, since the men cannot find work or odd jobs. Among them there is a strong sense of solidarity. For example, when one lady is sick, the others help with the housework, such as fetching water, sweeping, chopping of firewood, etc.

With the outbreak of the conflict, they were forced to abandon their property and land, as well as the activities they carried out, and arrived at the centres and villages practically empty-handed. They used to farm their fields, undertook business activities and thus exercised their independence and autonomy. One of the practices that they were forced to interrupt and that they miss a lot is the *xitiki*, an (endogenous) practice of rotating savings and credit (*informal*) that is very present in the lives of women throughout Mozambique. Much more than an economic practice, the *xitiki* enables the strengthening of ties between the group participants, who help each other not only through savings, but also through frequent meetings and the sharing of affection that is established as a result. It is at these meetings that the women come together, talk, exchange secrets and share challenges, sing, dance, wear their most eye-catching and colourful capulanas and empower each other (Trindade, 2015).

This practice, as well as others that consolidate solidarity and mutual aid, are crucial for these women to resist and gain back their autonomy and freedom whilst facing the challenges of everyday life. All the participants shared how important this practice is and how much they would like to resume it if they had a way to get money, which is hardly the case as there are no conditions for cultivation and undertaking business activities, which weakens the capacity of the families:

(...) In our villages we were able to cultivate and do business, whilst in the centre we live on donations and lack everything. We have no conditions to cultivate let alone to do business and have savings. These situations that have weakened the capacity of families. (Focus group of women from Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

Before the war, we used to farm, do business and have savings. The savings were made collectively, where we put money in a safe and after opening the safe, the amount obtained was channelled to the development of different types of small-scale businesses and the purchase of goods for the family. The savings were biannual. Unfortunately, with the outbreak of the war, all these practices died out, because we lost everything, and we don't have any funds or other forms of income that could enable us to continue with our savings. (Focus group of women from Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

Our greatest dream is to return to our lives in peace and united with our families. We want tranquillity to resume our businesses, our farms and other things. We need cash support to start businesses and also the savings practice to help our children. (Focus group of women from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

4. Main changes in gender roles and relations generated by the conflict

As mentioned above, while it is true that the conflict has greatly impacted women and girls, deepening the inequalities by taking away their authority and legitimacy in some spheres of their lives, this context may also lead to some changes in power relations and women's agency, changes that need to be better explored and analysed, which, due to the time limitation only allowed us to glimpse these possibilities (Cunha, 2021; Osório and Cruz and Silva, 2021). João Feijó strengthens this idea by observing that *"viewing women only as passive victims of the conflict does not capture the complexity of the situation"* (Feijó, 2021:4), arguing that

(...) voluntarily or forcibly, by conviction or without alternative, the literature shows that women play an active role in armed conflicts, as observers and providers of military information, in the provision of logistical support, as vigilantes and even as soldiers (Feijó, 2021:4).

Based on the experiences of the women interviewed, it is possible to see that the reproductive roles that are socially and culturally assigned to them, namely as the main carers of the family, have been strengthened with the increase of their responsibilities. This situation is closely linked to the fact that men have lost their sources of income and are now living on odd jobs, which are becoming increasingly rare. When asked what men do, they say "*...nothing, they just sit and fold their arms*". When asked if the men helped build the houses and the school, they said no.

In other words, in addition to carrying out the activities that are socially and culturally assigned to them because they are women, they now have to take on activities that would normally be assigned to men (building of houses, looking for means of subsistence in order to take care of their children and other relatives, etc.), since the latter feel incapacitated and demoralised:

> *Indeed, the relationship has changed because men are unable to provide for their wives and children. Even when a woman tells her husband that she needs new clothes, for example, the man simply looks at her and leaves the setting and goes to join the others* (Focus group of women from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

Before the conflict, men carried out a range of activities. For example, the IDPs in the village of Nacussa B (Ancuabe) used to do carpentry work and manage to sell the goods produced, but since they have been in the villages, they have had great difficulty in finding work, doing very rare odd jobs, such as selling firewood, here and there. The money they make rarely reaches the women, who claim that they spend the money among themselves. This is also the reality lived in the village of Nacaca (Montepuez):

> *The men in this centre don't work. When morning comes we just look at each other. There are no opportunities. It is often we women who look for food like cassava, vegetables, we cut firewood and wild plants to*

buy soap (Focus group of women from Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

The women of this village even stated that *"we women are the men here in the centre"*. If, on the one hand this statement points to what we mentioned above, i.e., that there was an increase of obligations and responsibilities on the women's side, on the other hand, it points to an emotional and social weakness of the men due to their inactivity. In other words, it points to something that needs to be further explored and which is related to the social and cultural construction of their masculinity. These changes in roles are felt by women, who state that

> *Before the war the relationship was harmonious. But with the onset of the war, families have many more needs and often the men are not able to provide for their families and this is very painful* (Woman of Nacussa B Ancuabe, 2021).

> *The conflict has destroyed families seeing that some couples split up due to the challenges that arose because of the former, such as the man's inability to provide for the family* (Woman of Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

The fact that men are inactive while women take on a range of responsibilities was also noted by a woman interviewed by Teresa Cunha (2021):

> *(...) if you see men sitting and talking among themselves while women are always at work cooking as well as they can, cleaning the tents as well as they can, carrying and looking after the children (...) the whole environment strengthens gender roles in which women remain the ones who work, the subordinate and the silenced ones (*Cunha, 2021:46)

However, and this is the element we bring into the discussion, the analysis that the environment reinforces gender roles assigned to women, puts them in a subordinate position and silences them, is only part of the equation. Taking on new responsibilities also shows women's proactivity and has the potential to transform their self-perception and see themselves not only as providers. They participate in the reconstruction of their own lives, creating forms of resistance through small initiatives that they develop (selling firewood and charcoal, clearing land, etc.), becoming subjects of transformation, contestation and resistance.

The recent research commissioned by WLSA Mozambique, developed by the researchers Conceição Osório and Teresa Cruz e Silva (2021) also seems to point in this direction. For the authors, the forced abandonment of their land, the sexual violation to which many of them were subjected, the murdered and missing family members, those they left behind and left a void that will never be filled are traumas that fall upon them. Without access to land, most of the women have developed small activities that have enabled their families to survive. This situation demonstrates the role of women in the agency, "(...) not only in terms of the *"usual" economic empowerment, but of a change in the subordinating gender hierarchies"* (Osório e Cruz e Silva, 2021:186). However, the authors clarify,

> (...) that this situation does not correspond to a dominant trend, and that we continue to observe narratives that are strongly guided by socio-cultural and religious factors that relegate women to subordination, as is the case with perceptions of male dominance (Osório e Cruz e Silva, 2021:186).

Even if this is not a dominant trend, we think it is of utmost importance to deepen the changes that the context of conflict and emergency has brought about in masculinities and in the agency and perception that women begin to construct about themselves and their roles.

5. Perceptions of gender-based violence before and after the conflict and access to GBV services

As we have been analysing, women and girls are among those most affected by the conflict in Cabo Delgado, experiencing new and continuing forms of gender-based violence (GBV). These include partner violence, physical and sexual violence, economic violence, abductions, sex trafficking, sexual exploitation, and abuse, forced and premature unions, abandonment by partners, amongst other types that the conflict has made more prominent. Added to this reality is the destruction and compromising of services responsible for preventing or responding to this violence, which makes it difficult for women to access the former, especially in remote regions. In addition, the precarious and insecure conditions in which they live, especially in IDP centres, do not help prevent but rather increase the possibility

of violence. To address this situation, several safe spaces for women and girls have been created, both inside and outside the centres, and care programs such as those provided by civil society organisations have been strengthened. However, these services are insufficient and there are no staff adequately prepared to deal with this kind of trauma. Furthermore, as we have already analysed, the villages visited do not have any of these services and most women would not know where to go if they needed help (ACNUR and LSHTM, 2021).

In addition to these types of violence, there are others that the women interviewed reported having experienced, namely the violence of the conflict itself which caused the murder of family members and neighbours, the loss of material goods and the physical violence of flight itself. The discrimination and humiliation to which they are subjected for being displaced people (and associated with the insurgent groups) and corruption, mainly concerning the distribution of aid, are also other forms of violence. In the focus group in Nacaca (Montepuez), women shared their experiences of violence, which include having seen people being beheaded, boys being recruited for the war and girls being taken captive to serve as wives for the insurgents, as well as the abduction of family members and neighbours. As one of the men in the Pemba focus group notes:

> *It is a fact that the war has increased violence against women and children. They have become more vulnerable. Terrorists take/capture children and women into the bush. Often the terrorists commit these atrocities before the head of the family, who due to the context, he is incapacitated* (Focus group of men, Pemba, 2021).

To respond to the increase in cases of violence, several civil society organisations, community-based organisations, and international agencies are developing or have strengthened their prevention, care, and referral programs and activities and the resolution of GBV cases. However, there is still a range of challenges:

> *The issue of violence already existed, but with the outbreak of the conflict the situation worsened because we got very crowded. (...) As CSOs we noticed that violence increased, so we had to resolve the issue. (...) There are a number of challenges. At district level, when there are cases of physical violence, for example, these would be dealt with at community level and not referred to the legal services. We know that when these cases were resolved at community level, they were only*

momentarily resolved that they would occur again. So, the challenge was that they were referred to the legal services always as a last resort.

However, the tendency was always to resolve at the community level and not to refer them to legal services. So, lets refer them to legal services. The challenge is then the follow-up, the feedback, to have adequate response, to know what the outcome of the case of the woman was who was referred to the legal service. This is the follow-up we need (...)

We usually refer the cases to the legal services but they remain there pending; this is the big challenge that we have with regard to referring cases (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Unfortunately, we have. Let me talk about the civil society organisations that work in these centres. Because of this issue I mentioned before, the coordination meetings, the organisation that does the mobilisation work and identifies some cases of GBV, just because of this poor communication, at some point these survivors don't get access to the services. And, if they do, for example, in Health, another challenge we have, when they get to Health facility, because there are several points of entry in the health units where I am [working], the health works who assists the patient] is not worried about doing a general health check-up to know if that patient is or is not a victim [of GBV]. Their main concern is only to assist the patient. Should the patient have a wound, all the health worker does is to treat the wound and that's it. So, we end up losing this bit of information, and this is another challenge i.e.: the issue of coordination (International Agency Staff, Pemba, 2021).

Here' in the association, we work with legal assistance and this legal assistance is offered through a referral system and we work with other civil society organisations for liaison and referral of cases. In addition to the points of entry for cases of gender-based violence, which is Health and Social Action, we have the Support Centres for Women and

Children Victims of Violence, IPAJ. So, these are the institutionalised and accredited ones. But after this situation of the insurgency of violent extremism, this conflict, a lot of people moved to the south, we somewhat felt the need to broaden the referral systems. In addition to the accredited and institutionalised organisations, and recognised by the Government as well as civil society organisations, the range was broadenedto all including to United Nations agencies, to make a referral. This legal assistance for cases of violence is done through these points of entry . I am a lawyer by profession, besides myself we have a legal technician at the [CSO] level, and we have paralegal activists who identify cases in the neighbourhoods, villages, and communities, and refer them to the nearest point of entry. In the case of sexual violence, one has to monitor it very well. Go to the hospital, try to find out if the health centre has identification technology to determine if it really is a case of sexual violence, what instruments were used, how did it occur, whether or not there was penetration, then we pass this information on thus providing legal assistance. And we report to the Provincial Directorate of Social Affairs, Department of Gender, Children and Social Action. (...) With regard to assistance, the province already has Support Centres for Women and Children Victims of Violence. Every organization providing assistance has redoubled its services, with mobile brigades, radios, raising awareness (Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

With regard to the type of cases they receive since the beginning of the conflict, the different CSO staff reported that

The most common types of violence identified by our community activists in resettlement centres are early unions, sexual assault of minors and physical violence. Physical violence is a result of attitude issues that always occur when there is a donation that goes to the families therefore the latter tend to engage in conflict which results in cases of violence. For example, when the World Food Program has some

support that goes to a specific group, polygamous men will register only one wife on the list of beneficiaries but when the aid comes there is always a conflict. On average we usually have 15 to 20 cases reported by our activists, but these cases do not reach the legal services because they are usually settled by local leaders. People sit down and say they won't do it anymore. (...) In general it is men who commit violence against minors, men who commit violence against their wives. (...) Yes, men from the host centre. In cases of sexual violation with regard to premature marriages, the perpetrators are usually victim's own family members(...) In cases of sexual violation, the activists refer the case to the maternity hospital, and then the maternity hospital knows how to refer it to the police. Unfortunately, and the weakness is the follow-up through to its outcome. But most cases of physical aggression are resolved by the community leadership. Sometimes people pay a fine to the victim of the aggression. Early unions are also usually resolved at the community leadership level. What happens is that when family members force a minor to marry, it is because the man has possessions, and sometimes community leaders agree because it is something cultural, so it is usually resolved at community level. (...) The resolution usually consists of trying to convince the family that the premature union is a crime, trying to convince the family to give up the early union. Then there are usually meetings in the community court between the community leader, the family and the minor whereby they all usually engage in dialogue. They talk it over until the family changes their minds, which, more often than not, is is very difficult (National CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).*

They had all kinds of problems, but they also suffered from violence before the conflict, before the conflict there was already gender-based violence, during the conflict it was the extreme level, post-conflict is what is happening in the host centres where there is a high level of gender-based violence (...) Psychological violence, physical violence, sexual violence, the violence of property because they collect the aid to

sell to in order to buy something. However, there is a great deal of silent violence, even before the conflict as well as during, and after, yet nobody wants to say anything. On the one hand, some women refuse to say that their husband has beaten them, and others don't even know that what they are going through is violence and think that they are being educated. On the other hand, the culture has also swallowed what gender-based violence is in women's lives. They don't even realize when they are experiencing gender-based violence; for example, when a woman is assaulted (by her husband) and something of hers is taken away, she doesn't know that that is violence. So, there is a great deal of silent violence and there is also a violence because of the goods that they receive that ends up not getting any attention. Yes, they receive it, but out of a list of 1000, more than 30, 10 or 15 don't receive it. So, there is a silent violence that is not denounced because of the threats that go around there, you will lose this house, this place, you won't have food. (...) The leaders themselves [are the perpetrators of violence] because of the threats they make so that the cases are not reported, the husbands themselves, and the natives because of the discrimination, high level of discrimination. The military personnel who, even at leisure time, say that people are making noise and after 4 p.m. they send everyone to sleep, they don't allow anyone to light fires after that time. At first, they called the displaced people "anakhoto", which means people who came from the war zone, a person who comes from the war zone, a war person; a very derogatory and insulting term because this way you are telling me that I'm an outsider and I only came to de-civilise, to disorganized. There are many cases of sexual violation just because of 5.00 MZN or soap, and sometimes they don't even give them those 5.00 MZN. That's what is happening, a lot of discrimination, girls and women have no stability. They have no job, no income, no livelihood, no business and they don't even have 5.00 MZN. If they don't eat today, it's not because they have decided to go on hunger strike, but rather because they don't know what to do (...) This

is the violence to which women are subjected; some denounce it, others don't, some centres have a safe space for women, others don't.

(...) There are very few cases [reported], nine, six, four, five a month. There is always the problem of them wanting to solve internally. But if the leaders are there, has the whole structure changed? They say to the woman, let's finish this here, this is your husband and so on. The problem dies there until the activists dig deep and realise that there is a problem there. When you go to the community courts you find only men, only one or the another has female judge counsellors. But the structure of the community courts is made up of men. If there were a safe space, women could go to this safe space, knowing that this is a women's space. (Local CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Perhaps because the issue is too sensitive to be dealt with in a limited amount of time, or because, in the current context, the problems affecting women (housing and food conditions, lack of income, amongst others) are seen as more serious and urgent than gender violence, or even because violence against women is something naturalized and less reported, the women showed little openness to sharing their past and present experiences of violence (except for the violence more directly related to the conflict). In general, when questioned about experiences of violence, the women initially reported that they had never suffered any and, even in relation to the community where they were inserted before the flight, they said that there were rare cases of violence, including premature unions. If problems between husband and wife existed, they did not come out and were not known publicly (in the community).

Considering the existing statistics for this province, it is difficult to believe that these reports express the reality. In general, in Mozambique, most of the cases of violence reported are against women and girls, mainly within marital relationships. Specifically, in Cabo Delgado - and although it is difficult to obtain updated data referring to this province - the majority of the cases are not reported by the victims. However, the increasing number of cases attended to by civil society organizations and government bodies (Support Centres for Women and Child Victims of Violence, IPAJ) shows how this issue has taken on alarming proportions.

With regard to the reasons why women were not so comfortable talking about violence, it is

necessary to consider, not only the factors noted above, but also the fact that it was difficult to translate the concept of "gender violence" during the as there is no direct translation into the languages the interviewees spoke, which made the interpreters' work difficult and may have contributed to the few reports on this topic. It was necessary to use concrete examples and explain in more detail what we meant by "gender violence".

However, with a closer analysis of these women's speeches we can infer that they have experienced various types of violence before and during the conflict;, violence which is often dismissed as such or naturalized/normalized. As we further explored certain topics, conflicting accounts between speech and practice emerged with regard to the experiences of violence. There is, on the one hand, what Teresa Cunha (2021) calls the direct violence of war, already mentioned above, which translates into deaths, sexual violence, abductions and rapes, abuses of all kinds, flight from their lands, loss of property, amongst others. On the other hand, there is a series of other types of violence that specifically impact women's lives and that reinforce each other, such as the loss of their authority and autonomy (which makes them extremely vulnerable), their support networks, the lack of access to health (not only general, but mainly sexual, reproductive and mental), the silencing of their voices, work overload, discrimination in the understanding and analysis of war and in the search for solutions for peace, amongst others (Cunha, 2021:55).

During the focus groups and individual interviews, women reported that their husbands did not forbid them from doing anything, that they always had the freedom to run businesses and make savings and that their income was used to provide for the family. In general, they lived in peace. However, they also reported situations or experiences of disagreements between couples (and this includes physical violence by the man against the woman) because, amongst other reasons, the woman does not do what the husband asks of her or answers him badly badly to him, because the husband drinks too much (the focus group from Cuaia village emphatically emphasized that this is a common problem), because the husband hides how much he earns and does not share it with his wife, because he has no money to buy capulanas and other goods for his wife (the participants from Nacussa B complained a lot about this issue) and because he abandons the house. These women also consider polygamy as violence againstthose women. They feel abandoned and helpless, with all the responsibility for the house and the children lying on their shoulders, since most of the men

are unemployed and have no way of providing for more than one family. Several divorces were also reported (not only by the women interviewed, but also by the men and some key stakeholders) which occurred after fleeing their areas of origin, with the men becoming involved with native women and abandoning their families.

Before the conflict and the flight, these disagreements were normally dealt with between families and, if they could not resolve the situation, the neighbourhood or village leaders would be consulted. But, in general, the women reported that these situations "(…) *only end between husband and wife*" and that, most of the time, there is no way of knowing what goes on inside the household and between a couple. In the current situation in which they find themselves, living in the centres/villages, women complain about their husbands' lack of work, which makes it impossible for them to support the family and to buy *capulanas*, something that they value a lot and that they miss a lot. They also report a lack of sex, since there are no physical and emotional conditions for it to happen. When questioned whether men usually force intimate relations, they all said no, because they also have no strength and no morals.

In the focus group of women from Pemba, two of the youngest girls interviewed, aged 17, reported frequent experiences of physical and verbal violence in their neighbourhoods by groups of local boys, who beat them and accuse them of having abandoned their land and occupied theirs. They also suffer offences and insults in the school environment and, despite having the support of some teachers, the situation has not changed, and they do not feel safe.

In the centres and villages visited, there are no safe or women-friendly spaces where women can feel comfortable to share their experiences of violence and where they can receive counselling from activists, as well as access psychosocial support. In addition, most do not know who to turn to or report violence.

In order to improve access to and availability of services for women victims of domestic violence, as well as their coordination and operationalization, the Multisectoral Mechanism for Integrated Care for Women Victims of Violence was created in 2012, under the leadership of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Action (MGCAS). However, 10 years after its creation, some difficulties with regards to its implementation and coordination still prevail (mainly in a context such as the current one), as attested by the following statements from female staff members of civil society organizations:

In terms of coordination, we as [CSOs] have the support [of the international agency]. However, there is one component in which we are supporting the issue of coordination of the multisector group in order to be able to help and have coordination to see how we can follow up on cases that sometimes happen at district level, but we don't have the feedback. So, it's a job and I think that we need the Government (to play an active role). That mechanism needs the technical support that the [CSO] is providing because it already has plans in its projects. If [the CSO] already has a plan for a coordination meeting, we can influence it because, in fact, these meetings should not even be held by [the CSO], but it should be the Government itself. But if [the CSO] already has this component in its project, we can influence, ensure that group meets at least once a month so that they can discuss issues related to coordination, such as how to work. (There is a need for information/clarification) in relation to the cases that are reported to the Police, (to know) how long they take (before their outcome is made known). Recently, the [CSO] had a meeting with the Prosecutor's Office at provincial level, (in which they agreed that) both parties would sign a memorandum of understanding based on which two prosecutors will be allocated to assist the [CSO] with the management of cases at the district level.

So, if we have cases at the district levels that are not being followed up on, we just coordinate with the Provincial Prosecutor's Office and they, in turn, will get in touch with colleagues at the district level: That's how it will work. (...) For me the main concern is the technical assistance and providing the support required to make these meetings take place on a regular basis. Because the Government has a lot its agenda, so much so that sometimes a note to meet may even be included in their plan but without the necessary support, someone to follow up on these issues so that these meetings happen, they end up forgetting. And then coordination sometimes fails, but only because there are regular

meetings are not held. I think that this technical and financial support can make things work, such as providing transport to go to the district, for example, because many times the Government doesn't have the necessary resources. (National CSO Staff member, 2021).

Regarding the Mechanism, I feel that... first since I arrived, I feel a certain weakness, it's different from what I saw in other places, where they meet more, etc., meetings, I don't know, but I think that now with the emergency there should be more meetings, which I haven't seen. We have arranged a meeting to try to reverse the scenario. There was one partner who didn't realise that, but we explained to him that the purpose of it was to discuss the issue of coordination. So, this partner has already started to do something about this, but we feel that it is still very weak. We need to see more, more involvement from them in the meetings and not just solution from either side. For example, for the case of our partners, we work with women friendly spaces. So, in this women-friendly space, we have many activities such as sessions, psychosocial support, we talk about various issues on gender-based violence and family planning. In this context, these service focal points have a space here where they can go and talk about their work. In addition, they can also go and provide support to the survivors and women who go to that place (International Agency Staff, Pemba, 2021).

In relation to premature unions, the accounts are hazy and contradictory. The women say that this is not a common practice in their villages, but at various moments in the focus groups and individual interviews we picked up accounts that contradict this statement, namely the relation between the age at which they claim to have married and the age at which they had their first child. Some (few) mentioned cases of premature unions that they had heard of in their communities, but always in an isolated way. It is clear, in some cases, that there is an understanding that this is a harmful practice, partly due to the outreach undertaken by the government and CSOs, which, consequently, leads to some cases being omitted. One of the participants reported the following:

What happened in our communities was not exactly premature union,

because the girls were not married, but they would fall pregnant whilst living with their parents. The child would not say anything, you would only see the baby bump growing (Focus Group of Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

This is an interesting issue to analyse and one that needs further study as it may change the way in which the government and CSOs design and implement their projects and activities. There is greater knowledge and understanding, not only by women but also by men, about the discourses and information disseminated by the government and CSOs, namely about women's rights and GBV. In other words, they know which social and cultural practices are perceived as harmful. However, this knowledge has not yet been put into practice and generally remains at the level of the discourse of what they think people want to hear as no great changes in practice or an evident decrease in the cases of violence to which women are subjected has been noticed, nor are harmful social and cultural practices in the decline. This clearly shows that something is not working and needs to be reviewed so that these initiatives can have a real an effect. One of the clues to help understand this situation is in the statement made by the head of a host family from Pemba:

However, premature unions are still a problem here in Cabo Delgado and organisations only work with girls and set the aside men, yet they are the ones who create problems (Head of host family, Pemba, 2021).

The engagement of boys and men in programs and campaigns against gender-based violence is crucial if we are to bring about change in this area, since, as this gentleman and many women claim, they are the ones causing the problems. Although there are already many initiatives in this regard, most of the focus has historically been on women. The staff member of a community association in Pemba analyses this situation in detail:

In fact, sometimes we don't realise that we are violating women. Maybe because of the Islamic influence. Islam has its positive points in terms of discipline and social organisation, but because Islam has taken root in this area, the role of women is relegated to second place. In the case of the death of the husband, for example, the woman is stripped of all rights over the property and even the children, I don't think there is any greater violence than that.

Also, the woman does not participate in the family's day-to-day decision-making processes , as per Islam norms. The woman is perceived as not having the right to speak when in the midst of men or of serious matters such as death. Therefore, they separate women from men when decision-making is underway. So, there is an invisible repression and the woman feels it and knows it exists. It is very common for families to prefer to send boys to school, while the girl stays at home washing dishes and cooking, helping her mother. On the one hand, it is true that the level of girls' school enrolment has improved a lot, but on the other, the girl who goes to school doesn't have that much freedom and she hardly has time to study or to do homework. And if she does, it is probably very little. So, there is still this discrimination against women and girls through not only traditional but Islamic practices in the community. Families are happy when they force girls to attend madrassas. There is a very high rate of marriage break-ups ("divorces"), a lot of marriages don't last long. And because women want to have a social status or security, they end up marrying a man who is already married, for example, and they become the second wife. (...) Very often, men beat their wives, but it doesn't come out much, because the women don't complain, they remain silent, or few people know and women live in fear of losing their marriage. And there have been radical situation, but I don't think it is very frequent in this region. However, there is a lot of psychological violence, men talk badly to and attack women psychologically, making this type of violence is more frequent. This is the characteristic of men from this region: They verbally abuse women a lot, as well as judge and show that the woman is nothing.

Muslim men are very sexist; they don't admit confrontation. Often when there is physical violence the elderly advise them to separate, an undesirable, because they do not believe they can settle their differences. So, separation is seen as the first solution, considering that before escalating to physical violence, the couple must have had

counselling from neighbours and then family members. Why is there such a high rate of separation? Because marriages are fragile, they are not written, they have no commitment, no accountability, they just say it is written in God's book. They are makeshift marriages; the best man and maid of honour *are temporary. The people who witness these acts have no accountability unless they know the couple. I think there has to be some form of accountability, at least make the marriage official. Many marriages are illegal because they happen before the age of 18.* (Community Association staff, Pemba, 2021).

6. Cultural and religious-spiritual impact of conflict on displaced women

The cultural, religious, and spiritual dimensions, which are extremely important in people's daily lives, were brutally affected and disrupted by the attacks on the villages and the flight of the population. The disruption of prayers and various traditional ceremonies, the distance from traditional trees and ancestors, the non-fulfilment of rites of passage and death ceremonies, the use of traditional herbs that are not found in the current locations, the disruption of treatments with traditional doctors or healers and the difficulty of finding others (and paying for consultations) are some of the practices that have suffered with the displacement of people. However, this is an area that has been little explored and has attracted little attention from not only researchers, but also from stakeholders who provide support to this population (MULEIDE, 2021).

At the time when we conducted the interviews and the visits to the centres and villages, one of the main concerns of the women was the approach of the time of the male and female initiation rites, because they had no money to send the children, as the amounts charged were very high:

(...) For the performance of ceremonies such as male circumcision and initiation rites, we are charged MZN 350.00 for each child, MZN 150.00 for the counsellors and MZN 200.00 for the lcoals. We wonder

what this amount is for and where we will get this money if we are displaced and do not have any source of. (Focus group of women from Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

The women of Nacussa B talked a lot about the importance of these rites, on how they contribute to the education of boys and girls and about the impact that being late or not going to the rites has on their education. (During the interview) It was common for them to point at several children who were walking around us and mentioning that they had nothing to do and that's why they are left to their own devices.

The charging of fees by the locals for the performance of a number of traditional ceremonies was also mentioned by the women of the village of Nacaca (Montepuez). In the beginning, the locals offered white cloths to perform the funerals, but after a certain time they started charging. In addition to the charges, the other problem faced by the women interviewed relates to the lack of adequate spaces for funerals and the prohibition of access to mosques (the vast majority of the women interviewed are Muslim):

Where are we going to get money to pay the locals to bury our relatives? They forbid displaced people from going to the mosque, they only allow people to attend church, while most of us are Muslims (focus group of Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

Leisure and fun activities were also mentioned by the women. Despite being with low morale and not having much energy to dance and sing, such activities are extremely important, mainly with regard to the healing processes of the traumas experienced, as mentioned in the section on access to psychosocial support. Women from Cuaia (Metuge) mentioned that, although there are leisure and entertainment spaces locally, they are forbidden from going to such spaces by local women, claiming that IDPs "*are making noise*" and creating disorder. It is also common to forbid children from playing in local leisure spaces.

As previously mentioned, this is an issue that deserves special attention, mainly because they are extremely important dimensions in the lives of these women, maintaining their ties with their places of origin and a connection with their spirits and ancestors, promoting processes of relaxation and healing and enabling a sense of normality to their lives which are already so much in suspense.

7. Invisible "conflicts and solidarities" resulting from forced displacement

In a short space of time, forced displacement has generated several migration flows and demographic pressures in the districts and localities that have become the main host destinations. It is important to recall that between 2019 and December 2021, within a period of only 3 years, 856,000 IDPs were officially registered by the United Nations, of which 414,273 are children (OSCHA, 2021). Unfortunately, this data is not disaggregated by sex, which, in itself is a gap, and does not indicate how many people died or disappeared during the flee. Other challenges related to the registration of the displaced people indicate that approximately 1 million people were forced to move internally due to the conflict and insecurity. The natural disasters that struck the province at about the same time also contributed to the migration flows. The main population movements were within the province of Cabo Delgado (102 localities), followed by the provinces of Nampula (36 localities), Niassa (9 localities) and Sofala (2 localities) (IOM, 2021).

Currently, 83% of IDPs live in 'host villages' - extensions of existing villages where they have been accommodated, and 17% are concentrated in 'host centres' or 'resettlement camps' (IOM, 2021). The referral and organisation of the host centres and/or villages in some districts was based on the place of origin of the displaced persons, while in others it was not. Issues such as conditions and the number of families in a given village have forced the referral of other families to "less crowded" centres or localities, because *"registrations are closed"*, forcing some families to move to more than two centres, in different localities. According to some of the interviewees, many host families have close or distant family connections with the groups of displaced people they were hosting. These massive migratory movements in the province have generated new demographic configurations and social relations between displaced people and those considered local, between displaced people and host families, between displaced people and local leaders, and new relations between different ethnic groups.

As part of the research, displaced women, heads of host centres, host families, as well as other key stakeholders, shared their perceptions of these relationships and dynamics that have been taking place. We hereby intend on analyzing some of these perceptions and understand how women have been impacted in different ways by these new relationships that came about because forced displacement and consequent demographic transformation, especially in a context of great structural inequality and high deprivation of resources, goods and services. We have observed not only new social challenges, disputes, and conflicts with the potential to further weaken the social fabric and cohesion, but also local displacement and solidarity relations that need to be highlighted. Thus, in this section we will address 1) "invisible conflicts and discriminations" and 2) "invisible solidarities".

7.1 Invisible Conflicts

> *At the beginning, the local people really showed solidarity in welcoming the displaced people, in the sense that today it is they, tomorrow who knows if it may be us, so we have to show solidarity, we have to sympathise with them. But now there are conflicts, not only between the displaced and the locals, but even among the IDPs. It's because here there is this issue of saying I'm from Mocímboa, I'm Mwani. I'm from Mueda, I'm Makonde. So, there are always clashes at those moments, especially when it's time for food distribution. Several times we have seen that the group that distributes food or other products does not distribute everything because of the arising internal fighting. The different peoples start fighting, I don't know, but maybe because of that the food distributors leave to avoid getting caught in the middle of such clashes. The reason behind the fighting is that some believe that they have more right to receive because we are from Mocímboa, you are from Quissanga, Macomia, then the confusion starts. The natives, on the other hand, also say, "you have benefit, we don't". Even with regard to access to land for farming, things have changed. In the past the lcoals used to give us land to farm, but now the displaced people must pay to have land to farm. They say "no, you have money". They get a cheque,*

they go to collect money, they have food, they have all the privileges, but not us.

Moreover, we have also learned that when they go to draw water from the water sources in the morning, the displaced people are not allowed to draw water as the are given priority. Even if IDPs arrive at the water source very early, as there is always a queue at this time, the lcoals won't let them draw water claiming that the IDPs must pay 5 - 10 Mt per bucket (...) Even the government itself is aware of this. (Staff member of the district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021)

Based on the interviews that were carried out, it was possible to understand that the conflicts between "displaced" and "local" people result from the dispute for resources for daily (survival)living and have a greater impact on women. This is because, according to traditional gender roles, women are mainly responsible for accessing and providing the resources for the daily management of family life: land, food, firewood, water, etc. At the same time, these disputes are brought on by an underlying sense of exclusion and discrimination marked by ethnic differences, which also impact the coexistence between displaced people of different origins and ethnic backgrounds.

The dispute over land and water

Regarding the dispute for resources, access to land for cultivation and agricultural production was highlighted in all focus groups and interviews as one of the main sources of conflict between local and displaced women. In some cases, but only at onset, the local women would concede land on their farms to the displaced women for farming purposes, and the latter, in turn, would provide some services, such as weeding, in exchange.

As the above quote shows, there are also examples in which access to cultivation spaces is only possible when payment is made.

On one hand, the local women mention that the pressure on their land has had a negative impact on the level of agricultural productivity and, during an intense discussion at one of the conversation circles, they accused the displaced women of stealing their produce or damaging it:

> *(...) when we farm, all we manage to do is to sow seeds yet do not reap the crops because when the seeds start to germinate, they [displaced women] go and uproot everything. They have taken over our land. We are in distress because we live off farming. We sell our produce to be able to buy clothes for our children. Even from far away, they have taken over the fields.* (Group of Native Women, Nacaca, 2021)

On the other hand, in dialogues with displaced women, they shared that they were often insulted and accused of theft that they had not committed and that they were prohibited from using and cultivating the land near the villages/centres where they were located. According to one of the displaced women's groups, there was an allocation of land by the local government to the displaced families, however, this allocation does not seem to have been done in consultation with the local people who use the same land, resulting in disputes:

> *The land close to the residences was given to the displaced and distant farms were left to the locals. For this and other reasons, we are starving. We can't all travel long distances to farm* (Focus group of women from Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

In addition to access to land for farming and agricultural production, land is the main source for accessing local construction materials and firewood for cooking. Gathering, especially of firewood for cooking, has also generated tensions: in many of the focus groups, women reported that displaced families are prevented from chopping firewood in the vicinity of the host villages or are forced to pay: *They can't even enter the forest to chop firewood, they cause trouble. The IDPs have to pay the locals for 'privileges given'. For example, someone chopped firewood to make charcoal and he had to pay one bag of charcoal* (Interviewee, Pemba, 2021).

This situation is replicated in access to water, a structural problem that already affected the local population and which has worsened with the increase in demand:

> *In order to have access to water, we resort to a well that supplies water to the lcoals in the same village. We do not always manage to draw water because the demand is far greater than the actual capacity of the well. Sometimes, this situation leads to conflict between us and the*

locals. (Group Focal de Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

Access to land and food insecurity, as well as access to water, are in this context, central areas of intervention and represent high pressure and a source of permanent tension for the women. It is possible to see that the processes of redistribution and allocation of land have not been carried out based on the engagement, organisation, and preparation of the communities for this purpose.

The role of local leadership and government in resolving these conflicts

When we questioned the role of local leaders and the local government in resolving these conflicts, radio silenced was noted. There are references to an absence and evasion by the government which, although aware of these conflicts, still leaves the resolution under the responsibility of the community. Moreover, it is also mentioned that local leadership supports the interests of the "local" people. However, the group of local women shared just the opposite, that is, that they feel discriminated against by the local leaders.

Meanwhile, in their speech they reveal that the presence of displaced people resulted in the creation of conditions that benefited the entire community:

> *When the displaced women have problems and raise them, they are soon solved. We are very grateful because with the arrival of these displaced women we now have water even though it is not enough; we now have a school and a sanitary unit. These facilities only came with the advent of the displaced women, although we don't have electricity, and the school is not well built. Another thing: who is responsible for them (the locals) not having electricity or roof sheeting? The displaced women themselves, the Mwanis, who told the people who help them that they can't bring electricity or roof sheeting because they are about to return to their homeland otherwise the locals will use them.* (Group of Native Women from Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

Misappropriation of donations and food cheques

At the same time, it is possible to perceive in the lcoal women's accounts that the displaced women have received more support and attention and that they have more space to bring their demands forth, in a context in which the local women rarely feel that their needs are attended to or that their priorities are being met. This perception contrasts with the experiences of the displaced women and families in all the other focus groups, who reported that the local leaders misappropriated the donations that were channelled to the local families:

> *We are suffering. The behaviour of the locals towards the displaced people is negative. One of the examples is the prioritization of the locals in Pemba to receive aid, in a context where we are the ones who need it the most.* (Men's Focus Group, Pemba, 2021).

> *Most of the problems are related to families not receiving their cheques. I have received several complaints and because of this I had to regularly submit updated lists of IDPs who have not yet received any support to WFP. Then WFP would resolve the issue* (Woman Head of Unit, Pemba, 2021).

> *The Covid-19 financial support didn't make it here. They told the people who came to take pictures that, "You should not take pictures there," therefore, COVID-19 financial support didn't provided. It was only distributed in the centre. Until today we haven't received anything.* (Focus Group of Native Women of Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

> *In some cases, there is misappropriation of cheques and people complain. But when this occurs, it is the responsibility of the head of the neighbourhood because they create shady schemes to facilitate and benefit others. Even the aid arrives, they want to take advantage (*Historian and Researcher, Pemba, 2021).

> *The displaced people receive a lot of support and every time we are excluded from it. Just as we shared the little we had, we are only asking them to do the same* (Woman Head of Unit, Pemba, 2021).

> *When they make the list of the recipients of the aid they look more at family ties, that is, when the aid arrives, they first channel it to the*

leaders' families (Nacaca Focus Group, Montepuez, 2021).

There are also reports of conflicts between newly arrived displaced people in the centres/villages and those who have been there longer, due to high crowding and demand, especially in accessing food cheques and other donations from the main humanitarian response agencies.

Ethnic Profiling of the Disputes

On many occasions, all conflicts, both between displaced and local people and among displaced people themselves, involves disputes between various ethnic groups and places of origin. These conflicts also need to be understood in the light of the historical relations between the various ethnic groups in the Cabo Delgado province and previous mechanisms of exclusion and discrimination:

> *Other (women) are now in the centre saying" Macua women are dirty, they don't bathe". But when we welcomed them and gave them everything, a place to bathe, to sleep, we even gave them farmlands. Moreover, they built their houses on our farmlands. Now they say, 'They don't care about us, we don't bathe'. They talk a lot. All this because they have benefits which they are showing off; they didn't even want to stay here close to us and they have gone to live far away (*Focus Group of Local Women of Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

> *We are all brothers and sisters. If someone could not receive food today, he/she might receive it tomorrow. We must also make the government officials understand that they should treat people based on tribe or clan. No, no, no! I'm from Mocímboa, for example, am I supposed to stay only in Mocímboa? Not at all. Everyone should be treated equally. Besides, the other challenge we have has to do with host families whereby a lot of work needs to be done with them. Therefore, we asked the human rights personnel to assist us and they said they would support us so that we can also visit the host centres for displaced people and talk to both the host and the displaced families.* (Member of the district civil society platform, Montepuez,

2021).

Challenges of exclusion of native people in support programs

It is also important to share that during the fieldwork in Montepuez, we came across an unexpected situation after organising the focus group of displaced women, with the support of the community leader of the village visited. After we had started the conversation circles with this group of women, the oldest lady in the group interrupted to tell us that the women sitting there with us should speak the truth, that is, that they should say that they were locals, that they had not been forced to move and did not have to flee, nor had they lost their possessions and immediate family members, but that they were there in the hope of being given some donations, because they too were in need.

Despite the initial constraints, we continued the conversation circle with this group, which allowed us to deepen the challenges of the communities and local women, and the dynamics between displaced and local women, as shown in some of the speeches below:

> *When the displaced women arrived, we, the local women, as residents of this neighbourhood, received and welcomed them into our houses. We accommodated even if that meant sleeping out on the verandas in some cases. We would eat pounded cassava; and cook whatever we could. Then, later the displaced women had left our houses to the host centre, where they now live. When they arrived there, they began to receive support and whatever they received they enjoyed with their children, but we remain here destitute. We who took them in, who drew water for them and did everything else, have now been forgotten. We are also starving. Although we are locals, we are facing some challenges. They had nothing when they came but we took them in. We shared the food that we had with them until it was finished. Now they have left our houses, and when the donations come, only the displaced women are entitled and we, the hostesses, don't get anything. The host women are hungry too, and when we see this situation, we just stand in a corner and watch the others (the IDPs) receiving the donations. (*Focus Group of Native Women of Nacaca Montepuez, 2021).

> *When we took you in, we gave you everything, a place to bathe, sleep,*

including farms. You even built houses in our farmlands. Now you claim not to know us, you don't care about us, and you even insult us saying that we don't bathe. You talk a lot, all this because you have that benefitmock us. You didn't even accept to stay here near us. You said, 'Let's go far away from the owner of the village (the locals). (Focus Group of Native Women of Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021).

Discrimination in access to education and health services

In addition to disputes over key resources, there are other forms of recurrent exclusion and discrimination that have been reported and have been addressed in the section on access to health and education services, such as cases of obstetric violence against displaced women:

> *(...) There are women who give birth along the way and when we transport the mother and baby to the hospital the staff refuse to attend to them claiming that they do not want to get involved in a process that was not started by them* (Focus Group of Local Women of Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

Many mothers, living in the host villages and centres, also reported the discrimination their sons and daughters face regarding their right to leisure and education:

> *There are people who don't allow our children to play. Children go to school and cry because they are insulted by other schoolchildren, because their clothes are torn* (Women Focus Group, Metuge, 2021).

Displaced children who return to school - albeit without being able to afford adequate school materials and uniforms - end up suffering verbal and psychological violence, from other schoolchildren, and, unfortunately, few teachers are prepared to manage the new social tensions. These forms of discrimination in the daily access to services add to these tensions and social conflicts and foster the feeling of not belonging to the places where displaced people are being hosted.

Discrimination in the host families

As noted, around 83% of displaced people live with host family and friends, putting enormous pressure on host families and communities, many of which are vulnerable and still recovering from the effects of Cyclone Kenneth (IOM, 2021). These are families hosting up to 80 people, men and women, girls and boys, in a single house, also increasing the risks of GBV and violence against children, as well as against elderly or disabled people. During the field work, some reports of ill-treatment of children and girls by host families were shared whereby they are subjected to forced labour, overload of domestic chores, deprivation of food, exposure to verbal, psychological and physical violence. This vulnerability of children increases when they have a chronic illness or disability that requires differentiated care. One of the women interviewed shared that she had to intervene when she observed that a host family in her neighbourhood who was abusing displaced children hosted in their home. According to the interviewee, the neighbour was shouting:

> *You have not fetched water; you have not filled that gallon. So, you won't eat today!" These are orphaned children; how can you eat while this child is not eating? Many small children spend the day out on the streets because they don't eat and are ill-treated where they stay with their aunt or uncle. No NGO has offered to investigate the specific issue of orphaned children. Social Welfare has done little.* (A staff member of a district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

Discrimination for suspected involvement with insurgents

Some displaced women have also reported cases of suspicion they face, especially women whose relatives, husbands and children have been captured by the insurgents. Sometimes there is the perception that they may have alliances and contact with the insurgents and that they are somehow contributing to the conflict:

In general, we displaced persons are not respected. The locals blame us for the conflict in Cabo Delgado alleging that we are the ones stirring up war" (Women's Focus Group in Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

These suspicions of involvement with the "insurgents" generate family and community tensions, contributing to social erosion and fragmentation between host communities and displaced persons (Mozambican Protection Cluster, 2021).

Considerations on Invisible Conflicts

The statements brought forward show the profound need to develop more interventions for the promotion of peace, prevention and resolution of community conflicts aggravated and generated by forced displacement, looking mainly at the structural causes and involve public service providers and other Government entities. They show how these conflicts and social tensions affect women in different ways and place enormous pressures on them. The minimalist and/or absent role of the government in the management of daily conflicts and tensions generates, in people, making the feeling that they have little relevance and can make some groups who are not represented by local leaders, the main interlocutors of displaced families, vulnerable.

Campaigns against forms of discrimination against internally displaced people, dissemination of the laws and the rights of internally displaced people to all key stakeholders in society are essential. Moreover, the resolution of some of these conflicts also implies the need to expand basic social services through mobile brigades and alternative ways to ensure access under emergency conditions. Local promotion of the value of ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity is also essential, and the promotion of solidarity campaigns and promotion of IDP rights at national and local levels remains relevant in the light of a highly weakened and threatened social cohesion situation.

Overall, there is a great neglect of these conflicts, and of the interrelationship between these micro-conflicts, which are on the rise, and the struggle for access to natural resources (especially land and water) among local and displaced populations, with the general scenario

of violent extremism. In this sense, strategies, and spaces for the promotion of community peace (e.g.: Peace Clubs) should be articulated with the strategies and spaces of Community Resource Management (e.g.: Natural Resource Management Committees) and the Peace, Women and Security Agenda. This issue will also be further explored in the following sections. Finally, it is crucial that the challenges and pressures on host families and "local" communities be considered, and that these stakeholders are involved and participate in the various development and reconstruction processes and programs. In this regard, humanitarian support and post-conflict development programs should not neglect the needs of local communities who are also affected by the conflict.

7.2 **Invisible Solidarities**

At this context of great tension and multifaceted social conflicts, we must also highlight local movements and solidarity ties that have been built. A great majority of displaced people are in host families or villages, which means that there has been a great deal of local mobilisation to welcome these people and share their spaces, goods, and resources. As much as or even more than any humanitarian intervention or institutional response are these local host initiatives that safeguard that the most immediate needs of displaced people are met as they arrive. These stories and narratives need to be highlighted as examples of peace promotion, mutual aid, affection, and human rights advocacy. Several of these solidarity initiatives, at the provincial level, were also led by women who organised themselves collectively and individually to support displaced people. In some cases, these movements to support the displaced people led to the creation of local associations which are in the process of being institutionalised and which seek to carry out actions ranging from support to income generation through to emotional support, as shown in the following statement:

> *We too suffer. We suffer because we welcomed the IDP. The owner of the house only had her household supplies (groceries). she didn't count on that number. (...) We slept together with the family, grandchildren in the same house. In that house, we would support our fellow women. (...) If somebody died, we helped each other. If a person fell sick, we helped each other. There was no room to say that the suffering is only yours. Since they came, we all suffered together. To mitigate this, we also created a women's association (...) but unfortunately now there are no*

funds (...) We joined forces and we called it Humla Watiana: the cry of the women, in Macua Humla Watiana. (...) It is a mix [of displaced women and of Pemba] (CBO Leader, Pemba, 2021).

This association, Humla Watiana, supports the creation of xitiki groups and small income generation initiatives, the holding of funeral ceremonies, health emergencies, and helps displaced women with trauma relief and emotional support through talks, as well as seeking to resolve communal conflicts that arise in the homes of host families.

In most of the interviews, it was observed that the first periods of reception of the large number of families generated a wave of great commotion and solidarity, often led, and organised by women who mobilised small groups in their neighbourhoods, as shown in the account of this woman activist from Pemba:

As the displaced people arrived, some people (locals) would stay at the arrival point waiting or looking for their relatives. They would welcome them and take them to their homes. However, some people would arrive and stay at the arrival points, not knowing where to go, some with only the clothes on their backs, without food, after so much time at sea during their trip to Pemba. So, what did I do to help those children who were starving, the elderly and the disabled? I spoke to my sister, who is in Maputo (...) And I said: sister, the situation here is very heart-breaking, what we are seeing here is sad. (...) So she sent me some money and I used it to buy beans because I already had some rice at home, a bag of 20 kgs. Besides beans, I also bought firewood, and called some friends over to come and help me prepare the food. I loaded drums of water and trays. There were 20 trays of food (..) Along with my friends we went there and organised a group of children, a group of men and women and a group of people with disabilities. We asked their relatives to help us, because there were blind people, and other people with disabilities who couldn't eat by themselves. I served food, and that's how it was. People drank the water we brought. Moreover, since I had some old clothes that I no longer wore, I put them in plastic bags, to give them out to mothers of babies. We found mothers with babies without clothes, without any blankets to cover their

*naked, small children, in the middle of the sea, ahn.... how could they stay there at the beach with nowhere to go? I took my capulanas, blouses, skirts, to give to those mothers. (...) Many people were mobilised because that was very touching, there were many people [on Paquitequete beach] (*Social activist, Pemba, 2021).

In this statement, special attention is also drawn to certain groups of people (such as mothers of young children, people with disabilities, the elderly and the sick), which calls for the need for strategies to address the needs of groups with specific vulnerabilities to be present in all interventions supporting displaced persons and women.

Other statements present in the conversation circles and some individual interviews also reveal that, despite all the factors of tension and conflict, there are several positive and relatively harmonious experiences of coexistence and mutual help that can be used as references to promote better integration of the communities:

The relationship with the locals is good and peaceful. Until the present day there has been no conflict between us and them (Displaced woman of Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021)

We borrowed land. We farm on the land of the locals (Cuaia Women's Focus Group, Metuge, 2021).

We all took someone in. Some of us left the house and slept outside the house to allow them [IDPs] to sleep inside because some were pregnant, others sick. We had to give space to displaced people. (Group of local women from Nacaca, Montepuez, 2021)

For me it was a humanitarian gesture. It is hard to see children suffering. Since October 2020 I have started to take in some people to ease the pain of the families. I have taken in more than 80 people in my house. I have a house with three bathrooms and 8 rooms (Head of Host Family 1, Pemba, 2021).

I receive people and then take them to the reception centres. So far, there are more than 60 people of different age coming from Palma, Mocímboa da Praia and other conflict zones in my house. This humanitarian side of me was first triggered by my experience with SOS

*(*Head of host family 2, Pemba, 2021)

The relationship between the parties has been good. We all seek to live in harmony because we are equal and even people from different cultures marry (Head of Host Family 3, Pemba, 2021)

In this section we have tried to bring some lines that illustrate the solidarity movements and initiatives. However, this is a superficial portrait and a more in-depth survey of these initiatives and stories and their dissemination will be very relevant, not only for collective memory, but as local references for the construction of a non-violent future in the country.

8. Perceptions of the performance of the Armed Forces

In September 2020, a video footage of a woman being beaten, abused, and subsequently murdered by a group of men in the uniform of the Armed Defence Forces of Mozambique (FADM) began circulating in the country through social networks. Her 12-year-old son was also beaten and murdered by this group. The woman's name was found to be Paulina Chitai, and although similar videos and reports of abuse by government forces have circulated, this episode was undoubtedly one of the most shocking moments of the armed conflict.

The relationship between government forces and the population has never been peaceful and harmonious, and has been marked by negative feelings and attitudes, namely of disbelief/suspicion, tension, and violence, which has been aggravated by the intensification of attacks. Reports of assaults on civilians, intimidation, demand for identification documents, imposition of curfews, random beatings, killings, arbitrary arrests (with resource to blackmail and extortion), robberies of residences and commercial shops (looting) after attacks, sexual violations and violent assaults of women and girls (a clear abuse and taking advantage of the asymmetric relationship between uniformed and armed men and defenceless women and girls), have been widely disseminated and analysed (Feijó, 2021; Amnesty International, 2021).

The lack of experience in the field, the poor preparation and the poor equipment of the FADM are some of the factors that help explain their poor performance (Feijó, 2021; Amnesty International, 2021), which does not allow them to have the capacity to respond adequately to a violent conflict. In this regard, it is worth noting some actions carried out by the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Action in 2020 in the area of women and gender, such as information and awareness lectures in the Military Units on Resolution 1325, Women, Peace and Security, to highlight the visibility of the role of women and implementation of the National Action Plan, covering 230 Senior Officers of the Defence and Security Forces of Mozambique; the creation of Gender Offices, responsible for gender issues, with emphasis on gender-based violence issues, in all Military Units and the training of 3,000 police and officers in matters of promotion of gender equality, gender policies, in matters of peace and security in regards to the strategies of the security bodies (MGCAS, 2021).

In the focus groups and individual interviews, the women and men made a considerable amount of reference to this aspect:

> *The FADM were always there but they didn't do anything. The military themselves were running away from the insurgents and that increased our vulnerability* (Displaced Woman of Nacusa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

> *People do not trust the armed forces either because they do not guarantee security and they also contribute to the deterioration of the situation* (Head of host family, Pemba, 2021).

> *In the beginning it was much more dangerous for the population because our armed forces made late and less effective interventions, even when they were requested for an emergency, they arrived back much too late* (Displaced woman, Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

> *The national troops make no difference, because they have many limitations. They spend most of their time in the villages* (Displaced Woman, Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

> *(...) During the period they were alone, they were not doing what they were supposed to do. Quite the contrary, they were making things worse. Their main concern was to have weapons and not to defend the*

citizenry. (Member of the district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

The situation is really complicated, very complicated, and the women really suffer, because when the soldiers, the Mozambican army, occupy a place, for example, when they arrive, they beat everyone up, they rape whoever they can.

There is no single case of the perpetrators having been caught and punished for that, for raping women (...) They said exactly that there was not much interest from the army, they were terrible. So, they would come and steal, the women would render services for them. Some other time I said I don't trust anyone; I'm going back home. While that army was here, then why not? Because when Al Shaabab came, they (the soldiers from our army) came into my house and borrowed my clothes, they took off their uniforms, put on women's clothes and ran away. They would hide their weapons and ran away. This is very common. (...) Our soldiers run faster than women. They would come to the village, but as soon as they would hear noise of insurgents, our soldiers would run away and hide. They would hide their weapons, take off their uniforms, put on their civilian clothes, and then run away. (Historian and researcher, Pemba, 2021).

Insecurity will continue in the communities, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to guarantee peace and tranquillity in Cabo Delgado. You can sense the effort that the government is making to combat terrorism, but the problem is that the Mozambican government leaves experienced people in the office and sends newly graduated children to war and they end up dying (...) The terrorists have advanced war equipment, while our troops have an antique arsenal. Often they are unaware of the terrain and have no vocation for the area, but due to lack of employment they end up joining the Ministry of Defence (Activist and Head of Unit, Pemba, 2021).

The FADM have not been successful in combating terrorism in Cabo

Delgado, because the soldiers also flee and mix with the population when the terrorists arrive in the villages (...) I don't know if it is the orders that they received from higher up, but our forces do not have good combat strategies. (Community Leader of Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

Often the national forces blend in with the population in order to survive, meaning they can't protect the population or their own lives. Even in terms of numbers and tactics, the insurgents are greater. When terrorists capture national military personnel, they assassinate them and take their arsenal as well as uniforms. Every time the insurgents captured the FADM military, it was an easy way for them to strengthen their army and weaken the government forces (Activist and interpreter, Pemba, 2021).

Far fewer women and displaced men perceive the work of the FADM as positive:

On one of the days when I was going to work, we were surprised by terrorists. I managed to escape, and my family had already left home and we went to meet at a point. Days after the attack we decided to come back and saw that everything had been burnt. It was not easy to escape. Thank God and a group of Marine Forces who protected me and I survived. (Focus group of displaced men, Pemba, 2021).

While fleeing from Mocímboa da Praia to the centre of Pemba, I lost one of my colleagues. All those who would work until 5pm could not go back home after 7pm and had to look for a place to hide. The Defence and Security Forces helped a lot. I was able to flee with my family. Some are in Nampula, in a house that I bought, and others are here in the centre (Focus Group of displaced men, Pemba, 2021).

When the FADM arrived in Metuge they sought to protect the population and, in the process, the insurgents also began to blend in

with the population so as not to be discovered. The armed forces behaved well, they led the population to the IDP centre (Woman of Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

As for the work of the foreign forces that arrived in mid-2021 to reinforce the defence and security work, they were widely praised, particularly the Rwandans (SADC troops are also on the ground). The enthusiasm with these forces could be perceived during the focus group of women from Nacussa B village, Ancuabe, when a truck with Rwandan soldiers passed on the road. Their quick passage was met with much clapping and waving, to which they responded in the same way. People report that:

Before the Rwandan Forces arrived, our life was very difficult. At least now the conflict has decreased, and we were even able to walk around without much worry. We feel that the Rwandan forces are really working. They help people get out of the bush to the villages. Our army is doing nothing. For example, the Rwandan military has the capacity to surprise the terrorists and gain ground (Nacussa B women's focus group, Ancuabe, 2021).

Each of the foreign armed forces that is in Cabo Delgado, at the epicentre of the conflict, has been of great relevance for the security of the population because their support has been visible. Since their arrival, there has been a noticeable improvement in the war scenario in favour of the Mozambican state (Cuaia women's focus group, Metuge, 2021).

The military are doing a good job, especially the Rwandans, because since they arrived there has been a noticeable difference or improvement in the security of the population. The national army was not achieving good results alone (Pemba women's focus group, 2021).

A greater difference is noted in the quality of performance of the foreign forces. They are experienced and bring better results (Activist and Head of Unit, Pemba, 2021).

We began to notice some difference and improvement in the fight

against terrorism when the foreign forces, mainly the Rwandan forcescame into the pictur (...) If it weren't for the Rwandan forces, even the IDP centres would be vulnerable. There were periods when terrorists attacked some centres and we survived because the Rwandans and the population intervened (...) they have produced good strategies and results (Cuaia community leader, Metuge, 2021).

They put up with them, they have a good relationship with them because they speak their language, they don't hit them, they even intervene to control the state soldiers when they beat people (Historian and researcher, Pemba, 2021).

There is, however, a certain suspicion as to the reason why they are there, as well as a questioning of what the situation will be like after their departure, as can be perceived in the speech of some interviewees:

(...) But looking at the new dynamic that has been adopted by the government, the Rwandan president, I would venture to say that they have restored confidence by 40%, we are talking about the centres, they have brought back confidence by 40%.

*As for the 60% we are still wondering about all these men. We have already some stories about how these men have a hidden agenda. I assumed to use that language, as a precaution. I was watching one from where I am staying, and a team of blue helmets was caught with diamonds. Now, the ones in Rwanda we know, first the judges, the Rwandan judges were killed. So, what is the deal behind between the President of the Republic and the President of Rwanda. We don't know. But they're working. They're bringing back confidence, with levels up to 40%. The 60% remain under suspicion. What's behind it, because we don't know what the agreement is all about, we don´t know what provisions are contained in this agreement, but 40% brought a little, a small confidence, just like the SADC (*Staff of a community-based

association, Pemba, 2021).

The foreign military do good work, but what will the situation be like when they leave, what will our fate be like? (Head of host family, Pemba, 2021).

PART 2

1. **Participation of Women and Civil Society in the Peace, Security and Reconstruction Agenda - Introduction**

In this major section, we analyse the existing platforms and mechanisms for dialogue and decision-making which enable the participation of communities, women and displaced persons and the population in general in the framework of the Peace, Security, Development and Reconstruction processes. We also provide an analysis of some key normative and strategic instruments, such as the Reconstruction Plan and the National Agenda and Plan for Women, Peace and Security.

> Evidence shows that the inclusion of women helps prevent conflict, creates peace, improves reconciliation processes and sustains security after the end of war. It is believed that women can also be a valuable resource for reconciliation initiatives, particularly when they are in a position to influence decision-making, as they enable negotiation to be conducted in a positive way and the implementation of agreements to achieve their outcomes (ASF, 2018).

In much of the literature on women and conflict in Cabo Delgado, there is a unanimous understanding that there is a need for an involvement of all segments of society in peace and reconstruction processes, and that it is fundamental to guarantee the participation of civil society and, above all, the agency and the role of women in all decision-making processes related to management, negotiation, mediation, conflict resolution, pacification and reconstruction in Cabo Delgado province (WLSA, 2021; Cunha, 2021, Collet; 2021):

> Solutions for a future without war and with more justice cannot be found if conditions are not created for the inclusion of women, as the subjects, at the negotiation and resettlement processes (WLSA, 2021).

The fieldwork in this research allowed for the exploration of the perceptions of displaced women and other key stakeholders, including representatives of various organisations and collectives, about the formal and informal forums and mechanisms for dialogue, participation and decision-making regarding issues of conflict, security, peace, humanitarian response, reconstruction and development in the context of the conflict experienced in Cabo Delgado province and in the country.

Based on interviews with different key stakeholders, including representatives of religious organisations, CSOs and CBOs, community leaders and local authorities (such as heads of neighbourhood), we sought to understand the relevant mechanisms and instruments for women's participation, the existing formal and informal forums and channels for participation and dialogue, their functioning the gender dynamics and the forms of participation and decision making, with the aim of reflecting on the best practices to bring about a genuine participation of displaced women, organisations and different women's collectives in Cabo Delgado, in the various spaces, levels and themes relating to the National Peace and Security Agenda and the National Reconstruction and Development Programs.

1.1 Women, Peace, And Security Agenda in Mozambique – A brief historical overview

Taking a historical glimpse at the existing literature, it can be seen that the role and participation of women in the various conflicts (in the armed struggle for independence and above all in the civil war in Mozambique), including in the processes of pacification, reconciliation and conflict resolution, is superficially known and recognised in the country, despite some highly relevant works focusing above all on the period of the struggle for independence (García, 2022). It is noted that the participation of women in the civil war and in the most recent period of political and military tension was less visible and of less significance than during the period of the liberation struggle. There is also a lack of data and studies on the implications for gender relations, on the forms of violence suffered and on women's participation in the context of peace building in Mozambique (ASF, 2018), which constitute important sources of knowledge and useful practices for the current situation.

Taking into account the current armed conflict in Cabo Delgado province, one can say that Mozambique has so far experienced four major armed conflicts and three processes that resulted in formal Peace Agreements. The first major armed conflict corresponds to the Liberation Struggle for Independence (1962-1974), which ended with the signing of the Lusaka Agreements and the formal recognition of the independence of Mozambique, resulting in the transfer of powers from the Portuguese colonial state to Frelimo and the proclamation of Independence in 1975. The second major armed conflict corresponds to the 16-Year Civil War (1976-1992), which culminated with the signing of Rome General Peace Accord, after some years of peace negotiations between Renamo and Frelimo. More recently, the third armed conflict corresponds to the period of political tension and military hostilities – Political-Military Tension – between 2014 and 2016, which mainly affected the centre of the country and culminated in two Peace Agreements, the Cessation of Military Hostilities Agreement in 2014 and the Agreement on the Definitive Cessation of Military Hostilities, signed in 2019. Finally, the fourth armed conflict, which continues without announced negotiation and dialogue processes, concerns the conflict that has predominantly affected Cabo Delgado province, with systematic attacks since 2017 (and recent spread of attacks to Niassa province).

Recent studies (ASF, 2018; García, 2022) show that the various peacebuilding processes have been characterised by the marginalisation of women's participation at all levels and areas of the negotiation, such as the issue of disarmament management, demobilisation and reintegration actions, with none of the formal Peace Agreements any mention of gender issues or women's issues in conflict. This exclusion of women from peacebuilding decisions had important gender implications in the format of the peace agreements, which excluded issues relating to the impact of and reparations for the violence suffered by women, their aspirations and needs in socio-economic reconstruction and social reintegration processes. Furthermore, the choice of amnesty laws after the conflicts also meant that issues relating to the punishment of gender-based war crimes were not brought to justice, and reparations processes for women survivors of the conflicts were completely neglected. Other issues, such as security sector reform, also did not merit a gendered approach.

According to García (2012), within processes to resolve political-military tension, the absence and invisibility of women and a gender agenda in peacebuilding is also due to a broader exclusion of civil society stakeholders during peace negotiation processes. At the same time, García's research (2022) reveals that some national CSOs have sought efforts to ensure that more recent peace negotiation processes have a transformative and gender-sensitive focus, bringing demands linked to socio-economic rights, protection from rape, sexual and other and other forms of gender-based violence of war, as well as preparation and training of women in mediation and conflict management.

This brief historical overview is relevant in that it reveals the systematic invisibility of women and (re)affirms the need to activate more effective strategies now, to ensure that decisions relating to security and peace in Cabo Delgado and in the country take a gender approach and consider the specific needs and implications for women and men, if we want peace and reconstruction processes that are truly inclusive and have deep structural impacts, and not only reconciliation processes centred on the country's (predominantly male) elites.

1.2 The Women, Peace and Security Agenda: Normative-Legal Framework

The African continent has been a fertile and pioneering ground in the discussion and construction of normative-legal resources on Women, Peace and Security, as a result of demands from feminist organisations and movements for women's rights on the continent and worldwide. One moment to highlight was the Third World Conference on Women (Nairobi, 1985), where the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action were shared, which are considered foundational instruments for Resolution 1325, presented in 2000 (García, 2022). These instruments proposed the inclusion of a gender perspective in peace support operations.

Another important milestone was the Regional Congress on Women and Peace in Kampala (Uganda, 1993), which resulted in the Kampala Action Plan on Women and Peace, focusing on social and economic justice, education for peace, institutional capacity building for peace and affirmative action for women's representation and participation at all levels of decision-making (García, 2022). According to García, this plan holds the merit of presenting a more intersectional perspective (distinguishing, for example, rural women and women with

disabilities, rather than treating women as a homogeneous group) and has an anti-militarist and pacifist discourse that is based on education as a central element for Peace.

These aspects are important because, as we shall see below, they reflect priorities raised by several key stakeholders who participated in the fieldwork. Another important landmark was the Fifth Regional Congress of African Women in Dakar (Senegal, 1994), where the African Platform for Action was adopted, which highlighted as a priority area the participation of women in Peace building, with a focus on adequate assistance to women refugees and internally displaced persons, recognition of the impact of armed conflicts on women and girls and actions to include women in decision-making processes related to conflict prevention, resolution and management or in peace building initiatives, and again education as a key factor for Peace.

At international level, the approval of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security by the United Nations Security Council (2000) strengthens, on the one hand, the mechanisms and instruments on the African continent and, on the other, as some authors show, transforms the character of some speeches and norms for greater alignment with the United Nations instrument (García, 2022). Resolution 1325 recognised, on one hand, that women are differentially affected by war and that sexual violence is a crime against humanity and should therefore be a crucial element in Peacebuilding agendas and, on the other hand, challenges States to commit to the inclusion and participation of women in positions of power and decision-making forums in relation to conflict prevention and resolution and other related issues (United Nations Security Council, 2021). Other relevant instruments at continental level are the Maputo Protocol (2003), which mentions the Protection of Women in Armed Conflict, the Right to Peace and the Right to Life, Integrity and Security. In 2004, *the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa* (SDGEA) established the need to

> "Ensuring the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UN Resolution 1325 (2000) and to also appoint women as Special Envoys and Special Representatives of the African Union."

(African Union, 2012).

Since the SDGEA, a series of normative instruments relating to post-conflict reconstruction and development activities, as well as internal displacement and security sector reforms based on a gender perspective and focusing on women's issues, have been developed on the continent. Among various instruments, the Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development Policy (2006) and the Kampala Convention or Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (2009), with reference to crimes of sexual violence against women, and the African Union Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform, which sets out to include a gender-sensitive approach and highlights the promotion of women's effective participation in peacekeeping and security, reconciliation, reconstruction, post-conflict development. More recently, in 2015, the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) under which " gender inclusion " is placed as a fundamental and cross-cutting issue in the various dimensions of this structure was created. In 2017, the African Women's Network for Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise-Africa) was established as a mechanism within APSA. The Continental Results Framework (2018-2028) was also established, which aims to track the Women, Peace and Security agenda in Africa and promote the adoption of and compliance with National Action Plans on Resolution 1325. More recently, in 2018 and at the regional level, SADC adopted the Regional Strategy on Women, Peace and Security (2018-2022).

Meanwhile, Mozambique, with the support of UN Women, also approved in 2018 the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (2018-2022), as a national instrument for the inclusion of women in the various processes of conflict resolution, demilitarisation, social and economic reconstruction and promotion of a culture of non-violence and peace. For the operation of this plan, the Platform for Women, Peace and Security was recently created, which at provincial level (in Cabo Delgado) is secretariat by the Provincial Services for Social Affairs and Gender. More recently, in 2021, Mozambique approved the Policy and Strategy for the Management of Internally Displaced Persons (PEGDI), Resolution no. 42/2021.

This review of the main existing normative instruments seems relevant to us insofar as, if on the one hand it demonstrates the efforts made in recent decades to create statutory and legal instruments and mechanisms for women´s participation, on the other it reveals the

large gaps between the statutory and legal framework and the political will operationalised in concrete actions in the country. What we see is an absence and invisibility of women and gender issues in peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction, globally and in Mozambique. According to recent data from the UN Security Council, between 1992 and 2019, only 13% of women participated as negotiators, 6% as mediators and 6% as signatories in most peace processes worldwide (UN Security Council, 2021). Despite these legal frameworks, the recent years have seen an increase in both national and local conflicts, including violent extremism, with conflict-related sexual violence worsening, registering a 56% increase in 2017 alone (Hendricks, 2020). Still, global statistics indicate that 1 in 5 refugee or displaced women experience sexual violence (Hendricks, 2020).

However, the instruments referred to are of extreme importance and can certainly be great allies in the demands of feminist organisations and movements for women's rights in the current situation in Cabo Delgado, with almost 800,000 internally displaced people, of whom a large majority are women and girls.

1.3 Some feminist critiques of Resolution 1325 and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

One of the main critiques made by different feminist schools concerns the eradication of the demilitarisation proposal and actions of an anti-militarist nature of Resolution 1325, such as combating the arms trade and other patriarchal economic and political structures and male-privilege economic and political structures that structurally feed on war and which were even issues in previous documents, both from the African continent and from the United Nations during the 1990s. According to some authors (García, 2022), the explicit criticism between militarism and masculinity has been transformed into a call for women's participation and a gender perspective in security and defence forces and bodies. In this sense, the role of men and the masculinities behind the powers involved in armed conflicts are neglected.

For some analysts, this point makes Resolution 1325 act to maintain the powers and structures on which wars prevail and therefore highlight the need, not only for gender perspectives, but for critical analyses of which perspectives are integrated and accepted institutionally, and which models of post-conflict peace and development are adopted and from which visions

(García, 2022; Mcleod, 2011).

Another important criticism is made of the patriarchal language of the UN, which can also apply to the common language of many CSOs in the national landscape, which is reflected in the persistent association of Women with Children and Youth, which reinforces a logic of "*infantilization*" and "fragility" of women (Sheperd, 2017; García, 2022). This is also associated with a discourse that tends to be binary and reproduce essentialisms surrounding women as "victims", although more recent discourses take greater care to emphasize the agency and proactive role of women, who in contexts of extreme insecurity and trauma seek innovative solutions to provide for families and mediate everyday conflicts.

For Garcia (2022), it is also still important to deconstruct the association between gender and women, and to clarify gender as a social construction of power relations, which should be understood from an intersectional viewpoint that intersects gender with economic class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other relevant categories for each local context.

This intersectionality is not present in many of the discourses and legislative instruments, and fails to understand the hierarchies and factors of exclusion. In the context of this research on Cabo Delgado, it is very important to highlight the non-homogeneity of the women who contributed to this study. Although mostly from rural areas, their different ethnic and religious backgrounds, as well as economic activities, are important for understanding the different views and needs they shared.

Finally, it is important to highlight the need for an understanding about the "*coloniality of power*" implied in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda which, according to some experts, ends up being characterized by markedly liberal reconstruction and peace programs, which are characterized by being constructed mostly from the top down, with the establishment of very unequal relations between foreign experts and people affected by the conflict, who have few spaces for intervention, weak economic and political power, which is further confirmed in the statements of several interviewees in the scope of this research. In this sense, some authors mention the importance of decolonizing the National MPS Agendas so as not to replicate global/colonial/patriarchal power hierarchies.

1.4 General Challenges in implementing Resolution 1325 and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

In light of these criticisms, it is also important to highlight some general challenges in the operationalisation of the MPS Agenda/Resolution 1325, which will have relevance for understanding the more specific and localised obstacles in the context of Mozambique (Garcia, 2022), which follow below:

- Different analyses and studies mention that the Action Plans of Post-Conflict Countries reflect more the international agenda and end up not bringing the concrete specificities of local conflict processes and dynamics, resulting in generic actions with difficult local frameworks;

- The bureaucratic and technocratic nature of the Action Plans and the absence of clear objectives and data also stand out, which makes them difficult to apply, monitor and evaluate;

- A recurring challenge is the lack of sufficient financial resources for implementation by both State institutions and some civil society organisations;

- Another aspect concerns the lack of mechanisms for regular accountability of State institutions to citizens;

- There is also criticism of the lack of leadership and political will and the limited interpretation of this Agenda by Governments, which creates a gap between discourse and practice, the lack of prioritisation in the allocation of human and material resources for the fulfilment of the Agenda;

- Still, existing participation tends to focus on the number of women in peace processes and to treat women's participation as synonymous with a gendered approach;

- In many contexts, the increased presence of women in the security sector does not necessarily translate into prevention or protection from sexual violence in conflict situations;

- Although training in conflict management and mediation is relevant, this will not automatically bring women to the formal peace negotiation table, because other power dynamics and criteria may be implicated, which go beyond technical skills.

Within this framework of general challenges identified in the literature review, it is important, as already mentioned, to understand the specific challenges of an effective and significant participation of women in the scope of the National MPS Plan, especially women from Cabo Delgado (and displaced women). For this, as mentioned, we need to analyse the various unequal power relations, conditioned by an intersection between poverty, literacy levels and predominantly patriarchal socio-cultural and religious norms, even if there are matrilineal contexts. It is also relevant to understand the various levels of exclusion and their intersection (from home to formal/institutional high-level decision-making spaces).

1.5 Participation of Women and Local Civil Society in the Women, Peace and Security Platform and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Mozambique

With regard to the formal participation of women in Peace and Security, Mozambique has a Women, Peace and Security Agenda, materialized in the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (2018-2022), as the main national instrument for the inclusion of women in the various processes of conflict resolution, demilitarization, social and economic reconstruction and promotion of a culture of non-violence and peace. To facilitate the coordination and operationalization of this plan, the Women, Peace and Security Platform was instituted, and in Cabo Delgado the Secretariat is under the responsibility of the Provincial Services for Social Affairs and Gender.

However, interviews with various key stakeholders from national and local civil society, and even from International Agencies, reveal a weak dissemination of the document, knowledge about the role of the Platform and little domain about the application and usefulness of the National Action Plan, especially to face the current context of armed conflict in Cabo Delgado province. The Plan is difficult to access, including on the internet, and annual reports on its progress are not available in public online repositories (government websites).

The National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (PNAMPS – *Portuguese acronym)*, in alignment with the international and SADC legal framework, focuses on three

main objectives: 1) Integrating the gender perspective in all actions and strategies of conflict prevention, mediation and resolution; 2) Ensuring the participation of women in decision-making structures in peace and security processes and 3) Eliminating sexual and gender-based violence in conflict and peace situations. In general, the PNAMPS emphasizes 3 major dimensions of intervention: a) prevention; b) participation, 3) protection. However, the plan excludes aspects linked to economic and socio-cultural rights (Garcia, 2022) and has generalist actions, which reflect little the local needs and barriers, as well as the dynamics of the current violent extremism that the country faces. For the implementation of this 5-year Plan, 1.5 million Euros were foreseen, an amount considered relatively low compared to other areas of social investment (Garcia, 2022).

It is important to highlight the efforts of civil society and women to organise and participate in building this Peace and Security Agenda in the country, which can be evidenced in the International Solidarity Camp for Women, Peace, Security and Economic Empowerment held in 2018 (Gorongosa, Sofala). The event resulted in a declaration, which highlighted the importance of economic and socio-cultural rights and their absence in the current National Plan. It also reinforced the need for psychosocial support for women and the inclusion of women in government plans for post-conflict reconstruction, as well as the need for capacity building on peace and security issues. This declaration also highlighted the need for vocational trainings for economic empowerment and compensation and indemnity mechanisms for women affected by conflict, among other aspects (Garcia, 2022).

However, according to Garcia's study (2022), all these issues were not mainstreamed in the PNAMPS (2018-2022), further revealing that this Plan did not undergo a broad participatory exercise, especially at the local level, including with CBOs and small women's collectives, which also contributes to the widespread ignorance or superficial mastery of this Agenda, as revealed by the fieldwork within this research, expressed in the speech below:

> *What happens in this plan? We didn't participate (...) So that's what we were presenting to the Ambassador of Ireland and the Netherlands when she was here. We talked about this issue that we as civil society don't feel represented and I don't think we are involved. And even with regard to the women, peace and security agenda, when it was mandated at the provincial level, it was sent to the Provincial Directorate for Gender, Children and Social Action. What did the Provincial*

> *Directorate for Gender do? they called some women internally instead of contacting the civil society.*

> *Our organisation, for example, was luck to know something because we had a direct link with the organizers of the event, Joaquim Chissano University. So we had this direct contact so that afterwards we could have some women from our organisation participating in these trainings. But when things come from the Government, they end up there, and they only call the civil society for validation* (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Another criticism made of the government´s leadership role in this Agenda is that

> *(...) there is a bit of secrecy in [the Women, Peace and Security Agenda] approaches, because when they have a certain fund they don't share information, (...) and there is no enough synergy between FOCADE and UN agencies, Provincial Government and the private sector.* (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

This reference demonstrates a lack of transparency about the role, expected results and financial resources available for actions of the Platform by its secretariat, but also the need for better articulation between key stakeholders.

Under the National WPS Agenda, the project led by UN Women, budgeted at approximately US$ 4.5 million and entitled "Promoting Women's and Girls´ Effective Participation in Peace, Security and Recovery in Mozambique" (2017- 2020/21), in 7 provinces of the country, including Cabo Delgado, also stands out. According to the Evaluation report (UN Women, 2021), the project resulted in the training of 102 women from women's organizations in mediation and conflict resolution, and the strengthening of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Action for better coordination of the WPS Agenda.

Still according to the report of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Action

(2021), among the main actions carried out for the delivery of the MPS Agenda, the following stand out: the creation of Gender Offices in military units, the entry of 7.8 % women in the Defence and Security Forces, the delivery of training to 3000 police officers and 1500 representatives of CBOs and CSOs, as well as lectures to SDS officers, and also training on integrated assistance to GBV survivors to 822 civil servants (460 women) under the Multisectoral Mechanism for Integrated Care.

However, fieldwork and other studies (WLSA, 2021; Garcia, 2022) show, as already mentioned, that knowledge and training in these matters is still quite limited, both by state stakeholders and civil society, especially by OCBS, and as previously mentioned, trainings alone (although fundamental), are not sufficient to achieve the intended results.

As mentioned earlier, at local level the interviews with the different key stakeholders showed a lack of knowledge about the Plan and about the Platform and its objectives, as well as the actions carried out in the province and the impact on women displaced by the war, both by representatives of CSOs, CBOs and activists acting in support of displaced persons, and by some local government structures, although a recent training to members of the government at provincial level was mentioned. According to one of the women interviewed, the Platform for Women, Peace and Security at provincial level consists of 20 national and local organisations, which are part of the thematic group on Gender of FOCADE (Forum of Civil Society in Cabo Delgado Province) and it has only recently been established and the meetings are still not very regular. In general, both the interviews with the key stakeholders and the literature review, in particular the WLSA study (2021), corroborate the perception that the PNAMPS (2018-2022) has not been fulfilled, *"only in a dispersed and insufficient manner have some activities been carried out"* (WLSA, 2021), mainly by the CSOs. The study also highlights that, despite the suspicions of sexual violence against women committed by the Defence and Security Forces, the processes and results of investigations are unknown.

However, there are efforts by local civil society that have been directed towards the materialization of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, despite the complaint of lack of

funding to implement actions, as shown in the following statement:

> *As civil society we are concerned with training activists in matters of peace and security, paralegals in matters of peace and security and focal points in the reception centres in order to carry out this agenda. We must show them that they are not alone, there is a Platform, in case of anything they can report to us (...) Whenever there are coffees and meetings up to the national level, I take the focal points from the shelters and from here in the city to be part of it, this is how we carry out this agenda. It's not being easy. We don't have any funding for our women, peace and security actions, but we are doing our best to* (Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

In the same speech, it was further stated that:

> *(...) civil society is also not so well prepared, it is disjointed, because you need to know who is who and take off your political colours. As long as you wear your political colours, things won't work. So that' s more or less the problem (...)*(Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

> *This is a new issue that challenges civil society, since the country is cyclically experiencing conflicts. We are looking at how we can intervene and the program of our institution (...) aims to strengthen the organisations to demand issues such as peace and security* (National CSO Staff, Pemba, 2021)

There are also challenges in the representativeness and direct participation of smaller organizations, particularly those that are not based in Pemba, which results in the privilege of certain national organizations that are seen as partners of CBOs in other districts. One of the interviewees (a staff member of a CSO based in Pemba) added that the Platform meetings have not yet taken place on a regular basis and that there is no direct presence of displaced women on this platform due to multiple impeding factors. On the one hand, women's participation requires access to information about the forums and channels for participation, mobilisation and organisation, and on the other hand, means and resources are needed so that displaced women can directly channel and/or present their needs, priorities and aspirations.

This would enable the exercise of their agency and civic-political power. However, this participation cannot be disconnected from the real needs of their daily lives. In this sense, it is necessary to contemplate integrated humanitarian response-civic engagement approaches to address one of the criticisms that is raised, which concerns the fact that the MPS Agenda ignores socioeconomic, cultural and religious factors, poor schooling and physical insecurity as elements that hinder women's participation in the processes and spaces related to Peace, Security and Reconstruction and neglects the need to create practical conditions for women's effective participation.

Thus, specific risks and threats to women's political participation and representation at the most different levels must be considered, especially in a context of extremism, violence and high insecurity and political distrust, ensuring the protection of women human rights defenders and women leaders, acting in peace and reconstruction processes and supporting displaced people. With regard to this issue, one of the interviewees reported death threats:

> *But if I draw up a plan, and say look, if you want to see Mozambique like this, do this and this, won't you kill me? I have already been threatened three times here. That's why I no longer speak in forums, on television and radio: my life comes first! (...) I have adopted a form of protection. Nobody protects me, there is the Network of Human Rights Defenders, yes, and where is this helicopter to come and watch me? Where is it? They killed me a long time ago* (Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Furthermore, some of the interviewees' statements show that the presence of women in some contexts does not always represent genuine participation, and all of this should be taken into account:

> *We are making an effort to engage so that there is gender equity, so that the voice of women is also heard (...). But even when women go to a meeting, just by the format of the meeting one notices an inequality in the presentation of their points of view...one has to insist that they should speak, because some are waiting for permission. Women are afraid of*

suffering stigma for taking the floor, because they may be judged in their communities on the grounds that they are carrying behaviour from the city to their areas". (...) Community leadership needs to be seen as a starting point for women's active participation and leadership in society (CSO Staff, Pemba, 2021).

It is a big challenge because we are talking about how little women participate in decision-making processes, but I think organised women can make their voices more heard. The government must also empower women, it is not enough for civil society alone to take this initiative. Women have a key role to play in the reconstruction and pacification of Cabo Delgado. Even unschooled women have very deep local knowledge and when they are given the floor, they speak constructive things. There should be government will to safeguard the issue of gender equality from municipal and provincial bodies and others. We all enjoy the same rights and we as civil society should do networked advocacy to influence the occupation of space by women. The advocacy priority should be for issues that will bring immediate results (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

These two lines reveal the challenges to women's participation, especially in formal spaces, related to aspects that keep women's ability to speak imprisoned by the fear of social stigma, lack of confidence in the validity of their own voice due to patriarchal norms and the differences between urban and rural spaces. They also draw attention to the importance of knowledge or" deep local knowledge", which goes beyond schooling and professionalization, and which should be duly considered in all processes related to prevention, conflict resolution and reconstruction. In the second speech, the understanding that civil society stakeholders have about the role of the government and "local civil society" in promoting women's participation is also shared.

Other recent studies, such as the one conducted by CECAGE (2019) under the project "Promoting the effective participation of women and girls in peace, security and rehabilitation

processes in Mozambique", mention similar challenges: *"Women are called in the meetings, but they just listen, they are not allowed to speak"* (CECAGE, 2019).

Despite the challenges in formal participation, it is important to highlight the agency of women and women leaders in informal spaces within their communities and in mediation and day-to-day conflict resolution that are emerging as a result of forced displacement and pressure on resources and services as a result of the structural inequalities and poverty affecting the province. In this sense, Hendricks (2020) proposes to look beyond participation in formal spaces and processes, which are indeed relevant, but to broaden the view to other ways in which women are involved in peace processes:

> Women do not have to wait to be invited to peace tables as they have always been at the Forefront of informal peace processes. They therefore have to invest more in spearheading peace processes themselves. These processes and peace tables can take multiple Forms. In such ways, women exercise their agency once more in peace processes; they not only participate, but they also transform the peace process in both conduct and outcome. (Hendricks, 2020).

Aligned with this understanding, this research proposes that the various informal spaces be capitalised on and considered within the scope of the MSP Agenda in Mozambique/Cabo Delgado, given that one of the main findings of the fieldwork concerns precisely the fact that there is little integration and lack of articulation between the multiple formal and informal spaces for participation, managed at community level, or by civil society organisations with the established institutional spaces and mechanisms.

> *We are conducting community dialogues. You have community dialogue group and you have peace club groups, yes. What do we do? We listen and collect from that community dialogue group the conflicts that are happening around there, both from them and from the displaced people. Then we take those issues to the peace club*
> (SC District Platform Staff, Montepuez, 2021).

For example, spaces such as the Peace Clubs, which have been promoted by some projects in Cabo Delgado, the Women's Safe Spaces, the Multi-Sectorial Mechanism of GBV at district and provincial levels and other community and provincial forums for channelling, mediation and resolution of conflicts at local level, as well as the thematic group on Gender of FOCADE at provincial level, the Civil Society Platform on Natural Resources, are some of the relevant spaces that are not being articulated with the MPS Platform at provincial level.

Building more opportunities for articulation and linkages between spaces and forums is crucial for the construction of more integrated advocacy agendas, and would be relevant to leverage the already existing mechanisms for participation in this MPS Agenda. The multiplicity of formal spaces also runs the risk of exhausting and wasting energy on the part of local organisations which have very limited human and financial resources to participate and mobilise women's participation in the various forums. Moreover, there is a need to evaluate how to link institutionalized spaces such as District Consultative Councils, Community Committees (e.g. Health, Human Resources etc.) and even Provincial Assemblies to the MPS Agenda.

Finally, another aspect observed is the lack of clarity on how the issues of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda are incorporated by the various sectors and basic services, given that an effective integration and mainstreaming of this matter is still not visible, despite the recent efforts of the key stakeholders. In this sense, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda seems to be seen as a rather peripheral issue and that it erroneously only concerns women, ending up not being a transversal element, which will also be reflected in the Reconstruction Plan of Cabo Delgado itself and other Provincial and District Plans.

To conclude, the end of the PNAMS (2018-2022) is expected soon and it will be crucial that its evaluation and review provide an important moment of advocacy to ensure that the new plan is drawn up through truly participatory processes that provide for engagement and empowerment - with actions that do not neglect the multiplicity of practical and everyday barriers to the participation of women, especially displaced women, noting the various shared findings and challenges. And creating conditions to broaden the dissemination of this and other tools that have the potential to be allies in the struggles to meet the urgent needs and aspirations of displaced and conflict-affected women and families in Mozambique.

2. Women's Participation in Programs and Clusters on Humanitarian Response and Development Projects

Many of the challenges regarding women's participation within the SMP Agenda have also been encountered in the context of their participation in the design and evaluation of humanitarian response and development programs in Cabo Delgado. During the fieldwork, other relevant issues were identified which make some dynamics and power relations between International, National and Community Organisations in Cabo Delgado province explicit. These are important, on the one hand, to understand how to improve coordination and articulation between these organisations and, on the other hand, to understand how to empower local civil society, including non-institutionalised collectives, in advancing women's rights in the context of conflict and extremist violence, and enhance their broader participation. We are also interested in understanding where feminist perspectives and gender approaches fit within the humanitarian response and development programs in Cabo Delgado. However, due to the scope of this research, this will be a potential line of enquiry that deserves further exploration.

In general, the main interventions of the women's organisations which were identified at local level focus on advocacy and civic engagement in the area of girls' education, GBV services, with special attention to combating premature unions, safe spaces, sexual and reproductive health, with a focus on HIV, gender studies and women's human rights in Cabo Delgado, legal and judicial support and training of paralegals and support to the creation of savings. However, local organizations still have little experience in humanitarian response and issues related to Peace, Women and Security, Rights of Displaced Persons, Women and Natural Resource Management and Climate Change, Psychosocial Support in context of Violent Extremism and Solidarity Economies. In this section some challenges and opportunities of CSOs oriented to women's rights are explored (See annex SWOT Analysis Matrix of CSOs and Recommendations).

We also explore some perceptions of key actors and displaced women about the humanitarian response and development programs which are being developed in the province to assist displaced populations. In this way, we will also seek to summarise the main demands of displaced women, which were shared in the focus groups, and the main areas of

intervention of local organisations working on women's issues (both in the humanitarian response and in other reconstruction and development projects).

2.1 Humanitarian Response

According to UNOCHA, the 2021 Humanitarian Response Plan for Mozambique (covering mainly projects coordinated by different UN Agencies) was budgeted at a total of USD 168,519,324. The focus of this Humanitarian Response Plan is mainly on Cabo Delgado province, with some attention also to the Centre and North of the country, which is affected by the recent cyclones. The main financers of this Plan were the United States (39.1%), the European Commission for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (8.5%), the United Kingdom (7.2%), Germany (6.8%), the Central Emergency Fund (6.2%), Canada (5.5%), Japan (5.4%), Norway (5.1%) and Ireland (2.5%). Other financing countries are Sweden, China, Switzerland and Austria (UNOCHA, 2021).

In general, a large proportion of funding is directed towards food assistance programs and some essential "life-saving" goods for displaced populations. Education was the most heavily funded basic services within the humanitarian response. Services such as health, water, hygiene and sanitation had comparatively less funding in the year 2021 (UNOCHA, 2021). There are also some programs that have an explicit focus on women, which focus on the provision of "life-saving" services in sexual and reproductive health and gender-based violence (creation of safe spaces, mobile brigades of SRH and GBV services) and a project on HIV/AIDS services for women and children, which received less funding.

Other areas of the humanitarian response which are funded are related to the strengthening of service provision/ multi-sectoral response, focusing on displaced populations; and, with less funding, there are programs to support the management and strengthening of capacity of of host or resettlement centres/villages, as well as protection against COVID-19. A project aimed at people with disabilities and protection against sexual abuse and exploitation (PAES/PSEA) is also highlighted (UNOCHA, 2021). One of the findings is that, although several documents analysed and people interviewed, report the issue of psychosocial support for trauma relief and mental health as fundamental and of high

relevance, one notes that there are few funds and massive projects with this specific focus. The issue of psychosocial support, as already discussed, ends up being a transversal aspect to the programs, but somehow secondary, and there are few human and financial resources allocated to this area.

This brief description of the landscape of the humanitarian response in Cabo Delgado does not take the various interventions into account which are led mainly by other international organizations such as the International Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders, AVSI, OIKOS, CARE, Light for the World, Action Aid, Ayuda en Accion, Caritas, HelpCode, Humanity and Inclusion, Plan International, among others who are present in the province. However, the aim here is to show the main areas of intervention in the field of humanitarian response and to present the perceptions of the women and key stakeholders interviewed regarding this theme.

In the conversation circles with women, as the previous sections show, the main humanitarian support that is identified, that is most consistent and with greater reach in the remote areas, is food assistance by WFP which, despite all the challenges linked to corruption in the distribution processes, was mentioned in all focus groups as the main support received.. In short, in addition to this support, the Village of Nacaca, in Montepuez, benefitted from a temporary medical emergency unit, and the Village of Cuaia, in Metuge, benefitted from some actions related to the training of women activists on GBV and Human Rights and family planning by a local organisation. However, in the host villages/centres which were visited, other humanitarian response programs and/or even development projects had not yet had an impact on the visited areas. Within the scope of the humanitarian response, there are some demands raised as priorities by the focus groups of displaced women, summarized in the table below:

Main Demands of Displaced Women
1) Access to Land for Farming and Food Security

2) Access to diverse Means and sources of financing for Income Generation and collective savings (and forms of revolving credit)
3) Access to decent housing in safe places, not prone to flooding, close to farming areas, with access to water, hygiene and basic sanitation and energy
4) Access to comprehensive health services (including Sexual and Reproductive Health)
5) Access to Education services (for children, secondary education, vocational technical education and adult literacy) aimed at income-generating opportunities at local level
6) Peace and Security

This table outlines the 6 major demands shared by displaced women, which have also been discussed in other previous sections. However, other specific needs and demands of different groups of women (mothers, widows, caregivers of orphaned children, women with disabilities, women with chronic diseases, elderly women, etc.) should not be excluded, neither should other broader demands for women's human rights, governance and development. Those presented here reflect the situation of great precariousness and crisis, in which the basic conditions for self-sufficiency and food security must be prioritised, but simultaneously with long-term approaches and visions that enable the progress of women's comprehensive rights in various spheres and areas, in alignment with the materialisation of human rights and IDP rights. Women's priority demands mainly concern activities for livelihood/life sustenance, focused on creating opportunities for self-sufficiency and autonomy, including access to land, housing, finance and material resources for income generation that will benefit families and communities at large in the long term.

In this regard, it is important to mention that one of the main findings of the fieldwork concerns the degree of participation of displaced women and the incorporation of their demands, as well as the involvement and coordination with local organisations within the humanitarian response programs in the province. Although international and regional legislation such as the Kampala Convention, ratified by Mozambique in 2017, and the Great Lakes Pact in 2006 - stress

the need to ensure access to information, consultation and participation of IDPs in all processes and decisions related to their protection and assistance, including the design and evaluation of humanitarian and development programs, a large gap in this area is noted (AU ECOSOCC and IDMC, 2010).

On the one hand, there is poor knowledge about the specific legislation and rights of IDPs by local civil society and government actors themselves, as well as by displaced populations and women. On the other hand, international organisations and agencies have also failed to comply with the principle of participation for a humanitarian response, based on a human rights approach that privileges community engagement and accountability to people displaced and/or affected by conflict (Mozambique Protection Cluster, 2021). According to the country's Humanitarian Response strategy, the programs and humanitarian response clusters should integrate Accountability to Affected People/AAP tools and methodologies in the various phases, from planning to evaluation (Mozambique Protection Cluster, 2021). However, based on the fieldwork, it was not possible to identify these mechanisms of accountability/participation of the program beneficiaries. At the level of the centres and villages visited, and during the interviews, a lack of knowledge about them was revealed.

This issue of lack of knowledge about accountability mechanisms for the affected communities may generate the perception that the efforts are not yielding the results that the population wants, or are not meeting expectations, as shown in this quote:

> That's why I say that this place is full of national and international organisations, but if you pay attention, you'll notice that things are not working, nothing is changing at all. Moreover, those who have eyes can try to question: what are you doing? Because instead of getting better, things are getting worse. Or people are the same where they used to be. (...) You see a displaced person, a displaced person starts to talk, starts lamenting. What kind of female and male displaced are we supporting anyway? That is a big challenge. There are so many organisations, really many. Cars circulating, but when we sit down, analyse, sometimes we are not accusing the government, this is not an accusation, (...) But there is no monitoring (Civil

Society District Platform Staff member, Montepuez, 2021).

Still, with regard to the design of humanitarian projects, some interviewees shared the perception that the processes are still "top-down" on the part of international organisations, and that displaced women have little influence over the defined programs and priorities. According to one of the interviewees, the

> *(...) deep involvement.... I am going to risk saying that it does not exist, as a general rule, the projects come ready-made. The involvement I see is more in the Women's Friendship Spaces, where the activities are negotiated, and it is on this basis that our partners then try to influence some products that go into the kits and some activities. But it is the other way around, it does not start with the women to then go up* (International Agency Staff, Pemba, 2021).

In addition to this, through the different contributions, the importance of the participation of displaced women and men in the donation distribution processes was discussed, and the importance of ensuring that the criteria for selecting the people, to whom donations will be given, are discussed in advance with the communities. For example, situations were reported where men also requested hygiene kits that were destined for women, or situations where women who were not of childbearing age were excluded, although the group of elderly women is a very vulnerable one.

One of the interviewees also drew attention to the need for the government to be open to the collaboration of local civil society in monitoring the distribution of donations:

> *If things are not going so well now, it is because the government, the governmentitself wanted to do things on its own and not include the people who could help later on as direct partners. I am saying this because we have religious leaders, we have the ('Montepuez') civil society platform, but the government left them all aside and liaised more with the community leaders, the neighbourhood leaders. The government relied on community leaders and neighbourhood chiefs to assist in the distribution of food, but what*

happened was that first of all they catered for family members, most of the recipients were their family members and not IDPs and then later IDPs discovered this, and the government saw that things were being discovered and tried to change tactics, but the problems still remain (Civil Society District Platform member, Montepuez, 2021).

Humanitarian Response clusters are the main groups for articulation and coordination of humanitarian actions, including UN agencies, international agencies, civil society organizations and government partners. These spaces represent important platforms to channel the demands of displaced women and communities, as well as forums for lobby and advocacy by local and national civil society. The main Humanitarian Response Clusters present in Cabo Delgado are the Host Centre Management cluster, the Protection cluster (with the sub-clusters on Child Protection, Gender Based Violence, Protection against Abuse and Sexual Exploitation), the Education cluster; Health; Water, Hygiene and Sanitation, Nutrition cluster and the Food Security cluster. According to the interviews, the various perceptions of key actors show that the participation and engagement of national actors in the Clusters at provincial level, whether from civil society or government, is still very timid and , although gender mainstreaming is present in the various sub-clusters, the absence of women-focused organisations in some of the clusters reduces the visibility of some specific women's issues and questions. The GBV sub-cluster has the highest concentration of national women's organisations.

The fieldwork allowed for the identification of some perceptions on the main challenges for the participation of local stakeholders in the clusters and others related to humanitarian interventions in Cabo Delgado:

1) Lack of technical expertise on humanitarian/emergency response at local level; foreign leadership and weak ownership by local stakeholders; language barriers that end up resulting in more vertical relationships between international organisations and experts; translation challenges that result in exclusion of local partners:

With regard to the issue of the Cluster, we feel sorry for the partner.

Unfortunately, the issue of emergency for Mozambique is a little bit new. We started with cyclones Idai and Kenneth. There are not many national experts for this issue of humanitarian response. So, because of this, we have to find, "foreign experts". So the first challenge we encounter here is the language barrier because the national partners are not English speakers (...), but some of the leaders of these Clusters are English speakers. So, in these meetings non-English speakers feel inhibited to say what happens (...). There has been translation, but it's not the same. Something gets lost in translation (International Agency Staff, Pemba, 2021).

However, it is also important to mention that there are experiences and materials which have been developed previously, especially during the civil war and the 2000 flood period in southern Mozambique, in the field of emergency response that could be explored and adapted to the current situation, in order to learn from previous experiences.

2) Limited access to technologies and internet (virtual meetings) for local partners

The other issue has to do with using Zoom. Relying on the internet does not help much. That is why our partners on gender, (...) complain a lot (...). Talking to someone I don't know, and I can only listen to them is quite different from being in a face-to-face interaction, where I can listen and interact (with the person, the speaker). For me, we are losing information because of the current situation. Firstly, because most of the experts who are here in Pemba are foreigners and do not speak Portuguese. Therefore, when they go to the field, they often have to take two translators with them: one to translate from the local language into Portuguese, and the other to translate from Portuguese into English. As you can see, there are many interlocutors in between. At some point, this may inhibit the person who is passing on the information, and sometimes the person translates what suits him or her. In some cases, the interpreter can't translate everything. So something gets lost there.

We really lose a lot of valuable information. Others claim that information technology has pushed people out, and this is quite obvious. There were many meetings that we really couldn't attend. Those who had a smartphone or a computer managed to attend, but those who didn't have one couldn't attend the meeting. Others claimed not to have internet. Others claimed difficulty in using the internet, but on the other hand, the internet itself is weak. If you don't give voice to others, then life doesn't work (Local CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

3) Limited participation of some governmental stakeholders due to lack of resources; lack of clarity about their responsibilities in the scope of cluster coordination:

Combined coordination is needed. The government has to take more initiative and take ownership, because when it participates as a guest, it reduces itself to being a mere guest and does not take the lead. The new restructuring of the government has disorganised it a little bit, the same structure is divided into Directorates and Provincial Services, and the DPGCAS has been left without funds, and they are responsible for implementation, and the Services coordinate. Before we had meetings, credit to communicate. "I cannot ask for an omelette if there are no eggs" (International agency staff member, Pemba, 2021).

4) Need to improve articulation between the GBV Sub-Cluster and the Multi-Sectoral GBV Mechanism, Women's Safe Spaces:

With regard to the Multi-Stakeholder mechanism on GBV, I think that there is relative weakness. I haven't seen the meetings that should now be more regular because of the emergency, we have been trying to change that, but we feel that [the involvement of key stakeholders] is still weak. We need them to be more involved in the meetings (...)If the

Ministry of Gender were stronger, the PES of the sector could better organise the activities at local level, and facilitate the intervention strategies of the various stakeholders, and involve the beneficiaries (International agency staff member, Pemba, 2021).

5) Competition and duplication of efforts by international organisations and weak accountability mechanisms towards displaced people:

I think that another challenge is that sometimes instead of pulling together we are competing to see who can get here first and do everything and then things don't happen as they should and everyone has their mandate. People want to sell their image out there and we forget who is this for? (Staff of International Agency, Pemba, 2021). (International Agency Staff, Pemba, 2021).

6) Representation of Local CSOs from other districts more limited:

One of the perceptions shared was that local civil society was only called to participate in case of direct partnership with the donors who are leading the clusters, and that in this sense, even local organizations that could have relevant advocacy actions or positions, could not participate, especially those based in Pemba and those which have more limited material resources (Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

7) Nature of Funding Models for Humanitarian Response; high bureaucracy in accessing and using short-term emergency funds and poor training

Emergency funds are short and quick funds (...) In a development context there is more time. At least a year, but usually more than a year, so they have time to program, to do activities. While in the Emergency, things don't work that way. The funds come little by little, for six

months, in the middle of the year, and have to be used. However, we have all that bureaucracy and there are initial actions or measures that must be taken first, so that we can move on to the next steps.

So, we end up having only 6 months and it is a little bit difficult for our organisations to get into this rhythm. (...) It is really a challenge for us because we have to work, not only to show the performance to the partners, but because we need to keep on training constantly (International Agency staff member, Pemba, 2021).

The architecture of international aid for emergency and humanitarian response also creates time constraints, which hinder a broader exercise of involvement and engagement of displaced people, which is necessary and relevant for the realisation of their rights and the effectiveness of a humanitarian intervention which is based on a community-based approach that recognises beneficiary populations as active partners, in line with the principles and policies of humanitarian work (Global Protection Cluster, 2006).

> *8)* Strengthen the mainstreaming of gender approaches in other Clusters (e.g. Food Security, WASH, etc.)

> *I'll talk about health cluster, because I work with colleagues from the health sector. I usually tell colleagues that in health there is something feminist, because we have GBV cases and we must be in a position to address [*women's needs*]. So to a certain point, in the Health Cluster, however minimally, they also address [gender relations]. (...)*

> *(...) The approaches are thus almost superficial but they are integrated there* (International Agency officer, Pemba, 2021).

Based on these findings, the following needs are highlighted:

- Civil society (and government) to design participative methodologies that facilitate and encourage an active presence of women in local organisations;
- Provide technical support and capacity building on the various judicial-legal

instruments that protect IDPs, from a gender perspective, to government stakeholders and civil society partners so that they are better prepared to defend and channel the interests of displaced people;

- It is important to ensure that IDPs know their rights and the spaces where they can claim them, including the right to access information, participation in decision-making and information about decisions that affect their lives;

- Push for the integration of accountability and information sharing mechanisms in the different formal and informal spaces at community, district and provincial levels;

- Mobilize local civil society, through FOCADE, to build advocacy agendas in articulation with local organizations in the various districts and use the Clusters as a crucial advocacy, monitoring space;

- Expand access of new technologies to local CSOs, especially those focused on women;

- More structural and systemic challenges linked to the architecture of international aid, which have fed important reflections for decades, should also be the subject of local discussions

FUTURE

2.2 Development and Reconstruction Programs

With regard to socio-economic and political development projects (including promotion of inclusive and transparent governance, promotion of human rights and women's rights, environmental conservation) being carried out by civil society and government actors in Cabo Delgado province, it is more difficult to find aggregated information that provides an integrated perspective of the areas of intervention and funding at province level. A publicly available database, under the responsibility of the Northern Integrated Development Agency (ADIN) and/or the Provincial Government, will certainly be relevant for better accountability and civic engagement in local development processes.

In this section, we will analyse some perceptions of the main key actors regarding the processes linked to development and reconstruction of the province in the current context of conflict, with a focus on the participation of CSOs and displaced women. We present some reflections, that aim mainly at supporting the interventions of women's CSOs which act in the area of development, and that may also be useful to government actors.

Different multidimensional poverty studies and analyses show Cabo Delgado as one of the poorest provinces in the country (among the 5 poorest), with large internal inequalities in access to resources and basic social services (MEF, 2016). It is also, historically, one of the provinces with the worst human development indices (particularly in Education and Health, as previously mentioned) and with the lowest gender equality indicators in the country (CMI, 2008; MEF, 2016; Feijó, 2019; OMR, 2021). This situation, which many analysts characterise as the result of an absent, or perhaps selectively absent State, combined with other historical and socio-cultural issues, is fundamental in understanding the conflict.

Feminisation of poverty in the context of conflict

Cabo Delgado is still one of the provinces with the highest number of households headed by women (CMI, 2008; INE, 2017), a situation that has worsened with the conflict and that has resulted in the deepening of the feminisation of poverty in this province (OMR, 2021). The issue of the feminisation of poverty, due to the substantial increase of women as the sole providers/caregivers of their households as a result of the conflict, also brings the

need to highlight one of the criticisms of feminist economists regarding the way in which development strategies and economic policies exclude the so-called 'care economy'. This refers to the work predominantly done by women in the care of children, the chronically ill, people with special needs and/or disabilities and the elderly. Although it is one of the most important jobs in meeting the welfare needs of communities, it is highly invisible and unpaid, underpaid or poorly supported by the State. Disproportionately attributed to women, "care work" has notable implications for gender economic inequality and is a factor that often inhibits the completion of studies and professional development, thus relegating women to a secondary role in the local labour market. Furthermore, the formal economy is only possible due to this free or poorly remunerated work. In this sense, it is not possible to think of poverty reduction strategies or gender responsive development programs in Cabo Delgado without considering measures to make this work visible, redistribute and remunerate it and guarantee greater support and social protection for these women.

2.2.1   Participation and Decision-Making on the Future of Cabo Delgado: Where are the women?

The challenges linked to participation and decision-making by women (including displaced women) in the design and evaluation of development and reconstruction programs in the context of conflict, led by both government and local civil society, resemble the challenges discussed in the previous sections. One of the feminist movements' basic criticisms of development processes concerns the way in which women have been - and still are in many contexts - treated as objects and/or passive beneficiaries of development programs and public policies (Aguinagua et all, 2021). For local civil society, there is a perception that

The projects come here ready-made. One or the other, like ... [international organisation mentioned], may send you to carry out a survey at the community and then set out the criteria. Afterwards, we pass on the information about the project: this is the budget.
But the projects come ready-made. They are only harmonized locally.

(Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

With regard to participation within the Government's development programs, currently, all interviews indicate a lack of truly participatory and inclusive processes. As we shall see below, according to the fieldwork, one of the main tools for the recovery of the province, the Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado (PRCD) 2021-2024, which is led by the Government, more specifically by ADIN, also did not involve broad and inclusive participatory processes. This resulted in the exclusion of both local CSOs and religious leaders or entities, as well as displaced communities, thus marginalizing the specific issues of the different groups, including those of the displaced women and their diverse demands. Furthermore, the PRCD shows the challenges of ensuring the integration of gender and intersectional approaches within development strategies, as well as of carrying out intersectoral actions that require collaborative work, participatory approaches that demand more time and are not available in the current context of projects oriented towards quick results and of a more quantitative nature (Collet, 2022).

2.2.2 Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado

The Reconstruction Plan for Zones Affected by Terrorism in Cabo Delgado - PCRD (2021-2024), as already mentioned, is an important short/medium term governmental instrument that lays out the priority actions for socio-economic development and recovery, with a focus on the districts that suffered massive attacks and destruction as a result of the armed conflict. The PCRD has a total budget of about USD 300 million, which aims to ensure the return of displaced communities to their areas of origin and also provides for humanitarian actions to assist IDPs. Its implementation is led by ADIN, in partnership with the INGC and other government sectors. According to the document, it was designed in line with the Internally Displaced Persons Management Policy and Strategy for the country, which promotes the *"active participation of the various relevant sectors of Government, civil society, the private sector, humanitarian agencies and cooperation partners, IDPs, host communities and community-based organisations"* (PEGDI, 2021).

In this sense, the elaboration of the PCRD would have provided an important opportunity for the broad participation of the various key stakeholders, social and economic agents and, above all, the participation of the displaced communities and women and host

families, in order to put forward their needs, priorities and visions about the future of the province under the current state of affairs. However, the interviews and fieldwork revealed that the PCRD did not result from a truly inclusive process, nor did it ensure the broad participation of either local CSOs and CBOs, nor of the communities and displaced women and host families, as can be seen in the various statements and analysis below:

I think that first of all, the government should pacify the province, because if there is no peace, . what are you going to rebuild? The plan talks about infrastructure, but the war is not over yet. There is criticism about the plan. It is said that it was not a participatory process. Maybe it was designed with the advice of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund? It is more donor driven and not internally driven? The plan was not even submitted to Parliament and much less to the provincial government. I heard that they are organising a meeting with civil society to present the plan and since we have a civil and peaceful society, it will welcome and legitimise the plan. At this moment they are probably drawing up their opinion. (...) Before, interviews were carried out, people were heard and then a report or opinion was made on the Government's Plan, so what is going to be done in 12 days?

The 2021 balance sheet, PES 2022 and the Cabo Delgado reconstruction plan will be presented and everyone will legitimise it and the government will send a report to its donors saying that the plan has been scrutinised by civil society. (...) Ask the women of Cabo Delgado, the secretary, the population, nobody was heard. I don't know what line of development we are following. (...) For example, we have our way of making houses and you are going to present me with a prefabricated model, which is complicated, claiming that it is resilient, for what? Look for local craftsmen and engineers. They will identify and select resilient materials for construction and when they return to their home areas they will already have that knowledge. What are they bringing in construction companies for? In other

countries these prefabricated houses have had problems (Local CSO staff, Pemba, 2021).

Maybe organisations from the top were involved, but here (in Montepuez) and in the districts where these things happened, I don't think so. Regarding that plan, the government sat down and drew it up alone. As for its dissemination, you can say that bridge x was completed, power was restored from x to x. But it is something that the government wanted to do alone and wants to do alone, it doesn't involve anybody. Maybe not everything they are doing are people's priorities (Staff member of the district civil society platform, Montepuez, 2021).

I was surprised to see cars in a convoy going to Macomia, with the label "reconstruction program" on them. (...) We thought that they were going to go through the neighbourhoods and hold some meetings, but there were none. We just sat and listened in Palma, this was destroyed, what do you think is the priority? Mocimboa, ditto (...) They forgot to listen to the beneficiaries themselves (...) Displaced women should be invited by their leaders in the centres to participate in the spaces and discussions. We want women to be involved in resettlement planning, in donation programs. In the centres, we should call on these women and listen to them. We have to tell them: we are doing this program; we want to make the plan with you. So, making plans without involving them, automatically leads to this. Holding meetings to listen to their concerns, but not planning for them, but with them (Local CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

I think that the support teams for reconstruction or for mitigating the impact of the war should be made up of people from the central government, the provincial government, but also from the population

at the level of the districts affected by the war. Bringing people only from Maputo contributes to the diversion of support. There are registered people who have never received support (Head of Host Family, Pemba, 2021).

First we hear that the World Bank has donated $100 million. Okay, and then it is said, at some point, for example, that civil society organisations will also be part of that process. So, what is the mechanism to access these resources, since we don't know the strategy? Because the idea is not just about building schools. There must be this work of civic engagement, because it is extremely fundamental. For today you can build a school and tomorrow people may never go to school (...). The biggest investment for me is to work on people's minds, people's behaviour (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

The statements show the importance of real participation and that the displaced (and host) communities themselves may have opportunities and spaces to deliberate and decide on their own development and recovery in the current situation. They also expose the risks of a planning and an investment which are not articulated on the basis of input from the communities and their expectations, especially in a situation of countless socio-economic fragilities and high social tension and insecurity generated by the conflict. In order for this volume of investment to be felt in the lives of the communities and in the recovery of the province, it is essential that both the displaced and host communities, as well as civil society, are able to 1) know, 2) review and 3) monitor the PCRD, as provided for in the legislation.

It is crucial that local/national civil society ensures close attention to the specific needs of the various groups of women, men and children, considering the most vulnerable, marginalised and discriminated groups, and specifically considering women's role and the extra burden on women in providing for and maintaining the livelihoods of families and communities. To this end, it is necessary to demand that the local government ensures the participation of both CSOs and displaced communities in the review and monitoring of the

PCRD, in the Provincial Coordination Forum for the implementation of the PRCD, and allows for the necessary adjustments so that the Plan is aligned with the needs and pressing concerns of displaced communities and, above all, that there is clarity about how these actions can be a long-term contribution to more structural changes that contribute to reducing the endemic inequalities that characterise the province.

In the previous sections it was possible to present some analysis regarding the PCRD and some key areas such as education, health and other priority demands raised by women. In the context of this section, it is important to mention that the plan will be reviewed using a gender approach to understand how women and girls, and men and boys, will benefit from the various medium-term actions and humanitarian assistance, as well as what will be the strategies for the advancement of women's rights within the PCRD. For example, the PCRD's monitoring matrix does not include some data that would be relevant, such as the number of beneficiaries to be covered, disaggregated by sex, especially in the scope of actions such as the distribution of production kits, agricultural inputs and training, in order to better understand which specific actions are aimed at promoting employment/self-employment and income generation for women.

For instance, there is also little detail on the issue of access to and redistribution of land for displaced women, although there is mention of land-use planning. Neither is there any mention of (re)compensation for IDPs in the context of the loss of their assets due to the conflict. Equally, there are few actions focused on training and education for youth and adults, which was a demand raised in the various focus groups of women and interviews with key stakeholders. There is also little investment in psychosocial support and a large deficit in human resources in this area. Mozambique has experiences and materials which were developed during periods such as the civil war and the 2000 floods, as well as other more recent materials on psychosocial support in emergencies that can be retrieved, explored and adapted to the present context. Furthermore, ensuring coordination with universities and technical training institutes to integrate the content of psychosocial support and trauma relief in emergency settings in their curriculum may, in the medium and long terms, ensure greater involvement of students and recent graduates of Psychology and Social Work courses, for example through internship programs. This could address the shortage of human resources in this area.

In general, it is noted that the PCRD approaches for the different sectors are focused on infrastructure rehabilitation and construction, especially in the destroyed districts. It is also important to highlight that, in terms of investment, the greatest share goes to infrastructure rehabilitation (about USD 107 million) and humanitarian assistance (USD 75 million). The sector with the highest volume of investment will be Gender, Children and Social Action, with around USD 64 million, for the construction of infrastructure (Integrated Care Centre (CAI), a Transit Centre for destitute families and a Provincial Orphanage in Pemba).

Another major concern which was raised is how to rebuild before peace has been re-established , in a context where attacks have not yet ceased. The issue of peace as a basic condition for reconstruction is challenging and highlights the importance of an **integrated approach to a humanitarian-development-peace response**, which implies creating synergies and common goals between short-term emergency response programs and long-term systemic and structural social change processes, promoting opportunities for peacebuilding at all levels. The PCRD indicates some actions, such as community peace dialogues, recognizing that more and better mainstreaming of the Peace, Women and Security Agenda into national development programs and plans is needed.

Throughout this work, it is possible to distinguish the need for greater articulation and synergy between spaces, such as between the humanitarian response clusters, and between other spaces for participation in development processes and promotion of human rights and peace, such as the Platform for Peace, Women and Security or the Civil Society Platform on Natural Resources and Extractive Industry, Community Committees, etc.

Furthermore, some statements, such as those below, show the need to direct investment in reconstruction in the context of conflict, not only at the destroyed areas, but to also focus on the development of villages and resettlement centres, so that people can, straightaway, begin their reconstruction and gain autonomy, given that many of the women still do not feel safe enough to return to their areas of origin.

Although the interviewed women expressed the wish to return to their homes, they condition this to the official and declared end of the conflict. Till then, the majority of these women wants to create the conditions for a dignified life in the host centres and villages.

Investment in villages and host centres: "They need to know that this is my new

home".

Resettlement areas need basic conditions to make them more and more habitable. The displaced people need to know that this is my new home (...) so I need to work to make it my home, a habitable place. And more work should be done to bring basic services to these places, schools, hospitals, because health centres are still far from the population. There are first aid tents, but it is not a hospital. There should be more civil society organisations working there and developing activities not as an emergency, but for the development of the community itself, to put people to work for themselves, for the human development of the people themselves (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

When I hear people saying that they don't want clothes, they don't want food and they just want to go back to their areas of origin, it shows that people are not satisfied with the conditions in the centres. But honestly, every place a displaced person passes through, they leave their identity, a piece of themselves and when they go back to their land, things are no longer the same. (...) We must create in people the thought that going back is good, but where we are is also our land. Even our ancestors had to migrate (...) So we have to create a link with the land of origin and also create the idea of belonging. We have to create conditions so that they have a space where they can farm, where they can feel welcome and where a new life can begin (Social Activist, Maputo, 2021)

The desire to return will grow if my area is safe, because living here and renting a field to cultivate doesn't help. (...) If I had some money, even before returning to my village, I would start to sell mangoes or capulanas, taking advantage of traditional ceremonies such as circumcision and initiation rites because they come with a lot of sales (Social Activist/Women's Focal Group of Cuaia, Metuge, 2021).

After being in the centre for some time, we think of going back to our village. However, we realize that the war has not stopped and, for this reason, we prefer to stay in the centre as it is a safe place despite the bad living conditions (Community leader from Nacussa B, Ancuabe, 2021).

As soon as the war is over, we want to return to our lands (...) We have repeatedly received a lot of information about attacks in our areas of origin and this worries us (Nacussa B Women's Focus Group, Ancuabe, 2021).

3. Perceptions of the Development model and Natural Resources in Cabo Delgado as cause of the conflict and condition for Peace

The last decade has seen Cabo Delgado become a target for foreign capital and investment with extractive industry megaprojects, due to the discovery of gas, oil and a variety of minerals. Since then, the political discourse and program has been centred on the idea of "sustainable and inclusive development" based fundamentally on the extractive industry, with emphasis on the role of oil multinationals in creating employment opportunities and integrating the rural population into the formal market, as reflected in the National Development Strategy (2015-2035). The Strategy emphasises the promotion of women's economic empowerment and inclusion of youth in the extractive industry's value chain through vocational trainings, literacy and adult education programs and trainings in financial management and entrepreneurship (Collet, 2020). However, the practical reality shows high levels of exclusion and major challenges in the provision of education services at various levels, limiting access to employment opportunities that would potentially be generated by the extractive industries at local level. The conflict also highlights the challenges of reconciling public policies for social inclusion and equality, sustainability and environmental conservation with the neoliberal orientation, on which the predatory extractives' model, that characterises national and provincial development agendas, is based.

In the interviews with the various key stakeholders and displaced women, implicit criticisms are expressed regarding the extractive development model that has been adopted in the province and the country, which is marked by the unbridled exploitation of resources and a highly unequal redistribution of wealth. This results in the exclusion and violent expropriation of local communities. As the statements will show, the development model is identified as one of the fundamental causes of the conflict, associated with the "resource curse". Meanwhile, the statements reveal the urgent need to rethink and redesign the "development" of the province and of the country, guaranteeing participation, in particular of all groups that have been disadvantaged, as a condition for the effective construction of peace, as shown in the statements shared below:

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> *What is happening will slow down development. What is development? It is freedom.* ***When there is no freedom there is no development, unless the paradigm of development is this distraction of exploitation of natural resources: gas, oil, wood, rubies, heavy sands, but without any active participation of the local population in the process,*** *without the communities themselves delegating this responsibility to the State out of their own free will. We are having unbridled exploitation of resources and we don't know what is happening, neither what is being exploited nor what is not being exploited.* ***We want to ensure that there is shared management of the resources that belong to all of us,*** *and this will depend on which paradigm we follow as part of the State´s vision. But I know that the used paradigm will set us back in every respect, whether it is at the social, economic or cultural level. The resource curse becomes more and more evident* (OCB Staff, Pemba, 2021).

> ***Everyone should have access to resources regardless of their political party affiliation (...)*** *It is necessary to create opportunity; people will get themselves organized. Well, that's what's happening. Graphitei is found there, you will see who's there: it's your fellow citizen who snatches it from the community, which is left without*

benefits or anything, this is serious. That's why this happens (...) Doesn't this country have other people who deserve the same opportunities? (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Some people talk about lack of employment, and the wealth of natural resources and all the poverty in Cabo Delgado province (Women's Focus Group, Pemba, 2021).

For me it is the inequality of distribution of resources. *There may be other reasons, but I'm stuck on that. Because right when those resources started, the people who were supposed to be in charge of those resources, were those who didn't consider others, they only considered themselves. Moreover, it is a minority group which is already rich. Besides being a minority, it's well-off group. So, the disadvantaged groups have delayed to receive anything. Maybe there were people who started to talk about this. So, due to a lack of acceptance by one side, people perhaps saw the need to, in anger, I don't know how, not adopt dialogue*
(Civil Society District Platform member, Montepuez, 2021).

You see, Cabo Delgado has 19 districts (...), but this war, you know, it broke out right there where oil and gas were discovered. It is there: Palma, Mocímboa, Macomia which are areas with these riches. (...) And another issue, one of the reasons why we are suffering here in Cabo Delgado is because the majority of the people of Cabo Delgado, are not living in the area where the projects are.. The majority there are people coming from the south. So, these young people think: If this project is here, in my house, why can' t I have opportunities? We are excluded, why must people come from Maputo, from the south, or Beira, and why are we not given priority? (...) As **there is a lack of jobs***, when these traitors come they talk to these unemployed people It becomes easy to attract them. That´s why this conflict doesn't end, yes. (...) In my point of view, the government should try to solve this*

problem of unemployment. Yes. (...), young people, men, women are here doing nothing, that's my opinion. In the first place, when they open up a vacancy in the first place they should look for local people (CBO Staff, Pemba, 2021).

We raised the issue of the "resource curse" and in that seminar we spoke a lot about the alternatives that might be a result. It is about a perspective of good, conscious management, so that the so-called sovereignty fund is created and that the progress of the communities is strengthened, and that this should be a comprehensive program that enhances all dimensions of local development (Activist, Maputo, 2021).

If we have rubies or gold here, of course someone who has the capacity and knowledge, someone who has the technology and financial resources to be able to explore this will come along. What is at stake here are the gains. ***How do we feel that the resources are ours, belong to us and that we are gaining in benefits?*** *It's complicated. For example, the only district at the moment that is receiving the 2.75% is the district of Montepuez, on account of the rubies. 2.75% goes back to the communities. To the communities so that they can then use that money for local development. But you can see what is happening. In in Ancuabe there is graphite exploitation, but the community is not receiving 2.75%. Why, if there has been graphite exploitation for a long time? Why is the community not receiving? And then, what happens is the following: the 2.75% philosophy cannot substitute the channelling, for example, of the investment funds that have always gone to the district. Isn't it?* (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021)

The problem is food. People don't have access to resources, they don't have access to income. So, of course, they feel excluded from the processes. This means that it is the government itself that, when it

*knows that money is already coming, deliberately withdraws the funds intended for investment. It doesn't make sense. Then there is **also the issue of transparency** by the people who make decisions about the resources, about the money. So it ends up being a huge mess* (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

If the government shows openness, people will talk about what they need. Our country is characterized by inequalities in access to education, employment opportunities, basic social services, etc. and the natives claim it is the others who come to take away their jobs. All this provides for conflict (Head of Host Family, Pemba, 2021).

Society says that the war started because the terrorists want to occupy some districts that have natural resources. But there is also the issue of the opening of new mosques in some districts of Cabo Delgado, which subsequently started to mobilise young people and children to attend the madrassa and prevent them from going to school. (Social Activist, Pemba, 2021).

The reason why young people accepted to be recruited was money; many didn't even know what they were going to do, what the work was, but as they had many needs: unemployment, hunger, they ended up accepting. The poor level of education and addictions of the young people also played a role (...) Furthermore, it is known that many were deceived because they followed the terrorists thinking that they were being recruited for a job and subsequently they were captured. The recruitment started in 2007, when young people were recruited with promises of working in the construction of a road linking the districts of Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, Palma, Quissanga to other districts in Cabo Delgado province. At first we all questioned which road it was, because nobody could see it, until we found out that they were building an underground route. Despite several signs, the government did nothing. They looked at it as a normal situation. (Nacussa B Women's Focus Group, Ancuabe, 2021).

These statements reaffirm the views of various studies and analysts, who understand the conflict to be a result of the combination of factors such as extreme poverty, massive expropriations, poor natural resource management and chaotic resettlement processes, worsening inequality and decades of frustrated expectations that the gas boom and other extractive industries would result in more job opportunities and better living conditions (Cunha, 2021; Feijó, 2019; Collet, 2020; Bond, 2022). The Pemba Declaration (2019), a document drawn up by different CSOs, including religious and academic institutions, following a seminar involving the Provincial Government and local SC with the theme "*Human conflict during the exploitation of natural resources in Cabo Delgado province – reflections and perspectives*", summarizes important findings and demands which are in line with the shared statements , indicating the profound interrelationship between the current conflict and the transformations generated by the exploitation of natural resources:

Such exploitation takes place in a chaotic manner, against a backdrop that began as one of absence of the State and widespread opportunism. The bad practices of informal and chaotic exploitation of natural resources have been interrupted by the crackdown by the defence and

security forces, limiting the access of thousands of people to natural resources such as precious stones, graphite, land, fishing resources, but also wood and ivory. The resettlement processes have been chaotic, the State appears in alliance with big capital, aggravating situations of poverty of the populations; generalized poverty phenomena have coexisted with the emergence of high social expectations, which have been frustrated and generated conflict; (...) making many young people vulnerable to be captured by violent movements, feeding a vicious cycle, which urgently needs to be reversed (Pemba Declaration, 2019).

Furthermore, the document drawn up by OMR (2021) on *"Development in Cabo Delgado in a Conflict Context"* drew attention to the following aspect:

(...) the maximisation of economic efficiency generally implies predatory exploitation of natural resources and labour and greater inequalities, exclusion of minority social groups and, in many cases, transgressions against the environment and the conservation/sustainability of resources, which lead to vulnerability to external shocks. Therefore, planning is necessary where economic, social and environmental efficiencies have shared commitments (OMR, 2021).

4. Climate Change and the Ecological Crisis – Alternatives to Extractive Development?

This dangerous intersection of the extractive industry, the violence that accompanies it, and a population of women and youth who are already targets of systemic violence and generational trauma, sets the stage for increased local violence (Womin, 2020).

In the light of the previous discussion, different feminist proposals question the

development model and the asymmetries of global political and economic power that maintain a colonial logic (racist and patriarchal) of international division of labour. They also pose the need to construct alternatives to the dominant economic development model of an extractive-predatory nature, especially in the face of the global ecological crisis - climate change and the depletion of natural resources that result from the current format of development, with differentiated impacts on women (Womin, 2020). The daily micro-conflicts of dispute over resources end up having a disproportionate impact on women due to their role as managers of family and community life, as discussed.

Furthermore, one of the findings of the fieldwork in the different districts that were visited was precisely the high degree of environmental degradation, in particular deforestation and soil erosion, which we believe is the result of the actions of extractive industries in the province, but also the result of increased pressure on the land due to increased demands for resources, as a result of rapid migratory mobility, forced by the conflict. In addition, Cabo Delgado has been suffering directly from the impacts of climate change amidst a violent extremist conflict.

In 2019, the province was hit by one of the most extreme cyclones in the region, in the wake of severe droughts, as a result of higher temperatures in the Mozambique Channel. (Bond, 2022). As mentioned, in the conversation circles many women raised the challenges and massive destruction caused by cyclone Kenneth, and also mentioned the recurring concern regarding floods and droughts, especially in villages and IDP centres that were being established by the government in areas considered vulnerable to rainfall, in a context of chronic food insecurity and difficult access to land for agricultural production.

Some national organizations (Sekelekani, JA, WLSA, CTV) have provided evidence of the negative impact of extractive economies and have sought to raise attention to the specific impact on women in Cabo Delgado. However, it remains crucial to deepen the understanding of the gender dimensions of the impact of extractive economies and climate change in Cabo Delgado province, and the deep inter-relationship with the current conflict. For Bond (2022) *"the climate crisis is amplified by socio-political and economic injustices everywhere, but in 2021, perhaps nowhere so acutely as in northern Mozambique."* Feminist movements have been emphasising the understanding that the construction of social and economic justice and gender equality necessarily requires the construction of ecological

justice, that is, the construction of models of development and well-being that ensure not only the preservation, but also the regeneration of the ecosystem and its biodiversity. Internationally, ecological movements point to the inequality in global climate policy, and demand reparations and payment of 'climate debts' by Northern countries to Southern countries, and funding for the transition away from high carbon fossil fuel extraction-based economies. According to Bond (2022), John Hanlon was the first analyst to articulate the climate threats due to fossil fuels in Cabo Delgado:

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> The banks, the gas industry, and Mozambique leaders whistle in the dark and desperately hope that governments do not agree to meet the 1.5-degree climate crisis target and that all the gas will still be sold. But as the gas window closes due to climate change and the costs rise due to the insurgency, the likely income for the Mozambique government and the Frelimo elite becomes smaller and declines even more in the future. (Bond, 2022).

The issue of climate change in Mozambique has multiple dimensions. On the one hand, it is linked to the vulnerable condition that the country experiences during cyclonic seasons, with floods and droughts and the various challenges resulting from this - not least the constant threat to the food security of communities that depend on rain-fed agriculture. On the other hand, it is linked to the country's history of neo-colonial and predatory extractivism. Gudynas (in Womin, 2020) characterises predatory extractivism as a model of raw material extraction, deeply dependent on foreign investment, mainly from the Global North, which is carried out by large international corporations, for transformation and consumption abroad. This leads to massive displacements of communities, under a non-transparent system of rewards, various kinds of violations of the human rights of local communities, high environmental impact and depletion of non-renewable resources, precarious labour conditions and few local employability opportunities, as well as weak government control over the channelling of tax revenues from extractive industries to communities and local development agendas (Womin, 2020).

Despite global and regional efforts, from institutions such as the United Nations, the OECD (Economic Organisation for Cooperation and Development), the African Development

Bank, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), to improve issues of governance and transparency of the channelling of tax revenues from extractive industries, different movements and analysts and ecofeminist perspectives, expose that this development model, which is based fundamentally on large-scale and intensity extractivism is intrinsically damaging to the social and environmental fabric. This is due to the fact that it takes place within a paradigm that predominantly protects the interests of corporations and a local political-economic elite, to the detriment of the interests of communities and environmental protection.

WOMIN's (2020) research "Guns, Power, Politics", which presents a case study from Mozambique, states that when women and communities exercised their right to deny the occupation of their land by mining companies, they were targeted by police and private security forces, who defended corporate agendas. Women in particular suffered forms of violence and sexual harassment during these processes. In this sense, extractivist models that exclude the participation of communities in political decisions and only co-opt them or use military force to control local tensions, generate social fragilities that make these territories vulnerable to conflicts, as is the case in Cabo Delgado. This is also reinforced and evidenced in the statements in the previous section and other statements shared below.

It is in this sense that national and international organisations such as WOMIN, JA! and Rawoot have exposed the link between the predatory extractivist economy and climate change in Cabo Delgado, as well as militarisation and conflict: *Mozambique's "coal and LNG projects – which are more carbon-intensive than the regular extraction and processing of natural gas – will only further contribute to global warming.* "in addition to other ecological damage which has profound impacts on livelihoods and food security (marine pollution, biodiversity impairment, soil depletion) (Bond, 2022).

The challenge is therefore to build economic alternatives that are not so dependent on fossil fuels but that ensure that the needs and aspirations of Cabo Delgado's communities are met. For some, this requires moving from predatory extractivism to moderate extractivism, with high levels of application of environmental, social and fiscal regulations (e.g. ban on open-pit mining in Costa Rica), use of new technologies which are better suited to environmental protection, effective mechanisms for the participation of local communities and

development of small, local industries which are linked to productive processes, for local transformation of the products, effective systems for transparency and community management of fairer tax revenues.

Other movements, ecofeminist organisations and paradigms suggest an even deeper economic transition to what is called indispensable extractivism with small/medium-scale extractive activities which are guided by local and regional market demands and interests (in contrast to the demands of international corporations/northern countries), with low-intensity and smaller-scale projects, reduced social and environmental impacts and policy decisions which are informed by the principle of preserving ecosystems, reducing carbon emissions and ensuring community participation and control over natural resources. In this sense, the transition to an indispensable extractivism should occur under the paradigm of a diversified economy, which does not reproduce the "cycle of specialisation in raw materials" and can offer employment alternatives which are aimed at eradicating poverty, and social sectors, combined with environmental protection through economic activities such as ecological agriculture, ecotourism, renewable energy industries, among others (WOMIN, 2022). In this regard, jobs will not be limited to extractive industries, but alternatives will be considered regarding employment that strengthen existing land-based livelihoods and are linked to commitments to safeguard food sovereignty, mitigate climate change and ensure the protection and regeneration of biodiversity..

> The transition to a post-extractivist future requires a different logic of development - one that values not only oil and minerals, but also nature, human well-being, non-renewable natural resources, cultural beliefs and practices, and the protection of common goods as a basis for social reproduction (Meer, 2021).

Still, the issue of climate change and the ecological crisis and its link with the multifaceted conflict that the province is experiencing is a new issue for local and national civil society, as shown in the statement below, and requires a political openness of

government to new development paradigms:

> *Having political will means putting the right people in the right places to decide the right thing. Who is deciding that issue? Do they know? If they do not have the capacity to decide or to choose, they should leave and put someone who has knowledge of the oil and gas sector in place for the future. Because all we want is a developed Mozambique. But it has barely started and there is already a lot of confusion. Why is that? How is it possible, with the amount of oil we have, for Mozambique to open its doors to foreigners or those multinationals that come to work with us without first protecting the coast? What is the purpose of this? What we have out there is serious business. The biggest gold basin is here (the gold reserves are here). The best ruby is here. We have oil and gas. More than Dubai, that is what they are saying. Now I ask: are we in Dubai? Are we in Norway? Norway has 79 NGOs just to talk about oil and gas, biodiversity protection. Mozambique has how many NGOs that talk about these things? (...) It is a serious matter. So we should understand where we are going and what we want. There is the Monetary Fund, 50% will be there for financing development in Mozambique and 50% will go to the Government. Very well, they know what the Government is going to do, but what will be done with the funds in the Bank?? Will they help institutionalise more organisations to monitor and control more? Are they going to support them? I don't know. Because the projects will be based on an agreement or won't we see that money either? What do we want for Mozambique? There are several initiatives for you to monitor the Monetary Fund (...). What does Mozambique want? Why doesn't Mozambique protest ? (...) we have been educated and instructed to be quiet and silent* (Local CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

In the context of the articulation between gender inequality in the management of natural resources, the development model, climate change and democratic governance spaces, it is necessary to rethink programs that aim at structural and profound changes. In

Mozambique, some of the organisations that are trying to advance these reflections include the Alternative platform, the National Farmers' Union (UNAC), JA! (host of the international campaign *"Say No to Gas!"),* the Centre for Living Earth´s projects and the Territories in Conflict (Bond, 2022). However, in her article, Angela Collet (2021) refers to how projects and discourses, from the government, the United Nations and many national CSOs, still focus on an "environmental compensation" approach and funds generated by extractive industries.Few bring in preservation or ecological justice approaches that would deeply question the logic of the current development model, which would require an economic transition as mentioned above. We believe that this debate is fundamental for local CSOs to determine their position and participate with local proposals, that articulate women's needs and aspirations, especially those of displaced women.

Feminist, community and indigenous movements in different parts of the world have shown that the struggle to defend land is inseparable from the struggle to defend women's bodies and life. In-depth listening and participation is needed, as well as greater understanding about the interconnectedness of the various challenges of the province, in order to find alternative solutions, placing women at the epicentre of the resistance to the expropriation of their lands and ways of life (Meer, 2021).

5. Perceptions on other causes of Conflict

Weak investment in education and a curriculum disconnected from local needs

Some of the previous statements also demonstrated the problem of the weak supply and investment in education services at various levels in the province, and the subsequent limited access to formal employment opportunities. This issue was brought up several times, both in conversations with displaced women and other key stakeholders. Not only the lack of access to education services, but also perceptions about the curricular contents being of little value, or disconnected from local realities and cultures, were shared:

> *There are groups who still defend the thesis that there has been no multiplication of opportunities for resources along the coast. There was no investment by the State, this area received no investment, there were no technical schools, no secondary schools, only recently have schools*

been built in Mocímboa and Palma. These are recent developments, how many years of independence have passed? Many years.. These areas have not received anything. I have travelled to those areas. It was common for someone to arrive in an area and find 50 young people playing "Ntxuva" (traditional game from sub-Saharan Africa) for hours because they had nothing else to do. They were idle. So if something like that comes, it easily spreads to those youths because they have no other choice. Anyone who came and said they need 20 youths to weed, they would run and beg to do the job because they had nothing else to do (CBO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

For me, it is all about the government not wanting to give quality education to the population thinking that tomorrow it can manipulate them. It is necessary to ensure that people can go to school and learn the values of citizenship, anti-corruption, patriotism, among other aspects (...) We must invest in good education, transparency and accountability (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

The government should not be afraid to educate people well. It must reinvent itself and give more importance to human resource development. Even before the war, people did not go to school because the teacher is never there. There is no one to supervise the teacher to see if (s)he works accordingly. In the districts, they only have to hold the 1st of June event, and the year is over, and the parents claim that they don't know anyone who has been to school and is doing well in life. Therefore, they would rather have their children working on the field ... (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Let's face it, the Mozambican State is not strong, it has weak institutions. Firstly, it cannot provide education for all, which is a universal principle. There are children studying in the open because there are no classrooms, and yet at the same time they want to prevent people from going to the madrassa, which has better conditions than our schools? The schools have teachers from outside who don't respect

the local culture (National CSO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Society says that the war started because the terrorists want to occupy some districts that have natural resources. But there is also the issue of the opening of new mosques in some districts of Cabo Delgado, which subsequently started to mobilise young people to attend the madrassa and prevent them from going to school (Social Activist and CBO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

As we have seen, poor schooling was widely mentioned as one of the conditions that made the province, especially young boys, more vulnerable to the conflict. At the same time, it was also shared that one of the first signs of the conflict was associated with the banning of girls and boys from going to school, and the increase in the wearing of burkas as a result of the spread of new Islamic values. According to Bond (2022), "(...) until mid-2021, the insurgents expressed a distinct lack of interest in negotiating or even articulating concrete demands, aside from the imposition of Sharia law and closure of secular schools." This is important for an understanding of the gender dimensions that cut across the causes and conditions of the conflict, and the different ways in which girls and women also experience the new religious narrative, through the imposition of Sharia and new restrictions on their right to access education and work.

Demonization of Islam

(...) Then there was a process of demonization of Islam. There was a period when Islam was demonised. This area has long been under Islamic influence, all along this coast from the Mozambique Island to Sofala. The only schooling that was available was through Islam (...) Very recently, there was a wave of young people who left this area because they had no other way to be able to study, they went through the Madrassas and had opportunities that way. Islamic NGOs, the African Muslims, came here and gave scholarships, some went to Maputo to study, and others went to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Yemen. When they came back, they didn't have the equivalences to be able to

work in the civil service, that is, wherever they went, they were rejected. And they chose to confine themselves to mosques, those with innovative and progressive tendencies versus the old mosques led by people who had not been " Arabicized". (CBO staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Governance far from communities and local cultures

*The administrator himself does not go to mosques or to funeral ceremonies, let alone talk to people. He is only confined to his Palace and goes out to the communities to make speeches on the government agenda, but that is not what people want. They only want their basic needs met and someone who respects their way of life. They want people who are close to them. Above all, proximity between communities and institutions. There are differences in expectations here, which shows that there is no dialogue. What we have is fear or manipulation. Real political participation does not exist. Rather, there are people who are forced and often cannot even express themselves freely in these areas. (*CBO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

Non-identification with the ruling party

Those people who do not identify themselves with the Government or ruling party, their tendency is to take refuge in anything other than Frelimo. If you listen to the speeches made by Al-Shaabab when they took over Quissanga, Mocímboa da Praia, and/or Muidumbe, if you watch the videos that circulated, they clearly stated that they did not want Frelimo. They want to impose a flag of Islam so that there can be Sharia law. So they are not well educated people, but they have been instilled with some values that this is the monster, the leviathan, that is to say, they have a very clear idea of who the culprit is here (CBO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

6. Pathways to Peace

> *A feminist peace also means that everyone's voice is heard, with all groups included fully and meaningfully in the decisions that affect their lives. Here, women's organisations have a vital role to play, helping women and other marginalised groups gain access to decision-making arenas and giving them the resources and confidence to participate.* (Mlambo-Ngucka, 2021).

The desire for peace was deeply embedded in all conversations with the different groups who participated in this research and was constantly present during fieldwork in Cabo Delgado province. *"We want Peace",* was the main demand, tirelessly repeated with the same strength and intensity in all the conversation circles. We emphasize that this research was thought out and built as another (written) cry for Peace. We share in this section some understandings about the conditions and assumptions that were shared about the meaning of Peace and the ways to achieve it.

For several key stakeholders, the reconstruction of Peace is inseparable from a change in the development paradigm, as has also been discussed in other chapters of the research:

> *For this peace to exist, there must first be political will to know what Mozambique really wants for Mozambicans with respect to the life and development of the country itself. What is it that we want? Do we want to be like Norway or do we want be like Nigeria? Because you have to know. The same amount of oil that we have here in the Rovuma Basin, is the same amount of gas that was discovered in Norway 50 years ago. So my question is, where do we want to go? Do we want a Norway of today or do we want to have a country like Nigeria or a country that has oil and war? This is about political will, to sit down and agree, on what it is*

that we really want as Mozambique (Local CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

For the vast majority of people that were interviewed, including displaced women, the paths to Peace need to go beyond military solutions and interventions, to address the structural issues that are at the root of the conflict and to find possible forms of dialogue. Dialogue was mentioned countless times in the different groups as a necessity:

> *Many families are suffering, losing possessions, are being killed in cruel ways. The government must invest in dialogue. Sending and requesting military support is not enough. People are still living in fear and this country is very rich in natural resources, so if the government doesn't know how to handle this conflict, it could spread to the other provinces and bring insecurity to the whole of Mozambique* (Activist and CBO Staff, Pemba, 2021)

It is clear to several analysts, and to the women's groups we spoke to, that without addressing socio-economic grievances, military suppression of the insurgent movement will not resolve the deep, constructed   local (and ethnic) tensions and disputes over access to resources and services. Political economist Tomás Selemane (2021) put it as:

> "There is no military solution to the conflict, which has exploded in the gas-rich northern province of Mozambique since 2017. It will end only by addressing its root causes, among them, extreme poverty, unemployment, lack of health and education services, and lack of water supply." (Bond, 2022).

Additionally, to rebuild confidence in the possibility of peace, the involvement of all key stakeholders was highlighted as fundamental, as well as the need to improve and expand access and quality of basic services, as has been argued throughout the text and in the following statement:

> *It will be very difficult to convince the population to believe in peace reconstruction. This process must involve different parts of society and people who are willing to sacrifice for the greater good. (...) The*

leadership must know how to exploit the potential that the population offers. There is a need to improve basic social services, from the creation to the delivery of the service itself (Head of Host Family, Pemba, 2021).

As mentioned, the motto is dialogue. The vast majority of people who were interviewed, including women, argue that strategies should be found, together, and leaders must be identified to open up room and opportunities for dialogue with the insurgent group. At the same time, they understand that the issue of redistribution and shared management of natural resources is key and a condition for a shared future of peace. They also draw attention to Mozambique's accumulated experience in peace negotiations, and in this respect it is also important to remember the gaps in the gender dimensions that were discussed earlier. To achieve Peace, it is necessary to seriously consider all the causes mentioned. Again, the issue of education and the inclusion of curricular content on Peace was mentioned, as well as the investment in the training of young men and women, as is reflected in one of the statements below:

The first thing to do is to engage in dialogue, identify the front-line leaders and make those people the key people to promote dialogue. Because leaders have their followers. So you have to treat these leaders who are captured well, treat them as human beings and not as enemies and try to convince them. We have to transform ourselves so that we can look at this enemy as a human being, as a rational person who has causes and motives. We have examples of rebellions in this world. If we have experience, then we should use it. They say that when Frelimo captured Portuguese soldiers, they did not kill them, but handed them over to the International Red Cross, so this is a principle. Now we have another experience from Renamo, we have the DDR that will give lifelong pensions to former Renamo soldiers. So it is possible to coexist with the enemy. Are those different from those that are here? So dialogue lines need to be created. (CSO Staff member, Pemba, 2021).

And why not engage in dialogue when you know who these people are, why is there no dialogue? Where there is conflict, there are two parties. If there are two parties, there is a solution to the conflict. **We need dialogue to resolve conflicts. What communication strategy has been adopted so far? What have you done? Until today we don't have that answer. The issue of peace and security is urgent. It is also necessary to include the word peace in the school context.** (SCO Staff, Pemba, 2021).

The government must identify the leader and dialogue with him, so as to understand what he really wants and reach an agreement. The government needs to stop prohibiting young people from exploiting natural resources, so that they too can feel ownership and benefit from them. **Because the majority of the government, when they know that there are local youths who are exploiting the resources, they try to kill them or expel them from the mine and this creates discontent among the population,** *and so they join the insurgents because they feel that they are not benefitting from the resources that their province offers. If they don't want to give away the mines, then let them hire the youth to work in those mines and have salaries secured* (Head of a Host Family, Pemba, 2021).

The government must contact the insurgents, identify the leader and thereby negotiate peace and reach an agreement with the terrorists even if this means giving away part of some districts for resource exploitation by the terrorists. The government must identify the leader of the group in order to be able to engage in dialogue. If the leader of the terrorists feels he cannot dialogue with the government **he can identify trusted people (countries) to talk to them, on their behalf.** *(...) They could make more alliances to bring more military personnel to Cabo Delgado so that they can fight the insurgents and end the war and help us because we are suffering as the host centres do not have good conditions. (...)* **And we need to support girls to access education ,**

even with the conflict, they would help develop their communities (Men's focus group, Pemba, 2021).

Building the paths to Peace is an interconnected process that requires an intersectional intervention which understands the interconnection between the various structural and historical causes of the conflict, ranging from ethno-religious issues, the model of predatory extractivism in the context of inequality and poverty and its effects, to the resurgence of militarisation in defence of corporations to the detriment of the populations, the poor redistribution and management of natural resources, the ecological crisis and the context of high vulnerability to climate change.

In this sense, we stress that peace requires rethinking the paradigm of extractivist development and its link to patriarchal structures and militarisation, as well as rethinking the approaches to reconstruction and humanitarian intervention so that they pave the way for solutions and alternatives which can gradually lead to economic transitions that aim to join people's well-being with environmental protection. Thus, it is increasingly necessary that actions in response to conflict, and support to displaced people, have systemic and integrated approaches that join peace, development and humanitarian responses, with a gender perspective.

The feminist paradigm of peace understands peace to be an environment that allows for a dignified life and not just the absence of armed conflict, a definition that is in line with the concept of Positive Peace. Building Positive Peace entails addressing the various forms of violence, including gender-based violence and violence against the environment. At the same time, Positive Peacebuilding recognizes that in conflict there can be spaces of peace, but spaces of violence can also persist. However, if these pockets of conflict are not addressed, true peace will not be achieved.

> (...) ending violence against women means moving beyond a violent economy that is shaped by capitalist patriarchy to a nonviolent, sustainable peaceful economy that respects women and the earth. This transition can only be achieved through movements of smart and committed people, with clear political analysis and strategy, unified across countries and sectors. (Sheer, 2021)

According to the digital feminist platform African Feminism (2019), a feminist peace implies:

> "Equal participation at all levels and in all peacebuilding processes. Equal participation would entail addressing gender power relations within households, the community and institutions, questioning the use of power and masculinities that perpetuate inequalities and normalize the abuse of women. All these different forms of inequalities exist in situations of conflict and post conflict settings". (in Collet, 2020).

Throughout this research, we have tried to stress the importance of the participation of local stakeholders to guide the peace processes towards the (re)construction of post-conflict societies which have the capacity to develop a Positive, sustainable and lasting Peace which is marked by the ability to resolve future conflicts in a non-violent way. To this end, it is fundamental that post-conflict peace and (re)construction processes have a gender dimension, as already mentioned, that brings forward the specific contributions and impacts of women in both processes, and that these processes require the capacity to construct new, non-violent masculinities, as well as other development and gender equality paradigms.

LIFE STORIES

Amina Anli, Nacaca Village, Montepuez

I have always been a peasant. I used to have a farm where I cultivated with my husband and with the produce we fed our family.

Unfortunately, not all the family members are here with me and I don´t know where others are as each one of us ran away whichever way we could. So far I haven't heard from anyone of them.

I am here because of the war. Actually, it's the first time I´ve lived through this kind of situation, a war that even forces people away from their land.

Life is not good here. There is no job here that can enable me to have some income to feed the children. It is difficult to receive the products or the subsidy that is distributed..

It would be a miracle to be able to return to my homeland, find the rest of my family alive and go back to doing the jobs we used to do. People say that the attacks have decreased, that the troops are working, but it is still too early to know what will happen tomorrow.

Awa Jorge, Nacussa B Village, Ancuabe
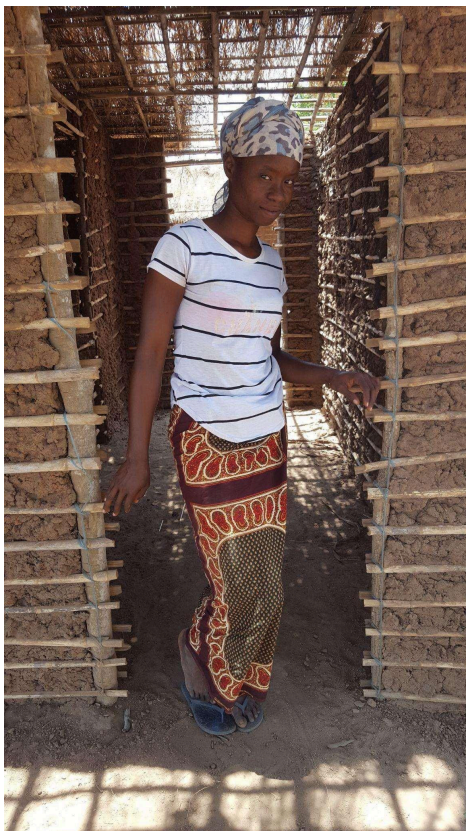
I studied up to Grade 12. I wanted to be a Portuguese teacher, but then I had to go back to my mother's house and couldn't afford to continue. In 2018, I went to Montepuez to start a teacher training course. When I got there, I checked for my name on the list, and realised that the names on the list were of people from Maputo and other provinces, but there was no one from here.

This conflict has been with us for a long time. I'm not sure whether it began in 2017 or not. I can´t tell. All I know is that the insurgents arrived in Macomia, they opened fire. They stopped on the road from Mucojo, from Pemba, and from Mueda, they started shooting. That was the moment we managed to enter the bush and escape.

The military did nothing. They, too, ran away, even though they had weapons. They were afraid. Even in the bush, we found the body of a military killed by the insurgents. So we knew we were on our own.

When the insurgents came, they took the pretty ones (girls/women) and sent the ugly ones home. I don't know if that was because they had a light skin. One of these light-skinned women was snatched away from her husband (by the insurgents), saying: "This one is pretty, she will be the Boss's wife!"

Some women suffered violence when they were found in the bush, going to fetch dry cassava root or to draw water, some were beaten and others were tied up. Whilst, in the case of men, differently from women, they were beaten and if nobody came to their aid, they were killed. Women were beaten and abandoned. So these are the stories we heard when we decided to run away from home, I, my husband, my husband's family and my younger sister's child.

We arrived here a year ago. My husband used to make doors. When we arrived here last year, he tried to make doors to sell at the village centre , but no one would buy them. He can' t afford to give me anything, he says he has nothing because he is not doing anything. We don't have tarpaulin, plates or buckets. At the beginning, WFP used to give us food, now AMA has arrived.

The hospital is very far away; we have to go to the village to find a motorbike to get there. There is no energy either. If we want to charge our mobile phones, we have to go to the neighbourhood to borrow a solar panel and we pay 10 Meticais for each time we use it. As for school, some children were fortunate to be enrolled and are receiving classes here, with teachers who come from the village.

I would like to talk to the government to put an end to the war. If I had the opportunity, I would tell them that here, where we are, the owners are going to enslave us, cultivating for them in exchange for bread. It has been like this since we arrived here. If they can't put an end to this war, they had better bring food and clothing for the people, because we have nothing.

Franca Nacir, Nacaca Village, Montepuez

I came because I was fleeing from the war. Here I live with my husband and seven children. In Macomia I had a house and worked on the field. I had no problems having food.

Life is very hard here. I don't do any work that pays money. Most of the time I haven't received the products that are distributed and lately they give us nothing.

Some of my family members are here with me, others I don't know where they are. I have never experienced a war like this one, which kills people like animals, burns down people's houses and forces people off their land, to go and live somewhere else.

The only way to put an end to this war is for the government and those waging the war to talk to each other and say what they want. I want to go back home. There I have fields, neighbours, friends. My life was normal. The war must end.

Tima Bakar, Nacussa B Village, Ancuabe

We saw strangers and we ran away. They recruited children, adults, women and girls to marry, men to train with weapons. In our area, they recruited men who worked in the remote fields, where the government forbade them to go. In those forbidden areas, we started finding dead people, and we saw that the situation was serious. That's when the war spread to the whole area of Macomia.

I am the community leader in this centre. They said they no longer wanted a man, they wanted a woman and everyone pointed at me. I hid because it's a lot of responsibility, but they said, "It must be this lady, she can read a little, and she does government service, we want her to be our leader, here of the displaced"'. So I took office that day. That´s how we are now trying to change things.
When we arrived here, the food was not destined for the our people . They would call the names of the villagers not those of the IDPs. Therefore, we complained three times, but they did nothing, until we ended up talking to the Administrator, reporting the whole situation that the villagers

have everything in their homes while we have nothing, they receive while we don't. Now this has changed. They write down the names of each household and we now have food.

We have to cut the sticks to build our houses, ourselves. We have reported to the government that they didn't help us, neither to build houses nor to build toilets. Now we only asked for tarpaulins. The head of the Administrative post came and told us to go to the bush and collect grass to cover our houses. I asked, "Are we not refugees, others are supported and we are not, what is the difference?" He didn't answer. We still haven't received anything. No tarpaulin, no lamp, no latrine covers, nothing. We always get people making promises, that is why others are going back, saying, "It's better to die in our homes!"

They say the government military poisoned Al-Shabaab's water source and they are dying like dogs. But the only military who are doing great work are the Rwandan troops. If it wasn't for them, we wouldn't be alive. They have various means, they have a map, they have a plane and they set up traps for the enemy. They are doing a good job.

These terrorists are monsters. They recruit and train you and then invade your area again to kill your mother, father, brothers, sisters and all your family members. They say that is the only way you learn. Sometimes they ask about religion, when you say you are Muslim it's all right, but when you say you are Christian and Makonde they say, 'Cut him! He is Nyusi's little brother, that one. If someone in the group cries, they say kill that one too."

To forget all that, we dance Nihapo, we dance Tufo, we also play checkers, children play football. This is how we keep the bad thoughts away from our heads.

I am only asking for peace, people are suffering. I would like this war to end, to build my house, because I had a motorbike, bicycle, television set and much more, but I lost everything and I would like to get back everything I lost. I just want peace.

Sifa Sualê, Nacussa B Village, Ancuabe

Last year, Al-Shabaab occupied my village for a week. The population fled into the bush with no food, no water, walking with children on their backs, until cracks opened up on their feet. As we walked, along the way we saw children falling and dying from thirst and hunger. We pulled out grass and covered the bodies, leaving them behind, and we continued our walk towards the centre of Macomia. Many people died along the way, mainly children.

We came here fleeing from the war. We survived thanks to God, because we couldn't leave with anything, not even cassava to eat in the bush, there was no time, we decided to just walk. My mother fainted on the way, but luckily she was helped by a group that had some flour. They made some porridge and gave it to my mother, and she woke up and was fine. The groups helped each other on these walks.

When we arrived in Macomia, those who had money started buying things. The IOM car selected the elderly people, women and children to help transport them, the men were not taken on board, they were left to look for a way to come.
At the centre we live well together. We help each other. We don't have any problems among ourselves.

Regarding our customs, we have performed the women's ceremonies, for example when a family has a girl who is ready to be a "mwale", they invite the others and perform a little ceremony and give her a piece of advice.

Between 10 and 15 years, they can be initiated, because in the old days, girls would not date boys at the very young age and waited until they were 14 or 15 to be initiated, but now they rush and start at 10, 11, 12, 13 years of age. Families fear that girls can get pregnant before they are initiated, which is bad luck for us.

There are still some people in my village, but because they don't receive support, many are dying of hunger. They go out into the bush to look for Yinana tubers and that's where they are found by bandits and killed.

We know this as they usually go to the bush in groups of many people, so that if anyone sees something they can run away to report back to Macomia .

My dream is to see my children become well off so that they can help me in future.
I want to go back home because home is home. I want to go back to do what I used to do to survive, because here we just sit and take care of our husband, because men have nothing to do. We just stare at each other. So in order to alleviate this suffering, we just have to go back home.

Ancha Celestino, Nacussa B Village, Ancuabe

Suddenly we started to hear, at night, that they entered Mucojo, Mocímboa, and that they even arrived in Palma. That's when we realised that there was war. Then the attacks started, some were killed, others were burnt inside the cars. We had to run into the bush and hide there. It was five days of just walking, without looking back, as if we were blinded by fear.

In the bush, we looked for food and we found cassava, which we ate and we kept running and we slept in the bush. I even went as far as sleeping on top of a snake, but it didn't bite me because that kind of snake knows people in need.

I arrived here struggling, since I needed to get to a place. Some land has an owner, others left a long time ago. Some people accept a payment for us to use the land and others do not. We only received help from WFP three times, they gave us food.

When I was in my homeland, I used to go to the fields. I also made ice cubes and sold them.

I also made maheu (maize based traditional non-alcoholic beverage) and sold it, and that way I earned my bread. Back then, I was married, but my husband had many wives. So after we ran away from the war, he left me, he went to stay with another woman.

I have 9 Children. The house I built here, I built all by myself. I had to cut the stakes and stick with my own hands. Here women don't wait for men to build houses for them.

I couldn't wait either. Some of my children are still very young and I have to provide for them, others have fled to Pemba. The eldest remained in the village because he is used to living on his homeland. As for my husband... he is around here with another woman, he doesn't help me.

I don't know who started this war, maybe it was white people. But white people could be our political leaders. It is white people who rule over us. I just wish they would stop this war so that we can go back to our homelands. These instigators of the war only know to fight.

Ngamo Sualehe, Nacaca Village, Montepuez

Before the conflict, back home, I used to do business making small cakes. With the money I earned, I bought food and clothes for the children, and I also opened fields where I produced.

It's the first time I've seen this kind of war, this one is different from the others. This one is dangerous. They murder people with knives, burn houses and expel families from their land. Many women and girls have suffered from rape.

I came here because of the war, I fled from Mocímboa da Praia. I don't know where the other members of my family are. I don't even know whether they are still alive or dead. Here I don't do anything that can enable me to earn an income to buy food or clothes, nor do I receive any subsidy, and I rarely receive the food that is distributed. So I'm suffering.

The war must end, so that we can all be together. The governors should call those who are waging the war, sit down with them and talk it over. I want to go back to my homeland, because I was used to it there and didn't suffer like I do here. I can't tell if the insurgents are still there or not, but now they don't attack like before. Those who are still there will tell me whether (the situation) is good or not.

Zaida Aliasse, Nacaca Village, Montepuez

I am 72 years old, I came here because of the war. I don't know where most of my family are, nor have I heard of any one of them. I don't even know the whereabouts of my daughter, the mother of my grandson who came with me. Everyone fled in their own way.

Back in Mocímboa, I used to do business selling small cakes. I made cakes and sold them for a living; besides this, I had a rice field where I produced to feed the family. My husband and I dreamed of increasing production on our land.

Now life has changed. It is difficult to live with different people who I neither know nor are my family. Here I don't have a decent house, I lack clothes, food and fields to produce. I have no work, so earning money is difficult.

I am dreaming of going back home, to Mocímboa da Praia, to resume working on my fields so that we can have food. But the war must stop. The rulers and those who wage the war should sit down and say what each one wants.

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Virgínia Albino, Nacussa B Village, Ancuabe

My mother died at my birth in Muidumbe. Then I was sent to the orphanage in Lichinga because there was no one else. My aunt was concerned about me, but when she found me I was already grown up. As soon as I arrived there, the family was happy, thanks to my aunt.

In my first marriage, I had two children and then we split up. In the second, I had four and we are still together to this day. My husband has two wives. Sometimes, he picks his clothes and goes away, it's as if I'm not married. We don't understand each other, we don't talk to each other, we argue a lot. We are all together in this centre, I, my husband, the children and this woman.

During the time we were in the bush, we didn't eat anything because we hadn't taken anything with us when we ran away.

We slept in the bush for four nights, the situation was getting worse and the children were suffering. On the fifth day I had the bad luck to fall into a hole while walking and injured my foot. After a while we got a lift from a vehicle that brought us here.

Here I usually work on other people´s fields so that I can have 50 Meticais to buy pencils and exercise books. These children are used to (the way we lived in) our land because there I could afford to provide for everything. But, now, we're having a hard time. The boy's trousers are torn, and his buttocks are sticking out, he doesn't even have a school bag, he has nothing. I buy pencils and I distribute them among all the children but they usually return from school without any.

I am a mother, father, grandmother. My husband has other wives and doesn't work. The government should deploy more troops to reinforce those who are on the battlefield in order to end this war. The most important thing is to end this war. Here poverty has increased . Please, help us.

Amissina Patrício, Cuaia Village, Metuge

Before the war, we had our belongings, fields, animals, our way of life. We lost our families, children, brothers, fathers, mothers. Even my sister was taken away and I have no hope of seeing her again. We live in fear of more violence and of what will happen in the future.

I still remember very well the day the war started. It is our tradition to wake up early and fetch water. So (on that day), three girls from our village went very early to the well, before starting work on the fields. On the way they met a group of insurgents. They asked if there were any troops in the area. The girls said no. So they said, "Go and don't tell anyone that you have seen us. If you do, we will come in and burn down all the houses and kill everyone!"

I live near the well. I asked, "Why are you crying?"

They did not answer, but I persisted and they eventually revealed what happened. That's when some of our men went out with guns to the well and saw boot prints. Then we called the authorities for help.

As soon as the reinforcement helicopter landed, they started exchanging fire and the enemy ran away, but then they went on to attack the villages of Muaja and Naputa. The whole population fled, we went into the bush and hid there for five days. When it started raining, we wondered what we would do. We saw that going back home would not work and we went on our way. I came with these three children. My sister's children are with my brother-in-law here.

Last year, when I was still in the first centre, some activists came and selected ten women to be trained, and I was in this group. I have even been to Maputo, where I learned about physical violence and that a woman should not just wait for her husband, she should be active to help at home. Here at the centre, they have selected me to be an activist because they see that I am an open, active woman, and I know how to speak up. I sit with women and sensitise them to be dynamic, not to be isolated. I also mobilise women to dance Tufo because singing and dancing helps to forget a lot of things.

In the first centre, where we came from, each one of us had to carry a plate to receive food. Then we complained because the food was never enough. We asked (them to allow us) to start cooking by ourselves so that we could share the food better. Now they give us rice one month but then we spend two months without receiving anything. Besides this issue, at the beginning they used to distribute rice to women but now they distribute it to men. The problem with this approach is that men have several wives, one in one centre and one in the other centre. One wife can have her name on the list in one centre, but the husband receives the donation in the other centre. The husband has to share what he received between the two wives, while one of the two wives has already received. This prejudices the other wife who has no name on the list.

We have many concerns here. We have no farms to grow food, no schools and no hospitals. We sleep on the ground, we lack pots, drinking water, and when it rains everything floods. I would like to go back home to farm and feed my children. I had a 13-hectare field, with papaya-trees, banana-trees, mango-trees, and other produce. I even had people working for me. As soon as I hear that it is safe, I will return home.

Joanita Amando, Cuaia village, Metuge

At first we only heard rumours, then we saw some strangers passing by and we started to wonder," Where do those people come from?".

When the insurgents attacked, we managed to escape into the bush. We all ran away. Those who had been captured were lucky because they were released. When we arrived here, we eventually dispersed because some felt it was better to go to Pemba, to their relatives´ houses and other places. We stayed here in Cuaia.

Here at the centre, Julia [Wachave] usually teaches us that a woman should not sit and fold her arms, just waiting for a man, but should stand up and do something. And I agree because when I do business, I can get money to buy clothes for my children, when the food is finished, I can buy more and add to what I have.

My husband goes to the village to cut wood, to make charcoal to sell, and when he gets money he brings it. I take the money and buy wheat and make rolls and sell them at the village. As far as I am concerned, I don't suffer because my husband and I help each other.

Unfortunately, we don't have a good relationship with the owners of the land (the natives). We don't understand each other. For example, there are mango trees around here, but the owners always warn us, "Woe to those who will pick mango here, we shall deal with them" I don't know why.

We are not comfortable here. When we are sick, we go to the hospital in the district headquarters or another centre, but it is far away. When a pregnant woman begins to get labour pains, and if she doesn't go early to the hospital, she runs the risk of giving birth on the way, because the hospital is far from here. It can take an hour to get there.

At first, water was for sale, although we had no means to buy it. Then the government came and said that water should not be sold because the host centre needs water and people cannot afford to buy it because they have no money. So, now, they no longer sell water, but even so, it's not enough for everyone. We fetch water in turns. One group goes one day, then the others have to go the next day.

At the beginning, the Mozambican troops tried to do everything they could to defend the population, but they couldn't, because the Al-Shabaab are stronger. And they are well prepared, more so than our troops. I don't know about the foreign troops; I only saw Mozambican troops.

My dream is to go back to being the woman I was before, because I had a house and many things, I did business and much more. We have realised that on the way to the village, there are no more problems. I have been back there once and stayed for a month, but I came back here again because my friends and other people are here. My husband has gone back to live there. Right now he is here, he came yesterday, but he will leave tomorrow. If my husband decides that the family should go back, we will go back together. My husband goes to the village to cut wood, to make charcoal to sell, and when he gets money he brings it. I take the money and buy wheat and make rolls and sell them at the village. As far as I am concerned, I don't suffer because my husband and I help each other.

Flávia Nicolau, Pemba city

I am a leader; I am the head of a cell in the Josina Machel neighbourhood in Pemba. For more than twenty years I have worked as a social activist. I deal with health issues, nutrition, women's rights and domestic violence. I do this work because I have a passion for counselling women like me.

Here in Pemba, I started hearing that they entered Mocímboa da Praia, they entered Muidumbe, they entered Macomia. So the population fled here. But when I tried to find out who they are, people said Al-Shabaab.
People say that in a country where there is fuel, gas and ruby, there is always conflict.

So because of all that, these insurgents came to attack, to occupy some districts by force. That's what people were saying.
I have followed the whole process of people displaced from other districts to here. It was a very sad and worrying scenario. The number of inhabitants increased day by day. The number of children on the streets increased. On Fridays, for example, you find a 6 or 7-year-old child begging. Night time robberies have also increased because most people don't have any occupation.

We have had some problems here. I even had to call a meeting because there were displaced people who, since they had arrived, had never benefited from anything. They said, "list them and bring me the lists". I did as they instructed, I brought the list, I compiled and stapled it. Even the Administrator's assistant wondered, "Flavia, all these people?" I replied, "They are displaced people!" That's how the benefits got to the people here.

Misappropriation of cheques is also an issue. There are cases where someone whose name is on the list shows up and they are told that their cheque has already been collected. I've seen this 4 or 5 times in my unit. So, many times it's the secretary of the neighbourhood because when you ask him, he doesn't even know the name of the person who collected the cheque. I always say, "I won't accept seeing a family that has lost everything, that is traumatised, losing food. You who are here with a house, a wife, children, you want to take from him, I don't accept. Give João what belongs to João!" Then they turn their backs on me, they do what they know. As for me, I am on my mission.

For me, the worst part of this war, as I didn't see it, other people told it, is knowing that they even beheaded people with knives, burned downs houses that people had sacrificed for years to build, they suddenly came and drove those people off their land. I saw how people arrived here, empty-handed.

People should not live in fear in their own country. They should not live with one foot in, one leg out, it just can't happen. If the government has already found out who is doing this, I would like them to talk to that person, go and negotiate, like they did with Dhlakama in the Peace Agreement. In order to have peace there has to be dialogue. Without dialogue, we will never have peace, this will never stop. Today it is happening in Cabo Delgado, tomorrow it will be in Nampula, in Zambezia, in Niassa, our country is rich.

Feda Saíde, Nacussa B village, Ancuabe

I left school at the age of seven), my sister was in the middle of a group when suddenly someone threw a stone that hit her and I went to hit that person. Then, during the fight, the teacher came and hit me too. That was when I started refusing to go to school and my parents said, " let's go to the fields, then! "When he passed by, I was sitting on the veranda of the house. I didn't know him, he tried to seduce me and said that he needed me "What do you

you need me for?" and he replied that he wanted to marry me. I said, "That's fine." So I went into the yard and before I could tell my parents, he appeared and said, "I've come and I want to marry this girl I've found!"

I got married when I was 20. I already had a daughter, then I had another. My daughter has never walked since she was born, she can't even sit up, even eating is a big problem. We put food in her mouth and half of it falls out. I have taken her to hospital and they didn´t tell me what her problem is. They only gave her coughing syrup, malaria medicine and paracetamol.

When this war started, we heard that other villages were at war, but we thought it would never reach our village. When I heard gunshots, I ran to take some items, while my husband took the children. Then we ran to hide in the bush. I saw some men being killed and women being tortured, some were dying, some were raped, some were released. We ran to a village called Muapana, got into the car and came here.

The Rwandan troops are better because they go into the bush, chasing the insurgents, while our troops come in, stay in the village and do nothing but beat us. People from Macomia call and talk about the good work of the Rwandans and report mistreatment by the national forces. Some are our family members and some are neighbours.

I just wish the war would end so that we could go back home, because there is nothing to do here. We lack tarpualin, machetes, axes and there isn't enough food. I was a peasant there, I grew cassava, maize, sesame and groundnuts. I got enough to feed my children.

Yana Francisco, Pemba City

I was born here in Pemba, I grew up here with my parents and my brothers. Then I left to Maputo, where I did short-term courses in public relations and marketing. Then, I started working there and I learned a lot. I stayed there for five years. I only returned to Pemba to pursue evening studies, but my parents had split up and I was unable to continue.

In 2012, I started with activist work. Whenever I went to my father's house, I would see people from MULEIDE and I started attending. Then, a time came when they needed more people for activism, so I went there and said I wanted to enrol.

At that time, I still didn't know about women's rights. I started to learn more when I started attending conferences. I give lectures in schools and communities on domestic violence and premature marriages. The girls like it very much, because before this subject was not discussed. Now I work with the women here in the centre.

Everywhere I go there is violence, but women don't like to open up, I don't know if it's to do with fear. In my area, men marry two women and the other must put up with everything her husband does without complaining.

Premature marriages are another problem. They say it is because of religion, if a man comes and asks for your daughter in marriage, the father must accept. The good thing is that many girls now want to go to school.

In 2017, we first heard that the Al-shabaab were already in coastal areas such as Macomia

and Mocímboa. Then we heard that they were already in Quissanga, and we started seeing shocking images on social media. Then the displacements started. We heard that the insurgents came from Tanzania pretending to be Muslims. We also heard that parents were sending their children to the madrassa because they believed they brought a lot of religious knowledge.

Everyone has their own opinion. They say that they are expelling us from our land to exploit oil, others say that the youth are taking revenge because those from Total only employed people from Maputo, saying that they have training and know how to work while we only know how to farm and fish. Nobody knows exactly what is happening.

The military tried to help the population, but the insurgents were well prepared men, with better weapons. They came in large numbers and knew the forest well, they wore uniforms and carried weapons, and formed more groups like that. With those uniforms, people thought they were our army, when in fact they were infiltrating the population.

The situation is very painful. I spoke to my sister who is in Maputo and I told her that the situation was painful, my sister asked, "Is there anything we can do?" I said yes. Then she sent some money with which we bought beans. She also sent the rice she had at home, and I looked for more people to help. We took food on trays and we made groups of children, men, women and people with disabilities. There were a lot of people. People helped a lot. They brought water, biscuits, sardines, bread in plastic bags. Many organisations helped, there was the Red Cross, IOM, PROMURA. The government also sometimes brought food. Some people from Paquite did the same as I did.

Catarina Bento, Cuaia Village, Metuge

My mother died when I was a little child. They took her from Maca to Tanzania, she died of Tuberculosis. My father died when I was six. So I grew up with my uncle. I grew up just like that, living with a person who didn't see me when I was born. Some days I lived well, other days not so much, amidst harsh words, but that's how life was until I grew up.

When Al-Shabaab arrived in Diaca, they burned the house of the head of the post, the hospital and some of our houses. They didn't take any of us because the chiefs had already warned us that it was better to flee. I carried my children and we ran into the bush, but on the way, the plane was firing a lot and in the turmoil, I lost two of them. I was always crying. I tried to look for them, but I couldn't find them.

We were many people in the group, and from there each one chose which direction s/he was going to take. In the place where I stayed, in Awasse, after a while we were told that Al-Shabaab was coming, so once again I fled. Families left there together with water in gallons, some flour, salt and dry fish. For those who had rice, they ate rice, those who had dry cassava, ate cassava porridge, those who had white maize flour, ate white xima.

Before we left they came to call me. They called for a meeting at the school and showed us a group of children. There were a lot of children, and babies who were crawling. Among them I saw my son and I started to cry. When he saw me he ran to me, Mamma, Mamma, Mamma. Gosh, I did not expect to find my son again after two months.

It was thanks to my uncle's help that we got to Metuge. He called his friend and said, "I have a displaced niece, named so-and-so, go and look for her there in the centre". This friend of his came to the centre and he found me. He asked me, "Where are you going from here? I said, "I don't know". So that's when he said that my uncle was in Pemba, and that he could take me there.

In Pemba, my uncle had no way of sheltering me. He could only give me some help. He helped me with 200 Meticais and I went to Metuge, where I borrowed someone's house and started living in Taratara and from there I got food support from WFP. Once, I got food support from WFP, I had rice, beans, "namahuta" and oil, but a thief came and stole all our food. That month, I suffered a lot for not having anything to give to the children. I cooked cassava leaves without xima or rice, nothing, and gave it to the children to eat just like that.

So, from there I asked myself, " Until when am I going to borrow a house?" That's when I came to the centre to seek support from the government. When I came here, they offered me the tent in which I am living till now. I spread a capulana on the floor here and sleep with the children. I have friends, an old friend who has been with me and another who is a relative. At the centre, I am the only Makonde, I feel alone. What I would like most is to go back home, but this war is starting again.

These ladies supported me, "Don't cry, this is war, in war everything happens. You have to have faith. If up to now you haven't heard that she died, she must surely be alive, have faith". Those were the words that comforted me. Some days ago they came to inform me that my missing daughter is coming here. It is a miracle! I am grateful because, in this war, many have not been lucky enough to find their relatives.

CONCLUSIONS

Using a feminist approach and analysis, we wanted, with this work, to document, highlight and share the realities and the experiences of women and girls who are affected by the conflict in Cabo Delgado. Their voices, life experiences and journeys have guided our analyses and have shown us, not only how the current conflict in Cabo Delgado has drastically affected and continues to affect their lives and those of their families, but also how they are not passive nor mute victims. On the contrary, they reflect on the conflict, demand peace and dialogue and reinvent themselves every day to cope with the difficulties and obstacles they face as displaced people, far from their homes and origins.

The fieldwork and interviews enabled us to conclude that, despite the existence of a Reconstruction Plan for Cabo Delgado, an Internal Displacement Management Policy and Strategy and all the investment and humanitarian support programs, the situation in the centres and villages of displaced people is still very precarious, not only in terms of infrastructure and access to essential social services (health, education, water and sanitation, etc.), but also in terms of lack of material goods, land for cultivation, food, income and access to income generation programs. As explained in Annex 3 of this document, in the centres and villages which were visited there is a lack of access to land, means and sources of finance, decent housing, water, hygiene, basic sanitation and energy, household materials, comprehensive health services, education, transport and adequate menstrual products.

In this sense, we highlight some areas that need more attention. Efficient menstrual management contributes to greater gender equality in the sense that it enables greater mobility on the part of women and girls. This requires integrated, holistic and context-specific interventions, in which women and girls are consulted beforehand. To be effective, menstrual management must include access to appropriate menstrual products, information and education that encourages the breaking of taboos and positive social norms.

With regard to psychosocial support programs and women-friendly spaces, which are extremely important in emergency contexts, there is an urgent need for greater attention to the approaches used. Therapeutic interventions, with feminist approaches, should use as a

reference the political contexts and the diversity of personal and social identities of women and girls who suffer different types of violence. Understanding how social and cultural contexts, as well as identities and development, impact exposure to various forms of violence and women and girls' responses to violence and the healing process, is crucial to avoid further harm.

While it is true that the impact of the conflict deepened inequalities due to the elimination of the authority and legitimacy that women had in some spheres of their lives, the research showed us that this context can also lead to some changes in power relations and women's agency, something which, as we mentioned, needs to be further explored. On the one hand, women have taken on responsibilities and obligations that are normally attributed to men, since men have lost their sources of income. On the other hand, assuming new roles and responsibilities shows the dynamism and proactivity of women and the changes in their perception of themselves as subjects of transformation, contestation and resistance. In this sense, these changes open space for investment in leadership and personal empowerment programs, based on feminist and Freirean methodologies.

In relation to men, the fact that women assume responsibilities and obligations attributed to men shows a potential emotional and social fragility, due to their inactivity. Potential because it is something that needs to be further studied, namely the social and cultural construction of masculinities, which, due to time limitations, this research could not do. In this sense, it is essential to invest in programs and activities that work on the changes that the context of conflict and emergency have caused in perceptions of masculinities.

With regard to perceptions of violence, an important finding was the existence of a discrepancy between discourse and practice when addressing harmful cultural practices that contribute to gender inequalities, as is the case with the discourses on early unions dealt with earlier. This finding clearly shows that there is no deep transformation of people's mind-sets and practices, something that civil society organisations, especially of women, are trying to achieve. Programs and activities to combat harmful cultural norms and customs must be

redesigned and mindful of this issue if we really want to bring about deep and lasting transformations.

One of the least explored dimensions of the impact of the conflict, which is central to people's daily lives, especially the lives of women, is cultural and religious-spiritual life, which has been brutally disrupted by the attacks and flight of the population. Prayers and various traditional ceremonies have been interrupted, traditional trees and ancestors have been left behind, making them inaccessible, rites of passage and funeral ceremonies have had to be interrupted or happen with extreme difficulty, traditional herbs are not found in the current places, treatments with traditional doctors or healers have had to be disrupted and it is difficult to find others (and to pay for consultations). It is important, in this sense, that support programs for displaced people pay attention to this dimension, promoting their re-establishment and respect.

With the massive displacement, concentrated mainly in Cabo Delgado province, new relationships have been established between displaced people and locals, giving rise to new conflicts that profoundly affect the daily lives of the communities, in particular of women as domestic and community managers and main carers. However, what seem to be micro-conflicts of limited relevance, which are usually neglected by state actors and civil society, are proving to have a profound impact on the worsening of social erosion and the rise of violent extremism. Conflicts over land, natural resources, forms of discrimination and exclusion, among other social and ethnic tensions, reveal the need to develop and expand interventions for the promotion of peace and the resolution of community conflicts which are aggravated and generated by forced displacement, looking mainly at the structural causes and also involving public service providers and other government entities.

Campaigns against forms of discrimination of IDPs, dissemination of laws and rights of IDPs to all key stakeholders in society are critical as part of actions to reduce these conflicts between the displaced people and locals. Yet, the resolution of some of these conflicts also involves the need to expand basic social services through mobile brigades and alternative ways of ensuring access to these services under emergency conditions, as well as new territorial planning that allows for greater food security for displaced families. Moreover, local promotion of the value of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, the promotion of campaigns for solidarity and the promotion of IDP rights are also fundamental. The research

also showed that many of these invisible conflicts also result from the fact that the native and displaced communities have had little opportunity to participate and decide on the ways in which the villages and host centres have been established and how they are being managed. It is important to improve and, in many cases, create mechanisms for greater participation and consultation of communities at the level of the villages and host centres.

Another finding of the study is that the multiplicity of disjointed formal and informal spaces risk generating wear-out and a loss of energy on the part of local organisations which have very limited human and financial resources to participate and mobilize women's participation in the various forums. In addition, it is necessary to evaluate how to link institutionalized spaces such as District Consultative Councils, Community Committees (e.g. for Health, Human Resources, etc.) and even the Provincial Assemblies to the WPS Agenda. In this sense, a better articulation between different formal and informal spaces for civic participation of communities, in the scope of prevention and resolution of these new conflicts and social tensions, and in the scope of the macro level Peace and Security agenda, is fundamental. For example, spaces to promote community peace (e.g. Peace Clubs) should be linked with the strategies and spaces for Community Human Resource Management (e.g. Natural Resource Management Committees) and the Peace, Women and Security platform, Women's Safe Spaces, the Multi-Sectoral GBV Mechanism, Advisory Councils, etc. The study also showed that humanitarian support and post-conflict development programs cannot neglect the specific needs and challenges of "native"/local communities, who are also indirectly affected by the conflict and living in a situation of high vulnerability.

In addition to these new conflicts and social tensions, which add to the traumas and losses generated by the armed conflict, the research sought to highlight the initiatives and examples of solidarity, especially led by women, which have also characterized the relationships between native and displaced people and represent an articulation of social support which is as important as the humanitarian response work of the large international agencies, with a large part of the displaced population living with host families. We suggest, as relevant, a more in depth survey of these initiatives and stories and their dissemination, not only as part of collective memory, but also as local references for the construction of a non-violent future in the country and the promotion of greater social cohesion.

Also, in general terms, this research has allowed us to understand that, despite the experience of conflict and peace negotiation processes in the country, and despite a strong

legal and regulatory framework, such as the PNAMS and PEDGI, that enables the participation of women and displaced persons, it is noticeable that the mechanisms for participation have not been very effective. Historically, previous peace negotiation processes in Mozambique were characterised by the absence of a gender approach and the invisibility of women and their specific demands. For example, the most recent Peace Agreements in Mozambique have excluded issues related to the impact and reparations for violence suffered by women, processes for investigating sexual war crimes, their aspirations and needs in socio-economic reconstruction and social reintegration processes. The non-participation of women is also due to a broader exclusion of civil society actors during peace negotiation processes. Although Peace negotiation processes regarding the conflict in Cabo Delgado are not yet announced, it is fundamental that national and local civil society strengthens the preparation, mobilization, organization and dialogue of women and displaced women to enable the establishment of advocacy agendas and better participation in Peace processes, at various levels, including preparation of recommendations for the next PNAMS (2023- 2025).

The study also sought to introduce a feminist analysis of the main legislation and regulatory instruments linked to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, interweaving it with the concrete challenges encountered during the fieldwork. An important feminist reading of Resolution 1325 is that it eradicates aspects linked to demilitarisation and the arms trade and therefore does not touch the economic system that feeds the relationship between militarism and violent masculinity. A key recommendation is to bring these elements to the forefront in the revision of the next PNAMS. The research also highlighted a number of specific challenges to the effective and meaningful participation of women, especially displaced women, in the National Plan for Women, Peace and Security and showed that this Plan has not undergone a broad participatory exercise, especially at the local level, leaving out CBOs and small women's collectives, which also contributes to the widespread ignorance or superficial knowledge about it. Knowledge and training on Peace and Security matters is still

quite limited, both by state actors and civil society, especially by CBOs, including those led by women, which also results in weak advocacy around these issues. The study also reveals that there are specific risks and threats to women's political participation and representation (in particular, female activists, human rights defenders and CSO Staff members) in the context of violent extremism and high generalised insecurity and distrust. In this context, the construction of programs for the protection of female human rights defenders and female community leaders who participate in peace and reconstruction processes and support to displaced people, are fundamental.

Another major finding is that the exercise of participation by displaced women, so that they can channel and/or present their needs directly, requires technical and material resources, given the context of high deprivation. In this regard, one recommendation that the research repeatedly presents is that both civil society and government should have an integrated approach to the humanitarian-development-peace response.. This means that organisations that do not have a humanitarian or peace response as part of their mission should contemplate strategic ways of creating synergies and partnerships, for more collaborative actions that allow for a more holistic intervention that addresses different fronts. This means, for example, that promoting participation spaces for displaced women in Peace, Security and Reconstruction processes without addressing practical socio-economic, cultural and other barriers will not bring meaningful results. Therefore, advocacy and civic engagement actions need to consider that humanitarian assistance issues are safeguarded.

With regard to reconstruction and development programs, the research draws attention to the existence of the PEDGI, which provides for the right of IDPs to have access to information, consultation and participation in all processes and decisions related to their protection and assistance, including the design and evaluation of humanitarian and development programs. However, this research revealed a major gap in this area. On the one hand, there is poor knowledge about the specific legislation and rights of IDPs by local civil society and government stakeholders themselves, as well as by displaced populations and women. On the other hand, international and national organisations and agencies have failed to comply with the principle of participation for a humanitarian response which is based on local mechanisms of accountability towards people displaced and/or affected by conflict (Mozambique Protection Cluster, 2021). Therefore, it is urgent that programs - both

development and humanitarian response - challenge top-down approaches and ensure engagement and feedback systems with beneficiaries. Furthermore, the research brought up a series of challenges and opportunities regarding the strengthening of coordination and articulation between local and national CSOs and international agencies, which should guide current and future interventions.

Also within the scope of development programs, we sought to present an analysis of the PCRD, as one of the main instruments of "post-conflict" reconstruction and development in Cabo Delgado. The research also concluded that this Plan was not developed based on a broadly participatory process and did not rely on the engagement of provincial civil society, nor even of the main key stakeholders at community level, including displaced and host families. The Plan will be reviewed using a gender approach, to understand how women and girls, and men and boys, will benefit differently from the various medium-term actions and humanitarian assistance. Further alignment between the PCRD, PEDGI and PNAMS is also important. Furthermore, it is crucial that CSOs and displaced communities are able to 1) know 2) review and 3) monitor the PCRD and demand the necessary changes, as provided for in the legislation, ensuring that the plan can be implemented according to the aspirations of displaced families and women. The research also showed the urgent need for reconstruction investment, in the context of conflict, to be directed not only at the destroyed areas, but to focus on the development of villages and resettlement centres, with many of the women and families still not feeling completely safe to return to their areas of origin.

Another general finding is that the main interventions of women's organisations at local level focus on advocacy and civic engagement in the area of girls' education, GBV services with special attention to combating early unions, safe spaces, sexual and reproductive health with a focus on HIV, gender studies and women's human rights in Cabo Delgado, legal support and training of paralegals and support to savings creation. However, local organisations still have little experience in humanitarian response and issues related to Peace, Women and Security, Rights of Displaced Persons, Women and Natural Resource Management and Climate Change, Psychosocial Support in the Context of Violent Extremism and Solidarity Economies. In this regard, it will be crucial to strengthen the network organizations, in order to enhance their coordination and articulation, towards a holistic and collaborative approach to action. We emphasize once again that an integrated approach to a

humanitarian-development-peace response is fundamental, which implies creating synergies and common objectives between these CSOs and the short-term emergency response programs as well as long-term systemic and structural social change processes, promoting opportunities for peacebuilding at all levels.

The research also concludes that perceptions about the causes of conflict are directly linked to the prospects for the future and the possibilities for reconstruction and ways to achieve Peace. We cannot build a better future without addressing the multifaceted causes of conflict. In all the quotes, whether direct or indirect, there is underlying criticism of the predatory extractivist development model that has been adopted in the province and in the country, marked by the unbridled exploitation of resources and a highly unequal redistribution of wealth, resulting in the exclusion and violent expropriation of local communities, which were previously already characterised by the worst human development indices in the country. In particular, the issue of weak investment in education, especially in the coastal region of the province, and in an education that is poorly connected to local reality, was also recurrent in the statements of women and other key stakeholders.

At the same time, the shared statements indicate that a positive and lasting Peace requires rethinking and redesigning both the province's and the country's "development", ensuring the participation, above all, of all disadvantaged groups. In other words, there is no peaceful future without the profound and effective participation of women. Nor will there be a peaceful future if there is no room to create alternatives to the current development model, which implies opening up room to discuss economic transitions, which aim to replace predatory extractivism with moderate, and even indispensable, extractivism. This also means thinking about policies and programs which are informed by the principle of preserving and regenerating the ecosystem and focusing on social services, in order to mitigate the effects of climate change and ecological destruction that already plague the province, the country and women in particular, and to ensure the effective participation of the community, young people and women, and their control over natural resources. So, we suggest that a diversified economy, guided by employment alternatives that guarantee greater food security and environmental protection, such as ecological agriculture, ecotourism and renewable energy

industries, should be alternatives to ensure a future of greater equity and peace both in the province and in the country. The study also sought to bring in some feminist principles of Peace, which understand that Peace is not merely the absence of armed conflict, but the transformation of various forms of social, economic and ecological violence and, across the board, gender-based violence. In this sense, Peacebuilding is a continuous path. The study also concludes, based on the shared quotes and feminist analysis of Peace, that this path cannot be only through military intervention, and will require processes that aim to open space for Dialogue with the insurgent groups, as shared by one of the women interviewed "*if there is to be Peace there has to be dialogue, without dialogue there will be no Peace*".

In this context, this study brings us the understanding that building paths to Peace is a systemic and continuous process, which requires an intervention that understands the interconnection between the various structural and historical causes of the conflict, from ethnic-religious issues, the model of predatory extractivism and its deep connection with patriarchal structures, the arms trade and the resurgence of militarisation in defence of the large corporations and to the detriment of populations, to the poor redistribution and management of natural resources, the ecological crisis and the context of high vulnerability to climate change in the province and its differentiated impacts on women, men, children and youth.

Thus, we repeat that it is increasingly necessary that actions in response to the conflict and support to displaced persons have systemic and integrated approaches, which link peace, development and humanitarian responses, from a gender perspective.

Finally, it is the life stories of Tima, Zaida, Awa, Amissina, Catarina, Feda, Franca, Amina, Ancha, Ngamo, Sifa, Yana, Joanita, Virginia and Flavia, their pains and resilience, their journeys and aspirations, their invisible and visible powers, which we have presented in this study, that should profoundly indicate and guide any future program, policy and strategy that aimto benefit displaced women and families. Their voices are the focus of the analysis, conclusions and recommendations that are shared here and therefore this study will not be complete until their needs and fundamental rights, and those of all displaced and local women, are addressed. As one of the women who were interviewed shared:

> *"Your research will only matter if you manage to get the information to the different target audiences, mainly those who have the power to decide and support. Otherwise, you are just developing it to be*

another study and then filing it away. So, it will be meaningless and won't have any importance. We don't want you to come back for more of our women's crying. this study must change something (Head of Unit, activist and interpreter, Pemba, 2021)."

In this sense, this study will not be truly complete until it has served, albeit in a limited way, the construction of advocacy and intervention agendas in support of displaced women and reconstruction and peace processes which reflect the challenges and alternatives which are shared through the voices of these women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **CSO coordination in development programs and humanitarian response**
   - Create a common advocacy agenda focused on women, which articulates the demands of the various organizations, networks, collectives within the scope of humanitarian response and development programs, based on an understanding of the diversity and differences in the needs of the various groups, resulting in the design of broad, massive actions;
   - Rethink the approaches of the thematic "Clusters" led by international agencies and their articulation with local civil society, so as to establish relationships that privilege local voices and favour their protagonism;
   - Ensure monitoring, accountability and transparency mechanisms in the context of funding of security, reconstruction and humanitarian support, by the government and by international agencies and CSOs, so that actions can be monitored, seeking, whenever possible, to ensure the involvement of displaced women and their diverse perspectives;
   - Strengthen synergies with human rights, women, peace and security networks, spaces and channels at regional and international levels by mobilising displaced female leaders to participate in them;
   - Invest in the training of national specialists in the field of emergencies and humanitarian   response,   emphasising   the   peace-humanitarian

support-development nexus; integrating critical and feminist approaches to development models into this training;

- Promote existing channels and mechanisms to report abuses and corruption at the local level in the response and support programs for displaced persons, including during the distribution of donations, which should involve women and require government accountability.

2. **Governance and Participation**
   - Governance and Local Democracy in a context of Conflict: strengthen democratic spaces, which promote the right to opposition, the plurality of ideas and perspectives and dialogue practices;
   - The government should provide and facilitate access to information;
   - Prepare and train female policy and legal experts in gender-responsive Security and Peace matters; ensure that high-level decision-making spaces include these leaders and that these leaders reflect on the priorities and demands of displaced and/or war-affected women;
   - Advocate for programmatic approaches that have an integrated logic/NEXUS Peace - Humanitarian Response - Development, from a gender perspective - and that can be built on the beneficiaries' material, cultural and psychological priorities;
   - Engage women parliamentarians and ensure and establish synergies with them regarding the demands and needs of displaced women, to build political and party agendas that prioritise the reality of resolving the war and containing its spread and the dignified reconstruction of affected families – Peace as a necessity of Democracy – Partnership with the 3rd Parliamentary Commission on Social Affairs, Gender;
   - Make the demands of displaced women visible in all dialogue spaces, deliberation and decision-making, including the design of programs, strategies, projects and initiatives in which they are involved;
   - International and Regional Links: Strengthen synergies with regional and international networks, spaces and channels for human rights, women, peace and security by mobilising displaced women leaders to participate in them;

- Promote ethical principles in conducting research, surveys and studies involving displaced people; combat extractive and tiring presence and gender insensitivity;

- Capitalise on and interconnect the various existing platforms for community participation, such as Women's Safe Spaces, Community Committees, Peace Clubs, Community Courts, etc.;

- Processes of historical documentation and collective memory – *"the history of the armed conflict must be told based on the stories of women and girls"*;

- Based on the surveys and studies already carried out, facilitate a policy brief with the main needs of displaced women in each established host centre/village;

- Set up community radio "listening points" in the host centres for everyone to have access to information;

- Facilitate "(re)settlement agendas" and advocacy for establishment and reorganization of decent (re)settlements, which are not in areas vulnerable to rain and other bad weather, with access to safe water, mobile toilet, school, women's safe space, etc., including recreational and safe areas for children, in accordance with the standards and criteria established under the Rights of Internally Displaced Persons (See Annexes Host Centres/ Villages Needs Summary Matrix)Ensure the protection and promotion of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity as a central axis of democracy strengthening.

3. **Women, Peace and Security Agenda**
   - Take national peace advocacy agendas to the international level through synergies and partnerships with regional and international networks and organizations (e.g. 16 Days of Activism, dedicated entirely to highlighting gender-based violence suffered by displaced women; 1 Million Women for Peace in Mozambique to disseminate advocacy priorities in this area);

- Train female specialists in conflict management and resolution and peace-making, with a focus on relations between "*vientes*" (outsiders) and natives, interethnic relations, within families and between couples, from a gender perspective, that promotes ethnic diversity, human rights and combatting stigmatisation, discrimination and exclusion;

- Promote capacity building of various key actors on Women, Peace, Security; Militarism, Conflict and Extractivism as well as Legislation on IDPs.

- Promote women leaders in Peace Clubs and bring in themes on non-violence, non-violent communication and gender-based violence, showing that Peace must start at home, ethnic and cultural diversity, relations between "displaced" and "native" families, etc;

- Also involve "native" women who are active in conflict prevention and mediation;

- The Government should share information about the conflict regularly and systematically, warning against potential threats and risks, through radio and other means of dissemination - also informing about its actions, strategies and relevant aspects;

- Advocacy to initiate negotiations and mediations for dialogue with insurgent groups;

- Value traditional and local knowledge, as well as collective history and memory in conflict resolution and mediation strategies, for solutions that are not only military, but involve negotiation and dialogue;

- Engage different religious groups and leaders in understanding the differentiated impacts of war on women and girls and promote reflections on the role of religions in upholding ethical and human principles that are based on equity and equal rights;

- Creation of a Forum to discuss women's rights in the peace-building process, particularly with regard to participation in decision-making spaces;

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- Ensure a repository of the documents of the various events, webinars, campaigns, studies related to the Peace, Women and Security Agenda (what the Digital Platform under this study aims to achieve) and its dissemination and public awareness , especially of civil society organizations;

- Promote discussions on feminism and peace - and build new approaches to a positive peace that addresses the causes and structural conditions of conflict, that understands the nexus peace – humanitarian support – development;

- Promote the upholding of socio-cultural rights for displaced communities (practices and customs) - funeral ceremonies, initiation rites and other customs relevant to collective spiritual and social well-being;

- Guarantee shared leadership between men and women in the host centres in order to accommodate the needs of women as much as the needs of men.

- Train the media to raise awareness on the Women, Peace and Security Agenda;

- Bring the national peace advocacy agendas into the international arena.

4. Access to Social Services
- Understand the role of the various social sectors and public services and their connection to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda;

- Mobilize local human resources for social services, with a focus on psychosocial support and integrated GBV services.

- Strengthen and create integrated mobile services (such as mobile clinics with GBV service, and education formats for emergency and psychosocial support)

- Strengthen the capacity of service providers on issues related to IDP Law and Rights.

4.1 Education
- Secondary school scholarship programs and transport subsidies that prioritise

displaced girls who have lost access to secondary school and are living in areas too distant from secondary schools (partnerships with the private sector can be mobilised)

- Massive literacy programs for adults and young women and men in host centres and neighbourhoods, which are also civic empowerment programs, using cascade training that involves local human resources, and which integrates psychosocial support components and an economic entrepreneurship component, as well as GBV, Peace and Conflict Resolution and other matters whilst ensuring basic reading, writing and numeracy skills;

- Integrate more women into technical-vocational training programs that respond to community/local needs;

- Secure primary schools and informal education mechanisms, access to short-term courses for children and youth - (include groups of children and youth with disabilities and other vulnerable groups);

- Promote school feeding programs in primary schools;

- Professional training for women in areas that are not traditionally occupied by them.

4.2 Health

- Strengthen the provision of mobile brigades or clinics and other forms of "mobile services" that travel to villages and host centres, providing regular sexual and reproductive health (with attention to chronic diseases such as HIV) and women's health services, and that also reach out to native communities;

- Promote protection systems for pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding and health care for new-borns, women and girls with disabilities and chronic health problems;

- Promote menstrual management interventions and campaigns that are more tailored/ context-specific and include displaced women and girls in their design and implementation.

4.3 Social Protection

- Social protection programs and subsidies for host families;

- GBV: Ensure the establishment of Integrated Care Centers for Victims of Gender-Based Violence in the province, prioritising districts with more displaced families;

- Develop social protection programs and strategies for orphaned children, families and female carers of orphaned children (prioritising their access to education, health and dignified treatment); promote mechanisms for reporting abuse and maltreatment of children and girls;

- Family reunification program and support for orphaned children, abducted and forcibly recruited into combat.

4.4 Psychosocial support

- Establishing a Psychosocial Care Plan - including a platform to articulate all actions in the area of psychosocial support, using gender approaches that differentiate between specific needs of women and men and that take into account existing national and international experiences - mainstreaming psychosocial support in the main actions that are carried out by the organizations;

- Mobilize and develop strategies for massive and broad training of displaced and "native" women regarding trauma relief and basic skills in psychosocial support; also target psychosocial support with specific approaches for men and boys to address the

transformation of violent masculinities, in order to prevent GBV and promote peace, as well as ensure specific approaches for more vulnerable groups such as persons with disabilities and orphaned children;

- Trauma Relief and Psychosocial Support and Community Therapies: promote psychosocial support based on traditional knowledge and artistic-cultural practices as endogenous therapeutic resources - foster artistic-cultural activities (dance, music, handicraft, basketry) which also enable sources of income generation;

- Promote mental health, self-care and collective psychosocial peer support therapies for activists, mobilisers as well as social service providers and women's organisations acting on the frontline, through initiatives to support displaced people, focusing on the specific needs of women and men;

- Invest in and promote leadership and personal empowerment programs, based on feminist and Freirean methodologies that work on women's personal and inner development and strengthening;

- Find and adapt experiences and materials developed during periods such as the civil war and the 2000 floods, and more recent ones regarding psychosocial support in emergencies;

- Establish links with universities and technical training institutes to integrate the contents of psychosocial assistance and trauma relief in emergency contexts, to create, in the medium and long term, internship programs that allow for the involvement of students and newly-graduates in Psychology and Social Work courses.

4.5 Services for an Integrated Response to GBV

- Prioritise and streamline access to justice through increased trainings of female Paralegal activists – partnerships with the National Human Rights Commission and other structures such as IPAJ, community courts, etc, ensuring gender-responsive approaches to justice that challenge patriarchal norms;

- GBV: Ensure the establishment of Integrated Victim Support Centres in the province, prioritizing the districts with most displaced families (e.g. Metuge, Montepuez, Pemba);

- Strengthen the Multi-Sectoral mechanism for GBV and its key actors as well as coordination at all district and provincial levels;

- Improve documentation of cases of sexual war crimes and other forms of GBV by tracking cases through mobile health clinics or brigades and other community outreach and psychosocial support actions;

- Ensure integration of focal points of host centres into the Multi-Sectoral GBV Mechanism; ensure referral to psychosocial support for GBV survivors;

- Ensure comprehensive health care for women, victims of sexual violence, and their families during the period of diagnosis, treatment and protection; promote mechanisms for reporting and referral of cases;

- Establish and maintain shelters for the most vulnerable GBV survivors, of all ages;

- Mobilise resources to fund existing local reporting lines (Line 148, Fala Criança, Family Care Office line, Minors Care Victims);

- Create an investigative Technical Team to clarify cases of sexual violence, sexual exploitation and abuses that have occurred in the ongoing conflict, both by national and foreign military forces and by insurgents, for due criminal follow-up; promote "no impunity!" discourse – Human Rights Commission etc. (Documentation of gender-based war crimes);

- In addition, follow up and report cases of sexual abuse and exploitation by members of organisations providing humanitarian aid, ensuring that the sentences that are foreseen in international codes of conduct and national legislation are applied;

- Programs should consider, in their approaches to raise awareness on GBV and women's and girls' rights, the existing discrepancies between the population' discourses and their actual, everyday practices regarding harmful cultural norms and customs, such as the case of early unions, so that the used methodologies can bring about profound rather than superficial transformations.

5. Development and Reconstruction Programs

- Review of the PES and other key instruments such as the Reconstruction Plan, based on the demographic transformations of the province and using gender approaches and priorities of displaced families and host families, ensuring meaningful participation of these groups;
- Strengthen the duty of state institutions, such as ADIN, to ensure effective participation, which is reflected in the construction of programs and approaches that translate the diversity of ideas and perspectives of displaced families, through a gender approach.

6.   Access to and Management of Natural Resources and Land in the context of ecological crisis and climate change

- The transparent management of Natural Resources (NR), channelling revenues to districts and communities remains central and must be linked to the processes of reconstruction and peace, based on actions that mobilise and organise women in NR management;
- Prioritise Human Resources in the province and the northern part of the country and train them to be integrated in the various humanitarian and development initiatives and programs;
- A clear strategy for land redistribution in the province, emphasizing the need for the "return" or "restitution" of land and reorganization of agricultural activity, with incentives for peasant women´s cooperatives; and that this redistribution allocates 50% of land to women – access to DUATs (Land Use and Benefit Rights);
- (Re)settlement programs aimed at protecting the environment, strengthening local food production - agricultural credits, agricultural tools and inputs, etc., covering women; agro-forestry and ecological agriculture projects - aimed at tackling the high rate of deforestation caused by the timber industry and other extractive actions;
- Promote women's leadership and collectives for Natural Resource Management - and trainings in the area of climate change.

7. Women´s Economic Empowerment

- Integrate the private sector and financial institutions into the reconstruction process in Cabo Delgado province: e.g. opening of subsidized credit lines for displaced women and other vulnerable groups; regulation of prices of basic goods and products that have inflated due to the "support vouchers";
- Invest in ecological agriculture, ecotourism, renewable energy programs, geared towards economic diversification and local small business models, led by women;
- Hold forums to develop strategies for the economic empowerment of displaced women and others, to expand their previous skills and activities, identify initiatives and practices of solidarity and sustainable economies in various areas – that address the needs of rural development contexts; discuss and propose models and lines of funding and credit at local, district and provincial levels; establish, within this framework, partnerships with the local and national private sector (medium and small local companies) to foster local economies;
- Promote women's economic cooperatives, local community savings models (xitiki and others) through financing lines and approaches;
- Create programs for land re-planning and access to land, productive and social goods and services;
- Revise the PRCD - Promotion of development programs for villages and host centres and the integration of regions affected by the conflict, alongside the peace building and security processes in these regions, with established mechanisms for the participation of displaced populations and native communities;
- Access to energy in the host centres, via solar panels, in areas that are not yet electrified;
- Plan for improvement and resilience of housing in the host /(re)settlements centres, based on cooperatives for the production of building materials, involving forms of income generation for displaced families;

8.   Recommendations for strengthening the capacity of Civil Society Organisations, particularly at the local level and led by women and youth

- Promote activities for the public recognition of women´s organisations and collectives through awards; highlight not only the "champions" from a more individualistic logic, but also the committed women's collectives;

- Promote the dissemination of the work done by women as political actors;

- Develop protection and security strategies that address the specific risks of women mobilisers, human and women's rights activists and practitioners, local leaders, women members of organisations - in the face of possible threats, forms of discrimination, social stigmatisation, etc;

- Strengthen and support CBOs, cooperatives and women's organisations through resources and tools, and access to new technologies, as well as expertise on human rights, internally displaced persons, conflict management, GBV in the context of war, natural resource management - via support for movement building and alliances or coalitions between the various community organisations.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

**CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND OTHER KEY STAKEHOLDERS
INTERVIEWED**

CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS	
CESC	Pemba
MULEIDE (Pemba)	Pemba
UNFPA	Pemba
PROMURA	Pemba
UJOMU	Pemba
District Civil Society Platform	Montepuez
Women's Legal Rights Office	Pemba
RESEARCHERS, ACADEMICS, ACTIVISTS AND OTHERS	
Yussuf Adam	
Teresa Cunha	
Graça Samo	
Ângela Collet	
John Supepa	
António José Roxo Leão	
Flávia Nicolau	
Yana Francisco	

ANNEXES 2

Summary Matrix of the **Main Needs raised by the women of the Centres/ Villages Visited**   **(Cuaia Village - Metuge, Nacussa B Village - Ancuabe and Nacaca Village - Montepuez)**
1)   Access to **land** for agricultural production, food security and income sources   (land re-planning to ensure access for displaced people, materials and tools for cultivation, hoes, scythes, machetes, ploughs and other agricultural inputs, as well as seeds of the main local crops and others)
2) Access to various **Means and Sources of Financing** for business development and collective savings   (revolving credit, xitiki, financing for women's cooperatives)
3) Access to decent housing in safe places not vulnerable to flooding, close to farming areas, with access to **Water, Hygiene, Basic Sanitation** and **Electricity**   (Building materials such as corrugated iron sheets and others, tents, canvas, latrine covers, solar panels were needs shared by the women. The village of Cuaia, Metuge, is located in an area highly prone to flooding, and with houses (precarious tents some without canvas). unable to withstand flooding and inundation, so the women have demanded the relocation of this community to another area. Resettlements and host centres should be in safe and climate resilient areas.
4) Access to Miscellaneous **Domestic Material**   (clothes and shoes, capulanas, beds, mattresses, blankets, mats, kitchen utensils: pots, plates, cutlery, buckets, basins)   **(Women from Nacussa B complained of a lot of back pain from sleeping on the floor, besides having highly cracked feet due to lack of footwear)**
5) Access to comprehensive **Health** and Integrated GBV services   (Mobile brigades to provide integrated sexual and reproductive health, family planning and psychosocial support programs and trauma relief, using community therapies - Women Friendly Spaces with focal points identified in each community to liaise with the Multi-Sectoral mechanism for GBV)

6) Access to **Education**

(Adult literacy and vocational training programs, programs for children who are out of school due to distance, support programs (transport subsidies) for young people in secondary education)

7) Access to **Transport**

(access to bicycles or motorbikes to facilitate travel to health facilities and hospitals, especially for the chronically ill and pregnant women)

8) Access to appropriate **Menstrual Products** *

(disposable pads or cloth sanitary towels, menstrual collectors, menstrual panties, tampons, cloth wipes/washcloth, washing soap, capulanas)

* according to the concrete women's needs

ANNEX 3

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

1. **INTERVIEW SCRIPT FOR FOCUS GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS**

PAST

General Questions

1. Tell us a little about yourselves and what your life was like before the conflict (What did you do, what were your sources of income, who did you live with, what were your dreams)

PRESENT

General Questions

2. What has changed in your life, in your families' lives and in the community since the conflict started and since you arrived at the host centre?

3. What has your daily life been like? Are you doing any kind of work which generates an income?

4. What are the main difficulties you are facing??

5. Are you staying with your families or have you separated? Do you have news from them or do you know where they are?

6. Do you wish to return to your homeland or do you prefer to stay here? Why?

Perceptions on the conflict

7. When did you become aware of the conflict and when did you decide to flee and why? How was the displacement process?

8. Why do you think the conflict is happening?

9. What is your feeling towards the insurgents?

10. What is your feeling towards the military of the National Armed Forces and Rwanda? Do you feel protected by the military? Why *(do you feel protected)*?

11. What is your feeling towards the military of the National Armed Forces and Rwanda? Do you feel protected by the military? Why do you feel protected?

12. Do you think women have any role or have participated in any way in the conflict that is taking place? How *(do they play such role or have they participated in the conflict)*?

13. What have been the main forms of violence that your families have faced (including partners, children and other close relatives)? What have been the impacts of this violence? Who have been the perpetrators of this violence?

14. How do you think violence has affected men and women differently?

Violence against Women BEFORE the Conflict

15. Had you ever experienced any situation of violence before the conflict? How was this experience (type of violence, who was the perpetrator, the impact, how did you resolve and overcome it)?

16. Were there many cases of violence against women and girls in your communities? Why? (What types of violence, what impact did it have, who were the common perpetrators and how did you resolve it?)

Violence against Women since the beginning of the Conflict

17. Since the beginning of the conflict, what violence have women, girls and children experienced? (type of violence, who was the perpetrator, the impact, how did they resolve and try to overcome). Have you ever experienced any situation of violence in the host centre?

18. Have they ever received psychosocial support or been referred to any health, social welfare or police services after suffering violence?

19. What could help you to overcome the pain and trauma of the violence you have suffered?

20. Do you think that there are any situations in which a man has the right to beat his wife? Why do you think so?

21. What do you think needs to be done to stop violence against women and children?

Understandings about gender roles and rights of women and girls

22. Do you know the rights of women? Which ones? Do they think these rights are important and are they respected?

23. What are the roles and tasks of men and women? How do you feel that the conflict has changed these roles and tasks?

Perceptions on Humanitarian, Civil Society and Government Response interventions

24. What kind of support have they received since they had to move and who has provided that support?

25. Do they feel that the government is providing the support they need?

26. What would you like the government and civil society organisations to do more of or differently?

27. Do you know of any women's organisations or associations where you can ask for support and help? Which ones?

Conditions of the Host Centres/Accommodation centres for displaced families

28. How do you rate your access to the following services and conditions:?

● Food

● Land, Farmland

● Hygiene, Water and Sanitation

● Housing Conditions

● Medicines in case of illness and Family Planning

● Education for women, youth, girls and children

● Clothing and Supplies

● Leisure and resting conditions, recreation (singing, etc.)

● Is there a "safe space/woman-friendly space"?

29. What do you miss the most in the host centre?

30. Do you feel respected and supported where you are? Why do you feel this?

31. Have you ever witnessed or experienced any situation of food diversion and other forms of abuse?

32. What is the coexistence like between people within the centre (between men and women, between displaced families, between different ethnic groups, between leaders)?

33. Are there support networks or self-help strategies between women in the centres, such as collective savings?

Cultural and religious-spiritual impact - Impact on customs, traditions and cultural-religious values

Have you had the opportunity to perform funeral ceremonies and other important ceremonies or customs, spaces to pray (initiation rites, etc)?

FUTURE

Peace, Well-being, Justice and Post-Conflict Reconstruction

34. What do you think are the necessary conditions to restore peace in Cabo Delgado?

35. What are the main priorities for displaced families and women to be able to build back and live well again?

36. What do you think should be done to avoid and put an end to these conflicts? What do you think should be done with those who have perpetrated the conflict?

Drawing dynamics: Women's dreams, demands and recommendations

37. What dreams would you like to make come true? What do you dream for your family and community? What would it take to make these dreams come true?

Recording of video testimonials

38. If you could talk to the President about the reality you have been experiencing, what would you say?

39. If you were the President, what would you do?

2. INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OTHER KEY STAKEHOLDERS

1. What type of research/work do you do in Cabo Delgado and for how long have you been doing it?

2. Based on the research/work you do, how do you interpret/evaluate the situation of the conflict in Cabo Delgado (causes, origins, etc)?

3. What have been the main intervention actions of national and international CSOs regarding support to displaced people, in particular women and children?

4. How do you assess the role of the government and national and international CSOs in supporting displaced people, in particular women and children? What are the main gaps and opportunities you identify in national and international CSOs and government support to conflict-affected women?

5. Have women and girls affected by conflict been heard or participated in any way in decisions about the programs and projects targeted at them, both by the government and by development agencies and civil society?

6. How do you assess the Government's monitoring and management of the host centres, especially with regard to the conditions for women?

7. How do you assess the current coordination mechanisms between CSOs and Government, and to what extent are gender issues prioritised and reflected in the coordination and intervention mechanisms?

8. What has been the role of community-based organisations, in particular women-led organisations at local level?

9. What do you consider to be the main strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for local civil society in Cabo Delgado in terms of conflict response?

10. How do you assess the availability of information, data and studies on the conflict in Cabo Delgado? What are the main gaps and opportunities?

11. What conditions need to be created to establish lasting peace and resilient and sustainable development programs, considering the current conflict situation? How do you see the role of women in conflict resolution and peace building and local development?

12. Are you aware of the Women, Peace and Security Action Plan? How do you evaluate its implementation?

13. What other legal and policy instruments, related to women, do you consider relevant to influence and operationalize peace and security at national level?

14. To what extent, in the interventions carried out so far in the province, do women beneficiaries have agency to decide and influence humanitarian response, peacebuilding and development programs at the level of their communities?

15. What do you think could be done in order to promote these women's agency and political and civic empowerment?

16. What are your main recommendations and suggestions for advocacy actions, looking particularly at the impact of conflict on women; for peace and development strategies and programs in Cabo Delgado?

ANNEX 4

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE	
PERSONL DATA	
Centre in which you are	
Age	
Place of Birth	
Marital Status (Married/Single/Widow/Divorced)	
At what age did you get married?	
Religion	
Languages spoken	
Ethnic Group	
Nº of Children	
Education	
When did you first arrive at the centre	
Do you have documentation	
OTHER RELEVANT DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS	

Are you Pregnant?	YES	NO
Are you breastfeeding?		
Do you suffer from a chronic illness? Which one?		
Do you have a disability? Which?		

ANNEX 5

SWOT analysis of the CSOs interviewed - *. For more detail, see sections on Humanitarian Response, Development and Reconstruction and Recommendations		
	POSITVE FACTORS	**NEGATIVE FACTORS**
INTERNAL FACTORS	**Strengths** - The CSOs acting in the area of gender and women are organized in the Gender Thematic Group at FOCADE, as a space for the articulation and coordination of intervention. ● Most Local CSOs have experience in advocacy and community engagement processes on GBV-related issues, including some basic psychosocial support methodologies; ● Participation in various formal and informal spaces such as Humanitarian Clusters, GBV Mechanism, Platform, Natural Resources Platform. ● Organisations have complementary actions and could easily create synergies and capitalise on integrated Humanitarian Response-Development-Peace approaches.	**Weaknesses** ●Weak knowledge about relevant instruments in the context of conflict in Cabo Delgado such as PCRD, PEDGI, PNAMS. ●Need for knowledge and capacity building in the following areas and themes: Peace and Security-Conflict Management and Resolution, Resource Management, Climate Change, Ecological Alternatives, and the impact and the role of Women. ●Male engagement approaches to transformation ●Feminist and mainstreaming methodologies, approaches and principles of humanitarian response-development-peace. ●Poor articulation and coordination among CSOs in building common advocacy agendas for the rights of displaced people, with attention to women and girls. ●Difficult access to ICTs and more effective participation methodologies in the various spaces. ●Few resources for participation and weak appropriation and leadership in the various formal

	● Demand for local partners in the implementation of humanitarian and other response programs	and informal spaces of governance and articulation between national CSOs and international agencies (former Clusters, Women, Peace and Security Platform). ● Need for greater inclusion of district CBOs in provincial spaces ● Few financial, technical and human resources for psychosocial support and trauma alleviation in conflict context - more superficial programs and methodologies - no assessment of post-trauma trauma reduction - gender approaches that look at the needs of men and women in psychosocial support;
EXTERNAL FACTORS	**Opportunities** - Development of new skills, knowledge and areas of social intervention/innovation in support of displaced women: e.g. Peace and Security- Conflict Management and Resolution, Resource Management, Climate Change, Green Alternatives, and impact and role of Women. - Development of socio-cultural projects that use local artistic expressions as tools for psychosocial support, personal empowerment of women and mentoring in various areas. - Follow-up of PNAMS, other Provincial and District Plans from a gender perspective. - Strengthening of synergies and articulation for integrated and collaborative interventions between national and local CSOs. - Capitalization and linkage between existing formal and informal spaces for advancement of women's rights (including displaced women). - Training in feminist and gender transformative approaches - Strengthening accountability mechanisms to displaced persons by CSOs,	**Threats** - Social tension, climate of political mistrust and limited engagement of CSOs in the decision-making processes of the Provincial Government. - Weak protection of women activists, women leaders at community level and other defenders of rights defenders - Lack of support and involvement of local communities in programs, which may generate conflicts and tensions - Competition and disarticulation between international agencies and CSOs (duplication of activities and interventions) - Weak mechanisms for regular accountability of state institutions, CSOs and international agencies to State institutions, CSOs and international agencies to the beneficiaries. - Nature of funding models for Humanitarian Response; high red tape in accessing and using short-term emergency funds and poor training.

ANNEX 5

	POSITIVE FACTORS	NEGATIVE FACTORS
SWOT analysis of the interviewed CSOs - *For further information, see sections on Humanitarian Response, Development and Reconstruction and Recommendations		

	Strengths	**Weaknesses**
INTERNAL FACTORS	- The CSOs acting in the area of gender and women are organized in the Gender Thematic Group at FOCADE, as a space for the articulation and coordination of intervention. - Most Local CSOs have experience in advocacy and community engagement processes on GBV-related issues, including some basic psychosocial support methodologies; - - Participation in various formal and informal spaces such as Humanitarian Clusters, GBV Mechanism, Platform, Natural Resources Platform. - Organisations have complementary actions and could easily create synergies and capitalise on integrated Humanitarian Response-Development-Peace approaches. - - Demand for local partners in the implementation of humanitarian and other response programs	● -Weak knowledge about relevant instruments in the context of conflict in Cabo Delgado such as PCRD, PEDGI, PNAMS. − Need for knowledge and capacity building in the following areas and themes: Peace and Security- Conflict Management and Resolution, Resource Management, Climate Change, Ecological Alternatives, and the impact and the role of Women. ● - Male engagement approaches to transformation ● Feminist and mainstreaming methodologies, approaches and principles of humanitarian response-development-peace. - Difficult access to ICTs and more effective participation methodologies in the various spaces. - Few resources for participation and weak appropriation and leadership in the various formal and informal spaces of governance and articulation between national CSOs and international agencies (former Clusters, Women, Peace and Security Platform). - Need for greater inclusion of district CBOs in provincial spaces - Few financial, technical and human resources for psychosocial support and trauma alleviation in conflict context - more superficial programs and methodologies - no assessment of post-trauma trauma reduction - gender approaches that look at the needs of men and women in psychosocial support;

	Opportunities	**Threats**
EXTERNAL FACTORS	- Development of new skills, knowledge and areas of social intervention/innovation in support of displaced women: e.g. Peace and Security- Conflict Management and Resolution, Resource Management, Climate Change, Green Alternatives, and impact and role of Women. - - Development of socio-cultural projects that use local artistic expressions as tools for psychosocial support, personal empowerment of women and mentoring in various areas. - - Follow-up of PNAMS, other Provincial and District Plans from a gender perspective. - - Strengthening of synergies and articulation for integrated and collaborative interventions between national and local CSOs. - - Capitalization and linkage between existing formal and informal spaces for advancement of women's rights (including displaced women). - - Training in feminist and gender transformative approaches - - Strengthening accountability mechanisms to displaced persons by CSOs, -	- Social tension, climate of political mistrust and limited engagement of CSOs in the decision-making processes of the Provincial Government. - Weak protection of women activists, women leaders at community level and other defenders of rights defenders - Lack of support and involvement of local communities in programs, which may generate conflicts and tensions - Competition and disarticulation between international agencies and CSOs (duplication of activities and interventions) - Weak mechanisms for regular accountability of state institutions, CSOs and international agencies to State institutions, CSOs and international agencies to the beneficiaries. - Nature of funding models for Humanitarian Response; high red tape in accessing and using short-term emergency funds and poor training.

ANNEX 6

Survey of National and Local CSOs acting in the area of Gender and Women

(*A detailed survey by district, of small associations and CBOs led by women, such as rural organisations, cooperatives and others, could be a relevant complementary exercise)

	Name of the Organization	Main Actions	Contact
1	AMMCJ	Legal Assistance and Psychosocial Support in GBV	842456334
2	AME	Community awareness raising in GBV	847893533
3	Human Rights League	Legal Assistance and Community Awareness in GBV	89186457
4	DJUMULA	Gender Studies and Community Sensitization on GBV	843823791
5	UNUWATIANA	Radio Experts and Community Sensitization on GBV	868004286
6	MASC	Lobbying and Advocacy for Gender Equality	845420487
7	UCM (Catholic University of Mozambique (Universidade Católica de Moçambique,) Cabo Delgado	Advocacy, Research and Baseline Studies (including in the area of Gender)	848270728
			848270728
8	ACTIONAID	Governance and Promotion of Women's and Girls' Rights	
9	WIWANANA	Sexual and Reproductive Rights and GBV Awareness Raising	847771417
10 11	Christian Council of Mozambique (Conselho Cristão de Mozambique - CCM)	Sexual and Reproductive Rights and GBV Awareness Raising	850446209
	Women's Legal Bureau	GBV Prevention and Awareness-raising Community Conflict Resolution, Psychosocial Support	825352395

ACAV - Association against Illiteracy and Violence against Women in Cabo Delgado	Education and Gender-Based Violence	
FDC	Girls´ Education, Community Rights, Advocacy, GBV and Women´s Economic Empowerment	845865475
CEPCI - Centre for Promotion of Women's Citizenship	Strengthening women's capacities in communities, promoting health rights, and promoting gender equality and equity.	840191806
MULEIDE	Research and training of women in the informal sector, training on health and HIV/AIDS prevention, legal and GBV awareness.	842876160
AMODEFA	Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights and GBV Awareness Raising	843096614
AGA KHAN		870162660
CISLAMO – Islamic Council of Mozambique	Humanitarian Assistance	826699850
ARIEL GLEISER –DSR	Sexual and Reproductive Health and HIV	843762206
FOCADE – Forum of Civil Society Organisations of Cabo Delgado	Advocacy for Gender Equality / Gender Thematic Group	848770850
PROMURA – Legal assistance, psychosocial support, GBV, Humanitarian, Peace and Security		847158240
MULHERES UNIDAS PELA PAZ (WOMEN UNITED FOR PEACE) – Peace and Security, GBV, Savings		844856241
Associação QUENDELEIA/ QUENDELEIA Association	Humanitarian Support and Community Awareness Raising in GBV	844206596
Associação SAHORNA/ SAHORNA Association	Humanitarian Support and Community Awareness Raising in GBV Community Awareness Raising	862190566

Associação UVILELA/ UVILELA Association	Humanitarian Support and Community Awareness Raising in GBV	846178833
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PROGRESSO	Education and Literacy Programmes focusing on Women and Girls and Sensitization on GBV and Girls' rights	875482160
AMEDEC - Montepuez	Community Engagement, Local Advocacy, Peace Clubs and GBV	871726672
HIKONE Moçambique	Protection of Women's Rights in Extractive Areas	848459679
NUDEC - Nucleus for Community Development of Natural Resources and	Natural Resource Management and Women's Rights	849039188
		844923870
CESC - Civil Society Learning and Training Centre	Governance and Advocacy: Girls´ Education, GBV, Women´s Rights and Natural Resources	845108505

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Ambiente

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