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PRESSURE ON ARTISANAL MINING
IN NAMANHUMBIR**

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Jerry Maquenzi e João Feijó

RESUMO

Em início de 2017, uma operação concertada de vários ramos da polícia de Moçambique foi responsável pela expulsão de milhares de indivíduos do posto administrativo de Namanhumbir, directa ou indirectamente, envolvidos na mineração artesanal. A violência que envolveu este processo foi geradora de sentimentos de descontentamento na juventude, habilmente capitalizados por grupos violentos. Em Outubro de 2017 iniciou um conflito armado no Nordeste de Cabo Delgado, responsável pela deslocação de centenas de milhares de pessoas, agravando os níveis de pobreza na província. Este estudo demonstra que os centros de acolhimento de deslocados em Montepuez foram concentrados a Oeste e Sul do distrito, proporcionando uma maior proximidade em relação a serviços públicos mas, também, desviando as populações das áreas de mineração de Namanhumbir e Nairoto. Ainda que em menor número, no posto administrativo de Namanhumbir não deixaram de se concentrar populações deslocadas. As operações de expulsão de milhares de indivíduos de Namanhumbir acabaram por exercer um efeito de ricochete sobre o distrito, traduzindo-se na chegada de milhares de indivíduos fugidos da guerra.

Através da aplicação de questionários, entrevistas e grupos focais, o estudo revela dificuldades de acesso a terrenos agrícolas e consequente insegurança alimentar e dependência de ajuda externa. Neste contexto, aumentou a pressão sobre o garimpo, praticado por centenas de jovens em situação de vulnerabilidade e fomentados por comerciantes ilegais, em conluio com agentes da autoridade. O investimento em complexos sistemas de segurança por parte da Montepuez Ruby Mining tende a ser contornado por práticas de suborno de agentes da segurança, demonstrando que o sistema de exploração de recursos naturais não garante a sustentabilidade social da região.

Palavras-chave: Conflito armado, Deslocações forçadas, Mineração artesanal, Namanhumbir.

ABSTRACT

In early 2017, a coordinated operation by several branches of the Mozambican police was responsible for the expelling of thousands of individuals from the administrative post of Namanhumbir who were directly or indirectly involved in artisanal mining. The violence that surrounded this process generated feelings of discontent among the youth, smartly capitalised on by violent groups. In October 2017 an armed conflict began in the Northeast of Cabo Delgado, responsible for the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people, exacerbating poverty levels in the province. This study demonstrates that the accommodation centres for displaced persons in Montepuez have been concentrated to the West and South of the district, providing greater proximity in relation to public services but also drawing populations away from the mining areas of Namanhumbir and Nairoto. Although in smaller numbers, the administrative post of Namanhumbir is still home to displaced populations. The operations to expel thousands of

individuals from Namanhumbir eventually had a rebound effect on the district, resulting in the arrival of thousands of individuals fleeing the war.

Through the application of questionnaires, interviews and focus groups, the study reveals difficulties of access to agricultural land and consequent food insecurity and dependence on external aid. In this context, the pressure on artisanal mining, practised by hundreds of young people in vulnerable situations and encouraged by illegal traders in collusion with law enforcement agents, has increased. The investment in complex security systems by the Montepuez Ruby Mining tends to be circumvented by practices of bribery of security agents, demonstrating that the system of exploitation of natural resources does not guarantee the social sustainability of the region.

Key words: Armed conflict, Forced displacement, Artisanal mining, Namanhumbir.

INTRODUCTION

Cabo Delgado province is rich in natural resources, but has one of the highest poverty rates in Mozambique. Agriculture constitutes the predominant economic activity in the province, involving about 82% of the population (INE, 2017). In recent years, the province has seen major investments in the hydrocarbon and mining sectors. However, phenomena of socioeconomic exclusion persist, generating social conflicts.

Between the years 2012 and 2020, there was a great social conflict in Montepuez district, Cabo Delgado province, particularly in the administrative post of Namanhumbir, as a result of illegal extraction of mineral resources. It was in this administrative post that, in March 2017, thousands of illegal miners were expelled from the ruby mine belonging to the Montepuez Ruby Mining.

In October 2017, the first attacks led by an armed group, locally called *machababos*, took place, which translated into huge waves of internally displaced persons. According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) data from March 2022, these attacks were responsible for the displacement of 784,564 people, most of whom concentrated in the Pemba-Montepuez axis (Pemba-City, Metuge, Ancuabe and Montepuez), but also in the Northwest of the province, in the Mueda district, and South of Cabo Delgado, in the Chiúre district. According to IOM data, the Montepuez district ranked sixth with the highest number of internal displaced persons. The waves of displacement to the district of Montepuez resulted in increased pressure on artisanal mining, in a scenario of food insecurity and lack of alternatives. The same data shows that in March 2022, 7% of the population displaced to the Montepuez district was resettled in the Namanhumbir administrative post, 30 km from the district headquarters.

This study pursues three objectives. Firstly, it aims to characterize the population displaced as a result of the armed conflict and resettled in the administrative post of Namanhumbir. Secondly, it intends to analyse the pressure of the displaced populations on illegal mining. Finally, it intends to describe the complex relationship between the company's security forces and the artisanal miners, also referred to as illegal miners throughout this text.

1. THE PROLIFERATION OF ILLEGAL ARTISANAL MINING IN A CONTEXT OF STATE FRAGILITY: THE SURVIVAL OF MANY FAMILIES AND CONFLICTUALITY

Mozambique has significant reserves of mineral resources ranging from gold, diamonds, graphite, rubies, and other precious stones. The artisanal exploitation of these minerals is an old phenomenon. Started by peasants during the dry season, as a complementary activity to agriculture, the exploitation of gold on the Zambezi plateau dates back to the 11th century (Newitt, 1995: 182), and was later included in trade routes in the Indian Ocean (Balsan, 1970). During the colonial period, mining production reached an industrial scale (Dondeyene *et al.*, 2009: 46). During the *Estado Novo* period, artisanal gold mining became more controlled by the authorities, although it continued to be practised illegally. After independence, there was an increase in illegal artisanal mining, particularly in the centre of the country, despite the continued tight control by the authorities (Júnior *et al.*, 2016). The 16-year war had an impact on the decrease in mining, triggering the displacement of many miners to safer areas. It is after the General Peace Agreement ("AGP"), in a scenario of great state fragility and widespread poverty phenomena, that a proliferation of the phenomenon of mining is witnessed, with less and less control by government authorities (Dondeyene *et al.*, 2009: 46).

As the new millennium begins, there was a proliferation of analyses on artisanal mining. The existing literature makes it possible to profile artisanal miners, to analyse the jobs created and the impact on the living conditions of local populations, the environmental consequences, but also the extent of the conflicts between the actors involved in mining, on the one hand, and with State agents and formal companies, on the other.

Artisanal mining represents an alternative for many rural populations in a scenario where agriculture is not a profitable activity. It is a practice that may involve hundreds or even thousands of individuals, often in an itinerant way, depending on opportunities, attracting populations from neighbouring districts and provinces, as well as from abroad, especially Zimbabweans and Tanzanians, but also Somalis, Malians, Congolese and Nigerians, among others. Foreigners are recurrently mentioned for not engaging in excavation activities, acting as buyers of minerals (or just intermediaries), making the international connections (Seleman, 2010: 34, Júnior *et al.*, 2016; Maquenzi and Feijó, 2019). Artisanal mining generates numerous complementary economic activities, generally segmented by gender. While excavation, mineral extraction and transport services are generally carried out by men, water and food supply and prostitution activities tend to be carried out by women, often involving minors (Dondeyene, 2007, 2009; Seleman, 2010).

Studies have noted improvements in the lives of some families involved in mining, the generation of many indirect jobs (Rantala, 2022), the acquisition of consumer goods, although it is also responsible for the increase in school dropout phenomena, child labour and product inflation (Feijó, 2018; Maquenzi, 2019; Rantala, 2022). In some places, for example in Sofala provinces or in Southern Cabo Delgado, modest social responsibility initiatives by artisanal miners' organisations have been identified, with benefits for local populations (Dondeyene *et al.*, 2009, Rantala, 2022).

Excavation activities are often carried out without hygienic and safe conditions and are responsible for many fatal accidents. The environmental impacts of artisanal mining can be significant. The landscape is altered (with large pits and quantities of earth removed), changing the morphological and chemical composition of the land and affecting soil fertility. By using mercury, artisanal gold mining is responsible for the contamination of ecosystems (MICOA, 2007). Literature shows that artisanal mining is implemented in isolated areas, with reduced presence and control by the State

or civil society organisations (Dondeyene *et al.*, 2009; Feijó, 2018; Rantala, 2022). The fact that mining is often carried out by poorly educated and informed individuals makes it difficult to implement hygiene and safety or environmental protection actions.

Artisanal mining is frequently synonymous with conflict. Firstly, in a scenario of absence of State institutions and regulation, there are frequent reports of conflicts between miners over the sharing of gains (Maquenzi and Feijó, 2019).

Secondly, despite the existence of agreements in many areas, involving the owner of the land, the owner of the mine, sometimes the respective discoverer, and the artisanal miners, involving the payment of rents or compensation, there are many cases of conflicts between artisanal miners and peasants who own land, not always compensated for the damages occurred (Selemane, 2010: 34; Júnior *et al.*, 2016, Maquenzi and Feijó, 2019; Rantala and Ali, 2022).

Thirdly, there are many conflicts between miners and police officers, accused of violence and extortion of valuables, and difficulties in accessing justice for issues of human rights violations (Feijó and Maquenzi, 2019, Rantala and Ali, 2022). In districts with a strong presence of artisanal mining, such as Montepuez, among the prison population are over-represented illegal miners and their buyers captured by the police or agents of the companies with concessions. In Niassa province there are documented phenomena of corruption linked to the presence of military personnel and attacks to gold buyers on their way to Tanzania (Rantala, 2022).

Fourthly, analyses show that the coexistence between miners from the centre and north of the country and the large mining companies operating there is not peaceful. In areas occupied by national elites, with greater capacity to influence at central level and often in partnership with multinational companies¹, it is difficult to obtain mining permits or to allocate exploration areas, despite this possibility being provided for in the Mining Law. This difficulty is aggravated when the applicants for mining permits are associated with opposition parties, and the existence of clientelist networks within the ruling party is noted (Rantala and Ali, 2022). Rantala and Ali (2022) reveal that, in the Gorongosa district, some employees of mining organizations opt to mine after work, which is a much more lucrative activity. On the other hand, doubts proliferate about the distribution of fiscal revenues from the extractive industry among local populations (Feijó and Maquenzi, 2019). Legal instruments for mining exploitation have failed to ensure transparency and protection of the interests of affected populations and small miners.

Associated with illegal trading networks, artisanal mining is not without its risks of resource leakage and loss of tax revenues for the Mozambican State, but also the risks of financing armed groups (Rantala and Ali, 2022). With the beginning of the armed insurgency, this suspicion opened up opportunities for more opportunistic State agents to engage in extortion of citizens.

¹ The *Centro de Integridade Pública* (Mate, 2021) explains the ease with which individuals close to political elites can access natural resources, in alliance with large foreign capital.

2. MINING IN MONTEPUEZ - A LONG CONFLICT BETWEEN ILLEGAL ARTISANAL MINERS AND THE MONTEPUEZ RUBY MINING

Since 2009, the administrative post of Namanhumbir witnessed the beginning of an unprecedented exploitation of mineral resources (precious and semi-precious stones), into which thousands of illegal miners, both nationals and foreigners, rushed. Initially, the State was totally absent in that region, allowing the illegal exploitation and exportation of rubies. In addition to the national economy losing tax revenues that would have resulted from the sale of those resources, the population became heavily dependent on that mining activity, abandoning agricultural production (Maquenzi, 2019). In 2009, the exploitation of mineral resources in that administrative post was carried out exclusively by illegal artisanal miners, mostly composed of young people from the provinces of Nampula, Niassa and Zambézia, but also by foreign citizens. This activity was responsible for the increase and provision of goods and services in Namanhumbir and the nearby villages (transport of people, renting houses, cooking meals, selling non-food products, prostitution, etc.) generating income in the local population and attracting population from elsewhere (Maquenzi and Feijó, 2019).

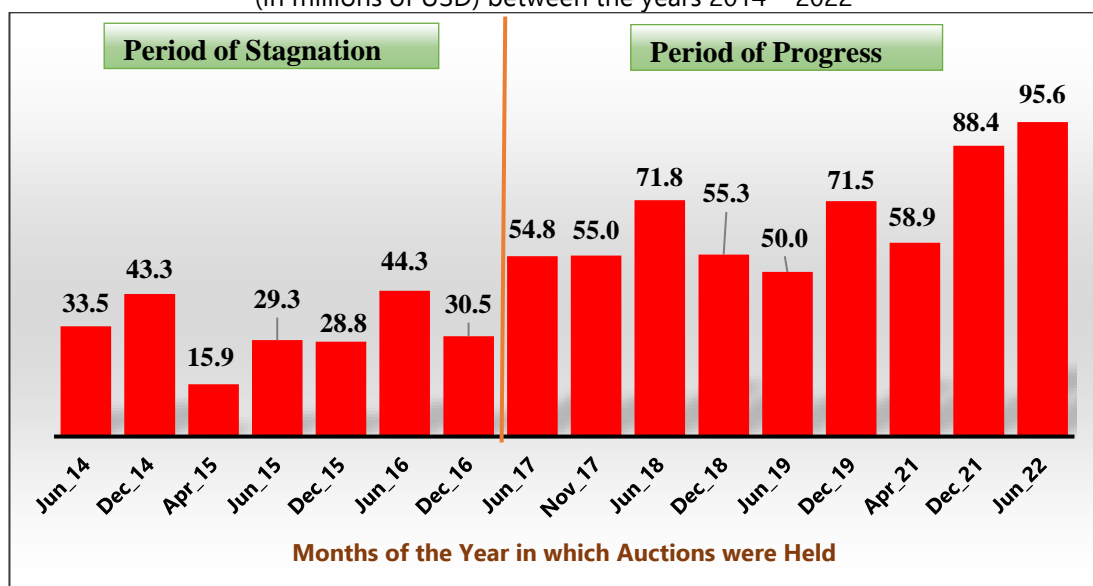
In September 2011, the Montepuez Ruby Mining (MRM), an exploration licence holder, was formed and began operations in 2012 in fierce competition with illegal miners. Mining became more controlled, increasing violence against artisanal miners, who operated clandestinely, often bribing agents from company security and from the Republic of Mozambique Police (PRM).

In June 2014, MRM held its first precious stones sales auction in Singapore and having raised a revenue of US\$33.5 million. However, in 2015 and 2016, as a result of the high supply of the precious stones to the Asian market, resulting from illegal exploitation, revenues declined by about \$2.8 million in 2015 and \$2 million in 2016 (Gemfields, 2021a). Within this scenario of falling revenues, that repression of miners was intensified, culminating in a massive and coordinated intervention by agents of the Rapid Intervention Unit, the Police of the Republic of Mozambique, the Border Guard Police and Wild Life guards, aimed at the arrest and expulsion of all illegal artisanal miners who were within or near the mining area. According to government data, the process culminated in the expulsion of between 4 and 6 thousand illegal artisanal miners, including repatriation of foreign citizens (Notícias, 21.04.2017; O País, 11.09.2018).

Recent data (Gemfields, 2021a; Gemfields, 2022) reveal that between 2014 and 2022, the company held a total of 16 auctions, resulting in cumulative revenues of USD 827.1 million, which translated into a tax revenue of USD 134.32 million for the Mozambican State (between 2014 and 2019) and made MRM the largest taxpayer in Cabo Delgado province. In 2020, the company did not held auctions due to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. In the months of March and April 2021, with auctions resumed in several cities, namely Bangkok, Dubai and Jaipur, this time online, resulting in the sale of rubies with a total value of 58.9 million dollars. In December the same year the company cashed in \$88.4 million. In June 2022, the company reached record levels, raising \$95.6 million (Gemfields, 2022). As Chart 1 shows, during the armed conflict, the Montepuez Ruby Mining's revenues kept increasing.

These economic results show that the actions to combat illegal mining benefited the multinational company (75% owned by Gemfields and 25% by Mwiriti Lda²), as well as the Mozambican State (which saw its tax revenues increase), but had a negative impact on local populations. In fact, the populations of Montepuez were deprived of a profitable, though illicit, economic activity, which provided a range of job-generating services in a context where agriculture is not a profitable activity. The expulsion of artisanal miners had an impact on numerous small local businesses relying on artisanal mining, increasing the levels of unemployment and petty crime (Maquenzi and Feijó, 2019). The company's social responsibility actions and the 2.75%³ channelled to the affected communities did not generate jobs and businesses to offset the negative impacts on the local micro-economy. The repressive actions of the State in controlling the artisanal mining also had an impact on the illegal and transnational networks of precious stones trade, with deep tentacles at the local level, involving buyers and collectors of stones and transporters of minerals abroad.

Chart 1: Evolution of total ruby sales in MRM (in millions of USD) between the years 2014 – 2022



Source: Authors' construction based on Gemfields data (2021; 2022)

Seven months after the operation to expel the artisanal miners in Namanhumbir, on 5 October 2017, armed attacks began in Mocímboa da Praia District, led by youths with a strong anti-State attitude, opposing the secular education system, as well as the justice system, seeking to recreate their own social system (Feijó, 2021). In the beginning, the members of the group were mostly young people from Mocímboa da Praia. Its leaders had links with cells of fundamentalist groups in Tanzania, Kenya, Somalia and the Great Lakes region (Habibe, Forquilha and Pereira, 2019). The group demonstrated a capacity to recruit young people, whether voluntarily (by exploiting local dissatisfaction), deceptively (by promising jobs in fishing or mining, which later failed to materialise) or coercively (through the kidnapping of adolescents) (Feijó, 2021; Morier-Genoud,

² Mwiriti Lda is owned by Raimundo Pachinuapa, a former National Liberation Struggle fighter, with 60% of the share, and by Asghar Fakir, with 40% (CIP, 2018).

³ This is a rate of distribution of tax revenues generated by the extractive industry to the directly affected populations, referred to in Law No. 20/2014 (Mining Law) and annually defined in the State Budget Law. This rate has invariably been set at 2.75%.

2021). Throughout the first half of 2020, this group demonstrated the capacity to attack, destroy, loot, and it even occupied several district headquarters villages, namely Mocímboa da Praia, Macomia, Quissanga and Muidumbe, increasing socioeconomic instability in the Northeast of the province. In March 2021, the main town of Palma was attacked, leading the Total company to suspend the investment process, with a profound impact on the country's economy.

3. OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper aims to understand the impact of forced displacement to the South of Cabo Delgado province on artisanal mining in Namanhumbir. In specific terms, it aims to: (i) characterise the population displaced by the armed conflict and resettled in the administrative post of Namanhumbir; (ii) analyse the pressure of displaced populations on illegal mining; and (iii) describe the complex relationship between artisanal miners and the security forces.

In pursuing this objective, a set of quantitative and qualitative methodologies was adopted, based on the analysis of statistics on migratory movements resulting from the armed conflict; the application of surveys by questionnaire; the establishment of focus groups with displaced artisanal miners; and field observation. Data were collected between 17 and 30 April 2022, in the administrative post of Namanhumbir, namely in the IDP centres located in the villages of Ujama (1,724 IDPs) and Nanhupo-B (2,686 IDPs).

Data on the migratory movements of IDPs was provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) for the month of March 2022. Official precious stones sales data published in the annual reports of MRM and Gemfields were also used.

The research began with the application of a questionnaire to displaced populations, with the aim of assessing their socio-economic conditions and integration strategies. A non-probability sample of 68 questionnaires was established for the two IDP centres. The sample was defined with a confidence level of 90% and a margin of error of 10%.

From the interaction with the surveyed populations, displaced individuals carrying out artisanal mining activities were identified, who identified other young people in the same condition, recruiting them to form a focus group. From this process two focus groups were conducted, consisting of 11 young people in the Ujama centre and 18 in Nanhupo-B. Thus, the group was made up of individuals known to one another and with the necessary confidence to share their experience in the group. The exercise lasted 30 minutes (in Ujama) and 63 minutes (in Nanhupo B) and made it possible to collect data on their geographical origin, the type of activities they carried out in their area of origin, the support they received at the centre for displaced persons, and the economic activities carried out in addition to mining, as well as the dynamics of clandestine entry into the mine, the acquisition of tools and the sale of precious stones.

Simultaneously, three informal buyers, who formed groups of artisanal miners who extracted precious stones on their behalf, were interviewed, as well as 12 miners living in Nanhupo, all of whom were questioned about the conditions of the artisanal miners inside the mine.

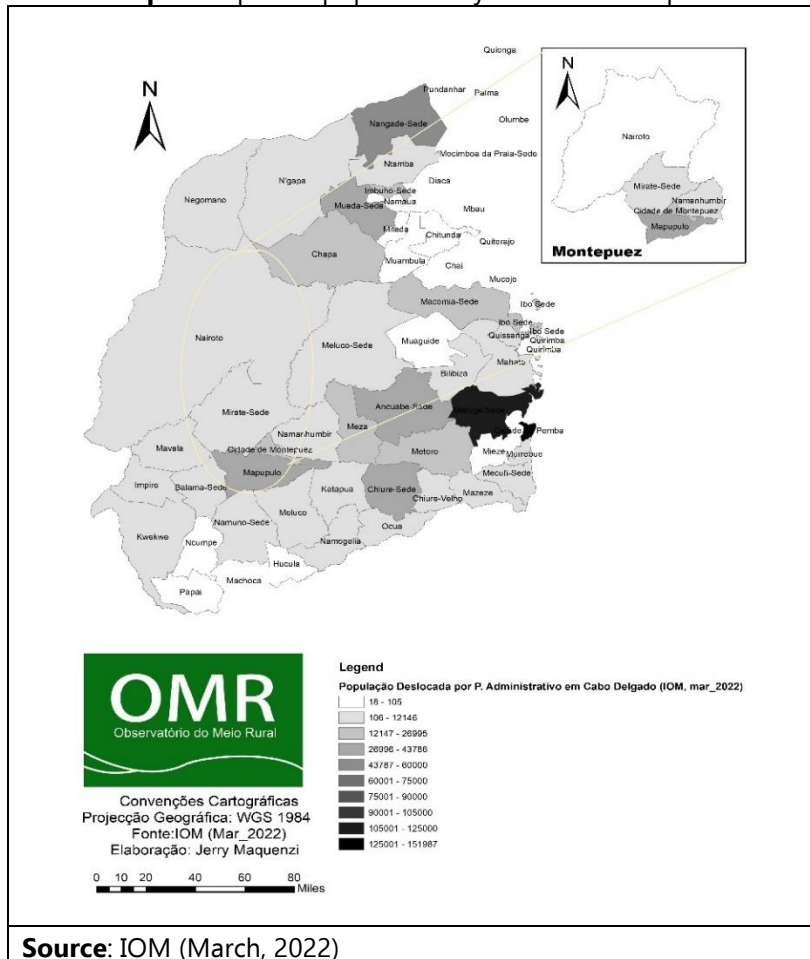
The graphic representation of the distribution of the displaced population was done using the ArcGIS mapping program.

4. THE DESTINATION OF IDPS - AVOIDING CONCENTRATION IN PRECIOUS STONES ZONES

a) The distribution of IDPs

The armed conflict triggered migratory movements to the southern and western zones of the province. According to IOM data, in March 2022, the armed conflict had displaced more than 784 thousand IDPs, of which 89.57% are within Cabo Delgado province: 151,987 in the city of Pemba (21.63%); 124,036, in Metuge district (17.65%); 84,822, in Mueda (12.07%); 72,526, in Ancuabe (10.32%); 64,866 in Nangade (9.23%); 63,176 in Montepuez (8.99%); 48,891 in Chiúre (6.96%); 36,350 in Ibo (5.17%); 23,291 in Macomia (3.31%), 12,125 in Balama (1,73%); 7,011 in Mecúfi (1,00%) 6,857 in Quissanga (0,98%) 3,860 in Namuno (0,55%) 2,752 in Meluco (0,39%) and 185 in Muidumbe (0,03%). Map 1 shows that most of the displaced population in the province was concentrated in the south-eastern part of the province, along the Pemba-Montepuez axis, and in the highlands, particularly in Mueda and Nangade districts.

Map 1: Displaced population by administrative post



In March 2022, the district of Montepuez was ranked sixth in terms of displaced population. Within Montepuez district, the displaced populations were concentrated in the South, namely in the administrative post of Mapupulo - which absorbs more than half (54.5%) of that population - and in the district headquarters (21.0%), and in the West, in the administrative post of Mirate (17.3%). In the eastern part of the district, where the large deposits of precious stones are concentrated,

namely in the administrative post of Namanhumbir, there was a reduced influx of displaced persons (only 7.0%) (See Map 1). Finally, the administrative post of Nairoto (0.2%) registered a residual number of displaced persons, which may be related to several factors: with the proximity to the conflict zone and the existence of geographical conditions (dense forest) favourable for the penetration of the guerrillas; with the isolation of the area, the absence of infrastructure (road networks) and public services, difficulties in accessing humanitarian aid, and distance from markets; as well as with the presence of mining companies (Nairoto Resources), which have little interest in the presence of displaced populations and have the capacity to exert pressure at central level to avoid concentration in this region.

b) Characterization of the internally displaced persons in the administrative post of Namanhumbir

This subsection seeks to characterize the IDPs in Namanhumbir based on the number of meals taken daily by each household, housing conditions (distinguishing the type of material used to cover the house), access to land for production, ownership of durable goods, ownership of animals, and access to support offered by humanitarian aid organisations.

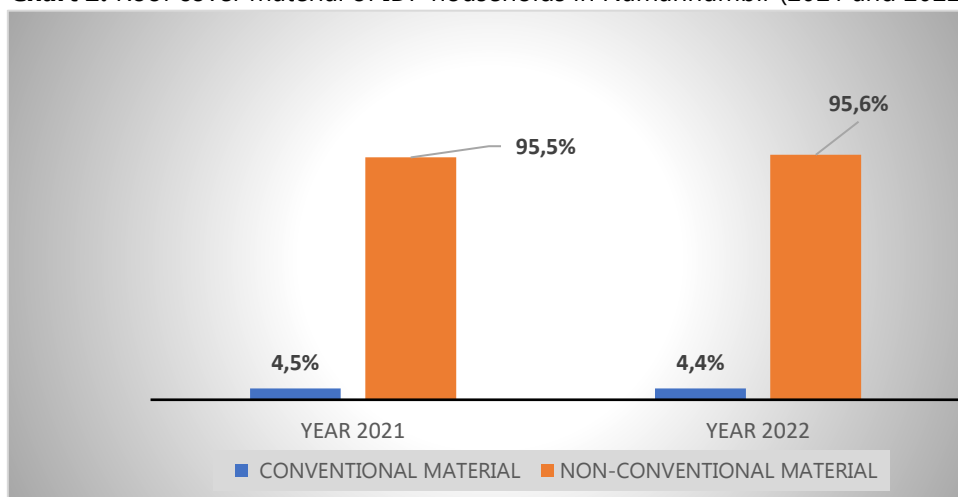
c) Access to food (number of daily meals)

According to the surveyed populations, the average number of daily meals consumed in April 2021, was 1.8, increasing to 2.2 in April 2022.

d) Housing conditions

Regarding housing conditions, it is found that the overwhelming majority (95%) of the displaced population resorts to non-conventional materials (grass/thatch) to cover their residence (Chart 3), a number well above the provincial average before the conflict (58.4%) (INE, 2017), but similar to the generality of IDP centres (Feijó et al. 2022).

Chart 2: Roof cover material of IDP households in Namanhumbir (2021 and 2022)



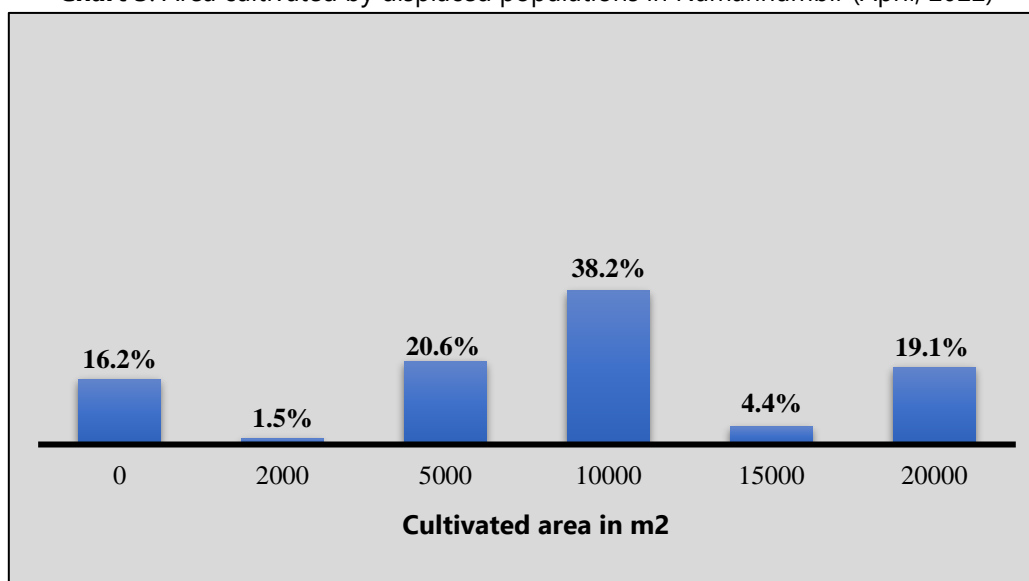
In the speeches of the young people interviewed, the comparison of the conditions of residence in the places of destination with those in the places of origin is evident, revealing a clear worsening of the housing conditions:

"(...) in our areas we left our houses, we left many things that we conquered for many years and today we are here sleeping in these huts. When it rains, they get destroyed, that is to say, we have no alternatives. We only live because we fled our zones (.")" (artisanal miner from the Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

e) Access to land for agricultural production

In contrast to other more populated IDP centres - such as in Mapupulo (Montepuez) or Metuge Sede (Feijó *et al.*, 2022) and without available areas, the reduced population concentration in the Ujama and Nanhupo B resettlement centres allowed the majority of IDPs (61.7%) to access areas equal to or greater than 1 ha. But, a significant amount of displaced families (38.3%) have access to areas less than 1 ha, with 16.2% having no access to land (Chart 3). However, the areas available are clearly smaller than those the displaced populations held in places of origin, where more than two thirds of the population had access to areas bigger than 1 ha (Feijó *et al.*, 2022).

Chart 3: Area cultivated by displaced populations in Namanhumbir (April, 2022)



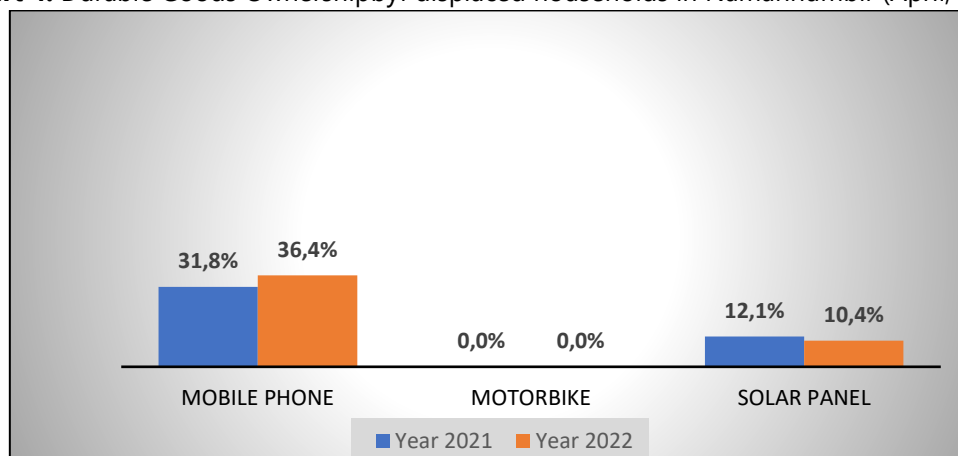
The increased demand for land created a land market, leading host families to charge monetary values (varying between 500 and 2,500 meticais) to cede land, aggravating the situation of displaced families who did not have these values at their disposal.

f) Possession of Durable Goods

Due to the possibility of access to communication, lighting and mobility, allowing a reduction in travel time and greater access to information, mobile phones, solar panels and motorbikes are durable goods that are increasingly sought after by rural populations. The results of the questionnaire survey show that about one third of the displaced families have a telephone and

between 10.4% and 12.1% have access to a solar panel. No displaced household has access to a motorbike (Chart 4). These figures are clearly lower than those recorded before the conflict, especially regarding solar panels (19.2%) (Census, 2017), or in other displaced populations in places of origin, between 42.9% and 78.6% (Feijó *et al.*, 2022).

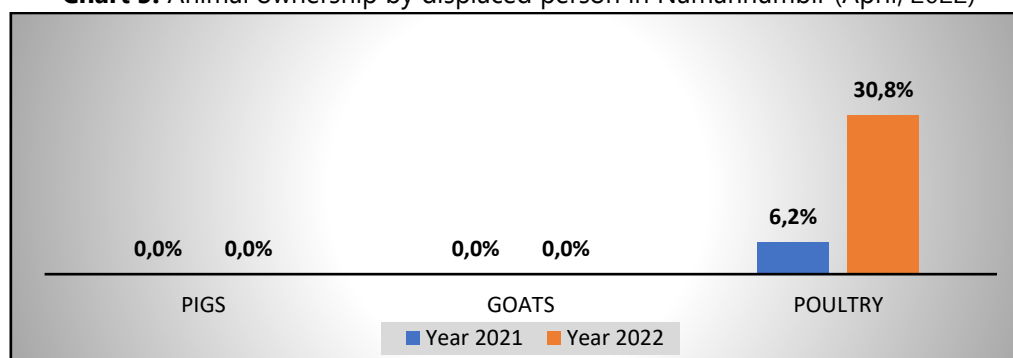
Chart 4: Durable Goods Ownership by displaced households in Namanhumbir (April, 2022)



g) Animal ownership

Regarding animal ownership, the results show that none of the IDPs in Namanhumbir raise pigs or goats. There is an increasing trend of poultry farmers, increasing from 6.2% in 2021 to 30.8% in 2022 (Chart 5). Compared to other displaced populations in Cabo Delgado - such as in Metuge, Chiúre or in the administrative post of Mapupulo (in Montepuz) - in Namanhumbir there was a higher number of poultry farmers, between 80% and 95.7% (Feijó *et al.*, 2022).

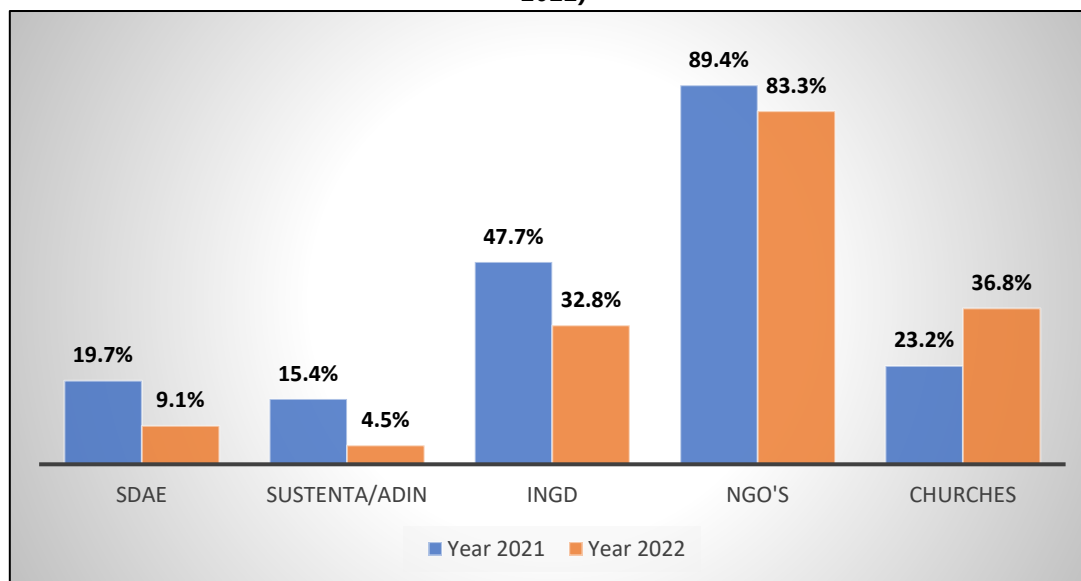
Chart 5: Animal ownership by displaced person in Namanhumbir (April, 2022)



h) Humanitarian Assistance

Given the lack of production capacity, the populations become quite vulnerable and dependent on external support, namely from WFP, but also, from humanitarian support organizations (plastic for house roofing provided by INGD, canvas provided by USAID), but also some agricultural inputs, offered by SDAE and SUSTENTA (Chart 6).

Chart 6: Origin of support received by displaced families, in percentage (years 2021 and 2022)

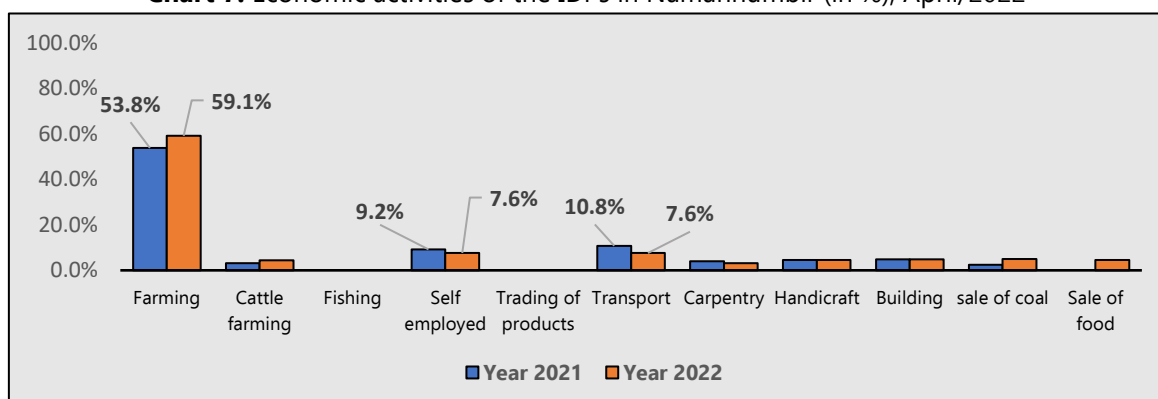


i) The diversification of economic activities and increased pressure on artisanal mining

• Diversification of economic activities

The results of the questionnaire survey show that in 2021, 53.8% of the displaced families were engaged in agriculture, having increased to 59.1% in 2022. As a way of complementary income, there are timid attempts at diversification of economic activities, with insignificant activities in the areas of transport and work for others, of a punctual and irregular nature (Chart 7).

Chart 7: Economic activities of the IDPs in Namanhumbir (in %), April/2022



In the face of the irregularity of food support, families sought alternatives in the extraction of firewood and charcoal production, in carrying out small gainful jobs in the farms of local populations and in small businesses. In spite of not declaring it in the questionnaire surveys, during the interviews, a group of displaced persons acknowledged involvement in artisanal mining activities in the area under MRM's concession, especially in periods of greater food scarcity. The activity is carried out mainly during the rainy season, when the forest becomes denser, allowing camouflage inside the forest and avoid the inspectors, and the soil becomes more humid, facilitating excavation:

"(...) When we arrived, some were going to burn charcoal, some were going to do ganho-ganho work, and then this [WFP] agent arrived and gives us support. For example, in 2020, when I arrived, before going into the bush [to mine].. we have Burundians here who have vegetable plots... I would go there to make flowerbeds, cut grass. They told me to dig wells" (Displaced person in Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

"(...) We stayed a long-time suffering. Then [the local young people] told us that digging stone here [in Namanhumbir] must be in the rainy season. So we waited for that period to come. Because [according to the locals] we wouldn't suffer so much with the persecutions there in the bush [at the mine]" (Displaced person, at Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

The lack of opportunities and access to financial resources, and absence of national entities that support in the development of small businesses or economic activities, lead local young people into illegal mining activities:

"(...) For example, I would like very much to do what I used to do there [in Muidumbe] - I had my tent; currently, I am anyway, and I don't even know where I am going to recover, that's because I don't have any support. I try to lean this way, I don't stand firm; I try another way, worse. I have no one who can support me. If there is someone who can support you, that's where you can stand upright and firm, because you already know that the support comes from here. But, without any support, when you fall, you fall once and for all, because I don't have someone to stand me up. So I usually think the following: I prefer to go and steal there [in the mine] to be able to get something so that I can lift me up" (Displaced person from the Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

• Characterisation of the IDPs who carry out artisanal mining

As this is an illegal activity, it is complicated to quantify the number of IDPs directly involved in the extraction of precious stones in Namanhumbir. However, some evidence gathered in the field shows that the number is high:

Firstly, during the day, young IDPs (from the districts of Muidumbe or Mocímboa da Praia) were observed wearing dusty clothes and carrying shovels and pickaxes, instruments used in the mining of precious stones (Figure 1), accompanied by local individuals, heading towards the areas of the mining concession.

Figure 1: Miners on their way to the mining concession area in Ujama - Namanhumbir



Picture: Jerry Maquenzi

Figure 2: Production and maintenance of pickaxes in Nanhupo - Namanhumbir



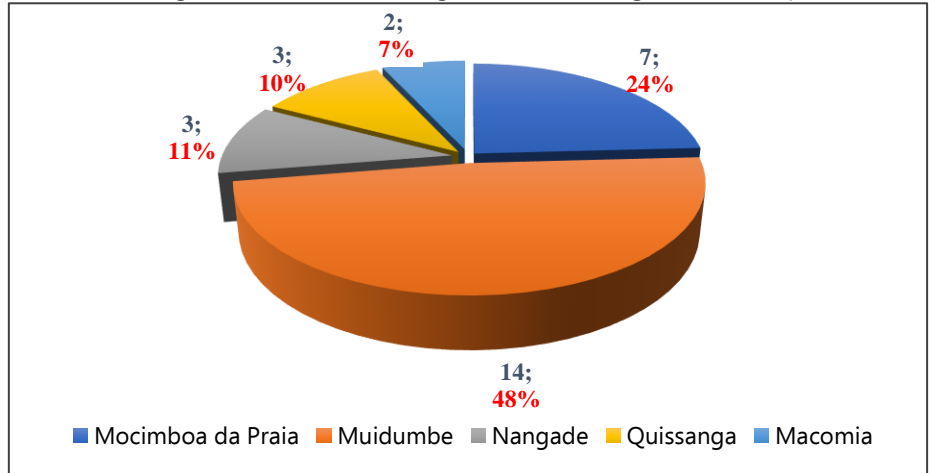
Picture: Jerry Maquenzi

A second indicator of the strong presence of artisanal mining activity is the existence of several places for the production and maintenance of pickaxes and working tools used in the process of excavation and mining extraction. The tools are produced in visible and easily accessible locations (Figure 2).

A third indicator is the presence of informal buyers in the district of Montepuez and around the mining area, who encourage the practice of illegal artisanal mining. As before the conflict, the presence of foreign artisanal miners was noted, mostly Tanzanian individuals.

The 29 artisanal miners interviewed that participated in the focus group come from the districts located in the north and southeast of Cabo Delgado province, namely Muidumbe (14), Mocímboa da Praia (7), Nangade (3), Quissanga (3), and Macomia (2).

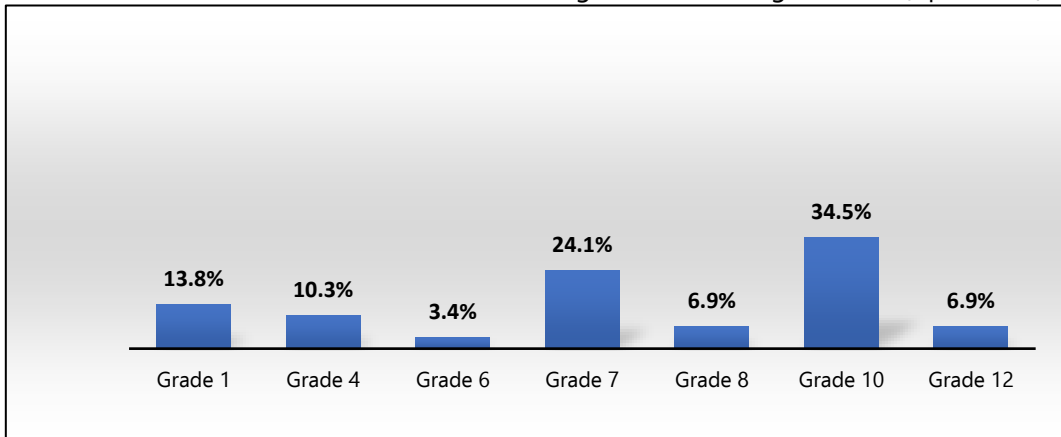
Chart 8: Origin of IDPs undertaking artisanal mining activities (April, 2022)



- **Level of Education and Professional Occupation of the IDPs carrying out the artisanal mining**

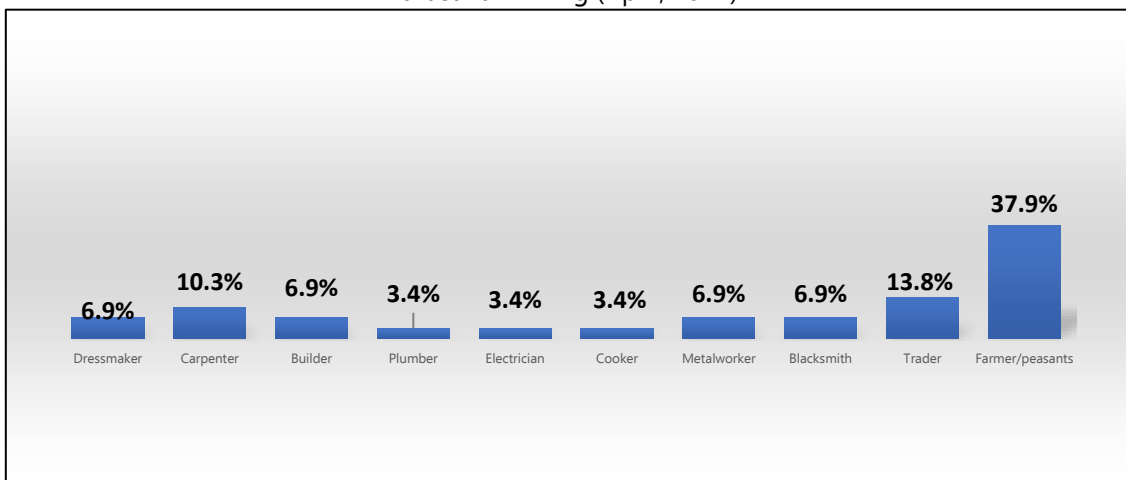
With regard to education, 51.7% of the miners have attended primary education (first and second level), although many have not completed it. It should be noted that more than 40% of the miners completed at least grade 10, which shows a level of education higher than the provincial average. In fact, according to the 2017 Census, only 7.6% of the population of Cabo Delgado completed the first cycle secondary education (grade 10).

Chart 9: Level of education of IDPs undertaking artisanal mining activities (April, 2022)



With regard to the economic activities carried out in the place of origin, it was found that agriculture (37.9%) was the predominant activity, followed by commerce (13.8%) and small trades related to carpentry (10.3%), metalworker, blacksmithing, sewing and construction (6.9%). These young people's unfamiliarity with artisanal mining can be verified by cross-checking with data from informal interviews. According to a local buyer, most of the displaced young people from the northern part of the province are unfamiliar with mining: "(...) *these refugees, mainly the Mwanis, are offering [precious] stones here; they don't know anything*" (trader, 41 years)

Chart 10: Main economic activity in the place of origin, carried out by IDPs currently practicing artisanal mining (April, 2022)



5. THE PRESSURE ON SECURITY SYSTEMS: SABOTAGE, CORRUPTION AND CONTINUING VIOLENCE

Due to the illegal extraction of precious stones, which has affected MRM's financial statements, the company has upgraded its security system, including lighting towers, wireless surveillance cameras and canine security. According to reports, in the forests there are still individuals with machetes, allegedly working for the mining company.

Despite the existence of more sophisticated security systems, illegal artisanal miners continue to risk their lives extracting rubies in the area under concession to MRM. To be able to enter the mining area, the artisanal miners revealed that they contact some of the company's security agents, who facilitate their entry. According to the interviewees, the security agents deployed to patrol the mining area are equipped with body security cameras, but when articulated with the miners, they divert the focus of the filming, not revealing the action of extracting precious stones. Not all artisanal miners are able to contact a security guard working for MRM, facing risks of either aggression or extortion when they enter the concession area:

"(...) Before you get there, you face some barriers along the way. We have the 'anacatanas' there, they can chase you before you enter the mine. Your products can [get] lost in that place and then you decide to go back home" (artisanal miner from Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

"(...) and often they tell us not to run away, saying that they only need money. We make the contributions of 100 meticaís per person, hand them over and they go away " (artisanal miner from the Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

"(...) When they caught me, they then asked me 'what do you bring there? Do you have your boss's [mobile phone] number?' I replied that I didn't have any boss's number, I only have 50 meticaís. So they took the 50 meticaís and also took my flashlight and then they told me 'go away, we won't arrest you' " (artisanal miners from Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

"(...) Me too, I have already been captured. We ran out, dropped our instruments and they captured me. They went into my pockets and took 200 meticaís from me. When I wanted to take my instruments, they prohibited me, then I left and went away " (artisanal miners from the Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

"(...) There, in the bush, the following happens: there are the "anacatanas" and there are those who walk around with cameras and, if they catch you when those with cameras are absent, they only ask for money " (artisanal miners from the Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

The presence of different types of security in MRM's mining area did not stop the illegal extraction of the precious stones. Artisanal miners started to bribe the security agents with support from informal buyers residing in the villages closest to the mining area and the town of Montepuez. Native Nanhupo artisanal miners reported that the illegal miners themselves are the first to contact the "bosses"⁴. They present the strategies they use to penetrate the mining area, and it is

⁴ As illegal buyers of precious stones are locally referred to.

up to the informal buyer to accept, or not, the strategic proposal. When the proposal is viable, a monetary amount is handed over to meet initial needs (food and transport). The displaced artisanal miners interviewed mentioned that the material they used in the extraction of precious stones was supplied by the informal buyers:

"(...) at other times, the [precious stones] buyers themselves provide us with [the precious stones extraction material], but with a close relationship with him, in the sense that when captured, he can intervene by paying the police officer" (artisanal miners from the Nanhupo-B resettlement centre).

In June 2021, three policemen, three men from the private security company GardaWorld and one security officer from Montepuez Ruby Mining (MRM) were convicted of working together to facilitate illegal ruby mining (Hanlon, 23.06.2021). The three police officers were convicted of facilitating access to the mining concession area by individuals of foreign nationality, who had hired local miners, having paid 1.3 million meticaís to the security guards on duty. According to some of the artisanal miners interviewed, one of the foreigners obtained around 16 million meticaís from the sale.

This complex reality is recognized by the administrators of Mwiriti themselves (Gemfields's counterpart which forms MRM). According to the director of Mwiriti, the buyers who encourage illegal mining, namely Thais and other foreigners "*are in Montepuez and pay the miners money to enter the company's area. They also pay the police officers to guard the robbery*" (Carta de Moçambique, 03.03.2019)

The conniving attitude of some company security agents coexists with other, stricter practices. Many artisanal miners caught in the mining area are taken to the nearest police station and three days later tried, often serving prison sentences ranging from six months to four years, with a progressive trend for recidivism. According to reports, before the trial, police officers offer the miners the possibility of paying a freedom fee, ranging from 5,000 to 15,000 meticaís. The situation becomes more complicated when the artisanal miners are arrested as a group, because in these cases, their release is only possible if all the members pay a bribe. The fact that most of those arrested do not have these amounts of money has led to an increase in the prison population in the penitentiary facility of Montepuez and to the transfer of many prisoners to the penitentiary facility of Mize (Metuge district).

Despite the reduction in violence inside the mine, there are cases of illegal miners being buried and of aggressions committed by PRM agents.

The implementation of an Operational Complaints Mechanism⁵ (OGM) faces some difficulties, related to the number of complaints filed⁶ (more than 2,000), the lengthy evaluation process and

⁵ This is a mechanism for submitting and managing complaints from populations affected by mining. This mechanism results from an out-of-court settlement between Gemfields and the law firm Leigh Day, following the action placed in court by the latter on the former (Feijó and Maquenzi, 2019), The mechanism is administered at three levels. Level 1, is associated with the resettlement process, for which MRM is responsible. Level 2, addresses complaints of human rights violations. Level 3, comprises an independent panel that has the responsibility to assess and validate the complaints and set a certain amount of compensation depending on the case.

⁶ Since its implementation, the OGM has collected about 2,000 cases of human rights violations, of which about 50 have been assessed by the independent panel, and 20 cases have already had their closure.

the limited disclosure of the outcome of these processes, which contribute to the ignorance of many individuals (especially displaced persons, elderly people and children) about this mechanism. In addition, there are disagreements between the independent panel and the company about the responsibility of the acts committed by State agents in the mining area or the compensation mechanisms and amounts.

6. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

From 2009 to 2017, Namanhumbir experienced the penetration of organised and illegal precious stones mining groups, which collided with interests of a mining joint venture, with greater capacity to lobby the central government. With the use of State resources, there was violent repression of artisanal miners and illegal traders, in a coordinated strategy for expelling the populations from the mining area. The breakdown of these illegal economic networks fuelled perceptions of a State against the population, which were capitalised on by violent groups. The worsening of an armed conflict had a rebound effect, triggering migratory movements to the south of Cabo Delgado province. Despite the government's concern to divert populations away from the mining areas, thousands of displaced persons have concentrated in areas close to the mining zones, increasing the pressure on Montepuez Ruby Mining.

This paper demonstrates the Government's and MRM's concern to assist the displaced populations, in a clear attempt to reduce tension in the area, preventing the spread of insurgency to the region. However, MRM's social responsibility actions benefited a restricted group of individuals, often in a palliative manner, with a large part of the population remaining dependent on agricultural activity, without access to technical, financial or technological assistance. The disbursement of funds from the 2.75% of tax revenues from mining activities has not triggered any changes in the economic structure.

Despite the lower population density in Namanhumbir (at least in comparison with Mapupulo, where most of the displaced population was concentrated), many families continue to be deprived of access to agricultural land and to suffer from food insecurity.

In this scenario of poverty, artisanal mining was a solution to resort to for many displaced young people, encouraged by illegal traders. Investment in complex security systems has been circumvented by bribery practices by company surveillance agents. Illegal traders continue to act with the connivance of private security and State security agents, exporting rubies through Pemba airport, as denounced by MRM's corporate affairs manager (Carta, 03.03.2019), fuelling suspicions of financing violent groups.

This situation was responsible for the maintenance and reproduction of phenomena of violence, opportunism and injustice, evident in the attacks on artisanal miners, deaths by burial and extortion of valuables, carried out by company security agents and State agents. The complaints mechanism that was set up proved to be too slow to deal with the large number of complaints, in a scenario in which the Attorney General's Office resigned from her role. In addition to failing to fulfil their function of protecting the population and promoting justice, the State agents even assume the role of aggressors.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In this context, reducing conflict and increasing pressure on illegal artisanal mining requires the implementation of a set of reforms that include:

- 1) **Diversifying the economy and supporting the creation of small businesses** for displaced young people, at the level of agriculture, livestock farming, agro-processing, transport and services, through technical and financial assistance;
- 2) **Increase the percentage of tax revenues from the extractive industry to be allocated to the affected populations.**
- 3) **Support for the formation of local associations, increasing their capacity to influence favourable public policies;**
- 4) **Massive investment in technical and professional training**, establishing partnerships with religious and humanitarian organizations;
- 5) **Allocation of mining permits and mining spaces**, including in partnership with mining companies, exploring the existing possibilities in Law No. 20/2014 (Mining Law), respecting the Kimberley process;
- 6) **Legalisation of marketing operators, exploring the existing possibilities in Decree No. 25/2015 (regulation of marketing of diamonds, precious metals and gems);**
- 7) **Promotion of access to justice and increased capacity building of courts and the judiciary**, including training of State agents on the respect for human rights;
- 8) **Strengthening migration services and surveillance of illegal immigrants as well as illegal traders.**
- 9) **Involvement of civil society organisations in conflict resolution**, including monitoring the application of tax revenues from the exploitation of natural resources, monitoring resettlement processes for war-affected populations and human rights violations.

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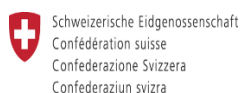


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OMR focuses its actions on the pursuit of the following specific objectives:

- Promote and carry out studies and research on policies and other issues related to rural development;
- Disseminate research results and reflections;
- Make the results of the debates known to society, either through press releases or through the publication of texts;
- Create an updated bibliographic database, in digitized form;
- Establish relationships with national and international research institutions for the exchange of information and partnerships in specific research work on agrarian and rural development issues in Mozambique;
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