



OBSERVADOR RURAL
No. 149
October 2024

**THE SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF
WOMEN INTERNALLY DISPLACED BY CONFLICT
IN PEMBA, CABO DELGADO**

Daniel Missell

The working paper OBSERVADOR RURAL (OMR) is a publication of the Observatório do Meio Rural. It is a non-periodical publication for institutional and individual distribution. The OBSERVADOR RURAL can also be accessed on the OMR website (www.omrmz.org).

The objectives of the OBSERVADOR RURAL are:

- Reflect and promote the exchange of opinions on current Mozambican topics and international affairs.
- Make society aware of the results of debates, research, and reflections on relevant themes in the agricultural sector and rural areas.

The OBSERVADOR RURAL is a publication space intended mainly for researchers and technicians who research, work or have some interest in the area covered by the OMR. Other nationals or foreigners may also propose works for publication.

The contents are the exclusive responsibility of the authors, not binding, for any purpose, the Observatório do Meio Rural or its partners or sponsors.

The texts published in OBSERVADOR RURAL are in draft form. The authors are grateful for contributions to deepening and corrections to improve the document.

THE SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTERNALLY DISPLACED BY CONFLICT IN PEMBA, CABO DELGADO

Daniel Missell ¹

1. INTRODUCTION

In Cabo Delgado, a simmering conflict developed, starting from what was supposed to be an 'isolated incident' of Islamist violence back in 2017. When the site of the original attacks, the port town of Mocímboa da Praia, fell to the non-state armed group, known locally as "machababos" or "machababis"², in June of 2020, the unfolding humanitarian crisis entered a new phase marked by mass internal displacement within the province. Cabo Delgado's capital, the city of Pemba, has since received, and continues to host, the largest number of displaced persons in the region. Over the past year, growing numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs) have returned to zones affected by violence, but there remains more than 600,000 displaced individuals - of which 137,000 residing in Pemba - and in need of further assistance to subsist and recover (IOM, 8/2023).

Women are overrepresented within the displaced population in Pemba and in Cabo Delgado as a whole. Forced to leave their homes, community, and land, they find themselves in a state of precariousness and vulnerability, while still performing a fundamental role in the social reproduction of their families and communities - as they pursue livelihoods, do housework, provide care, and uphold traditions. How well IDP women are able to fulfill their social reproductive responsibilities in Pemba depends, at least in part, on how successful their socioeconomic integration into the city has been. Relating social reproduction to socioeconomic integration, in this context, may provide beneficial insights for practitioners and policy makers as they develop projects and policy interventions, respectively, aimed at durable solutions for IDP women and the rest of the IDP population.

Following a contextualization of this study, this paper aims to analyze the socioeconomic integration of IDP women in the city of Pemba. Starting with a description of the research project for which the primary data was collected, a theoretical framing for the collection, presentation and analysis of the information will be discussed. Then, an overview of the political, economic, and social characteristics of the city of Pemba will be provided. Next, an assessment of the areas deemed most consequential - shelter, livelihoods, social reproduction, community dynamics - to the socioeconomic integration of IDP women in Pemba will be presented. Lastly, the concluding section will offer a reflection on the state of IDP women's socioeconomic integration in Pemba and possible pathways forward.

¹ PhD candidate at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal.

² Combining the prefix *ma* (used in many Bantu languages for plural designation) and the Arabic word *shabaab*, meaning youth.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES & METHODOLOGY

This working paper is the outcome of four months of ethnographic fieldwork in the city of Pemba, from May to September of 2023, undertaken to complete the author's doctoral thesis. The data collection process was guided by an inductive and participatory approach to knowledge creation, focused on the livelihood strategies of IDP women in Pemba. Security concerns during the fieldwork period meant the research was contingent on receipt of security credentials from the Gabinete do Secretário do Estado de Cabo Delgado. Moreover, access to the neighborhoods and study participants was controlled and monitored by local officials³.

Aided by a research assistant/translator, data collection spanned the entire city of Pemba, but focused primarily on the Paquitequete and Metula neighborhoods, and the Chibuabuar division of the Cariacó neighborhood. These neighborhoods have been primary destinations for arriving IDPs and were selected with the purpose of capturing a diversity of spatial, environmental, and cultural realities found inside Pemba. A snowball-sampling method was utilized to identify and select research participants. In each of the neighborhoods where the fieldwork was concentrated an introductory meeting with IDP women and local officials was held to present and explain the research project.

Over forty IDP women, who arrived in Pemba between 2018-2022, constitute the sample for which data was collected - over multiple encounters at their homes and gathering spaces - regarding their experiences through displacement and socioeconomic integration in Pemba. The ages of the women in the sample lie between 20 and 80; if the sample had been extended to girls as young as 15, the number of IDP women in all the households surveyed would exceed 120. Key-informant interviews with individuals from different levels of the local political establishment, the World Food Program (WFP), International Organization for Migration (IOM), United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS), Caritas, AVSI, foreign and local research institutions, and local NGOs, also contributed to the data collection process and the analysis found in this working paper.

3. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

It is well established that women are more likely to become an IDP than men and that pre-existing inequalities are reinforced during displacement, which intensify the deprivation, insecurity, and abuse experienced by women (Cazabat, 2020). IDP Women must make use of their agency and resiliency, navigate and contest local structures and institutions, to pursue their livelihood strategies and life projects (Azmi, 2018; Gibb, 2022). Their engagement in economic activities may afford them control, autonomy, and status at both the household and community levels (Almakhamreh *et al.*, 2022).

Southern Africa's pre-colonial history is marked by refugee movements, but systematic forced placement and displacement was introduced in the region, now known as Mozambique, by the Portuguese colonialists (O'Laughlin, 2002; Subulwa, 2012). This practice continued following independence, during the country's brief attempt of scientific socialism and its 16-year war and following Mozambique's re-integration into the global capitalist system through to the present day. Occurring spontaneously or via government-led resettlement, the push factors behind forced

³ To varying degrees depending on which neighborhood of the city.

displacement in Mozambique have included armed conflict, extreme weather events, development and conservation projects (Raimundo, 2020). Recently, all these push factors have been responsible for generating internal displacement in Cabo Delgado.

Since 2017, the guerilla war in Cabo Delgado has been the leading cause of internal displacement in the province and on-going studies on the humanitarian crisis have highlighted the various religious, political and socioeconomic motivations behind the conflict (Morier-Genoud, 2020; Hanlon, 2021; Feijó *et al.*, 2022a). The province's development model is predominantly extractive and capital-intensive, incompatible with the abilities and needs of the local population who struggle to avoid a life of multidimensional poverty - especially those who are younger (the largest demographic group in the province). Meanwhile, local fundamentalist religious leaders have pointed to jihadism as the solution to Cabo Delgado's problems, fueling the insurgents in the armed struggle against the central government and the foreign interests they are beholden to.

The conflict has caused delays in the Mozambique Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) project, the state's biggest hope for upstream and downstream investment, potentially costing the Mozambican government billions of dollars in revenue (CIP, 2023). Recent studies have observed that districts where the natural gas industry is present, led by French multinational TotalEnergies, have been prioritized in the province's reconstruction efforts (Nhamirre, 2022; Feijó, 2023).

A confounding variable in the development and security equation of Cabo Delgado are reoccurring extreme weather events (i.e., cyclones) that destroy livelihoods, homes, communities, private and public infrastructure (Meek & Nene, 2021). These contribute to the deteriorating living standards in the province, compounding the motivations behind the conflict and decreasing the likelihood of a non-militaristic pathway to peace. In this environment, Osório & Cruz e Silva (2021) contend that sustainable peace in the province will require prioritizing women's access and control over land.

In addition to the projected fiscal and developmental consequences of the war, the observed human toll of the conflict has been catastrophic. Thousands of civilians have been murdered, communities and towns have been destroyed, and the humanitarian situation in the province is dire for IDPs and the communities that host them. Assistance for both has been mainly palliative, aimed at alleviating their immediate suffering, but disconnected from a broader developmental policy aimed at durable solutions (Feijó *et al.*, 2022b). There is great diversity within the IDP population of Cabo Delgado, yet the experiences of self-settled IDPs in Pemba have been under explored, considering that it is the site with the highest number of IDPs in the province. Moreover, only a small subset of existing studies has directly addressed the state of IDP women, who outnumber male IDPs and face additional challenges during displacement, but whose experiences are muted in academia and the media (Fórum Mulher, 2020).

An area of focus for studies on IDP women in Cabo Delgado has been the multiple types of gender-based violence (GBV) they have encountered - including physical violence, sexual abuse, forced marriages, and further economic marginalization and exploitation, to name a few (D'Odorico *et al.*, 2021). Extending to the impact of GBV on their sexual health (Ulaia, 2023) and its psychosocial ramifications (Muthambe & Muthambe, 2021). Their agency and various roles in the conflict, as collaborators, survivors, bread winners and pillars of the community, have received relatively less

interest (Feijó, 2021). Tying these points together and going further, an integrated analysis of how IDP women pursue their livelihoods alongside their other socio-reproductive obligations to the household and community is needed but still lacking.

Securing a decent livelihood is a major challenge for IDP women in Cabo Delgado, who typically occupy a subaltern economic position in society, meaning that the imperatives of social reproduction govern their social relations and working lives (Osório & Cruz e Silva, 2021; Stevano, 2021). According to Cock (2018), *social reproduction* involves “the complex tasks and processes that ensure the production and reproduction of the population on a daily and on a generational basis. It means meeting caring and provisioning needs, including child rearing, producing and preparing food”. In light of this, a social reproductive lens is fitting and will be used to analyze and identify leverage points within the experiences of IDP women, in order to help develop future interventions supporting durable solutions.

Absent from “The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement”, the principle normative framework for IDPs, *durable solutions* became the stated goal for IDPs once the United Nations’ Inter-Agency Standing Committee adopted the “Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons” in 2010⁴. Durable solutions occur when IDPs “no longer have any specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement”. This may be achieved through a) sustainable reintegration in their place of origin (return); b) sustainable local integration in the places where IDPs take refuge (local integration); or c) sustainable integration in another part of the country (settlement elsewhere).

Most IDPs settle outside of camps and in urban areas where they are amongst the poorest in their host communities and are exposed to various health, social and economic threats (United Nations, 2021). The protracted nature of these displacements requires interventions aimed at supporting IDPs in their pursuit of local integration - if that is their choice - and their host communities, because successful integration is also a byproduct of local opportunity structures (Phillimore, 2020). Accordingly, this paper will now present an overview of the city of Pemba to add contextual depth and ground the analysis of IDP women’ socioeconomic integration. First with a political, economic, and social profile of the city, and afterwards through reference to the neighborhoods where the fieldwork was concentrated.

4. PEMBA

Sitting on the southern peninsula of its namesake bay, the city of Pemba has served as a human settlement dating back at least to the Swahili period, having received its designation as a municipality in 1997. The capital of Cabo Delgado, Pemba occupies an area of 194 km², with a humid tropical climate with one ‘rainy’ and one ‘dry’ season and is bordered on the North and East by the Indian Ocean, on the South by Mecufi, and on the West (across the bay) by Metuge.

⁴ Mozambique is a signatory of the African Union Convention of 2009 (i.e., the Kampala Convention), which established the foundation for durable solutions, later ratifying it in its national assembly through resolution No. 21/2017.

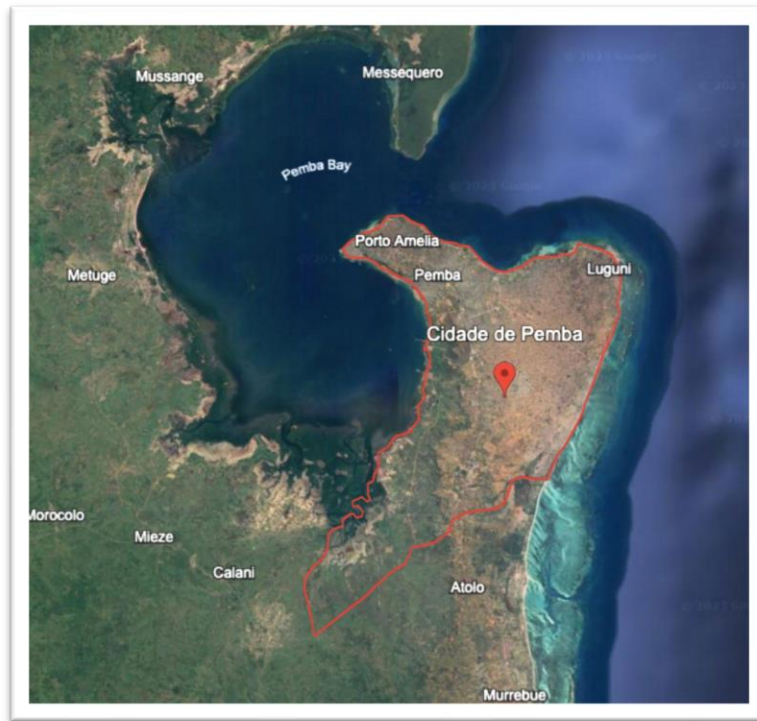


Fig. 1 City of Pemba and its limits (in solid lines) (Google Earth)



Fig. 2 Map of Pemba with its neighborhoods (in solid lines) (Município de Pemba/Fundação E35 2021)

At the time of Mozambique's last national census Pemba's population was an estimated 200,529 (INE, 2017). In April of 2020, it was estimated that 6,768 individuals were internally displaced in Pemba; however, following a critical period in the conflict between June and November of that same year, Pemba's IDP population jumped from 27,858 to 146,424 (IOM, 3/2021). By November of 2022, Pemba's IDP population reached its apex at over 220,000. Improvements to the security situation in the province have since allowed a slow and uneven return of people to their homelands, leaving Pemba's IDP population at around 137,726 (IOM, 8/2023).

A) Politics

Pemba is the administrative center of Cabo Delgado, housing the provincial government and the cabinet of the secretary of State. The city is a municipality but also a district, each with its own governing body. The municipality of Pemba is composed of 13 administrative units which correspond to residential neighborhoods: Paquitequete, Cimento, Ingonane, Natite, Cariacó, Josina Machel, Eduardo Mondlane, Maringanha, Gingone, Mahate, Chuiba, Muxara and Metula. Each neighborhood is overseen by a neighborhood secretary who presides over division chiefs, then block chiefs, and finally house chiefs.

The multiplicity of administrative layers found in Pemba reflect FRELIMO's (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique) - the ruling party who has been in control of the country since its independence in 1975 - desire to maintain the unitary nature of the State, even through decentralization. Average citizens pay for this planned convulsion, literally and figuratively. The creation of districts in provincial capitals, where there were already municipalities, for example, has generated conflict between political actors and negatively impacted the provision of public services at a local level (Forquilha, 2020). Discussions with one key-informant pointed out that neighborhood secretaries, although not officially part of the State's administrative structure, should go through an electoral process, but in practice, in Pemba, they are political appointments reserved for Frelimo party members⁵.

In Mozambique, seemingly all levels of society are affected by corruption; the neoliberal project, which took hold of Mozambique towards the end of the country's 16-year war can be blamed for this (Hanlon, 2017). Structural adjustment programs, implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the early 1990s, capped the amount of foreign aid reaching the country, leading to a wage squeeze and falling civil servant wages. With many civil servants - including nurses and teachers - having fallen below the poverty line, small acts of corruption began to permeate the interactions of Mozambicans with the Mozambican state.

According to the Mozambican government's "Política e Estratégia de Gestão de Deslocados Internos"⁶, the responsibility to identify and provide safe and appropriate spaces to receive IDPs falls on the Órgão de Representação Provincial (OREP) and the municipal and district governments (Governo de Moçambique, 2021a). Conversations with political actors, local NGO and humanitarian workers have revealed the concerted effort by Pemba's political establishment to keep IDPs out of

⁵ In Metula, there is no separation between party and State - the house of one official of the administrative unit was used as a point for delivery of humanitarian assistance and a convening space for Frelimo party meetings.

⁶ Whose fourth pillar 'Reconstruction and Recuperation' explicitly mentions "the adoption of durable measures and solutions".

the city. The principal reasons for this approach being a desire to maintain security and relieve pressure on public infrastructures. This decision runs contrary, however, to the rights of IDPs who would rather settle in Pemba and are in need of support. It is also telling that in Cabo Delgado's reconstruction plan, the only mentioned improvements to public infrastructure in Pemba are a transit center for unaccompanied vulnerable individuals and a provincial kindergarten (Governo de Moçambique, 2021b).

B) Economy

The municipality of Pemba, which is responsible for overseeing the city's economic development, published its last "Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento" (PEDM) back in 2014. Commerce was the city's highest grossing economic sector, followed by industry, then the public sector, while the city's leading employers were the public sector, industry, and then tourism (Município da Cidade de Pemba, 2014). At the time of the PEDM's writing Pemba produced fewer than one sixth of the goods and services purchased by its citizenry and some of the city's main economic challenges were: a shortage of incentives capable of promoting agricultural work; meek output from the fishing sector; proliferation of stands and informal commerce on the streets of the city; diminutive industrial park; and insufficient means of public transportation.

In Cabo Delgado, over three quarters (80,5%) of the population in rural zones is economically active, while only over half (55,5%) of the population in urban zones is economically active (ANEME, 2017). This dichotomy between urban and rural areas is critical in understanding Pemba's economic opportunity structures for IDPs and locals. Interruptions to rural-urban trading networks, a general lack of jobs, difficult access to natural resources and available land limit the opportunities for families and individuals to make a living in Pemba.

Untethered from the neoliberal principles foisted upon it over three decades ago, the patrimonialist nature of the modern Mozambican State requires fealty from would-be business men and women who seek to establish themselves within the Mozambican economy. In Pemba, competition over salaried jobs is intense, in the public and private sectors, favoring those who are either well-connected or able to bribe their way through the hiring process.

Boasting one of the province's two ports, Pemba has become a trans-shipment point for illicit commodities - like ivory, timber, wildlife, and narcotics. Local black markets operate via a patronage network, and drug routes are run by local elites in conjunction with their partners abroad (Maluana, 2022). Some of this money gets 'cleaned' in Pemba through real state purchases or business investments, which place inflationary pressure on segments of the local economy. Inflation of land and housing prices is a problem particularly for IDPs who are housing insecure, tend to lie at the bottom of the economic pyramid, and whose presence in the city has also contributed to rising prices. Another phenomenon contributing to inflation in Pemba has been the presence of the humanitarian aid industry, whose foreign workers have floated another parallel economy within the city as it awaits the return of the foreign workers in the extractive industry - e.g., natural gas.

C) Society

The main ethno-linguistic groups in Cabo Delgado are the Makua, spread across the south of the province and the most populous, the Mwani, predominantly Muslim and 'ocean bound' along the Swahili Coast, and the Makonde, Christianized residents of the hinterlands who make up the country's political elite⁷. The Makua, Mwani and Makonde peoples of Pemba share the city with Mozambicans from other provinces, Africans from neighboring countries, entrepreneurs from Asia with historic and recent ties to the region, foreign aid workers and military personnel, etc. Islam is the city's most subscribed to religious faith, followed by Catholicism, and traditional religious beliefs which run parallel to the Abrahamic religions.

Birthplace of the fight for independence, Cabo Delgado is a region within Mozambique that has been historically neglected. Its citizenry is mostly young with low levels of literacy and schooling, experiencing high levels of poverty, served by a crumbling public education and health care system (Feijó *et al.*, 2022). In the late 2000s, the discovery of ruby and graphite deposits, and offshore natural gas reserves transformed the province's economic outlook. Exploration of these natural resources has, however, strained traditional livelihoods, generated forced displacement, and frustrated the expectations of locals who see the benefits shared primarily between foreign companies, foreigners, and local elites. In such an unequal and diverse setting, trust is low and inter-group grievances run back and forth and in multiple directions, especially towards those who are perceived as holding power.

A system of matrilineality where residence and assets follow a female lineage is subscribed to by the Makua and is common in Cabo Delgado, but patriarchal structures are ubiquitous, supported by customary law, and dominant. Compared to their male counterparts, women in Mozambique receive less education, possess fewer skills, have less control over the family's financial resources and decisions, are at a higher risk of contracting HIV, and may have their access to land restricted by the opposite gender (Knox & Tanner, 2019). The challenging reality of Cabo Delgado has forced gender and social norms to adapt, especially in urban settings, leading to an increase of transactional sex and the explicit commodification of many romantic relationships (Bandali, 2011). In a context where patriarchal hegemony oversees the economic marginalization of women, however, unintended social and public health consequences have accompanied changes in women's sexual behaviors and relationship dynamics.

D) Neighborhoods in focus

Located on the northwest tip of the city, Paquitequete is the city's oldest settlement. Host to a culturally homogeneous community which descends primarily from the province's northern coast, the vast majority of its residents are Mwani and are followers of the Islamic faith. Bordering the bay and well positioned near the city's central market and provincial hospital, the neighborhood is densely occupied, with many self-constructed homes that do not receive basic services, and has no access to land to cultivate "*machambas*"⁸. Residents of Paquitequete have traditionally relied on the sea as a

⁷ There is great social differentiation amongst the Makonde, however, the majority of whom are locked in a state of poverty.

⁸ Term used in Mozambique to designate farming plots.

primary source of income and nutrition, while also engaging in craftworks and trade to meet their needs (Agostinho do Amaral, 2023). The neighborhood faces significant challenges regarding access to water and sanitation, both of which are critical to control cholera outbreaks.

Tucked away behind the Pemba's army barracks and main catholic church, Chibuabuar is the biggest subdivision of Cariacó, the neighborhood hosting the city's largest IDP population (IOM, 11/2023). This subdivision of the Cariacó neighborhood was first occupied by IDPs fleeing the country's 16 year-war and has continued to serve as a destination for people arriving in Pemba who are experiencing financial hardship. This subdivision is also densely occupied, with clay soil that is not appropriate for cultivating food and nearly impossible to walk across when it rains. The residents of Chibuabuar are of diverse origins and engage in economic activities that are common to the rest of the city, especially petty trade. Inaccessible to cars, Chibuabuar has no health center, and like Paquitequete, water access and sanitation are major concerns for its residents.

Leaving or entering the city through the N1 national road requires one to cross the Metula neighborhood, which sets Pemba's perimeter and is the city's most recent peri urban sprawl. Formerly 'Muxara B', Metula received its designation as a neighborhood after it became a hosting zone for IDPs arriving in the city in 2020. Metula is a sprawling setting, still with some space to build new habitations or raise *machambas*, and with a diverse population which resembles the province at large. The economic activities pursued by the residents of Metula resemble those found in the rest of the city. Far from the urban center, the intensity and diversity of commerce observed in Metula lags behind the other examined neighborhoods, as its proximity to arable land and natural resources, however, affords locals greater livelihood options while also supporting their subsistence needs. Still, accessing safe water is a challenge in Metula and although there is a health center it does not provide maternal care.

5. SOCIOECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Displaced by the conflict, IDP women fled preemptively or from direct armed violence; with part of their material possessions or empty handed; by themselves, with their families, or alongside other members of their communities; across land and water; by foot, automobile, or boat; and arrived in Pemba. On their journey to durable solutions, some of these women have returned to their place of origin, some are in a state of protracted displacement, and some have decided to integrate locally. For IDPs in the region, source of income, followed by non-food items and shelter have recently been identified as the most pressing humanitarian needs (IOM, 8/2023).

The analysis that follows will consider four dimensions of IDP women socioeconomic integration in the city of Pemba: housing; livelihoods; social reproduction; and community dynamics. The first dimension will address in what conditions IDP women live and make their housing decisions. The second dimension will explore IDP women' livelihoods and livelihood strategies. The third dimension will focus on IDP women' social reproduction. The fourth, and final, dimension will explore the social variables and processes affecting IDP women.

A) Housing

Abandoning their communities was a dreaded, occasionally organized, but frequently spontaneous process for many IDP women who made their way to Pemba looking for safety, support from their families, humanitarian assistance, or all the above. During the conflict, a transition center, meant to process the arrival of IDPs, was established in Pemba, but an IDP camp was never set up within its perimeter. Without a designated area to lodge IDPs in Pemba, finding shelter became a priority for nearly all IDPs arriving in the city, especially the least capitalized or connected. The Paquitequete neighborhood, because of its location on the tip of the peninsula, was particularly overwhelmed by the arrival of IDPs on boats to its shores. Additionally, due to its historical association with the Mwani ethno-linguistic group, IDPs coming from coastal areas were well received and housed by family members, family friends, and complete strangers in Paquitequete. Although there were also some IDPs who rented homes in Paquitequete, renting was more common in Chibuabuar and Muxara where the cultural make-up of the neighborhoods was more diverse.

Different areas and neighborhoods of the city presented IDP women with specific socioeconomic and environmental realities influencing their housing experiences. Pemba's public waste problem is the worst in poor areas around the city center (in Paquitequete and Chibuabuar), where demographic density is highest, and where most live in traditionally constructed homes. When it rains in Pemba, low lying homes in these areas are flooded, it may be impossible or dangerous to walk outside, organic⁹ and inorganic human waste flows down slopes, and disease spreads. Towards the spacious outskirts of the city (in Metula) comparatively fewer people inhabit a more rural setting. Larger, better constructed homes were seen in Metula, where public waste is also less of a serious problem. Those who live far away from the city center may still struggle when it rains in areas where soil erosion is especially pronounced.

The number of residents in most households with IDPs is constantly in flux. Members of IDP families use their mobility and settle in/move to different locations - in and out of camps, urban and rural settings - to receive assistance, acquire resources, pursue livelihoods, lessen the pressure on their hosts, and escape familial conflict. At some point after 2020, in the Metula neighborhood, one local family was hosting close to 50 IDPs in their compound; by 2023 that number lowered to, but did not stabilize at, around 10. Evictions, either because of conflict with family members or with local hosts, were another source of trauma for IDP women who experienced multiple moves since arriving in Pemba; and the prevalence of informal rental agreements also increased the uncertainty of IDP women's housing situations. During the fieldwork, one IDP woman, living with relatives in Paquitequete, welcomed a displaced friend and her family to their small home, after the displaced friend had a falling out with her host (also in the Paquitequete neighborhood). They all slept "*ensardinhados*¹⁰", but accepted the inconvenience, at least for the moment, because of the long standing relationship between both women.

⁹ Open defecation increased with the arrival of IDPs from the Northern coast of Mozambique, due to a lack of indoor plumbing and latrines, but also because it is a common practice in their communities of origin.

¹⁰ Packed like sardines.

B) Livelihoods

In Mozambique, it is estimated that 8 out of every 10 women, between the ages of 15 and 64, are economically active (World Bank, 2021). Women's labor force participation is subordinate to their responsibility to ensure their family's food security practicing subsistence agriculture.. Farming *machambas* is not seen as a 'work' or 'employment' per se, but women work on their *machambas* and engage directly with the market when agricultural surpluses are sold for money. Moving towards the coast, Mwani women are more reliant on the ocean to feed their families, making subsistence agriculture less of an imperative. Other than agriculture, women's livelihoods prior to displacement included: fishing and foraging for shellfish; sewing; selling food, cakes, and tea; manufacturing and selling traditional alcoholic beverages; housekeeping and childcare; healthcare technician, teaching, etc.

Having arrived in Pemba, most women either became economically inactive or were forced to adopt a different type of livelihood. IDP women pursuing a livelihood in the city are decapitalized and lack access to the tools, natural resources, and social networks which were essential to the sustainability of their previous livelihoods. Selecting a new livelihood is a multidimensional, iterative process determined by the women's skills and resources, family and friends, culture and environment. In Pemba, IDP women's livelihoods usually involve petty trade of food or of other essential household items - raw food stuff, processed foods, drinks, charcoal, etc. Housekeeping, since it is salaried work, is an increasingly popular yet unlikely alternative to petty trade, because IDP women tend to lack the connections necessary to acquire these positions; and sex work is a poorly paying, last resort opportunity for the female IDPs who are most destitute and vulnerable¹¹.

As with their places of origin, the sustainability of IDP women's livelihoods in Pemba is contingent on multiple factors. Most business ventures do not last, but women who are more educated, skilled, capitalized, connected, able to move throughout the city, and well-kept, have a better chance of being "successful" and prolonging the life of their businesses or finding another livelihood. To overcome the tight profit margins of their homogenized offerings, in a saturated market, additional strategies based on negotiations, contestations, and cooperation are deployed by IDP women in their pursuit of livelihoods. For example, in certain high density public spaces, petty traders (a mix of locals and IDPs) will rotate in shifts on an almost daily basis to ensure that everyone has a chance to sell their products. Also, in order to save their earnings, women might run away from where they are conducting business if they see the tax collector approaching. For a petty trader, sustainability means earning enough to support your business and to buy food and other household essentials (e.g., charcoal, water, soap, and electricity) for yourself and your family.

A small minority of IDP women are salaried workers or participate in the formal economy, as would be their preference. Nonetheless, it was observed during the fieldwork that IDP women are more economically active than their male counterparts. One reason for this may be, for a family unit, purchasing goods which are sold by women (e.g., peanuts, beans, bananas, sweet potato, etc.) is less financially onerous than those which are sold by men (e.g., livestock, clothing, electronics). This segregation of commodities between men and women is stark in the public markets and on the sides

¹¹ For more on prostitution and the sexual exploration of IDP women see Bande (2023).

of roads. Underlying this materialist justification are also cultural factors, such as pride and misogyny which keep some men from doing work they believe is “beneath” them¹².

Unfortunately, IDP women do not have a long list of livelihoods to choose from or for which they are qualified to undertake. Improving the skills base of IDP women is essential for their economic participation in Pemba. However, as was determined by the local political establishment, assistance, and training for IDPs is meant to take place outside of the city¹³. Livelihoods and skills training still takes place in Pemba, but do not always reach who they are intended for and may not always be effective or relevant for urban realities. Similarly to the corruption in the aid distribution process, neighborhood secretaries were reportedly including the names of friends and families in the lists for livelihoods and skills training programs meant for the displaced population¹⁴. The IDP women in Pemba who have gone through skills training programs still do not have agricultural land in the city to apply their new techniques, or financial capital and a robust market to start making and selling their goods or are stuck in an endless search for jobs.

On a related note, a group of IDP women relayed a story of a project that provided them with technical and financial assistance to set up a '*barraca*'¹⁵ to sell goods. The project ended abruptly when one woman suddenly disappeared with all of the groups' savings. Consequently, these women were completely closed off to the possibility of developing a business together, which reinforces the generalized lack of trust between individuals in Mozambican society. Interestingly enough, this same group of IDP women, alongside local women, have been participating in a '*xitique*'¹⁶ together for months. Although *xitiques* and savings groups were widely used by women prior to their displacement, many IDP women report not having enough money to justify their inclusion in *xitiques* or savings groups in Pemba. Distrust can also get in the way of marketing a burgeoning business, due to fears of making others jealous and then becoming targets of their 'spells'.

Different areas of the city present specific opportunities and challenges for IDP women pursuing their livelihoods. In Paquitequete and in Chibuar, which are close to the city center, women are close to main markets and areas with heavy pedestrian traffic, favoring the practice of petty trade - and, at night, prostitution. In Metula, IDP women are on the outskirts of the city, a prohibitive distance by foot from the main markets, which makes petty trade a less viable livelihood in this context. Nevertheless, in this slightly more rural space, some IDP women have been able to negotiate access to small plots of land with locals where they can raise their *machambas*. Additionally, Metula's residents have unfettered access to natural resources, like water and firewood but must walk a small distance to collect them. Selling excess firewood can serve as a modest additional source of income

¹² This is especially true of the Mwani and includes Mwani women as well.

¹³ In Cabo Delgado “there is a considerable gap between food aid and livelihood interventions, with the latter having assisted one in 10 people due to underfunding” (OCHA, 9/2023).

¹⁴ Personal stories of corruption schemes in the aid distribution process, carried out by local leaders, were told by IDP women in the Metula neighborhood. In fact, immediately following the presentation of the research project in Metula (at the aforementioned multipurpose meeting home) chaos broke out when one woman openly accused the homeowner of keeping all the assistance for himself and his associates.

¹⁵ Selling stool.

¹⁶ *Xitiques* are a type of mutual assistance group commonly used by women throughout Mozambique.

for some, however, IDP women noted that the supply of firewood around Metula has decreased considerably over time.

C) Social Reproduction

Time and space constrain the social reproduction of IDP women, whose homemaking duties start at the onset of each day. In a family unit, women and girls are primarily responsible for collecting water, cooking, cleaning, washing, and childcare. For some women who originate from rural areas of the province, arriving in Pemba has improved their access to water because of the higher prevalence of homes with running water in the city. However, not everyone's home has running water and the water distribution system in Pemba is notoriously unreliable, with many residents paying for services they never receive. Therefore, IDP women must overcome this uncertainty each day, sometimes waking up before the sun rises, going in groups for added protection, paying to collect, then carrying back home their buckets filled with water. Where the city makes contact with the ocean (Paquitequete, Chibuabuar, and Metula), severely decapitalized IDP women are able to collect ocean water which they use for cleaning and washing. Similarly, in the vegetation that surrounds Pemba's peripheral neighborhoods, IDP women who are able to walk long distances may freely collect firewood for their homes¹⁷.

Paying to access natural resources (i.e., water and firewood) is one instance where the monetization of social relationships (Feijó, 2021) in Pemba severely strains displaced families' ability to socially reproduce. Most IDP women come from rural areas where natural resources are abundant or at least not commodified to the same extent that they are in the city. Their mobility inside of Pemba is also restricted due to a lack of money, mostly because of the need to pay for transportation to get around the city efficiently, but also because the availability of money determines much of what one is able to do outside their own home. One woman mentioned she did not walk on the streets much because "If I kick and break something (which belongs to a street vendor) how will I pay for it?". A common refrain from IDP women was that in Pemba "everything is money".

Earlier this year, the World Food Program's 'voucher system' for the acquisition of food aid was discontinued in Pemba, taking away an invaluable supply line of assistance for IDPs. Although this system did not reach all IDPs in Pemba, those who had vouchers had an additional resource which could be strategically deployed to satisfy the subsistence needs of the family unit¹⁸. Now unassisted, IDP women in Pemba have been forced to cut their consumption of food, and other goods and services, and have become less mobile¹⁹. Food security is a major issue for IDPs whose diets are modest and lacking in nutrients. Most IDPs do not have three meals a day - they have maybe two, but usually one - so what they will do is wait as long as possible before they eat or they will eat smaller portions at different times throughout the day. Some families, usually younger members, have resorted to raising small animals like chickens, ducks, and pigeons to complement their diet or provide another source of income for the family. Although not common in the city, those who are capable of

¹⁷ Leading one IDP woman in Metula to say "here, one does not eat if one does not want to".

¹⁸ Although they did not function like money per se, the goods acquired through vouchers could later be traded or sold.

¹⁹ Some IDP women relayed how they enjoyed greater mobility through the city during the time when vouchers were distributed.

performing agricultural labor may engage in the practice of *'ganho ganho'*, where work is done in exchange for food.

IDP women rely heavily on their social networks to fulfill their socio reproductive obligations. In their communities of origin, most of these women were surrounded by family, friends, and acquaintances they could rely on through good and bad times. Many of those connections have been lost or have become inaccessible following the women's arrival to Pemba, forcing them to adapt and reconstruct their social networks while displaced. In Pemba, the type of support IDP women were able to access through their social networks ranged from housing and money for food to occasional help with cooking oil, salt, soap, etc. IDP women's social networks develop through an ongoing socialization process, where ethnicity plays a crucial role, not necessarily because of intra-group affinities or inter-group conflict. Most IDP women display very low levels of formal education, therefore, they develop connections first with those they can communicate with, those who share the mother language they learned at home and in their communities of origin. Long-term residents of Pemba and other displaced persons are added to IDP women's social networks; however, mutual assistance and solidarity appears to be more frequent amongst IDPs than between IDPs and the host community.

Having family and friends residing in and around Pemba better positioned IDP women to redevelop their social networks and meet their subsistence needs and socio reproductive responsibilities. In addition to welcoming IDPs to their city and their homes, some IDP women's family members helped them with money, food, capital to start their livelihoods, knowledge of Pemba, etc. Several IDP women were completely dependent on the housing and financial assistance they received from their family members. Familial relationships can be volatile, however, so even though families were a tremendous resource for IDP women, occasionally they were also their greatest source of emotional distress, threatening to remove the assistance that the family was providing.

Romantic relationships are another intimate point within IDP women's social networks that play an important role in their social reproduction. Younger men may be increasingly open to sharing household decision-making and domestic responsibilities with their partner, but most critical for women's social reproduction is the opportunity to share the burden of providing financially for the home with someone else. Some women lost their husbands during the armed violence, others while fleeing to Pemba, others in the city²⁰. Whether it was death, disappearance, or divorce, women who lost their husbands became disadvantaged. Especially those who are older or childless, being economically dependent on their husbands left many comparatively less prepared to navigate the demands they are currently faced with. Women of varying ages have found romantic partners in Pemba to settle down with and/or to help them with their and their families subsistence needs - in certain cases, the latter arrangement may be construed as survival sex. IDP families who are desperate have also resorted to marrying off one or more of the family's daughters (who may or may not be underage) to men who will then provide for the daughter and her family.

The previous point illustrates how children can be both incredibly valuable and extremely costly to IDP families; for IDP women, children are essential to their livelihood strategies and social reproduction efforts. Even small children can assist in their mother's livelihood. When the mother is

²⁰ Although it would remain unsaid, it might also be the case that some of these men joined the insurgents.

busy the children may be left in charge of the business or sent to sell products on the streets, while teenage and young adult children may have a livelihood of their own. At home, girls help with domestic chores and children may be used to run errands for their families. For women whose livelihoods are based on food products, however, having children can pose some difficulties. Two IDP women shared that, while they were inattentive, their children would eat the food that was meant to be sold, which forced them to change the place they stored their products and/or change the products they sold. Paying for children's education in Pemba can also stress a family's finances. All levels of education have formal and informal costs that are associated with them, meaning that children of IDP families in Pemba are oftentimes forced to abandon or forestall their education.

A portion of IDP women who became economically inactive, also became part of the wider group of IDP women who are unable to work, as a result of some physical and/or psychological ailment. Old age and illness were two of the main factors keeping IDP women from pursuing livelihoods. Yet IDP women were rarely left idle, as a result of their families' precarious socioeconomic conditions, which typically require all female members to contribute at least in some way. For the least mobile, childcare and other household chores may still be within their capabilities, while those who are more mobile can collect water or panhandle on the streets to generate another source of income for the family,

Underlying many of the factors keeping IDP women from achieving their potential as entrepreneurs, workers and homemakers is the ineptitude of the local healthcare system. Health hazards (e.g., widespread consumption of untreated water, trash and dangerous debris in public spaces and walkways, open defecation and running sewage, hazardous construction of homes, public infrastructure, and walkways) abound in the city of Pemba, whose already severely stressed health infrastructure was further compromised by the arrival of the IDP population. Long wait times are common for services of questionable quality, which may require patients to pay bribes and/or purchase the medical supplies necessary for their treatments outside the health unit's pharmacy. In neighborhoods and divisions of neighborhoods where maternity care is not available for its residents, the reproduction of IDP women is put in jeopardy as their current mobility and subsistence struggles are exacerbated throughout the pregnancy. Psychosocial support was also insufficient to address the multiple, ongoing, traumas experienced by IDP women and their families.

D) Communal Dynamics

Since the start of the armed violence in Cabo Delgado in 2017 to the present, Pemba's social milieu has been through waves of transformation. Escalation in the conflict raised security concerns throughout the province and flooded Pemba with IDPs, generating structural and social pressures in a context where a sizable part of the receiving population was already living in a state of vulnerability. According to one local politician, when neighborhood secretaries were entrusted with identifying IDPs and distributing food assistance in 2021, aid meant for IDPs was diverted to locals, at least in part, because of demands made by Pemba's long-term residents to their community representatives. At different points, both locals and IDPs have felt that the other group is being disproportionately favored in the aid distribution process.

In the neighborhoods where the fieldwork was concentrated, varying levels of economic differentiation were observed, with the lowest being in Chibubuar, followed by Paquitequete, then Metula. Discrimination against IDPs was reported in all neighborhoods, but by a small number of women, which may reflect a reticence to critique their hosts²¹. One story stands out, in the Paquitequete neighborhood, when the day after her family had chicken for dinner, the son of a IDP woman was turned away from their neighbor's home, not allowed to play with the neighbor's child, then told to "go home and eat chicken".

Ethnicities and religions are closely linked in Cabo Delgado, and in Pemba, but an attempt should be made to differentiate their impacts on the socioeconomic integration of IDP women. Ethnicities contain the languages used by people to communicate with each other and is, therefore, the basis for association between individuals - especially women. This has been the case in the Paquitequete neighborhood, where the local population is almost exclusively Mwani and where many Mwani IDPs have later arrived by boat. This homogeneous ethnic setting was advantageous for IDPs, at least initially, when IDPs were the most vulnerable.

During the fieldwork, stories of ethnic animus referenced the discrimination experienced by the Makonde but were limited to the comparatively more cosmopolitan Metula neighborhood. Also, in Metula, some Makonde IDP women were upset by the behavior of their neighbors, long-term residents of Pemba, who would provide each other with mutual assistance in times of need (e.g., sharing *matapa*²²) but would charge money to IDPs who made similar requests. According to those IDP women, this may be, in part, because of common perceptions of the Makonde as being wealthy holders of power²³.

The population of Pemba is predominantly Muslim, and traditional Muslim clothing, sites of worship, and iconography are omnipresent in the city. Islam is partly responsible for setting the cultural tone inside Pemba; where, every Friday (*Jumma*) Muslims are incentivized to be extra charitable, because *Jumma* carries more "virtue" than other days. In response, certain shops will sell essential items at a discounted rate on Fridays. Also, for Pemba's sizable panhandling community, many of whom are IDPs, a society-wide charitable imperative may provide an additional source of support. On the other hand, following the doctrine of Islam can also be counterproductive to IDP women' attempts to socioeconomically integrate in Pemba. The production of traditional alcoholic beverages, for example, has been restricted in certain situations, thus taking away a valuable potential source of livelihood for IDP women. In the Paquitequete neighborhood, one woman was prohibited from producing alcoholic beverages by her husband, while in the Metula neighborhood, one woman was prohibited by her landlord.

²¹ This was clearly the case in a focus group discussion that took place in the Paquitequete neighborhood where the women were concerned with the repercussions they might experience if they offended their hosts.

²² Recipe made with cassava leaves.

²³ Accordingly, during the fieldwork, Makonde were the only IDPs seen receiving pensions for former combatants. This general trend of Makonde favoritism was noted in Hanlon (2021).

6. CONCLUSION

Displacement is as much an observable fact as it is a subjective feeling. Insulated from the theater of war, life goes on in Pemba as IDP women remain in limbo. Most IDP women are still contending with their escape from armed violence, loss of loved ones, personal belongings and connection to their surroundings, as they work daily to meet their responsibilities at home and with others. Decisions on whether to stay or return are influenced as much by their current experiences as by their memories of the past. With the improvements made to the security situation in Cabo Delgado we have already seen the return of thousands upon thousands of individuals and families who are desperate to recover some of what they have lost since the conflict began in 2017. During the fieldwork, there appeared to be an even divide between IDP women who were waiting for the end of the war to return to their communities of origin and IDP women who, for better or worse, were staying behind in Pemba.

As determined by the local political establishment, the city of Pemba is not meant to be an accommodating setting for IDPs. This determination, against the backdrop of Pemba's multiple sociopolitical and economic structural limitations, conditions from the outset the integration process of IDP women in the city. Arriving in Pemba then raises the question of housing, which is a primary domain where IDP women carry out their activities and spend their time. Poor construction, unreliable services, and challenging living and environmental conditions are further complicated by informal housing arrangements that keep IDP women in a dependent and vulnerable position.

In light of the lack, and decreasing, of humanitarian assistance reaching the displaced population in Pemba, the need to secure a livelihood, as part of the socioeconomic integration process of IDP women, has grown. Constrained by limited skills, resources and support, IDP women display a variety of livelihood strategies on their way to financially provide for themselves and their families. The lack of variety and quality in the livelihoods pursued by most IDP women reflects, however, shortcomings at the level of the individual, society, and nation that must be redressed. In the short-term, IDP women must receive training on livelihoods that are viable in the context where they have settled, education on business and personal money management, and capital to invest in themselves or their businesses.

On the social reproduction carried out by IDP women it is possible to observe how their pursuit of livelihoods unfolds dialectically with their various other obligations. Being responsible for the family's food security orients the strategies IDP women apply to their livelihoods, which must themselves be accomplished alongside the domestic and care work they are also responsible for. Temporal and spatial considerations place serious constraints on most IDP women's socio reproductive behaviors, which, in turn, reduce their opportunities to improve their circumstances. Social networks have been damaged as a result of women's displacement, and their reconstruction in Pemba has stalled for several reasons; relationships are fluid, complex, providing benefits and imposing costs. Conflict permeates Pemba's communal dynamics, where the margins are thin for the majority, yet acts of charity and solidarity between individuals are commonplace and part of the local social contract.

Determining the socioeconomic integration of IDP women in Pemba through reference to their ability to socially reproduce is suitable for this context because of the priority placed on this objective and the governing role it has in the daily routine of most IDP women. The resulting analysis, supported by findings in the other key dimensions, points to the fact that the socioeconomic integration of IDP

women in Pemba has, in large part, not been successful. Most IDP women and their dependents are in a state of multidimensional poverty, facing food insecurity and exposure to physical, psychological, and socio-environmental stressors associated with their condition of vulnerability. The opportunity structures in the city of Pemba favor younger women, who usually have fewer commitments, more options, and stamina. Because of their added experience and resourcefulness, however, IDP women in the prime of their working years appear to fare better than younger women (who are most numerous amongst the female IDP population). Still, because of the limited opportunities for employment, access to credit and skill-development, crumbling infrastructure and unreliable public services of dubious quality, the city of Pemba is not currently suited to support the socioeconomic integration of IDP women.

Working locally towards durable solutions will require short and long-term interventions that support the social and economic participation of IDP women in their new settings. Priority should be given to alleviating pressures on IDP women's social reproduction, starting with their food security and access to water and stable housing, to be followed by improving the quality (and reducing the cash costs) of public education and healthcare. It will also be important to continue to develop the resource and skills base of IDP women through the provision of cash assistance and training on livelihoods, business, marketing, and personal finance. The complex nature of the conflict and humanitarian crisis in the province, is evidence of the need for political, economic, and social reforms in Pemba, Cabo Delgado, and Mozambique to ensure the durability of proposed solutions for IDP women. Without cooperation from actors on all levels, the push factors causing displacement will persist and IDP women in Pemba will be forced to continue their social reproduction betwixt displacement and integration.

REFERENCES

- AGOSTINHO DO AMARAL, S. M. (2023, December). Armed Conflict and Urbanization in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique: A Methodology for a Critical Inquiry. In *Urban Forum* (pp. 1-24). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
- ALMAKHAMREH, S., Asfour, H. Z., & Hutchinson, A. (2022). Negotiating patriarchal relationships to become economically active: an insight into the agency of Syrian refugee women in Jordan using frameworks of womanism and intersectionality. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 49(4), 595-613.
- ANEME - Associação Nacional das Empresas Metalúrgicas e Electromecânicas. (2017). *Estudo de Moçambique Província de Cabo Delgado*.
- Azmi, F. (2018). Female Heads of Households in Sri Lanka. *Journal of Internal Displacement*, 8(1), 5-19.
- BANDALI, S. (2011). Exchange of sex for resources: HIV risk and gender norms in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 13(05), 575-588.
- BANDE, A. (2023). *O Outro Lado da Guerra: Prostituição e Exploração Sexual de Mulheres Deslocadas em Cabo Delgado*. Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP).
- CAZABAT, C. (2020). Women and Girls in Internal Displacement. 2020 report. In *Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC)*.
- CENTRO DE INTEGRIDADE PÚBLICA. (2023). *Revelando os Custos da Guerra em Cabo Delgado*. In CIP.
- COCK, J. (2018). The climate crisis and a 'just transition' in South Africa: An eco-feminist-socialist perspective. *The climate crisis: South African and global democratic eco-socialist alternatives*, 210-230.
- D'ODORICO, G., Hossain, M., Jamal, E., Scarpassa do Prado, D., Roberts, C., & Palmer, J. (2021). *A rapid assessment of the gender-based violence (GBV) situation and response in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique*.
- FEIJÓ, J. (2021). The role of women in the conflict in Cabo Delgado: Understanding vicious cycles of violence. (No. 114) *Observatório do Meio Rural*.
- FEIJÓ, J., Maquenzi, J., Agy, A. (2022a). Ingredients for a youth revolt - poverty, consumer society and frustrated expectations. *Observatório do Meio Rural*.
- FEIJÓ, J., Maquenzi, J., Salite, D., & Kirshner, J. (2022b). Exploring the socio-economic conditions of internally displaced persons in Northern Mozambique in 2021. *Observatório do Meio Rural*.
- FEIJÓ, J. (2023). Return of the populations and reconstruction of the Northeast of Cabo Delgado - from the weakening of the state to the emergence of a Totaland. *Observatório do Meio Rural*.
- FORQUILHA, S. (2020). Decentralization reforms in Mozambique: the role of institutions in the definition of results (No. 2020/132). *WIDER Working Paper*.

FÓRUM MULHER. (2020). Tomada de posição do Fórum Mulher sobre os impactos da guerra em Cabo Delgado na vida das mulheres e raparigas.

GIBB, C. (2022). The evacuation camp as paradoxical space for women. *Political Geography*, 93, 102546.

GOVERNO DE MOÇAMBIQUE. (2021a). Boletim da República 173 - Política e Estratégia de Gestão de Deslocados Internos.

GOVERNO DE MOÇAMBIQUE. (2021b). Plano de Recuperação de Cabo Delgado.

HANLON, J. (2017). Following the donor-designed path to Mozambique's US \$2.2 billion secret debt deal. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(3), 753-770.

HANLON, J. (2021). Ignoring the roots of Mozambique's war in a push for military victory. *Conflict Trends*, 2021(2), 25-34.

INTER-AGENCY STANDING COMMITTEE (IASC). (2010). IASC Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons, Brookings Institution - University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM). (2021). DTM IOM DTM Baseline Assessment Report Round 11 - March 2021. IOM, Mozambique.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (IOM). (2023). DTM Mozambique — Mobility Tracking Assessment Report 19 (AUGUST 2023). IOM, Mozambique.

KNOX, A., & Tanner, C. (2019). Securing women's land rights in Mozambique. *Gates Open Res*, 3(480), 480.

MALUANA, A. (2022). Resilience to organized crime at the community level - Assessment Matrix Pemba.

MEEK, S., & Nene, M. (2021). Exploring resource and climate drivers of conflict in Northern Mozambique. *Policy Briefing*, 245.

MORIER-GENOUD, E. (2020). The jihadi insurgency in Mozambique: origins, nature and beginning. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 14(3), 396-412.

MUNICÍPIO DA CIDADE DE PEMBA. (2014). Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento 2014-2018

MUTHAMBE, A., & Muthambe, O. P. F. (2021). Métodos Projetivos e Dinâmicas Interacionistas com Mulheres Vítimas de Conflito Armado em Cabo Delgado. *REIN-REVISTA EDUCAÇÃO INCLUSIVA*, 5(1).

NHAMIRRE, B. (2021). Plano de Reconstrução de Cabo Delgado Privilegia Distritos sob Influência da Indústria de Gás. Centro de Integridade Pública.

O'LAUGHLIN, B. (2002). Proletarianisation, agency and changing rural livelihoods: forced labour and resistance in colonial Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28(3), 511-530.

OSÓRIO, C., & e Silva, T. C. (2021). Narrativas e práticas sobre direitos humanos no contexto do(s) Conflito(s) em Cabo Delgado: uma análise de género. *Women and Law in Southern Africa Research and Education Trust*.

PHILLIMORE, J. (2021). Refugee-integration-opportunity structures: Shifting the focus from refugees to context. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 34(2), 1946-1966.

RAIMUNDO, I. M. (2020). O ciclo vicioso de deslocamentos forçados e a formação de espaços incompletos em Moçambique. *Geo Uerj*, (37), 53912.

STEVANO, S. (2022). Classes of working women in Mozambique: an integrated framework to understand working lives. *Review of International Political Economy*, 29(6), 1847-1869.

SUBULWA, A. G. (2012). Negotiating displacement during the colonial and early independence period along the Zambia-Mozambique border. *Historical Geography*, 40, 147-167.

ULAIA, R. D. (2023). Saúde sexual das mulheres vítimas do terrorismo e de abuso sexual em Cabo Delgado: Salud Sexual Kuña Víctima Terrorismo ha Abuso Sexual Cabo Delgado-pe. *NJINGA e SEPÉ: Revista Internacional de Culturas, Línguas Africanas e Brasileiras*, 3(Especial I), 463-480.

UNITED NATIONS (UN). (2021). *Shining a Light on Internal Displacement: A Vision for the Future. Report of the United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal Displacement*.

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS (OCHA). (2023). *Mozambique: Humanitarian Response Dashboard (September 2023)*. OCHA, Mozambique.

WORLD BANK. (2022). *Gender Data Portal - Mozambique*. Retrieved from: <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/countries/mozambique>

LISTA DOS ÚLTIMOS 20 TÍTULOS PUBLICADOS PELO OMR DA SÉRIE OBSERVADOR RURAL*			
Nº	Título	Autor(es)	Ano
148	Factores determinantes de preços de produtos alimentares na cidade de Maputo	Rabia Aiuba	Setembro de 2024
147	O conceito de camponês e a realidade de Moçambique numa perspectiva de longa duração	João Mosca	Agosto de 2024
146	Avaliação do impacto do desmatamento e degradação floresta nos meios de subsistência das famílias rurais da província do Niassa, norte de Moçambique	Aires Afonso Mbanze e Cremildo Ribas Dias	Julho de 2024
145	Uma fraude chamada ensino primário público? Reprodução de diferentes níveis da cidadania e comprometimento de um projecto de unidade nacional	João Feijó e Neuza Balane	Junho de 2024
144	Moçambique mais subdesenvolvido um revisitar teórico sobre o desenvolvimento e o subdesenvolvimento	João Mosca	Maio de 2024
143	Configuração da estrutura económica de Moçambique Nuna perspectiva de longa duração	João Mosca	Abril de 2024
142	Bases para a elaboração de um índice de dependência externa. Exemplo de Moçambique	João Mosca, Yara Nova e Rabia Aiuba	Março de 2024
141	Análise do projecto SUSTENTA (2017-2019)	Nelson Capaina, Yara Nova e João Mosca	Fevereiro de 2024
140	Alguns determinantes da produtividade agrícola em Moçambique	Yasser Arafat Dadá e João Mosca	Janeiro de 2024
139	Instrumentos de política agrícola e a produção agrícola em Moçambique	Rabia Aiuba	Agosto de 2023
138	"Antes de as mineradoras chegarem, produzíamos muito... agora, já não": impacto da mineração do carvão na produção agrícola das comunidades circunvizinhas às minas em Moatize	Mélica Chandamela	Julho de 2023
137	Após o ciclone idai, as inundações: narrativas e lições de um desastre (in)esperado e "excepcional"	Uacitissa Mandamule	Maio de 2023
136	Penetração de capital no meio rural, exclusão e expropriação: mecanismos de compensação em contexto de desigualdades pré-existentes	Natacha Bruna	Abril de 2023
135	Reforma legal e o mercado de terras em Moçambique	Nelson Capaina	Março de 2023
134	Deslocações forçadas e aumento da pressão sobre o garimpo em Namanhumbir	Jerry Maquenzi e João Feijó	Fevereiro de 2023
133	Os espaços de participação e de exercício da cidadania, na voz de líderes associativos da província de Cabo Delgado	João Feijó	Janeiro de 2023
132	Desafios e oportunidades na produção orizícola no baixo Zambeze: O caso da província da Zambézia	Nelson Capaina	Novembro de 2022
131	Acesso e alocação de terras para além dos grandes investimentos: O papel das elites políticas e económicas em Boane	Josefina Tamele	Outubro de 2022
130	Produção Agrícola e Empoderamento de Mulheres em Contextos Rurais: análise do projecto AgriMulheres em três povoados da província de Nampula (2018-2021)	Neuza Balane e João Feijó	Setembro de 2022
129	Modelos de desenvolvimento agrário em Moçambique	Yara Nova e Rui Rosário	Setembro de 2022

*To access the other texts in the Observador Rural series, visit our website via the link:

<https://omrmz.org/>



The OMR is a civil society association whose general objective is to contribute to agrarian and rural development in an integrated and interdisciplinary perspective, through research, studies and debates on policies and other agrarian and rural development issues.

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;
- Develop partnerships with higher education institutions to involve students in research according to the topics of analysis and discussion scheduled;
- Create conditions for editing the texts presented for OMR analysis and debate.

Sponsors:



Faustino Vanombe Street, no. 81, 1st Floor

Maputo – Moçambique

www.omrmz.org