

The Other Side of the War:

Prostitution and Sexual Exploitation of Displaced Women in Cabo Delgado

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"I go out with two to three men a night"

A considerable number of women and girls, who left their areas of origin due to the attacks by insurgents in Cabo Delgado Province, are resorting to selling sex as a form of survival. In addition, others are lured into having sex in exchange for food and other livelihoods, a phenomenon which, despite complaints from civil society and international organisations, still persists in several accommodation centres for displaced persons. The exclusion of displaced people from access to food assistance, the difficulties of economic integration in the reception areas, combined with the scarcity of means to meet their most basic needs, push displaced women into an underworld full of risks: that of sex for survival. This article shows the scope of one of the less known faces of the war in Cabo Delgado: the prostitution and sexual exploitation of displaced women and girls.

Introduction

The high number of deaths, the paralysis of natural gas exploration projects, the destruction of infrastructures and the massive displacement of civilians have been pointed out as some of the main consequences of the Cabo Delgado war¹. During the report on the General State of the Nation in 2021, the President of the Republic, Filipe Nyusi mentioned the "reduction in productive capacity, the increase in unemployment and the regression in levels of social welfare" as some impacts of the war in recent years². However, there is one fact that remains outside the speeches and official statistics: prostitution and sexual exploitation of displaced women and girls in Cabo Delgado. An investigation by the Centre for Public Integrity (CIP) in the province reveals how failures in humanitarian assistance, combined with the need for survival in the host areas, push displaced women and girls into an underworld surrounded by risks.

The armed conflict in Cabo Delgado has caused close to 1 million displaced people, of which more than 50% are women and girls³. The Government has the primary responsibility to assist the displaced people, especially the most vulnerable⁴, however since the beginning of displacement there has been a failure to create specific conditions to respond to the socio-economic needs of this segment⁵.

The Policy for the Management and Protection of Internally Displaced Persons, approved by the Government in 2021, provides, among other things, for the implementation of programmes for "income generation and sources of livelihood" for displaced persons, with a focus on the most vulnerable. However, the instrument has not yet produced the expected effects. On the contrary, the reality on the ground shows that, in general, displaced women and girls have not achieved economic integration in the host areas, continuing in a situation of dependency and extreme vulnerability. Resorting to prostitution as a means of survival and exposure to sexual exploitation are the most visible face of this vulnerability.

Methodology

This research presents, with evidence, cases of prostitution, exploitation and sexual abuse of internally displaced women and girls in Cabo Delgado Province. The research was carried out primarily through field research and participant observation complemented by desk research and aided by literature search techniques and key informant interviews.

The field research was conducted in October 2022 and lasted two weeks. It covered the districts of Pemba, Metuge,

- 1 The Country (2021) "We did not choose the war in Cabo Delgado, it was imposed on us," says PR. Available at: https://opais.co.mz/nyusi-convoca-conselho-de-defesa-e-seguranca-para-discutir-terrorismo/. Accessed on 09.11,2022.
- 2 **Presidency of the Republic** (2021) Annual Information From the Head of State to Parliament on the General Situation of the Nation. Available at: file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/Informe+Anua+PR+-+Situac%C3%A3o+Geral+da+Na%C3%A7%C3%A3o+2021+VF.pdf. Consulted on: 31 October 2022
- 3 **IOM** (2022) Northern Mozambique Crisis DTM Baseline Assessment Abridged Report Round 16 (June 2022). Available at: <a href="https://dtm.iom.int/reports/northern-mozambique-crisis-%E2%80%94-dtm-baseline-assessment-abridged-report-round-16-june-2022. Accessed on
- 4 **Brookings Institute** (2010) The Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons. Available at: https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/the-human-rights-of-internally-displaced-persons-2/. Accessed on 01 November 2022.
- 5 CIP (2021) Management of Cabo Delgado's displaced people of war: Government failed to support victims of the conflict. Available at: https://www.cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Gesta%CC%83o-dos-deslocados-de-guerra-de-Cabo-Delgado-Governo-falhou-no-apoio-a%C-C%80s-vi%CC%81timas-do-conflito.pdf. Accessed on: 31 October 2022.

Montepuez and Chiúre where approximately 50% of the IDPs in the province are located. For data collection, at least 20 IDP women and girls selected based on the non-probability "snowball" sampling technique were interviewed. The use of this technique was justified by the difficult access to subjects with the necessary characteristics for the study. In effect, the displaced women and girls interviewed for the purposes of this research were identified from their network of contacts (family members, friends, colleagues, acquaintances, etc.). Some led to others.

The interviews were conducted in two contexts. On the one hand, CIP researchers, disguised as clients interested in satisfying their sexual desires, talked to displaced women and girls in the circuit of selling sex. On the other heand, displaced women and girls were interviewed outside the prostitution scene. Additionally, visits were made to IDP accommodation centres where displaced women and girls who were victims of sexual exploitation and abuse were interviewed. In addition, interviews were conducted with key informants: nurses, local authorities, heads of resettlement centres, among others.

For ethical reasons, the names of women and girls involved in prostitution, as well as the victims of sexual exploitation and abuse, have been hidden throughout the text. The research also includes a documentary film available here (*link*). In this one, care has been taken not to expose the faces of the people involved.

One of the limitations of the study has to do with the restricted access to some districts that received displaced people, such as Ancuabe, and to some resettlement centres in the districts of Chiúre and Montepuez, due to the attacks carried out by insurgents at the end of October in that region.

I. The prostitution of displaced women in Cabo Delgado: where, how and why does it happen?

Since the beginning of the war in Cabo Delgado, women have been particularly subject to prostitution and sexual exploitation. Several girls and women abducted by insurgents during their incursions into the north of the province were used as sex slaves and others were "sold" as prostitutes in the global market of human trafficking².

However, the massive flight of women from the areas targeted by attacks to relatively safe areas, especially in the south of Cabo Delgado Province, has not meant an end to this trend. On the contrary, the scarcity of means of subsistence, combined with difficulties of economic integration in the host areas, forced displaced women and girls to resort to selling sex as a means of survival.

The sale of sex by displaced women occurs mostly in urban centres and/or host district towns, areas where the activity is relatively more profitable.

In urban centres the phenomenon involves displaced women and girls living in rented and/or borrowed houses. But there are also cases of displaced women who regularly leave the accommodation centres to engage in prostitution in the nearest urban centres.

The need to earn quick money to meet the most immediate needs of their households attracts displaced women and girls to urban centres, where they become sexually involved in exchange for money ranging from 20 to 500 meticais.

20 meticais for a "matharinha"³

The phenomenon of selling sex extends to accommodation centres for displaced people, generally located outside urban centres. In exchange for money, ranging from 20 to 100 meticais, displaced women and girls become sexually involved with men from the surrounding neighbourhoods and with other displaced people.

Unlike in urban centres and towns, where the market for selling sex is long established and sex workers can stipulate a price per client, in accommodation/resettlement centres values fluctuate greatly according to the financial capacity and goodwill of the client. In other words, the distress and vulnerability in which the women find themselves makes them powerless to negotiate and subject themselves to prostitution at any price.

In the accommodation centres as well as in some villages, one can pay as much as 20 meticais to have sex with a

¹ NADERIFAR, M. et al (2017) Snowball Sampling: A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative

Research. Available at: file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/Snowball Sampling A Purposeful Method of.pdf. Accessed on 10 November 2022.

² Feijó, J. (2021) Caracterização e Organização Social dos Machababos a partir dos Discursos de Mulheres Raptadas. Available at: https://clubofmozambique.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/OR-109-Caracteriza%C3%A7%C3%A3o-e-organiza%C3%A7%C3%A3o-social-dos-Machababos.pdf. Accessed on

³ Teenager.

displaced woman or girl. Generally, the money earned from prostitution is used to meet their most immediate needs, such as the purchase of food and personal hygiene products.

Girls are the most requested

The profile of displaced women who, in order to survive, have turned to prostitution ranges from young adults, mostly widows whose husbands died during the attacks, or separated mothers, aged between 20 and 40, to young girls aged between 15 and 19, who, because of the conflict, were forced at a very early age to take responsibility for themselves and their minor relatives.

Girls are generally the most sought after, both in accommodation centres and in the more urban areas. The age factor attracts young people and adults who see in them a source of sexual pleasure. They are generally called "matharinhas" (young girls aged fourteen).

Table 1. Socio-demographic profile of women and girls displaced in the sex selling circuit

Age	District of origin	Sheltering area	Residence	Source/Income before shift	Source/ Current Income	Marital status before displacement	Marital status after relocation
18-35	Macomia, Mocímboa da Praia, Muidumbe	Pemba City, Metuge, Chiúre Village	Resettlement centres; Rented houses; Borrowed houses (urban centres);	Informal trade; dependent;	Sale of sex; seasonal domestic work;	Married; unmarried (under 18);	Separate: widows; single women (under 20);

A common aspect among displaced women residing in rented/loaned houses, and resorting to selling sex to survive, is that most do not receive food assistance on a regular basis and others claim to have been expelled from accommodation centres for reasons that are not very clear. For example, one displaced young woman said she was expelled from an accommodation centre allegedly because she had been there for a long time and was supposed to give way to other newly arrived families. Some authorities, contacted by CIP, said that they were not aware of similar cases as they were never reported.

In 2022, the World Food Programme (WFP), one of the main organisations providing food assistance to displaced people in Cabo Delgado Province, reduced the quantities of food *kits* made available due to lack of funds¹. In an interview with the press, WFP's source explained that "WFP was forced to cut by half the food basket delivered, which means that [beneficiaries] receive food to meet less than 40% of their caloric needs". This situation has contributed to the fact that, at times, some families of displaced persons, who depend exclusively on the food support provided by the organization for their livelihoods, did not receive the food assistance *kits* on a regular basis.

Another common finding among these women is that most have the sale of sex as their only source of income, that is, the only alternative to food assistance, which is scarce. Although most were previously engaged in some livelihood activity in their area of origin, with the insurgent attacks many left everything behind, including their source of income, to take refuge in safe areas. However, few have been able to resume their activities in the host areas and see selling sex as the most immediate alternative for their survival. Reports of displaced women who, in their areas of origin, engaged in small businesses but were then forced into prostitution are often repeated.

The clientele is diversified

The profile of the clients depends on the area where the displaced women prostitute themselves. In urban centres, the clientele is much more diverse. They range from young people to adults who are able to pay over 100 meticais for the satisfaction of their lustful desires. For example, in the city of Pemba and in the town of Chiúre, some displaced young women earn between 200 and 500 meticais per client. But there are some exceptions.

In the accommodation centres, generally far from urban centres, the scenario is different. The main clients are low-income individuals, mostly from the surrounding neighbourhoods, mostly small traders and peasants who, given their condition, are not willing to pay large sums for a sexual "adventure".

¹ Folha de Maputo (2022) WFP warns of breakdown in aid supply in Cabo Delgado. Available at: https://www.folhademaputo.co.mz/pt/noticias/nacional/pam-alerta-para-rutura-no-fornecimento-de-ajuda-em-cabo-delgado/. Accessed on 31.Jan.2023

Box 1. Nangua 2: a centre where prostitution thrives

Paulina¹, 32, fled Muidumbe District in 2020 with her two children after an insurgent raid on her village. She was taken in at the Nangua 2 accommodation centre, also known as the Pachinuapa centre, in Metuge District, where about 2,500 IDPs are also accommodated.

Unmarried and with two children to care for, the displaced young woman tries to start life anew in a centre where eating is a luxury.

Paulina receives food support from the World Food Programme (WFP). But it is not always enough for the family's diet. The IDP's children, aged 10 and 15, help their mother with whatever they can. "They go hunting for rats for us to eat," the displaced youngster said.

While her children hunt rats, Paulina looks for men to survive. "I go to the street to have sex, to get money to buy food," she says. The displaced young woman prostitutes herself in the centre and surrounding neighbourhoods as well as in the city of Pemba, the biggest urban centre in the province. She earns between 50 and 100 meticais per client.

The drama of sexual violence

Paulina has experienced several vicissitudes while displaced within the accommodation centre. Sexual abuse is one of many.

During the interview with PIC researchers, the IDP revealed that one night, a man approached her hut and asked her for a sexual intercourse. As Paulina refused to leave, the man entered, without her consent, the small room where the displaced young woman was sleeping with her son.

"He groped my body and shouted in front of my son that he wanted to [have] sex with me," says the displaced woman, visibly irritated. "I denied it," she added.

The IDP did not report the case to the authorities, which is very common in the centre. The centre has no appropriate channels/means for reporting sexual abuse, such as hotlines, among others, nor any psychosocial support service for victims of sexual violence.

In essence, some cases of sexual violence are reported directly to centre managers, which is problematic in some cases because some of them are allegedly involved in cases of sexual harassment and abuse of displaced women and girls (See Box 2).

The "sex for soap" saga

Like Paulina, other displaced women and girls are forced to become sexually involved in the accommodation centre in exchange for money to buy livelihoods.

However, centre officials claim not to be aware of many of these cases. Interviewed by CIP researchers, the centre's general manager confirmed that one case of prostitution involving a 16-year-old displaced girl had been reported.

"She would get involved with several men to be able to buy soap," the chief said, explaining that this was the only case reported to him and it only came to light when the displaced girl, against her parents' wishes, intended to move in with one of her clients.

Meanwhile, prostitution of displaced women and girls inside the accommodation centre was also confirmed by young residents in the surrounding neighbourhoods.

"Many young people come here looking for *matharinhas*," said a 24-year-old who often went to the centre to have fun and sell capulanas.

HIV and STI cases skyrocket

Cases of prostitution of displaced women in the accommodation centres have also been confirmed by the district health authorities.

CIP researchers went to Metuge District Hospital, one of the districts with the highest number of IDPs in the province, to hear the opinion of health professionals about the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases in displaced women and the main reasons for this. According to Zaida Timóteo, the hospital nurse, the lack of means of subsistence is one of the main reasons that push displaced women and girls into prostitution.

1 Fictitious name. All names of women and girls displaced in the prostitution circuit as well as victims of sexual exploitation and abuse presented in this text are fictitious. Likewise, the names of those accused of sexual exploitation and abuse have been withheld.

"Many allege that they get sexually involved with some men to get money to buy food and meet some needs," reveals the nurse.

In an interview with CIP researchers, nurses from this health centre expressed concern about the high number of cases of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV among displaced women and girls, especially young girls and adolescents.

The hospital attends, on average, 100 displaced women per month. Until 2020, the health centre diagnosed 3 cases of HIV in displaced women per month. By 2022 the number has increased to 7 cases per month, a rise of over 50%. In addition, the hospital has recorded many cases of STI in displaced women, especially young girls and adolescents, reported Nurse Zaida.

Survival Sex: The drama of displaced women in the underworld of prostitution

Most of the displaced women and girls have been forced into "the circuit of selling sex" to meet their basic needs, food, personal hygiene products, among others. This is a peculiar form of prostitution, called "survival sex" and occurs mainly in contexts of extreme deprivation, food insecurity¹, humanitarian crisis², lack of housing³, in which the scarcity of means of subsistence and the lack of alternatives for satisfying basic needs are quite remarkable.

The stories presented in this section illustrate how 'selling sex' has become, for many displaced women and girls, the only alternative for survival.

1. "I have sex to buy food": the drama of a displaced girl, forced into prostitution

At just 16 years old, Sara⁴, from Macomia, experienced first-hand the drama of the insurgency that has been sowing terror and mourning throughout Cabo Delgado Province since October 2017. After an incursion of the insurgents to the village of Macomia in 2020, the young girl was separated from her parents and never heard from them again. From Macomia she fled to the village of Chiúre with two brothers aged 10 and 14, transported in a van.

The separation from her parents and the uncertainty about her and her siblings' future was only the beginning of a drama whose end is still uncertain.

In the small village of Chiúre, the displaced girl and her brothers spent days without anything to eat or shelter. "We moved from one place to another with nowhere to go," she said. When they had no memory of good days left, Sara and her brothers were taken in by an old woman who gave them a house to shelter in. "We were told that there was a lady with two houses and we went there to borrow one," she said.

Finding a place to live was not the end of the ordeal. At the age of 17 Sara was forced to prostitute herself to put bread on the table and her siblings in school. "I do it to buy food," said the displaced young woman.

With the responsibility of feeding and caring for her younger siblings came the need to earn quick money to meet the household's most immediate needs. Today, at 18, Sara is the head of the household and one of the most sought-after prostitutes in Chiúre.

Sara says she regularly hits the streets at around 7pm. Her clients are men in their 20s and 30s. In exchange for sex she receives amounts that vary between 100 and 300 meticais.

¹ NAICKER, L. (2021) Food, Sex and Text: Exploring Survival Sex in the Context of Food Insecurity through Communal Readings of the Book of Ruth. Available at: https://etd.uwc.ac.za/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11394/8818/naicker_phd_art_2021.pdf?sequence=1. Accessed 21.Nov.2022

² UNHCR (2022) Action against Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: An Updated Strategy. Available at: https://www.unhcr.org/protection/wom-en/4e1d5aba9/unhcr-action-against-sexual-gender-based-violence-updated-strategy.html. Accessed on 21 November 2022

³ WATSOM, J. (2011) Understanding Survival Sex: Young Women, Homelessness, and Intimate Relationhsips. Available at: <a href="https://www.researchgate.net/publication/232920720_Understanding_survival_sex_Young_women_homelessness_and_intimate_relationships?_sg=uPMnNO-GODxGm5EHRaGje93UfaibqmQ7afLbTHMDxMD79TpDBq65z8NLMFyR9bbUzo-L7LAeKqbFLngQ. Accessed 21 November 2022.

⁴ Fictitious name

"I go out with two or three men a night" - Sara

Dressed in a yellow blouse with green, blue and orange polka dots and a black skirt, the young girl enters "Xavier's" bar, one of the main night attractions in the small village of Chiúre.

About 1.70 meters tall and with a slender body, the displaced woman calls the attention of the men who are having fun there. She smiles and walks, while whetting the appetites of the male audience positioned in front of a pool table. It was 7 p.m. on 20 October. Besides Sara, 5 other displaced women, aged between 28 and 35, were at "Xavier's". The goal was the same: to become sexually involved with men in exchange for money.

That night, Sara met with the CIP researchers who were there disguised as clients. In their company, the displaced young woman went from there to a boarding house about 200 metres away.

Crouched down and sitting on the right side of a tiny bed in a yellow room, the displaced girl puts her hands on her legs, twists her fingers and embraces silence. Visibly shy she answers in a low voice when asked about the reasons that led her to prostitute herself.

"I need money to buy food, soap...," she stated. "Other people work, but I don't," she justified.

Since arriving in Chiúre village, Sara has received a food assistance *kit* every two months consisting of rice (25kg), beans (10kg) and oil (5l). This is the only support she and her siblings receive, but it is not always regular. For example, at the time of the interview it had been three months since Sara and her brothers had received any support.

Moreover, the food support is not always enough for the other needs of the family, which forces the displaced girl to make an effort "to additionally buy food".

Besides these and other limitations, the young girl was forced to look for alternatives. Prostitution was not the only one. During the day, the girl provides domestic services in some households in exchange for food or money. But as she does not always get jobs, at night she goes out into the street to prostitute herself.

"I go out with two to three men," she said. "I get 200, 300 even 400 meticais," she added.

Although Sara can get some money to buy food for her family, selling sex has been a thorny path for her. The displaced young woman revealed that she regularly bursts into tears in front of her customers.

"If my parents were here I wouldn't do it" - Sara

At around 10am on 21 October, the research team went to the house where Sara and her siblings are staying. Sitting on the veranda of a house of bamboo and clay, with a grass roof, and dressed in a white blouse and a blue capulana with pink frills, the displaced young woman talks about the drama she is going through.

"Sometimes we sleep hungry," she said.



Image Caption: Sara and her two younger brothers in front of the house given to them by an old woman in the village of Chiúre

With the money she earns from prostitution, Sara buys food and sometimes some school materials so that her brothers can continue studying. Seeing them continue with their studies in the face of the difficulties they are going through is a source of joy for the girl. Because of the war, Sara has had to mortgage her future and dignity to give her brothers a somewhat decent present.

"I go out at night, get sexually involved with men and get money to buy notebooks and pens for my brothers," describes the displaced young woman. Sara does not hide from her brothers where the food that feeds them comes from. "They know everything," she said.

The displaced girl has not yet heard from her parents, but she is sure that if they were around she would not tread the thorny path of prostitution. "If they were here I wouldn't leave," she said. "I could continue studying, sell cookies...," she added.

A dream deferred: "I want to be a nurse" - Sara

Sara ran away from Macomia when she was in grade 8. Like most girls of her age, the displaced girl had dreams: "I want to be a nurse," she said.

Although the dream takes precedence, Sara struggles with many other priorities as head of the family. School is not one of them. The displaced girl had to leave school to look after her younger siblings. Today her biggest dream is to get at least one meal a day.

2. "I didn't produce anything"- (Abiba): the drama of a mother who tried and failed

Like Sara, Abiba¹, aged 38, is a displaced person from Macomia District. A widow and mother of 4 children, Abiba fled her hometown to Chiúre District in 2020, following incursions by insurgents. During the attacks Abiba lost her husband on whom the family's livelihood depended.

In Chiúre, Abiba and her children were welcomed in the Maningane centre in Chiúre village. However, after a year, the family was removed from the centre without plausible justification. "They said that we had already stayed for a long time and so we should get a space to do farming," she said.

With nowhere to live, the displaced woman and her children endured difficult days until they found shelter in one of the town's neighbourhoods. However, shortly afterwards the IDP also lost her right to food assistance. "We went to headquarters to receive food but they informed us that our names were not on the list," she revealed.

Outside the accommodation centre and with no right to food support, Abiba had to scrape by to feed herself and her two children. At first Abiba tried to grow food in a field that was lent to her by people of good will. However, she did not succeed.

"I have produced nothing, not even a cassava," she said.

In her home area, Abiba did small business and helped support her family.

The failure in the farm did not make her give up, on the contrary. She looked for work as a maid in the town of Chiúre, but was also unsuccessful. Without alternatives and with the responsibility of feeding her children, she was forced to prostitute herself to survive. Today, Abiba prostitutes herself at any price to at least be able to feed her children.

"I do it out of suffering, not because I want to," she said.

Sex for 1 kg of flour

At the Maningane resettlement centre, Abiba and her children received food support, but not on a regular basis. She told CIP researchers that during the year she was accommodated at the centre she received food support only twice.

Outside the centre and without food support, Abiba sees prostitution as the only way to get food for her children. "I do

¹ Fictitious name

this to get at least 1kg of flour, a bar of soap for my children," she said.

During the conversation with CIP researchers, the displaced woman burst into tears when asked how she supports her children. "They have no father, they have no love...," she lamented.

Abiba goes as far as prostituting herself for 20 meticais. "It can be 20, 50 or 100 meticais. What I want is to get money to buy food", she says. However, in some cases, the displaced woman is not even paid by the clients with whom she becomes sexually involved. "Sometimes they use me and give me nothing", she complains.

Nights and meals at the Hospital

Abiba lives a little away from the main town of Chiúre. After her day of prostitution in the village, she goes to the local hospital to spend the night. In addition, at the hospital she sometimes gets meals for herself and her children thanks to the goodwill of someone she knows.

"I cannot come home without food for my children," she said.

3. "I have no way out"- (Aziza): how war pushed a single mother into prostitution

Even resorting to prostitution was not enough for Aziza¹, 27 years old, to take sole responsibility for the care of her four children. Today the displaced woman, who comes from the Macomia District, thinks of only one way out: abandoning her children.

"A lady from Pemba told me that she needs children. I will hand over some of my children," she said in an interview with CIP researchers. "I have no way out," she lamented.

In 2020 Aziza fled Macomia, pregnant and with 3 children, following insurgent attacks on the district. During the raids, the young woman lost her husband and father of her children, on whom the family's livelihood depended. Widowed and with 3 children to care for, Aziza was taken in by her sister-in-law at an accommodation centre in Chiúre District. However, her stay at the centre was short-lived.

Dependent on her sister-in-law, with no right to food support and with four children under her care, the displaced woman saw prostitution as a way of survival.

The need to earn money to meet the needs of her household caused Aziza to leave the centre at night to prostitute herself in the surrounding areas. However, her nocturnal incursions did not please her sister-in-law who eventually reported the case to the centre's managers.

"It was forbidden to go out at night, but I couldn't resist," says the displaced woman. Aziza was expelled from the accommodation centre for alleged deviant behaviour.

In the centre as well as in the village: Aziza's drama within the framework of prostitution

Outside the centre, Aziza saw her difficulties multiply. She moved to the village of Chiúre and lived in a house provided by people of good will. Without the support of her sister-in-law, Aziza had to manage to feed herself and her four children. In the town of Chiúre, the displaced young woman started to frequent the biggest prostitution market: the Kopuata crossroads.

"I go to the crossroads, get involved with men to get money to buy food for my children," she said.

The Kopuata junction is a bus terminal. Every day trucks and semi-collective transport of passengers disembark and collect passengers here. The place is very frequented by truckers and semi-collective transporters making the Nampula - Cabo Delgado route and vice versa. The high flux of people coming from different points makes Kopuata an authentic centre of prostitution.

¹ Fictitious name.

Maria is just one of many displaced women who go there to engage in prostitution. The displaced young woman said that she earns between 200 and 400 meticais per night.

4. "We are not from here" (Zuleica): the encounter with two displaced persons in the "lanes" of Pemba

Prostitution of displaced women and girls also occurs in the city of Pemba, the largest urban centre in Cabo Delgado Province. Displaced women living in the city as elsewhere in the province find in the city a fertile field for prostitution.

Researchers from CIP, disguised as clients, visited the main prostitution spots in the city and identified, through intermediaries, displaced young women who resort to selling sex as a source of livelihood. Ana, 19 years old, and Zuleica¹, 35 years old, from the districts of Macomia and Mocímboa da Praia, respectively, are part of the list.

As they recounted, both fled their hometown to the city of Pemba in 2020 because of the insecurity generated by insurgent attacks. Although they have different stories, the two displaced girls have in common the need to prostitute themselves in order to survive.

The CIP researchers went to a famous prostitution market where the two young women operate and talked to them.

Zuleca was wearing a short, tight, little dress. Ana, a little thinner, was wearing a short *jeans* skirt and a blue striped blouse. Invited to retire to a place a little further away, they refused, claiming not to know the city very well.

"We're not from here, we can't go very far," Zuleca reacted.

During the night, the two displaced young women are not separated. The older one, separated and mother of two, is a kind of leader of the group. She is the one who negotiates prices and the place with potential clients. Prices range from 200 to 500 meticais.

Ana, the youngest, rarely expresses herself in Portuguese. She usually follows the instructions of the eldest, who determines who to go out with, when and where.

Business other than sex

With the money acquired from selling sex Zuleica and Ana started small businesses.

While waiting for customers in the square, the duo sell cigarettes and airtimes.



Image Caption: Ana standing in a prostitution square in Pemba - image taken by hidden camera.

¹ Fictitious name.

Box 2. On evictions of displaced women from the centre: "I don't know anything" - head of the Post

At least three displaced women in the sex-selling circuit reported being expelled from the centre during interviews. CIP heard from the head of the Chiúre-Sede Administrative Post about the alleged expulsion of displaced women from resettlement centres. According to him, no case of expulsion of IDPs has been reported to him. "I visit all the centres and live with the IDPs and I have not heard of these cases," he said.

Meanwhile, some Chiúre residents, heard by CIP, said they had been following cases of some displaced women, mainly from the coastal districts of Cabo Delgado, who voluntarily leave the resettlement centres for the town due to difficulties of adaptation in the centres.

II. Sexual exploitation and abuse of displaced women in Cabo Delgado: a pervasive phenomenon

In addition to being forced to sell sex to survive, displaced women and girls in Cabo Delgado Province are highly exposed to sexual exploitation and abuse $(SEA)^1$. Cases of displaced women and girls being lured/forced into sexual involvement by local leaders and those in charge of accommodation centres in exchange for food and other livelihoods are repeated in several districts of the province.

In 2020, during the peak of civilian displacement in the province, CIP documented reports of "collection of sexual favours" from displaced women in exchange for food, as well as "abuse and attempted abuse of vulnerable women and girls" in Pemba town². A year later, several other similar cases were reported in various districts hosting IDPs.³.

However, despite ongoing investigations into these and other allegations⁴, the phenomenon still persists in several accommodation centres. According to the Cabo Delgado Provincial Prosecutor's Office, at least 25 cases of sexual abuse of women and girls have been reported in Cabo Delgado Province. ⁵

In some accommodation centres visited, displaced women and girls confirmed the occurrence of similar cases.

The Metuge case: how power is used to abuse displaced women

So far most of the reported cases of "sex for food" have mostly involved local leaders⁶ and staff of humanitarian agencies⁷. However, resettlement centre leaders also use their power to lure vulnerable displaced women and girls into sexual involvement in exchange for food and other livelihoods.

Most of the centres receive IDPs from different districts. For each district, a leader/representative is chosen from among the displaced persons to look after the interests of the displaced persons in their area of origin. In addition, a general manager of the centre is also chosen from among the IDPs, who coordinates the centre's activities internally and assists with humanitarian assistance.

Like local leaders, those in charge of the centres have power vis-à-vis the IDPs in their area of origin, as they often serve as a link between the IDPs and local authorities and humanitarian organisations. However, some use this position to demand sex from vulnerable women in exchange for livelihoods.

In the Nangua 2 centre (Metuge), displaced women reported cases of sexual grooming by centre officials in exchange for food support and other livelihoods. Threats of exclusion of names from the list of beneficiaries of humanitarian

¹ According to the World Health Organization (WHO) the former refers to "abuse or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability or power for sexual purposes" and the latter refers to penetration or threatened penetration of a sexual nature.

² CIP (2021) Number of internally displaced persons in Mozambique grew by about 2700% in two years. Available at: https://cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Nu%CC%81mero-de-deslocados-em-Moc%CC%A7ambique-1-5.pdf. Accessed on: 08November 2022

³ CIJM (2021) Relief Workers Trade Food Aid, Demand Sex in Cabo Delgado. Available at: https://www.investigative-malawi.org/1143/relief-workers-trade-food-aid-demand-sex-in-cabo-delgado/. Accessed on 07 November 2022

⁴ Club of Mozambique (2022) Sex-for-food: WFP investigates claims in Mozambique. Available at: https://clubofmozambique.com/news/sex-for-food-wfp-investigates-claims-in-mozambique-210483/. Accessed on

⁵ VOA (2022) Aid workers accused of sexual abuse against 25 displaced women in Cabo Delgado. Available at: https://www.voaportugues.com/a/trabalhadores-humanit%C3%A1rios-acusados-de-abuso-sexual-contra-25-deslocadas-em-cabo-delgado/6820699.html. Accessed 15 November 2022

⁶ CIP (2021) Number of internally displaced persons in Mozambique grew by about 2700% in two years. Available at: https://cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Nu%CC%81mero-de-deslocados-em-Moc%CC%A7ambique-1-5.pdf. Accessed on: 08 November 2022.

⁷ CIJM (2021) Relief Workers Trade Food Aid, Demand Sex in Cabo Delgado. Available at: https://www.investigative-malawi.org/1143/relief-workers-trade-food-aid-demand-sex-in-cabo-delgado/. Accessed on 07 November 2022.

support are used as strategies by centre managers to engage sexually with displaced women.

Many of these cases go unreported as victims fear being excluded from lists of beneficiaries of humanitarian support. The lack of appropriate channels/mechanisms for reporting prevents women victims of SEA from reporting cases.

Box 3. The sinister figure of Xavier, a remarkable predator

Xavier, 50, a photographer by profession, is a displaced person from Muidumbe District. After his arrival in Metuge, Xavier was welcomed at the Nangua 2 centre, where he was later chosen as general manager.

He is said to be an unscrupulous man when it comes to getting sexually involved with displaced women. His "fame" began long before his arrival at the centre. In his homeland, Xavier was already known as an individual of questionable conduct in his relationship with the opposite sex.

In the centre he found fertile ground for his libidinous incursions, making victims among both adult women and vulnerable young women, harassed with promises of protection and well-being in a place where eating is a luxury.

Xavier did not hesitate to use his position as general manager of the centre to harass/seduce and manipulate women and girls with promises of food and other support, displaced women revealed during interviews.

His victims have a name and a face. Berta, 40, mother and widow, is one of them.

Sitting in the company of her three daughters, in front of a bamboo hut surrounded by clay and covered with grass, the widow gives, with great effort, the little milk she still has left in her breast to her most recent child. The little one is the result of a relationship of a few months with Xavier, but brought to the widow a responsibility that she will carry for many years to come: one more mouth to feed.

"He does not assist the child," Berta lamented explaining that her relationship with the chief started at the centre, where they both met.

However, the displaced woman revealed that she was just one of several other women the boss was involved with.

Other IDPs interviewed by CIP confirmed cases of harassment by their boss. "He got involved with many women, even girls from the same family," one IDP told CIP researchers.

Threats of exclusion from access to humanitarian support - "I will take your name off the list"

Cases of threats and blackmailing of women by the heads of the centres were reported. Some women reported that they were even demanded sex at the risk of having their names removed from the list of food support recipients.

Paulina, 32, is not only the face of prostitution in the Nangua 2 centre, but also the victim of sexual harassment by the centre's general manager.

She told CIP researchers that she had been forced to have sexual relations under the threat of being excluded from the list of food assistance recipients.

"He called me and said have sex with me otherwise I will take your name off the list, he said. "I refused," the displaced young woman revealed.

The young displaced girl said she had not reported the case for fear of reprisals. During the researchers' visit to the centre, Paulina and 16 other IDPs had not received food support allegedly because their names were not on the list.

Paulina links the fact that she was not awarded food support in October 2022 to the fact that she refused to become sexually involved with the centre's general manager.

Xavier's dry reply - "I'm not going to talk about it"

CIP researchers heard from the centre's general manager about these and other issues connected to the centre. He reportedly assumed paternity of Berta's child.

However, despite having commented on various issues, when confronted with the sexual harassment allegations he refused to comment.

"I'm not going to talk about it," he said.

CIP also confronted other officials of the centre about the matter. Some said they had heard comments about the

questionable conduct of the general manager, but that when confronted about the cases, he refuted all accusations.

From dubious management to expulsion

Xavier was recently removed from the position of general head of the centre by the head of the locality after complaints from IDPs about the suspicious way he was running the centre. Some IDPs interviewed accused him of favouring certain families in humanitarian assistance to the detriment of others, and others mentioned cases of withholding information regarding humanitarian support provided by some organisations. These cases were refuted by Xavier when interviewed by CIP researchers.

During the visit made by CIP to the centre, the focal point of the International Organization for Migration in the centre said that there are ongoing applications for the replacement of the former head of the centre. According to the IOM focal point in the centre, the main reason that dictated the departure was the loss of confidence of the displaced persons residing in the centre towards the former head of the centre.

III. How failures in assistance push displaced women and girls into prostitution and sexual exploitation

The resort to selling sex by displaced women and girls as a survival strategy and their increasing exposure to sexual exploitation result, in part, from persistent failures/lack of humanitarian assistance. In a context of extreme deprivation, factors such as the delay in the allocation of food support kits, the exclusion from access to food support, the lack of comprehensive support to the most vulnerable groups (female heads of households) and of coordinated strategies to support economic integration for self-support, the absence of channels/mechanisms for reporting sexual abuse, in some centres, among others, exacerbate the vulnerability of displaced women and girls, forcing them, on the one hand, to resort to selling sex and subjecting them, on the other, to sexual exploitation.

Lack of comprehensive assistance to the most vulnerable groups

Displaced women and girls constitute the most vulnerable segment among the displaced and therefore require individualised assistance¹. In fact, displacement in itself exacerbates the pre-existing vulnerabilities of this group². But even within these, some find themselves in an even more vulnerable situation, such as girls who have become heads of household. However, the reality on the ground shows that many of them remain in a situation of extreme vulnerability, despite previous recommendations made by CIP for special attention to the most vulnerable groups.

Cases of displaced girls who have become heads of households and therefore have special assistance needs have been documented by CIP³. However, many of these continue to receive the same type of assistance (essentially food assistance) as is provided to adult male headed IDP families, albeit with markedly different needs. This shows that although some support programs exist for the most vulnerable families, they have not been comprehensive enough to respond to the specific needs of this segment of the population.

For example, when CIP researchers visited the Nicuapa centre in Montepuez in 2021, they came across a family of displaced people, headed by young girls, who remained homeless for a long time because they had difficulties erecting straws for shelter. However this need was not extended to other households headed by men⁴. This family did not have appropriate assistance in the matter of shelter. Similar cases to this one are still repeated in several other districts.

Difficulties of adaptation in the host areas coupled with a lack of appropriate assistance have forced girls like Sara to find in selling sex the most immediate way to support the household, as well as subjecting her to sexual exploitation.

¹ UNDERWOOD, E. (2016) Three reasons humanitarian aid fails. Available at: https://www.science.org/content/article/three-reasons-humanitarian-aid-fails. Accessed 09 November 2022

² **IDMC** (2019) Sex Matter: a gender perspective on internal displacement. Available at: https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/201902-gender-dimension.pdf. Accessed on 09 November 2022

³ CIP (2021) Cabo Delgado's management of war displaced: Government failed to support victims of conflict. Available at: <a href="https://www.cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Gesta%CC%83o-dos-deslocados-de-guerra-de-Cabo-Delgado-Governo-falhou-no-apoio-a%CC%80s-vi%C-C%81timas-do-conflito.pdf. Accessed on 09 November 2022.

⁴ CIP (2021) Cabo Delgado's management of war displaced: Government failed to support victims of conflict. Available at: <a href="https://www.cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Gesta%CC%83o-dos-deslocados-de-guerra-de-Cabo-Delgado-Governo-falhou-no-apoio-a%CC%80s-vi%C-C%81timas-do-conflito.pdf. Accessed on 09 November 2022.

Comprehensive strategies to support economic integration for women's self-support are lacking;

In addition to the fact that assistance is not individualised, displaced women and girls continue to face serious difficulties in terms of economic integration in host communities, as in areas of origin, which makes it difficult for them to support themselves.

Initiatives aimed at increasing the access of displaced people to the labour market are necessary to ensure that displaced people, especially women, can support themselves¹, thus avoiding recourse to prostitution or other less decent forms of work.

The recently approved Policy and Strategy for the Management and Protection of Internally Displaced Persons provides, among other things, for the implementation of programmes for "income generation and livelihood sources" to prevent the displaced from returning to their condition of vulnerability". Both the policy as a whole and this measure in particular are necessary. However, the instrument has not yet produced the expected effects. On the contrary, the reality on the ground shows that, with few exceptions, women have hardly achieved economic integration in the host areas, remaining in a situation of dependency and extreme vulnerability.



Legend: Displaced women making and selling traditional drink as a form of subsistence, Metuge.

Some organisations are supporting specific families and groups to develop income generation activities in diverse areas, but the support has not been comprehensive and often does not capture the most vulnerable segment³.

Isolated initiatives to support the economic integration of women, although necessary, fail to generate the expected results because they do not include the component of assistance to the beneficiary population to enable the sustainability of their interventions. For example, in some accommodation centres, such as Nangua 2 in Metuge, some women received financial support to open small businesses. As a result of this initiative, they have started small businesses, especially making and selling alcoholic beverages. However, others were not able to apply the amount in income generating activities, but used it to meet their most immediate needs.

Several women received plots of land for agriculture. However, according to the IDPs interviewed by CIP, the support did not include materials and inputs for this purpose. On the other hand, many of the beneficiaries, especially those from coastal regions who have no experience in agricultural production, rarely produce.

In general, it is noted that there is a lack of structured and comprehensive programmes to support the economic integration of displaced women in the host areas, something that could be done through comprehensive projects

¹ CDG (2019) How Urban are IDPs and What Does that Mean for Their Economic Integration. Available at: file:///C:/Users/Admin/Downloads/HowUrbanAreIDPsAndWhatDoesThatMeanForTheirEconomicIntegration.pdf. Accessed on 09 November 2022

² BR nº 173 I Series of 8 September 2021 - Pag. 1417 (Resolution nº 42/2021 of 8 September)

³ UN News (2022) FAO wants to ensure food production for displaced people in Cabo Delgado. Available at: https://news.un.org/pt/sto-ry/2022/10/1803352. Accessed on 18.11.2022.

aimed at strengthening women's livelihood skills, access to financial and other labour-related services, employment opportunities, among others.

During interviews with CIP researchers, several displaced women who resort to prostitution as a means of survival believe that if they had support they would be developing small businesses or other income generating activities. Still others believe that their condition as women prevents them from getting job opportunities in the host areas.

Box 3. "If I were a man, I would not be here" (Katija) Katija, 28, is an IDP from Macomia District. Following an insurgent attack on her village, which culminated in the beheading of her parents and husband, she fled with her three children to the village of Chiúre. In the small village, the displaced girl was hosted in an accommodation centre where she received food support for a few months. However, she was later advised to leave the centre for unclear reasons. Without assistance or a source of income, the displaced young woman had a difficult time. Prostitution was the only way out to feed her children.

Getting a job to support her children is one of her main concerns. However, painting houses and buildings is the only thing she knows how to do, a trade she learnt in Macomia after completing grade 10. As painting is a job mostly done by men, the displaced young woman feels unable to get a job in the field. "As I am a woman, I won't be able to get a job," she says. "If I were a man I wouldn't be here [prostituting myself]," she concludes. The displaced young woman from Macomia believes that the fact that she is a woman is a barrier to the labour market, since the work she knows how to do is traditionally done by men.

Food support is less and less regular

In a context of lack of livelihoods, the lack of regular food assistance, coupled with the exclusion of some IDPs from the beneficiary list, has forced women to resort to selling sex as a survival strategy. For many IDP families, food assistance provided by humanitarian organisations is the only source of livelihood. For displaced women who depend solely on this support, its absence has a highly "disruptive" effect.

With food support becoming less regular, at a time when the number of IDPs in the province is increasing and most women have not yet been able to develop self-sustaining activities, the vulnerability of displaced women and girls may worsen. Until early 2022, when the research was conducted, food assistance kits for IDPs were distributed monthly by WFP. However, from April of the same year these began to be channelled bi-monthly and in somewhat reduced quantities due to a lack of funds to meet demand¹. Meanwhile, in some resettlement centres, IDPs have not been receiving the bi-monthly support on a regular basis. The situation may worsen if funding for humanitarian assistance is not available. Recently WFP² and Caritas³ warned of a possible disruption in food assistance due to lack of funds.

The reduction in food support occurs when many women still remain dependent on it for their survival. For many women, the support is the only source of family support since few are able to support themselves. This will exacerbate their vulnerability in two ways: first, food deprivation may lead them to resort to selling sex as a survival strategy; second, scarcity may make women much more susceptible to sexual exploitation through the 'sex for food' phenomenon.

Mechanisms for reporting and protecting victims are not comprehensive

Since the beginning of the massive arrival of IDPs in Cabo Delgado Province, some hotlines for reporting cases of sexual abuse were set up. This was visible in some transitional centres such as Paquitiquete, in the city of Pemba, where displaced women used these channels to report cases of demands for sexual favours in exchange for humanitarian aid goods by local authorities⁴. However, in other centres, in the districts of Metuge, Montepuez and Chiúre, these mechanisms are simply not available. Women victims of sexual exploitation, by the heads of the centres, rarely report the cases, on the one hand for fear of retaliation or stigma and on the other hand because no protection mechanisms are available for whistleblowers.

The absence of reporting mechanisms for cases of sexual exploitation and abuse in some centres and the lack of accountability of those involved create fertile ground for similar cases to flourish in resettlement centres.

- 1 Folha de Maputo (2022) WFP warns of breakdown in aid supply in Cabo Delgado. Available at: https://www.folhademaputo.co.mz/pt/noticias/nacional/pam-alerta-para-rutura-no-fornecimento-de-ajuda-em-cabo-delgado/. Accessed on 18 November 2022.
- 2 World in Minute (2022) Mozambique. WFP may halt humanitarian aid due to lack of funds. Available at: https://www.noticiasaominuto.com/mundo/2111066/mocambique-pam-pode-interromper-ajuda-humanitaria-por-falta-de-fundos. Accessed 18 November 2022.
- 3 RTP Notícias (2022) Caritas in Cabo Delgado warns about lack of funds among NGOs. Available at: https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/mundo/caritas-em-cabo-delgado-alerta-para-falta-de-fundos-entre-as-ong_n1446953. Accessed on 18 November 2022.
- 4 CIP (2021) Number of internally displaced persons in Mozambique grew by an estimated 2700% in two years. Available at: https://cipmoz.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Nu%CC%81mero-de-deslocados-em-Moc%CC%A7ambique-1-5.pdf. Accessed on: 08 November 2022.

Conclusion and recommendations

At least 4,000 people, including civilians and military personnel, have died and almost a million people have left their areas of origin because of the insurgents' incursions into Cabo Delgado Province. The five-year war has also paralysed strategic investments in the oil and gas sector and destroyed critical infrastructure for the province's development. Meanwhile, the war has produced a social cost rarely captured by official statistics: prostitution and the sexual exploitation of displaced women.

With the war, the vulnerability of women in the province was significantly exacerbated. During insurgent incursions into their areas of origin, several girls and women were abducted and subsequently used as sex slaves and 'sold' as prostitutes. This trend was also repeated in the areas to which the populations took refuge. Even those women and girls who managed to escape to relatively safe areas were forced into the sex selling circuit as a survival strategy and others subjected to sexual exploitation. For many women and girls, accommodation/resettlement centres became unsafe places in the face of exposure to sexual exploitation and abuse.

The resort to selling sex by displaced women and girls and their increasing exposure to sexual exploitation result, in part, from persistent gaps in humanitarian assistance. Factors such as the delay in allocating food support kits, *the* exclusion of some from access to food support, the lack of comprehensive support to the most vulnerable groups (female heads of households) and coordinated strategies to support economic integration for self-support, the absence of channels/mechanisms for reporting sexual abuse, in some centres, among others, exacerbate the vulnerability of displaced women and girls, forcing them, on the one hand, to resort to selling sex and subjecting them, on the other, to sexual exploitation.

The Government, which has the primary responsibility to assist the displaced people, has been absent in supporting them in Cabo Delgado Province, relegating the responsibility to protect to humanitarian organisations and local leaders. At this time, accusations of sexual abuse and attempted sexual abuse of vulnerable women and girls by local leaders flourish in the face of the structural inertia of the State. Over these years, the Government has done little to enable the economic integration of women and specific support to displaced girls in situations of extreme vulnerability in Cabo Delgado Province. The cases reported in the text illustrate this trend.

The Policy for the Management and Protection of Internally Displaced Persons, approved by the Government in 2021, was an important measure in supporting IDPs, especially the most vulnerable, as it provides, among others, for the development of "income generation and livelihood sources" programmes - which is one of the critical areas in the package of humanitarian assistance to IDPs who are in the reception zones as for those who are returning to their area of origin. However, by the time the research was conducted, the policy had not yet begun to have the expected effects as a considerable number of displaced women and girls have not achieved economic integration in the host areas and are crying out for essential support for the development of income generation initiatives.

As can be seen, cases of the sale of sex and the sexual exploitation of displaced women are not isolated but, on the contrary, are the result of a series of structural constraints in humanitarian assistance. Hence the need for the Government, in partnership with humanitarian organisations and cooperation partners, to adopt coordinated actions in order to improve the support provided to displaced people in Cabo Delgado Province, especially women and girls in situations of high vulnerability.

Thus, it is recommended:

To government:

- Develop comprehensive strategies to support sustainable and self-sustaining initiatives taking into account the socio-economic profile of women and the factors that can contribute to access to employment;
- Finance income generation projects, and other forms of economic integration, both for women in the host areas and for those who have returned to their area of origin;
- Implement strategic and comprehensive self-sustainment interventions for IDPs, including training for income generation skills and technical assistance to beneficiaries to enable their rapid economic integration, especially for the most vulnerable, namely women and girls;
- Mobilise, in coordination with humanitarian partners and organisations, support to strengthen the food and non-food assistance component in order to avoid inefficiencies in the allocation of support to IDPs and prevent women and girls in distress from resorting to selling sex as a survival strategy;

To humanitarian organisations and cooperation partners:

- Allocate resources and special attention to displaced girls, especially those who have become heads of households, so that they remain in school and find safe and appropriate forms of livelihood;
- > Provide personal hygiene products to women and girls of sexual age and raise their awareness about sexual and reproductive health in order to prevent the proliferation of sexually transmitted diseases;
- Resume and strengthen the creation of hotlines for reporting cases of sexual abuse in IDP resettlement centres;
- > Fund sustainable income generation initiatives for displaced women and girls, with a view to enabling their rapid economic integration in host areas;

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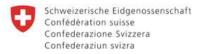
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Parceiros:



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