



CENTRO DE INTEGRIDADE PÚBLICA
Anticorrupção - Transparência - Integridade

Management of those displaced by the war in Cabo Delgado: the Government has failed in supporting the victims of the conflicts

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Contents

Executive Summary	5
Introduction.....	7
1.People displaced by the Cabo Delgado war: who are they, where are they and where do they come from?..9	
1.2 Displaced most concentrated in urban centres.....	13
2. New home for those displaced by war	14
2. 1 Restarting life from nothing.....	16
2.2 The drama of the coastal population – when afflicted, the lion eats grass	18
2.3. Displaced who are Makonde receive State funds and are more independent.....	24
2.4 How the hidden debts affect those displaced by the Cabo Delgado conflict.....	26
2.5 About 10% of thee Cabo Delgado displaced chose Nampula to restart their lives.....	30
2.5.1 Aboute 4% of he displaced in the Corrane definitive resettlement centre	31
2.5.2 In the midst of suffering there are those who manage to adapt	31
Conclusion	35
Recommendations.....	36
Documents Consulted	37
List of Interviewees (representing institutions)	38

Executive Summary

About 670,000 people¹ have been forced to abandon their land and homes because of the armed conflict in Cabo Delgado. Of these, 570,000 (85%) have found refuge within Cabo Delgado province, while about 64,000 (9.5%) have taken refuge in the neighbouring province of Nampula. Hence these two provinces are sheltering about 95% of all those displaced by the war. The other 5% are to be found in the rest of the country, mostly in Niassa and Zambézia provinces. These figures refer to the period prior to 2 March 2021, when the insurgents attacked the capital of Palma district, forcing thousands of people to flee. With the attack on Palma, the number of displaced people may have exceeded 700,000.

The Centre of Public Integrity (CIP) undertook field research in Cabo Delgado and Nampula provinces to determine how and where the people displaced by the war are living. The research was held in February in Cabo Delgado and in March in Nampula.

The main findings of the research show that the Mozambican government has failed since the start in managing the crisis of the displaced. The first Government failure lay in not opening temporary accommodation centres for the war displaced, thus violating its constitutional duty to assist vulnerable populations who are fleeing from war. Likewise, the Government did not make any financial and material support available for the displaced people, leaving this role exclusively to the humanitarian aid organisations, leading to some of them dying in shipwrecks during the long days of maritime transport to Pemba. Others remained in the conflict zones because of the lack of means to reach safer areas.

As a result of the lack of Government support, the hundreds of thousands of people who reached the areas considered safer, found shelter among the so-called host families, who are relatives and friends of the displaced, or simply people of good will. Under these circumstances, about 90% of the displaced are living in the houses of other people, overburdening households most of whom were already living in poverty. Only about 10% of the displaced are in definitive resettlement centres or in the provisional accommodation centres in Metuge.

In the second half of 2020, the State Secretariat of Cabo Delgado began to open definitive resettlement villages in the southern districts of the province to accommodate displaced people being transferred from host families. By the end of February 2021, there were 21 villages of displaced people throughout the province who were accommodating about 10,000 of the 100,000 displaced households in Cabo Delgado.

Again, in the opening of the definitive resettlement villages, the Government failed once more in its mission to support vulnerable people. The Government did not build houses for the displaced, nor did it make available any kind of support in building materials or any other type of assistance. The households were transferred from the urban centres into the middle of the bush, where the only things the Government did was identify areas of land, demarcate plots and open water sources.

The humanitarian aid agencies made support available in the shape of tools – hoes, machetes, axes – and some kilos of food. As a result, the displaced resettled in the new definitive resettlement centres are facing all kinds of privations, including the most basic ones, such as lack of shelter.

The suffering is most marked in households headed by women, by children and by elderly people, who do not even manage to erect huts to sleep. Likewise, households from the coastal areas – who are the majority – face great difficulty in adapting to a new life in the districts of the interior, where there is no sea for fishing, but land to cultivate, something they are not used to doing. The displaced from the coastal areas are mostly from the Kimwani ethnic group, and fishing is their main source of subsistence.

¹ The field work for this report was undertaken during February and March 2021, before the attack on the Palma district capital. With this attack the number of displaced people rose considerably.

The Cabo Delgado war displaced are mostly from the Macua, Maconde and Kimwani ethnic groups. The latter, who come from the coastal districts of the province which are also those most battered by the conflict - Mocímboa da Praia, Quissanga, Macomia, Palma – are in the greatest number.

Unlike the Kimwani, most of the displaced from the Maconde ethnic group are veterans of the independence war, and state functionaries. They receive a State wage or pension, which makes them economically independent. They do not need to live in resettlement centres set up by the Government. The group of refugees from the Maconde ethnic group have benefitted from Mozambican State support, because most of them benefit from pensions arising from their status as former fighters in the national liberation struggle. This scenario means that this ethnic group does not depend solely on grants and on shelter in the resettlement centres. Many Macondes are in houses rented in various localities in Nampula, Cabo Delgado and Niassa provinces.

The governments of the districts where the definitive resettlement centres for the war displaced are located have not received any special or additional financial resources to assist the households resettled in the territories under their jurisdiction. It is estimated that 207.7 million dollars a year would be necessary to assist about 670,000 displaced people, equivalent to 310 dollars per capita per year.

The Secretary of State for Cabo Delgado, Armindo Ngunga, blames the lack of a budgetary allocation to assist the displaced on the financial crisis that the country has been living through since 2016 when donors suspended direct support to the Mozambican state budget as a consequence of the scandal of the hidden debts. In terms of budgetary execution, the resources for Cabo Delgado fell from 3.4 billion meticais in 2019 to 3 billion in 2020.²

Assistance to the displaced is provided mainly by the United Nations humanitarian agencies and, to a lesser extent, by religious organisations such as the Pemba diocese branch of Caritas, while the INGD only coordinates the activities. But the aid does not reach everybody. The target is to guarantee monthly supplies to displaced households, but in the definitive resettlement centres in Cabo Delgado province, many households frequently spend more than two months without receiving any type of food aid. In the largest definitive resettlement camp for displaced people in Cabo Delgado, located in Marocane, in Najua locality, in Ancuabe district, there are households who eat the leaves of wild plants so as not to die of hunger.

In December 2020, the United Nations launched a humanitarian appeal to mobilise 254 million dollars to help the displaced of Cabo Delgado but by April 2021 only 1% of this sum, 2.6 million dollars, had been raised.

Among the many stories of suffering, there are isolated cases of displaced households who manage to overcome the difficulties and create sources of livelihood in the new resettlement areas.

Faced with the findings, it is recommended that the Government continue to set up definitive resettlement villages, and improve the resettlement conditions in the new villages, including helping the displaced build their new shelters. The Government should mobilise and channel support to the war displaced, allocating special funds to the governments of the districts which have received a significant number of displaced people in order to provide them with humanitarian assistance. In cases of attacks against villages and towns, the Government should rescue the civilian victims and place resources at their disposal to take them to safer areas.

² Budgetary execution report - (2020)

Introduction

The official government data indicate that the war in Cabo Delgado, now in its fourth year, has forced about 670,000 people to leave their homes, a figure that is equivalent to around 30% of the entire population of the province³. This number does not include the people recently displaced in the attack against the Palma district capital. The number of displaced may now have reached over 700,000.

Most of the displaced are coastal populations from the central and northern districts of Cabo Delgado (Quissanga, Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, Palma) but there are also some from the so-called Maconde plateau (Muidumbe and Mueda). They have fled from attacks of the insurgents to seek refuge in the provincial capital, Pemba, in the southern districts of the province, and in other provinces in the north and centre of the country.

The common denominator among all the displaced is the situation of misery they are living in, and the lack of coordinated Government support to shelter people who were forced to flee from their land and have lost everything they possessed. First, the Government delayed in recognising the scale of the war in Cabo Delgado and did not set up camps for displaced people, to accommodate households fleeing from the conflict. The people who reached the areas regarded as safer found a welcome in the houses of relatives, friends, acquaintances or simply people of good will. Hence there arose what are called “host families”.

In the city of Pemba, there are host families accommodating more than 40 people displaced by the war. Some of the displaced who do not find shelter with host families, end up taking shelter in public places such as schools. Hence there arose the humanitarian crisis of the war displaced, with hundreds of thousands of people in need of every kind of support, including shelter, food, hygiene material and health services.

The Government also did not make any financial and material support available to the displaced, leaving this role exclusively up to the humanitarian aid organisations. The government did not provide resources to rescue victims of the attacks and take them to safer areas. Everybody who left the conflict zones did so by their own means. This led some to die in shipwrecks during long days of sea transport to Pemba. The people who had no means to escape were left behind in the conflict zones.

From early on, the United Nations humanitarian agencies, NGOs and religious organisations were on the ground and remain there, providing assistance to the hundreds of thousands of people who reach Pemba city and the southern districts of Cabo Delgado.

For its part, the central government entrusted the management of the displaced to the local (district and provincial) governments, from registration, in the first phase, and the creation of conditions for accommodation in the current phase, when the flow of displaced people is tending to decline significantly.

With the city of Pemba overpopulated, and more than 85% of the displaced living with host families, the State Secretariat in Cabo Delgado decided to set up definitive resettlement centres outside of Pemba and of the district capitals. The provincial State Secretariat and the district governments identified spaces in the districts not affected by the armed attacks, where they parcelled out plots of land measuring 15x20 metres. By February 2021, 21 definitive resettlement centres or villages had been created, accommodating about 10,000 of the approximately 100,000 displaced households (data from February 2021).

The same happened in Nampula province, which has the second largest number of people displaced by the Cabo Delgado war – about 64,000. The Government set up the Corane definitive resettlement village, in Meconta district, which, in

³ UN NEWS (2021) VIOLÊNCIA EM CABO DELGADO LEVA 1,3 MILHÃO A PRECISAR DE AJUDA EM MOÇAMBIQUE, available on <https://news.un.org/pt/story/2021/02/1742612> [accessed on 2 February 2021]

February 2021, was accommodating about 2,500 people, of whom 20% had been taken from Nampula city and 80% from the provisional accommodation centres in Namialo, also in Meconta district.

In 2020, the Centre for Public Integrity (CIP) began research focused on the crisis of the war displaced of Cabo Delgado, to determine where and how the displaced are living, their greatest needs, the risk that may result from the crisis of the displaced, and, above all, the way in which the Government handles the crisis of the displaced.

The first field work was undertaken in September 2020, in Cabo Delgado province, covering the city of Pemba and Metuge district, and in Nampula province, covering Nampula city and Meconta, Nacala-Port and Erati districts. The first research report was published the following October and is available in Portuguese and in English. In February and March 2021, the second field work was held in Pemba city and in four (4) districts accommodating war displaced, namely, Metuge, Ancuabe, Montepuez, and Chiure.

Methodology

The present research focused on the definitive resettlement of the displaced. Six definitive resettlement villages were visited, five of them located in four districts of Cabo Delgado, and one in Nampula province. In all, the districts visited shelter about 276,000 displaced people.

The villages visited are: Ngalane and Ntokota, in Metuge district; Nicuapa, in Montepuez district; Marrupa in Chiúre district; Marocane, in Nanjua locality, Ancuabe district; and Corane, in Meconta district, Nampula province. In these places, members of displaced households were interviewed, focusing on their needs, and on the conditions they have for restarting life in the host territories, as well as on the aid they may receive from the Government.

Members of the governments of the four Cabo Delgado districts where the field work was held were also interviewed, namely the Chiúre administrator, Etelvina Fevereiro, the Metuge administrator, António Valério Nandanga, the Ancuabe Permanent Secretary, Amade Saíde, the Montepuez Director of Infrastructures, Leonídio Varimelo and the Secretary of State for Cabo Delgado province, Armindo Ngunga. In Nampula province, the delegate of the National Disaster Management and Risk Reduction Institute (INGD), Alberto Armando, was interviewed. The government member gave information on the conditions created for resettling the displaced, and other general data.

The main limitation of the research was the difficulty in gaining access to more districts that accommodate displaced people in Cabo Delgado, due to the insecurity in the province. The precarious condition of the access roads was another barrier that made access to more definitive resettlement centres difficult.

The present document contains the main findings of the field work. It is structured into three parts: the present introduction, which deals with the context, objective, and research methodology; the development in which the main findings on the ground are presented, particularly the accommodation conditions in the definitive resettlement villages. Special attention was paid to households headed by women, by children and by elderly people which face more difficulties in adapting to a new and adverse environment. It is noted that, while households headed by men managed to build relatively better houses, the households headed by children and women tend to live in much flimsier cabins, because of the difficulty of going into the bush to cut stakes with which to build improved houses.

The study also pays attention to the coastal populations, consisting essentially of fishermen, who have now been displaced into the interior, where the only subsistence activity they can undertake is agriculture. The final part presents the main conclusions and recommendations, directed more to the government authorities.

1. The Cabo Delgado war displaced: who are they, where are they, and where do they come from?

From October 2017 to February 2021 the armed attacks in Cabo Delgado province have caused more than 2,500 deaths⁴. As well as the brutal way in which these people were murdered, with beheadings and dismemberment, the growing number of internally displaced people is the most visible face of the war in Cabo Delgado. In four years, this has caused a humanitarian tragedy unparalleled in the country's history since the end of the civil war 1992. With the resurgence of terrorist attacks in the centre and north of Cabo Delgado in 2020⁵, the province has seen in its southern areas, and particularly in the main urban centre, Pemba, a huge avalanche of internally displaced people which reached its peak in the second half of the year⁶.

In total, by February 2021, there were approximately 670,000 displaced people, of whom about 570,000 were displaced within the province, equivalent to about 25% of the total provincial population. Although the displacement of civilians because of the war slowed down between late October and early 2021⁷, the number of displaced has not stopped rising. The government offensives against bases or places identified a concentration point for insurgents are indicated as the new cause for people to abandon their communities, even in this period of a notable reduction in the number of attacks.

The attack against the Palma district capital on 24 March 2021, which lasted for more than a week, created a new wave of displaced people, raising the total number of war displaced people to more than 700,000.

The internal displacement of civilians is a phenomenon intrinsic to war. Generalised violence and its direct or indirect effects have caused the flight of people from their zones of origin or places of habitual residence to safer areas⁸.

The Cabo Delgado war displaced are mostly from the coastal districts of the centre and north of the province, up until then the areas most affected by the conflict, namely Quissanga, Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, Palma, but also the districts of Nangade, Muidumbe and Mueda. In these districts, entire villages were reduced to ashes and hundreds of people were beheaded. Social facilities such as schools and health posts were completely destroyed. The fear and instability rising from the attacks caused hundreds of households to flee for safe regions⁹, in the south of the province.

Without Government support in terms of rescuing and transporting people from the war zones to safer areas, the majority of the displaced travelled long distances, by sea or by land, in critical conditions until they reached places regarded as safer.

Most of the displaced who left Quissanga, Macomia and Mocímboa da Praia districts, travelled for many miles in flimsy and overcrowded boats to reach the city of Pemba¹⁰. Each boat, with a capacity to hold 20 to 30 people, carried between 40 and 70 displaced people in a journey lasting between three and five days. Some displaced people lost their lives during the journey, the victims of disease or of shipwreck¹¹. Some pregnant women gave birth without adequate assistance, in the middle of the journey. During the journey, displaced people lacked the most basic requirements: water and food.

Hundreds of other displaced people who fled overland from districts that were the target of attacks went through similar dramas. There are countless cases of entire families, including women, children and elderly people, who walked tens of kilometres from their villages until they reached a means of transport that would take them to safer districts. The preferred destinations

4 ACLED (2021) *Cabo Ligado Weekly: 8-14 February*. Available on: <https://acleddata.com/2021/02/17/cabo-ligado-weekly-8-14-february-2021/> Consulted on 19 February 2021

5 ACLED (2021) *Ten Conflicts to Worry About in 2021-Mozambique-No end in sight for the Cabo Delgado Insurgency*. Available on: <https://acleddata.com/2021/02/02/ten-conflicts-to-worry-about-in-2021/#1612195870459-59840c64-a2b4> Consulted on 19 Feb. 2021

6 CIP (2020) *Número de deslocados internos em Moçambique cresceu em cerca de 2 700 % em dois anos*. Available on: <https://cipmoz.org/2020/10/25/numero-de-deslocados-internos-em-mocambique-cresceu-em-cerca-de-2-700-em-dois-anos/>. Consulted on 19 Feb. 2021

7 Observador (2020) *Ataques em Moçambique. Reduz para metade número de deslocados que chega a Pemba por dia*. Available on: <https://observador.pt/2020/10/29/ataques-em-mocambique-reduz-para-metade-numero-de-deslocados-que-chega-a-pemba-por-dia/>. Consulted on 18 Feb. 2021

8 CICR (2020) *Le Déplacement Durant Les Conflits Armés: Comment Le Droit International Humanitaire Protège En Temps De Guerre et Pourquoi C'est Important*. Available on: <https://www.icrc.org/fr/publication/displacement-times-armed-conflict-how-international-humanitarian-law-protects-war-and> Consulted on 17 Feb. 2021

9 Bande & Alfroy (2019) *Jihadist insurgency grows in northern Mozambique*. Available on <https://news.yahoo.com/jihadist-insurgency-grows-northern-mozambique-140639893.html> Consulted on 18 Feb. 2021

10 Deutsche Welle, *Centenas de deslocados chegam ao norte de Moçambique*. Available on: <https://www.dw.com/pt-002/centenas-de-deslocados-chegam-ao-norte-de-mo%C3%A7ambique/av-55317799> Consulted on 18 Feb. 2021

11 Carta de Moçambique, *Há deslocados que morrem nos barcos durante a viagem para Pemba*. Available on <https://cartamz.com/index.php/politica/item/6407-ha-deslocados-que-morrem-nos-barcos-durante-a-viagem-para-pemba> Consulted on 18 Feb. 2021

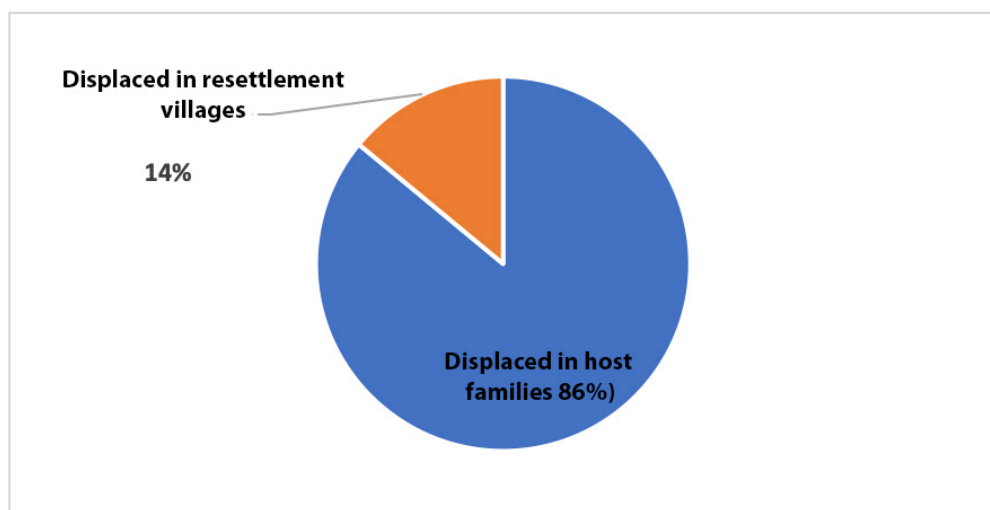
were districts a long way from the conflict ones, and those where the displaced had some relatives or acquaintances.

Pemba city is the main destination for the Cabo Delgado displaced. It was estimated that, by November 2020, of the about 570,000 displaced people in the province, about 100,000 were living in Pemba¹². Since the enormous wave of internally displaced people in Cabo Delgado began, the majority have headed for Pemba, the largest urban centre in the province. Since no centres had been set up to welcome the displaced in Pemba, most of them found accommodation in the houses of relatives or acquaintances

With the provincial capital overcrowded, putting pressure on all the public services, the Secretary of State for Cabo Delgado province decided to transfer households who were concentrated in Pemba to the Marocane resettlement centre, in Nanjua locality, Ancuabe district.

The transfer of displaced people for definitive resettlement began in July 2020 and by February 2021, about 900 households had been removed from the houses of host families in Pemba to the new definitive resettlement village, which is about 150 kilometres from the provincial capital. Even so, the city still possesses the largest number of displaced people in the province.

Graph 1: Distribution of the war displaced in Ancuabe



Source: Ancuabe district government

At the end of January 2021, Ancuabe district was accommodating some 60,167 displaced people, corresponding to rather more than 12,033 households. The Ancuabe-Sede administrative post hosted the largest number of displaced, with 26,716, followed by Metoro and Meza with 22,587 and 10,864 respectively. About 86% of the 12,033 displaced households in the district are in the houses of host families. The remaining 14%, equivalent to 1,655 households, are accommodated in definitive resettlement centres. Two resettlement centres were set up in Ancuabe district, namely Marocane, in the Meza administrative post, with 950 households transferred from Pemba, and Nankumi, in the Metoro administrative post, with 706 households.

Metuge district, about 40 Km from Pemba, is the second largest destination for the Cabo Delgado displaced. Most of them come from the neighbouring district of Quissanga, where the insurgents attacked and completely destroyed the district capital in March 2020.

The population of Metuge district was 86,866, according to the 2017 Population and Housing Census. But in February 2021

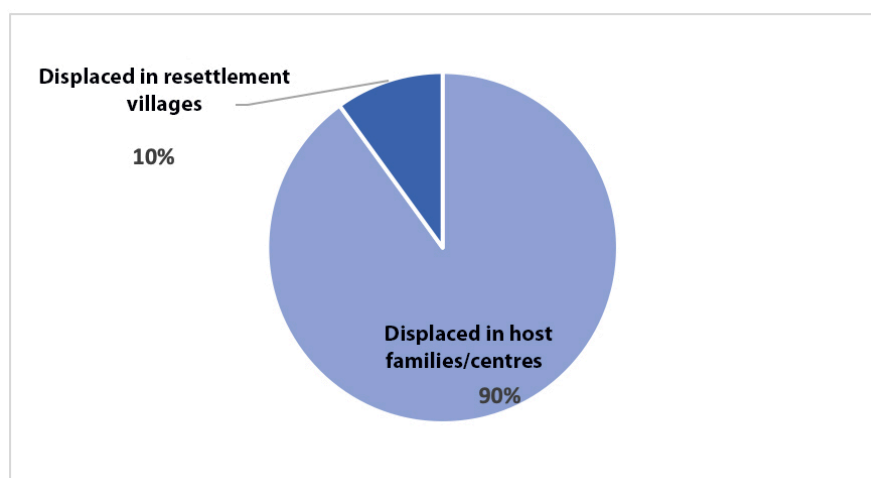
¹² IOM (2020) *Civilians Continue to Flee Insecurity in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique*. Available on: <https://www.iom.int/news/civilians-continue-flee-insecurity-cabo-delgado-mozambique>. Consulted on 24. Fev. 2021

there were some 110,632 displaced, in 27,658 households which is an increase of 127% in the population of Metuge district. That is the population of the district more than doubled because of the war.

About 90% of the displaced in Metuge, are living with host families and in the five provisional accommodation centres. At least 10%, equivalent to 12,000 displaced, are accommodated in two definitive resettlement villages, namely Ntokota, with about 5,000 households and Ngalane, with about 7,000 households. According to the Metuge district administrator, António Nandanga, the district government intends to transfer, by the end of February, many of the displaced living with host families and in provisional accommodation centres to the resettlement villages.

In the Nicavaco village, the Metuge district government is preparing space to accommodate about 1,500 households. Other displaced households will be resettled in Pulo village, among other places identified.

Graph 2: Distribution of the displaced in Metuge



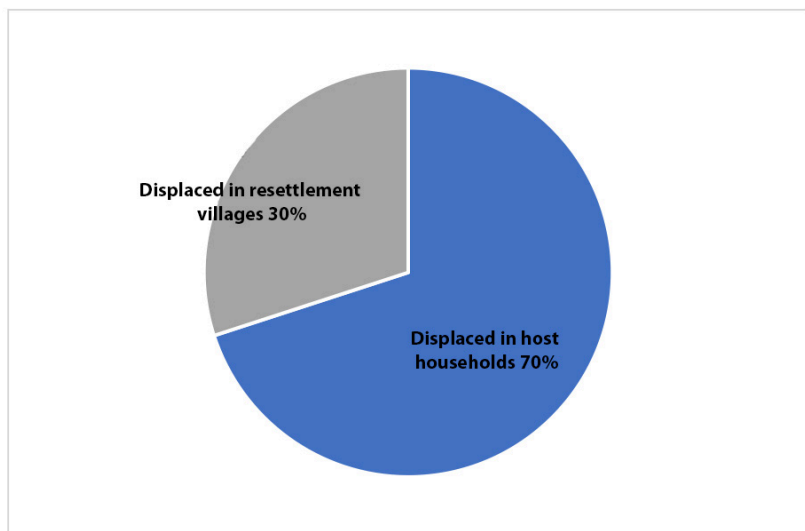
With the doubling of the population in less than a year, the Metuge Government faces various problems in attending to the great demand for public services. The areas most affected are sanitation and health. The local services do not have the capacity to meet the demand, which led to a cholera emergency in the villages. By February 2021, the district had registered about 1,200 cases of cholera, causing 10 deaths, which, according to the local authorities is very high.

The Metuge administrator believes that cholera came with the displaced from Quissanga who were not vaccinated against the bacterium that causes the disease. The displaced from the neighbouring district came to Metuge after the local population had already received the vaccine against cholera.

With cholera came social problems, with the population accusing the authorities of being responsible for then spread of the disease in the villages. In extreme cases, these accusations led to assaults against and even murder of local leaders by the population. Incidents of this sort occurred in Nangua village, where one person died of cholera and Namave village where 5 people died of the disease. The chief of this village was attacked by the population and had to abandon his home. The health workers stationed in the village were forced to leave their posts.

Village chiefs, who are not state employees, only receive allowances of about 700 meticais a month. But now they should manage a population of more than 5,000 people and they do not have the capacity for this, says the Metuge administrator. He also protests that his district government received a budget from the state to manage about 86,000 people and he was suddenly faced with about 200,000 people, without any increase in the district budget.

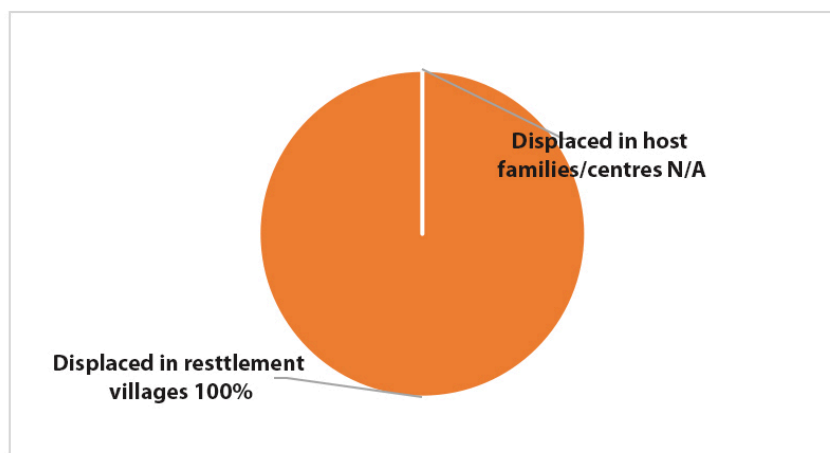
Graph 3: Distribution of the displaced in Montepuez



Source: Montepuez district government

Montepuez district, which is about 200 Km from Pemba, contained 56,515 displaced people in 11,350 households, in February 2021. Like Ancuabe, the majority of the displaced in Montepuez are living in the district capital. Data provide by the Director of the District Planning and Infrastructure Services, Leonídio Varimelo, indicate that about 70% of all the displaced households in the district are living with host families. The remaining 30% re scattered across four definitive resettlement centres/villages, namely Nicuapa with 2,600 households, Macupulo-Sede with 300, Nanhupo B with 380 and Ntele with 68.

Graph 4: Distribution of the displaced in Chiúre



Source: Chiúre District Government

Chiúre district. 150 Km from Pemba, has about 30,000 displaced, equivalent to about 6,000 households, distributed across all the administrative posts. Chiúre was the first district to set up definitive resettlement centres for the displaced in August 2020. According to the district administrator, Etelvina Fevereiro, there are 5 resettlement centres in the district, namely Meculane, with 950 households, Marrupa with 620 and Katapua, Chiúre-Velho and Ocua with 300 households each. Unlike other Cabo Delgado districts, in Chiure, almost all the displaced ate in resettlement centres.

With about 316,000 inhabitants, according to the 2017 census (making it the most populous district in Cabo Delgado), the Chiure government managed to accommodate the 30,000 displaced, who are less than 10% of the inhabitants of the district.

According to the district administrator, the district government mobilised local business people and youths to cut takes and other building materials and erect houses for the war displaced. It was not possible to obtain data about displaced people living with host families

There are districts with displaced people which CIP was unable to visit due to insecurity and the extreme inaccessibility of the roads, where it is estimated that there are about 70,000 displaced, namely Palma, Nangade, Mueda, Ibo and Namuno.

1.1 Displaced more concentrated in urban centres

Since the conflict in Cabo Delgado broke out, there has been a trend for the internally displaced people to concentrate more in urban areas or very close to the large cities, rather than in rural areas. This trend is visible both in Cabo Delgado and in Nampula province.

In the case of Cabo Delgado, the city of Pemba, the largest urban centre in the province, was, by November 2020, accommodating 30% of the total number of displaced people in the province at the time, and the neighbouring district of Metuge, which is only 40 km from Pemba, by February 2021 was sheltering about 110,000 displaced, equivalent to 19% of the total number of displaced. In the case of Nampula, the city of Nampula, the largest urban centre in the province, is accommodating 30,8% of the about 64,000 displaced people in the province and the neighbouring district of Meconta accommodates approximately 31% of this universe. The city of Nacala-Port, the second largest urban centre in Nampula province, accommodates 10% of the displaced in the province, equivalent to 7,000 displaced people. Thus the three districts together account for about 70% of the displaced who have sought refuge in Nampula province.

In the two provinces, the number of displaced people per district becomes smaller the further the district is from the major urban centres. In the districts, the towns that are district capitals are the points for the largest gatherings of displaced people, when compared with the rural areas.

This pattern of movement of the internally displaced people to the urban centres is not only not new in Mozambique, but can also be seen in other parts of the world. During the civil war between the Government and Renamo, many thousands of displaced people fled from the rural areas to the urban centres, particularly the capital, ensuring that, between 1980 and 1990, the urban population grew by more than 100%¹³.

In the world, about 4.4 million of the 9.3 million people displaced by war in medium and low income countries are found in urban areas¹⁴.

Generally understood as places of opportunities and of easy access to basic services, the urban centres are the first option for the internally displaced because of the economic opportunities and the security they offer¹⁵. This partly explains why the war displaced of Cabo Delgado prefer urban areas to rural ones. Households who have not only lost everything, but have witnessed close up the drama of war, have travelled to the urban centres driven by an understanding that they are safer and more prosperous places.

But in addition to the opportunities they offer, the urban centres also represent a great challenge for the displaced. Since the majority do not possess any source of income, many of the goods and services normally accessible to the majority of the urban population become inaccessible to the majority of the displaced¹⁶. Many end up living in urban poverty and in

¹³ Vivet, J. (2015) Déplacés de Guerre et Dynamiques territoriales postconflit Au mozambique. Available on: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-herodote-2015-3-page-160.htm>. Consulted on 20 Feb. 2021

¹⁴ Center for Global Development (2019) Where Do Internally Displaced People Live and What Does that Mean for Their Economic Integration. Available on: <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/how-urban-are-idps-and-what-does-mean-their-economic-integration>. Consulted on 20 Feb. 2021

¹⁵ Norwegian Refugee Council (2019) Urban displacement: The people seeking refuge in cities are the forgotten face of the displaced. Available on: <https://www.nrc.no/what-we-do/speaking-up-for-rights/urban-displacement/>. Available on: <https://www.nrc.no/what-we-do/speaking-up-for-rights/urban-displacement/>. Consulted on 20 Feb. 2021.

¹⁶ Center for Global Development (2019) Where Do Internally Displaced People Live and What Does that Mean for Their Economic Integration. Available on: <https://>

suburban areas where the houses are flimsy and access to job opportunities is limited¹⁷. This phenomenon can be seen, for example, in the case of the displaced in the city of Pemba. Once they have reached the city, the majority tend to occupy the peripheral areas, not only because it is here that most of the host families are concentrated, but also because of their own lack of resources¹⁸.

With the definitive resettlement under way, a reverse pattern of movement of the displaced is being born, since they are being transferred from the urban spaces, with easy access to services, to rural areas – where the situation is totally different – often against the will of some of the displaced. For example, in Montepuez, some families prefer to continue living in the district capital, rather than moving to the resettlement villages, very distant from the urban centres.

In order to put pressure on the displaced to leave, the Montepuez district government ordered that food aid for the displaced be distributed in the resettlement villages. But it so happens that some of the displaced go to the resettlement centres only to receive food aid, and then return to the district capital. This shows that, on the one hand, there is a rationale behind the occupation of space by the displaced, and, on the other, that forced resettlement may not be an effective solution.

The Secretary of state of the Province believes that the transfer of the displaced to the resettlement villages will allow them to restart their lives, and undertake activities that guarantee their sustenance.

The integration of the displaced into camps or villages is not the only possible way for the definitive resettlement of internally displaced people. As an alternative to the traditional definitive resettlement of the displaced in camps located in areas distant from the urban centres, some studies recommend to governments and humanitarian organisations the creation of programmes that seek the integration of the internally displaced starting from the spaces where they are.¹⁹ This means that, since the displaced are in urban centres, conditions should be created in these spaces so that the displaced have access to the labour market or initiatives that guarantee their long term livelihood.

They also believe that the economic integration of the displaced can be done in urban spaces, without necessarily putting pressure on the host districts and families. To this end it is enough for governments to rehabilitate or expand urban services in these communities²⁰.

2. New home for the war displaced

When the first people displaced by this conflict began to appear, the Government did not create the traditional accommodation centres for those displaced by armed conflicts. This ensured that when people sought refuge in a new place, they went to live in the houses of relatives, friends, acquaintances or simply people of good will. Thus were born the so-called host families, some of whom accommodated more than 50 people sharing the same home.

In Cabo Delgado, only 12.476 people were accommodated in the five provisional accommodation centres set up in Metuge district²¹. While in the centres, there were basic conditions for the displaced, in the host families the situation was completely different. In September 2020, CIP visited several host families in Cabo Delgado and Nampula and witnessed, on the spot, the picture of misery in which many are living due to the pressure that the displaced are putting in their already meagre

www.cgdev.org/publication/how-urban-are-idps-and-what-does-mean-their-economic-integration. Consulted on 20. Feb. 2021

17 CRC (2020) Displaced in Cities: Experiencing and Responding to Urban Internal Displacement Outside Camps. Available on: <https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/4344-displaced-cities-experiencing-and-responding-urban-internal-displacement-outside>. Consulted on 20. Feb. 2021

18 CIP (2020) Número de deslocados internos em Moçambique cresceu em cerca de 2 700 % em dois anos. Available on: <https://cipmoz.org/2020/10/25/numero-de-deslocados-internos-em-mocambique-cresceu-em-cerca-de-2-700-em-dois-anos/>. Consulted on 19. Feb. 2021

19 Center for Global Development (2019) *Where Do Internally Displaced People Live and What Does that Mean for Their Economic Integration*. Available on: <https://www.cgdev.org/publication/how-urban-are-idps-and-what-does-mean-their-economic-integration>. Consulted on 20 Feb. 2021

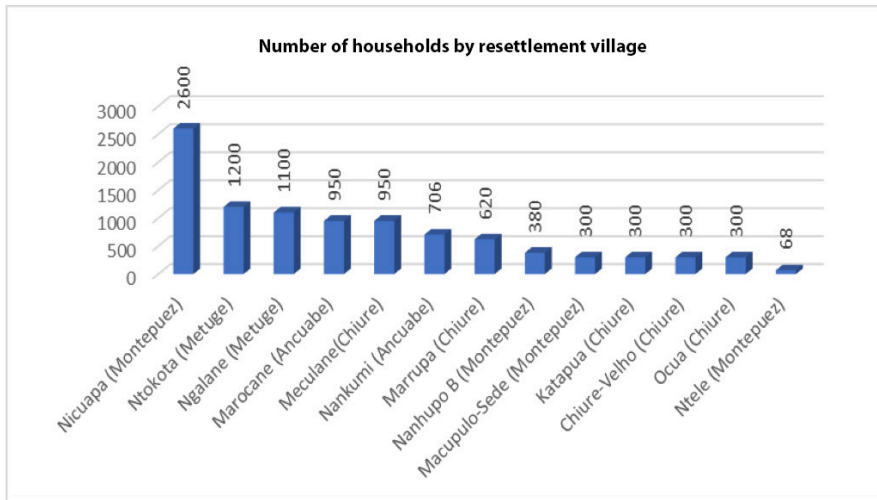
20 ICRC (2020) Displaced in Cities: Experiencing and Responding to Urban Internal Displacement Outside Camps. Available on: <https://www.icrc.org/en/publication/4344-displaced-cities-experiencing-and-responding-urban-internal-displacement-outside>. Consulted on 20. Feb. 2021

21 Data collected in Metuge district in September 2020.

household income²².

In order to reduce this pressure on the host families, and to give the displaced a home where they can restart their lives, the Cabo Delgado provincial government set up between July 2020 and February 2021, 21 resettlement villages, outside of the urban areas, These are new homes to accommodate the displaced households.

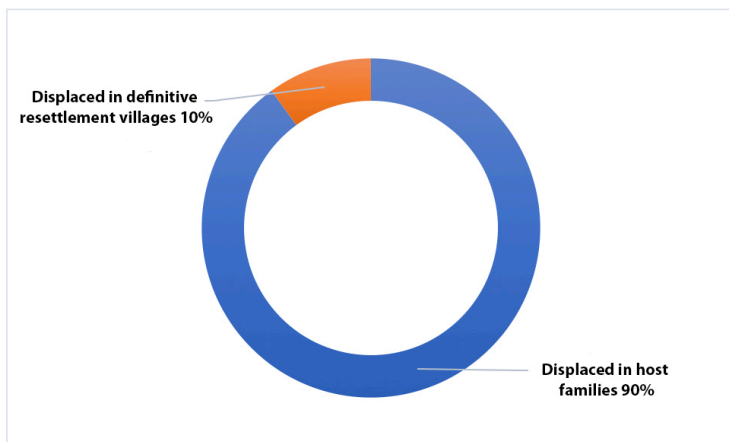
Graph 5: Distribution of the displaced by resettlement villages



Source: Compilation of data from the Metuge, Ancuabe, Montepuez and Chiure district governments

However, of the approximately 100,000 displaced households in Cabo Delgado, only 1,000, or 10%, were resettled in the definitive resettlement villages or centres. The rest, about 90,000 went on living with host families, mostly in the city of Pemba and in the district capitals. The government guarantees that the transfer of the displaced to their new homes is gradual. When new plots of land are demarcated far from the urban centres, the war displaced are sent to the places where they should live definitively, but without any living conditions, apart from sources of drinking water.

Graph 6: Distribution of the displaced by place of accommodation (Cabo Delgado province)



Source: State Secretariat of Cabo Delgado province

22 CIP (2020) Número de deslocados internos em Moçambique cresceu em cerca de 2 700 % em dois anos. Available on: <https://cipmoz.org/2020/10/25/numero-de-deslocados-internos-em-mocambique-cresceu-em-cerca-de-2-700-em-dois-anos/>. Consulted on 19 Feb. 2021

2.1 Restarting life from nothing



Picture: Abaina Saíde

Abaina Saíde, 66, was displaced by the war and has been living for the past four months in the Marrupa resettlement village, in Chiúre district. In the midst of nothing, he is trying to restart his life. Like a quarter of the population of Cabo Delgado, he was forced to abandon his home, in Mucupa village, in the Quiterajo administrative post, Macomia district, in the company of his wife and 7 children, due to a worsening war which, in four years, has caused more than 2,500 deaths. He fled from Quiterajo after an armed attack against his village in May 2020. With his house, partly destroyed following the attack, Saíde found himself obliged to leave the village and seek refuge in a safe place. With his family, he travelled from Mucupa village to Pangane. From there he went to Macomia town, the district capital, and then on to Chiúre district.

In Chiúre, Saíde, his wife and children were given shelter by the district government which has made a school available to accommodate the displaced. After two months housed in the accommodation centre, Saíde, his family and more than 600 displaced were transferred to the Marrupa definitive resettlement village, about 6 km from the Chiúre district capital. This is the new home of the Saíde family.

After arriving in Marrupa village, Saíde received from the Government a plot of land, measuring 15/20 to build his house, and a space for farming. Not owning any conventional material, he had to cut bamboo stakes to build his house. He says that in the beginning he used a very fragile sheet of plastic for the roof. “Later the OIM made tarpaulins available to cover the house”, he adds. .

Although he has been living in the resettlement village for 7 months, Saíde still feels difficulties in integrating into his new environment. A peasant and a carpenter by profession, he said he is not satisfied with the condition in which he and his family are living. The shortage of food is the greatest difficulty. He says that food aid for the displaced in Marrupa village is not regular. “We are sacrificing ourselves in order to live. We have nothing”, he said.

As a way to adapt to the new reality and to guarantee his family’s livelihood, Saíde, with the support of his wife has already begun to cultivate on the “machamba” (farm) made available by the Government. He hopes to produce a good quantity of foodstuffs. But he complains about the distance between the village and the fields. “The machambas are in the Manica village, which is a long way from here. We have to walk 5 Km to get there”. With this and other difficulties he is experiencing in the resettlement village, Saíde misses his land in Quiterajo. “I used to grow crops in the Messalo region, I

was able to produce 60 to 70 sacks of rice, and a good amount of cassava”, he says, with a wistful smile.

The small number of water sources for a large number of displaced people resettled in the village is another challenge. The two boreholes drilled by the district government with the support of partners are not enough to supply more than 600 households. “There are few boreholes for a lot of people. The women leave at about 04.00 to fetch water, and only return after midday”, said Saíde. The old man believes that more boreholes should be opened in order to reduce the crowds waiting at the existing ones.

Like Saíde and his family, about 650 families have also been resettled in the Marrupa resettlement village, also known as the Esperança (Hope) village, a name given to it by Graça Machel, widow of the first president of Mozambique, Samora Machel, who visited the village in 2020.

CIP visited other definitive resettlement villages located in Metuge, Montepuez and Ancuabe districts. As in Chiúre, the governments of this districts parcelled out plots of land sized 15/20 and allocated them to households for building houses. The displaced also received some material such as tarpaulins to cover the houses, and hoes and seed for farming. Most of the displaced build their own houses with the few resources they possess.

The fields made available by the governments for farming are a long way from the resettlement villages, For example, in the Marrocane centre, in Nanjua locality, in Ancuabe, the fields are about 8 km from the village.



Photograph showing the distance travelled by the vehicle carrying the CIP team from the Marrocane definitive resettlement village to the farms of this community.

Some of the displaced, interviewed by CIP point to the distance as a major constraint on practicing agriculture. CIP visited the space allocated by the government to the resettled displaced for farming. It consists of dense bush which the displaced have to clear with hoes and machete. There are displaced people who have still not touched the land since the government gave it to them in November 2020. “Not everyone can farm”, explained Agostinho Abudo, head of the Marrocane village.

With the distribution of land for cultivation, the government is attempting to ensure that the displaced develop agricultural activity and through this obtain resources for their livelihoods. However, a considerable number of displaced people in the resettlement villages are resisting the practice of agriculture, preferring other activities.

The resettlement villages are distant from the urban centres, and located in areas where there are not yet any basic services, such as health and water. Aware of this reality, the district governments who host the resettlement villages have in mind the creation of infrastructures such as health posts and schools. However, while waiting for health posts to be built in some resettlement villages, the displaced are benefitting from medical assistance provided by mobile health brigades, setup by

staff of the National Health service or by Doctors without Borders who visit the villages once a week. The displaced have free access to consultations and medicines. But some of the displaced complain about the regularity of medical visits to the villages. They say that, in the event of illness, it is very distressing to wait a week to receive medical assistance. This is the case with the Marrupa village, in Montepuez.

2.2 The drama of the coastal populations – when afflicted, the lion eats grass

On the last day of the field work in Cabo Delgado, 15 February 2021, the CIP research team interviewed the Secretary of State for the province, Armindo Ngunga. In the interview held in Pemba, through the digital platform Zoom, the representative of the State in the province explained the challenges faced due to the armed conflict.

When asked about the situation of the populations of the coastal communities of Cabo Delgado who mostly earn their livelihoods through fishing, but are being resettled in districts of the interior where agriculture is the main activity of the population, Armindo Ngunga resorted to a curious phrase, saying: “... when afflicted, even the lion eats grass”.

In this way, the Secretary of State was saying it is imperative that the displaced people from the coastal area, who are now being resettled definitively in the interior districts, begin to adapt to the new reality of their lives.

This section narrates the drama experienced by displaced people from the coastal areas of Quissanga, Macomia, Mocimboa da Praia and Palma districts – mostly identified as members of the Kimwani ethnic group – in the definitive resettlement villages, where they are seeking to restart from nothing.

The Kimwani are one of the main ethno-linguistic groups²³ in Cabo Delgado. The name Mwani means “those who live on the beach”, or “people of the coast” and it is in this sense that it is used in the report. For this ethnic group, fishing is their main productive activity. And the majority of the men are fishermen, merchants or traders. For centuries, this people always regarded agriculture as a complementary activity, and so they did not invest much in the knowledge of farming technique’s which could have helped them increase production and productivity.

²³ The main ethnic groups in Cabo Delgado are the Kimwanis, Makhwa and Macondes. There are other groups, but these are the most representative.



Picture: Mussa Sefo Mussa

Mussa Sefo Mussa, a 42 year old man displaced by the war, was born and grew up in the coastal village of Guludo, in the Mucojo administrative post, in Macomia district. “In the early hours of the day, I used to go fishing. I sold the fish and with the money I earned, I could buy clothes for my children, exercise books, saucepans, plats and also food”, he says nostalgically.

The war drove Mussa, his wife and two children to abandon his land. Now they live in the Marocane resettlement village, in Ancuabe district, more than 400 kilometres from their land. There is no sea in Ancuabe. Mussa must learn to live from agriculture. So the Government gave him a plot of land to cultivate. Three months have passed since Mussa arrived in Marocane and he has not yet managed to produce food. He blames the distance between the village and his farm, which is about 8 kilometres. But farming is also not his profession.

“The agriculture I used to do was a way of protecting myself in case I didn’t get anything from fishing. But the major sustenance for my family came from fishing”, he says.

Like Mussa Sefo, 58 year old **Nordine Mussa**, 58, has been resettled since November in Marocane village in Ancuabe. A native of Milamba village, in Mocímboa da Praia district, Mussa fled from his home in the company of his wife and 7 children after insurgents attacked the village. Like many of the displaced, Mussa lost almost everything because of the war. “The insurgents invaded the village, they took my boat and they burnt the nets I used for fishing”, he recalls.



Picture: Nordine Mussa and Wife

While he is trying to restart his life from nothing, Mussa feels deeply the drama of the war. A fisherman by profession from an early age, now agriculture is one of the few alternatives to sustain himself and his family.

During the interview, Mussa wept when asked how he was adapting to the new reality. His answer was visible in the tears trickling down his face. Adapting to the new reality is still an unknown for Mussa and for many displaced people in his condition. In the midst of the challenges through which he is passing, Mussa is thinking of solutions which can guarantee his sustenance and that of his family. “We are dying of hunger. If I had at least a boat and a net I could go and fish on Ibo island or in the Quirimbas, sell the fish and obtain something to feed my children”, he said.

When interviewed, the Ancuabe district Permanent Secretary, Saide Amade, recognised that some of the displaced from the coastal areas are having difficulties in adapting. “Even with material and space for agriculture, some relax because they are not used to this activity. The same is not true with the displaced from the interior who even demand more space to farm”, he said.

The armed conflict has had a devastating impact on the productive structure of the displaced people from the coastal districts, because they had to abandon their home areas in the coastal districts of Palma, Mocimboa da Praia, Macomia and Quissanga to be resettled definitively in districts such as Montepuez, Chiure, Ancuabe and Metuge. Only the last named district has access to the sea.

Abrupt and forced displacement took from the Kimwani one of their age old livelihoods, fishing. In the provisional and in the definitive resettlement centres it is normal to hear complaints from men who belong to this ethnic group, because of the fact that they have been resettled in districts without access to the sea.

When asked what kind of support they need to restart their lives in the definitive resettlement villages, most of the Kimwani displaced speak of boats and nets so that they can go fishing in the Quirimbas islands.

From the visits massed to the resettlement centres for the displaced in the above mentioned districts, it is clear that the families belonging to this ethnic group are those who show most difficulties in adapting to the new reality.

“I am a fisherman. I still have a valid fishing licence. But my boats remained in Mocímboa da Praia together with my fishing nets. I had to flee here”, says 67 year old **Inchamo Mwarabo**, who used to live in Nanduandua neighbourhood, in Mocímboa da Praia.



Resettled definitively in the Marrocane village, Inchamo laments that the Government is not creating conditions for him to continue practicing the only activity he has done throughout his life: fishing.

Inchamo fled from the attack on Mocimboa da Praia in June 2020, and found shelter in Pemba city, in the house of a relative. In November, the Government transferred him to Marrocane, where he was given a plot of land for housing, and another for farming. He is thankful for the aid, but would have preferred something different.

“It would be better, if I had been resettled in Pemba, where I could continue to fish. Here, it’s difficult, very difficult”, he says.

The district governments, with their few financial resources, cannot provide any assistance to the displaced who arrive in their territories looking for new homes. The words of the Montepuez Director of District Planning and Infrastructure Services, Leonídio Varimelo, interviewed by CIP during the field work on 11/02/21, well express the drama through which the displaced who arrive somewhere new, without anything, are going through. “The displaced from the coastal districts have to adapt to the new reality. That is, in Montepuez they have to work the land, they have to farm, because here we have no contact with the sea.”

So on the part of the local authorities, at both provincial and district levels, there is a discourse that calls for resignation and conforming to the new reality. As if the practice of farming were something innate, and that, without any kind of effort, anybody can undertake this economic activity successfully, from the moment they are given a piece of land, a hoe and a machete.

Agriculture requires a deep knowledge of cultivation techniques, what to produce on particular types of soil and the specialization in crops appropriate for the specific type of soil, Not all farmers produce all types of crops, and the change from a coastal area to a zone in the interior, conditions the type of crops to be farmed.



Picture: Marcelino Abdala

70 year old **Marcelino Abdala**, fled from Chinda village, in Mocimboa da Praia district. Now he too is resettled in the Marrocane village, in Ancuabe district. He said that in his home district he used to produce large amounts of rice, which he then sold. After is resettlement in Ancuabe, Abdala no longer enjoys the same conditions for planting rice, the crop in which he had specialised,

Marcelino Abdala, like other displaced people, needs support and time in order to research and discover the crops they can produce in the areas where they have been resettled. This is the work of extensionists, who exist in the provincial directorates of agriculture, and it should be extended to the displaced, providing them with agricultural inputs and technical assistance, including advice on what to produce and how to produce it.

But not all of the resettled have a past linked to agricultural work, and the great majority of the Kimwani, are an example of this. Businessman Júlio Sethy, interviewed by CIP in Pemba, said that the war in Cabo Delgado “has forced the closure of small and medium enterprises in Quissanga, Macomia, Nangade, Mocímboa da Praia and Muidumbe districts, and many of these small traders and business people have lost everything and now they are living off aid from relatives, or are in the accommodation centres”

In the provisional and definitive accommodation centres, and in the host families, there are thousands of displaced people, whose professional skills are not linked with agriculture. Granting a piece of land cannot be regarded as an effective way of integrating them, particularly when many of them have gone through traumas such as seeing their relatives, friends and acquaintances murdered and their property looted or destroyed. Effective aid programmes are required for the displaced who are moving into safe zones to remake their lives. And this involves mapping the skills of the displaced, and taking this into account when resettling them. Alongside the belief that the war displaced from the coastal areas should try to get used to their situation, there is another narrative that has been consolidating – namely the idea that the Kimwanis or the people from the coastal districts are lazy and don’t like to work.

Probably the fact that they do not feel comfortable with farming discourages them from cultivating the land. And this difficulty in adaptation has contributed to consolidating a narrative according to which the coastal populations are lazy. This perception is also shared by people and organisations who are providing humanitarian assistance to the displaced.

In Montepuez, the CIP research team interviewed Sister Teresa Balanga, of the Franciscan sisters of Mary, who has been helping to receive, shelter and provide food for the displaced who reach Montepuez via Mueda.

With the closure of the training classes in the convent of the congregation, to prevent the spread of COVID-19, Sister Teresa transformed the boarding home into a transit shelter for displaced people arriving in the district tired and after several days of travelling with nothing to eat.

But when the subject is the displaced people from the coastal areas, Sister Teresa notes with concern that they do not want to produce.

“The Mwanis don’t want to go and live in the accommodation centres, because they don’t want to live from farm production, unlike the Macuas and the Maconde who agree to live in the centres and to farm, she says, criticizing this attitude. “In the Mwanis’ zones of origin, the husbands used to go fishing. Later they sold the fish, and with the money they bought rice, beans, and all the goods they needed to live. The women stayed at home, making themselves up, and waiting for their husbands to return from fishing, to go and sell the fish. In Montepuez there is no sea, and they have to re-invest themselves, and it seems this is something they do not easily accept. With them, adaptation has been very difficult, and the men only sit and wait for help” she said.

The words of the nun, which, at first sight, are critical of a way of living regarded as out of line with the local reality, are much more than this. They bear witness to the suffering of people forced to leave their land, and who must now learn to live in a new and adverse environment.

Rather than creating stereotypes about the way the Mwanis and other ethnic groups from the coast live, it is necessary to

understand the real causes of the difficulties of adaptation of this ethnic group. Probably the provincial government, in its eagerness to bring some “normality” to the lives of the displaced, is ignoring the need to understand the special needs of the different groups among the displaced. Furthermore, it is necessary to support them in adaptation, and this also implies psychological assistance for, in addition to trauma, these are life histories that have been erased.

The definitive resettlement of the displaced under way in Cabo Delgado would be the ideal moment/opportunity for the much vaunted Agency for the Integrated Development of the North (ADIN), launched on 31 August 2020, to help in the socio-economic reintegration of the displaced, and their adaptation in the new villages, with programmes to support business initiatives and other economic activities. Currently, a plot of land, a hoe and a machete are the only means of production made available to the displaced to promote their development.

In some districts, there are compulsory activities to force the displaced to move to the new resettlement villages, in the middle of nowhere.

“The government is currently forbidding people living in host families from receiving aid, thus obliging those displaced who are in host families to travel to the definitive resettlement centres”, said Sister Teresa. “In the understanding of the government, when the displaced stay in host families then overburden the basic sanitation system of Montepuez city, which causes the cholera outbreak affecting the city²⁴.”

The measure of the Montepuez district government could have the effect of forcing the displaced from the coastal district to settle in the definitive accommodation centres, or to arrange other survival strategies so as to evade the provision that only those in the centres will receive aid.

Something similar happened in Metuge district where, according to the district administrator, António Varela Nandanga, there were displaced people who did not have farming habits, and these people were resettled in Ntokota, a place without access to the sea, but they preferred to abandon the centres, and at their own risk, they went to live Pangane, an area in the district with access to the sea. The Metuge administrator also spoke of a case of 500 families who were dedicated solely to business, because this was the activity they used to undertake in their villages of origin.

As may be concluded, when afflicted, even the lion eats grass. However, some time will be necessary before the lion adapts its taste to the new diet. And sometimes, even this grass itself may not be available. As the Metuge administrator stressed, when he said “in Ntokota there are people who, up to 3 weeks ago, still needed to find space, to set up a farm.²⁵”

These farms, just like the definitive resettlement centres, are being set up in places of dense bush. Many of the displaced are physically and psychologically weak. They need, or will need, help to open up these places to make their farms, which are often located at a considerable distance from the resettlement villages.

Hence the argument that the displaced from the coastal areas are lazy, and they need to readapt quickly to the new conditions seems, above all, to be a discourse which strips the government, mainly the central government, of responsibility, faced with its inability to implement measures for the integration of all the displaced that would minimise their suffering.

The definitive resettlement phase is crucial to create the bases for a new beginning for the displaced, through their socio-economic reintegration. However, on the ground it is felt that the central government is totally outside this process. It would have been expected that by now the activities of ADIN would already have been felt in the province so as to offer new encouragement to the lives of thousands of displaced.

²⁴ At the time of the field work, the Montepuez district capital was facing a cholera outbreak.

²⁵ The interview was held on 12/02/21 in the Metuge district capital

With the district governments under pressure and without enough resources to respond effectively to the needs of the displaced, or to create sustainable solutions that would allow their integration, Cabo Delgado province needs a multi-sector and multi-disciplinary intervention to assist the reintegration of more than 670,000 displaced people. This is not a task that the provincial and district governments, lacking resources, will be able to undertake. The cooperation partners, humanitarian organisations, religious bodies, civil society, businesses and people of good will are doing what they can to minimize the suffering of the displaced, but greater involvement is needed from the government at central level, mainly from the leaderships in Maputo.

2.3. Maconde displaced receive State funds and are more independent

Unlike the Kimwanis, some displaced from Muidumbe and Mueda districts – mostly members of the Maconde ethnic group – are veterans of the independence war or have a close relative linked to the liberation struggle, which means they benefit from the allowance (pension) allocated by the state to the veterans and their close relatives²⁶. As CIP found, many pensioners who are displaced continue to benefit from the State allowance in the districts where they find themselves.

The fact that they have this source of income makes the displaced pensioners relatively less vulnerable in comparison with the other. Although they face the same difficulties inherent to their condition the displaced pensioners easily manage to meet some of their needs with the State allowance and the food aid they receive.

Whether or not the displaced have resources greatly influences the choice of the place where they take refuge. The displaced pensioners (and members of the public administration), as a rule, do not spend much time in provisional accommodation centres or in host families since, unlike the majority of the displaced who lost everything with the war, they continue to receive in their accounts every month the allowance for veterans or the public administration wages, and with these sums they are able to acquire or rent houses in the districts where they find themselves. The displaced who are not pensioners or state employees, and are therefore more dependent on humanitarian assistance, are mostly concentrated in the houses of relatives, in provisional accommodation centres, and in the recently-created definitive resettlement villages.

The displaced from the coastal districts of Mocimboa da Praia, Macomia, Quissanga - the Kimwanis – are those least covered by the State allowance for the veterans because, in this ethnic group, there are relatively few veterans of the independence war or relatives of veterans. They are more vulnerable, when compared with displaced people from Mueda and Muidumbe districts. On the one hand, the majority of the displaced from the coast have fewer possibilities in terms of resources than the displaced from Mueda and Muidumbe districts. On the other hand, the Kimwanis, in addition to being the group most affected by the war, since the attacks have fallen most heavily on the coastal districts of Mocimboa da Praia, Macomia, Quissanga and Palma, are the group facing most difficulties in integration.

Most of the Kiwanis are fishermen and traders, but many of them have been resettled in regions in the interior, where agriculture is the main livelihood activity presented to them.

At the other extreme, their Makonde counterparts, not only know how to work the land, but are mostly drawing pensions. Once they reach safe areas, some of them manage, through the allowance they receive from the State, and the support of relatives, to develop some businesses to guarantee their subsistence, which rarely happens in the case of the Kimwanis.

The fact that Mueda and Muidumbe districts have not been greatly affected by the war means that some displaced people who abandoned the district because they feared the worst can still count on the support of their relatives who decided to stay in the district and are undertaking some activity that provides an income. The same does not happen with those displaced

26 Feijó, J. (2019). Assimetrias no Acesso ao Estado: Um Terreno Fértil de Penetração do Jihadismo Islâmico?. Observatório do Meio Rural. [Online] Available on <https://omrmz.org/omrweb/wp-content/uploads/Observador-Rural-93-Assimetrias-no-acesso-ao-Estado.pdf> [Consulted on 09 Feb 2021]

from the coastal areas where the entire social and economic fabric was devastated by the war.

Although all those displaced by the war in Cabo Delgado, regardless of their origin, urgently need assistance, the government authorities and humanitarian organisations should pay particular attention to the difficulties of the most vulnerable groups.

Deaths after the first meal

Sister Teresa Balanga tells at length the drama of those displaced by the Cabo Delgado conflict, not only of the Mwanis, but also of other ethnic groups. During the conversation, which lasted about an hour, she said that one day an enormous group of displaced people arrived from Mocímboa da Praia and who had spent days walking through the bush. When they reached the house of the Sisters in search of refuge and food, a child lost his life, because as soon as they saw bread, they began to eat rapidly the bread available on the table. Since they had not eaten for a long time, the speed with which they ate the bread was fatal for the child. To avoid similar disasters, from then on the sisters prepared hot tea after the arrival of displaced people, and only afterwards did they offer them a more solid meal. In Montepuez there were three deaths of displaced children apparently caused by eating solid food, after long days of hunger during their escape.

Families of chiefs were the first to leave

The war displaced did not leave only from areas where there had been attacks. Even in areas where there were no attacks, such as Mueda, the inhabitants fled because they realised that the families of the Chiefs had already left the district out of fear of attacks. The relatives of Nyusi, Chipande and other Makonde generals were evacuated by air, and were the first to abandon the town of Mueda. When the rest of the population understood this, they also ran away in search of refuge in Montepuez.

Need to pay special attention to households headed by women, children and elderly people

In the new definitive resettlement villages, everybody is thrown into the bush with a machete, hoe and tarpaulin to survive, and the households headed by children, women and elderly people face the greatest difficulties in adapting. In the Nicuapa resettlement centre, in Montepuez, a family of 7 members, headed by children was there for months without managing to build their shelter. The family was “discovered” by the Montepuez Director of Infrastructures, months after being resettled in that village. They had still not managed to build a shelter, and nobody from the Government or from humanitarian organisations noticed the situation, until the Montepuez Director of Infrastructures was informed of the situation and brought a food aid kit. In the rainy season, the family continued to sleep in the open, on the plot of land given to them to build their new home.



Family of war displaced children cannot build a hut for sheltering in the definitive resettlement center of Nicuapa, Montepuez

2.4 How the hidden debts affect those displaced by the Cabo Delgado conflict

At first they seem completely different matters without any sort of connection: the scandal of the hidden debts, and the lack of support from the central government for those displaced by the armed conflict in Cabo Delgado. But on the ground one understands that there is a causal relation between the greatest corruption scandal in the history of Mozambique and the drama through which more than 670,000 people displaced by this conflict are passing.

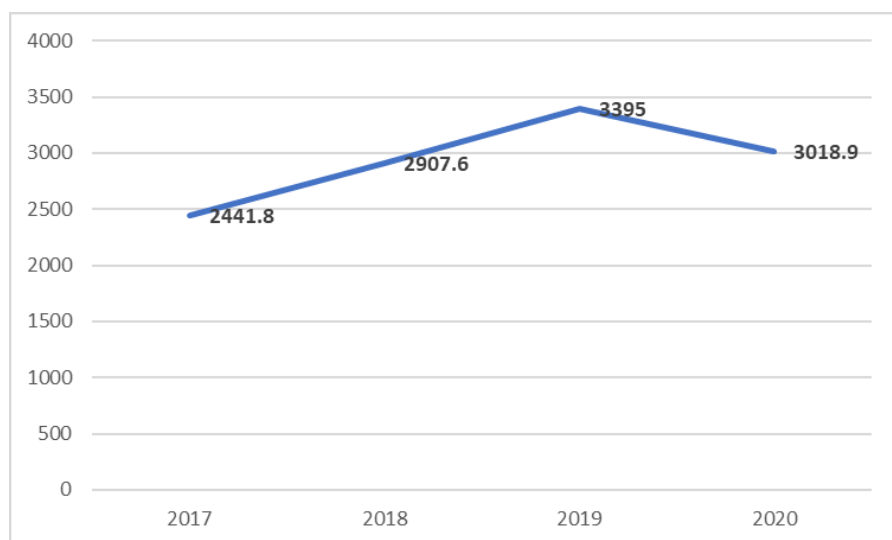
The exodus from districts such as Quissanga, Macomia, Muidumbe, Mocimboa da Praia, Nangade and Palma, created enormous pressure on the districts hosting the displaced such as Pemba city, Metuge, Montepuez, Ancuabe and Chiúre. Some districts saw their number of inhabitants rapidly double or even triple in a short space of time.

The exponential increase in inhabitants in these districts created enormous pressure on the district governments in the places where provisional or permanent accommodation centres were set up. The displaced people who have been arriving need all the basic services such as access to health, education, space for the building of infrastructure (such as the parcelling of land, new roads and the drilling of boreholes for water) in the new villages for definitive resettlement.

Given this emergency scenario that the province faces, and particularly the districts mentioned above, it was supposed that the Central Government would draw up an amended budget which could endow the provincial government and the districts with the financial capacity to deal with this emergency situation.

At provincial level there was an increase of 17% in the resources for Cabo Delgado between 2017 and 2019. However, not only was the increase much lower than the needs of the province (12 billion meticaís just to assist the displaced), but last year there was a reduction in the budget from 3.4 billion to 3 billion meticaís.

Graph 7: Evolution of public expenditure for Cabo Delgado



Source: REO (2017 – 2020)

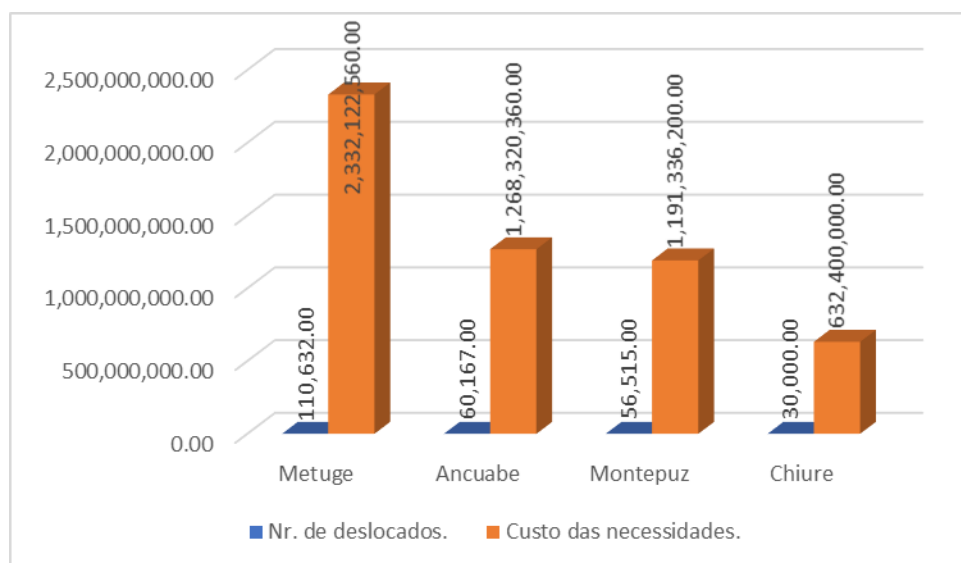
To assist the about 670,000 Cabo Delgado war displaced during 2021, the Government would need at least USD 207.7 million, equivalent to 14.1 billion meticaís²⁷, which corresponds to 2.1% of the 2020 GDP.

²⁷ At the exchange rate of 68MT/USD

The *per capita* cost of meeting the main needs of the displaced, namely security, housing, education, health and means of livelihood is USD 310 per year, according to the *Internal Displacement Index Report 2020*²⁸, which means that per month each displaced person would need about USD 25,8 equivalent to 1,756 meticaais, to meet basic needs.

For Cabo Delgado province, the Government should allocate about 12 billion meticaais to assist about 570,000 displaced people. Of this sum, Metuge district, with the largest number of displaced after Pemba city, would need 2.3 billion meticaais. For Ancuabe district, with 60,167 displaced, 1.2 billion meticaais would be necessary. Montepuez district would need 1.1 billion meticaais to assist the about 56,515 displaced in the district. Finally, for Chiure district, with 30,000 displaced, 632.4 million meticaais would be needed for assistance.

Graph 8. Cost of the needs of the displaced per district (Millions of Meticaais) - Cabo Delgado



For Nampula province, which is accommodating about 64,000 displaced, the Government should allocate, just for this year, 1.3 billion meticaais rather than the 645.4 million meticaais defined as the budgetary limit for this province. The criterion used for the allocation of resources did not take into consideration the effects of internally displaced people, since it considered the population data from the 2017 census.

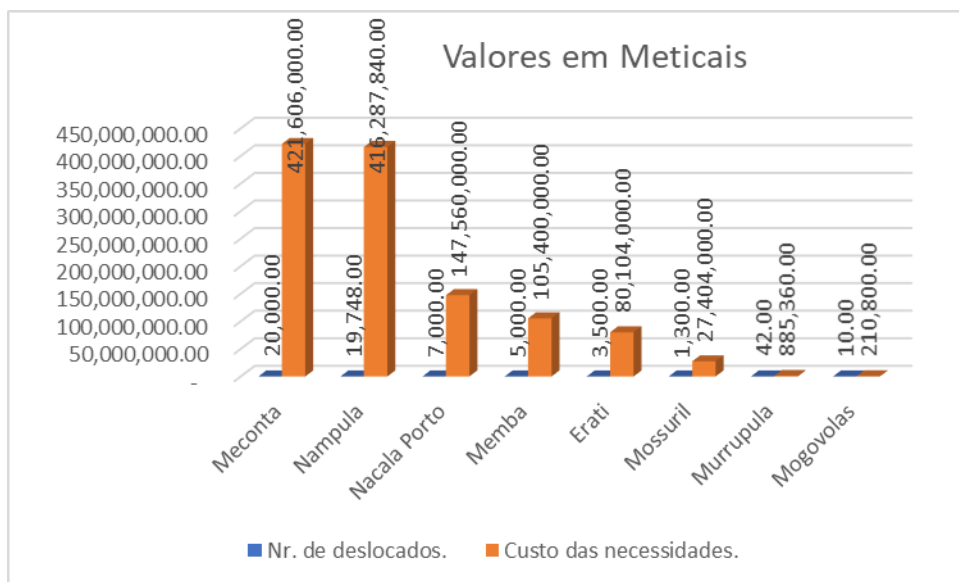
At one extreme, Meconta district with the largest number of displaced, about 20,000, would need 421.6 million meticaais to assist the displaced. At the other extreme, Mogovolas district, which is accommodating the smallest number of displaced, 10, about 210,000 meticaais would be needed.

The United Nations launched a humanitarian appeal in December 2020 to mobilise 254 million dollars intended to assist about 1.1 million displaced people, including some host families, but by early April 2021, only 2.6 million dollars, equivalent to 1%²⁹, had been mobilised.

28 Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (2020) Internal Displacement Index Report (2020). Available on: <https://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/internal-displacement-index-2020-report>. Consulted on 30. Mar 2020

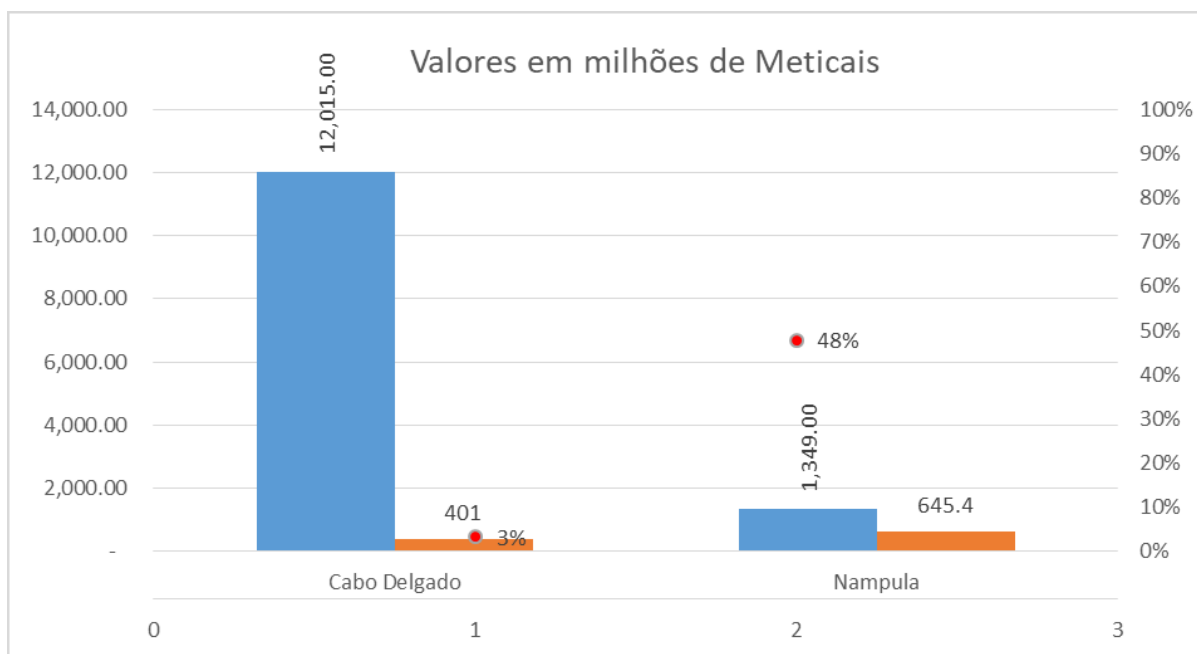
29 OCHA (2021). Mozambique Humanitarian Response Plan 2021, Available on <https://fts.unocha.org/appeals/1040/summary> [Consulted on 2 April 2021]

Graph 9. Cost of the needs of the displaced by district (Millions of Meticaís) – Nampula



The reality on the ground shows that the Government has not allocated any special budget to assist those displaced by the war. The central government is continuing to work as if Cabo Delgado province were not facing the disastrous situation of having to manage more than 570,000 people displaced by the armed conflict.

Graph 10. Cost of the needs of the displaced vs the sums from the State Budget allocated to Nampula and Cabo Delgado.



Source: Compiled by the authors

The words of António Nandanga, the Metuge district administrator, interviewed for the purposes of this work on 12/02/21 express the situation lived by the governments of the districts that are receiving displaced people.

“The work of building latrines, parcelling land, opening water boreholes, was done with the support of the partners. There was no amended budget, the budget received to manage the population of Metuge, is no longer enough, since the population has

more than doubled. We have many people here. A budget was needed that took into account the context the district is living through. Before the crisis, the population of the district was 87,866 inhabitants, but currently we have about 200,000 inhabitants and we continue with the same budget as before the explosion of this humanitarian crisis.”

The Secretary of State for Cabo Delgado province, Armindo Ngunga, who was also interviewed for purposes of this work on 15/02/21, explained why there is no money in the State’s coffers to support the displaced.

“From 2016 to now, the Mozambican state has been facing serious financial problems and we are managing on the basis of what we have. There was no additional budget for the province or for the districts. We are carrying out our management on the basis of what there is”, said that representative of the State in the province.

2016 was the year in which the 2.2 billion dollars of the hidden debts was discovered. They had been illegally contracted by the Mozambican government in 2013 and 2014. With the revelation of the debts. Mozambique’s partners suspended direct support to the state budget, and this dragged the Mozambican economy into a deep crisis which is still felt today. Since then the Government has been managing bit by bit to pay for its expenses, particularly those of the social sectors.

Without this support from the partners, the State found itself obliged to arrange other forms of financing which in a way ensured that the domestic debt contracted with the commercial bank increased considerably from 2016 to now, turning it into one of the main sources of public financing³⁰.

The hidden debts led a State, which has responsibilities to its citizens, to abandon almost completely those displaced by this conflict. The distance that separates Maputo – the political and economic centre of the country - from Cabo Delgado is about 3,000 km, which helps the Government disguise the discomfort of an armed conflict which has been going on for more than 3 years and has displaced more than 570,000 people, according to official figures.

Nor has the fact that Cabo Delgado province has become the country’s new *El Dorado*, thanks to its enormous reserves of natural gas, which have brought to Mozambique the largest volume of private investment that the African continent has ever received, been able to raise the awareness of the central government to the need to mobilise internal funds to assist the displaced population of that province.

The central Government delegated this responsibility to the provincial and district governments who, without financial resources, and counting on the help of international organisations such as WFP, OIM, UNICEF, Cáritas, UNDP and individual business people, have been trying to handle the enormous challenges this conflict has brought to the province.

On the ground there is no sign of the work of bodies such as the National Disaster Management and Risk Reduction Institute (INGD) or of the Agency for the Integrated Development of the North (ADIN), or of MGCAS, public bodies which should be at the side of the provincial and district governments helping to coordinate the reception of the displaced and their definitive resettlement.

Repeatedly the research team asked the various contacts interviewed on the ground what has been the role of ADIN and they were unanimous in saying that it was not yet operating. Armindo Ngunga, the Secretary of State for the province, said “ADIN is still setting itself up. Right now, it is not implementing anything. It will mobilise resources, but for the time being it is handling its own internal organization and drawing up its strategic plan.”

During the period of the field work, 21 villages for definitive resettlement had already been set up, which were accommodating

30 CIP (2020) Depois das dívidas ocultas: o Ministério de Economia e Finanças continua a não prestar contas da Gestão da Dívida Pública, Available on <https://cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Depois-das-di%CC%81vidas-ocultas.pdf> [Consulted on 21 February 2020]

about 10,000 households. A drop in the ocean when compared with the total number of displaced households, which is about 100,000. Armino Ngunga provided these figures, and he stressed “What we have managed to do is very little, given the adversities we have been facing on the ground”.

As may be deduced, faced with this huge humanitarian drama, only seen before in the civil war period, the central government has had an apathetic attitude, one of total lack of responsibility before thousands of displaced people. Cabo Delgado province, which has a problem of structural poverty, is currently witnessing a scenario in which poor households receive and assist their poor relatives, fleeing from the armed conflict.

Aware of this, the World Food Programme (WFP) has drawn up for 2021 a new and more comprehensive aid strategy which covers the host families. The WFP Country Representative in Mozambique, Antonella D’Aprile, told CIP: “the WFP is helping the displaced who are living with host families, and for 2021 aid is envisaged for 500,000 displaced people and 250,000 people of the host families.”

The financial crisis created by the hidden debts scandal brought enormous financial difficulties to the State, making it impossible for it to comply with a considerable part of its obligations, particularly investment in the social sectors. But in the particular case of Cabo Delgado province, some lack of sensitivity on the part of the central government of how to help mitigate the suffering of the population is also visible.

The speed and effectiveness with which the central government has sought to mobilise funds to confront the Covid-19 pandemic, which has mainly been affecting the political and economic elites established in Maputo, has not been the same in attempts to mobilise funds to help the war displaced in Cabo Delgado province.

2.5 About 10% of the Cabo Delgado displaced chose Nampula to restart their lives

After Cabo Delgado, Nampula is the province with the second largest number of war displaced. Data from the National Disaster Management Institute indicate that here are about 64,000 displaced people in the province, scattered across 17 districts, of whom 53% are women and 47% are men. Most of the displaced - 54%, - are under 18 years of age.

Like Cabo Delgado, the flow of displaced into Nampula peaked in the months of November and December 2020, partly as a result of the resurgence of armed attacks in Cabo Delgado. When CIP visited Nampula province in late September 2020 there were 25,000 displaced. In November of the same year the number of displaced in the province had risen to 49 000, an increase of 96% in less than two months. From November to December, the number rose from 49,000 to 60,000, an increase of 22.4%. Thus, in 7 months (September 2020 to March 2021), the number of displaced in Nampula province increased by 156%.

According to the INGD delegate in Nampula, Alberto Armando, interviewed by CIP, the increase in the number of displaced may not necessarily mean the arrival of new displaced people in the province. “The evolution of the number of displaced in this period may be linked to the improvement of our records and making official the data of those displaced who were already in the province”, he says.

The districts in Nampula province that accommodate the largest number of displaced are Meconta with 20,000, Nampula (19,748), Nacala-Port (7,000), Membra (5,000), Eráti (3,800), Monapo (2,400), and Mossuril (1,300). At the other extreme, Murrupula and Mogovolvas, with 42 and 9 displaced people respectively, accommodate the least number of displaced. As in Cabo Delgado, the majority of the displaced in Nampula are concentrated in the main urban centres of the province.

2.5.1 About 4% of the displaced in the Corane definitive resettlement centre

In order to reduce overcrowding in the Namialo transit centres, to relieve the host families, and to create conditions for the displaced to undertake subsistence activities, the Nampula provincial government set up, in November 2020, a definitive resettlement centre located in the Corrane administrative post, in Meconta district.

The Corrane centre is the only definitive resettlement centre in Nampula province, and it accommodates about 2,500 displaced, of whom 80% came from Meconta and 20% from Nampula city. The government has given each household a temporary shelter on a plot of land measuring 20/30 metres and 1.5 hectares and agricultural inputs for farming.

To set up the Corane resettlement village, parcel out the land and allocate provisional shelters to about 800 households, the Nampula government disbursed more than 2 million meticaís. INGD-Nampula managed this sum.

The INGD Nampula delegate, Alberto Armando, said the government is well aware of the situation of the displaced in the province. “The government is at the head of the process in that it is coordinating the various assistance activities that are under way. The partner has the money, but it is the Government that guides. The travel by technical teams to the countryside is supported by the Government”, he explained.

According to Alberto Armando, between October and November, about 4 million meticaís were disbursed to assist the vulnerable population groups. “Some of this money benefitted the displaced in some way”, he said.

The Government, through various bodies, is involved, as coordinator, in activities to assist the displaced which count on the support of humanitarian organisations and partners. For example, in the component of food aid, INGD-Nampula in addition to coordinating the food aid *cluster* of which the World Food Programme (WFP and CARITAS are part, the INGC distributes monthly food kits to about 4,000 displaced people in districts eventually not covered by the assistance of the humanitarian organisations.

2.5.2 In the midst of suffering there are those who manage to adapt

Despite all adversities, various unlikely heroes or heroines emerge from among the displaced. One is Ms Ancha Chande. The CIP research team met this displaced woman in the Corane definitive resettlement centre, in Meconta district. A single mother with 3 children, during her escape from the conflict, she became the adopted mother of 5 more children, who are living with her in the improvised tent in the middle of her yard.



Picture: Ancha Chande

Born Bebi Maurosse Muema, after she married her former husband, who is a muslim, she took the name Ancha Chande. A native of Mueda, he used to live in Mocimboa da Praia, very nears the district capital. She says that she used to sell goods which she bought in Tanzania and in Nampula to market in Mocimboa da Praia.

Ancha Chande says that during the escape from Mocimboa da Praia, after the insurgents entered she fled with the daughter who was with her. Her other two children were studying in Nampula city. She used income from her businesses to pay for the schooling and accommodation of the two children who were studying.

During the escape, the parents of the 5 children in her group that was fleeing from the attacks, were murdered. She continued to flee with the children. When she reached Nampula, she stayed with the orphaned children who had escaped with her, until they reached the Corrane definitive resettlement centre. She became the sole person responsible for these children who are today part of her family.

She says that when they reached Nampula they were sheltered by a friendly family, but after a month, the atmosphere in the house was no longer very good, because the host family was now tired of having so many people in its house.

She decided to fetch her two children who were studying in Nampula, because she no longer had any way to pay for their studies and house rent, since she no longer had any income from her business. Currently she is in Corane with her 8 children as she affectionately regards all of them, although she “adopted” 5 of them in their flight from Mocimboa da Praia.

A single mother of 8 children, 7 of them minors, she is unable to build a bathroom of bamboo and clay walls. This requires going into the bush to cut the bamboo and preparing the clay for the walls, work which men do with some ease, but which, in her case, is difficult. .

Due to the impossibility of building a hut, this family of eight members is still sleeping in a tent that was given to them by humanitarian aid organisations when they arrived at the centre. Ancha Chande says families who include men have their lives made easier in terms of housing. Most of the improved houses visible in the centre belong to families headed by men.

Just like many others displaced by this conflict, Ancha Chande say she is not considering returning to Mocimboa da Praia. She says she saw her house being bombed, because the Al-Shabaab were nearby, and a helicopter of a private military company dropped bombs which destroyed her house.

All the destruction and terror she witnessed in her escape does not allow her to think about returning to Mocimboa da Praia, at least not in the near future. She would only return “if I knew that people have returned and stayed there for more than a year and had no problems”, she says. Otherwise, she will not consider going back and suffering again all that she suffered in the flight from her home, adding that, had it not been for the private military companies, they would probably not have escaped from the large number of insurgents who attacked the town.

At the Corrane definitive resettlement centre she has become an activist of World Vision, helping in the activities of this organisation, while at the same time looking after her fields, where she is growing rice.

One of the questions the research team asked the displaced is “what kind of support do you need to restart your life without needing to live from the constant support of United Nations agencies?” Answering this question, Ancha Chande said “Here I cannot do the kind of business I was doing in Mocimboa da Praia, because the people here have nothing. So for me, the best business will be farming so that I can provide vegetables and other crops here in the centre. For this, I need an electric pump. If I had a pump, I would be able to produce enough for my family and t sell to my neighbours, and later, who knows, to the neighbouring villages.”

The summary story of this woman’s life, strengthens one of the main findings noted on the ground – the lack of a differentiated approach, taking into account the most vulnerable groups, more specifically, households headed by children, women and elderly people.

And it shows the absence of State institutions which would be key in leading a multi-disciplinary and holistic resettlement, taking into account the different needs of the war displaced, On the ground, there is no sign of the Agency for the Integrated Development of the North, nobody has heard of the role of the National Social Welfare Institute (INAS), and the National Institute of Disaster Management and Risk Reduction (INGD) plays a secondary role in much of what it does in Nampula (in Cabo Delgado the presence of this institution is not felt, which is why the district governments ask all those who wish to make donations to go to the resettlement centres, in order to save the scant financial resources these governments have for travel to the centres).

In the case of Nampula, the INGD is a kind of sole channel of support for the displaced, when the support comes from the private sector. Mozambican NGOs or individuals of good faith are obliged to channel their aid to the INGD and then the INGD brigades collect this support and distribute it to the resettlement centres.

As may be deduced, the central Government has delegated assistance to the people displaced by the armed conflict in Cabo Delgado to the local governments in the provinces and districts that accommodate the displaced. This delegation is not accompanied by a budgetary allocation that would allow these governments to attend to the needs of the displaced. The district and provincial governments are continuing to receive the same budget, as if there were no humanitarian emergency.

Box 4. “They dismembered my father”

55 year old Samuel Amade is one of the 2,500 displaced people resettled in the Corane centre. A native of Macomia, he fled from the district in August 2020 in the company of his wife and 8 children after an insurgent attack. “They destroyed my house and dismembered my father. I lost almost everything”, he says.



Picture: Samuel Amade

Amade, his wife and children reached Nampula after a journey of several days. He says they walked from Macomia town to the locality of Nacate, From Nacate they got a lift which took them to the region of Silva Macua, 80 Km from Pemba, in Ancuabe. From Ancuabe they travelled to Namialo, in Nampula, thanks to a brother who paid for the transport costs. They stayed in a Namialo transit centre for 3 months and in November 2020 they were transferred to the Corane resettlement centre, their new home.

In Corane Amade and his family are trying to restart their lives, but face countless difficulties. Amade has not managed, like some of the displaced, to cultivate on the field allocated by the Government.

“When I arrived. The space they gave me to farm was dense bush, and I wasn’t able to clear it. I made a small vegetable garden in the yard”.

Although he has a house where he and his family are accommodated, Amade laments its conditions. “When it rains, the house is swamped. Water gets in everywhere”, he exclaims.

Despite the difficulties, Amade, who is a tailor by profession, is trying to make a living from sewing. Every day, he sits in front of his small house and makes small items. The business is not very profitable for him in the Corane centre. “In Macomia I could make 700 meticais a day with this business, but here the income is very small. People don’t have money”, he says.

Unlike many of the displaced who are thinking of returning to the place of their birth, or where they used to live, if the attacks stop, Amade wants to make his life in Corrane and wait for better days.

According to the INGD delegate in Nampula, the Government, humanitarian organisations and partners have in mind the creation of various projects to improve living conditions and guarantee livelihoods for the displaced resettled in Corane. “The Ecumenical Centre has already guaranteed the construction of 300 improved houses for the displaced in Corane. At the same time, projects have been designed to raise chickens and to develop fish farming in an attempt to diversify he opportunities for families to pick themselves up”, he said.

Effective implementation of these and other projects is important for the economic integration of the displaced. But the Government should not forget that the largest number of displaced are still living in host families and that, like the displaced who are in resettlement centres, food aid alone is not enough. Besides, in a context in which aid does not last forever, it becomes necessary to develop inclusive projects that generate income for the displaced

Conclusion

The armed conflict in Cabo Delgado, apart from the barbaric deaths caused, has generated an enormous crisis of displacement, with more than 25% of the population of the province currently living displaced from their communities. During the more than three years of the conflict, people have been abandoning their houses, villages and land in the central and northern districts of the province in search of safer places to live.

The provincial capital, Pemba, and the southern districts of Cabo Delgado province have been the main destinations of the displaced. The government did not set up the traditional camps for displaced people. This meant that people fleeing from the war would find shelter in the houses of so-called host families.

Likewise the Government did not allocate any special budget to assist the war displaced. The central Government continues to work as if Cabo Delgado province were not facing the disastrous situation of having to manage more than 570,000 people displaced by the armed conflict.

The resurgence of the attacks in 2020, with the assault and temporary occupation of the district capitals of Mocímboa da Praia (three times), Quissanga, Muidumbe (twice), and Macomia resulted in the massive abandonment of the conflict areas, generating a huge avalanche of displaced people heading for Pemba, which overburdened the provincial capital. The same situation, on a lesser scale, happened in the southern districts of the province.

With the urban areas overcrowded with displaced people living in host families, the secretary of state for the province, in coordination with the district governments, started to identify and demarcate land outside the urban areas for the definitive resettlement of the displaced.

By February 2021, 21 definitive resettlement centres for the displaced had been set up in Cabo Delgado. They accommodated about 10,000 of the 100,000 displaced households in the province. One definitive resettlement centre was set up in Nampula province, sheltering 2,500 people.

In the new definitive resettlement centres, the displaced people receive a plot of land on which to build a house, and another for farming, and a hoe, a machete and a tarpaulin to cover the house. Then each person should go into the bush to collect the material to build his own house.

In the new resettlement villages, there are shortages of everything, including food, shelter, domestic utensils, and clothing. Vulnerable groups, namely children, women and elderly heads of household, face more difficulties in adapting to the new definitive resettlement villages but have not merited special attention from the Government.

The coastal populations, mostly members of the Mwani (or Kimwani) ethno-linguistic group, face great difficulties in adapting to the resettlement villages, and the government seems to pay little attention to this situation.

The district governments have not received any additional budgetary allocation to deal with the increase in the population of their territories caused by the arrival of new inhabitants displaced by the war. The central Government justifies the absence of aid for the displaced on the grounds of the financial crisis the country is experiencing, caused by the hidden debts, which led to the suspension of direct support by the donors to the State budget. But one also notes that the Government has not been making a great effort to mobilise funds to support the displaced, when compared, for example, to the mobilization of

funds to confront the Covid-19 pandemic.

The Agency for the Integrated Development of the North (ADIN), launched by the Government in 2020 to promote development in Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambézia, still only exists on paper, and is notably absent in supporting projects to assist the displaced in Cabo Delgado.

Thus all the support for the displaced is entrusted to the partners, with the United Nations humanitarian agencies to the forefront. Even so one notes that support on the ground is scant, and here are families that spend more than two months without receiving any form of food aid.

Mismanagement of the crisis of the war displaced may generate an environment in the resettlement areas favourable to the spread of the armed conflict which burst out in the north of the province.

Recommendations

Faced with the findings presented in this study, it is recommended that the Government:

- Continue to set up definitive resettlement villages and improve resettlement conditions in the new villages, including helping the displaced build new shelters;
- Be more committed to mobilising and channelling support to the war displaced, supporting the efforts already being undertaken by the local governments;
- Strengthen the budget for the provinces most affected by the internally displaced people;
- In coordination with the partners, pay special attention to vulnerable displaced households, notably those headed by children, elderly people and women;
- Pay special attention to the displaced people from coastal communities who face additional difficulties in adapting to the new definitive resettlement villages. This could be through creating conditions for these households to develop other economic activities such as trade, aquaculture, and access to the sea for fishing;
- Set up a multisector team to help the reintegration of the displaced, from post-traumatic assistance to resettlement, taking into account the origin of the displaced.

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List of Interviewees (representing institutions)

Amade Saide, Ancuabe District Permanent Secretary, interviewed on 15th February 2021, in Pemba;

António Nandanga, Metuge District Administrator, interviewed on 12nd February 2021 in Metuge;

Armindo Ngunga, Secretary of State for Cabo Delgado province, interviewed on 15th February 2021, in Pemba

Etelvina Fevereiro, Chiúre district administrator, interviewed on 12nd February 2021, in Chiúre;

Júlio Sathy, Chairperson of the Cabo Delgado Business Council, interviewed on 11st February 2021, in Pemba;

Leonidio Varimelo, Montepuez District Director of Infrastructures, interviewed on 11st February 20121, in Montepuez;

Teresa Balanga, sister of the Franciscan Sisters of Mary, interviewed on 11st February 2021, in Montepuez;

Alberto Armando, Nampula delegate of the National Institute of Disaster Management and Risk Reduction (INGD), interviewed on 20th March 2021, in Nampula city



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